

Public Education through Radio to Prevent Violence, Promote Trauma Healing and  
Reconciliation, and Build Peace in Rwanda and the Congo

Ervin Staub<sup>1</sup>

Laurie Anne Pearlman<sup>2</sup>

George Weiss<sup>3</sup>

Anneke van Hoek<sup>4</sup>

Keywords: Trauma, genocide, public education, radio, mass violence, reconciliation, peace-building, East Africa, Rwanda, Congo, peace psychology

Acknowledgments

This project has been supported primarily by grants from the Dutch government and the Belgian Foreign Ministry (to La Benevolencija) as well as a grant from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (to Ervin Staub and Laurie Anne Pearlman). We would like to acknowledge and thank the following La Benevolencija staff, consultants and collaborators for their important contributions: Martine Bouman, Ph.D., Marie Coutin, M.A., Johan Deflander, M.A., Suzanne Fisher, M.A., Jean Karambizi, Perpetue Mukahigiro, Charles Lwanga Rukundo, Johanna Vollhardt, M.A., and Rezarta Bilali, M.A.

Public Education through Radio to Prevent Violence, Promote Trauma Recovery and Reconciliation, and Build Peace in Rwanda and the Congo

---

<sup>1</sup> Ervin Staub, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Tobin Hall, Amherst, MA 01002, USA, phone 413.545.0071, estaub@psych.umass.edu

<sup>2</sup> Laurie Anne Pearlman, Trauma Research, Education, and Training Institute, Inc., P.O. Box 1367, Holyoke, MA 01041, USA, phone 413.636.8210, lpearlmanphd@comcast.net

<sup>3</sup> George Weiss, La Benevolencija, P.O. Box 15838, 1001 NH Amsterdam, The Netherlands, phone +31 20 616 599, fax +31 20 330 8155

<sup>4</sup> Anneke van Hoek, La Benevolencija, P.O. Box 15838, 1001 NH Amsterdam, The Netherlands, phone +31 20 616 6599, fax +31 20 330 8155

## Abstract

This article describes public education through radio dramas that aim to promote psychological recovery and reconciliation in the aftermath of mass violence and prevent new violence. They aim to empower citizens to become active bystanders who contribute to societal healing, resist influences leading to violence and promote reconciliation and positive social processes. The article describes the program's background in theory, research and field experience. It describes a radio drama in Rwanda and its evaluation, which shows positive effects, and the creation of a second radio drama for the Congo. It discusses the need to consider the specific characteristics of a situation in developing educational programs for reconciliation. The educational content of the radio dramas includes information about the influences leading to and the evolution of violence, the psychological impact of violence and avenues for healing, as well as how individuals can contribute to community based healing and reconciliation. Public education through radio that is based on scholarship and is psychologically informed can be an important avenue to the prevention of violence between groups. The conceptual content and program development process that the article describes can be applied in varied settings both to prevent violence and to promote healing and reconciliation in post-conflict settings.

Public Education through Radio to Prevent Violence, Promote Trauma Recovery and  
Reconciliation, and Build Peace in Rwanda and the Congo

The primary focus of this article is a radio drama in Rwanda, the central program in a large-scale radio-based public education campaign. Its secondary focus is the extension of radio education into the Congo. In countries where radio is the primary media outlet, it can serve a crucial role in changing attitudes and actions in the population that make violence between groups less likely. The program's goals are to (1) provide information about paths to psychological recovery from trauma that results from group violence, (2) promote understanding of the origins of group violence, its psychological impact, and violence prevention as well as reconciliation, and (3) promote active bystandership among the population in the service of prevention and reconciliation.

This public education campaign joins two methodologies. One is the conceptual and practical approach to healing, violence prevention, and reconciliation developed by Staub and Pearlman on the basis of their own and others' theories about the roots of violence and its prevention (Chorbajian & Shirinian, 1999; Staub, 1989, 1996, 2003; Totten, Parsons & Charny, 1997), complex trauma and healing (Allen, 2001; Herman, 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Pearlman 2001; Saakvitne et al., 2000), and reconciliation.(Bar-Tal, 2000; Lederach, 1997). This approach was used in Rwanda (Staub, 2000; Staub & Pearlman, 2001, 2006; Staub et al., 2005), supported by research showing the positive effects of an intervention based on it (Staub et al., 2005), and further developed in the course of work with varied groups in Rwanda (Staub, 2006; Staub & Pearlman, 2001, 2006). The other methodology includes the entertainment-education, communication, and technical strategies and expertise developed by George Weiss and Anneke

van Hoek and their organization, Radio La Benevolencija Humanitarian Tools Foundation, a Dutch NGO (Weiss, 1996; Weiss & van Hoek, 2002), informed by past work in this realm (de Fossard, 1996, 1998; Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Singhal, Cody, Rogers, & Sabido, 2004).

The radio 'campaign' in Rwanda includes both the radio drama that has been broadcast weekly since May 2004 and monthly informational programs. Here we report on the former, whose effects have been evaluated by experimental field research. This radio drama has also been broadcast in Burundi since 2005. We will also describe the application of the approach to the Congo and a radio drama that began broadcasting there in early 2006. In addition to promoting healing, reconciliation, and the prevention of new violence, we aimed to develop a methodology, based on scholarship, which could serve as a prototype for broad-based social change efforts. In an age of genocides, mass killings, and intractable conflicts, and the great human suffering they create, effective psychologically informed media education in these realms is of great importance.

In the past, media have been used to promote hate and violence in many places (Hilberg, 1961; Thompson, 1999), including Rwanda where it had an important role in inciting genocide (des Forges, 1999; Mamdani, 2002). In the last decade, television and radio dramas have also been used to increase positive behavior. Media campaigns have been effective in increasing specific behaviors, such as participation in small literacy groups, or the use of contraception for HIV/AIDS prevention and family planning (Bandura, 2006; Rosin, 2006; Sabido, 1981, 2002), in part by increasing discussion between marriage partners (Rogers, Vaughan, Swalehe, Rao, Svenkerud, & Sood, 1999). A few radio dramas have aimed at preventing violence and promoting peace. A soap opera in Burundi created by Search for Common Ground (SFCG) in 1995 about the daily lives of two neighboring families, one Tutsi, another Hutu, was rated by

82% of respondents as having helped reconciliation. A television drama for children created by SFCG in Macedonia increased invitations by children of a child of another ethnicity into their homes from 30% to about 60% (Estes, 2006). Other programs have addressed individual violence (Harvard School of Public Health, 1994; Mediascope, 2003).

#### The Genocide and its Social, Political, and Psychological Aftermath in Rwanda

Starting on April 7, 1994, Hutus killed about 700,000 Tutsis, as well as about 50,000 politically moderate Hutus over a 100 day period (des Forges, 1999; Mamdani, 2002; Prunier, 1995). The perpetrators of this 'intimate genocide' (Staub & Pearlman, 2001) included parts of the military, young men in paramilitary groups, neighbors, and even family members in mixed families (des Forges, 1999; Mamdani, 2002; Straus, 2006).

The genocide evolved out of a past history of conflict, hostility, and violence between Tutsis (about 14% of the population) and Hutus (about 85%), with the suppression of Hutus by Tutsis, especially under Belgian colonial rule, a rebellion by Hutus in 1959, and repeated mass killings of Tutsis after that. A civil war that started in 1990 was followed by a peace agreement, but before it was instituted the genocide began, instigated by the ideology of 'Hutu power' (des Forges, 1999; Mamdani, 2002). With the world remaining passive, it continued until the Tutsi led rebel army defeated the government in July 1994 (des Forges, 1999; Staub, 1999a,b).

Since then the power has been in the hand of Tutsis, with many previous refugees returning. The government has initiated a policy of reconciliation, but also a policy of unity, demanding that people consider themselves Rwandans, and not use the terms Hutu and Tutsi. This policy does not allow Hutus to express their concerns and identity. The government has used the term 'divisionism' in part to limit political opposition and public discussion (Uvin, 2003). However, there are also positive processes, including equality in admission to education.

The project we describe, which developed out of seminars and workshops promoting healing and reconciliation, advocates among other things active bystandership, pluralism, and opposition to leaders who promote policies of devaluation and hostility.

The psychological aftermath of the genocide includes mental health problems such as widespread post-traumatic stress disorder and depression five years after the genocide (Bolton, 2001; Bolton, Neugebauer, & Ndogoni, 2002), high levels of trauma exposure and trauma symptoms (Staub et al., 2005), and very high rates of post-traumatic stress responses among children and adolescents, both one year after the genocide (79%) (Dyregrov et al., 2000) and ten years afterwards (57%) (Schaal & Elbert, 2006). Healing trauma is important to help people lead better lives. It is also crucial for preventing new violence, since the psychological wounds created by violence can lead members of both victim and perpetrator groups to engage in renewed violence (Staub, 2003, 2006; Staub & Pearlman, 2006).

#### An Approach to Healing and Reconciliation and its prior uses in Rwanda

The background for the psychoeducational content of the radio programs was developed in preparation for and during seminars in Rwanda for facilitators from local NGOs, journalists, community leaders, and high-level national leaders (Staub & Pearlman, 2006; Staub et al., 2005). The primary focus of the approach is on understanding, and promoting understanding in ways that enable people to apply information to their own experience. The resulting experiential understanding also has emotional consequences and is likely to affect behavior (Staub, 2006; Staub & Pearlman, 2006; Staub et al., 2005). The approach has four components.

1. Understanding the Impact of Group Violence and Avenues to Healing. Genocide, mass killing, and violent, intractable conflict create traumatized, psychologically wounded populations. Healing is important both to improve lives, and to make future violence less likely

(Staub, 2006; Staub & Pearlman, 2006; Staub et al., 2005).

In addition to trauma and mental health effects, survivors often experience a sense of vulnerability and mistrust and perceive the world as dangerous (Allen, 2001; Herman, 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Pearlman, 2001; Saakvitne et al., 2000). Under threatening conditions, this can lead to unnecessary defensive violence (Staub, 1998; Staub & Pearlman, 2006). Survivors may also experience feelings of hatred and the desire for revenge (Cardozo et al., 2003). Perpetrators also experience deep psychological disruption, as do, to some degree, members of the perpetrator group who are passive bystanders. Perpetrators tend to avoid feelings of responsibility, shame, and guilt by continuing to devalue and blame their victims, as do, to a lesser degree, passive members of the perpetrator group (Staub, 2006; Staub & Pearlman, 2006).

Helping people understand the traumatic impact of violence on themselves and on people around them as the normal consequence of extreme events can in itself be healing (Harris, 1998; Rice & Moller, 2006; Rivard et al., 2005). Learning about avenues to healing--talking about one's experiences under safe conditions, commemorations, and ceremonies--can enable people to help themselves and each other. In this project, we stress the RICH approach to trauma recovery--respect, information, connection, and hope--originally described in the Risking Connection trauma training curriculum (Saakvitne et al., 2000). While the most deeply injured people require more for trauma recovery, such information can empower members of a community and provide a starting point for people to help themselves and for neighbors to help each other.

2. Understanding the Influences that Lead to Mass Violence. The conception of the roots of group violence that has been employed in this work has been described in detail elsewhere (Staub, 1989, 1996, 2003, 2006). The influences leading to mass killing or genocide usually include difficult life conditions, group conflict, and especially their combination. These give rise

to scapegoating and destructive ideologies that identify enemies. They join with cultural characteristics such as a history of devaluation of another group, past victimization and unhealed wounds in the group, excessive respect for authority, and lack of pluralism that inhibits the expression of varied views, in leading a group to turn against another. The cultural characteristics make it unlikely that people question destructive leadership. Harmful actions evolve progressively, with 'steps along a continuum of destruction' (Staub, 1989): lesser acts such as increased discrimination and limited acts of violence change individuals and the group and create both greater hostility and more violence toward a victim group. The role of leaders and passive bystanders is important. These and other elements of the conception were formulated into twelve 'communication messages' that guided the creation of the educational content of the radio dramas (see Table I, below).

Understanding the roots of violence can help fulfill a basic psychological need for the comprehension of reality. Understanding points to the possibility of prevention and can create empowerment and resistance to the influences leading to violence. It can ease the negative attitudes of different groups toward each other, facilitating the beginning of reconciliation. By reinstating survivors' humanity (if it has happened to others, it is a human process, horrible as it is), and providing meaning through understanding how the violence came about and the possibility of engagement in prevention, learning about the origins of violence can also contribute to trauma healing.

3. Understanding Basic Psychological Needs. In this conception, the frustration of universal psychological needs in members of a society due to life problems or group conflict can give rise to destructive need fulfillment such as scapegoating and destructive ideologies. These include needs for security, a positive identity, feelings of effectiveness and control over

important events, feelings of connection to other people and groups, and an understanding of reality and one's own place in the scheme of things. Finding ways to respond to societal crises that fulfill these needs in constructive rather than destructive ways (Staub, 1989, 2003) is important for the prevention of violence, as well as for reconciliation.

4. Reconciliation and the Prevention of New Violence. A peaceful future depends on reconciliation between hostile groups, defined here as mutual acceptance by members of groups of each other, and the processes and structures that lead to and maintain that acceptance (Staub, 2006). Reconciliation is facilitated by moving toward establishing the complex truth of what has happened between the groups, creating a shared history in place of the conflicting views of the past, promoting processes of justice, fostering dialogue and significant engagement with each other by members of opposing groups, and in other ways (Staub, 2006). Learning about avenues to reconciliation can foster engagement in reconciliation processes.

5. Evaluation. In an early application of this approach, front-line social service providers who worked with community groups participated in a two-week long seminar/training. They made many statements indicating the positive effects of the training on them with regard to healing and empowering them for preventive actions. Afterwards, a controlled evaluation study assessed the effects of this training, not on the participants, but once removed, *on people with whom they subsequently worked* (Staub et al., 2005). In integrated groups, the trained facilitators led newly created community groups using a combination of this approach integrated with their traditional approach. In traditional groups, facilitators who had not attended the seminar used their traditional approach with newly created groups. In both of these groups, and in untreated control groups, participants completed questionnaires before, soon after, and two months after they participated in two-hour meetings, twice a week, for two months.

Participants in the integrated group had fewer trauma symptoms two months after the intervention, in comparison both to before the intervention and to the two other groups. They also showed in parallel comparisons greater ‘readiness to reconcile,’ as indicated by a more positive orientation to members of the other ethnic group, a more complex understanding of the origins of genocide, and greater ‘conditional forgiveness’ (Staub et al., 2005). These positive results led to the subsequent adaptation and use of this approach with journalists, community leaders, and national leaders (government ministers, heads of commissions, advisors to the President of Rwanda and members of Parliament) (Staub & Pearlman, 2006).

#### The Development of the Radio Programs: Communication Messages and the ‘Continuum’

Working with an international team of Rwandan writers, journalists, and support personnel and western radio producers who had both international and African experience, the authors developed communication messages, brief statements summarizing the educational content. The purpose of these messages was to guide the radio drama to provide understanding, role models, and examples of positive action (see Table I). We also developed a summary of our approach to understanding the influences that lead to mass violence, including material on prevention, healing, and reconciliation. This was intended to provide additional guidance to writers and producers of the radio drama. We hoped that if the writers and producers had a map of the ‘continuum’ of influences and steps through which mass violence usually evolves (Staub, 1989; 1996), they would be more effective in developing programs that promote understanding in listeners, affect attitudes and increase the likelihood of positive actions. (A few of the 13 parts of the continuum are shown in Table II as examples).

Tables I and II in here

*Musekweya (New Dawn)—A Radio Drama*

A radio drama about the genocide seemed potentially too painful and polarizing, and therefore not an effective means of public education in the service of healing, violence prevention, and reconciliation. The drama we created takes place in two neighboring fictitious villages. Some time before the drama opens, the authorities gave a shared fertile valley to one village, Bumanzi, which as a result has more food. One year there is a drought, creating hunger and suffering in the poorer village, Muhumuro. In addition, the daughter of Rutaganira, one of the villagers from Muhumuro, drowns in a creek that runs between the two villages, after people from the two villages had attempted to cooperate by building a bridge together. These difficult conditions create a sense of crises and open the way for the influence of destructive leadership. Rutaganira blames the other village for everything, becomes elected as the village headman, and instigates hostility and eventually an attack on Bumanzi.

These processes result in psychological woundedness and protracted hostility between the villages. In a justice process some people are sentenced, but Rutaganira is found innocent because some of the villagers of Bumanzi are too traumatized to testify, and the judge initially does not know enough about trauma to be sensitive to them. Angry and afraid, some of the villagers in Bumanzi instigate an attack on Muhumuro. They create such destruction that the villagers abandon their village.

The initial focus of the radio drama has been on understanding the roots of violence and its psychological impact on people. However, positive processes such as active bystandership have been present from the start. Some of the story's characters speak out against devaluation, attempt to stop hostility and violence and question bad leadership. Some foster healing by encouraging traumatized people to talk about their experiences and feelings, by empathically listening to them, and by including them in the community.

The positive bystanders in the drama include young people from the two villages. One of them is Batamuliza, the sister of Rutaganira. She steadfastly opposes the activities of her brother, who is also supported by their mother. One of the older ‘active bystanders,’ Muzatsinda, goes to a meeting that Rutaganira has organized to plan a second attack on Bumanzi and speaks out against the plan. When his house is burnt down, he vows to continue to do what he believes is right, to oppose the plans and actions against the other village. (A few examples of dialogue from *Musekeweya* are included in Table III).

Table III in here

After the attack by Bumanzi, which was partly in revenge, and partly the result of the villagers feeling that they must act to defend themselves from future attacks, the inhabitants of both villages show increased readiness (Pruitt, 2006) to work on issues between them. Starting in late 2006, voices of moderation take root in both villages and the process of reconciliation advances. The future plan for the program (the storyline that was developed) is to have a general crisis and outside violence threaten the region. The two villages then join as peacemakers, helping to prevent violence and at the same time furthering their own healing and reconciliation.

There are sub story lines and interesting characters. There is a love story between Butamaliza and Shema, a young man from the other village. Gihayama is a funny/wise village fool, who manages to highlight the bad conduct of Rutaganira and others.

After two and a half years, as the drama has moved to a primary focus on reconciliation, developing positive group relations and the prevention of violence, to foster the writers’ ability to create programs with a focus on these themes the communication messages (and supporting discussion and explanation of these messages) have been expanded (Staub et al., 2007). The new 35 messages put more focus on prevention, reconciliation, and trauma recovery. They have also

been expanded to increase their applicability to the situation of conflict and violence involving varied groups in the Congo. (See Table IV for the 8 themes under which the 35 messages were organized).

Table IV in here

#### The La Benevolencija Method to Produce Educational Dramas

The radio dramas are developed through a structured team process, defining the goals, developing a dramatic theme, and creating a storyline. First, Rwandan writers and other staff are trained in the conceptual material that guides the educational content, with periodic refresher trainings. Originally the whole team has developed the storyline; later special workshops were held to develop the main themes. The writers write synopses of episodes, embedding the communication messages in them, and then write the episodes—the weekly radio programs. Both are translated into English, for review of the fidelity of the psychological messages, editing, and revisions by the academic team. Professional local actors play the roles in the local language, Kinyarwanda. There are ‘listening groups’ in ten locations around the country, divided by gender and age for more open communication whose members give feedback on the radio drama, enhancing the cultural and psychological appropriateness and entertainment value (Fisher, 2004).

The theory that guides the educational programs has many ‘universal’ elements. However, each conflict and post-conflict situation has unique elements, requiring appropriate application of the theory and, at times, additional theoretical elements. Applications must consider characteristics of the culture, the history of group relations, current social conditions, and so on (Staub, 2006). Creating a new drama series for the Democratic Republic of the Congo has required application to conditions different from Rwanda and some elaboration of the theory.

Learning through the Media

There are many ways that people can learn from radio dramas (Bandura, 2006; de Fossard, 1996; 1998; Singhal & Rogers, 1999; Slater & Rouner, 2002). Knowledge can be gained and attitudes and values affected by what characters say and do, including the consequences of their actions, the beliefs they express, and what they say to themselves (self-reinforcement) (Bandura, 2006). Listeners can learn from the actors' feelings about their own and others' actions (Sabido, 2002). They can learn that failures can be overcome through persistence. Audiences can learn from the overall meaning and messages of the story. The way characters engage with their feelings provides listeners with the opportunity for emotional learning, for example, expressing and then overcoming difficulty in talking about painful experiences. Support and interest by other characters helps them talk about these experiences, modeling a 'person-to-person' approach to trauma recovery. Acting in spite of fear and other feelings expressed by the characters that might inhibit the 'right' actions further communicates values and principles, as well as providing models of moral (and at times physical) courage (see the actions of Muzatsinda, described above, and the example in Table III).

Beyond education through the words and the actions of specific characters, radio, like television, can shape social consciousness, the way people think about reality (Gerbner et al., 1994). For example, very strong respect for authority is one of the characteristics of societies that have engaged in mass killing or genocide (Staub, 1989). In *Musekweya*, the words and actions of characters make it clear that people can challenge a destructive leader and thereby benefit the group. This can foster people's use of their own judgment, rather than blindly accepting what authorities tell them. Such change in many people represents culture change.

#### Evaluation of *Musekweya*

Surveys of the potential radio listening audience about all radio programs in Rwanda

have shown that *Musekweya* is highly popular. 94% of the population listens to radio and 89% of women and 92% of men who listen to radio are listening to *Musekweya* some of the time, with a substantial percentage listening regularly. La Benevolencija has conducted public events in various parts of the country, with about 10,000 people attending one event, about 6,000 attending another. There are many indicators of popularity of *Musekweya* among older children and adolescents, who know the names of the characters and their psychological situation (e.g., who is traumatized) and discuss the programs with their parents (Paluck, 2006).

Formal evaluations of the impact of the radio drama both after one year (Paluck & Green, 2005; see also Paluck, 2007) and two years (Paluck, 2006) were conducted, with a third year evaluation planned. Evaluation is challenging when a whole country is exposed to the same programs, which was the case in Rwanda where Radio Rwanda, the only radio station at the start of our broadcasts, covered the whole country.

Using a field experimental design, Paluck and Green (2005; Paluck, 2007) randomly assigned six of 12 communities to listen to *Musekweya* and the remaining six to serve as a comparison group who listened to another radio soap opera that addressed health issues. The listeners in each community were randomly selected from the entire community, with an equal representation of men and women, older and younger people. Treatment groups were created in six communities, and control groups in six communities were paired with treatment groups on regional and demographic characteristics. The treatment group members agreed to meet once a month for a year to listen together to taped segments of the four weekly programs of *Musekweya*. The control group members agreed to meet once a month to listen together to tapes of a different, unrelated, radio drama about health issues, with a promise not to listen to *Musekweya* in the course of the year. Both groups were promised a set of tapes and radios so

they could listen to the programs (in the case of the treatment group a second time) at the end of the year. While Paluck and Green have checked in various ways and believe that control groups members lived up to their agreement, we cannot be certain of the extent to which they did so. The differences between groups reported below would have been presumably *reduced* to the extent that control group members listened to Musekeweya. At the end of the year, knowledge, attitudes, and practices (or behaviors) were evaluated using questionnaires/interviews, role plays in which participants were to complete scenes related to the content of the radio drama, focus groups, and an unobtrusive measure of communal discussion.

In the first-year evaluation, people exposed to treatment said they were less likely to advise their children to marry only people in their own groups, and more likely to agree that intermarriage can shift social norms. (Statements of more likely or less likely refer to statistically significant differences). They were more likely to express empathy for various groups, such as prisoners, survivors, the poor, and leaders. They expressed greater belief in the importance of trust. While there was a tendency to see mistrust in their community, those exposed to *Musekeweya* perceived a somewhat higher level of trust. In focus groups, however, they were more likely to express their belief publicly that there was mistrust in the community, which together with other indicators suggested that they were more ready to speak out about difficult issues in the community. They were, for example, much less likely to endorse the statement, ‘If I disagree with something that someone is doing or saying, I keep quiet.’ In suggesting ways to build trust in the community, those in the treatment group were more likely to focus on issues of group interaction and relations, those in the control group more likely to focus on the role of authorities. Members of the treatment group believed more in talking about past experiences as a way to heal trauma. In the course of role plays, when someone needed help, members of the

treatment groups, especially males, acted more punitively toward bystanders who were slow in providing help, and were also more likely to enact restorative justice for victims. Perhaps not surprisingly, people's willingness to interact with those who had perpetrated violence against them (i.e., with perpetrators), did not increase as a result of listening to *Musekeweya* for a year.

An additional important finding emerged in the last session. The participants received tapes of the whole year of *Musekeweya* programs and were invited to decide what to do with them. The experimenters recorded their discussions during a good-bye party as an unobtrusive measure of behavior. Participants in the control groups speedily decided that they would give the radio and tapes to the village authority, who would administer their use. Participants in the treatment groups engaged in longer, lively discussion, arguing that the group should be responsible collectively or should elect one of its members to administer their use. Statistical analyses indicated that treatment groups discussed this 'communal dilemma longer, and debated more viewpoints on how to share it' and made 'more positive comments about the group's ability to cooperate on this communal task' (Paluck & Green, 2005; Paluck, 2007).

The second year evaluation of the program was based on 425 interviews (Paluck, 2006). Three hundred seventy of these were with participants from the previous year's treatment and control groups, who were now free to listen to the programs as they wished. Participants were also categorized according to their self-reported frequency of listening to the programs, which was validated primarily by their knowledge of themes and characters. Fifty-five interviews were with elite members of the same communities. Significantly more members of the treatment group, 87%, reported that they had listened to *Musekeweya* during the second year, compared to 73% of control group members, and they also reported more often that they listened each week (71 versus 50%). Treatment group members liked the program more and knew more of the

characters in the program. Eighty-nine percent of the elite reported that they listened to the program and 50% reported that they listened each week. The treatment groups listening to the program seemed to expand into the community in a variety of ways—through discussions of the program (see below) and members of elites listening more often in communities with treatment groups that listened to *Musekweya* during the first year.

The primary effect of the program was not in creating formal knowledge, the ability to reproduce the communication messages (also true in year one). Listeners were aware that unity and reconciliation was a message—however, unity and reconciliation are highly familiar concepts, promulgated by the government. Another message they noted was love—both love and respect between neighbors, and romantic love, a sub-theme of the story. A third message, cited by 21% of the listeners, was justice. Nineteen percent cited the program message that ‘teaches that sharing, working together, and cooperation can lead to reconciliation’ (Paluck, 2006, p. 24).

More regular listeners agreed more in year two that it is difficult for traumatized people to testify before the *gacaca*, the community courts set up to try accused genocide perpetrators. The progressive evolution of violence is an important theme in *Musekweya*, and regular listeners agreed less that violence comes about suddenly. On a number of statements, it was unclear whether the responses indicated greater willingness by regular listeners to be truthful about their attitudes, or whether the conflict and violence in the radio drama had an at least temporarily negative effect. People who regularly listened to the program were less likely to agree to share a beer with a person from the other group if that person had been alone with the open bottle. This question touches on longstanding, widely held fears in the society about people poisoning each other. Regular listeners were more likely to agree that there is mistrust in their village between groups—which, from all indications, is a fact of life. They were also more likely

to express concern about the return of prisoners to their communities, tens of thousands of whom have been released from prison starting in early 2003.

Paluck suggests that these findings are part of the ‘growing picture from years one and two that listening to *Musekweya* prompts critical thinking and open discussion’ (2006, p. 39). Our experience in Rwanda over many years has provided many examples of the strong respect for authority there, with people tending to say what they believe they are expected to say. Such lack of pluralism and strong respect for authority are common antecedents of genocide and mass killing (Staub, 1989) and were likely antecedents in Rwanda (Staub, 1999). *Musekweya* aims to promote pluralism, the expression of varied views and beliefs, and open discussion. If the above explanation is correct, this effect of *Musekweya* has great importance.

People regularly listening to *Musekweya* were significantly more likely to say that they participated in reconciliation activities. While people who listened less or were former members of control groups primarily told *others* to participate in reconciliation activities, those who were members of the treatment group or listened more reported that they were more likely to act *themselves*. They engaged in discussion with neighbors, with people who harmed them or whom they harmed, apologizing or engaging in acts of good will, including restitution. Paluck (2006) found that *Musekweya* prompted many discussions about the program, which may have been an avenue to change. Children, who showed great interest in the program, often initiated discussions with their parents. The differences that were found in year one between control and treatment participants may have been reduced by such community discussions to which control group participants were exposed.

Among the many ways people’s perceptions of norms change is identification with characters in the program. Forty percent of regular listeners reported a personal connection to

Batumuliza, a prime active bystander and peace activist. An interesting object for identification was Rutaganira, the instigator of violence in his village. Many listeners identified with being his victim, but one person said 'I identify with Rutaganira because he did wrong like we did in 1994' (Paluck, 2006, p. 51). Respondents mentioned only a few times the characters in the program who were traumatized, which may suggest a need for more emphasis on trauma and healing. Alternatively, people may be avoiding reminders of trauma in this deeply wounded society.

The cumulative impact of the program will be assessed in a third year evaluation, late in 2007. The radio drama will continue at least into a fourth year, probably longer. One of our aims is to evaluate the ideal duration of such a public education project. Another is to assess the contribution of an element we plan to add in 2008, to use the radio drama and other radio programs to involve the population in 'grassroots' activities promoting reconciliation.

#### Extension/Application of the Approach to the Congo

Since early 2005, Musekewya has been broadcast in Burundi, which has the same language and has experienced several decades of conflict and mass violence between the same ethnic groups, Hutus and Tutsis. In early 2006, in response to the intense violence and their aftermath in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Radio La Benevolencija began to broadcast a radio drama in the Congo. The conflicts in the Congo involve multiple parties and groups and have revolved around matters of territory, tribes and ethnicity, power and wealth, with the involvement of external parties as well. A different educational drama series has been created for the Congo, adapting both the storyline and the educational content.

Rwanda at first helped to overthrow Mobutu's government in the Congo. Then it helped to create and support Tutsi militias, fighting against groups formed by former 'genocidaires' who escaped to the Congo, and who were later supported by the government of the Congo. Uganda

supported Rwandan efforts in the Congo, while other countries engaged on the government's side. Then Rwanda and Uganda became hostile to each other and began to support opposing groups fighting each other. As violence spread, militias local to particular communities were also formed. There has been no genocide, but a great deal of violence involving many groups and militias, disease and hunger, with an estimate of over three million people dead. While the fighting militias had varied aims, they have been organized primarily along ethnic and tribal divisions, with some alliances bridging these divisions.

The involvement of Rwanda stemmed from many of the perpetrators of genocide escaping into the Congo, and then raiding Rwanda and killing Tutsis. In addition to Hutus escaping into the Congo, there have been both Hutu and Tutsi populations in the Congo, as a result of the Belgians resettling Rwandese there during their colonial rule. There has been hostility and violence between Hutu and Tutsi populations and the militias they organized, but also between indigenous local groups, and between local populations and those who were of Rwandese origin. In recent years, therefore, Hutus and Tutsis in the Congo at times joined together in 'Rwandaphone' groups, fighting indigenous Congolese groups. While people certainly joined in various militias in part for psychological reasons, such as the need for security, affirmation of their identity, connection to other people and feelings of effectiveness, the groups also have fought for power, and for wealth through the exploitation of the rich natural resources of the Congo. By promoting understanding, healing, and reconciliation, the public education program aims to help people address the general insecurity, fear, and issues of identity in constructive ways. These at least in part fuel the divisions and hostility between groups and the violent competition for economic resources in the DRC.

The radio drama in the Congo, 'Kumbuka Kesho' ('Remember Tomorrow') represents

the local realities. Groups in a fictitious town, belonging to different invented ethnic groups, are in conflict over power and rights. For example, there is conflict over who can sell in the marketplace, and about the fees that people belonging to different groups have to pay for the right to sell in the marketplace. Cholera strikes the town, with people in one ethnic group blaming the unsanitary practices of members of the other group for it. Leaders belonging to the different ethnic groups vie for influence and power. The drama shows changes in a young boy whose widowed mother loses her stall in the marketplace. The economic and social consequences move him to turn to a group that engages in increasingly antisocial and violent acts. While the drama in its first year has focused on the roots of violence between groups, it has also introduced positive active bystanders working for reconciliation and peace.

At first, media representatives from the DRC worked with the existing educational messages and adapted them, with minor changes, to the situation in their country. But applications to existing conditions ought to be based on theories attuned to those conditions. Therefore, some elements of the theory were elaborated, and appropriate communication messages were derived from them. An important elaboration was a greater focus on the roots of conflict, and the relationship between material and psychological bases of conflict. The relevant communication messages identify both material and psychological bases of conflict. They also indicate that conflicts that start as material (e.g., the right to land, water, and so on) usually become psychological as well (whose identity is valued, who is moral, issues of trust and mistrust, and so on) (Bar-Tal, 2000; Kelman & Fisher, 2003; Kriesberg, 1998) (see Table IV). The communication messages were accompanied by text that explains and exemplifies the messages in order to help the writers and producers incorporate more in-depth educational content into the drama series (Staub et al., 2007).

### Conclusions

The evaluations of the radio drama suggest that while listeners were not able to formulate or reproduce our communication messages, the messages affected them in important ways. These include listeners' greater tendency to be active, to discuss issues, to name problems. Problems are difficult to resolve if people are unable to acknowledge and engage with them. Listeners also rely less on authorities and participate more in reconciliation activities. A population that passively accepts leadership can more easily be led to hostility and violence, especially in the case of group conflict or when difficult life conditions develop. There seems to have been a spread of the effects of the radio drama, which has also been found in other media projects, possibly as a result of extensive discussion of it in the population. The apparent success of the radio drama offers us cautious confidence of the potential of its use in prevention and reconciliation.

To foster a deep understanding of the influences that lead to group violence, in the first two years the radio drama in Rwanda focused on hostile acts by the two villages. As a result, the positive characters have not met with success in eliminating violence and promoting reconciliation. It is realistic, in a country with the history of Rwanda, to show that positive change is difficult to accomplish. While the programs had positive and even impressive impact, their effects may have been moderated by this lack of success of positive bystanders.

Any intervention that attempts to promote social change will be affected by the political context. To some degree, the messages in these programs are supported by government emphasis on unity and reconciliation. But these programs and government policies are also in conflict. The ideology propagated by the government and supported by policies and practices is that the Belgian colonizers artificially created the divisions between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda, and

that there are no groups in Rwanda, only Rwandans. Those who talk about differences or issues between the groups are accused of divisionism and may have problems with the authorities. In contrast, our programs model open discussion of issues, a plurality of views, individuals using their judgment and, if necessary, opposing the views and practices of authority. This divergence between program content and government ideology and policy may have affected our results.

Working with local writers, receiving and using input from the local listener groups, and all long (including the work that preceded the radio programs, Staub and Pearlman, 2006) using local ‘cultural consultants,’ were probably crucial in creating the popularity of the radio drama in Rwanda. We hope that the cultural sensitivity in the manner of our presentation of information, ideas, and examples of behavior will contribute to their long-term influence.

We also hope that the conceptual and methodological approach presented here will be useful to others. The approach focuses on both prevention and reconciliation. The latter can be important in prevention, before there is significant violence between hostile groups. Thus, the approach should be useful, with appropriate adaptation, both in ‘post-conflict’ settings and before significant violence has occurred between groups.

Table I. Communication Messages of the Rwanda Radio Campaign\*

1. Life problems in a society frustrate basic needs and can lead to scapegoating and destructive ideologies.
2. Genocide evolves as individuals and groups change as a result of their actions.
3. Devaluation increases the likelihood of violence while humanization decreases it.
4. The healing of psychological wounds helps people live more satisfying lives and makes unnecessary defensive violence less likely.
5. Passivity facilitates the evolution of harm doing whereas actions by people inhibit it.
6. Varied perspectives, open communication, and moderate respect for authority in society make the evolution of violence less likely.
7. Justice is important for healing and reconciliation.
8. Significant connections and deep engagement between people belonging to different groups help people overcome devaluation and hostility and promote positive relations.
9. Trauma can be understood.
10. It is important to tell one's trauma story and there is a way to tell it that is emotionally safe and constructive.
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.
12. Healing is a slow process.

\*Each of these messages was elaborated, specifying the attitudes and behaviors related to the message that the radio programs were designed to promote.

Table II. An Abbreviated Version of the ‘Continuum’ of the Origins (and Prevention) of Violence--Material Used by Writers and Producers of the Radio Dramas.

1. Difficult life conditions lead to the frustration of basic, universal, psychological needs --for a sense of security, feelings of effectiveness and control over important events, feelings of positive identity, connection to other people, and an understanding of the world and one’s own place in it. These difficult life conditions can be severe economic problems especially economic deterioration, political disorganisation, persistent conflict between groups, or great and rapid societal/cultural change.

War is also a ‘difficult life condition,’ .....in the sense that it has some of the same psychological effects...(It also) ... represents a step along the continuum of destruction— violence has already evolved, which makes additional and even greater violence easier..

As basic, universal, psychological needs of whole groups of people are frustrated by difficult life conditions, they start to engage in individual and group psychological and social processes that satisfy these needs to some degree (such as scapegoating and creating ideologies), but do not address the underlying real life problems, and fulfil basic need in destructive ways.

2. In response to such life conditions, individuals turn to a group. They can gain, thereby, in place of a diminished identity, a more positive identity as group members, feelings of connection to other people, and very importantly feelings of physical and psychological security. The groups that people turn to can be their nation, their ethnic or religious group, an ideological movement, or some combination of these.

3. The leaders people turn to in such difficult times .....are often are in the vanguard of identifying another group as responsible for the difficult life conditions, whether economic, political, or other kinds.

4. The group, and its leaders also create an ideology—a vision of society, of social arrangement that provides people with hope in difficult times. ....The ideology often has a positive element (such as total social equality, the ideology of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia). However, it is destructive because it identifies some group that stands in the way of the ideology's fulfilment.

5. As perpetrators begin to harm the other group, psychologically, spiritually and physically, they justify their actions by seeing the other in a more and more negative way..... In the end, the devaluation of the other can become so intense that the 'other' is excluded from the human and moral realm, and eliminating the group and its members is seen as the right, moral thing to do. Harmful actions and violence lead to more harmful actions and greater violence. People learn by doing, change through their own actions. Individuals change, norms and standards of conduct of the group change, institutions are created that serve violence. There is an evolution of increasing harmdoing and violence—'steps along a continuum of destruction.'

6. The role of bystanders (both members of the population, internal bystanders, and outside groups and nations or external bystanders) is crucial. Their passivity affirms the perpetrators.. (and also).. reinforces the passivity of other bystanders. In the course of the evolution passive bystanders change: to reduce their empathic distress, they tend to distance themselves from the victims. Some join the perpetrators.

(Cultural characteristics that make group violence under 'instigating conditions' more likely).

7. A past history of division between groups .....with a history of devaluation of some group.., often accompanied by discrimination. This group then becomes the scapegoated group/the ideological enemy.

The group perpetrating the devaluation and harmdoing has itself suffered and was traumatised in the past. The existence of unhealed psychological and social wounds makes the group feel vulnerable...the world look like a dangerous place (so that the group) needs to defend itself.

8 The society...promote(s) overly strong respect for authority, in part by hierarchical social arrangements. ...leaders... are less likely to face questioning and opposition.

9 ... a monolithic society with lack of pluralism and/or exclusion of devalued groups from public discussion (so that) opposition to the destructive ideology and the increasing harm done to the other group (is less likely).

10. When extreme violence takes place in a society, the victims (survivors) are traumatized, psychologically wounded (as are) the perpetrators ... by their actions, and even the passive members of the perpetrator group. Without healing, their psychological wounds make reconciliation more difficult and new violence in response to new threat or conflict more likely.

11. To make the psychological and social processes that create the evolution of antagonism and violence less likely, it is important for people to understand the influences and processes that lead to violence. This increases the capacity to resist those processes. To prevent violence and overcome antagonism it is important to humanize groups and their members that have been devalued; to create inclusive ideologies that bring all groups together to realistically address life

problems or resolve and move beyond conflict; for groups and their members to heal from past victimization and other group trauma; to create societies that are pluralistic, with moderate respect for authority; and for individual members of society to join together and be active bystander who oppose destructive policies and practices as well as leaders who advocate them; and for outside groups and nations to also be active bystanders.

Table III. Examples from *Musekeweya*

(Awkwardness in the language below is the result of translation from Kinyarwanda into English)

Concept: Do not overgeneralize negative statements from individuals to a whole group:

‘MUGENGA: Gihana, you’d better leave now ... stop talking nonsense! I can’t imagine how you could defend those rumor mongers. Who told you to go and befriend Muhumuro people?!

GIHANA: Mugenga, you shouldn’t use such a sweeping statement. Don’t blame them all for the actions of a few.’

Concept: Help refugees to return home:

‘GIHANA: Mugenga, don’t be so cruel. It would be unfair to say that their fleeing was not justified. They fled because their lives were at risk. They have now expressed their will to come back but we have deprived them of that chance! We should show a sense of humanity and allow them to return.’

Concept: Talk with the person who initiated the violence:

‘BAPFAKURERA: Muzatsinda, why are you so scared?

MUZATSINDA: I’m not. I am only wondering .... It is as if you didn’t know Rutaginara! We may go to his house and he will ignore us, or worse!

BAPFAKURERA: Let’s try and see. Without dialogue, things cannot change. It’s our only hope. We shall decide what to do after we have talked to him!’

Concept: Person-to-person approach to trauma recovery:

‘ANASITAZIYA: (Whispering) I request you not to take her seriously, Mukahirwa. Yuliana is again traumatized because of the problems we have and that those we ran away to don’t trust us. She spent the whole of last night crying, up to now!

MUKAHIRWA: (Sad) it is understandable, Anastaziya! Very few people are capable of

overcoming such an upsetting situation. Her being traumatized is understandable!

ANASITAZIYA: Yes, but who cares about her weeping! She'd better bear it courageously. She can't do anything about it!

MUKAHIRWA: Let her cry ... it might help her feel better, you know ... as you say indeed, nobody cares about her plight!

YULIYANA: (Weeping) at least you understand me, Mukahirwa!

Concept: Active bystandership

(The underlying issue here is that Kigingi and his family don't have money to pay the tuition and he was asked to leave his school).

'HIRWA: (*Upset*) Kigingi, let me tell you! Let's go and see the Headmaster together. I will help you explain to him about your problems. You never know! He may forgive you!

KIGINGI: Hirwa, to be honest, I can't dare go back in front of him!

HIRWA: No! Come on! He is a parent and he knows that problems can occur!

KIGINGI: I have a lot of fear! You go first and you will get in first!

HIRWA: Don't play such a childish game. He can't do you any harm. He knows that you are not the architect of the problems you have gone through.

KIGINGI: (*Gets scared*) Hirwa, if he asks me why I haven't left when he has already warned me against delaying to leave, what shall I respond? (*Frightened*) Look! He must have seen me!!

HIRWA: (*Pushing him*) Don't halt. Let's go and tell him about your problems. He may understand!

Table IV. The 8 Themes of the 35 Expanded Communication Messages for Public Education in Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo

1. Types of conflict between groups
2. Origins of violence between groups
3. Evolution, passive bystanders, and other influences leading to extreme violence
4. Cultural/societal characteristics that increase the likelihood of violence
5. The prevention of hostility and violence between groups
6. The psychological consequences of intractable ethnic conflict and violence for all parties
7. Psychological healing and recovery
8. Reconciliation between groups after mass violence

## References

- Allen, J.G. (2001). Traumatic relationships and serious mental disorders. Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Bandura, A. (2006). Going global with social cognitive theory: From prospect to paydirt. In S.I. Donaldson, D.E. Berger, & K. Pezdek (Eds.), Applied psychology: New frontiers and rewarding careers (pp.53-79). Mahwah, N.J. Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bolton, P. (2001). Local perceptions of the mental health effects of the Rwandan genocide. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 188, 243-248.
- Bolton, P., Neugebauer, R., & Ndogoni, L. (2002). Prevalence of depression in rural Rwanda based on symptoms and functional criteria. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 190, 631-637.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2000). Shared beliefs in a society: Social psychological analysis. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Cardozo, B.L., Kaiser, R., Cotway, C.A., & Agani, F. (2003). Mental health, social functioning, and feelings of hatred and revenge of Kosovar Albanians one year after the war in Kosovo. Journal of Traumatic Stress, 16, 351-360.
- Chorbajian, L., & Shirinian, G. (1999). Studies in comparative genocide. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- de Fossard, E. (1996). How to write a radio serial drama for social development: A script writer's manual, Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs [On-line]. Available: <http://www.jhuccp.org/pubs/fg/3/>
- de Fossard, E. (1998). How to design and produce a radio serial drama for social development: A program manager's guide, Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs [On-

- line]. Available: [http://www.jhucp.org/pubs/pub\\_results.php](http://www.jhucp.org/pubs/pub_results.php)
- des Forges, A. (1999). Leave none to tell the story: Genocide in Rwanda. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Dyregrov, A., Gupta, L., Gjestad, R., & Mukanoheli, E. (2000). Trauma exposure and psychological reactions to genocide among Rwandan children. Journal of Traumatic Stress, 13, 3-21.
- Estes, C. (2006, June). Can Soap Operas Save the World? Yes! Magazine [On-line]. Available: [sfcgupdate@sfcg.org](mailto:sfcgupdate@sfcg.org)
- Herman, J.L. (1992). Trauma and recovery: The aftermath of violence from domestic abuse to political terror. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Fisher S. (2004, September 26-30). Tuning into different wavelengths: Listener clubs for effective Rwandan radio reconciliation programmes. Paper presented at the Fourth International Conference on Entertainment-Education and Social Change, Cape Town, SA.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. (1994). Growing up with television: The cultivation perspective. In J. Bryant & D. Zillman (Eds.), Media effects: Advances in theory and research (pp. 17-41). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Harris, M. (1998). TREM: Trauma recovery and empowerment: A clinician's guide to working with women in groups. New York: The Free Press.
- Harvard School of Public Health Center for Health Communication (1994). The 'Squash It!' campaign to prevent youth violence. Available: <http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/chc/squashit.html>.
- Hilberg, R. (1961). The destruction of the European Jews. New York: Harper & Row.

- Kelman, H.C., & Fisher, R.J. (2003). Conflict analysis and resolution. In D.O. Sears, L. Huddy, & R. Jervis (Eds.), Oxford handbook of political psychology (pp. 315-353). Oxford: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Kriesberg, L. (1998). Intractable conflicts. In E. Weiner (Ed.), The handbook of interethnic coexistence (pp. 332-342). New York: Continuum.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). Building peace: Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Mamdani, M. (2002). When victims become killers. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- McCann, I.L., & Pearlman, L.A. (1990). Psychological trauma and the adult survivor: Theory, therapy, and transformation. New York, NY: Brunner/Mazel.
- Mediascope (2003, November 13). Shows and storylines: A sample listing, February 2003; major programs and initiatives: Entertainment industry projects. Available: <http://www.mediascope.org>.
- Paluck, E. L. (2006). The second year of a 'New Dawn': Year two evidence for the impact of the Rwanda reconciliation radio drama Musekeweya. Evaluation report for La Benevolencija Great Lakes Reconciliation project. Unpublished manuscript.
- Paluck, E.L. (2007). Reconciling Intergroup Prejudice and Violence with the Mass Media: A Field Experiment in Rwanda. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University.
- Paluck, E.L., & Green, D. (2005). Reducing ethnic conflict through the mass media: Evidence from a randomized controlled field experiment in Rwanda. Unpublished manuscript.
- Pearlman, L.A. (2001). The treatment of persons with complex PTSD and other trauma-related disruptions of the self. In J.P. Wilson, M.J. Friedman, & J.D. Lindy (Eds.), Treating

- psychological trauma & PTSD (pp. 205-236). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Pruitt, D.C. (2006). Some research frontiers in the study of conflict and its resolution. In M. Deutsch, P.T. Coleman, E.C. Marcus (Eds.), The handbook of conflict resolution: Theory and practice, (pp.849-869). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- Prunier, G. (1995). The Rwanda crisis: History of a genocide. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rice, M.J., & Moller, M.D. (2006). Wellness outcomes of trauma psychoeducation. Archives of Psychiatric Nursing, 20, 94-102.
- Rivard, J.C., Bloom, S.L., McCorkle, D., & Abramovitz, R. (2005). Preliminary results of a study examining the implementation and effects of a trauma recovery framework for youths in residential treatment. Therapeutic Community: The International Journal of Therapeutic Support Organizations, 26, 83-96.
- Rogers, E.M., Vaughan, P.W., Swalehe, R.M.A., Rao, N., Svenkerud, P., & Sood, S. Effects of an entertainment-education radio soap opera on family planning behavior in Tanzania. Studies in Family Planning, 30, 193-211.
- Rosin, H. (2006, June 5). Life lessons. The New Yorker, 40-46
- Saakvitne, K.W., Gamble, S.G., Pearlman, L.A., & Lev, B.T (2000). Risking connection: A training curriculum for working with survivors of childhood abuse. Lutherville, MD: Sidran Foundation and Press.
- Sabido, M. (1981). Towards the social use of soap operas. Mexico City, Mexico: Institute for Communication Research.
- Sabido M. (2002). El tono (The tone). Mexico City, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico.

- Schaal, S., & Elbert, T. (2006). Ten years after the genocide: Trauma confrontation and posttraumatic stress in Rwandan adolescents. Journal of Traumatic Stress, *19*, 95-105.
- Singhal, A., Cody, M.J., Rogers, E.M., & Sabido, M. (2004). Entertainment-education and social change: History, research, and practice. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Singhal, A., & Rogers, E.M. (1999). Entertainment-education: A communication strategy for social change. Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Slater, M.D., & Rouner, D. (2002). Entertainment-education and elaboration likelihood: Understanding the processing of narrative persuasion. Communication Theory, *12*, 173-191.
- Staub, E. (1989). The roots of evil: The origins of genocide and other group violence. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Staub, E. (1996). Cultural-societal roots of violence: The examples of genocidal violence and of contemporary youth violence in the United States. American Psychologist, *51*:17-132.
- Staub, E. (1998). Breaking the cycle of genocidal violence: Healing and reconciliation. In J. Harvey (Ed.), Perspectives on loss, pp. 231-241. Washington, DC.
- Staub, E. (1999a). The origins and prevention of genocide, mass killing and other collective violence. Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, *5*, 303-337.
- Staub, E. (1999b). The roots of evil: Personality, social conditions, culture and basic human needs. Personality and Social Psychology Review, *3*, 179-192.
- Staub E. (2000). Genocide and mass killing: Origins, prevention, healing, and reconciliation. Political Psychology, *21*, 367-382.
- Staub, E. (2003). The psychology of good and evil: Why children, adults, and groups help and harm others. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

- Staub, E. (2006). Reconciliation after genocide, mass killing, or intractable conflict: Understanding the roots of violence, psychological recovery, and steps toward a general theory. Political Psychology, 27, 867-894.
- Staub, E., & Pearlman, L.A. (2001). Healing, reconciliation, and forgiving after genocide and other collective violence. In S.J. Helmick, G. Raymond, & R.L. Petersen (Eds.), Forgiveness and reconciliation: Religion, public policy and conflict transformation (pp. 205-229). Radnor, PA: Templeton Foundation.
- Staub, E., & Pearlman, L.A. (2006). Advancing healing and reconciliation. In R. Sternberg & L. Barbanel (Eds.), Psychological interventions in times of crisis (pp. 213-243). New York: Springer Publishing Co., Inc.
- Staub, E., Pearlman, L.A., Bilali, R., Haven, T., & Vollhardt, J. (2007). The origins of intractable conflict and mass violence, the prevention of violence, the impact of violence, psychological healing and recovery, and reconciliation after mass violence: Communication messages and guidance in application in public education in East Africa. Unpublished manuscript.
- Staub, E., Pearlman, L.A., Gubin, A., & Hagengimana, A. (2005). Healing, reconciliation, forgiving, and the prevention of violence after genocide or mass killing: An intervention and its experimental evaluation in Rwanda. Journal of Clinical and Social Psychology, 24, 297-334.
- Straus, S. (2006). The order of genocide: Race, power and war in Rwanda. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Thompson, M. (1999). Forging war: The media in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina. London: Article 19.

Totten, S., Parsons, W.S., & Charny, I.W. (Eds.). (1997). Century of genocide. New York: Garland Publishing.

Uvin, P. (2003). Wake up: Some policy proposals for the international community in Rwanda. Unpublished manuscript. Tufts University, Boston, MA.

Weiss, G. (1996). Programmpapier Radio Benevolencija. Unpublished manuscript.

Weiss, G., & van Hoek, A. (2002). Rwanda reconciliation radio. Unpublished manuscript.