

---

# Outreach Evaluation: The International Criminal Court in the Central African Republic

---

Patrick Vinck\* and Phuong N. Pham†

## Abstract<sup>1</sup>

Public information and outreach have emerged as one of the fundamental activities of transitional justice mechanisms. Their objective is to raise public awareness, knowledge and participation among affected communities. Despite this increased focus, understanding of the role, impact and effectiveness of various outreach strategies remains limited, as is understanding of communities' knowledge, perceptions and attitudes about transitional justice mechanisms, including their expectations. The study discussed in this article was designed to evaluate International Criminal Court (ICC) outreach programs in the Central African Republic. Specifically, the article examines how the public gathers information about the ICC and what factors influence knowledge levels and perceptions in relation to the Court. The findings show that mass media and informational meetings are effective at raising awareness and knowledge, but that the lack of access to formal media and reliance on informal channels of communication create a group of 'information poor' individuals. The authors suggest that outreach must be local in order to respond to individuals' needs and expectations and to ensure their access to information. Evaluation research must be implemented systematically and on a continuing basis to assess how best to reach various target groups and develop innovative, responsive and flexible communication strategies.

\* Director, Initiative for Vulnerable Populations, Human Rights Center, School of Law, University of California, Berkeley, USA; Adjunct Associate Professor, Payson Center, School of Law, Tulane University, USA. Email: pvinck@berkeley.edu

† Director of Research, Human Rights Center, School of Law, and Visiting Professor, School of Public Health, University of California, Berkeley, USA; Adjunct Associate Professor, Payson Center, School of Law, Tulane University, USA. Email: ppham1@berkeley.edu

<sup>1</sup> This study was supported by grants from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and from Humanity United. The funding organizations played no role in the design and conduct of the study, the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data, or the preparation, review or approval of the manuscript. We are grateful to all of the survey respondents, interviewers and supervisors. Neil Hendrick supported data collection. Fabienne Chassagneux, Gervais Opportun Bodagay, Claudia Perdomo and Caroline Maurel at the Press, Information and Documentation Section of the ICC provided important information about the work of the outreach unit in CAR. Roger Sherwin of Tulane University and Jennie Sherwin and Alexander Truong of Johns Hopkins University provided editorial comments on the manuscript.

## Introduction

Outreach has been hailed as an essential part of any transitional justice process.<sup>2</sup> The emerging consensus is that victims and populations need to be informed and to become active participants in order for any transitional justice mechanism to achieve its goals. The assumption is that the value of transitional justice mechanisms lies in their public impact.<sup>3</sup> A range of theoretical perspectives has emerged to outline the importance of public outreach. A pragmatic argument is that awareness about transitional justice mechanisms is necessary for their basic functioning. For example, testimonies may only be brought forward if the affected communities are aware of the existence of a mechanism to address past abuses, and if this mechanism is perceived as legitimate. However, public awareness is also necessary for a transitional justice mechanism to have a transformative impact on society. By fostering dialogue and ownership of the goals and implications of transitional justice processes, outreach may produce greater judicial accountability, demonstrate that judicial arbitrariness is no longer acceptable, educate on the rule of law, enable deterrence of future crimes and promote peace and reconciliation.<sup>4</sup> Beyond public information, public outreach and consultation are also proposed to ensure that accountability mechanisms better reflect the population's needs and expectations, as well as foster participation and ownership.<sup>5</sup>

Recognition of the importance of public awareness to transitional justice mechanisms is not recent. The Nuremberg trials were seen by the Allied occupying powers as an opportunity to educate the German population about the crimes committed by the Nazis.<sup>6</sup> The Office of Military Government for Germany (US) went on to set up an opinion survey section within the intelligence branch of the Office of the Director of Information Control to gather the population's perspectives about the reconstruction process in Germany, including perceptions of the Nuremberg trials.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> 'Outreach' designates the range of approaches undertaken to raise awareness of and inform about transitional justice mechanisms, as well as encourage participation in and ownership of the mechanisms.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Hazan, 'Measuring the Impact of Punishment and Forgiveness: A Framework for Evaluating Transitional Justice,' *International Review of the Red Cross* 88(861) (2006): 19–47.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Victor Peskin, 'Courting Rwanda: The Promises and Pitfalls of the ICTR Outreach Programme,' *Journal of International Criminal Justice* 3(4) (2005): 950–961; Jessica Feinstein, 'The Hybrid's Handmaiden: Media Coverage of the Special Court for Sierra Leone' (2009), <http://works.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=jessica.feinstein> (accessed 5 July 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Phuong N. Pham and Patrick Vinck, 'Empirical Research and the Development and Assessment of Transitional Justice Mechanisms,' *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1(2) (2007): 231–248.

<sup>6</sup> Akiba A. Cohen, Tamar Zemach-Marom, Jürgen Wilke and Birgit Schenk, *The Holocaust and the Press: Nazi War Crimes Trials in Germany and Israel* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 2002).

<sup>7</sup> Seventy-two surveys were conducted over a period of four years. Among other results, the surveys showed at first a strong popular interest in the trials among respondents in the American Zone of Occupation. In October 1946, 93 percent of respondents claimed to have heard the verdicts. A majority (87%) also reported having learned something from the proceedings, which frequently included learning about the concentration camps and the extermination of Jews. Over time, however, interest in the proceedings declined, as did confidence in the completeness and reliability of the press coverage. While respondents appeared to be generally satisfied with the verdicts handed

Recently, however, the focus has been on developing proactive outreach processes within transitional justice institutions, such as the International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICC recognizes that in order to fulfill its mandate, its role and judicial activities must be understood by affected communities.<sup>8</sup> As a result, the Court's outreach program was created to: (1) provide accurate and comprehensive information to affected communities regarding the Court's role and activities; (2) promote greater understanding of the Court's role during the various stages of proceedings with a view to increasing support for them among the population; (3) foster greater participation of local communities in the activities of the Court; (4) respond to the general concerns and expectations expressed by affected communities and by particular groups within these communities; (5) counter misinformation; and (6) promote access to, and understanding of, judicial proceedings among affected communities.<sup>9</sup>

Despite this increased focus on raising public awareness about transitional justice mechanisms, understanding of the role, impact and effectiveness of various outreach strategies remains limited. Several studies examine the approaches to outreach of the *ad hoc* international tribunals, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).<sup>10</sup> They note that a significantly delayed outreach strategy at both tribunals undermined their legitimacy and legacy. Neither tribunal initiated formal outreach efforts for at least the first five years of its existence. This lack of outreach, it is argued, has led to harmful, inaccurate and biased local reporting, which in turn has undermined the tribunals' impact.

Similarly, several studies examine how the ICC and hybrid tribunals, such as the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) and the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, have organized their initial outreach efforts.<sup>11</sup> Learning from the ICTY and ICTR, these courts have developed strategies to approach the media and work with civil society to reach out to affected communities. The SCSL, for example, has proactively nurtured a relationship with the media, devised strategies to make its proceedings more accessible to the general population and

down in Nuremberg, perception of unfairness increased throughout the survey period. Anna J. Merritt and Richard L. Merritt, *Public Opinion in Occupied Germany: The OMGUS Surveys, 1945–1949* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1970).

<sup>8</sup> International Criminal Court, 'Integrated Strategy for External Relations, Public Information and Outreach,' <http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/425E80BA-1EBC-4423-85C6-D4F2B93C7506/185049/ICCPIDSWBOR0307070402.IS.En.pdf> (accessed 5 July 2010).

<sup>9</sup> International Criminal Court, 'Strategic Plan for Outreach of the International Criminal Court,' ICC-ASP/5/12 (29 September 2006), <http://www.icc-cpi.int/NR/rdonlyres/FB4C75CF-FD15-4B06-B1E3-E22618FB404C/185051/ICCASP512.English1.pdf> (accessed 5 July 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Janine N. Clark, 'International War Crimes Tribunals and the Challenge of Outreach,' *International Criminal Law Review* 9(1) (2009): 99–116; Varda Hussain, 'Sustaining Judicial Rescues: The Role of Outreach and Capacity-Building Efforts in War Crimes Tribunals,' *Virginia Journal of International Law* 45(2) (2005): 547–585; Kingsley C. Moghalu, 'Image and Reality of War Crimes Justice: External Perceptions of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda,' *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 26(2) (2002): 21–46; Peskin, *supra* n 4.

<sup>11</sup> Norman H. Pentelovitch, 'Seeing Justice Done: The Importance of Prioritizing Outreach Efforts at International Criminal Tribunals,' *Georgetown Journal of International Law* 39(3) (2008): 445–494; Feinstein, *supra* n 4; Clark, *supra* n 10.

targeted certain groups, such as the diaspora. However, few outreach practitioners have systematically and scientifically examined lessons learned from these courts' outreach work.<sup>12</sup>

This body of research yields important theoretical and empirical information on outreach, but it falls short of evaluating the effectiveness of various outreach strategies among the public. Even considering truth commissions, which are recognized as having more of a vested interest in public awareness because of their mandate to record victims' stories, little is known about how best to reach out to communities affected by mass violence. The assumption appears to be that developing a proactive public information and outreach effort is sufficient to improve public awareness and knowledge, and ultimately spur a transformative process that will reduce violence and promote reconciliation. Yet, while recent research suggests that public programs, such as broadcasting a radio soap opera on the theme of reconciliation, can positively affect listeners' perceptions of intergroup prejudice and conflict,<sup>13</sup> such conclusions may not apply to transitional justice outreach programs.

A separate body of research, including studies by the authors, focuses on the assessment of awareness, knowledge and perceptions of transitional justice mechanisms among affected populations. These studies have been used, for example, to assess the association between exposure to trauma and attitude toward various transitional justice mechanisms.<sup>14</sup> None of these studies, however, is specifically aimed at understanding the association between outreach, the media and increased awareness and knowledge about the mechanisms. Questions remain as to how individuals learn about them, what shapes their opinions and how attitudes form and change. Communication research on diffusion of innovation<sup>15</sup> suggests that mass media are effective in spreading awareness and knowledge, and that interpersonal communication channels (friends and family) are effective in shaping attitudes and behaviors. Studies in western countries have yielded contradictory results about the impact of increased coverage of trials on perceptions of the judiciary.<sup>16</sup> But how

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Sativa January, 'Tribunal Verité: Documenting Transitional Justice in Sierra Leone,' *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3(2) (2009): 207–228.

<sup>13</sup> A large body of literature is available on the relationship between the media and development. Fewer studies explore the association between the media and postconflict reconstruction. See, for example, Elizabeth L. Paluck, 'Reducing Intergroup Prejudice and Conflict Using the Media: A Field Experiment in Rwanda,' *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 96(3) (2009): 574–587.

<sup>14</sup> Phuong N. Pham, Harvey M. Weinstein and Timothy Longman, 'Trauma and PTSD: Their Implication for Attitudes towards Justice and Reconciliation,' *Journal of the American Medical Association* 292(5) (2004): 602–612; Sanja Kutnjak Ivković and John Hagan, 'The Politics of Punishment and the Siege of Sarajevo: Toward a Conflict Theory of Perceived International (In)Justice,' *Law and Society Review* 40(2) (2006): 369–410; Patrick Vinck and Phuong N. Pham, 'Ownership and Participation in Transitional Justice Mechanisms: A Sustainable Human Development Perspective from Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo,' *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 2(3) (2008): 398–411.

<sup>15</sup> Diffusion of innovation theory examines how new ideas and technologies are invented, diffused and adopted or rejected, leading to social changes. The theory has been applied widely in developing communication and marketing strategy in various disciplines such as agriculture and public health. See, Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations* (New York: Free Press, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, Becca Chapman, Catriona Mirrlees-Black and Claire Brawn, *Improving Public Attitudes to the Criminal Justice System: The Impact of Information* (London: UK Home Office

applicable are these findings to informing and educating communities affected by mass violence about transitional justice mechanisms?

This study attempts to fill this gap in the literature, using results of an outreach evaluation conducted in the Central African Republic (CAR), one of the situations currently being investigated by the ICC. Specifically, it aims at understanding: (1) how the population gathers information in general; (2) if outreach activities and the media can raise awareness and knowledge about the ICC; and (3) whether the level of knowledge is associated with a change in perceptions about the ICC.

As this study illustrates, evaluation methods provide researchers and practitioners with the necessary information to develop and implement outreach programs. Specific program evaluation can be used, for example, to determine which strategies are most effective for reaching and engaging specific segments of affected communities. At the same time, formative evaluation<sup>17</sup> can provide continuing, reliable and accurate feedback of communities' knowledge, perceptions and attitudes about transitional justice mechanisms, including their expectations. This evaluative process contributes to the 'empiricization' of transitional justice, that is, it provides empirically based evidence to inform the development, implementation and evaluation of transitional justice mechanisms.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, outreach evaluation has the advantage of addressing an area of transitional justice that has some concrete and measurable goals, such as raising awareness among victims about their rights or about the work of the ICC. In contrast, many of the broader goals of transitional justice, such as deterrence and forgiveness, present conceptual and methodological challenges to evaluation.<sup>19</sup> Outreach evaluation provides a feasible avenue and initial steps toward increasingly complex and comprehensive evaluation of the broader goals of transitional justice. Beyond the evaluation of performance, evaluation research provides learning opportunities for those involved in transitional justice mechanisms and, in the present case, outreach strategies.

Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, 2002); Martina Y. Feilzer, 'Criminologists Making News? Providing Factual Information on Crime and Criminal Justice through a Weekly Newspaper Column,' *Crime Media Culture* 3(3) (2007): 285–304.

- <sup>17</sup> Formative evaluation is a type of evaluation research aimed at informing and improving the development and implementation of the program or project being evaluated (e.g., implementation of an outreach strategy). Formative evaluation is proposed as a learning and consultative process to ensure that the needs and expectations of communities are taken into account by transitional justice programs.
- <sup>18</sup> Phuong N. Pham and Patrick Vinck, 'Empirical Research and the Development and Assessment of Transitional Justice Mechanisms,' *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 1(2) (2007): 231–248.
- <sup>19</sup> Oskar N.T. Thoms, James Ron and Ronald Paris, 'Does Transitional Justice Work? Perspectives from Empirical Social Science,' Social Science Research Network Working Paper (19 October 2008), <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1302084> (accessed 6 July 2010). See also, Phuong N. Pham, Patrick Vinck and Harvey Weinstein, 'Human Rights, Transitional Justice, Public Health and Social Reconstruction,' *Social Science and Medicine* 70(1) (2010): 98–105; Hazan, *supra* n 3.

## Background to the Conflict and Involvement of the ICC in CAR

Since obtaining its independence from France in 1960, CAR has been trapped in a cycle of military coup attempts and violent power transitions, leaving the country fragmented, underdeveloped and violent.<sup>20</sup> The successive governments have had little control outside the capital, Bangui, and instability has been aggravated by the constant intervention of neighboring warlords, rebels and mercenaries, who freely use remote rural areas as bases for their operations.<sup>21</sup>

In 1993, the election of Ange-Félix Patassé to the presidency was followed by a series of military coup attempts, prompting the involvement of a small UN force. In 1999, Patassé was reelected, but a new wave of violence erupted. In the aftermath of a coup attempt in 2001 by former President André-Dieudonné Kolingba, Patassé accused his chief of staff, François Bozizé, of disloyalty. Bozizé fled to Chad and returned a year later, leading an offensive to oust Patassé. Bozizé's troops quickly reached Bangui and engaged in heavy fighting. In order to contain the invading forces, Patassé requested help from Jean-Pierre Bemba, a warlord from neighboring Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Bemba's *Banyamulenge* troops pushed the rebels back to the north, but in the process established a five-month reign of terror. Ultimately, Bozizé seized power in 2003. He remains in power to this day, but instability continues, with various rebel groups active mainly in the northern part of the country.

In 2002–2003, the widespread violence committed by all parties, including Bemba's troops, prompted local human rights organizations affiliated with the International Federation for Human Rights to investigate serious crimes in the most affected neighborhoods of the capital.<sup>22</sup> In February 2003, the evidence was sent to the newly established ICC with the suggestion that the situation be investigated. Then, in December 2004, Bozizé's government officially referred the situation to the Court.<sup>23</sup> Two and half years later, in May 2007, the ICC prosecutor opened an investigation into the situation in CAR, and, in 2008, the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber issued the first arrest warrant in the situation against Jean-Pierre Bemba.<sup>24</sup> Bemba, who was traveling in Belgium at the time, was arrested the day

<sup>20</sup> International Crisis Group, *Central African Republic: Keeping the Dialogue Alive* (January 2010).

<sup>21</sup> International Crisis Group, *Central African Republic: Anatomy of a Phantom State* (December 2007).

<sup>22</sup> Marlies Glasius, "We Ourselves, We Are Part of the Functioning": The ICC, Victims, and Civil Society in the Central African Republic,' *African Affairs* 108(430) (2009): 49–67; International Federation for Human Rights, *War Crimes in the Central African Republic: When the Elephants Fight, the Grass Suffers* (February 2003).

<sup>23</sup> Under Article 14 of the Rome Statute, a state can make self-referrals for crimes committed on its territory. The first state self-referral took place in 2003 for the situation in northern Uganda.

<sup>24</sup> International Criminal Court, 'Prosecutor Opens Investigation in the Central African Republic,' (22 May 2007), <http://www.icc-cpi.int/menus/icc/press%20and%20media/press%20releases/2007/prosecutor%20opens%20investigation%20in%20the%20central%20african%20republic?lan=en-GB> (accessed 6 July 2010). The delay between CAR's self-referral and the opening of the investigation was unusually long partly because the competency of national courts to try alleged perpetrators of serious crimes was being considered by CAR's *Cour de Cassation*. It is uncertain whether other alleged perpetrators of serious crimes are currently being investigated in the situation of CAR.

after the arrest warrant was unsealed and subsequently transferred to The Hague. In 2009, the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber confirmed charges of two crimes against humanity (rape and murder) and three war crimes (rape, murder and pillage) against the military leader. To date, Bemba is the only person facing trial concerning the situation of CAR. The trial is set to start in 2010.

As a result of the investigation, the ICC established a field office in CAR in 2007. The office's outreach unit did not become operational until January 2009, before the confirmation of charges hearing in the case of *The Prosecutor v. Jean-Pierre Bemba Gombo*. The priorities of the outreach unit in CAR are twofold: to increase awareness and general understanding among the general public of CAR of the ICC's mandate, role, functioning and activities, including its specific operations in CAR, and to ensure that professionals working in local media are given rapid and accurate updates on legal developments, so that they, in turn, can keep the public informed. To achieve these objectives, the outreach unit developed a three-phase activity plan: first, providing basic information about the ICC and the Bemba case, while making the proceedings accessible to affected populations in Bangui; second, launching a radio series titled 'Understanding the ICC,' broadcast in Sango, the local language, and another titled 'Ask the Court,' broadcast in French; and, third, expanding outreach workshops and interactive meetings outside Bangui. At the same time, Interactive Radio for Justice, an independent project designed to encourage dialogue between people and judicial authorities, including the Court, launched a pilot project and radio programs in CAR in 2008.<sup>25</sup>

In 2009, the outreach unit contacted the authors to explore the possibility of providing critical information on the public's perceptions of the Court in CAR. After an initial assessment, the research presented here was undertaken as part of a broader initiative to evaluate attitudes about peace, justice and social reconstruction.<sup>26</sup> The research was implemented independently. Aside from providing information about the Court and its outreach unit's program, the ICC played no role in the design and conduct of the study, in the collection, analysis and interpretation of the data or in the preparation, review and approval of this article.

## Research Design

This study is based on a cross-sectional population survey of adult residents in five administrative regions of CAR.<sup>27</sup> In addition, a postintervention case-control study design was used to examine factors associated with participation in ICC

<sup>25</sup> See the website for Interactive Radio for Justice in CAR, <http://www.irfj.org/the-project/irfj-in-car/> (accessed 5 July 2010).

<sup>26</sup> Since 2003, the authors have done research in CAR, DRC, Uganda, Cambodia, Iraq and Rwanda, conducting about 20,000 interviews with individuals in affected communities.

<sup>27</sup> The Committees for the Protection of Human Subjects at the University of California, Berkeley, reviewed and approved the study protocol in October 2009. In CAR, where no similar review board exists, the protocol was reviewed and approved by the Ministry of Economy, Planning and International Cooperation. Approval to conduct interviews was also obtained from the local authorities at each survey site. Neither monetary nor material incentives were offered for participation. One-on-one interviews were conducted anonymously and privately. Participants were provided with contact information in case they had any questions.



outreach activities. Such a design is appropriate when the researchers do not have control over exposure to the intervention (such as outreach activities) and when the proportion of those exposed in the total population is low. The cases are randomly selected individuals who participated in ICC outreach activities in Bangui from January through September 2009. The controls are the cross-sectional population survey respondents selected in Bangui. Only respondents from the capital were selected as controls so that cases and controls could be as similar as possible at baseline, except for the intervention, that is, participation in an outreach meeting.

### **The Cross-Sectional Population Survey and Selection of the Controls**

For the purpose of the population-based survey, five administrative regions representing a variety of exposures to violence were included in the survey: Bangui and the prefectures of Lobaye, Ombella Mpoko, Ouham and Ouham Pende. Within each region, the interviewers used a systematic method of random selection to select villages proportionately to the population size, then households and finally individuals for interview. Of 2,192 households approached for interviews, 1,879 agreed to participate (86% participation rate). Within these households, a total of 1,969 individuals were approached and 1,879 participated in the interviews (95% participation rate, with one individual selected per household). For the case-control component of the study, the 359 respondents from the cross-sectional population survey who were randomly selected in Bangui are defined as the control group.

### **Selection of the Cases**

From January through September 2009, the outreach unit organized 61 events with approximately 4,420 participants. Almost all of these activities were conducted in Bangui. The outreach unit provided the authors with a comprehensive list of its outreach meeting participants. Using this list as the sampling frame, a systematic method of random sampling was used to select 250 individuals. Once selected, respondents were contacted for participation in the cases survey. A total of 178 individuals (71.2%) were located and agreed to participate.

### **Data Collection**

Interviews were conducted using a standardized semistructured questionnaire. Response options based on pilot interviews were provided to the interviewer for coding but were never read to study participants, with the exception of questions employing a scaling format (e.g., the Likert scale). An open-ended field was always available for interviewers to record complete responses. Questionnaires and consent documents were developed in French. They were then independently translated into Sango and back-translated into French. The questionnaire was extensively piloted before and during the training with a convenience sample and then, randomly, in a nonsurvey site.



Once the questionnaire was finalized, it was programmed into a smartphone using KoBo, our custom data collection package. The smartphone enables enumerators to enter the data directly as they conduct the interview. In addition, KoBo contains a built-in verification system where programming of automatic skip logic and response constraints can be developed. This reduces the risk of interviewers skipping questions or entering erroneous values. At the same time, it allows the lead researchers to check data for consistency and outliers on a daily basis during data collection. Furthermore, to overcome the problem of access to a power source, each smartphone was paired with a portable solar charger.

Interviewers underwent eight days of training that included study objectives and content, survey and interview techniques, use of the smartphone, trouble shooting and solving possible technical problems and pilot testing. Tests to improve interrater reliability included simultaneous coding of mock interviews by all the interviewers until a 100 percent coding agreement on all the questions was obtained. The smartphone enables one to test for intrarater agreement instantly. Test and pilot data were verified for consistency and outliers.

Data collection took place during a six-week period in November and December 2009. Five teams of two men and two women implemented the study under the guidance of the lead researchers. At the survey sites, each interviewer was expected to conduct four interviews per day, each lasting an average of one hour. Upon selection of study participants, oral rather than written informed consent was obtained because of the low literacy rate in CAR. After collection, the data was imported for analysis in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). All the results presented were adjusted for the complex sampling methodology and weight factors.

### **Limitations**

Several limitations are inherent to the method and context of the study. The sample was designed to be representative of the region under study, not the whole of CAR, as only part of the country was included in the survey. Some villages, households and individuals had to be replaced, and how the replaced individuals differ from those interviewed is unknown. A randomized controlled evaluation design was not feasible because the outreach activities were developed independently from an evaluation strategy. In addition, it is possible that responses were influenced by social desirability and concerns over safety in areas affected by conflict. The training, use of a consent form, anonymous interviews, confidentiality, supervision and quality control programmed within KoBo were all designed to reduce biases and random errors. Many of the constructs used for this study, such as the measures of awareness, knowledge and perceptions, were used for the first time, and more work is needed to assess whether these measures are appropriate. With regard to knowledge of the ICC, the assessment was limited to factual knowledge. The relation between other types of knowledge (e.g., operational knowledge and knowledge of victims' rights) and outreach and perceptions of the Court was not

explored here. Perception of the ICC was generally positive. The lack of variance in the results limited our ability to examine the association between knowledge and perception. Finally, for the ease of data entry and analysis, responses to open-ended questions were categorized. Precoded answers were available to the interviewers, but never read to the participants. Interviewers also always had the possibility to record in full the answers provided by the respondents. The use of categories may mask nuances in definitions and understanding of some concepts but allows statistical analyses.

## Results

### Characteristics of Survey Respondents

The sample consisted of 936 women and 943 men, which is representative of the adult resident population in the area under study. The ages ranged from 18 to 96, with an average age of 36.4 years (standard error = 0.3). The sample represented over 20 ethnic groups, with the largest groups being Gbaya (24%), Karre (14%, including Tali and Pana) and Banda (11%). Most respondents (75%) described themselves as married or in a partnership relationship.

The respondents' average level of education was low, with 25 percent of respondents reporting no formal education and 29 percent reporting incomplete primary education. The literacy level found in this survey (50%) is consistent with nationwide estimates (44% in 2008) and below the regional average for Sub-Saharan Africa (62% for the 2000–2007 period).<sup>28</sup> Women respondents were significantly less likely to be educated, with 38 percent never having attended school, compared to 13 percent of the men. The respondents in Bangui were on average more educated.

To assess economic status, we constructed a summative index using ownership of nine nonproductive assets. Households owned 3.2 of these assets on average (standard error = 0.17). On average, asset ownership was highest in Bangui. Quintiles were developed to categorize individuals in five asset wealth categories, from the poorest to the richest. In Bangui, only 1 percent of the individuals were classified in the poorest quintile, compared to 33 percent and 39 percent in Ouham Pende and Ouham, respectively.

### Access to Media and Awareness about the ICC among the Population

A basic objective of ICC outreach activities is to raise awareness about the existence of the Court. To the extent that affected communities have never heard about the Court, none of the broader goals of international justice can be achieved. Thus, in evaluating outreach, it is necessary to consider empirical data on how ordinary civilians gather information and how frequently they have heard about the ICC.

<sup>28</sup> Institut Centrafricain des Statistiques et des Etudes Economiques et Sociales, *Enquête Centrafricaine pour le Suivi Evaluation du Bien Etre (ECASEB) de 2008* (2010).

A common assumption about communication in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa is that the population relies more heavily on radio than on other media to access information. At the same time, the importance of informal, interpersonal communication channels at marketplaces or other social gatherings is widely recognized.<sup>29</sup> Such channels prevail in many of Africa's rural communities. The term 'information poor' describes those who do not have access to formal media such as newspapers, radio or Internet because they are socially or economically disadvantaged or because they lack physical access to information networks.

This study shows that in the selected region of CAR, the primary sources of information are the radio (51%) and friends and neighbors (38%). Only a minority of respondents (1%) mentioned newspapers as their primary source of information, although 20 percent reported reading a newspaper at least occasionally. Twenty-four percent of respondents reported not being informed at all about events and news in CAR, and 41 percent said they never have access to a radio (Table 1). We found that socioeconomic characteristics are associated with access to information. On average, information poverty is found among the rural, economically disadvantaged and less-educated populations. Reliance on friends and neighbors as the main source of information decreases with increase in education level and wealth. Conversely, reliance on radio as the main source of information increases with higher education levels and wealth. The proportion of respondents not at all informed about news and events decreases with higher education levels and wealth. There are further significant differences in access to media and level of information across prefectures, with respondents in Bangui, the largest urban area, most frequently using radios and least frequently feeling uninformed about events in CAR.

Gender is also associated with information poverty. Compared to men, women on average are more likely to rely on friends and neighbors as their main source of information and less likely to rely on radio. Over half of the women surveyed (52%) did not listen to radio at all, compared to 30 percent of the men. Furthermore, women reported being uninformed about events in CAR more frequently than men (32% and 16%, respectively). The fact that women are more likely to be poorly informed may be explained partly by social inequalities. For example, fewer women attend school, with 38 percent of women respondents having no formal education, compared to 13 percent of the men. In-depth discussions further suggest that when a household owns a radio, men generally decide how it is used.

The ICC outreach strategy relies in part on the media as an intermediary to disseminate information regarding the Court to the general public. Understanding of how individuals gather information and factors associated with information poverty is therefore directly relevant to our next question: What are the factors associated with awareness about the existence of the ICC?

<sup>29</sup> Lishan Adam and Frances Wood, 'An Investigation of the Impact of Information and Communication Technologies in Sub-Saharan Africa,' *Journal of Information Science* 25 (1999): 307–318; Pippa Norris, *Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

**Table 1. Access to Media**

	Listen to radio? (% yes)	Main source of information (%)			Informed about events in CAR (% not at all)
		Radio	Friends, neighbors	Other	
All respondents	58.8	50.5	38.4	11.1	24.2
Gender					
Female	47.8	37.6	47.2	15.2	32.3
Male	69.7	63.3	29.7	7.0	16.3
Education					
None	30.2	21.5	59.1	19.4	45.9
Incomplete primary	53.9	47.2	44.4	8.4	25.7
Complete primary	67.7	62.7	28.0	9.0	18.8
Secondary incomplete	77.3	68.8	26.1	5.1	10.1
Secondary complete or higher	92.7	76.6	8.6	14.8	4.7
Asset ownership					
Poorest quintile	14.3	11.7	66.2	22.1	53.5
Second quintile	38.6	27.9	58.2	13.9	33.7
Third quintile	50.2	39.9	49.1	11.0	21.6
Fourth quintile	78.3	68.7	27.0	4.3	13.5
Highest quintile	95.7	87.8	6.1	6.1	6.7
Prefecture					
Bangui	83.2	72.0	19.0	9.0	9.5
Lobaye	59.2	50.0	38.9	11.1	23.1
Ombella Mpoko	69.5	60.8	31.5	7.7	18.9
Ouham	34.9	25.5	60.2	14.3	41.2
Ouham Pende	35.0	32.6	53.3	14.1	36.0

We asked respondents whether they had heard about the Court. As shown in Table 2, awareness ranged from 7 percent in Ouham to 63 percent in Bangui, with a figure of 32 percent for the total population in the area under study. In comparison, a similar study conducted in DRC in 2007 found that levels of awareness about the ICC were 27 percent in the eastern part of the country and 28 percent in the capital, Kinshasa.<sup>30</sup> In northern Uganda, awareness about the ICC increased from 25 percent in 2005 to 60 percent in 2007.<sup>31</sup>

In CAR, the range in level of awareness between regions may be explained partly by the fact that, at the time of the survey, the ICC was only in the beginning phase of its outreach activities in the interior of the country. However, awareness also significantly differed across socioeconomic classes. Factors that were found to be

<sup>30</sup> Vinck and Pham, *supra* n 14.

<sup>31</sup> Phuong Pham, Patrick Vinck, Eric Stover, Andrew Moss, Marieke Wierda and Richard Bailey, *When the War Ends: A Population-Based Survey on Attitudes about Peace, Justice, and Social Reconstruction in Northern Uganda* (Berkeley, CA: Human Rights Center/Payson Center for International Development/International Center for Transitional Justice, 2007).

**Table 2. Awareness and Knowledge about the ICC**

	Heard about the ICC		Knowledge of the ICC	
	(% yes)	(95% C.I.)	Mean	(S.E.)
All respondents	31.9	(26.8–37.5)	4.6	(1.00)
Gender*				
Woman	21.5	(16.8–27.0)	4.5	(0.19)
Man	42.3	(35.8–59.0)	4.7	(0.11)
Education**				
None	5.6	(3.6–8.7)	3.6	(0.38)
Incomplete primary	18.7	(14.5–23.9)	4.1	(0.18)
Complete primary	30.9	(24.3–38.4)	4.1	(0.20)
Secondary incomplete	54.5	(48.5–60.3)	4.7	(0.13)
Secondary complete or higher	88.1	(79.9–93.3)	5.2	(0.18)
Wealth**				
Poorest quintile	2.7	(1.5–5.0)	4.1	(0.49)
Second quintile	13.6	(10.2–17.8)	4.2	(0.24)
Third quintile	26.1	(20.7–32.4)	4.0	(0.22)
Fourth quintile	39.5	(33.3–45.9)	4.3	(0.17)
Highest quintile	63.4	(57.2–69.2)	4.9	(0.13)
Prefecture**				
Bangui	63.0	(57.3–68.4)	4.8	(0.14)
Lobaye	24.2	(20.6–28.2)	3.7	(0.17)
Ombella Mpoko	34.7	(28.5–41.6)	4.5	(0.17)
Ouham	7.1	(4.4–11.4)	4.1	(0.28)
Ouham Pende	10.7	(7.7–14.6)	4.7	(0.26)
Listen to radio**				
No	9.5	(7.2–12.6)	3.6	(0.23)
Yes	47.6	(42.0–53.3)	4.7	(0.11)
Read newspaper**				
No	22.0	(18.2–26.3)	4.3	(0.10)
Yes	70.8	(63.9–76.9)	4.9	(0.14)

\**p*-value < 0.001 for 'heard about the ICC.'

\*\**p*-value < 0.001 for both 'heard about the ICC' and 'knowledge of the ICC.'

C.I. refers to confidence intervals and S.E. to standard error.

Note: A *p*-value is the probability of finding a statistically significant association between variables when there is not an association (i.e., false positive). Conventionally, a *p*-value below 0.05 is an acceptable level of error and thus indicates a statistically significant association.

associated with information poverty were also associated with lack of awareness about the Court. On average, women and the least economically resourced and least-educated individuals were also least likely to be aware of the existence of the ICC. Inversely, those who listened to radio or read a newspaper at least occasionally were more likely to have heard about the Court than those who did not.

The importance of radio was further highlighted when respondents who had heard about the ICC were asked how they had heard about it. A majority mentioned radio (90%), while some also mentioned friends and community

(14%), newspapers (12%) or television (12%). Less than 2 percent of those interviewed reported having participated in an outreach meeting about the ICC. At the same time, more than half (57%) of those who had heard about the ICC reported talking, at least occasionally, about the ICC with friends or neighbors, and 51 percent indicated that they had actively looked for information about the Court.

To understand more fully the factors associated with awareness, we conducted a stepwise logistic regression with awareness as the outcome. The independent variables included in the model were the ones presented in Table 2, as well as age, self-rated interest in national news and political news and nine variables representing individuals' exposure to various categories of traumatic events associated with the conflicts.

The exposure to violence variables was included in the model to test whether survivors of war-related violence had a higher awareness about the Court compared to others. Since 2002, in the area under study, 81 percent of the population had been displaced, 76 percent reported having witnessed violence, 67 percent felt threatened with death, 61 percent had property stolen or destroyed, 37 percent reported having had a family member die because of the conflicts, 22 percent directly experienced physical violence, with 4 percent reporting sexual violence, 15 percent were reportedly forced to carry loads or commit violence and 11 percent reported having been abducted. In each of the categories, respondents may have been exposed to more than one form of violence (e.g., coercion includes being forced to carry loads, to loot, to beat someone and so on). The variables used in the regression represent the number of events in each category of exposure to violence. Because of the complex nature of the conflicts, it was not feasible to assess exposure due to specific armed groups, including Bemba's troops.

The multivariate analysis presented in Table 3 shows that, after other factors were adjusted for, men were twice as likely as women to have heard about the ICC. Increased awareness about the ICC was associated with increased wealth and higher education level. Listening to the radio was associated with increased odds of having heard about the ICC, by a factor of 2.3, and overall interest in the news was also associated with increased odds. In addition, respondents who had witnessed violence were more likely to have heard about the ICC. Reading newspapers was not found to be significantly associated with higher awareness in the multivariate analysis, possibly because those who read newspapers already had access to information through radio.

### **Knowledge of the ICC among the Population**

Awareness of the ICC is a first step toward understanding the role, mandate, functioning and activities of the Court. Awareness does not necessarily translate into accurate knowledge or positive perceptions and attitudes about the Court and knowledge about the judicial process in general. Thus, a second part of this outreach evaluation was to examine the level of knowledge of the ICC among those who had heard about it, and the factors associated with higher levels of knowledge.

**Table 3. Factors Associated with Awareness about the ICC (Logistic Regression)**

Dependent = Heard about the ICC	Adjusted O.R. (95% C.I.)	Significance p
Gender (male vs. female)	2.05 (1.53–2.74)	<0.01
Age (one-year increase)	1.04 (1.03–1.05)	<0.01
Education (increase of one category)	1.82 (1.62–2.05)	<0.01
Wealth (one asset owned increase)	1.23 (1.13–1.34)	<0.01
Listen to radio (yes vs. no)	2.30 (1.62–3.29)	<0.01
Interest in political news (one-point increase)	1.15 (1.02 – 1.29)	0.02
Violence – witness (one-event increase)	1.31 (1.21–1.41)	<0.01
<b>Prefectures (vs. Bangui)</b>		
Lobaye	0.50 (0.32–0.77)	<0.01
Ombella Mpoko	0.54 (0.37–0.77)	<0.01
Ouham	0.13 (0.07–0.22)	<0.01
Ouham Pende	0.14 (0.09–0.23)	<0.01

Note: O.R. refers to odds ratio, C.I. to confidence intervals and p to level of significance.

Knowledge about the Court is a complex concept. There is factual knowledge (for example, about when the Court was created), and this may be different from knowledge about the functioning of the Court. Since this was the first attempt to measure knowledge about the ICC, we developed a scale comprising 12 questions about the Court based on its outreach materials. The questions emphasized factual knowledge about the creation of the Court (when, where, by whom) and the ongoing investigations (which countries, which individuals). They also covered knowledge about how to gain access to the Court and its services. While these questions may not fully capture respondents' understanding of the ICC, they reflect the content of outreach material developed by the Court and made available to us.

Starting with the creation of the ICC, about half of the respondents who had heard about the ICC (47%) believed that it was established by the international community, while others believed it was established by the European community (23%), the US (8%) or CAR (5%). Some were able to identify its date of creation: 23 percent stated 2002, the year the Court came into being, and 8 percent stated 1998, the year the Rome Statute was adopted. A larger majority knew where the Court itself is located, with 61 percent indicating 'The Hague' or 'the Netherlands.' About the same proportion (65%) knew the Court has offices in CAR, and 38 percent reported knowing how to access it. Overall, few respondents believed that the Court was created to investigate crimes committed in CAR only (16%) or in Africa only (22%). However, two-thirds (65%) of those who had heard about the ICC believed the Court could investigate crimes committed before 2002.<sup>32</sup>

When asked about countries where the ICC is currently conducting investigations, respondents identified CAR (64%), DRC (59%), Sudan (35%) and/or

<sup>32</sup> The ICC can only investigate crimes committed after 1 July 2002 (Article 11 of the Rome Statute), which means that crimes committed prior to that date in CAR are excluded from the Court's jurisdiction.



**Table 4. Factors Associated with Knowledge of the ICC (Linear Regression)**

Dependent = Knowledge score about the ICC	Unstandardized coefficients		Significance p
	B	S.E. B	
(Constant)	0.87	0.40	0.03
Age	0.01	0.01	0.01
Education level	0.24	0.06	<0.01
Number of assets owned	0.14	0.04	<0.01
Listen to radio	0.47	0.23	0.04
Interest in national news	0.20	0.07	<0.01
ICC source of information – newspaper	0.68	0.21	<0.01
ICC source of information – friends, community	-0.40	0.20	0.05
Violence – death threat	0.24	0.10	0.01
Violence – physical	0.33	0.13	0.01
Violence – displacement	0.17	0.08	0.04

Note: B refers to the unstandardized regression coefficient, S.E. to the standard error associated with the coefficient and p to the level of significance.

Uganda (12%). About 30 percent also incorrectly mentioned other countries. However, only 5 percent of all respondents were able to name all four countries correctly.<sup>33</sup>

When asked about who is currently in detention at the ICC, a majority identified Bemba (80%). Fewer were able to identify Thomas Lubanga (3%), Germain Katanga (2%) or Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui (1%), who are in detention for crimes allegedly committed in DRC. A larger percentage (10%) mistakenly mentioned Charles Taylor, who is on trial at the SCSL. Some respondents know that arrest warrants have been issued for Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir and for Joseph Kony, leader of the Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army rebel group. However, 21 percent also inaccurately believed an arrest warrant had been issued for CAR's Patassé.<sup>34</sup>

Using the above-mentioned factual knowledge items, a summative scale was developed to evaluate respondents' knowledge about the ICC. The score averaged 4.6 of a maximum of 12, with 22.1 percent of the respondents scoring 6 or above. The results, presented in Table 2 by socioeconomic categories, suggest that higher education level and wealth are associated with increased knowledge. This is confirmed by the stepwise multivariate analysis presented in Table 4, with the knowledge score as the outcome. The independent variables were those presented in Table 2, as well as age, self-rated interest in national news and political news and the nine variables representing individuals' exposure to various categories of

<sup>33</sup> At the time of the survey, the ICC had not yet opened investigation into Kenya's 2007 postelection violence.

<sup>34</sup> The serious crimes referred to in the case against Bemba were allegedly committed by Bemba's troops in support of Patassé during Bozizé's attempted coup.

traumatic events associated with the conflicts. The sources of information about the ICC were included, as was participation in meetings about the ICC.

The results show that higher level of education and wealth is associated not only with greater awareness but also with greater knowledge about the Court. Although causation cannot be established because of the nature of the study design, the strategy of using the media to raise knowledge about the ICC appears to be effective, as those with access to a radio and who use newspapers as primary sources of information about the ICC tended to have higher knowledge scores. Furthermore, respondents who rely predominantly on friends and community as their main source of information about the ICC tended to have lower knowledge scores. In other words, among those who had heard about the ICC, the information poor tended to have a lower knowledge score, perhaps not only because they lack access to the media but also because their knowledge is based on informal information sources that could be prone to disinformation and the spread of inaccurate news. Increased exposure to events of death threats, physical violence and displacement was also associated with increased knowledge about the ICC, suggesting that survivors of violence may be eager to learn more about the Court.

### **Case-Control Study of ICC Outreach Activities**

Use of mass media is the primary communication strategy for the ICC to reach out to the general public. Results from the population-based study suggest it is an effective strategy for increasing awareness and knowledge about the Court. However, information is most likely, on average, to reach a male, educated and wealthy elite, leaving out the information poor. A second outreach strategy is the use of general informational meetings. Such meetings generally aim at reaching out to nongovernmental organizations, other civil society groups (including victims), the general population and other specific groups. Since only a small number of individuals participate in such meetings (approximately 4,200 between January and September 2009 in CAR), population-based data are not adapted to examine the association between knowledge and general informational meetings. Rather, to evaluate this strategy, we interviewed 178 individuals randomly selected from a list of ICC outreach meeting participants. Since all the participants were located in Bangui, the survey data from the general population in the city was used as a comparison group (controls).

A general comparison of the characteristics of ICC outreach meeting participants and the general population in Bangui is presented in Table 5. The results suggest that, compared to the general population, outreach meeting participants are on average younger, male, have a higher level of education, are wealthier and are more likely to listen to the radio and read newspapers. They also have a higher average ICC knowledge score compared to the general population. Their overall exposure to violence is not significantly different from that of the rest of the population.

To adjust for the differences in socioeconomic characteristics and examine the association between ICC outreach meeting participation and knowledge, we

**Table 5. Characteristics of Outreach Meeting Participants versus Population (Bangui)**

	Population survey		ICC outreach	
	Bangui ( <i>n</i> = 359)		participants survey ( <i>n</i> = 178)	
Heard about the ICC % (95 % C.I.)	63.0	(57.3–68.4)	–	
Knowledge about the ICC, mean score (S.E.)	4.79	(0.14)	5.74	(0.14)
Age, mean score (S.E.)	36.7	(0.62)	32.1	(0.99)
Gender, woman % (95 % C.I.)	49.9	(49.2–50.5)	25.8	(19.9–32.8)
Education:				
None % (95 % C.I.)	5.8	(3.7–9.2)	1.1	(0.3–4.4)
Incomplete primary % (95 % C.I.)	19.2	(15.9–23.0)	4.5	(2.2–8.8)
Complete primary % (95 % C.I.)	13.9	(10.9–17.7)	2.2	(0.8–5.9)
Secondary incomplete % (95 % C.I.)	38.4	(34.1–43.0)	18.5	(13.4–25.0)
Secondary complete or higher % (95 % C.I.)	22.6	(16.2–30.5)	73.6	(66.6–79.6)
Asset ownership, mean score (S.E.)	5.0	(0.19)	6.0	(0.16)
Listen to radio, % yes (95 % C.I.)	83.2	(78.1–87.3)	94.4	(89.8–97.0)
Read newspaper, % yes (95 % C.I.)	55.5	(48.4–62.4)	77.5	(70.7–83.1)
Total exposure to violence, mean score (S.E.)	5.84	(0.34)	5.62	(0.30)

Note: C.I. refers to confidence intervals and S.E. to standard error.

**Table 6. Association between Outreach Meeting Participation and Knowledge about the ICC (Linear Regression, Case-Control)**

Dependent = Knowledge score about the ICC	Unstandardized coefficients		Significance p
	B	S.E. B	
(Constant)	0.72	0.55	0.19
Sex of respondent	0.41	0.18	0.02
Age	0.02	0.01	0.00
Recorded education level	0.28	0.09	0.00
Total of assets	0.10	0.04	0.03
Interested in national news	0.24	0.09	0.01
ICC source – radio	0.80	0.22	0.00
ICC source – newspaper	0.60	0.22	0.01
Participate in meetings	1.08	0.19	0.00

Note: B refers to the unstandardized regression coefficient, S.E. to the standard error associated with the coefficient and p to the level of significance.

conducted a multivariate linear regression on the case-control data. The results, presented in Table 6, show that with socioeconomic factors held constant, participation in outreach meetings is associated with a one-point average increase in knowledge about the ICC. Other variables significantly associated with an

increase in knowledge include higher education level and wealth, gender (male), age and main source of information about the ICC (radio and newspapers).

### **Beyond Awareness and Knowledge**

While raising awareness and knowledge about the work of the ICC is a goal unto itself, outreach also seeks to increase support for and participation in the activities of the Court among the population. The hypothesis to be tested was that increased knowledge will be associated with positive perceptions and attitudes toward the Court. Several questions were explored to measure an individual's perception of the ICC. Among those who had heard about the ICC in the general population survey, nearly all (95%) found the ICC to be important, citing in a follow-up, open-ended question that it would answer the need for justice (51%), punish those responsible (20%) or compensate victims (10%). Respondents associated the ICC with bringing justice (27%), helping prevent future crimes (20%), helping establish the truth about what happened (19%), punishing those responsible (14%), helping victims (9%) and bringing peace (8%). Finally, a minority (10%) believed that the ICC is not neutral. The perceived lack of neutrality was most frequently blamed on the ICC working with the government (34%) and 'being only after one group' (18%). Over four of five respondents (81%) said the ICC is neutral, will have a positive impact and is important to them. Because of the overall support for the ICC, it is difficult to assess the impact of increased knowledge on perceptions of the Court. However, each increase of one point in knowledge about the ICC was associated with an increase in the odds of a positive overall perception by a factor of 1.3 (odds ratio = 1.29, 95% confidence interval 1.13–1.46). It is possible that the respondents have yet to form a more informed opinion about the work of the Court as, thus far, only one alleged perpetrator of crimes in CAR is facing charges, and the trial has not yet begun.

### **Discussion and Conclusions**

This study provides some positive data on ICC outreach activities. It suggests that communicating through radio is an effective strategy for raising awareness and knowledge about the ICC, and that communicating through newspapers and informational meetings also increases knowledge about the Court. Furthermore, knowledge is positively associated with perceptions of the Court. However, the study also suggests that knowledge and awareness about the Court are, on average, higher among members of an urban, male, educated and wealthy elite who have frequent access to the media and are targeted for informational meetings. Research suggests that those likely to know and adopt new ideas are typically ranked in the higher socioeconomic strata.<sup>35</sup> The findings also reflect the ICC outreach unit's strategy to target individuals that have a role in the community, such as local leaders, for outreach meetings.

<sup>35</sup> Rogers, *supra* n 15.

Nevertheless, the population includes a group of the information poor who have little or no access to the media, who predominantly rely on informal communication channels for information and who consider themselves not at all informed about the news and events in CAR. This group is less likely to be aware about the ICC as compared to others. This has implications for outreach strategies. A common assumption is that mass media are best at reaching out to all levels of the population, while outreach meetings should aim at specific stakeholder groups, including the elite, media, civil society and victims, who, in turn, will relay information through informal communication networks. The results suggest that the information poor are not reached by mass media and that their reliance on interpersonal communication channels at marketplaces or other social gatherings is actually counterproductive, being associated with a lower knowledge score. This may be explained by the transfer of erroneous information and rumors through informal channels.

The finding is not new. International development literature highlights the existence of structural inequalities and unequal access to information. However, the finding is important because, in the field of transitional justice, the information poor, or hard-to-reach populations, can include key victim groups. The data shows that women are more likely to be information poor: they are on average poorer, less educated and have less access to the media. Yet, if the ICC is to have an impact on empowering women, for example, by showing that rape must and can be prosecuted, then, women must be informed about and understand the proceedings. Other information-poor groups may include displaced populations, groups suffering from structural inequalities and discrimination, youth groups and former combatants.

In addition, individuals in affected communities differ in how they gather information, as well as in their needs and expectations about transitional justice mechanisms. In the case of CAR, the ICC enjoys widespread support. Our studies have shown that, elsewhere, populations have a range of opinions, and sometimes competing demands, about how to deal with the past. In northern Uganda, for example, our study revealed conflicting opinions about how to deal with those who committed atrocities. The response patterns showed differences across ethnic groups, with the Acholi more likely to accept amnesty or to forgive perpetrators.<sup>36</sup> In places like DRC, ongoing violence and the polarization of affected communities create additional challenges.<sup>37</sup>

The key implication for the ICC and any other transitional justice mechanism is that outreach must be local.<sup>38</sup> The content, strategies and mode of communications

<sup>36</sup> For a more detailed discussion, see, Pham et al., *supra* n 31.

<sup>37</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Courting History: The Landmark International Criminal Court's First Years* (July 2008).

<sup>38</sup> The argument for localizing transitional justice has been made elsewhere. See, for example, Rosalind Shaw and Lars Waldorf, with Pierre Hazan, eds., *Localizing Transitional Justice: Interventions and Priorities after Mass Violence* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010). What we show here is that localizing transitional justice is not limited to taking into account the local context, including culture, economic factors and political influences, but includes the local media's consumption

must be tailored to the needs and expectations of heterogeneous communities and target groups in unique contexts, especially to those who are unlikely to be reached by traditional media. Outreach meetings, for example, should aim more broadly at those of low socioeconomic status who cannot be reached by newspapers or radio. It also suggests that programs aimed at reinforcing access to the media, such as community radio development, must be supported. Furthermore, to reach such groups, lessons must be learned from social marketing efforts targeted to hard-to-reach populations in other disciplines, such as public health. Outreach strategies must also be flexible enough to respond to rapidly changing environments and a variety of audiences. The development of innovative and culturally appropriate outreach strategies is challenging because outreach activities involve knowledge, skill and competencies in communication and social marketing as well as local knowledge. Yet, in countries where the ICC operates, years of neglect in the educational and professional systems have resulted in a shortage of people trained in various relevant fields, such as communication, journalism and social marketing. It is therefore crucial to build local capacity and establish lessons learned about outreach.

Outreach evaluation findings can be used to identify gaps and problems in the diffusion of information. Further comparative research is needed to evaluate a range of communication strategies that can be used to reach out to the general population, key target groups and the information poor. Various communication channels, such as radio entertainment, educational programs, news broadcasts, videos, booklets and seminars have been used. They should now be evaluated more systematically. Formative evaluation should play a more significant role in informing the design and implementation of such programs. If planned prior to program implementation, such studies can be conducted inexpensively and rapidly. They have the potential to inform the allocation of resources to programs that are both culturally appropriate and have a demonstrated effectiveness and efficiency at raising awareness and knowledge about transitional justice mechanisms.

The ICC and other stakeholders should continue their focus on mass media and the strengthening of local capacity to report judiciary-related news and raise awareness and knowledge among the population at large. Such means are most likely to reach an urban elite that has access to the media and other communication channels. They should also continue organizing informational sessions for early adopters and opinion leaders who can change perceptions and behaviors. At the same time, they should further invest in reaching out to hard-to-reach populations, especially women, rural poor and those who are undereducated or illiterate and tend to be information poor. Formative outreach evaluation must inform the design of programs so they can be tailored to the cultural and socioeconomic characteristics of the target groups. Increased awareness and knowledge about the Court is only a first step for the Court to engaging with survivors of mass atrocities. More work is needed to ensure that victims are not only informed

habits, socioeconomic characteristics and views and opinions about the Court in the specific context of outreach.

but also consulted about the mechanisms set up to serve them. In other words, outreach is a two-way communication and not just dissemination of information. Ultimately, communities must be involved in decision making for a true sense of ownership to develop. While this may be challenging in the context of criminal justice, survivors can be meaningfully involved in decision making, for example, about reparation programs.<sup>39</sup> For this to happen, however, outreach strategies must draw on the characteristics, coordination and cooperation of multiple actors within and outside the Court.

The outreach unit at the ICC has shown great interest in developing and implementing activities based on lessons learned from outreach evaluation. This process shows that evaluation research is not just a donor-driven assessment of benchmarks and performances, but rather a practical feedback and learning process aimed at improving outreach activities and strategies. More work is needed to develop outreach evaluation and lessons learned across transitional justice mechanisms. Furthermore, outreach evaluation must be only the start of increasingly complex and comprehensive evaluation of the work of courts, truth commissions and other mechanisms set up to deal with past atrocities.

<sup>39</sup> The various levels of engagement and conditions of meaningful consultation of victims are further discussed in a forthcoming book chapter, 'Consulting Survivors about International Justice.' We propose that consultative processes must be conducted in a manner that is culturally appropriate and guarantees the security of those involved, that consultation processes must be seen as legitimate and impartial and that consultative efforts must be inclusive and systematic in their approach to affected communities.