

Helpdesk Research Report

Sending messages to reduce violent conflict

Sumedh Rao

08.01.2014

Question

Identify literature on interventions that send messages, such as through advertising, to change attitudes, norms and behaviour about violent conflict. Where possible identify whether these interventions have been effective and what have been the conceptual models behind them.

Contents

1. Overview
2. Approaches to sending messages to reduce violent conflict
3. Case studies
4. Lessons learned on sending messages to reduce violent conflict
5. References

1. Overview

Research for this helpdesk report did not find a specific body of literature focused on sending messages to change attitudes, norms and behaviour about violent conflict. Rather, there is a wide range of literature that covers interventions to address conflict, which include the sending of messages in one form or another, and often as part of a wider strategy. This report explores the substantial literature on such multi-faceted interventions so as to identify the influence and effectiveness of the message-sending component.

Sending messages through media campaigns has been effective in other sectors, most notably in relation to health issues, but though there are examples where sending messages impacts on attitudes, norms and behaviour, there is no conclusive evidence that by itself it causes such changes. Sending messages is likely to only be effective in conjunction with a comprehensive approach involving a wider range of activities, such as dialogue or training.

The **media**, such as newspapers, radio and television, are the main way that messages to change attitudes and behaviour are communicated in campaigns. In conflict situations, the media does not necessarily always either promote or prevent conflict, but still acts as an important, influential force in most societies. The media can help inform decisions and counteract hateful and violent messages, but can also undermine peacebuilding processes. There is no single way that the media affects audiences, and the media cannot 'inject' behaviours or attitudes into people's minds but rather affects the formation of attitudes and beliefs which in turn impact on behaviour.

In addition to media interventions, two approaches to sending messages were identified that seem of particular relevance. **Social marketing** is a notable approach that involves adapting commercial marketing to improve the welfare of individuals and society. Social marketing campaigns have been effective in changing attitudes and behaviour in relation to violence against women, particularly when complimented by a broader approach. Research for this report was not able to identify literature which applied social marketing approaches to general violent conflict.

Another popular approach has been to include educational messages in entertainment programmes, in particular in radio soap operas. This **education-entertainment** approach can change social and political norms to influence behaviour by allowing individuals to work through scenarios indirectly. Such programmes may also lead to group discussion which can further reinforce norm changes as well as leading to a shared 'social cognition'.

A number of case studies were identified that cover multi-faceted interventions and include a messaging component. Some, but not all, of these case studies involve the media and aspects of social marketing and education-entertainment approaches. These case studies provide some conclusions about sending messages to reduce conflict:

- **Burundi: Radio programmes for conflict transformation.** A Burundi studio produced a number of radio programmes, such as drama, youth and magazine shows, which were perceived by listeners to have helped peace reconciliation.
- **Rwanda: Radio soap opera.** This programme produced changes in listeners' willingness to express dissent and resolve communal problems, but had little effect in changing beliefs and attitudes towards interaction across social lines.
- **Kenya: National Civic Education Programme.** Programme participants were less likely to support the use of ethnic and political violence. The programme involved a wide range of interactive as well as passive activities, so it may not have been the sending of messages, for example on the importance of citizen participation, that caused this change.
- **Democratic Republic of Congo: Radio talk show.** A randomised control study found that a radio talk show had the effect of making listeners more intolerant, more mindful of grievances, and less likely to aid disliked community members.
- **Kenya: Factual discussion programme.** This programme educated and informed a wider audience in supporting improved state-society relations, and not just for those involved in the dialogue and discussion.
- **Bosnia: Campaign for refugee repatriation and property return.** A campaign to promote the return of the refugees and repossession of their homes and properties was widely understood by the public. A survey suggests most of the public disliked the campaign messages.

- **Kenya: SMS text message subscriber service.** An SMS text message subscriber service provides information about leadership, local news, and a neutral source for information during tense periods such as elections. The impact is unclear.

To improve the impact of sending messages, and wider media interventions, to reduce conflict, the literature and experts consulted suggest the following:

- Employ political economy analysis.
- Integrate several media channels and practices.
- Integrate media interventions with legal, political, economic and other social institutions.
- Regulate propaganda as well as producing peace-oriented media.

The following have been identified as enabling factors for message-sending interventions to be effective:

- Violence must not be the population's preferred outcome, but instead an outcome of manufactured fear and perceived risk.
- Conflict must not be ongoing but related to discrete political events.
- There must be capacity to use relevant technology (e.g. mobile phones).
- There must be domestic (i.e. government) and external (e.g. UN, AU) support.

2. Approaches to sending messages to reduce violent conflict

Rather than a specific body of literature focused on sending messages to reduce conflict, there is range of literature that cover interventions that include sending messages, from which it is possible to derive insights. While some interventions have a strong and developed theoretical underpinning (e.g. education-entertainment), other interventions borrow from a number of approaches and do not map directly on a body of theoretical literature. Consequently this section focuses on the approaches, identified during the rapid research for this report, which seem to have the strongest and most developed literature.

It is notable that research for this report was unable to find significant literature that looked specifically at advertising (e.g. billboards, commercials) to reduce violent conflict, though social marketing methods and strategic communication methods, for example, use methods similar to advertising.

There have been notable successes in changing attitudes and behaviours through message campaigns. For example, sending messages is common in health campaigns (expert comments) and there is evidence that well-executed health mass media campaigns have had small-to-moderate effects not only on health knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes, but on behaviours as well (e.g. Noar, 2006). In relation to conflict there is some evidence on the success of individual interventions that involve sending messages but little conclusive evidence that sending messages by themselves change behaviour in relation to conflict.

Most experts contacted for this query emphasised that, to have an impact on attitudes and behaviours, passive approaches, such as sending messages, must be accompanied with other active or interactive activities such as groupwork and debate and dialogue as part of a comprehensive response (expert comments).

2.1 The media in fragile and conflict-affected situations

Whether directly or indirectly, the media (e.g. newspapers, radio, television) communicate messages. In relation to campaigns to change attitudes behaviour, the media seems to be the main way in which messages are communicated and there is significant literature which looks at the role of the media in conflict. A number of insights emerge from the use of media interventions to address conflict which would be applicable to an intervention that involves sending messages.

Knowledge about the role of media and communication in peacebuilding is incipient (Kogen and Sheth, 2012). A recent systematic review of the impact of the media in conflict found that there is insufficient evidence to conclusively confirm or reject claims that the media promotes or prevents conflict (JRSP, 2013). The systematic review suggests the need for caution when planning interventions using media and technology for political change and that the media appears to play a different role in the developing world than is often assumed, and local realities have been insufficiently explored and understood.

The media can become an important societal force in establishing environments that can counter the aggression and desperation inherent in practices of violence and conflict (Tuftte, 2012). Equipping communities with the tools to make informed decisions in times of crisis and to distinguish for themselves hateful or violent messages is an essential component of peacebuilding programmes (Kogen & Sheth, 2012). At the same time, poorly designed media interventions, no matter how well intentioned, may exacerbate tensions and undermine peacebuilding efforts (Arsenault, Himelfarb, & Abbott, 2011).

Bratic (2005) notes there is no single way that the media affect audiences and argues that though the media does not have the power to directly 'inject' a certain behaviour or attitude into people's minds, the effects of the media are substantial. Even though the media are almost never the sole agents of change, they are a prominent factor in complex social systems that give rise to change. The effects of the media on the formation of attitudes, beliefs, and opinions are more apparent than the effects on behaviour. What determines this impact depends upon the media type, form, source, environment and timing, but more importantly on environmental factors independent of the media. Bratic (2005) argues that the media are a necessary but not sufficient element of peace development – they can aid in solving problems of communication, but not in changing the deep-rooted causes of conflict. The media can assist institutions in their pursuit of peace-building but is effectively only as strong as a society's institutions and processes.

2.2 Social Marketing

Social marketing can be defined as: "the adaptation of commercial marketing technologies to programmes designed to influence the voluntary behaviour of target audiences to improve their personal welfare and that of the society of which they are a part" (Andreasen, 1994, p. 110). Social marketing can include the use of social media tools and practices. It can be similar to commercial practices such as internet-based viral marketing to building idea- or brand-awareness and uses strategies such as information, entertainment, humour or controversy. In their literature review of social marketing for preventing violence against women, Castelino, Colla & Boulet (2013) conclude that there is strong evidence to suggest that social marketing campaigns are effective in contributing to attitudinal and behavioural change, particularly when integrated into a sustained strategy and complemented by community and individual-level approaches. The authors argue that strategies for violence prevention are most effective when they exist as one component of a broader, multi-level and mutually reinforcing programme. The concept of social marketing seems relevant to interventions designed to reduce violent

conflict in other contexts. However, research for this report was unable to identify relevant material which applies social marketing processes to reduce violent conflict in fragile or conflict-affected situations.

2.3 Education-entertainment

Including educational messages in a dramatic fictional story, is part of a global phenomenon called entertainment-education (Paluck & Green, 2009). Entertainment-education draws on psychological social learning theory to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, shift social norms, and change behaviour (ibid).

Research for this report suggests that the most popular medium for education-entertainment interventions to reduce conflict is through the radio. Bratic (2008) argues that radio is the primary choice of most peace-oriented media projects in Africa. This is in part because television broadcasting is in its infancy in most regions and comparatively expensive. In comparison to newspapers, radio overcomes the problems of low literacy rates, distribution, language diversity and expense.

There have been a number of radio soap operas which look to change attitudes and therefore reduce violent conflict. Paluck (2009) argues that such radio soap operas can change social and political norms, rather than personal convictions, but that personal convictions are less important motivations for political behaviour than perceptions of what is socially and politically normative. The author highlights the role of emotional and group processes in establishing these norms, arguing that the impact of such radio interventions is inseparable from the impact of listening to the programme in a group. Paluck (2009) argues that when alone, people become aware of ideas communicated in radio programmes. In groups they also become aware of other people's awareness of those ideas and when group members react positively, their endorsement can reinforce these ideas. Spontaneous group discussion of radio soap operas can contribute further to this 'socially-shared cognition' which is the basis of a social norm. The narrative form of education-entertainment programmes, which can include humour and drama, may provoke emotional and imaginative processes critical to changes and can allow people to think through difficult issues or to experience intergroup contact in a vicarious and less threatening way.

3. Case studies

This report identifies a number of examples of interventions that use some form of sending messages. These interventions are structured around addressing a conflict situation and involve several activities as part of the intervention. It is therefore not possible to conclude decisively that the sending message component of the intervention led to their effectiveness, but rather these case studies can provide relevant insights into the role sending messages can play in interventions to change attitudes, norms and behaviour in relation to violent conflict.

Some of these case studies involve the media, and aspects of social marketing and education-entertainment approaches. However, literature on these case studies does not always explicitly define the interventions under set approaches, and it seems that most programmes involve interventions that can be classified under a number of approaches.

3.1 Burundi: Radio programmes for conflict transformation

Studio Ijambo (Kirundi for 'wise words') was established in Burundi in direct response to the neighbouring conflict during the Rwanda genocide. It was founded by Search for Common Ground, a Washington, D.C.-based organisation and the main objective of the radio studio is to produce a variety of programmes that could contribute toward peaceful transformation of the conflict. Studio Ijambo's youth programme 'Sangwe' is listened to by a majority of children and youth in Burundi (Bratic, 2008). In a listener survey carried out in 1999, 64 per cent of those who listened to the programme indicated that they thought that it was "very successful in bringing Burundi youth together" (Radio Netherlands, 2004, para. 13). When researchers asked the Burundian people to identify the programmes that helped them change or modify their attitude or behaviour toward the other ethnic group, those that were mentioned most frequently were the Studio Ijambo radio drama 'Our Neighbours, Ourselves' and the magazine show popularly known as 'Heroes' (Bratic, 2008). 82 per cent of Burundians who listened to the dramas believed that these particular programmes helped in peace reconciliation (Hagos, 2001).

3.2 Rwanda: Radio soap opera

In post-genocide Rwanda, Paluck & Green (2009) found that a radio programme had substantial impact on listener's willingness to express dissent and the ways in which they resolved communal problems, but did not change attitudes and behaviours to other social groups.

The radio soap opera Musekeweya (Kinyarwanda for 'New Dawn') was designed to teach listeners about the roots of violence, the importance of independent thought, and the dangers of excessive deference to authority (Paluck & Green, 2009). This radio programme was tested in a randomised experiment to assess whether one year after the radio programme began changes could be observed in listeners' deference to authority, willingness to dissent, and collaborative participation in dispute resolution. Changes in individual attitudes, perceived community norms, and deliberative behaviours were assessed using closed-ended interviews, focus group discussions, role-play exercises, and measures of collective decision making.

The study found that the mass media programme was sufficient to shift perceived norms of open expression and local responsibility for community problems, as well as actual open expression and dissent about sensitive community issues such as trust and resource distribution. However, attitudes toward interaction across social lines were resistant to change. The authors conclude that personal convictions about social group boundaries are more difficult to change but argue that personal convictions are less important for behaviour than social and political norms (Paluck & Green, 2009; Paluck, 2009).

3.3 Kenya: National Civic Education Programme

In Kenya a National Civic Education Programme was undertaken, which ended before the 2007 election, and involved civic education in terms of nation building, democracy, good governance, constitutionalism, and human rights. Finkel & Horowitz (2010) find that the programme had positive effects related to violence after the 2007 election. Participants in the civic education programme who were affected by the election violence were less likely to adopt negative beliefs about Kenya's political system, less likely to support the use of ethnic or political violence, and more likely to forgive those responsible for the post-election violence. This is in comparison to those who did not participate in the programme. However, the civic education programme involved more than sending messages about the importance of citizen participation, and included workshops, village theatre performances, informal meetings in churches and

mosques, cultural gatherings, and other public events, in addition to a media campaign on television, radio, and newspaper. It would therefore not be possible to isolate the impact from the sending-message component.

3.4 Democratic Republic of Congo: Radio talk show

A randomised control study in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) found that a radio talk show designed to promote listener discussion about intergroup conflict and cooperation had the effect of making listeners more intolerant, more mindful of grievances, and less likely to aid disliked community members (Paluck, 2010). The talk show had the effect of increasing interpersonal discussion among listeners about a radio soap opera. Talk show listeners who did discuss the soap opera demonstrated more negative attitudes and fewer helping behaviours toward disliked groups than listeners who were exposed to the soap opera but not encouraged to discuss them. Paluck (2010) suggests that pre-existing perceptions and the way discussion takes place are likely to be the key factors that affect levels of intolerance and grievance.

3.5 Kenya: Factual discussion programme

In the context of the Kenya 2013 election, Githitho Muriithi & Page (2013) explore the effectiveness of Sema Kenya (Kiswahili for Kenya Speaks), a factual discussion programme, in supporting more accountable, peaceful and inclusive state-society relations. The Sema Kenya programme included audience and community-driven moderated discussion which makes it difficult to isolate the more passive message-taking component from the interactive discussion aspect. Nonetheless the authors find that even without active participation, the programme appears to have provided substantial opportunity to educate and inform audiences and that presenting dialogue and discussion from different areas of the country ensured that the programme was relevant to audiences outside the capital which shared learning and exposed commonalities (Githitho Muriithi & Page, 2013).

3.6 Bosnia: Campaign for refugee repatriation and property return

Following the Bosnian civil war between 1992 and 1995 one major obstacle to peace was the issue of refugee repatriation and property return (Bratic, 2008). Consequently a campaign was launched promoting the return of the refugees and repossession of their homes and properties. This involved short public service announcements on radio and TV and soon after, large billboards, posters, print advertisements, leaflets and also some non-traditional communication strategies (e.g. specially designed folders, matches and diskette holders) that were distributed across Bosnia. Bratic (2008) highlights the strategy for producing sugar packets to be served in coffee shops that were imprinted with the campaign logo. In addition to noting their originality the author argues that the cultural significance of coffee shops and its importance in the public life of the Bosnian society means that such promotion has been a very effective way of reaching the audience and inserting the message into the social context.

Mareco Index, a commercial public opinion research agency, conducted an evaluation of the campaign confirming significant recognition for the main messages and strong public awareness in regards to the campaign (Bratic, 2008). More people saw the campaign on television than in any other form with the breakdown as follows: TV 91 per cent, radio 61 per cent, posters 53 per cent, billboards 65 per cent, newspapers 56 per cent, sugar packets 16 per cent, leaflets and posters 31 per cent (Mareco Index Bosnia, 2000 cited in Bratic, 2008). Though the audience research also showed that the messages came across very clearly, with a majority of the audience understanding them, 60 per cent of respondents neither liked nor disliked the messages of the campaign (ibid).

3.7 Kenya: SMS text message subscriber service

Martin-Shields (2013) cites Sisi Ni Amani as an example of how mobile phones can support peacebuilding but notes that measuring the causal impact of such programmes on peace is difficult. Sisi Ni Amani (Kiswahili for 'We are peace') is a grassroots peacebuilding program that links local NGOs in Kenya to support peace efforts at the local level. It includes a SMS text message subscriber service that provides information about leadership, local news, and provides a neutral source for information during tense periods such as elections. The impact of this subscriber service is unclear.

4. Lessons learned on sending messages to reduce violent conflict

From the experts consulted and the literature reviewed, it is possible to identify the following recommendations to improve the impact of sending messages, and wider media interventions, to reduce conflict:

- **Employ political economy analysis:** A political economy analysis, which examines conflict dynamics, the time period of when violence occurs, and local systems of knowledge and conflict resolution, is needed to inform media interventions (expert comments). Strategic entry-points for media interventions need to be identified, with context-specific interventions, geared to the appropriate point of the conflict cycle (expert comments).
- **Integrate several media channels and practices:** An integrated set of measures involving more than a single media channel or technique is vital to the success of the practice (Bratic, 2008). In the absence of an integrated effort, a single broadcast program or even a single radio station is unlikely to make a significant impact.
- **Integrate media interventions with other social institutions:** In order to be productive, the media must accompany and work with the legal, political, economic and other social institutions in transforming the conflict (Bratic, 2008). The role of the media is not to substitute for inadequate social organisation and institutions.
- **Regulate propaganda as well as producing peace-oriented media:** Reducing the level and amount of hate messages inciting violence during the conflict would significantly minimise the negative impact of the media on the audience (Bratic, 2008). An unregulated media environment is also able to prolong the conflict by minimising the impact of positive media projects and allowing sensationalist hate media to distract the public's attention.

From the literature reviewed, the following have been identified as enabling factors for interventions to be effective:

- **Violence must not be the population's preferred outcome:** For messaging to be successful violence should not be the preferred outcome among the general population, but instead the outcome of a process of manufactured fear and perceived risk led by political elites (Martin-Shields 2013).
- **Conflict must not be ongoing:** Message-sending and media interventions are only likely to be effective where events of violence are discrete events that occur during particular periods in the

political calendar (e.g. elections), as opposed to being a state of sustained warfare (Martin-Shields, 2013).

- **Need for capacity to use relevant technology:** When using technology such as mobile phones, the population should know how they can be used to send messages such as report violence, reach authorities, and communicate information about the environment (Martin-Shields, 2013).
- **Need for domestic and external support:** There must be buy-in from the government, and support or enforcement for conflict prevention measures from external actors such as the United Nations or African Union. The external actors provide the added confidence that one or both conflict parties will not cheat on a peace agreement or peace process (Martin-Shields, 2013).

5. References

- Andreasen, A. (1994). Social Marketing: Its Definition and Domain. *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* 13(1), 108-114. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30000176>
- Arsenault, A., Himelfarb, S. & Abbott, S. (2011). *Evaluating Media Interventions In Conflict Countries: Toward Developing Common Principles and a Community Of Practice*. Peaceworks No. 77. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace. <http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW77.pdf>
- Bratic, V. (2005). Media effects during violent conflict: Evaluating media contributions to peace building. *Conflict & communication online* 5(1). http://www.cco.regener-online.de/2006_1/pdf_2006-1/bratic.pdf
- Bratic, V. (2008). Examining Peace-Oriented Media in Areas of Violent Conflict. *International Communication Gazette*, 70(6), 487-503. doi: 10.1177/1748048508096397 http://www.sfcg.org/Documents/DME/bratic_peace_oriented_media.pdf
- Castelino, T., Colla, M. & Boulet, J. (2013). *Social Marketing for Preventing Violence Against Women: Making every action matter*. Literature Review for the Challenge Family Violence Project. Borderlands Cooperative. <https://assets.justice.vic.gov.au/ccp/resources/f83855ce-8021-4790-99d8-4ddb9ca99a0b/socialmarketinglitreview30052013.pdf>
- Finkel, S. & Horowitz, J. (2010). Civic Education and Democratic Backsliding in the Wake of Kenya's Post-2007 Election Violence. *The Journal of Politics* 74(1): 52–65. <http://www.stevenfinkel.info/files/JoP/Finkel.Horowitz.Rojo-Mendoza.Civic%20Education%20and%20Democratic%20Backsliding.JOP.2012.pdf>
- Githitho Muriithi, A. & Page, G. (2013). *The Kenyan election 2013: the role of the factual discussion programme Sema Kenya (Kenya speaks)*. Working Paper, Issue 5. Bridging Theory and Practice Research Dissemination Series. http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/pdf/kenya_election_2013_working_paper.pdf
- Hagos, A. (2001). Media Intervention in Peace Building in Burundi – The Studio Ijambo Experience and Impact. Appendix from *The Effectiveness of Civil Society Initiatives in Controlling Violent Conflicts and Building Peace: A Study of Three Approaches in the Greater Horn of Africa*. USAID. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACY570.pdf

- JRSP. (2013). *The media and conflict: An assessment of the evidence*. Justice and Security Research Programme (JSRP). http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/pdf/outputs/JSRP/Media_and_Conflict_Evidence_Brief.pdf
- Kogen, L. & Sheth, N. (2012). *Communication for Peacebuilding Priority Grant Program: Learning Group Report*. Internews. http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/CfP_Learning_Group_Report_Internews_2012.pdf
- Mareco Index Bosnia. (2000). *Omnibus Survey: Bosnia and Herzegovina*. August 2000. Mareco Index Bosnia. (Internal document).
- Martin-Shields, C.P. (2013). Inter-ethnic Cooperation Revisited: Why mobile phones can help prevent discrete events of violence, using the Kenyan case study. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 2(3), 58. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/sta.cu>
- Noar, S. M. (2006). A 10-Year Retrospective of Research in Health Mass Media Campaigns: Where Do We Go From Here? *Journal of Health Communication*, 11(1), 21-42. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10810730500461059>
- Paluck, E. L. (2009). Reducing intergroup prejudice and conflict using the media: a field experiment in Rwanda. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 96(3), 574. https://psych.princeton.edu/psychology/research/levy_paluck/pubs/2009%20reducing%20intergroup%20prejudice.pdf
- Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). Deference, Dissent, and Dispute Resolution: An Experimental Intervention Using Mass Media to Change Norms and Behavior in Rwanda. *American Political Science Review*, 103(04), 622-644. doi:10.1017/S0003055409990128 <http://isps.yale.edu/sites/default/files/publication/2012/12/ISPS09-024.pdf>
- Paluck, E. L. (2010). Is It Better Not to Talk? Group Polarization, Extended Contact, and Perspective Taking in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(9), 1170-1185. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167210379868>
- Radio Netherlands. (2004). *Peace Radio: Burundi*. <http://archive.is/VhM9M>
- Tufte, T. (2012). Facing Violence and Conflict with Communication: Possibilities and limitations of storytelling and entertainment-education. Chapter 5 in Melkolte, S. (ed). *Development Communication in Directed Social Change. A Reappraisal of Theory and Practice*. AMIC and Nanyang Technological University in Singapore.

Expert contributors

James Deane, BBC Media Action
 Jon Barnes, BBC Media Action
 Jacques Boulet, Borderlands Cooperative
 Robert Blair, Yale University
 Alexandra Hartman, Yale University
 Tracy Castelino, ShantiWorks
 Charles Martin-Shields, George Mason University
 Thomas Tufte, Roskilde University

Marissa Moran, Albany Associates

Suggested citation

Rao, S. (2014). *Sending messages to reduce violent conflict*. GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1050. Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.
<http://www.gsdrc.org/go/display&type=Helpdesk&id=1050>

About this report

This report is based on three days of desk-based research. It was prepared for the UK Government's Department for International Development, © DFID Crown Copyright 2013. This report is licensed under the Open Government Licence (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/doc/open-government-licence). The views expressed in this report are those of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of GSDRC, its partner agencies or DFID.

The GSDRC Research Helpdesk provides rapid syntheses of key literature and of expert thinking in response to specific questions on governance, social development, humanitarian and conflict issues. Its concise reports draw on a selection of the best recent literature available and on input from international experts. Each GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report is peer-reviewed by a member of the GSDRC team. Search over 300 reports at www.gsdrc.org/go/research-helpdesk. Contact: helpdesk@gsdrc.org.