

DEVELOPING CHILDREN'S UNDERSTANDING OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION THROUGH QUALITY TELEVISION

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Certainly there are many different approaches to the study of children and media at times of war. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that an analysis from conflict resolution studies can be particularly illuminating in such efforts.

Conflict resolution is a complex, multifaceted process that is an essential part of everyday life, from interpersonal relations through political conflict between states to attempts to control the emerging global system. For a variety of reasons, many contemporary societies have developed elaborate mechanisms that advance the use of violence as the primary means of resolving conflicts over nonviolent options. Because the use of force is so dominant, as well as determinant and binary, many adults and children today have a limited, perhaps distorted, understanding of conflict resolution as a process, and few are aware of the many social and historical examples of the application of nonviolence to resolve conflicts (see examples in Ackerman & Duvall, 2000; Augsburger 1992; Kemp & Fry, 2004; Schell, 2003). Consequently, children and youth grow up in social systems in which violence and war are assumed to be, and indeed experienced as, the sole means of resolving conflict. Indeed, violence has become so internalized and normative in everyday life and politics that learning about conflict resolution as a process, as well as nonviolent skills, must become a special subject that has to be justified and studied, not learned or experienced. Given this context,

the purpose of the study reported here was to ascertain if, and if so how, producers of video programs present the resolution of one of its most dominant, familiar forms—political conflicts—to children and youth?

CONFLICT RESOLUTION AS A SOCIAL PROCESS

Conflict is an essential part of personal, social, and political lives of individuals and groups that occurs when multiple perspectives, interests, values, and/or needs are recognized to be different from, incompatible with, in competition with, and/or in opposition to one another. Resolution is the process that seeks to find ways that allow persons in conflict to manage these differences. Attempts to understand conflict and its resolution, and portrayals of the conflict-resolution process, require being attentive to the following premises:

- Resolution involves a dynamic, multidimensional process that has six main components:
 1. Recognition and definition of tensions and conflicts.
 2. Confrontation—Selection and application from among a wide variety of resolution options (e.g., seek mediation; learn to manage the conflict; apply various means, either through use of violence, as in armed conflict, or nonviolence, as in avoidance, silence, demonstrations, strikes, embargoes).
 3. Mediation, although not essential, is commonly found to be a useful addition to the resolution process; often a mediator will insist as a precondition that a ceasefire on the use of violence be declared, implemented, and monitored.
 4. Negotiation that addresses the differing needs and desires of the parties and that concludes with an agreement that usually involves a compromise.
 5. Implementation of agreement—a process that can be assisted by monitoring, may require the renegotiation of agreements, and that usually creates new forms of living together for all involved.
 6. Reconciliation—emotive processes undergone by individuals and groups—involves dealing with guilt, forgiveness, and memory, as well as social, political, and judicial actions.
- The greater the abilities of the parties to deal in positive, authentic, and humane ways with the basic issues, as well as their consequences, the greater are the chances that resolution processes

will enable the parties to advance their lives beyond the conflict. Consequently, media presentations should enable viewers to understand the core or basic problems or primary causes of the conflict.

- The points of views of all parties involved should be represented honestly, including those of the mediator and perhaps even those who are making the production.
- The individual and the social are intertwined and mutually affected. Hence, viewing a presentation of a conflict-resolution process enables us to learn, on the one hand, about how individuals' as well as groups' actions contribute to the process; and, on the other hand, about the consequences of actions taken, as in the case of war.
- The framing applied not only determines how the conflict is perceived, but also the resolution options and outcomes expected. Hence, a situation declared to be a clash juxtaposes each side's differing needs and interests, seeks a decisive determination (by either one or the other of the sides), and declares a winner. If a conflict is framed as a pragmatic problem to be fixed, then resolution options that work are emphasized so that people involved can get on with their lives. Alternatively, if the causes of a conflict are defined as a result of discriminatory policies or laws, such as violations of human rights, then the resolution options are examined in terms of the fundamental changes in policies, laws, and social arrangements, knowing that this is a long-term process. If a conflict is viewed as an opportunity for growth and change, then creativity is applied to develop compromises that provide new opportunities and social arrangements.

Multiple schemas have been developed to theorize about conflict resolution as a process (e.g., Augsburg, 1992; Burton & Dukes, 1990; Combs, 2004). However, for the sake of brevity and clarity, as well as to demonstrate the potential for media presentation and precision needed in doing so, we suffice with the presentation of two models.

Direct Conflict-Resolution Model

Preconflict >>>> Overt Confrontation >>>> Post-conflict/Confrontation

FIG. 11.1. Direct conflict-resolution model.

This popular, commonsense portrayal of the resolution process is conflict-centered, linear, and ultimately problematic in the following ways. First, the intent of the word *conflict* is commonly used as synonymous with the use of *violence*, and in particular with war. Consequently, here *resolution* refers to a period when violence is not used to resolve the conflict. Yet, fundamentally, violence is but one of any number of resolution options and therefore it is not a separate stage, but rather an integral part of the entire resolution process. Second, the assumption of linearity leads people to believe that once victory/defeat or a ceasefire is declared, it can be assumed that the conflict is over and a separate phase—resolution involving negotiation—will lead to an agreement to end the conflict (i.e., no more violence). Accordingly, the so-called postconflict/confrontation phase (i.e., postviolence) is underdeveloped conceptually and practically, particularly in regard to such essential aspects of resolution as: Are the core causes of the conflict addressed in the agreement/s? How well conceived and conducted is the implementation phase (i.e., does it implement the agreement)? Does implementation of agreements lead to amelioration or reconciliation, or does it uncover new layers of conflict that lead, perhaps, to new cycles of confrontation and violence?

Cyclical Conflict Resolution Model

This model (see Fig. 11.2) accounts for all six components of the resolution process noted earlier. In addition, this model highlights three features that are often ignored in media presentations: (a) the dynamic nature of reconciliation processes; (b) the relationship between a resolution agreement and its implementation, including the frequent need for renegotiation and consequent adaptations of social life; and (c) the dynamic nature, complexity, and possibilities for developments in what was referred to in the direct model as the *post-conflict/confrontation* phase.

Given the brevity necessary here, we simply posit without elaboration that the cyclical model asserts that a conflict will continue to fester and reerupt unless four necessary conditions for resolution are met:

1. The essential problems or basic conflicts are addressed (in base structures);
2. There is a meaningful implementation of agreements;
3. Changes in the conditions, structures, and consequences that spawn, support, and often revitalize the conflict lead to the need for continuation of resolution efforts beyond agreements; and
4. Reconciliation processes are advanced that seek to ameliorate losses and the psychological state of those effected negatively.

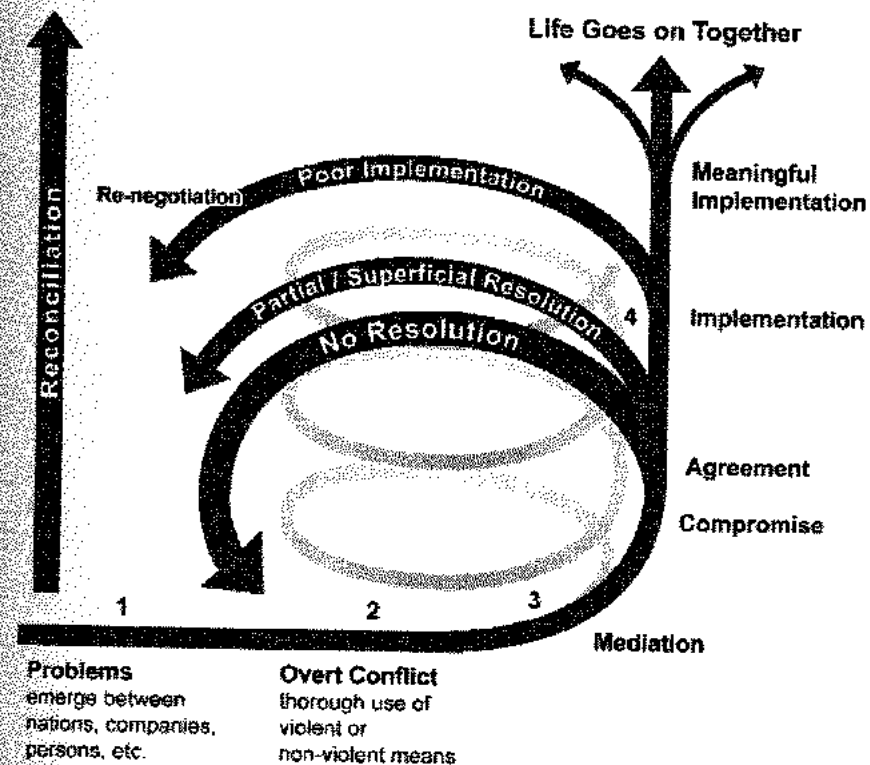


FIG. 11.2. Cyclical conflict-resolution model.

A number of questions can be elicited from the cyclical model to guide thinking about how conflict resolution is presented in the media:

- Are single or multiple phases of resolution included in the presentation and discussion of the conflict (e.g., presentation only of armed conflict; the agreement)?
- Are the essential issues, values, and practices that are at the core of tension between the parties revealed, defined, and recalled in reporting about the resolution process?
- Does the presentation of the conflict include the multiple perspectives of participants?
- What is the underlying orientation and framing of the conflict assumed by participants, mediators, as well as those who produce the program about the conflict?

- Are the multiple resolution options and their potential consequences presented as they occur in different stages of the process?
- Are individual and social forms of involvement part of the representation of the conflict?

THE STUDY

Television programs aimed at children and youth are an interesting case for the analysis of the involvement of the media in the presentation of the conflict-resolution process. Video programs allow producers to have more control over the final product and enable them to be relatively free of the dictates of immediacy involved in reporting the news. Accordingly, producers control the selection and framing of subjects, the story and the narratives (i.e., the script), the explicit and implicit messages, the highlighting of cognitive, emotive, moral, and/or instrumental aspects of social life, as well as the strategies employed in telling the story and language used. Fiction can employ a variety of techniques to raise a number of stratified issues (moral, social, personal) and offer alternative outcomes. In nonfiction programs, producers could present the story of how a conflict that emerged was subject to mediation and how implementation of an agreement that included reconciliation efforts was attentive to emotive aspects of the consequences of the conflict. For example, they could portray the process that led to rejection of the use of nonviolent resolution options in favor of the use of violence; the consequences of its application, including the stalemate achieved, and the reemergence of conflict and confrontation.

Accordingly, the research project presented here analyzed how producers of quality TV programs for children and youth addressed political conflict and its resolution. To do so, TV programs submitted by broadcasters throughout the world as candidates for competition in the prestigious Prix Jeunesse International Festival¹ for the period of 1994–2004 were examined. The full corpus from the six competitions that took place in the research period totaled 1,264 programs. The research corpus was obtained by reviewing the précis of each program included in the application submitted by each broadcasting authority to the Prix Jeunesse. The selection of programs applied the following two criteria to identify candidates for inclusion in the research corpus: (a) programs whose purpose was to address conflict resolution as well as the use of violence and nonviolence to resolve conflict; and (b) programs dealing with political conflict and war produced in countries both directly and indirectly involved in such conflicts. Forty-two programs were selected. However, following an initial viewing, five programs were eliminat-

ed from the corpus because they did not fully meet the criteria. Thus, the research corpus consisted of 37 programs (see appendix for a complete list of these programs). The first round of analysis produced a quantitative set of findings. The cyclical conflict-resolution model was applied in the second round of analysis to identify and analyze programs that addressed single and multiple phases. As a result of these analyses, it was discovered that there was a necessity for in-depth analysis of the many programs that dealt with the confrontation-conflict phase, in particular programs about refugees.

FINDINGS

Map of the Research Corpus

The quantitative analysis of the corpus provided the following general findings:

- There has been limited interest in the phenomena because only 3% of the total number of submissions dealt directly with an aspect/s of conflict resolution in general, or of a particular political conflict (37 out of 1,264 TV productions).
- Although there has been a tripling of the number of conflict-related productions during the last three competitions, still these amounted to 4% of each festival's submissions.
- A majority of the productions come from countries directly involved in conflict (70%, 26).
- There is a diverse representation of conflicts and producers: 17 countries directly involved in conflict submitted videos, 23 countries if we include those not directly involved; countries with the most submissions include Bosnia (5), Israel (5), and Colombia (3); number of countries per continent represented Europe (9), Middle East (4), Asia (4), South America (3), North America (2), and Africa (1).
- Broadcasting authorities were the primary producers of these programs (70%, 26), with the remainder produced by local production companies.
- In terms of genre, 80% of the programs are nonfictional; among the fictional productions, four of the six are closely related to historic events, only one is a creative way to discuss the process of conflict resolution, and it is the sole out-case whose explicit purpose is to demonstrate nonviolent resolution of interpersonal conflict.

- Half of the programs were episodes of a series or a segment in ongoing programs for children; the other half was composed of feature programs.
- In terms of the audience, there were few productions for the youngest of viewers 2- to 6-year-olds (8%, 3), and an even number of programs for 7 to 11 and 12 to 15+ year-old viewers.

TABLE 11.1.
NUMBER OF PROGRAMS VIA GENRE & AGE GROUP

GENRE/AGE	2-7	7-11	12-	
Fiction		4	2	6
Non-Fiction	3	16	18	31
Totals	3	20	20	37

- In terms of the presentation of the conflict-resolution process; four productions present multiple stages of the conflict-resolution process and, interestingly, each demonstrates how nonviolence can be used as a resolution option. However, nearly all of the video productions (89%, 33) relate to a particular phase of the resolution process. A majority (51%, 19) deals with attempts to use violence (i. e., war and its consequences) to resolve a conflict, whereas the remainder (38%, 14) deal with various aspects of postovert conflict/confrontation phases.
- All but four programs were produced and broadcast at a time when there was a match between the program and phase of the conflict-resolution process portrayed.
- Half of the programs present only one side of the conflict; 30% include enough information about multiple sides for viewers to understand the different opinions and/or causes of the conflict. In the remaining 20%, the other side is present, but not in sufficient enough manner to understand participants' views of the conflict. Mediation or third party involvement is mentioned in two films.

Multiple Stage Portrayals

As noted, 4 of the 37 productions deal with the multiple stages of the conflict-resolution process. Interestingly, each demonstrates the use of nonvio-

lence as a resolution option. The following analyses present the main narratives of these programs, along with comments oriented toward the development of future media productions, educational work, and further research.

The overt purpose of *Dinner for Two* (9, Canada, 1996)² is to teach about the conflict-resolution process, albeit in regard to interpersonal conflict. The 8-minute animation proceeds in a linear manner through the three steps of the direct conflict-resolution model: In the preconflict stage, life in the rain forest is placid. Each of the protagonists is occupied with various activities—the frog continually misses his prey, while two chameleons succeed in using their long tongues to snare insects; that is, until both snare the very same fat insect. A stalemate leads to intractable confrontation as each refuses to yield to the other. As the confrontation unfolds, each attempts to trick, bully, anger, intimidate, and finally use force to attempt to push the other off the branch. Oblivious to events around them, including the availability of many more insects, their fast maneuvering against one another endangers the lives of other animals in their surroundings—that is, until they fall from a branch, save one another, but drop the insect that falls onto a lotus leaf right in front of the frog. Cut to postconflict, as in the next scene—the three are pictured seated around a table dressed with bibs as they await the decision of the frog-mediator about the fate of the formerly contested insect. His decision, let's cooperate, is implemented by dividing the insect among the three of them. This program is useful in raising the issue of cooperation versus confrontation, yet the cut to implementation of the mediator decision is less insightful about what takes place in the important postconfrontation, amelioration phase.

People Power II Ruled by Kids (22, 2001) and an episode of *Call of the Youth* (25, 2001) tell the story of EDSA II—the second, People Power's nonviolent revolt led by Filipino students and youth to depose the country's president that took place in January 2001. *Call of the Youth* seems to apply the Freirian problem-posing approach³ to share with viewers the results of the presenters' research of the question—Why did the events of EDSA take place? In contrast, *People Power II Rule by Kids* applies a regular news format in which footage about the impeachment gathered as part of the weekly news program for youth was edited into the final shooting against the backdrop of street rallies.

Although teaching conflict resolution is not the overt purpose of either of these programs, the more complex cyclical resolution model can be seen as the structure of the scripts. Thus, in comparison with other films in the research corpus, the most outstanding characteristic of these two programs is their portrayal of the multiple phases of the conflict-resolution process, as we can see from the following précis of the films: In terms of the identification of the core conflict, viewers are told at the beginning of both programs that the overt conflict is between the people and President Estrada, who has

been accused of corruption, bribery, stealing government funds, and abuse of the constitution. The indirect message is that, in continuing on from *People Power I*, the people are relentless in their desire for moral, clean government. The overt confrontation phase tells the story of how multiple non-violent methods were applied to resolve the conflict. Both programs detail in dramatic fashion how the impeachment process failed when the Congressional Court voted not to admit evidence contained in the second envelope. *People Power II* is particularly insightful in explaining how SMS messaging was used to spread the word immediately after the results of the vote were announced. We see clearly how messaging and other nonviolent resolution techniques, such as a noise barrage, were applied as thousands of students gathered at the shrine honoring *People Power I* the evening following the negative vote in the Congress and over the following 3 days. Formally, the negotiations advanced rapidly as the protesters rejected President Estrada's attempts to negotiate via concessions that would leave him in power. Three days of rallies in front of the presidential palace produced the president's announcement of his resignation. To be sure that this concession is implemented, the leaders decided to delay the celebrations until he actually left the premises of the palace.

In general, both programs provide the intended adolescent viewer with answers to five essential journalistic questions: what happened, to whom, where, when, and why? Although *People Power II* does make a more overt attempt to present the positions of proponents as well as opponents of the actions against the president, one implicit message of both programs is that when the people want the truth, nothing can stop them. A second message is that in a democracy the individual's choice to join in such a process is what guarantees its success. Neither of these programs is particularly analytical or critical of the events of *People Power II*. However, if we apply the cyclical model to analyze the events, a different interpretation than that presented is possible: To date, two cycles of an incomplete conflict-resolution process have taken place. That is, the essential conflict over the nature of government functioning continued in the post-Marcos period following *People Power I*: Elected officials continued to manipulate and abuse their power while the people continued to demand government leaders who are moral persons and who uphold the constitution. The deposing of Marcos and Estrada achieved by *People's Power I and II* did remove apparently corrupt leaders, but it did not resolve this conflict. A hint about the continued existence of this deeper conflict and a prophetic view that there may be a need in the future to continue to seek resolution can be found in the final sentences of *People's Power II*, when the observations of one youthful participant in the EDSA rally are presented: "The affluent are here, but what confuses me is, will there be a significant change? Will the rich remain rich and the poor remain poor?" This is followed a few moments later with a hint of

what may be a realistic assessment: "They say kids like us are heroes in this story. That is why it is up to us to find a happy ending to this chapter in our history. . . . Will this struggle ever end? Or, will we always have to take to the streets to resolve every issue?"

Illustrative Presentations of Specific Phases of Conflict Resolution

As noted previously, although the overwhelming majority of the programs in the research corpus deal exclusively with a single phase, collectively the full span of the conflict-resolution process is addressed. Hence, a review of the films that address each phase enriches our understanding of the conflict-resolution process and suggest topics and themes that could be included in future productions.

Perceiving Emergence of Conflict/Preconflict. No direct exemplars exist in the research corpus of this phase. This is not entirely surprising given the limited interest in presenting political conflicts, in general, and two specific endemic problems built into the preconflict stage: perception and definition of the conflict. Perception is difficult because, although scattered symptoms are usually identifiable, they often only coalesce in the quick shift to confrontation. Certainly there are in all societies persons—including many among the media—who apply varying levels of consciousness, sensitivity, understanding, and skill to point out, define, and investigate emerging problems and conflicts. However, many others in society delay/avoid admitting a problem exists (i.e., cognitive dissonance) and/or do so to protect their own or what they define as society's interests. Although this may be the case, it is commonly agreed that among the important roles of the media are to provide information and analyses about problems and conflicts to leaders and citizens, and, in doing so, to raise awareness and initiate public discussion that may include consideration of different means of confronting the conflict.

Overt Conflict/Confrontation. Given that the dominant orientation is to use violence as a means of conflict resolution, it is not surprising that a majority of the programs in the research corpus (60%) are concerned with this approach to overt resolution. In doing so, none of the programs questioned whether violence is merited, effective, or ever the right option for resolving a conflict. Rather, the major themes are the fear, horror, and pain involved in living with the use and consequences of violence. Overall, then, the use of violence is simply taken for granted in the programs.

Interestingly, juxtaposed to programs that have a purely entertainment orientation or whose overt purpose is to teach about a war, only one of the

programs in the research corpus includes actual footage of war or scenes of violent actions. Furthermore, the programs deal with a wide range of aspects of the use of violence, with little overlap. Thus, the research corpus as a whole does offer an interesting mapping of the variety of topics that can be addressed when portraying and/or analyzing the use of violence for the purpose of conflict resolution. The themes addressed in these programs can be organized into three main categories: living in the midst of conflict, living with the consequences of conflict accompanied by a subcategory of programs about refugees, and explaining a conflict to persons not directly involved.

Living in the Midst of Conflict. The range of topics addressed were: the consequences for a small town on the Turkey–Iraq border and the narrator's family preparations leading up to the attack on Iraq in 2003, in *War Changes Everything* (35, Turkey, 2004); children's play during periods of heavy bombing, in *War Child* (1, Croatia, 1994); a documentary record by residents of their activities while living in shelters during NATO bombing attacks on Belgrade, in *Hotel Underground* (16, Serbia, 2000); the exchange of news, concern, and hopes for relatives living under siege, in *Video Letter* (19, Hong Kong on Yugoslavia, 2000); a dramatic account of the determination of Palestinian children not to allow Israeli military occupation to disrupt important events in their lives, in *The Long Road to School* (30, Jordan & Palestine, 2004); and the actions of persons who resisted the Nazis by hiding and saving Jews during World War II, in *And Thou Shall Love thy Neighbor* (18, Israel, 2000).

Although each of these programs uses documentary footage or re-creation of previous events to provide viewers with an opportunity to learn about aspects of how children live during a war, most of the programs stress the emotive and empathetic dimensions. In contrast, an episode of the *School for Human Rights* (32, Colombia, 2004) demonstrates how to accomplish a difficult task for persons living with the daily fear of violence and conflict: a rational analysis of the causes and sources of the conflict. This episode follows a group of high school students as they apply the previously mentioned Freirian problem-posing method of conscientization to study the violence that they think is manifest throughout Colombian society. Each participant states his or her opinion about the question—Are we violent by nature? According to the conscientization method, they must challenge these personal views by conducting research to investigate this question. To do so, they move beyond the familiar surroundings of Bogota to see whether violence really does exist throughout Colombian society and, if so, why. Their investigations in three communities are presented entirely through the stories and opinions of local youth and older residents who recount the history of peace or violence in the region. Two regions are found to be immersed

in violence related to struggles for control of the political economy based on agriculture and coca production. However, a third community, also agriculturally rich, has maintained a long history of peaceful relations internally as well as with neighboring villages. The students conclude that, first, Colombians are not violent by nature; second, violence is due to political economy, power struggles, and fear; third, there are significant consequences for all as a result of the violence, and particularly for the loss of life among young people; and, finally, an alternative is posed—each person should stop using violence and thereby set an example for others.

Aside from confronting a challenging question while living amid violence, this episode of *School for Human Rights* engages the viewer in a process that can be applied to discover the underlying forces and causes of problems and conflicts in any social situation. In this investigative process, historical and field research are linked continually to the present situation. And, discussion by members of the study group lead to consideration of the implications for their own future actions—as individuals and as a study group—in terms of pursuing new questions and research projects in seeking to understand contemporary life (see Lemish, 1997).

Living with the Consequences of Conflict. The most extensive single category of programs in the research corpus concerns children living with the consequences of political violence. A number of programs deal with important general aspects of this situation: struggling with commission of an act of terror in one's community, as in the September 11 attack in New York City, *In the Mix* (26, 2002, US); loneliness, fear, and uncertainty about life felt by an orphan forced to live with his grandparents in a new community following the killing of his parents in a terrorist attack, in *Devils of the Magosa Tree* (13, Sri Lanka, 2000); living with the loss and memory of a sibling and friend killed in a terrorist attack, in *Blue Snow* (29, Israel, 2004); and the special difficulties felt by children and adolescents who return to rebuild their lives and homes following a period of violence, in *Children in a Conflict Area* (20, Sri Lanka, 2000) and *Vesa—Dew Children of Kosovo* (14, Bosnia, 2000).

The lives of refugees were a subcategory of living with the consequences of violence. The major themes addressed in these programs are: an allegory about seeking to escape the realities of life as war orphans in a new home and learning to trust others, in *Escape on the River* (4, Peru, 1996); the importance of the extended family in rebuilding life as a refugee, in *Beautiful Things* (24, Bosnia, 2002); the difficulties of adjusting to life in a foreign country, in *Amir's Letter* (2, Austria on Bosnia, 1994) and *Confetti News* (17, Austria on Kosovo, 2000); and preserving hope and cultural memories in prolonged exile, in *Treasure Box* (15, India on Tibet, 2000).

Explaining a Conflict to Others. Interestingly, a relatively limited number of these programs presented a war to child viewers in another society. Two short reports applied the investigative reporting genre: *White Shoes* (10, Italy, 1998) provided viewers with information about the dangers of thousands of antipersonnel mines that continue to explode, endanger, and maim villagers in Angola; and a report from *Newsround* (21, England, 2000), in which child viewers were told about children who serve as soldiers in Sierra Leone. A broader range of issues and opinions were presented in two programs in which children in a studio attempted to make sense of the use of violence in other countries with the assistance of experts: In an episode of *We at the Schools* (27, Brazil on US, 2001), the questions, anxieties, and speculations by high school pupils were interspersed with discussions with a panel of experts that relate to global-local relations following the September 11 attacks in the United States; in *Reportage about the War in Iraq* (36, Norway, 2002), an expert relates to secondary school pupils' questions and opinions about the war.

Mediation. Although mediation is not an absolute necessity for conflict resolution, it has been found to be useful in advancing such processes. Of all the programs in the research corpus, only one included direct or indirect reference to mediation—*With No Id* (31, Colombia, 2003). Although this segment from the daily TV magazine shares with viewers the story of an initiative to develop a mediation program in local schools, it can also be viewed as an indirect lesson in how conflict resolution could be applied to the general situation of conflict caused by warring guerrilla factions within Colombian society. Applying the basic principles of school mediation programs that have developed in recent years in many parts of the world, we learn how pupils as well as mediators learned to resolve conflicts through nonviolence and dialogue. Although the practical skills involved in creating compromises and solving conflicts are not presented, the overall message is directed at Colombia society as well as the school yard: "And the nicest thing is that you can solve conflicts by talking and not cursing."

Agreements. The period when agreements are achieved is often characterized in society and the media by celebration and stressing the many new opportunities that will be available; often at the expense of learning in a detailed manner about the nature of the agreement, including the compromises and changes required. Such is the response to a peace agreement that is the subject of an episode of *Zap*, an Israeli children news program (7, Israel, 1996). The program documents how a 13-kilometer banner comprised of small individual signs created by children from all over the world was used to link Jordan, Israel, and Egypt together.

A different, more cognitive-oriented approach to helping viewers understand aspects of the Oslo Peace Accords was applied by another Israeli TV magazine program—*Banana Boom* (3, Israel, 1994)—in an episode entitled "Shalom /Peace" in which six different interpretations of the word are presented: a video survey of what Israeli children think will happen as a result of Oslo; a similar account of what Palestinian children in Gaza think will happen as a result of Oslo; responses by politicians to the question of what will happen to the army if there is peace; an exchange of views about one aspect of a conflict not addressed by Oslo—the fate of the "city of peace"—Jerusalem; the nature and care of doves, one of the symbols of peace; and examples of various linguistic usages of *shalom* used as a salutation to express welcome as well as farewell greetings.

Getting on With Life. The varied aspects of the postagreement-implementation phase, or what could be called the Getting on With Life period, are insightful because they enable children to understand that, on the one hand, people are capable of resolving conflicts and life can continue; and, on the other hand, that resuming normal activities in their former ways is difficult for many affected by the conflict, and particularly those who are victims of violence. Programs in the research corpus that address the postagreement period can be divided into three main categories: refugees rebuilding their lives, rebuilding society in the postconfrontation period, and retaining memories of the war experience.

Refugees Rebuild Their Lives. Two programs from Bosnia-Herzegovina communicate to viewers, many of whom presumably are refugees, the pathos of the refugee experience. *Sarajevo the Small* (5, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1996) is the re-creation of how Emin's grandfather brought him back to Sarajevo and pampered him with hand-made toys. In the documentary report, *White Cap* (12, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1998), 12-year-old Senad takes us to see the house where his family sought refuge after being expelled and to see the huge apples that grow there. Although all of this was comfortable, his account of his return to his village in Serbia, the rebuilding of his family's home, and small apples that grow there are better, so we are told, because it is his home and land.

Rebuilding Society. Two distinct approaches—the realistic and the reformist—are applied in four programs that relate to the broader experience of rebuilding society following a period of violent conflict. The realistic approach applied in the investigative report of South Africa by Norwegian Television, *U: South Africa* (6, Norway, 1996), presents the realities of life in post-Apartheid South Africa, along with the diversity of views as well as fears and hopes of adolescents and young adults from various

racism, classes, and political orientations. Vast gaps in the economic realities and existential difficulties faced by young people are presented, on the one hand, by Black youth who live in Black townships and who are unable to continue their higher education due to economic difficulties; and, on the other hand, by Whites who enjoy the sport of parachuting and live in protected upper class neighborhoods, but who express fear of losing economic opportunities under Black control. As is often the case, this outside view holds up a mirror of the realities of life that is often ignored or not addressed by local programs.

Each of the three exemplars of the reformist approach are applied to advance the goal of using the media to transform life in a conflicted society—in these three cases by means of the liberal values of self-esteem, mutual respect and understanding, and tolerance for difference (Shochat, 2003). The direct application of this approach can be found in *Our Neighborhood* (11, Macedonia, 2000), a dramatic series initiated and co-produced with the assistance primarily of the American-based Search for a Common Ground, as well as other foreign government and nongovernmental agencies. Part of the “multifaceted strategy for peace building in a target society” (ibid, p. 81), the series—a kind of teen soap opera—takes place in an apartment house whose residents represent all of the various ethnic groups in Macedonian society. The episode submitted to the Prix Jeunesse is a direct confrontation with intergenerational difficulties involving stereotypes and prejudice.

Takalani Sesame (23, South Africa, 2002) and *Sesame Stories* (33, Israel, 2004) are exemplars of indirect application of the reformist approach to rebuilding deeply conflicted societies. In both cases, a reformist environment is presented to early childhood viewers in which neighbors who belong to key groups at conflict in the realities of viewers’ lives interact with one humanely, irrespective of their differences. In addition, attempts are made to accentuate features of each of the cultural heritages to advance learning about one another’s culture. By framing a life that is oriented to liberal values and a democratic society, producers seek to socialize viewers to expect a social reality that is an alternative to the child’s actual reality.⁴

Memory. For many victims and their families, survival and memory serve not only to remember their beloved, but they are also a means of defeating the perpetrators and reminding future generations, in and beyond their society, of the horrors of taking a life and other violent actions in the name of political goals. Two programs in the research corpus exemplify not only efforts of the personal and social goals of memory, but also demonstrate the longevity of violent attempts at resolution.

And Thou Shall Love Thy Neighbor (18, Israel, 2000) focuses on two main themes: the stories of selected Righteous Gentiles, non-Jews who

endangered their own lives and those of their families to save Jews during the genocide perpetrated by the Germans in World War II; and, the efforts taken to honor and/or preserve the memory for their actions. Among the subtexts are the extensive efforts invested by the state of Israel to document each such action; and the stories of individual survivors who live daily with this chapter of their lives, who feel compelled to pass their memories on to future generations, as well as to honor those who saved them. The trees in Jerusalem planted in honor of the Righteous Gentiles symbolize the need to remember the atrocities as well as the righteous acts for generations.

A Wall Through the Heart of Berlin (28, Germany, 2002), a special chapter of *Logo!*, a daily news program for youth in Germany, was devoted to the 40th anniversary of the building of the wall in Berlin and its destruction, all of which took place prior to the birth of many viewers. The young moderators present the history of the wall through video footage accompanied by answers to their questions by a former resident of East Berlin and then-member of the German parliament.

Reconciliation. Increasingly we are learning to appreciate the forms of reconciliation practiced in many indigenous societies as a final phase of the conflict-resolution process (e.g., the *sulha* in Arab societies, the *fakoro* in Roman society, the *maghiparat* among Sama Dilaut; see Augsberger, 1992; Kemp & Fry, 2004). In many such societies, formal ceremonies are conducted that include symbolic practices that, presumably, assist former opponents to end their conflict and reenter society amiably. Forgiveness is an essential part of this process that, too, is advocated in many religions. Less well known is the reconciliation that takes place between former enemies as part of the process of advancing nonviolent resolution in the midst of violent confrontation. An episode of *Revelados: Values on Line* (37, Colombia, 2004) presents teen viewers with two examples of reconciliation: how forgiveness is developed among young people involved in violence and the initiative of two former officers—one from the military and the other a former head of a terrorist group—to advance a peace initiative and ultimately achieve a reconciliation for actions committed against one another.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study of programs that present political conflicts to children and youth was defined in large part by the nature of the Prix Jeunesse research corpus. Although there were few exemplars of multiphasic presentations of the full conflict-resolution process, the collective analysis of the corpus enabled an illumination of various aspects and topics that could be includ-

ed in media presentations to children and youth, as well as adult viewers. Clearly, much more research is needed of this phenomenon. For example, conducting a more comprehensive worldwide survey as well as in-depth case studies of specific countries would enable us to determine whether, indeed, few films about conflict and its resolution have been produced, and to catalog those that do exist. Interviews with producers of films for children in conflicted societies would enable us to understand their interests and goals in doing so, the approaches they considered and applied in presenting a conflict resolution process, and their assessment of their efforts. Further, in addition to continuing to analyze the nonfiction genre, it would be interesting to analyze the use of the fictional genre to present conflict resolution to children and youth. Similarly, more exemplars of multiphase presentations would enable us to understand how to present these complex processes to children of various ages. Beyond specific production-directed studies, it would be interesting to understand what could be referred to as the political economy of the production of such films. Further assessment research of the application of a "reformist" approach to produce media for children in conflicted societies would enable us to understand the contributions and efficacy of the liberal and other approaches. The following is a brief discussion of three from among many questions that might be addressed in such studies.

What Are the Epistemological Implications of the Political Economy of Program Production and Broadcast?

Research conducted with an orientation to the political economy of media production for children and youth seeks to understand such questions as: Who gets to produce programs about conflicts? Is there a relationship among broadcaster mandates, approval of producer proposals, and program contents? What resolution orientations are advanced in the presentation of conflict and its resolution? Do programs assist viewers to understand such essential elements as: the core problems in conflict, the multiple views of the conflict, the multiple resolution options always present, and, concomitantly, a critical view of the options selected and their consequences, and advances attempted to resolve a conflict?

In regard to these matters, we recall that public-supported broadcasting authorities produced most of the programs present in the research corpus. Because there is a growing trend to shift to less production by broadcasters and greater involvement by local and even global production companies, it would be interesting to assess the interrelationship between independent production companies in regard to the aforementioned aspects of programs they propose that are produced or rejected.

In this regard, two subcategories of producers that emerged from this analysis suggest the need for further research about the interrelationship of political economy and epistemology. First, four programs were co-productions supported by foreign organizations with a clear programmatic ideology—namely, *Sesame Stories* and *Common Ground* (see chaps. 14 and 15 in this book, along with Melone et al., 2002; Shochat, 2003). Second, 25% (9) of the programs were produced in former Yugoslavian countries. According to Kolnar-Panov (1997), video production was popular among residents of Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia during the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and reformation of these new nations. The present study would support her conclusions, because these programs were a substantial body of work in the entire research corpus (28%), and these programs did indeed document the existential crises, losses, and the changes taking place in their social identities. A more in-depth analysis of a greater number of children-related films produced during these conflicts would enable us to analyze how such issues are addressed, as well as how professionals and amateurs explored important existential aspects of their lives. A broader, macrosocial analysis would enable us to understand the role of these endeavors in advancing social and political change in former Yugoslavian societies.

Finally, in recalling that over 70% of the programs were made in societies directly involved in the conflict addressed in the program and that all but four were broadcast at a time when the program and the phase of the conflict-resolution process presented matched,⁵ one might ask: If these programs were broadcast to update or reinforce viewers' understandings, then why did so few programs provide analyses of the conflicts or even reconstructions of major events? On the one hand, one could argue that studies have found that children do have direct or indirect exposure to adult-oriented news and may well know quite a lot about the events taking place (see other chapters in this volume). If so, it may be claimed that few programs analyzed the conflict because producers feel that the children already know about it and may be traumatized, and therefore their strongest need during a period of conflict is escapism. On the other hand, one could argue the opposite point of view—there is a need for such cognitive-oriented programs because children's knowledge may be idiosyncratic, superficial, incomplete, and/or unorganized. For example, the two programs from the Philippines (22, 25) and the episode of the *School for Human Rights* (32, Colombia) demonstrate that interesting programs can be made that assist younger viewers to question as well as obtain both a broader, multiphase view and an in-depth understanding of events taking place in their society. Yet we should not lose sight of the fact that, overall, so few programs were produced about political conflict, war, and conflict-resolution processes. Future studies that focus on the interrelationship between the political economy of media production and what is actually viewed by children may

ascertain whether this is a unique or a more general phenomenon, and if so why this is the case.

How To Portray War and Peace/Reconciliation?

The claim made throughout this conflict-resolution-driven analysis is that programs should provide viewers with accounts of the multiple, often cyclical phases of resolution and honest portrayals of the interests and views of all parties involved. Applying such an approach produced findings that a majority of the programs presented a single phase of the conflict-resolution process and that a preponderance of programs dealt with the use of violence as a resolution option and its consequences. A complementary, additional finding revealed that 20 programs (54%) dealt with one side of the conflict, 11 programs (30%) presented all parties involved in a conflict in a manner that would enable viewers to understand their perspectives, another 6 programs emphasized one side, but gave partial attention to other parties. Only two programs made mention of the role of mediators. By all accounts, the overall conclusion is that there has been but limited realization of the potential of programs to enable children and youth to understand processes involved in conflict and conflict resolution.

Based on the media discourse that compares two orientations, most commonly referred to as war and peace journalism (e.g., Galtung, 1998; Hanitzsch, 2004; Howard, 2002; Juluri, 2005; Shinar, 2003), one framing of the study's conclusion is that, generally, the research corpus reproduces the orientation of war journalism. Based on the critique offered by the discourse of peace journalism, we should not be surprised by such a conclusion because it claims that the media and particularly broadcasting corporations are part of the mechanisms that advance, rather than question, militarism. Wolfsfeld (2004), in a corollary tact to the peace journalism discourse, found that the media often play a destructive role in peace processes. He argues that is due to "a fundamental contradiction between the nature of a peace process and news values" (p. 15). For example, the news-value approach is oriented to report specific events that present crises, conflicts, as well as major breakthroughs in peace processes in a simplistic, often ethnocentric manner. In contrast, peace-oriented media reports would report the brutalities and ideologies of multiple sides, as well as institutions that advance resolution processes, acts of moderation, and cooperation.

This welcome debate is still in its infancy, and many more empirical studies are needed, particularly in regard to the nature of the implementation of the peace journalism orientation. For example, analyses of the media may reveal that many media productions, even those performed through the news-value orientation, include features of peace journalism that, also, serve to advance resolution efforts. Evidence of such potential was found in this

study, as nearly 40% of the programs dealt with postconfrontation phases of the resolution process.

Further, I submit that there is a basic need to establish a complete explanation of the complex, dynamic realities of the conflict-resolution process. One conclusion of this study is that the cyclical model does meet this need because it is comprehensive and enabled us to elicit the many manifestations of the conflict-resolution process.

What Is the Potential Contribution of Programs About Conflict Resolution to Children and Youth?

A prime facie argument in regard to this question is that, given that conflict is an integral part of the everyday lives of individuals, groups, societies and nations, learning about conflict resolution should be a major concern of agencies involved in the education of children and youth. Yet, in this regard, we cannot avoid returning to one of the basic findings of this study: Apparently few producers (3%) are interested in realizing the potential of TV programs to assist children and youth to understand conflict resolution.

One challenging interpretation of this conclusion is that perhaps this study supports Philo's (2002) claims that the "media are engaged in the mass production of social ignorance" . . . and that "audiences are misinformed because of the low level of explanation and context that is given and because some explanations that are present in television reporting are partial . . ." (p. 173). Philo's conclusions assume intentionalities for which I have no evidence. Thus, much more research needs to be devoted to understanding how producers and broadcasters view involvement with this subject prior to reaching Philo's conclusions.

In contrast to Philo, one finding from the study does provide a solid foundation both for further research and a basis to claim that the producers of children's media are oriented to advancing more complex understandings of social life, in general, and conflict-resolution processes, in particular. I was interested to understand whether the limited focus of the programs in the research corpus included a one-dimensional view of either personal or social involvement, or if they portrayed social life as a complex process constructed through the interaction of individuals in everyday social life. I found that two programs were totally social in orientation (3, 35), whereas a third of the programs (12) were solely personal. Applying a passive-active criteria revealed that five of the programs that focused solely on the personal presented protagonists as passive, primarily as victims of terrorist attacks or refugees, while seven other programs did involve activist efforts by the protagonists to confront their situation.

Two thirds of the programs did present forms of social life amid conflict in which individuals were involved in trying to deal actively, indeed, to

intervene to change the realities of their lives.⁶ Such accounts highlight an important part of the processes necessary for resolution, particularly nonviolent resolution, of conflict—the active involvement of each individual in advancing change. As important as this lesson is, it is but one of the conditions through which conflict resolution can be advanced. The theoretical approach applied in this study and several key findings suggest that children, as well as adults, can be provided with a broader perspective and understanding of conflict-resolution processes through the media, in general, and via specific programs, in particular (Götz & Lemish, 2004). To do so, I submit, is simply good professional practice.

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APPENDIX

Research Corpus, Prix Jeunesse Competitors, 1994-2004

Study No	Year	Country	Title	Ep=Episode	Director (D), Producer (P), Broadcaster (B)	Age Level	F/NF	Minutes
1	1994	Croatia	War Child			~7	F	2
2	1994	Austria/Bosnia	Amir's Letter		Osterreichischer Rundfunk	7-12	NF	
3	1994	Israel	Banana Boom - Peace	(Ep)	Israel Educational Television	7-12	NF	
4	1996	Peru	Escape on the River		Channel 45, Lima Peru	7-12	F	30
5	1996	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Sarajevo the Small		Radio TV Bosnia and Herzegovina	7-12	NF	21
6	1996	Norway/South Africa	U: South Africa (Ep)		Norwegian Broadcasting Corp	12-17	NF	30
7	1996	Israel	Zap for Peace		D: D. Baron; P. S. Enav; B: Israel Broadcasting	7-12	NF	25
8	1996	Bosnia	Children of B-H to the Children of the World		D: Slavisa Masic, Radio Television of B & H, Sarajevo, Republic of B & H	7-12	NF	20
9	1998	Canada	Dinner for Two		National Radio & TV Board	12-17	F	8
10	1998	Italy on Angola	White Shoes		D: M. Giordana; P. M. Cusberti & C. Cope; B: Radiotelevisione Italiana	12-17	NF	30
11	2000	Macedonia	Our Neighborhood		D: D. Ksasapi; P. Common Ground, B: A-1 Television, Skopje.	7-12	F	25

12	2000	Bosnia-Herzegovina	White Cap	D: S. Masic; P: M. Anzulovic; B: RTV, BH	6-11	NF	15
13	2000	Sri Lanka	Devils of the Magosa Tree	D/P: A. Abeynayake B: Sri Lanka Rupavahini	11-15	F	24
14	2000	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Vesa - Dew Children of Kosovo		11-15	NF	27
15	2000	India /Tibet	Big Treasure Chest for Future Kids	D & P: R. Sarin & T. Sonam, White Crane Films, New Delhi. B: TCV Cable Network, Dharamasala, India	11-15	NF	25
16	2000	Serbia	Hotel Underground	D: P. Pecjolino; P: D. Kojad-inovic;	11-15	NF	18
17	2000	Austria	Confetti News (Ep)	B: RTV Studio B, Belgrade, Yugoslavia D: H. Janisch; P: A. Vana & H. Janisch; B: ORF - Confetti TIV	11-15	NF	11
18	2000	Israel	And Thou Shall Love Thy Neighbor	D: J. Barkan; P: N. Sherman;	11-15	NF	40
19	2000	Hong Kong/Yugoslavia	Video Letter	B: Israel Ed. TV, Ramat Aviv, Israel D: D. Yeung; P: J. Leung;	11-15	NF	22
20	2000	Sri Lanka	Children in Conflict Areas (Ep)	B: Radio TV Hong Kong D: N. Harasgama; P: Young Asia TV; B: Teleshan Network (PVT)	11-15	NF	5

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21	2002	England /Sierra Leone	Newsround Extra - Sierra Leone (Ep)	DP: Ian Prince	11-15	NF	11
22	2002	Philippines	People Power II - Ruled by Kids (Ep)	B: Newsround, BBC D/P: M. Mosura, D. Tolen-tino, A. C. Ilanera P: GMA-7, Manila	11-15	NF	20
23	2002	South Africa	Takalani Sesame (Ep)	D: M. Radomsky, T. Semevsky, M. Duude P: C. Wright, S. Hopa B: SABC, Johannesburg	3-6	NF	26
24	2002	Bosnia	Beautiful Things	D: S. Masic; P: M. Anzulovic	6-11	NF	15
25	2002	Philippines	Call of the Youth Ep	B: RTV BIH, Sarajevo D: N. Anonuevo; P: R. Paz L. Lopez B: ABS-CBN, Quezon City	13-16	NF	40

26	2002	United States	In the Mix: Looking Back, Moving Forward (Ep)	D: S. Castle, D. Bellinson; P: S. Castle, Castle Works. B: PBS, Alexandria, VA	12-18	NF	30
27	2002	Brazil	We at the Schools (Ep)	D: F. Machado; P: Multirio	11-15	NF	29
28	2002	Germany	Logo! Extra A Wall through the heart of Berlin (Ep)	B: Multirio, Rio de Janeiro B: KIKA, Der Kinderkanal, ARD/ZDF	11-15	NF	12

29	2004	Israel	Blue Snow	D: Z. Robin; B: Noga, Childrens Channel	7-11	F	29
30	2004	Jordan & Palestine	The Long Road to the School	D/P: A. Abu-Asi B: Jordan R&TV Corp Amman	7-11	F	15
31	2004	Colombia	With No Id (Ep)	D: M. Boquero P: Sin Cedula B: City TV - Bogota	7-11	NF	7
32	2004	Colombia	School for Human Rights (Ep)	D: C. Garcia; P: Citurna Producciones; B: Canal 13	12-15	NF	25
33	2004	Israel	Sesame Stories (Ep)	D: X: P: Jill Cluckson, Sipuray Sumsum, B: Hop! TV & Sesame Workshop	4-7	NF	24
34	2004	UAE-Dubai	Wuz, Wuz & Batt Peace Dove (Ep)		7-11	F	15
35	2004	Turkey	War Changes Everything	D: A. S. Uvez; P: S. H. Deoptrir; B: TRT, Ankara	7-11	NF	15
36	2004	Norway	Iraq Reportage on War	D: T. Persen; B: Children & Youth Dept, NRK	12-15	NF	4
37	2004	Colombia	Revelados: Values on Line (Ep)	D: D. Hoyos; P: Fundacion Imaginario B: Canal 13, Bogata	12-15	NF	25

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