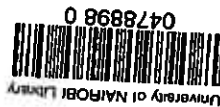


UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN POST-CONFLICT
PEACE BUILDING
A CASE STUDY OF SUDAN RADIO SERVICE
SOUTHERN SUDAN**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE
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Declaration

I declare that this research project is my original work and that it has never been presented to any examination body before.

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This Research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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**Dedicated to my sister Amina Diko and her daughters Khadija Natalia and Miriam Nyokaa. Sister, through thick and thin we have sailed, a role model you have been. Your inspiration has brought me this far!
Thank you!**

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With great love, thank you all!

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background information

Information can be obtained through the mass media outlets such as newspapers, radio, and television or through interpersonal or group communication. Mass media outlets are channels of communication through which messages are disseminated at once to a much wider audience in any given society.

Information is a powerful tool because it enhances people's knowledge of their surroundings and influences people's behavior. If disseminated correctly, information sometimes leads to a secure and peaceful environment, which is necessary for development especially in a post conflict region like Sudan.

The media is a change agent, and for the case of Southern Sudan where the civil war caused untold suffering, the media is one of the major means that has been used to bring people together, restore hope, and mobilize people for peace building thus development. The interest of this study lies in the latter.

The people of Southern Sudan currently estimated at forty million have been victims of seemingly endless conflicts and wrangles both within the south and between the south and the subsequent government in Khartoum, in northern Sudan.

History has it that in the mid 1950's an intermittent war broke out between the government in the north and the then rebels in Southern Sudan. This war went on until 1972 when the country experienced peace for a decade. In 1983 the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army was formed and fought the Khartoum government until the year 2005 when a peace agreement was signed between

the two warring parties. ¹The Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in January 5th 2005.

Successive governments in Khartoum which was and still is predominantly Arab and Islamic, sought to control the wealth of the south through the use of armed violence, and the spread of Sharia law.

Political squabbling in Southern Sudan caused inter-tribal fights between pastoral tribes through cattle rustling and fighting over resources like in the case of Darfur. Because the war in Southern Sudan caused tremendous destruction of the region, people were isolated, physically tortured and psychologically traumatized for over two decades.

Post conflict peace building is therefore vital, to bring back Southern Sudan's glory as well as to ensure that the war does not recur in the future.

It is for the above reason that Sudan Radio Service was established in 2003. The establishment of the radio came at about time when the famous comprehensive peace agreement was to be signed. The radio's major objective was to create awareness and enlighten the Sudanese community about the importance of peace as a major tool for development. Thus the radio's logo; "Sudan Radio Service, for Peace and Development"

Media is a strong tool. It can either have negative or positive impact depending on how it is used as well as the intention of the user(s). The media is a double-edged sword. The media can be used to spread propaganda and misleading

¹ The **Comprehensive Peace Agreement**, commonly known as the **Naivasha Agreement**, was a set of agreements culminating in January 2005 that were signed between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the Government of Sudan. It was an agreement meant to end the Second Sudanese Civil War, develop democratic governance countrywide and share oil revenues. It further set a timetable by which Southern Sudan would have a referendum on its independence. The peace process was encouraged by the Intergovernmental

advice. A good example being the Rwandan case where radio broadcasting was used as an effective propaganda tool in the genocide of 1994. The most recent example of inflammatory media information is the local radio shows in Kenya during the post-election violence in January 2008.

But there is another aspect of the media. It can be an instrument of conflict resolution, when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights and represents diverse views²

This paper seeks to explore the importance of the media and closely look at the role of radio—Sudan Radio Service—in promoting peacebuilding and development in a post-conflict society.

1.2 Problem Statement

Many analysts, researchers and observers around the world have presented the conflict in Sudan as a war between the Arab Muslim in the north and the African animist and Christian south.

In their explanation of the origin and nature of Sudan's conflicts, Mark Simmons and Peter Dixon state that the last fifty years of Sudan's history have been marred by civil war. ³The short term events that led to the emergence of hostilities in the south include the first ever parliamentary elections which gave complete political control to the northern elite; the mutiny of the southern troops; and the violent government response to put down the revolt. These events resulted in a small-scale insurgency, which expanded in the late 1960s when the disunity of southern political and military factions was largely overcome. Since

² Rose Howard, *An Operational Framework For Media And Peacebuilding*, Toronto: Impacts, 1946. P 1

³ Ylonen, Aleks, "grievances and the roots of insurgencies: Southern Sudan and Darfur", *peace Conflict and Development: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, vol. 7, July 2005

then, Sudan went into full fledged civil war that lasted for over two decades until 2005 when the two warring parties signed a peace deal.

The civil war in Southern Sudan resulted into complete destruction of infrastructure such as transport and communication facilities. Information sharing was initially impossible by the absence of telephone lines, postal services and electricity. Most people were displaced to various places of refuge.

Sudanese went seeking refuge and resettlement in other countries as well as regions within the country that were believed to be safer. For this reason, the rate of development even after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 has been very slow. The people were scattered all over the world and isolated psychologically because of the traumatic experiences of death, hunger, and displacement.

Even though Sudanese are currently returning home—the return was facilitated by the presence of peace as a result of the signing of the peace accord in 2005—assurance and restoration of hope by disseminating information on peace and reconstruction is vital. The media is one way through which this can be achieved.

Sudan Radio Service as a part of the media in the county is therefore an opportunity that strives to bring people together. The radio aims at voicing out the cry of the people at the grassroots and to pass on to them the message of peace, education, development and democracy as well as the importance and benefits of forgiveness, reconciliation and peaceful co-existence.

The radio was launched on July 30, 2003 with music broadcasts. It is important to note that in most war or conflict situations, music has always been used to ease tension and send messages of peace and reconciliation. Transmission of news and information on SRS commenced on August 7, 2003 as an independent media dedicated to peace and development in Sudan thus its vision/mission, *'Sudan radio service, for peace and development'*. Over the airwaves and

through its website (www.sudanradio.org), SRS provides hours of news and informational programming throughout the week.

Emerging from decades of civil war, the people of Sudan are struggling to rebuild their society. Yet basic services such as paved roads, hospitals, and schools are scarce or nonexistent in most parts of the country especially in Southern Sudan, making civic participation and development across the region a daunting challenge.

The study of media's impact on violence and peace has a long history in the social sciences, from ⁴social psychological studies of World War II propaganda, to ⁵violence depicted on television, to ⁶historical studies of propaganda and ⁷audience surveys of peace building media interventions. However, laboratory, historical, and survey studies have not been able to answer basic questions about the causal real world effect of media programming on violence and reconciliation among individual, communities and the society at large. For example, what kinds of media programming are most likely to dispel rumors? Is media content effective in disseminating peace building information? These, and many other related questions will form the basis of this study.

These unanswered social scientific questions about media and conflict as well as peace building translate into large gaps. Funding for media interventions in conflict and post-conflict society is often at the top of donors' lists, but they have little evidence-based guidance whether the fund achieves its intended purpose or not. Radio, especially in a poverty stricken post conflict society remains the most common media and the most accessed, but is it effective in changing the attitude of its audience from war to peace? Does accurate information from radio programme services shape community reactions?

⁴ Hovland C., et al. 1949. *Experiments on Mass Communication*. Princeton: Princeton university press.

⁵ Anderson C. & Bushman, B. 2002. *Effects of Media on Society*. *Science*, 295, 2377-2378

⁶ Rhodes A. 1993. *Propaganda, the Art of Persuasion: World War II. An allied and axis visual record, 1933-1945*. Broomall, PA: Chelsea house

⁷ Temin, J. (2001). *A review of peace building initiatives through media in Africa*. Unpublished manuscript, US agency for international development.

In the absence of social scientific evidence, policy is often guided by normative ideas. For example, some donors favor peace and development programs based on the idea that dissemination will promote a new democratic culture-despite unanswered questions about whether the programming content is productive in a post conflict traumatized society.

Many scholars have sought to examine media's impact and its role in escalating violence by disseminating inflammatory information, but analyzing specific media programming content is rarely done, and has never been done in the case of Sudan Radio Service.

1.3 General objectives

The main objective of this research is to examine the role of media in promoting peacebuilding in a post-conflict society focusing on Sudan Radio Service in Southern Sudan as a case study.

1.4 Specific Objectives of the study

- 1. To identify the contribution of the media in post-conflict peacebuilding**
- 2. To asses the effectiveness of radio programming content in post-conflict peacebuilding.**
- 3. To identify the major challenges that the media in Sudan face in its peacebuilding initiatives.**

1.5 Hypothesis

- 1. Media content that is objective, balanced and accurate is likely to promote peace building in a post conflict society.**
- 2. Majority of people believe and trust information disseminated through the media than by word of mouth.**
- 3. Radio is more effective in disseminating information that promotes peace initiatives than other media outlets.**

1.6 Justification of the study

Since the media has become a significant part of the society, it is important to know whether it has impact on certain issues in the society or not. This research will seek to establish whether the media has a role in promoting peace in a post-conflict society through its programming content.

Many scholarly articles have been written about media and war, but more often than not, most articles have dwelt on the negative effects of the media, for instance, the media's role in escalating violence. Though there has been substantial evidence on the media's role in promoting violence by disseminating inflammatory information, it is worth noting that the same media provides an avenue through which reconciliatory messages of peace and co-existence between warring parties are disseminated.

Most often, scholars study the grand causes of war-political leaders, economic forces-and less often how these grand forces filter down to the level of the

neighborhood, the household and the individual. How are forgiveness, imperatives and reconciliatory messages communicated to citizens? How do citizens handle media information and influence they receive? How do they discuss it? React to it? This area of study is wide open and yet it is one of the research intersections where evidence is critical to both social science and to the real world particularly Africa policy and intervention in ongoing and post conflict situations.

With this research, I will be able to answer questions about effectiveness of media programming in disseminating various information and messages about the transition from war to peace. I will be able to examine in depth how programming content is packaged, and how the audience receive and perceive the programs as well as how the information diffuses out to others in the neighborhoods.

Sudan Radio Service programming focuses on the transformation and strengthening of the Sudanese people, to help rehabilitate their lives and make up for the wasted years of war with a long term aim of making Sudan a part of the developing world.

The radio has been in existence for the last seven years with its major objective of restoring peace and harmony, and promoting development in the Sudan. But how has the radio been doing this? Has it been efficient and effective in its sole objective? This study seeks to establish the radio's role in peace and development. My assumption is that the station has had an impact in promoting peacebuilding initiatives in the Sudan, and Southern Sudan in particular.

Many a times, the media has been accused of being a contributory factor to violence hence war. This has led to lack of press freedom especially on the part of politicians and other key players in the society. This situation is worse in a post-conflict society like Sudan.

Journalists and other media practitioners both in the north and southern Sudan have continuously faced constraints thus hindering their operation and consequently their contribution to re-building the society.

The media in Sudan faces severe censorship by the current government that has led to the closure of many media outlets as well as journalists both in Khartoum and Juba.

With these numerous constraints, this research therefore seeks to establish, support and consequently publish the media's positive role in changing people's attitudes from war to adapt peaceful coexistence. By so doing, politicians, policy makers and implementers and other key players will probably realize the importance of supporting media activities hence reducing if not stopping the current severe censorship in the Sudan.

The research will therefore help policy makers and other stake holders know the value of mass media as far as peacebuilding in a post conflict society is concerned.

But above all, the research will also enable management and entire staff of Sudan Radio Service appreciate its role as well as the radio's worth in rebuilding the country to experience a peaceful coexistence and sustainable development, and to lift Sudan into being a part of the developed world.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

Opening statement

This study will be guided by the uses and gratification theory. The Uses and gratification theory is among the numerous theories that have informed communications studies over the years.

Uses and Gratification theory

The deliberate choice by users of media content in order to satisfy their needs is the core concept of the Uses and Gratifications Approach. This audience behavior involves the shift of focus from purposes of the communicator to that of the receiver. It attempts to determine the functions mass communication is serving for audience members as opposed to functions to the communicator or different media players.

The Uses and Gratifications approach was first described by *Elihu Katz (1959)* in reacting to a claim by *Bernard Berelson (1959)* that the field of communication research was dead. Katz argued that the field that was dead was the study of mass communication as a persuasion tool. He pointed out that previous research had assumed that audiences are homogeneous and had been concerned with the question "what does the media do to people?" *Katz (1959)* argued that the question should be "what do people do with the media?" citing examples to show that different people used the same mass communication message for different purposes.

Developments that brought about the uses and gratification model are;

New survey research methodological analysis techniques allowed important new strategies for conducting studies to help interpret audience uses and gratifications to be developed.

During the 1970s, some media research developed increasing awareness that people's active use of media might be an important mediating factor that made effects more or less likely. It emerged that it is a personal decision what media to choose to learn from, and what to learn from that particular medium.

Some researchers began expressing growing concern that effects research was focusing too much on the unintended, negative effects of the media while its intended positive uses were being ignored. *Elihu Katz* first introduced the Uses and Gratification Approach, when he came up with the notion that people use the media to their benefit. The perspective emerged in the early 1970's as Katz and his two colleagues, *Jay Blumler* and *Michael Gurevitch* continued to expand the idea. This theory was contemporary because it contradicted older views that assumed the audience was a passive group.

Blumler and *Katz's* Uses and Gratification Theory suggests that media users play an active role in choosing and using the media. Users take an active part in the communication process and are goal-oriented in their media use. The theorists say that a media user seeks out a media source that best fulfils his/ her needs. Uses and gratifications assume that the user has alternate choices to satisfy their needs.

The Uses and Gratifications Approach is an influential tradition in media research. The original conception of the approach was based on research that sought to explain the great appeal of certain media contents. The core question of such research is: Why do people use media and what do they use it for? There exists a basic idea in this approach: audience members know media content, and which media they can use to meet their needs.

In the mass communication process, the Uses and Gratifications Approach puts the function of linking need gratifications and media choice clearly on the side of audience members. It suggests that people's needs influence what media they would choose, how they use certain media and what gratifications the media give

them.

This approach differs from other theoretical perspectives in that it regards audiences as active media users as opposed to passive receivers of information. It allows audiences to meet personal needs using the media and to respond to the media, which they determined according to their social and psychological background.

The Uses and Gratifications Approach also postulates that the media competes with other information sources for audience's needs satisfaction. As traditional mass media and new media continue to provide people with a wide range of media platforms and content, it is considered one of the most appropriate perspectives for investigating why audiences choose to be exposed to different media channels.

The approach emphasizes audiences' choice by assessing their reasons for using a certain media to the disregard of others, as well as the various gratifications obtained from the media, based on individual social and psychological requirements. As a broader perspective among communication researches, it provides a framework for understanding the processes by which media participants seek information or content selectively, commensurate with their needs and interests.⁸ Audience members then incorporate the content to fulfill their needs or to satisfy their interests.

⁸ Blumler J.G. & Katz, E. (1974). *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

In a later study by *Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler and Michael Gurevitch (1974)*, they described five elements/ basic assumptions of the Uses and Gratification approach of the media:

- 1. The audience is active and its media use is goal-oriented.**
- 2. In the mass communication process, much initiative in linking need gratification and media choice lies with the audience member**
- 3. The media competes with other sources of need satisfaction e.g. family,**
- 4. People are self aware enough of their own media use, interests and motives to be able to provide researchers with an accurate picture of that use.**
- 5. Value judgment of the audience linking its needs to specific medial or content should be suspended.**

The uses and gratifications theory has been widely used and is also better suited for studies of media's impact on a traumatized audience like the Sudanese society. The theory also suggests that people consciously choose the medium that could satisfy their needs and that audiences are able to recognize their reasons for making media choices⁹

Katz argued that available media choice compete to satisfy individual needs. Thus, there exists competition not only between one medium and the other, but between programming options within the same medium. This probably explains

⁹ Blumler J.G. & Katz, E. (1974). *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

why different programmes in the radio attract different magnitude of audience. Civic education programmes for instance have a larger audience following than agricultural programmes.

Although motivations for media use may vary among individuals, situations, and media vehicles, most uses and gratifications studies explore them based on some or all of the following dimensions: relaxation, companionship, habit, passing time, entertainment, social interaction, information/surveillance, arousal, and escape.

Examining how and why Sudanese select what radio programme to listen to found that news bulletin and ¹⁰civic education programmes had larger following. This indicates that the audiences seldom skip the factual or informative messages, which confirms their strong interest in messages of this type.

The continuous survey also states that the primary motivation for news bulletin and civic education programmes among listeners are information, and entertainment followed by learning what others think about controversial issues like land disputes, certain traditional practices and culture that infringe on human rights like cattle rustling and wife inheritance. People also listen to a ¹¹'Lets Talk' which a part of the civic education programming to communicate with people who matter in a community on various issues.

¹⁰ Sudan Radio Service civic education programmes called 'The Road to Peace' and 'Lets Talk' report on the implementation of the peace accords between the north and the south, information on new citizen rights and responsibilities, and the work of the new governments.

¹¹ 'Let's Talk' Programme is one of the civic education programmes. It contains the three major media formats of interest: entertainment, news, and discussion. It begins with a soap opera segment, in which a fictitious southern Sudanese family deals with and learns from the challenges of the war-to-peace and democratization transition. A news segment follows in which the information from the soap opera is presented formally, and finally, the audience is urged to discuss the issues.

Entertainment content of the media appears to satisfy users' needs for escapism, hedonistic pleasure, aesthetic enjoyment, or emotional release.¹² Providing entertainment, therefore, can motivate audiences to use the media more often.

Understanding uses and gratification theory can thus greatly empower communicators to harness radio programming as a valuable channel for reaching audiences effectively thus positively changing the society.

1.8 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study will assess the role of media in post conflict peacebuilding by examining the radio's programming content to determine whether or not it contains information that is geared towards changing the attitudes of the audience from war to peace.

Sudan is a multiplicity of ethnicities, religions, languages and cultures and therefore, the sample analysis may not be representative of the entire southern Sudan region. However, Sudan radio service's programming reaches is broadcast to reach a diverse population of southern Sudan. The radio broadcasts in nine languages of communities in southern Sudan including English and the widely spoken simple Arabic.

A purposive sampling method was used to select the radio's programming content broadcast from January to December 2009. This period was selected since it preceded the electoral period of January 2010. Sudan was going to go through an electoral period after decades of war, with majority of voters

¹² McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass Communication: An Introduction* (3rd ed.). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

experiencing elections for the first time ever. It was presumed that key players set out for an intensive advocacy for development and peacebuilding especially in southern Sudan.

There are numerous limitations looming with the worst being lack of press freedom in the region. Before the signing of the Comprehensive peace agreement, media operation in Sudan was restricted. Government controlled broadcast and journalists' operation in Sudan. To some extent, media content was screened by government security agents before broadcast. Without press freedom, the media is left with limited choice but to broadcast in the interest of the government.

Due to the long civil war and the worsening relationship between the media and the ruling class, Sudanese have been reported to view the media as personal security threat. Almost everyone is believed to be a security agent of either the government of national unity or government of southern Sudan. For this reason therefore, people rarely talk to the media for fear of victimization by government security agents. Media players have also exercised extra caution in disseminating media content, sometimes ignoring issues that affect the locals, as long as it is 'not fit' as may be deemed by the government.

The two decade civil war could not allow for any development activities leave alone small scale self sustenance activities especially in southern Sudan. The southern Sudan society was therefore reduced to nothing but desperate citizens who solely depended on relief food or aid especially from the United Nations organizations and other humanitarian organizations as well as good Samaritans.

The humanitarian scenario in southern Sudan has had a long term effect on the community, so much so that majority of the population look at different issues like food and other means of survival as the most important issues at hand for them. Some people may feel that peacebuilding and development should come second

after securing survival ways like jobs and other means of living. For this region, the media may disseminate peacebuilding and development content, but whether or not the information fulfills its intended purpose on the people is a big question that yet is yet to be verified.

Other challenges like in the lack of the knowledge of the other broadcast languages by the researcher. Besides English, Arabic and Simple Arabic, SRS also broadcasts in other six indigenous Sudanese languages in order to reach a majority of southern Sudanese. This may require the researcher to seek the help of a translator in order to assess content of programs broadcast in other native languages.

The study limited its data collection method to content analysis. An expansive study of the survey method of talking to the audience in southern Sudan may have been more appropriate. This could not be employed due to financial constraints.

Further, being a case study, the findings of the study are limited to the case of southern Sudan and the role of radio, particularly the Sudan Radio Service in its contribution to peacebuilding in Sudan. The findings of the study cannot therefore be generalized to all conflict situations and all media. This therefore calls for additional studies on other regions that have had conflict and the role of different media in promoting development and peacebuilding in those particular regions.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter one of this study will introduce the scope as well as explain the background of the study. Here, the researcher will state the objectives of the study and what achievements are expected by the end of the research. It is in this chapter that the researcher will also justify the scope of the study by giving

reasons as to why a study on the role of media in peacebuilding in a post conflict society like Sudan is important. The researcher will discuss the limitations that are anticipated to jeopardize the process of obtaining information during the study.

In chapter two of the study, the researcher will analyze and record a summary of writings of recognized authorities and previous research done by other scholars that are closely related to the study being undertaken. Here, the researcher will also record a distinction between the concept of peace and the peacebuilding process. The researcher will critically analyze the media and its conflict resolution contribution in Sudan. Literature on Sudan radio service will be recorded. Critical analysis of the media situation in southern Sudan will be explored here, with the researcher giving an incite of media scene in Sudan and further explaining who runs the media in Sudan as well as discussing challenges faced by the media and media practitioners in the region. In this chapter, the researcher will also discuss various initiatives employed by the media by describing media peacebuilding programs.

Chapter three constitutes the methodology that the researcher will use to gather information needed for the study. Here, the researcher will discuss methods that will be used for collection, measurement and analysis of data. Study population and methods of sampling the study population will be defined and discussed in this chapter. The researcher will also discuss potential or anticipated threats to validity of the data collected for the study thus the impact on the final outcome of the study.

In chapter four the researcher will explicate how the collected data will be analyzed and go ahead to justify the methods that will be used in data analysis. Here, the researcher will also give an inclusive insight on the content and make inferences about the information gathered for the study.

Chapter five will include conclusions and recommendations from the study, not forgetting sources of information including the bibliography.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Literature review

Introduction

This chapter examines the available literature on the subject of the role of media in post-conflict peace building and in particular, the role of radio in promoting peace and reconstruction efforts to a society that has just emerged from war.

The chapter presents an analysis of international, regional as well as domestic media that have dealt with development programs and peace building efforts. It contains the aspects of peacebuilding, media and conflict resolution including peacebuilding initiatives, challenges faced by journalists, media owners and practitioners as well as media development and peacebuilding programming.

The chapter presents different arguments by various authors, which I found useful for the study, and the gaps identified, to which the study seeks to bridge.

Several authors have explored the role of media in peacebuilding initiatives and sustainable reconstruction. These initiatives include supporting local reconciliation processes, training and capacity building, truth recovery, sustainable development, coordinating peace efforts and structures, advocacy and dissemination of information that promote peace, among others.

Rose Howard explains the obvious significance of the media in bringing change in a society. The media is often among the first elements of a society to be disrupted in an overt conflict with parties seeking to control it even beforehand to influence news and opinions in the own interests.¹³

Howard notes that even though the media could be a tool for escalating violence

¹³ Rose Howard. (2002): *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*, Canada, IMPACS.

depending on the usage, a reliable, diverse and independent news media has an innate potential for contributing to conflict resolution.

Media has always played a significant role in our society. For a long time media was one of the methods of controlling people and leisure. In ancient times when there was no newspapers and television, people used literature as source of information.

Nowadays media is one of the main parts of our lives and our society, because we use word media, to combine all sources of information. There are a lot of different types of information sources; all of which are specific and dedicated for different types of information thus different impacts on audience.

Newspapers, Internet, television, radio, and magazines are all media. The media provides information to educate, to inform or simply to entertain its audience. The importance of the media is to publish the message worldwide, so that it can become popular.

In as much as media has been used to promote antipathy and violence, it has been evident that Media has also been used to promote social change and reconciliation, hence contributing to peacebuilding in war-emerging societies. The media functions as a channel of communication that counteracts misperceptions, frames and analyzes conflict, identifies the interests, defuses mistrust, provides safe emotional outlets and more¹⁴

The power of the mass media to reach across borders and into communities has been channeled in different ways.

Entertainment media for instance, use dramas and comic skits as vehicles for

¹⁴ Rose Howard. (2002): *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*, Canada, IMPACS. P 4

stereotypes and prejudices, but increasingly, soap operas are used to promote messages about dispute resolution and reintegration.

Informational media such as news bulletins and program packages are also launched to deliver timely and accurate information to people in conflict or post-conflict areas. Discussion-driven media have also become notorious in conflict areas for hate speech or hate talk shows and call-in programs.

However, many discussion programs in broadcast media for example aim to strengthen civil society and democratic culture in fragile communities such as those that are just emerging from war.

Wanyeki Muthoni describes Ethiopia's Educational Media Agency (EMA) as a pioneer of distance education in Africa that has been engaged in literacy campaigns and ongoing formal and informal education for more than 40 years. Wanyeki explains that the EMA project has positively impacted on the Ethiopian society, majority of whom have been illiterate¹⁵. The project consequently stimulated understanding among the community.

Muthoni further explains how the state socialist military government in Somalia used broadcast media to promote its development policies. In 1974 when the north of Somalia was experiencing drought, the government mobilized the media to attempt to transform the pastoralists, who made up a large proportion of the northern population, into farmers and fishermen¹⁶

The media shapes what we see and hear about conflict. Perspectives of the story tellers, or those who run the media shape stories that are covered as well as how the issues are published to the public. Journalists have opinions and beliefs based on their experiences and backgrounds as well as their cultural inclinations. Media owners have economic interests, the reason most of them set up the

¹⁵ Wanyeki, Muthoni (2002) *Up in the Air? The state of broadcasting in Eastern Africa, Analysis and Trends in Five Countries*, Lusaka: PANOS Southern Africa.

¹⁶ Ibid.

media houses—to make profit—because they want to sell their stories and programs for profit, they decide what they think the public or some target audience wants to see and hear of they are to make sales and meet their intended purpose of owning their respective media.

The famous and widely used journalists' principle of "if it bleeds, it leads" has significantly jeopardized the media's role as a bridge to peace and reconciliation in society. The principle interprets that violent conflict make headlines, as opposed to news of cross-cultural dialogue and understanding. Thus the media mostly covers conflict, not dialogue. The media mostly covers conflict, not peacebuilding. The tendency of the media to cover conflict and violence has over time distorted reality and has lead many people to think that conflict is pervasive and peace is abnormal.

Several studies have confirmed that the impact of media on conflict is greater than the impact of the media on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

It is vital for conflict prevention and peacebuilding practitioners to understand these values and the dynamics of media decision-making on covering "peace", news and entertainment. Indeed, the media can play very positive roles in conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

2.1 Concept of Peace and Process of Peace Building

The word peace has different meanings to different people. Barash and Charles distinguish two kinds of peace; *negative peace* and *positive peace*¹⁷

The authors describe negative peace as the absence of war with neither active nor organized military violence taking place.

¹⁷ Barash David P, Charles P. Weibel: Peace and conflict studies, Sage Publications, India, 2002.

Positive peace on the other hand emphasizes a social condition in which exploitation is minimized or eliminated altogether, and there is neither overt violence nor the more subtle phenomenon of structural violence¹⁸ He further states that positive peace focuses on peace building, the establishment of harmonious and non-exploitative social structures and a determination to work 8towards a goal to rebuild a society emerging from war.

The term peace building entered the international lexicon in 1992 when the then United Nations secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali defined it in *an Agenda for peace* as "a post conflict action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict"¹⁹ Necla explains how over time, peacebuilding has become a catch-all concept, encompassing multiple perspectives and agendas. The author lists 'preventive diplomacy', 'preventive development', 'conflict prevention', 'conflict resolution' and 'post-conflict reconstruction' as phrases used to refer to peacebuilding interchangeably at different times.

Rose Howard views peacebuilding as a means of intensifying efforts to establish lasting peace and to resolve conflicts peacefully in societies marked by conflict²⁰. Howard looks at the overarching goal of peacebuilding as the process aimed at enhancing the indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence as a means to achieve human security.

Thania Paffenholz on the other hand describes peacebuilding as a long term process that covers all activities intended to build and promote peace and overcome violence with an overall aim of preventing violent outbreaks of conflicts as well making a sustainable transformation of violent conflicts into peaceful

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Necla Tschrgi, *Post-conflict Peacebuilding Revisited: Achievements, Limitations, Challenges*. 2004, New York.

²⁰ Ross Howard, *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*: Toronto, 1946.

actions²¹

According to Thania, conflict is part of social life in traditional and modern societies because humans use conflict to express different views and interests. The author sees conflict as a positive entity in the society because if dealt with constructively, she says that conflict can bring positive change for both individuals and the society as a whole. For this reason, Thania describes peacebuilding as a process not intended to avoid conflict but rather to avoid having conflicts turn into violence.

Thania explains that peacebuilding is a continuous process that starts before war breaks out and continues after the end of violence. The author explains that the specific aim of peacebuilding varies from phase to phase; prior to the escalation of conflict, peacebuilding is aimed at preventing a violent outbreak of conflict. When a conflict has already turned violent, peacebuilding activities may be geared towards transforming violent forms of conflict into peaceful ones. If violent has reached a stage of war or civil strife, peacebuilding may clearly be aimed at ending the war. Peacebuilding continues further in a post conflict or post-violent conflict phase, like is the case of Sudan. Here, the process of peacebuilding may aim at making peace and preventing the outbreak of new violence²²

Thania identifies different terms that are often used for different stages of peacebuilding, as 'conflict or crisis prevention', 'conflict management', 'conflict settlement' or 'peace making'. The author further describes conflict transformation as another term that is often used to refer to peacebuilding since it describes the peaceful transformation of conflicts from the level of prevention to post-conflict peacebuilding.

Different scholars use different terms to refer to the term peacebuilding, but the

²¹ Thania Paffenholz, Community-based Bottom-up Peacebuilding, life & peace institute: Nairobi, 2006.

²² Ibid

meaning is always the same. Universal meaning of the term peacebuilding has always been used to refer to non-military interventions by external actors to help war-torn societies not only to avoid a relapse into conflict, but more importantly, to establish the conditions for sustainable peace.

Many a time when people talk peacemaking, they refer to those activities that are employed to reduce or resolve conflict, during or after a conflict situation. Peacebuilding on the other hand is mostly used to refer to all those activities, big or small, actions, thoughts and initiatives to ensure there is peace and harmony in the society.

Peacebuilding therefore is a collective role that is played by everyone in the society at different levels.

2.2 Critical Analysis of the Media and Conflict Resolution in Sudan.

The word media has had several and varied definitions from different sources. Rose Howard refers to the media as several mediums or channels used in an organized fashion to communicate to groups of people. Newspapers, radio and television are well known examples with the internet and World Wide Web being the most recent additions. Rose further states that for the purposes of peacebuilding, media encompasses more than just the news and information business so typical of those channels²³

²³ Rose Howard. (2002): *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*, Canada, IMPACS. P4

Howard states that entertainment programs such as music and soap operas are also a part of the media. Other channels including street theatre, posters, and traditional story-telling and even comic books, to name only some are also a part of media.

According to Howard, the news media, otherwise referred to as journalism, remains in the forefront of peacebuilding initiatives because at its best, it is the safeguard of democratic governance. The author explains that journalism at its best promotes accurate and balanced reporting which fairly represents a diversity of views sufficient for the public to make well-informed choices thus enhancing democracy.

The author views a reliable and diverse media that can express itself freely as a safeguard against violence because it provides early warning of potential outbreaks of conflict. Such media serves as a watchdog over leaders and officials and holds them accountable. It monitors human rights. Its presence is essential to the functioning of other civil society actors. In less optimal environments, the media can still foster stability by providing essential information about humanitarian initiatives.²⁴

Media plays a significant role in our society today. It is all around us, from the shows we watch on television, the music we listen to on the radio, the telephones and internet connections we use to the books and magazines we read each day.

Without the media, people in societies would be isolated, not only from the rest of the world, but from governments, law-makers, and neighboring towns and cities. Peaceful co-existence between communities and societies would be jeopardized.

Media achieves a myriad of different goals. These goals range from entertaining, informing as well as educating. Various confines of education and entertainment

²⁴ Ross Howard, *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*: Toronto, 1946.

are depicted in different kinds of media including radio-based lessons and educational shows on television.

The media plays a wide range of roles in our lives. Some of these roles are constructive, and some are destructive²⁵. Rose Howard explains that media, depending on the usage can be a double-edged sword that could be a frightful weapon of violence for instance, when it is used to propagate messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment.

Radio Mille Collines in Rwanda has been a perfect example over the years. The biased messages that were presented in the radio polarized people with one group feeling demonized and the other having resentment and fear among themselves. The messages implanted and legitimized the belief that genocide was an appropriate self-defense initiative and as a result, hundreds of thousands of people were slaughtered in Rwanda.

However, there is another aspect to the media. When used constructively, the media can be an instrument of conflict resolution. This can be achieved when journalists and other media practitioners present reliable messages that respect human rights and represent diverse views. When the information upholds accountability and exposes malfeasance and when the media enables the society to make well-informed choices, which a precursor of democratic governance. Media that operates in such light reduces conflict and fosters human security.

The significance of the media is obvious; thus recognizing the diversity of media professionals and media owners is a first step in critically analyzing how best to

²⁵ Rose Howard. (2002): *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*, Canada, IMPACS.

use the media to support conflict prevention and resolutions as well as peacebuilding in the society.

Media as information provider

The flow of information is important for the development of communities and the media facilitates this. Without a wide array of information, people's opinions and views would be limited and their impressions and conclusions of the world around them stunted.

Historically, the most common form of the distribution of information was word of mouth, but today the media has taken the lead in providing people with information that they need across the globe through a variety of ways.

Though media is not the only communication channel used to dispense the flow of information, its important to note that it has been the main source to inform people on political issues or current affairs, as well as entertainment.

The media provide people with important information about their environment in the areas of politics, culture and social issues. Information on such imminent issues like weather, traffic, natural calamities like floods, famine prepare people to respond appropriately to their surroundings. For instance, people make decisions about how to dress depending on weather forecasts relayed in the media. People also choose political leaders to vote for in elections and judge other groups in society based on their knowledge of the same, which they mostly get through the media.

The media interpret events beyond our physical realm and help us make sense of them. With the improvement of technologies and advancement of new media such as internet and mobile phones, iPods, media plays an increasingly more prominent role in our daily communication and entertainment.

Media as a Watchdog

While the media has historically been viewed as being overly aggressive and insatiable in their plight for the latest and hottest news, their watchdog-type function is essential in a democratic society where people must know what their governments are doing.

The media has the capacity to hold governments accountable, forcing them to explain their actions and decisions, all of which affect the people they represent.

The media sometimes acts as a third party "watchdog" who provide feedback to the public on local problems. It can bring hidden stories out into the public.

Media as a Gatekeeper

When the media sets agendas, filters issues and maintains a balance of views, it is in other words acting as a gatekeeper. Media texts frequently specifically associate editors, who decide what stories, will fit in a newspaper or news broadcast, with this intermediary or gatekeeper role.

Diffusion of Innovations theory thus focuses on the important role that intermediaries often play in the communication process. Mass communication texts frequently specifically associate editors, who decide what stories, will fit in a newspaper or news broadcast, with this intermediary or gatekeeper role.

There are intermediaries who have the ability to decide what messages others see, the context in which they are seen, and when they are seen. They often

have the ability, moreover, to change messages or to prevent them from reaching an audience (destination).

In extreme variations we refer to such gatekeepers as censors. Under the more normal conditions of mass media, in which publications choose some content in preference to other potential content based on an editorial policy, we refer to them as editors in mass media, moderators in Internet discussion groups, reviewers in peer-reviewed publications.

Media as a Peace Promoter

The media can increase cognitive change by supplying people with information, thus helping to set the public agenda and frame the scope of public discussion through providing and limiting the range of ideas from which to choose.

Messages in the media can be crafted through: peace (conflict-sensitive) journalism; facilitating dialogue between the parties, citizens, and the government; and amplifying the voice of different stakeholders in a conflict in a way that fosters analysis of both differences and common ground (so-called "megaphone diplomacy").

Peace journalism which advocates for conflict transformation through constructive discourse proactively constructs the problems of conflicting groups' objectives and needs within their cultural and historic context in order to enhance dialogue rather than escalate conflict.

Media events can be used at the beginning of negotiations to build confidence,

facilitate negotiations to break diplomatic deadlocks to create a climate conducive to negotiation.

Media events such as press releases, rock concerts or radio programs can celebrate peace agreements and negotiations. The media events may help to promote and mobilize public support for agreements.

Media as a Bridge Builder

The media can promote positive relationships between groups, particularly in conflicts over national, ethnic, and even religious identity. The media can lessen polarization between groups in many ways such as: Showing the other in a similar light to self, Depicting people with the same types of problems, Sharing similar interests and positions, and Condemning violence at all costs.

Media as a Diplomat

Sometimes media is used to cover diplomatic initiatives and send messages back and forth between sides of a conflict.

The signing of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement popularly known as the CPA, in January 2005 and the establishment of interim institutions in Sudan are one of the fruits of such diplomatic forums.

2.3 Description of the Media Sector in Sudan

The media are a decisive player in Sudan's transition into a democracy and therefore need to play a strong, supportive role in helping to inform the public

about the peace agreement and its implications. A strong and independent media may facilitate public participation in reconciliation, and help to diffuse the many threats to the peace process through professional media activities. In general, media refers to various means of communication.

Traditional and non-conventional media

Some of the methods of communication used today are rooted in pre-history. Storytellers are common to many tribes and communities in Sudan. Music, dance, murals, graffiti and in some cases, theatre are also traditional modes of communication common to many ethnic groups in Sudan. It is by these means that history is preserved, myths and legends passed on through generations and cultural, social and other messages are conveyed. Although badly disrupted by the war, these tools for communication continue to be used at least in some regions.

Traditional and non-conventional media are being widely used by NGOs to disseminate important messages relating to peace, health or social issues. For instance, USAID, through its partner organization development alternatives inc. DAI, has funded 27 dramatic performances to deliver messages of peace to six states along the north-south border that rarely have access to independent information. The performances all presenting the theme of peace and stability, were based on drama, puppetry and musical shows. With the participation of community leaders, the performances have encouraged the continued dissemination of peace messages throughout the community²⁶

Traditional dance performances often contain social messages. In Nuba Mountains, dance, story telling and songs are used not only to entertain but also to inform. In upper Nile region, songs are extensively used to communicate ideas, messages. Some communities like Dinka for instance, use the dance

²⁶ USAID Sudan Monthly Update December 2006

sessions as a platform where young people could connect with future spouses. In cases where there is a personal conflict and those involved wish to discuss the issue, songs are the preferred option for dialogue. Village criers communicate news and information using homemade microphones, the cyclists go through the villages bellowing messages.

Churches are strong networks for communication and lend their pulpits for announcements. They have survived the long civil war in Sudan with a relatively intact network and their leaders have good access to the local communities and the ability to mobilize the people living there.

Contemporary mass media in Sudan dates back to 1903, when the country's first newspaper, *Al-Sudan*, was founded by Shahin Mekarios and Faris Nimir, owners of the *Almugtam* publishing house in Egypt. The newspaper was published twice in English and subsequently in Arabic. The paper was not considered Sudanese however as neither the owner, publisher and editor, nor the targeted readers were Sudanese. It was until 1918 that the first truly Sudanese paper, *Hadarat Al-Sudan*, with Sudanese funding and a Sudanese editor appeared.²⁷

The first daily newspaper, *Al-Nil*, started in 1935 and its launch marked the beginning of sectarian divisions in the print media that led to the main political parties having their own newspapers. The first paper to represent southern views, *The Vigilant*, was published in Khartoum just over a half a century after the publication of *Al-Sudan*.²⁸

As the only available platform for political parties and national leaders to address the Sudanese people, the Sudanese press played a vital role in the national movement towards independence and self-determination.

Since independence of Sudan in 1956, the mass media have served as channels

²⁷ Jesper Hojberg, *Assessment and outline of a strategy for media support*. Media in Sudan at a Crossroads, International Media Support, 2007.

²⁸ Salih, M.M., *The Sudanese Press: Sudan notes and records*, XL, VI 1965

for the dissemination of information supporting various political parties during times of parliamentary rules or official government views during military rule.

In opposition to the official broadcast network, the SPLM—the current ruling political party in Southern Sudan—operated its own clandestine radio station, Radio SPLA, from secret transmitters within the country and from facilities in Ethiopia. Radio SPLA broadcasts were in Arabic, English, and various languages of the south²⁹

The official Sudan News Agency (SUNA) was established in 1971 and provided news about the country in Arabic, English and French to foreign and domestic services³⁰

Before the June 1989 military coup and notably during the parliamentary periods, Sudan had a very vibrant press, with most political parties publishing a variety of periodicals. The number of daily papers was more than twenty and the number of weekly publications was about fifteen including the monthly magazines. Sudan had at the time some 55 publications in Arabic and English.³¹

Currently Sudan has a large number of local and national newspapers. The major national dailies are published in Arabic and (or) English .

Print Media

In comparison with the broadcast media, print media has seen the most significant changes towards a more open space for freedom of expression since the military coup in Sudan in 1989. Today, there are at least 17 daily political

²⁹ Jesper Hojberg, *Assessment and outline of a strategy for media support: Media in Sudan at a Crossroads*, International Media Support, 2007.

³⁰ Helen Chapin Metz, Ed, *Sudan: A country Study*. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1991

³¹ *Ibid*

newspapers in Arabic of which seven are considered to be politically independent. There are also weekly newspapers in English like Citizen, Juba post and Sudan Mirror.

In its annual performance report, the National Press Council states that the total newspaper distribution in 2005 was 292,730 copies. The report states that the major political newspapers are Akhbar Alyoum, Al-Sahafa Al Rai Al Aam, Al Khartoum and Al Watan.³²

Printing houses

Most Sudanese newspapers are printed in the greater Khartoum area as there are no functioning newspaper printing presses elsewhere in Sudan. There are smaller printing houses around the country, but these are not technically equipped for newspaper printing.

In Southern Sudan, the Nile Printing Press, constructed by the Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) in the early 1970s, has been out of operation for a number of years. Therefore, Southern Sudan based newspapers are being printed either outside Sudan, which increases the costs considerably, or by printing houses in Khartoum, which could entail a risk of censorship by the authorities there.

A project funded by a delegation of the European commission to rehabilitate the Nile printing press has not yet materialized and at the present time, the possibility of building a new, smaller printing facility for Southern Sudan is being explored. A printing house in Southern Sudan would allow the printing of newspapers but also make it possible to print books, teaching materials and so on.

³² http://www.google.co.ke/#hl=en&q=The+National+Press+Council-sudan&aq=f&aqi=&aql=&oq=&gs_rfai=&fp=e20fc215b65da3b6

News Agencies

The official Sudan news agency (SUNA) distributes news in Arabic, English and French and is considered to be tightly controlled by the government through the ministry of information. The board consists of seven members who are all appointed by the minister of information and the minister of finance.

Presently, SUNA has no presence in Southern Sudan. However, according to an agreement in the joint technical committee on the information sector, signed by then two ministers of information in May 2007, an office is in the process of being established in Southern Sudan. At the same time, the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in the Government of Southern Sudan continues its existing efforts to establish its news agency of Southern Sudan (NASS). It's the hope of GoSS to have an independent news agency, should NASS be established, with no interference from authorities on editorial content. Plans for NASS include the setting up of sub-offices in the ten southern Sudan states³³. This would ensure that the states in southern Sudan get more access to media content than before.

Internet Sites.

The spread of the internet in Sudan has been limited, and the infrastructure is not optimized for high-speed data communication services. In 2006, there were 15 internet service providers operating, but only two had access to the internet. The government in Khartoum considered the others to be operating illegally.

Private internet subscriptions have increased from 50,000 in 2001 to 500,000 in 2005³⁴. Today, telephone service providers like Zain and MTN have enabled more access to the internet through the use of modems. The number of internet cafes has also more than doubled in the same period. Internet usage remains

³³ Jesper Hojberg, *Assessment and outline of a strategy for media support. Media in Sudan at a Crossroads*, International Media Support, 2007

³⁴ Ibid

concentrated in Khartoum.

Among the most visited internet media sites is sudan.net, which includes the latest news and general information in English. The website also has discussion forums in Arabic. Another influential website is the sudantribune.com. It is a Sudanese non-profit website based in France.

Sudaneseonline.com is another popular Sudanese site on the internet. The site includes news in Arabic and English, Sudanese music and entertainment, but is particularly appreciated for its popular discussion forum in Arabic. Gurtong.org is an information network on Southern Sudan for Sudanese in the Diaspora and in Sudan, an independent, community-based project funded by the Swiss federal department of foreign affairs.

Television stations

Television in Sudan remains under tight governmental control and its content is restricted by political and security criteria. TV is now fully digital, and due to an increased number of satellites, transmission to regional stations has expanded considerably. The main language is classic Arabic, but English and French language programmes are increasing in number.

So far, no private TV stations have been granted permission to broadcast in Sudan. There are now two government national TV channels, the national channel (Sudan TV) and the Blue Nile channel, which can be seen throughout the country by satellite.

Southern Sudan radio and TV broadcasts nine hours a day, providing locally-produced programmes as well as international programmes, from CNN and BBC, for example. It also contains one hour daily of national news from SRTC. The

languages used are English, Classic Arabic and Simple Arabic.³⁵

Radio Stations

The war and widespread of poverty in Southern Sudan had cut the Sudanese people from the rest of the world and from each other. All infrastructures such as transport and communication network had been destroyed. There were no roads, railways and electricity. The only way the Southern Sudanese used to communicate with the outside world was mainly through visitors, majority of whom were humanitarian aid workers. The people also communicated directly through 'bush dot com'.³⁶

In 2002, the Omdurman (State) Radio and state TV were amalgamated to become Sudan Radio and Television Corporation. (SRTC). The SRTC is tightly controlled by the government and the content of its broadcast is restricted by political and security criteria. The news programming is widely perceived as propaganda. However, Music, storytelling, sports, dramas and other non-political programming on both radio and TV is very popular. The main language used is Arabic but programmes in English and French are increasing in number.

Regional stations began to appear at the beginning of the 1980s. Today, there are regional stations in 18 of the 26 states. These boost the transmission of the mother station at Omdurman and broadcast locally-produced programs.

Except for outlets in major centers, the regional broadcast outlets are financially fragile and a number of the radio stations are unable to remain on the air for more than five to seven hours a day, with less than half of that time being devoted to locally-produced programming.

The Sudanese Radio and Television Corporation and the national

³⁵ ibid

³⁶ Bush dot com was a nickname given to radio calls transmissions in Sudan. It was the main means of communication at the time in the southern Sudan.

communication corporation approve licenses for transmissions inside Sudan.

There are eight FM radio stations in Khartoum, two owned by the government (Omdurman FM 100 and the Armed forces Radio) the other six are private radio stations.

The Sudanese radio and television corporation owns about fifteen percent of all FM private radio stations in return for license fees and facilities. The programming of all these FM stations is based on entertainment rather than news or current affairs. None of them is known to have any political affiliation.

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 paved the way for a more democratic setup for media ownership and practice in Sudan than ever before.

The move resulted in a number of changes to the media situation and allowed for the promotion of an environment conducive to freedom of expression and media development.

The peace accord has seen great development in Southern Sudan in particular, in as far as the media is concerned. Several media outlets including print, broadcast and internet services are now available in the region.

The CPA paved the way for the SRTC station in Juba to gain independence and to become established in 2006 as Southern Sudan Radio & Television.

In August 2007, the Government of Southern Sudan's Ministry of Information and Broadcasting officially licensed eight FM radio stations to private investors in the region.

Bakhita Radio is one of them. Bakhita radio is a catholic radio station that went on air for the first time in December 2006. Based in Juba, Bakhita Radio reaches a radius of 30 kilometers. It is a non-commercial station primarily funded by the catholic congregation as well as international donors. The content features news bulletins in English and Arabic and focuses on civic education, current affairs, peace and reconciliation.

Miraya FM is another example of the radio stations operating in Southern Sudan today. Miraya FM is a United Nations-sponsored radio station that has most of its listeners in urban centers like Juba, as well as state capitals like Malakal, Yei, Wau, Yambio and Rumbek. The radio is run in partnership between United Nations Mission in Sudan—UNMIS and Foundation Hironnelle and provides continuous broadcasts. The radio features news, call-in programmes and educational programmes. It also provides a forum for a wide range of public service announcements. UNMIS's request to access airwaves throughout the entire country was rejected by the government in Khartoum. But in October 2007, Radio Miraya FM started broadcasting three hours per day on short wave. Currently, Miraya is the most widely listened to radio in Southern Sudan.

Besides the educational and informational programmes, Miraya FM plays a lot of music. Music has been known to be a powerful tool to relax people's minds besides informing and entertaining people at the same time.

Experiences during the war left many people traumatized in Sudan. Most of the music played on Miraya FM is Sudanese music that advocates for peace and reconciliation.

Apart from the music played on Miraya FM, the station also broadcasts education programmes and civic education programmes with factual explanation of different chapters of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. One of the most famous programs, "The Terbia Market" ,which is an adult literacy program that tackles issues of civic education in simplified English language to reach majority of adults

with little or no formal education background, majority of whom spent their school going age as child soldiers.

Another famous program on Miraya FM is an interactive programme with greetings from North and South Sudan with local music from both regions. This particular program aims at informing both the north and southern Sudan of each other's cultures and traditions thus stimulating positive attitudes from both sides.

There are also Studio debates that bring together representatives of civil society, government and other stakeholders. In the debates, experts discuss and advise on issues of public interest such as health, education, women and youth matters, as well as law.³⁷

With funding from USAID, **Internews Network** has implemented a community radio project designated to enhance citizen access to locally and internationally produced news and information by building a small network of four FM community radio stations in different locations in Southern Sudan. The community radio network has provided new, original programming produced by local reporters and driven by local needs and interests, as well as news and information programmes generated by existing content providers (Sudan Radio Service, National Democratic Institute)

Sudan Radio Service (SRS) is Sudan's first independent broadcast provider of news and informational programming. The radio, which was established in 2003, works in English, Simple Arabic and Classical Arabic, as well as other Sudanese local languages including Bari, Moru, Zande, Dinka, Shilluk, and Nuer. SRS' programming focuses exclusively on contemporary issues and events in Sudan, making it the favorite radio station of many Sudanese in Sudan as well as those living outside Sudan.

³⁷ http://www.mirayafm.org/programme_schedule/

The radio's broadcast focuses on peace and development issues, civic education, business, health and economic issues. The content also features music and entertainment programming. SRS flagship is the civic education Programme "Lets Talk" produced in partnership with the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The principle aim of Lets Talk is to raise awareness about constitutional and democratic principles, to encourage dialogue among citizens about the political transition in Sudan and to prepare citizens for organized participation in the political process.

All SRS programming is produced by an all-Sudanese staff of radio professionals working at the organization's main offices in Nairobi, Kenya, as well as bureaus in Juba, Khartoum, Wau, Damazine, Darfur and Malakal. SRS also gathers news with help from Sudanese correspondents across Sudan and the Diaspora. SRS is currently in the process of relocating to Sudan, and shall have its headquarters in Juba, the capital of southern Sudan³⁸

Founded in 2003 by the Education Development Center (EDC) with support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Sudan Radio Service (SRS) is an independent broadcaster that seeks to equip its listeners with the knowledge and tools to participate fully in the peace-making, reconciliation, and development processes of Sudan. To achieve this, the station offers balanced news, as well as information on issues related to civic education, education, health, agriculture, culture, and gender. SRS aims to develop and broadcast programmes with no bias towards race, nationality, gender, religious or political affiliation.

SRS operates on shortwave and is currently establishing an FM in Juba (SRS 98.6 FM, Juba) which will go on air in June 2010.

³⁸ Jesper Hojberg, Assessment and outline of a strategy for media support: Media in Sudan at a Crossroads, International Media Support, 2007

SRS Communication Strategies

The radio-based education, news, and entertainment programmes on Sudan Radio Service are presented in nine languages including Dinka, Bari, Nuer, Zande, Shilluk, Arabic, Simple Arabic, Classical Arabic and English. By broadcasting its news and programming in various languages every week, SRS is able to expand its reach to many people formerly excluded from media of any sort, particularly women who typically speak only their respective local language. The broadcast also reaches Sudanese living in other parts of the continent especially through the internet.

In addition to daily newscasts, SRS provides a civic education programme called "The Road to Peace." The programme reports on the implementation of the peace accords between north and south, information on new citizen rights and responsibilities, and the work of new governments. It also broadcasts a regular health education programme entitled "Health for All by All", which provides information on health topics such as malaria and HIV/AIDS.

SRS has dedicated a thirty-minute broadcast in the evening to air news and programming in Arabic, Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa languages, exclusively from Darfur. SRS sources include leaders within the Sudan Liberation Movement (SPLM), the National Congress Party (NCP), and other political parties.

As part of the service's strategy, the station trains reporters to report in a manner which is independent, unbiased, balanced, and factual. When the daily broadcasts are completed, technicians edit and build the programme into audio files that are sent electronically to London for broadcast.

Other services carried out by SRS include the production of special programmes

for organizations, airing of advertisements, public service announcements (PSAs) and non-commercial or promotional messages, and providing recording studios to the public, sometimes sponsoring music of up-coming local artists in Sudan.

Sudan Radio Service' vision "is to be the most reliable, trusted, independent provider of balanced news and information to the people of Sudan living both in Sudan and in the diaspora."

2.4 Challenges Faced by the Media and Journalists in Sudan

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 opened up space for a more democratic setup for the media ownership and practice. This resulted in a number of changes to the media situation in Sudan. The progress made has been considerable, especially with regard to the printed press. However, the main obstacles for independent and free media persist, with censorship, control, harassment and persecution of journalists and other media actors as ongoing problems.

Moreover, the environment for freedom of expression is clearly marked by regional differences. The political context in the North is different from that in the South. By the same token, the conflict in Darfur sets specific parameters for media workers active in that region.

Journalists both in the north and south have experienced repeated summons and short detentions for one reason or the other. Detention of individuals is one instrument used by the authorities to control the independent media. They act as warnings and are aimed at engraving fear and inspire to self-censorship.

Since independence of Sudan in 1956, the mass media have served as channels for the dissemination of information supporting various political parties during

times of parliamentary rules or official government vies during military rule

Radio, an important medium of mass communication in the country's vast territory, has remained virtually a government monopoly and television broadcasting a complete monopoly.

The methods to control the media have changed in recent years and have become more subtle. Initially, there was direct censorship where security officers who walk into a printing press every night to decide on what to print. But the change of methods has resulted in more indirect censorship, evidenced by examples of suspensions and confiscations. Journalist and media practitioners are today punished after a publication.

According to a number of media practitioners and other stakeholders interviewed for an assessment in 2007, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement did bring about a number of positive changes to the media climate in Sudan in general.

The opening up of a more democratic environment applies mainly to the printed press and especially to the English language newspapers, while control over the Arabic language newspapers appears to be tighter.

According to media experts and analysts, the main reason for this is that Arabic language newspapers reach out to a larger part of the population than the English language newspapers, which are read only by a small elite.

National state-run radio and television broadcasting remains under strict government control and reflects government policy. However, in Southern Sudan the transfer of the former SRTC radio and TV to the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) has raised expectations that over time this media corporation will

operate independently of state control and will take a stronger public service approach.

New progressive media legislation, still due for approval, developed in Southern Sudan and the provision of licenses to radio stations which can operate independently of government control are other signs that indicate a more positive development in this area in comparison to the rest of the country.

Although great progress has been made, a large number of media representatives still complain about the worsening situation, in particular since September 2006, which has been regressing rapidly towards the conditions in force before the signing of the peace agreement. Censorship has again been enforced, banning coverage on critical issues such as the September 6th beheading of Mohammed Taha, editor-in-chief of the daily Al-Wafaq, the Darfur crisis, and demonstrations against the government and rebel movements. The fear of suspension or confiscation has further led to widespread self-censorship among media practitioners³⁹

In spite of the fact that freedom of expression is constitutionally guaranteed by article 39 of the Interim National Constitution, journalists continue to suffer harassment, arrest and detention without charge, ill-treatment and other forms of intimidation, mainly by Sudanese National Security and Intelligence Forces⁴⁰

The power of the National Press Council to issue and to suspend or revoke licenses for both media houses and individual journalists is an important key to controlling the media. The Press and Publications Act sets strict conditions for individuals as well as for companies who want to operate in the media profession. Licensing is thus perceived as another strategy for strong-arming the media, and some media practitioners refuse to apply for a license.

³⁹ Reporters Without Borders annual report 2007

⁴⁰ SOAT newsletter, January – July 2007

Confiscation is another tool used by the national authorities to control the media. In the old days, one would be stopped from publishing what the government sees as controversial. Today, media owners could go ahead and print only for the national security officials to confiscate the paper at the verge of its distribution. This translates to a total loss for privately owned newspapers.

The fear of suspension, closure or imprisonment has led to a widespread self censorship among journalists, editors-in-chiefs and other media practitioners, especially in Khartoum.

The government in Khartoum also controls the media through advertising. Government advertising is being used as a weapon. If they do not like what you write, they will not give you any orders.

In Southern Sudan detentions or other forms of harassment are happening less frequently. Nevertheless, incidents such as the detainment in August 2007 of Nhial Bol, the editor-in-chief of the Citizen Newspaper, for reporting on a car purchase scandal allegedly implicating a former government official have been noted⁴¹

According to Albino Okeny, a communications officer for the World Bank based in Juba, the climate for freedom of expression has not really been tested in Southern Sudan. He claims that there is a lack of investigative reporting examining the Government of Southern Sudan more closely.

Apart from censorship, the Sudanese media face various kinds of challenges which have jeopardized media operation in the whole of Sudan.

⁴¹ As reported by Sudan Tribune on 9 August 2007 (<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article23195>)

Legal reform challenges

That there is a dire need for legal reforms compatible with the constitution, international standards and best practice in the area of freedom of expression and access to information is undeniable. Numerous initiatives aiming for the adoption of new media legislation at the national level and in the South further illustrate the need for media law reforms.

To this effect, a number of roundtables bringing together key stakeholders to debate the importance of drafting new laws have been convened over the past few years. At the national level, the Future Trends Foundation for Strategic Studies & Dialogue, a think tank close to the governing party which has funding from UNDP, invited a selected group of experts, who developed a set of four draft media laws. In Southern Sudan, other draft media bills have been prepared representing a more progressive media policy.

However, a lack of political good will is seen as a major stumbling block on the road to freedom of expression. The government's readiness to adopt laws that in principle allow for media freedom is regarded with cynicism by some.

In the South, for instance, where the government of southern Sudan is showing a willingness to adopt progressive laws, the capacity for implementing this legislation is a challenge that surpasses the political will to do so. The improbability of the Government of Southern Sudan being able to implement these laws, largely because of logistical obstacles, has been pinpointed as a challenge.

A simple example of the difficulty facing GoSS in exercising its authority is the recurring harassment of journalists in Juba at the hands of what Albino Okeny, World Bank Communications Officer and former editor of the Khartoum Monitor,

called “ignorant” security agents who think a journalist needs a written permission from a government authority in order to do his/her work.

Lack of professional skills

The standards of journalism in Sudan suffer from a serious lack of education and training. Professional journalists are scarce; providing objective and relevant reporting is consequently a challenge for many Sudanese newspapers. The lack of ethical guidelines and self-regulating mechanisms – although now emerging in the South – has made it even more difficult to raise the standards of this challenged profession.

In spite of the large number of media schools in Sudan, the results are extremely discouraging. The academic and professional standards of the graduates are extremely basic and on-the-job training is almost non-existent.

In Southern Sudan, the emergence of a number of new media has underlined the need for journalists who have gone through basic training. The relatively poor quality of journalism in Sudan is a problem which is being acknowledged by both the media practitioners themselves and by other stakeholders such as donors, and representatives from national or International organizations and NGOs.

The previous military regimes are seen as one of the main reasons for the poor standards. Some of the most talented journalists simply fled the country during oppressive dictatorships and did not return. Only a few of the journalists who stayed behind have been able to carry out their profession in an atmosphere in which a free press should operate.

Media training remains an extremely neglected area and is conducted in an ad hoc and unsystematic way. Few printed media have a training programme or a

budget allocated for training, depending rather on free training offers from national and international organizations.

Poor working conditions

Basic working conditions and employment rights in the Sudanese media are poor, especially in the printed media. There is widespread exploitation of young journalists; some work for months without pay and when actually paid, the salaries are so low that it is impossible to make a living from the profession. There are no real regulations that limit the number of working hours or ensure compensation. As a consequence, many Sudanese journalists have emigrated to find better job opportunities especially in the Gulf States.

Some analysts see the financial situation in most newspapers as the main explanation for the low level of salaries.

In Southern Sudan, a priority area for the newly-established Union of Journalists of Southern Sudan (UJOSS) is assuring minimum wages and improving working conditions for their members. Journalism being a traditionally male-dominated profession, an increasing number of women are today working in the field. An influx of female graduates from the universities combined with new media outlets popping up across the country have improved the job opportunities for female journalists over the past years. However, gender inequalities still exist, leaving women behind when it comes to working conditions. Women are generally paid less and they do not have the same access to training as their male colleagues. Also, female journalists at editorial and management level in media outlets are clearly under represented.

Politicization of the media sector

The highly politicized environment in Sudan is reflected in the media sector. A significant part of the media in Sudan operates within a set political frame, pursuing political goals and the desire to influence public opinion and decision making.

This is clearly illustrated by the government control of Sudan Radio and TV Broadcasting Corporation (SRTC). It is clear that the institution is influenced by government authorities and seeks to promote messages in line with government politics. The radio is government owned and it does not broadcast anything that the government does not want.

The ownership structures of newspapers confirm the political interests in media production. Some newspapers are directly affiliated with specific political institutions. This is the case of Ray Alshaab Daily Newspaper, which is the official paper of the Popular Congress Party. For other newspapers the political interests are less visible; for example, where security personnel or persons affiliated with the government are key investors.

The politicization of the media was reflected in the process of setting up a UN radio station. The United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), established by Security Council resolution 1590 to assist the implementation of the CPA, has been engaged in setting up the radio service Radio Miraya. Although UNMIS had been invited by the Government in Southern Sudan (GoSS) to broadcast in the south, the idea met with resistance from authorities in Khartoum, who denied UN access to the airwaves of the entire country. In October 2007, Radio Miraya started broadcasting short wave radio three hours of news and current affairs per day. The signal can be heard all over Sudan and in neighboring countries.

The politicization of the media affects the news and information offered to the Sudanese population.

When the media fail to provide a well-balanced recounting of events and opinions in the society, citizens need to read between the lines or visit a variety of media outlets to get a more complete overview of developments. Thus, the individual media are not serving as a platform for a variety of opinions, a service which is usually expected from the media in a democratic country. This situation can potentially fuel tensions and conflicts between distinct political interest groups in the country.

Informing and reporting on the peace agenda

The Joint Assessment Mission of 2005 states that in post-war countries, freedom of expression and a functional and professionally-oriented media is a central factor for any programme of peace building, social reconstruction and national reconciliation⁴²

The restrictions on a free and pluralist media in Sudan thus present a serious challenge to peace building and the cultivation of transparency and public accountability, the rule of law and democracy. The lack of information about the Comprehensive Peace Agreement means less ownership of it on the part of the Sudanese people, and the lack of unbiased political reporting means that they are not properly prepared for crucial events stipulated in the CPA such as the census and the upcoming elections.

The media are key players in the political process. It is therefore crucial to keep a space for them. The media are a vehicle for raising awareness and for enabling the peace process to continue. Hence, the lack of information on the peace agreement poses a serious risk to the peace process in Sudan.

⁴² Joint Assessment Mission Sudan, Capacity Building & Institutional Development, 18 March 2005

Technical and financial constraints

Working in the largest country in Africa which is coming out of a 21-year long civil war resulting in great destruction of infrastructure, particularly in Southern Sudan, means that the media sector is facing great limitations related to the technical and infrastructural aspects of media production.

The high number of papers competing for few readers and a limited amount of advertisement funding is part of the problem. Newspapers perceived as being critical of the government or of being affiliated with the political opposition, such as The Citizen, have an even harder time, since they are passed over when government institutions are placing advertisements.

The weak economy has severe effects on the quality of the media, since there are few resources to develop and improve the product.

For some papers, there are political parties or other Sudanese political actors behind investments. Others receive funding from agencies for international cooperation to maintain and develop their operations.

Distribution is another major concern for newspapers. Al-Rai Al-Ayam paper for example, sells approximately 70% of its papers in Khartoum, while the rest are distributed by bus or plane to other parts of Sudan. This makes the newspaper highly dependent on the logistics of the transport system which sometimes is not reliable.

Sudan Mirror Newspaper, on the other has had its share of distribution problems in Southern Sudan. Previously, Sudan Mirror assured a great part of their distribution by using the many flights organized by agencies for international

Cooperation involved in humanitarian work in Southern Sudan. This has changed with the signing of the CPA, and distribution now needs to be carried out on an economic basis. The lack of a system for retrieval of the sales costs has meant that in some cases the paper is given away free.

The weekly Juba Post, produced in Juba and printed in Khartoum, confirms the problems with distribution. They rely on friends to bring it to towns outside Juba, and trust them to bring back the income from the sales. This sometimes does not go well and as planned.

All papers have to be printed either in Khartoum or, if that is not possible, in Kenya or Uganda. The absence of printing facilities is another challenge.

The difficulties of distribution combined with high illiteracy in rural areas means that newspapers do not serve as mass media for the larger part of the population, hardly reaching out to the rural segments. The electronic media, and in particular the radio, are the media par excellence for reaching out to the larger part of the population. Still, the radio is also facing a number of constraints, including the level of outreach, which to a certain degree lacks programming designed for rural listeners.

Adding to the challenges facing radio broadcasters is the lack of receivers among the population. Although there are no precise estimates of the distribution of radio receivers in Southern Sudan, it is suggested by several international organizations that there continues to be a need for distributing radio receivers in rural areas. Wind-up radios, which can operate without electricity, have been distributed in certain areas, but more are needed.

Reaching the rural population is a huge challenge in a vast country with an almost non-existent infrastructure. Eventually, the lack of vital information may create suspicion and mistrust and lead to instability, as pointed out by USAID.

Radio with a nationwide reach is therefore essential to convey information and in this way to maintain stability.

2.5 Media Peace Building Programs

Traditional focus of media-related initiatives has been on conventional journalism that supports the emergence of good governance and democratic development, particularly in post-conflict environments. The focus is logical, since traditional journalism's calling is to present facts and viewpoints that enable citizens to make sense of their world and exercise choices in their best interests.⁴³

However, it is worth noting that the most recent category of media-related peacebuilding goes beyond the traditional disengaged journalistic role. It is designed to have an intended outcome; a reduction of conflict among citizens. Rather than merely informing, material is selected for its potential in transforming conflict, by shifting attitudes of the parties involved in conflict, by providing essential information.⁴⁴

Rose Howard explains that besides the traditional journalism media peacebuilding initiatives also extends into avenues such as popular music, soap operas and call-in shows, community radio and video projects, and street theatre, wall posters, or concerts. Howard notes that such a dimension can be highly effective, particularly in conflict-ridden areas where audiences are desperately receptive to information presented in an entertaining form.

Howard further states that it has increasingly become obvious that the professional norms of journalism do not trump fundamental moral obligations. It is also clear that all journalists unconsciously reflect personal and cultural values in selecting their content (or framing their stories, as it is called). What is needed

⁴³ Ross Howard, *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*: Toronto, 1946

⁴⁴ Ibid.

is recognition of the value of framing stories for the benefit of conflict resolution. With this recognition emerges a journalism that is sensitized to conflict resolution techniques, and seeks to maximize understanding of the underlying causes and possible solutions. In some conflict environments, journalists see their role as more complex than simply carriers of information, and they actively seek to facilitate the most important peacebuilding dialogues needed in their communities.

Just as specific impacts of conflict upon media are rarely unique to one stage of conflict, media interventions also are not limited to any one stage of conflict. Different media interventions can overlap, operate side-by-side, or be combined depending upon circumstances. Nonetheless, to establish a common language for determining and comparing intervention opportunities, some patterns can be identified and described.

Rose Howard (2002) describes five types of media intervention initiatives. One common intervention involves initiatives to overcome journalism severely constrained by its lack of professionalism, diversity, freedom and technology. This rudimentary journalism training addresses unskilled, inaccurate, conflict-obsessed, or highly partisan media. Often this media is, or was, controlled by the state or special interests and it reflects narrow views or propaganda like is the case in Sudan. A legal framework regulating and protecting the media is likely lacking.

The foremost tool for peacebuilding here is training media in the basics skills of journalism, such as impartiality, accuracy and balance. Awareness of democratic practices, especially election coverage, is essential. Technology training and equipment is also supplied; and, also included is the promotion of journalistic codes and a basic legal infrastructure that protects journalists from intimidation⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ross Howard, *An operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding*: Toronto, 2002

Rose Howard explains a second type of media intervention as providing more responsible journalism development beyond basic skills. She states the tools as developing investigative, explanatory and specialist reporting, and well-informed analytical reporting and Initiatives include promoting and providing models for a full media infrastructure that includes impartial regulators, media performance requirements, access to information, press councils, and promulgation of standards to define libel and slander as elements of media accountability.

Howard further states that developing diverse, competitive and sustainable media outlets, especially through management training, is another tool. The intention is to create a media that serves society as a conflict resolution process and upholds democratic governance.

The author explains that an emerging genre of media intervention is located between traditional journalism and more pro-active uses of media. Journalists are encouraged to consciously examine their role to recognize conflict resolution as part of that role. In this transitional journalism development, journalists and media managers redefine whom and what is newsworthy, to better inform and encourage reconciliation.

Sensitized media professionals may see their role as more than observers and carriers of information and may seek to facilitate critical dialogues within the community. Some professionals and theorists aptly call this type of intervention peace journalism, reflecting the dual nature of their work as journalists with conflict resolution as one of their recognized values. Other sources of journalism media such as underground radio stations may be involved, often in hostile environments.

According to Rose Howard, conventional journalism is a pro-active media-based intervention, usually designed for a highly specific audience and purpose. It is often the product of an outside intervener such as a peacekeeping force or a

nongovernmental organization and is often deployed in a conflict or post-conflict environment. It can be media intended to counter hate propaganda, or programming to provide immediately practical information such as election and voting practices, refugee reunification, education, agriculture or health advice.

The author further states that an Intended outcome programming is another useful strategy that the media can employ in its effort to promote peacebuilding. The intended programming can be directed towards transforming attitudes, promoting reconciliation and reducing conflict. It is not conventional journalism. It is usually conducted by non governmental organizations. The content is determined by its appropriateness to fostering peace. The programming and delivery mechanisms can be innovative adaptations of a popular culture such as radio and television soap operas and dramas, street theatre, wall posters, and more. The initiative and programming may be closely allied with other actors and projects. Media workers may play a role themselves as conciliators in the field.

Media in Rwanda, during the 1994 conflict, Radio-Television Libre des Mille Collines (Free Radio-Television of the Thousand Hills) was believed to have been one of the main influences that prompted the local Hutus to commit atrocities against the Tutsi community.

At the time when messages inciting violence were broadcast on the radio, the killing of about eight hundred thousand people occurred in less than a hundred days. But after the war, building on the prominence and believed potency of radio in Rwanda, a few people decided to use the medium to influence the population as Radio Mille Collines had, but with a diametrically opposite goal—peace reconciliation.

In the neighboring Burundi, Studio Ijambo (Wise Words) was established in 1995. Its main objective being to produce a variety of messages in news and entertainment programs that could contribute towards peace and development. Entertainment, which mostly comes in the form of music has been known to be an effective tool in communication as music is practically the most significant feature and means of self-identification of the lives of most young people. Most of the programs in studio Ijambo directly addressed the roots of the regional conflict.

The skillful use of early mass communication channels by the Allies in World War I, the cruel manipulation of media by Nazi Germany and inciting radio broadcasts of Rwandan radio RTLM are all good examples of frequent hypothesis in the literature that claim considerable impact of media on the promotion of war.

Several analyses even attribute to the media an instigative role in inciting violence. Assuming media have played an important role in inciting violence, it seems logical to examine the prospects for the reverse perspective – media's contribution to violence cessation or conflict resolution and peace building.

Studio Ijambo's coverage and presentation of the peace agreement represents an example of such practice. In other words, if media are often found to be enablers of forces that lead to violent conflict, on the other hand, their role and contribution in the development of peace needs to be examined.

Theoretically, discussion of media role in peace development and the possibility that media could contribute towards the elimination of violent conflicts is challenging but not an impossible proposition. Various literatures have shown that media can contribute toward creating attitudes thus the industry of advertising which specializes in creating attitudes that translate into behavior.

Media could possibly contribute to reduction of the tension between self and others in many ways. It could do so by showing the other in a similar light to self, depicting people with the same types of problems, equally damaged by the conflict and sharing similar interests and positions. In such an atmosphere, polarization is less likely to emerge. Furthermore, issues at the center of a dispute are known as root causes of conflict. They are often diverse, complex and intertwined, long and short term.

Conflicts have been known to revolve around tangible needs such as natural resources as well as territory boundaries. A typical and most recent example being the numerous cases in Darfur where thousands of people end up dying, in a war that starts at a water point, or grazing area, often as a result of the scarcity of the resource in question. Such arguments start as mere disagreements or scramble over a resource but have been known to escalate into a regional fight, leading to the deaths and displacements of many.

The role of media in forming public opinion and creating the context for the public debate has been recognized and should serve as a base for media intervention at various stages of conflict resolution.

Unlike other approaches, conflict transformation perceives conflict as a positive force whose appropriate transformation can lead toward social change. Furthermore, the simple cessation of violence does not necessarily lead to the elimination of injustices. Conflict transformation emphasizes empowerment and engagement of the non-elite officials, people at the grassroots level and representative organizations.

Proponents of conflict resolution and transformation believe that the failure to transform or address conflict conditions is what leads to the eruption of its violent stage. It is hard to imagine a more appropriate venue where conflicts can be addressed and transformed publicly in a non-violent fashion than through the media.

Media serves as a platform of peaceful discourse when influential people hold a debate or an open forum on television or radio. These provide a means to address the conflict causes in a nonviolent forum. The middle level leadership is thus given a chance in the media to publicly handle the issues at conflict. Such practice facilitates peaceful resolution as it provides an example for the grassroots level and puts pressure on the top leadership. The grassroots level is the largest group that is normally on the receiving end of mass communication. Most of the peacebuilding media messages are aimed at this group; they are the true target audience of media as well as the propagators of violence whenever a conflict arises.

Media can facilitate the peace process not just by transferring messages to the people but also by representing the people. The idea of pro-social use of media may have originated in the early 1920s in close connection with early propaganda studies. Soon after the initial studies on propaganda, social scientists such as Lasswell (1927), Lippmann (1925) and Bernays (1928) hypothesized that if media had been powerful in persuading people to support war, then they may also be used for desired social advancement. The

contemporary version of peace-oriented media became a part of public discourse sometime in the early 1990s.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ http://www.sfcg.org/Documents/DME/bratic_peace_oriented_media.pdf-bratic-peace-oriented-media.pdf

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Methodology

Introduction

This chapter describes the procedures that were followed in conducting the study. The section answers two main questions in the study; how was data collected? How was the generated data analyzed?

The chapter shows the procedures that were undertaken. It also describes the steps that were involved in conducting the study as well as the processes that were undertaken to gather, measure and analyze the data.

Methodology may be a description of process, or may be expanded to include a philosophically coherent collection of theories, concepts or ideas as they relate to a particular discipline or field of inquiry or research.

The process may refer to nothing more than a simple set of methods or procedures, or it may refer to the rationale and the philosophical assumptions that underlie a particular study relative to the scientific method. For example, scholarly literature often includes a section on the methodology of the researchers.

Methodology describes in detail the characteristics of subjects, materials, and apparatus that a researcher uses as well as the procedures followed in the whole process of the research⁴⁷

A content analysis of Sudan radio service programmes was undertaken for the period of January to December 2009. This period was chosen as it preceded a historic event in Sudan, a nationwide general elections after two of war in Sudan. This particular methodology was chosen because it suits the study of records (in

⁴⁷ Kenneth S. Borderns, Bruce B. Abbott (2005) *Research Design and methods: A Process Approach*. New Delhi, McGraw-Hill Companies.

this case, past radio broadcast). Sudan Radio Service was chosen due to the fact that it was Sudan's first ever independent radio to broadcast across the region. Until early this year, when relocation plans for the radio commenced, SRS has been based in Nairobi, with bureaus in several parts of the country. The fact that Sudan Radio Service's headquarters are in Nairobi made access to past broadcast easier.

The units of analysis were various categories of programmes broadcasts. These included broadcasts in the areas of civic education, good governance, general development, environment conservation as well as entertainment programmes. Programmes did not necessarily have to have the mention of peacebuilding in the broadcast content. Programmes whose objectives were geared towards peace efforts were definitely qualified for analysis.

3.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words or concepts within texts or sets of texts. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of such words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the texts, the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which all these are a part.

Klaus Krippendorff describes content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts or other meaningful matter to the contexts of their use.⁴⁸ In his view, the phrase 'other meaningful matter' implies that works of art like maps, images, sounds, signs, symbols and numerical records may be considered as text provided that the genre speak to people about phenomena outside of what could be sensed or observed.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Krippendorff, K, *Content Analysis: An Introduction To Its Methodology*, California: Sage, 2005

⁴⁹ Ibid.

Olive and Abel Mugenda explain that content analysis as a systematic qualitative description of the composition of the objects or materials of the study. In their view, content analysis involves observation and detailed description of objects, items or things that comprise the sample.⁵⁰

Content analysis is a research tool focused on the actual content and internal features of media. The process is used to determine the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, characters, or sentences within texts or sets of texts and to quantify this presence in an objective manner. Texts can be defined broadly as books, book chapters, essays, interviews, discussions, newspaper headlines and articles, historical documents, speeches, conversations, advertising, theater, informal conversation, or really any occurrence of communicative language. To conduct a content analysis on a text, the text is coded or broken down, into manageable categories on a variety of levels--word, word sense, phrase, sentence, or theme--and then examined using one of content analysis' basic methods: conceptual analysis or relational analysis. The results are then used to make inferences about the messages within the text(s), the writer(s), the audience, and even the culture and time of which these are a part. For example, Content Analysis can indicate pertinent features such as comprehensiveness of coverage or the intentions, biases, prejudices, and oversights of authors, publishers, as well as all other persons responsible for the content of materials.

3.2 Sampling of Study Population

Most times, it is not feasible to include the whole population that a researcher intends to study under a certain experiment. For this reason, a researcher is therefore compelled to study a sample of the population in question. A sample

⁵⁰ Olive M, Abel M, Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches, Nairobi, Acts Press, 2003

therefore is a small sub-group chosen from the larger population that the researcher intends to study, and sampling is the process of defining and identifying the sample from the population.

Olive and Abel Mugenda define sampling as the process of selecting of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they were selected. The authors explain the importance of sampling as it enables the researcher to secure a representative group hence gaining information about a group, without necessarily studying the entire population in question.⁵¹

The authors state that it is important that the researcher carefully undertakes the sampling procedure so as to come up with a representative sample.

A representative sample is one that contains essentially the same variations that exist in the populations and which therefore when studied provides useful descriptions of the total population.

In order to collect a representative sample, the researcher must have a sampling frame, that is, a list of cases from which a sample is selected. A probability sampling technique is used to come up with this sample. These techniques include random sampling, simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling and cluster sampling. Probability sampling is the primary method for selecting a sample for social science research.

The researcher selects the one among these probability sampling techniques that leads itself to selection of the most representative sample from his study population depending on the variations existing in the population.

⁵¹ Olive M, Abel M, Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches, Nairobi, Acts Press, 2003

However, for purposes of this study, firstly, a non-probability sampling method was used. The sample was chosen in a random manner but was chosen through purposive sampling. That is, with a purpose in mind and that was to analyze peacebuilding initiatives in southern Sudan in the year 2009 through radio broadcast. Programmes that focus on good governance and other related issues that promote peaceful co-existence among citizens were hand picked because they were believed to possess the required characteristics.

A census sampling was then found appropriate since the relevant programmes produced during the study period were only 50. It was therefore possible to select all the units in the sampling frame, thus census sampling.

In this case, the sample desired was specific and already known thus probability sampling was not necessary. For census sampling, every unit, or case, is measured for the entire population.

The sample in this research was therefore programmes broadcasts of Sudan Radio Service within the study period.

The Road to Peace, Lets Talk, and spotlight programmes are all broadcasts on Sudan Radio Service. According to the radio's production schedule, The programmes, which are to be produced on a weekly basis constitute the civic education category which mainly aim at educating, informing and creating awareness among citizens about important matters that impact their lives in Sudan. Since the period of study was preceding a national general election in the country, related programmes were produced and repeated several times to the audience to increase chances of reaching a maximum number of audiences in the longest period before the election in early 2010. This was aimed at raising awareness of the Sudanese people on elections and related issues as well as ensuring that citizens understand the importance of peace in the time of elections. Due to repetition of programmes in this category, the total number of

programmes produced totaled to 45.

The study period covered in this research is 12 months. This period was selected since it fell under the interim time when leaders as well as citizens of the Sudan were all making efforts to uphold the peace that was brought about by the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement ahead of the general election. It was therefore expected that the sample would be 64 programmes. However, only 40 programmes under study were broadcast in that year as there were repeats of programmes at a certain period.

Therefore, Sample = 45

This study did not lend itself to the use of probability sampling. The need to calculate sampling interval, sampling ratio and sample size was also eliminated since all instances of the targeted programmes broadcast in the year 2009 were considered.

3.3 Data Collection

To a large extent, the quality of a research study depends on the accuracy of the data collection procedures. That is, the instruments or tools used to collect the data must yield the type of data the researcher can use to accurately answer his or her questions.

The online dictionary, wikipedia describes data collection as a process of preparing and collecting data. The purpose of data collection is to obtain information to keep on record, to make decisions about important issues, to pass information on to others. Primarily, data is collected to provide information regarding a specific topic.⁵²

⁵²Retrieved June 11, 2010 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Data_collection

In order to meet the objectives of this study, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected.

The study used descriptive research design with the preferred data collection method being content analysis. The descriptive design provides insights into the messages and images in discourse and popular culture represented in mass media.

Wikipedia, the online encyclopedia indicates that descriptive research, also known as statistical research, describes data and characteristics about population or phenomenon being studied. This type of research answers the questions *who, what, where, when, and how*.⁵³

Kothari explains that descriptive research includes surveys and fact-finding enquiries of different kinds.⁵⁴ Kothari states that the major purpose of descriptive research is to describe the state of affairs as it exists at a particular time. The author goes on to say that the main characteristics of descriptive research is that the research has no control over the variables; thus can only report what has happened, or what is happening.

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling data with the goal of highlighting useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision making. Data analysis has multiple facets and approaches, encompassing diverse techniques under a variety of names, in different business, science, and social science domains.

⁵³ Retrieved July 02, from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/descriptive_research

⁵⁴ Kothari, C.R. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*, New Delhi Age International Publishers, 1990.

Scripts of broadcasts in the relevant radio's programming were read and categorized for analysis and description.

The qualitative data collected formed the basis of descriptive process of presenting the findings of the study. Quantitatively, measurement of the amount of time as well as the content of a particular Programme was taken as measure of the importance of Sudan Radio Service in promoting peacebuilding initiatives in Sudan.

The following factors were looked at:

Types - Program categories.

Frequency - The number of relevant programmes and the number of times they were broadcast.

Language of broadcast - English, Arabic, local languages.

Placement - The time of broadcast; Evening or morning.

Time - Total program duration/program length.

Sources - Interviewees of each program.

3.5 Potential Threats to Validity

Validity is an indication of how sound a research is. Validity in data collection means that a researcher's findings truly represent the phenomenon that she/he is claiming to measure.

Some programmes under analysis were in local languages. However, there were transcribed scripts for the programmes in English that the researcher used in the analyzing the study. The researcher consulted with producers of programmes in the various Sudanese local languages to ensure that the English scripts corresponded with the programmes under study. The respective assistants of the local languages were entrusted with confirming that the scripts and the programmes were one but the same.

The fact that the researcher had no knowledge of some of the languages in which the programmes were produced posed a great threat to the validity of the research. However, the programme scripts are all kept in English in the records. The respective producers of the various programmes were consulted to confirm whether or not the actual programmes corresponded with the scripts. It was therefore believed that they gave the right confirmation as far as the scripts and the programmes were concerned.

Chapter Four

4.0 Data Analysis and presentation

This chapter presents data gleaned from the study, presents the findings graphically using tables and various kinds of charts, and analyses the findings.

4.1 Content Analysis Discussion

A total of 45 Civic Education programmes of the Sudan Radio Service that were broadcast in 2009 were analyzed. Table 4.1.1 below details the sample analyzed.

Table 4.1.1: Sample Summary

Programme Title	Program Topic	Language of Broadcast	Broadcast Date
Road to Peace	Conflict Resolution	English	30 th December, 2009
Let's Talk	Women and Campaigning	English and Arabic	23 rd December 2009
Road to Peace	Development Issues	English	16 th December 2009
Road to Peace	Gender Issues	Shilluk	9 th December, 2009
Lets Talk	Nominations	Arabic	9 th December, 2009
Lets Talk	Voting, My Right, My Duty	English	4 th December, 2009
Road To Peace	Unity of the Sudan	English	24 th December, 2009
Road to Peace	Political Parties	Zande	15 th December, 2009

	Act		
Let's Talk	Constituency Development Fund	Arabic	11 th June, 2009
Road to Peace	Census	Arabic	3 rd June, 2009
Lets Talk	Judiciary	English	22 nd May, 2009
Press Review	Media	English	28 th April, 2009
Road to Peace	Urbanization	English	8 th April, 2009
Road to Peace	Human Rights	English	25 th May, 2009
Road to Peace	African Union Report on Darfur	Arabic	18 th May, 2009
Let's Talk	Constitution Making	English	10 th November, 2009
Road to Peace	Anti-corruption	English	4 th November, 2009
Road to Peace	Small Arms	English	28 th October, 2009
Talking Point	Tribalism	English	26 th January, 2009
Road to Peace	Land Issues	English	6 th February, 2009
Talking Point	Agriculture	English	9 th February, 2009
Road to Peace	Land Mine Action	English	18 th February, 2009
Road to Peace	Environmental Protection in Sudan	English	25 th February, 2009
Talking Point	Art and Artists	English	2 nd March, 2009
Road to Peace	Peace Process	Bari	
Let's Talk	Women's Rights	English	17 th August, 2009
Road to Peace	Machakos Protocol	Arabic	9 th September, 2009
Road to Peace	Kordofan and	Dinka	7 th October, 2009

	Upper Nile Dispute		
Road to Peace	UN Secretary General	English	30 th December, 2009
Road to Peace	Census	Nuer	3 rd June, 2009
Lets Talk	Judiciary	English	22 nd May, 2009
Road to Peace	Urbanization	Moru	8 th April, 2009
Road to Peace	Leadership	Zande	3 rd April, 2009
Road to Peace	Anti-corruption	Dinka	11 th November, 2009
Lets Talk	Constitution Making	English	10 th November, 2009
Road to Peace	Democracy	English	21 st October, 2009
Let's Talk	Bill of Rights	Arabic	4 th October, 2009
Road to Peace	Power Sharing Agreement	English	30 th September, 2009
Let's Talk	Abyei	Arabic	20 th September, 2009
Let's Talk	Elections Commission	English	4 th September, 2009
Road to Peace	Demining in South Sudan	Nuer	2 nd , September, 2009
Road to Peace	Referendum Bill	English	26 th October, 2009
Road to Peace	Security Protocol	Arabic	22 nd July, 2009
Road to Peace	Disarmament, Demobilization, Re-integration Plan	Arabic	1 st , July, 2009
Let's Talk	Civil Society	English	31 st March, 2009

Total Number: 45

This section outlines the results of content analysis of the various aspects of the radio's contribution to peacebuilding initiatives in Sudan. The implications of those results are also briefly referred to. An in-depth analysis of the results is provided in section 5.

4.2 Overview of categories of programmes analyzed.

The researcher looked at the following categories of programme material during the content analysis:

- Promoting peace and reconciliation
- Culture and tradition
- Elections
- Anti-corruption
- Gender

The following table and chart summarize the break down according to the above numbers and percentages.

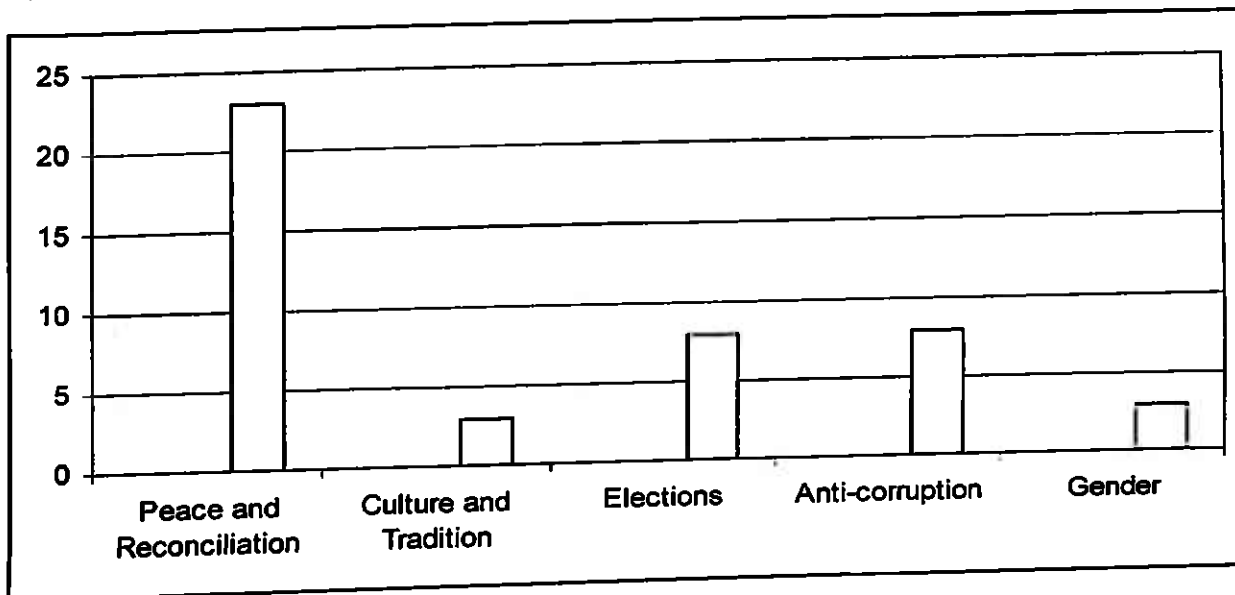
Table 4.2.1 Overview of totals and percentages of material studied

Programme category	Frequency	Percentage
Peace and Reconciliation	23	51
Culture and tradition	3	7
Elections	8	18
Anticorruption	8	18
Gender	3	7
Grand Total of number of items analyzed	45	100%

The study findings demonstrate that out of the 45 programmes analyzed for the

study, 51% were programmes that dealt in peacebuilding by addressing issues concerning peace and conflict. This includes improving knowledge of people in peace and conflict relevant issues such as causes of conflict, inter-ethnic understanding, discrimination, truth commissions and war crimes as well as enabling the Sudanese society to deal with the past and build a common future. 7% of the programmes dealt in culture and tradition, 18% of the programs dealt in elections and other related issues, another 18% dealt in anti-corruption issues while 7% of the programs were about gender and other related issues.

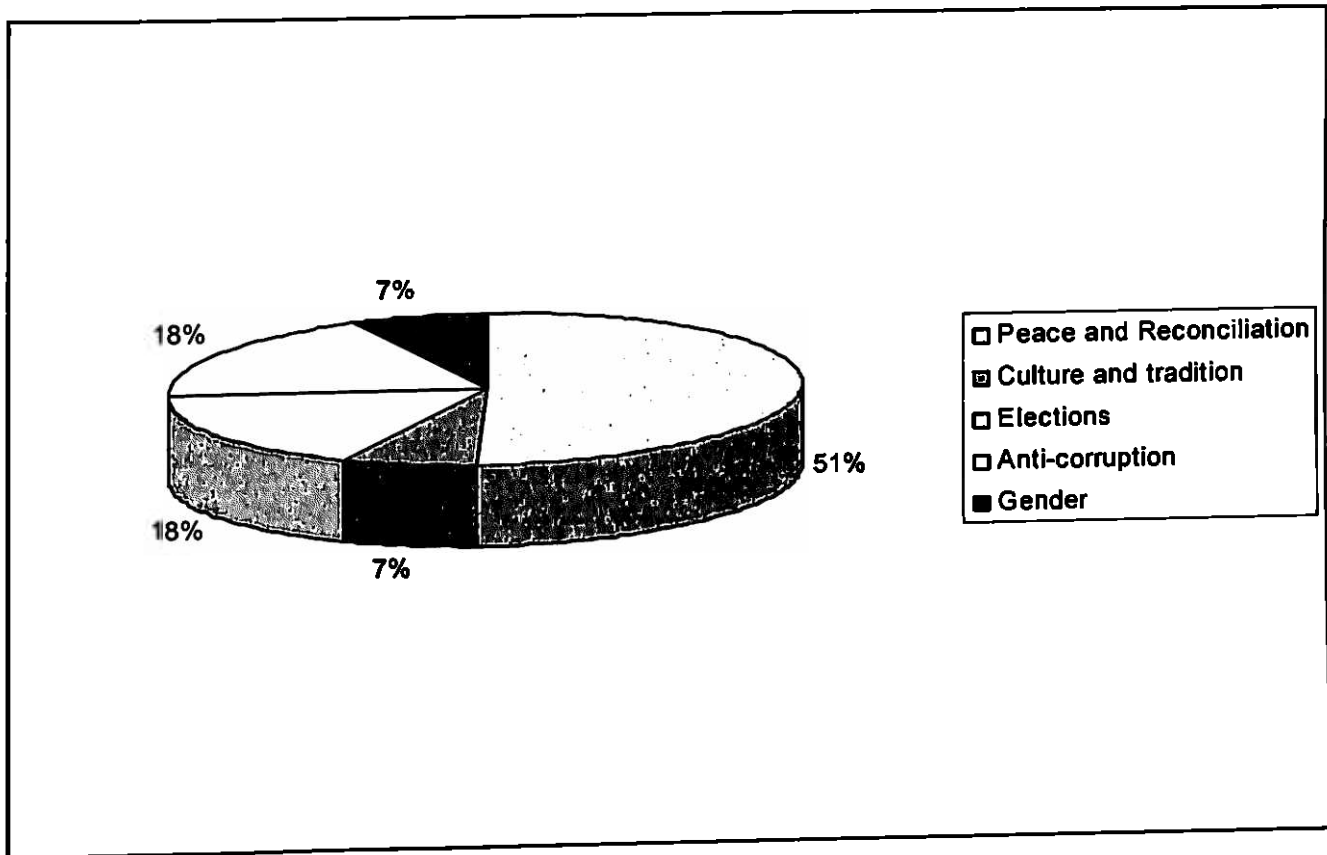
Chart 4.2.1 Totals of material studied



The study findings demonstrate that out of the 45 programmes analyzed for the study, 23 were programmes that dealt in peacebuilding by addressing issues concerning peace and conflict. This includes improving knowledge of people in peace and conflict relevant issues such as causes of conflict, inter-ethnic understanding, discrimination, truth commissions and war crimes as well as enabling the Sudanese society to deal with the past and build a common future. 3 programmes dealt in culture and tradition, 8 programs dealt in elections and other related issues, 3 programs dealt in anti-corruption issues while 3 programs

were about gender and other related issues.

Chart 4.2.1 Percentages of material studied



The above figures are the totals of relevant programmes broadcast from January to December 2009. The numbers in each issue varied from one program category to the other as shown in the tables below:

Table 4.2.2 Peace and Reconciliation

Program Number	Program Title	Program Topic	Date of Broadcast	Number of Relevant Materials
1	Let's Talk	Abyei	20 th September, 2009	4

2	Let's Talk	Civil Society	31 st March, 2009	0
3	Let's Talk	Constituency Development Fund	11 th June, 2009	1
4	Let's Talk	Constitution Making	10 th November, 2009	5
5	Lets Talk	Judiciary	22 nd May, 2009	2
6	Lets Talk	Legislature	23 rd May, 2009	1
7	Road Peace to	African Union Report on Darfur	18 th May, 2009	12
8	Road Peace to	Census I	3 rd June, 2009	0
9	Road Peace to	Census II	3 rd June, 2009	0
10	Road Peace to	Conflict Resolution	30 th December, 2009	15
11	Road Peace to	Development Issues	16 th December 2009	1
12	Road Peace to	Environmental Protection in Sudan	25 th February, 2009	9
13	Road Peace to	Human Rights	25 th May, 2009	9
14	Road Peace to	Kordofan and Upper Nile Dispute	7 th October, 2009	14
15	Road Peace to	Leadership	3 rd April, 2009	2
16	Road Peace to	Machakos Protocol	9 th September, 2009	0

17	Road Peace	to	Peace Process		11
18	Road Peace	to	Power Sharing Agreement	30 th September, 2009	0
19	Road Peace	to	Security Protocol	22 nd July, 2009	0
20	Road Peace	to	Small Arms	28 th October, 2009	7
21	Road Peace	to	UN Secretary General	30 th December, 2009	1
22	Road Peace	to	Urbanization	8 th April, 2009	0
23	Road Peace	to	Urbanization	8 th April, 2009	0

Total relevant material = 94

Table 4.2.3: Culture and Tradition

Program Number	Program Title	Program Topic	Broadcast Date	Number of Relevant Materials
1	Talking Point	Agriculture	9 th February, 2009	1
2	Talking Point	Art and Artists	2 nd March, 2009	4
3	Talking Point	Tribalism	26 th January, 2009	6

Total relevant materials = 11

Table 4.2.4: Elections

Program Number	Program Title	Program Topic	Broadcast Date	Number of Relevant Materials
1	Let's Talk	Elections Commission	4 th September, 2009	1
2	Let's Talk	Elections Law	4 th September, 2009	2
3	Road Peace To	Unity of the Sudan	24 th December, 2009	6
4	Road Peace to	Political Parties Act	15 th December, 2009	1
5	Lets Talk	Nominations	9 th December, 2009	0
6	Lets Talk	Voting, My Right, My Duty	4 th December, 2009	2
7	Road Peace to	Referendum Bill	26 th October, 2009	5
8	Road Peace to	Elections Petition	11 th December, 2009	9

Total relevant materials = 26

Table 4.2.5: Anti-corruption

Program Number	Program Title	Program Topic	Broadcast Date	Number of Relevant Materials
1	Road Peace to	Anti-corruption I	11 th November, 2009	3
2	Road Peace to	Anti-corruption II	4 th November, 2009	2
3	Press Review	Media	28 th April, 2009	1

4	Road Peace	to	Demining in South Sudan	2 nd , September, 2009	5
5	Road Peace	to	Disarmament, Demobilization, Re-integration Plan	1 st , July, 2009	16
6	Road Peace	to	Land Issues	6 th February, 2009	14
7	Road Peace	to	Land Mine Action	18 th February, 2009	10
8	Let's Talk		Bill of Rights	4 th October, 2009	4

Total relevant material = 55

Table 4.2.6: Gender

Program Number	Program Title	Program Topic	Broadcast Date	Number of Relevant Materials
1	Let's Talk	Women's Rights	17 th August, 2009	1
2	Road Peace	to Gender Issues	9 th December, 2009	0
3	Let's Talk	Women and Campaigning	23 rd December 2009	5

Total relevant material = 6

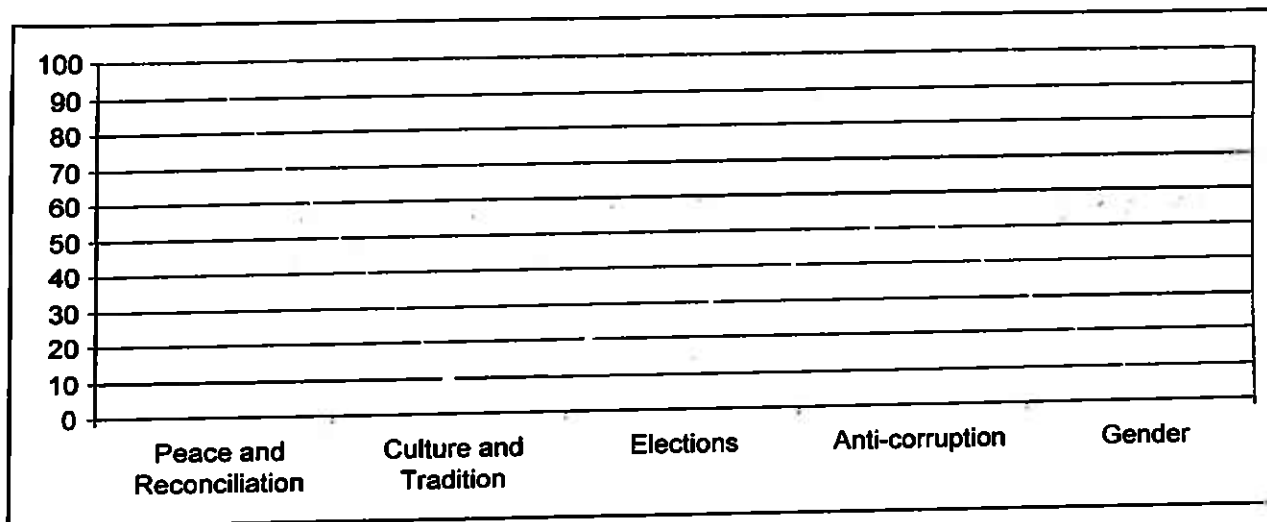
Table 4.3.1 Number of relevant materials in programs categories

Programme category	Frequency	Number of relevant material
Peace and Reconciliation	23	94
Culture and tradition	3	11
Elections	8	26

Anticorruption	8	55
Gender	3	6
Grand Total of number of items analyzed	45	192

Graphically, this can be represented as shown in the chart below:

Figure 4.1.1



The large number of media material dedicated to the peace and reconciliation efforts in southern Sudan demonstrates the importance the Sudan radio service attached to efforts to support peace and peaceful co-existence among different communities in Sudan.

4.3 Analysis of placement of program/ Program's time of broadcast

Sudan Radio Service broadcasts six hours per day, that is, three hours in the morning and three hours in the evening. The radio's monitoring and evaluation team reports that the evening listenership is high, with most people listening to the newscast in the first hour of broadcast, then to other programming in the next hour.

The program sample for this study included 28 episodes of The Road to Peace, 13 episodes of Let's Talk, 3 episodes of Talking Point, and 1 for the Press Review.

23 out of the 192 items were aired in the morning broadcast while 79 out of the 192 items were aired in the evening broadcast.

No item was aired during the second hour of broadcast, that is, from 7 to 7.30 both in the morning and in the evening. This hour is dedicated exclusively to newscast hence no programming was aired around this time.

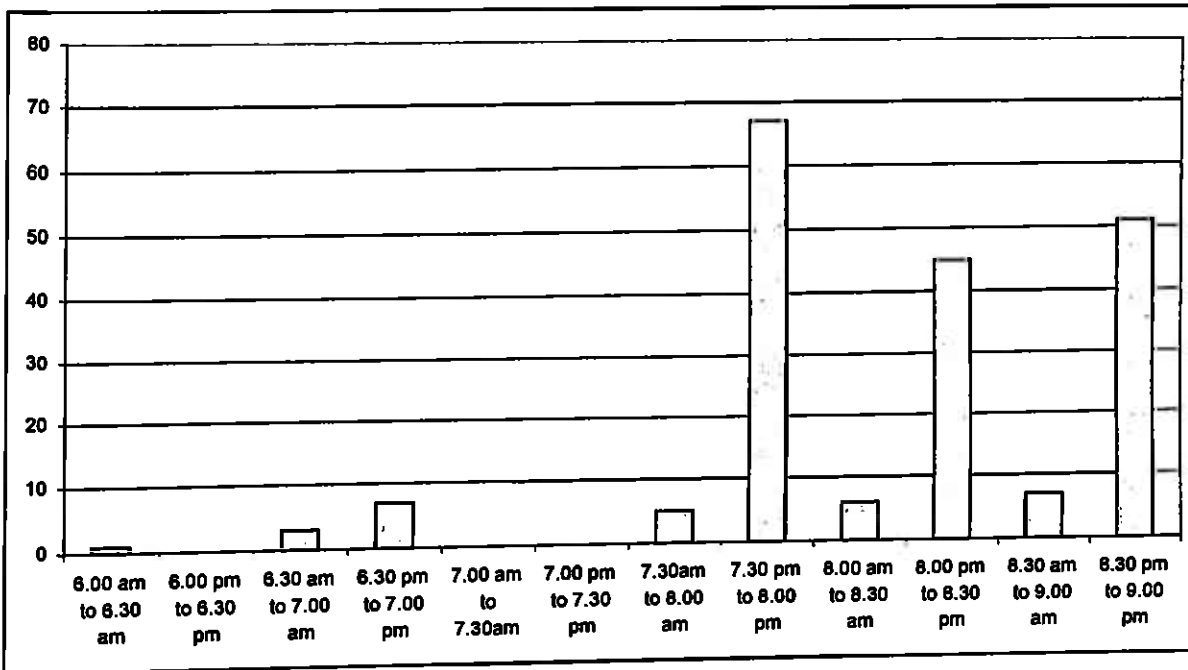
The programs were aired at different times on the radio. The breakdown of Programs' time of broadcast was as follows:

Table 4.3.1 Summary of programs' broadcast time

Time of Broadcast	Frequency	Percentages
6.00 am to 6.30 am	1	0.5
6.00 pm to 6.30 pm	0	0
6.30 am to 7.00 am	3	1.6
6.30 pm to 7.00 pm	7	3.6
7.00 am to 7.30am	0	0
7.00 pm to 7.30 pm	0	0
7.30am to 8.00 am	5	2.6
7.30 pm to 8.00 pm	67	34.9
8.00 am to 8.30 am	6	3.1
8.00 pm to 8.30 pm	45	23.4
8.30 am to 9.00 am	7	3.6
8.30 pm to 9.00 pm	51	26.6
Total	192	99.9%

Graphically, this can be presented as shown in chart 4.3.4

Chart 4.3.1 graphical representation of summary of programs' broadcast time



As is indicated in the graphical representation above, the highest number of relevant material was aired in the evening broadcast. According to reports by the radio's monitoring and evaluation team, the listenership varies from time to time. A majority of listeners tune in to the radio at 7 o'clock in the morning and in the evening to listen to the newscast. The listenership drops drastically in the morning after the newscast, it is assumed that majority of listeners tune off to do other chores and report to work as well.

However, the evening broadcast listenership is different from the morning hours. The listenership is high at 7 o'clock, and stays on until 9 pm in the evening. It is believed that the audience tunes in to listen to newscast, and then stays on until late hours before retiring to bed. Programs that are prominent are therefore broadcast around the time that listenership is high, at 7.30 pm to 9 pm for this matter.

4.4 Analysis of Programs' Language of Broadcast

The importance or prominence of a program is not only demonstrated by its broadcast time, its language of broadcast is another indication of how it is regarded by program producers as well as the radio's managers. Majority of the programs under the civic education category were broadcast in Arabic. Majority of Sudanese speak the Arabic language. It is worth noting though that there are a number of dialects of the Arabic language from one region to the other. The simple Arabic however is believed to cut across the whole region, and believed to be understandable to majority of Arabic speakers in Sudan. 58% of the total broadcast analyzed was broadcast in the Arabic language. English is the second widely used language in Sudan thus 22% of the items were broadcast in English. The rest of the broadcast were in other native languages to reach audience who speak neither Arabic nor English.

4.5 Analysis of the interviewees or Program Material Sources

Most of the interviewees whose information was used in the programmes were foreign agencies or individuals working with the foreign agencies in Sudan. Some foreign agencies that had their base outside Sudan were all regarded as being in Sudan since they were all working towards the welfare of Sudanese people as a whole.

Out of the 192 relevant materials analyzed, 43 percent was material from foreign agencies and employees working in the respective agencies. Interview material was from The United Nations Agencies like UNMIS, UNAMID, and other Non-Governmental Organizations like OXFAM GB, NDI, IRI, Mercy Corps, USAID, and MAG.

37 percent of the material studied was sourced from local politicians while 12 percent were from citizens and 8 percent from other sources.

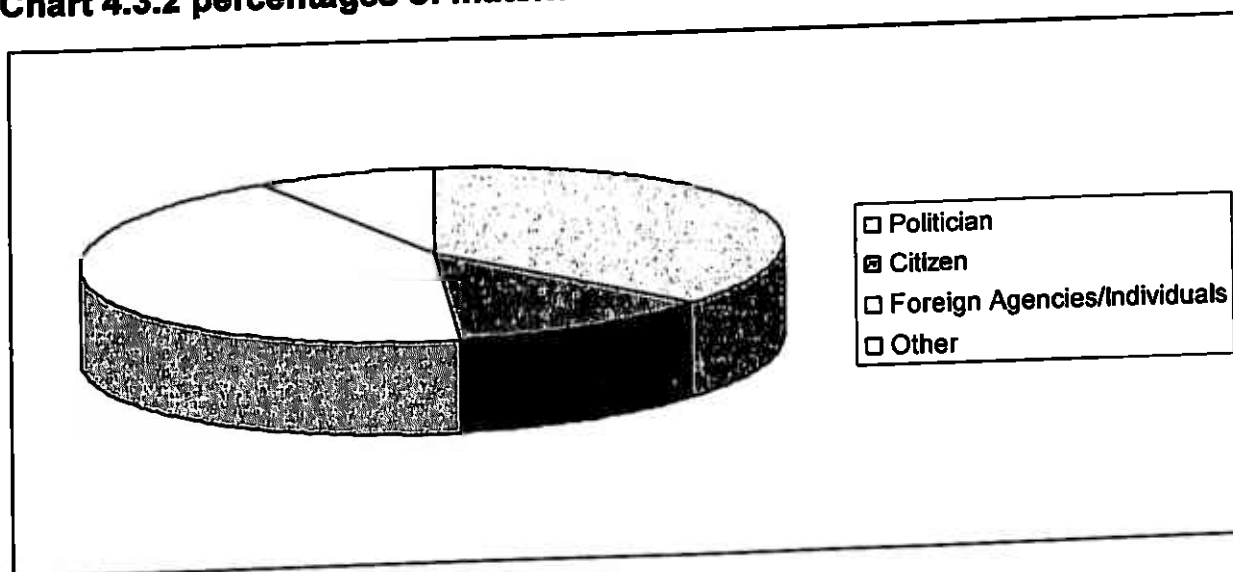
It should be noted that some programmes material were collected from more than one source. That is, both local and foreign sources. Consequently, the total number of sources (267) exceeds the total number of relevant, material analyzed.

Graphically, the analysis of story sources can be represented as shown below:

Table 4.3.2 Totals and percentages of material sources

Material Source	Frequency	Percentage
Politician	99	37
Citizen	32	12
Foreign Agencies/Individual	115	43
Other	21	8
Grand Total	267	100

Chart 4.3.2 percentages of material sources



The almost equal attention given to the radio's programming demonstrates that the gravity of peace and reconciliatory efforts employed both locally and internationally.

4.6 Analysis of length of program/time duration of broadcast

Relevant broadcast varied in length from 10 minutes to 30 minutes. Many programs ranged between 25 to 30 minutes with most program sources being more than one interviewee.

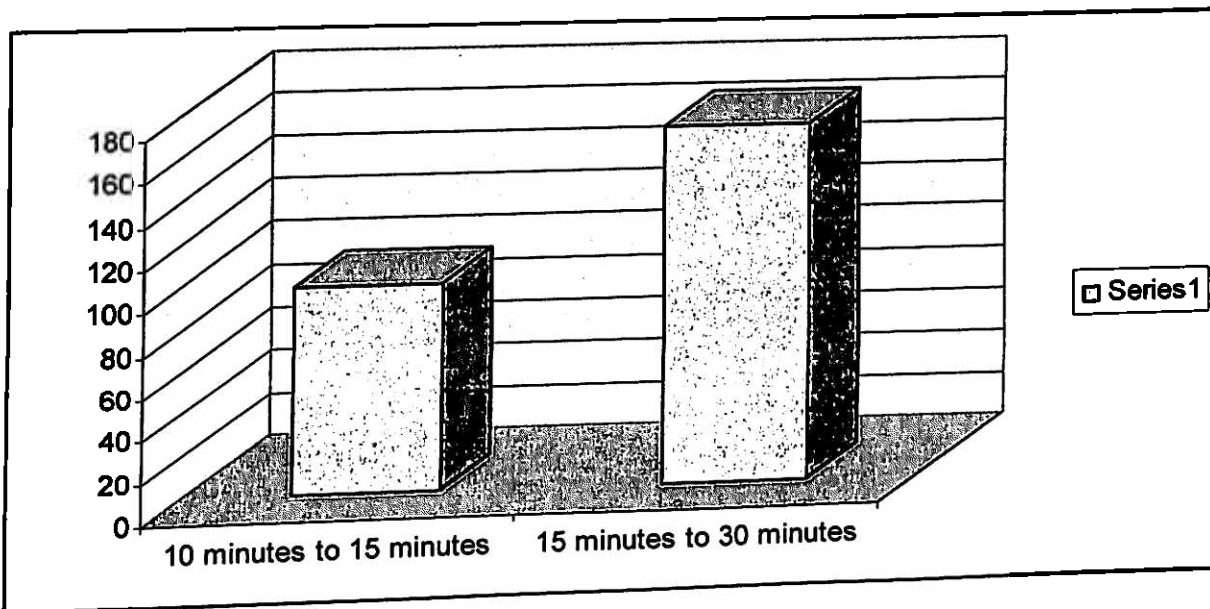
The table below shows an analysis of program size or broadcast duration.

Table 4.6.1 Summary of Program Length

Program Length	Frequency	Percentage
10 minutes to 15 minutes	98	37
15 minutes to 30 minutes	169	67
Total	267	100%

This can be graphically presented as shown in Chart 4.3.6

Chart 4.6.1 Graphical representation of Summary of Program Length



The longest programs mainly dealt with elections and elections-related issues

focusing mainly on the importance of peaceful elections in the country. This attests to the fact that this study presented at the outset, that 2009 was a year when both local and international agencies focused most of the attention on Sudan ahead of the January 2011 general elections in the country.

4.7 Analysis of role of programs studied

The major roles of the programs analyzed were mainly: sensitizing the public about peaceful and democratic processes, highlight corrupt practices and advocate for peaceful co-existence between different communities.

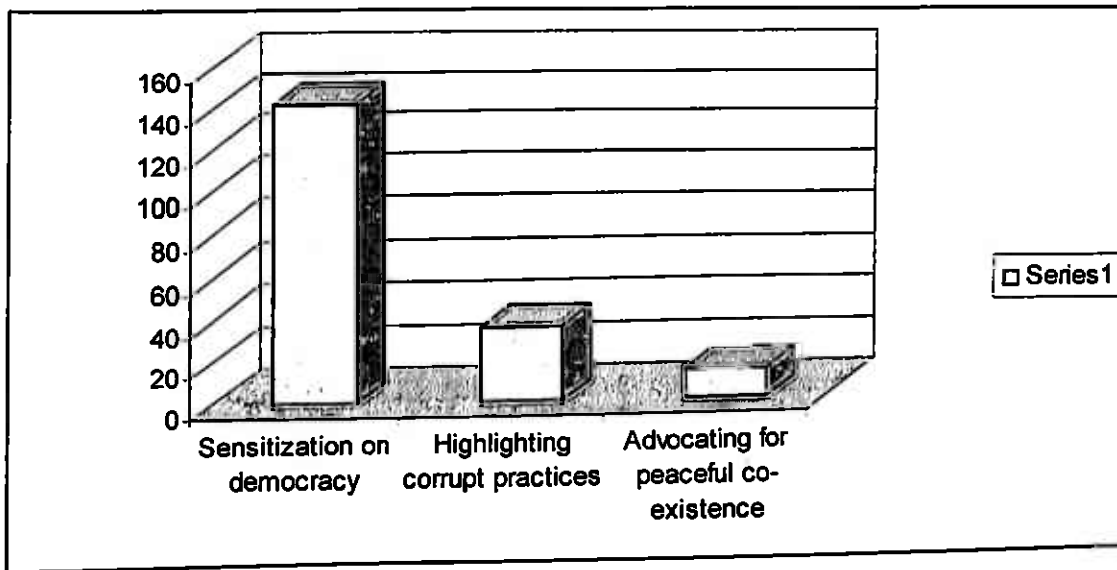
During the study, 142 instances of the sensitization role of the programs were recorded, while in 36 instances, it was noted that the programs served the purpose of highlighting corruption cases. 14 instances of the program broadcast served the purpose of advocating for peaceful co-existence between communities. Table 4.7.1 below summarizes this breakdown.

Table 4.7.1 Totals and percentages based on roles played by programs

Role played by stories	Frequency	Percentage
Sensitization on democracy	142	74
Highlighting corrupt practices	36	19
Advocating for peaceful co-existence	14	7

Graphically, the break down of the roles played by the Sudan Radio Service in its broadcasts towards peacebuilding efforts can be presented in the chart below:

Chart 4.7.1 Graphical representation of frequency according to role



Several programs sensitized citizens and created awareness on the importance of peace towards the full implementation of the peace accord that was signed in 2005.

Some programs played useful role to counter misconception especially about the general elections that was to be conducted. Owing to the fact that majority of voters in Sudan were first time voters, who had never experienced voting before, and who had least information about elections, the radios role in creating awareness about peaceful elections was vital. During this period, the radio played an important role of covering contentious issues including elections, the 2005 peace accord implantation, land ownership, and peace commissions. Many programs called for the importance of a democratic electoral process highlighting the repercussion of electoral violence and its impact on a post-conflict society like Sudan.

By highlighting corrupt practices, some programs sought to discourage leaders and politicians from dealing in corrupt deals that could make the country plunge into another war owing to the fact that majority of the population were living in poverty having spent most of their lives in exile.

A program was deemed to have played the role of advocating for peaceful co-existence between communities if it reported or highlighted certain cultural practices that fuelled conflict among community members. During the study, it was noted that cattle raiding, abduction of children and women were regarded as normal practices among certain communities. Such practices fuelled conflicts and acted as sources of war that often led to deaths and displacements of communities. Programs whose main objectives were to report about such cultural practices fell under this category.

A program was also deemed to advocate for peaceful co-existence when it reported on calls by leaders, citizens or other sources pushing for a stop to such practices and advocating for the perpetrator to face the law. Such efforts enhanced inter-ethnic understanding highlighted the plight of minority groups including women and children and called for a reduction or eradication of poverty, which was presumed to be the cause of such cultural practices.

Chapter Five

5.0 Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter presents the conclusions derived from the study, including whether or not hypotheses were proved right. At the end, the paper provides key recommendations for consideration by the media itself as well conflict mediators.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This study was guided by the main objective of determining whether the media promotes peace building in a post-conflict society. The study focused on determining the contribution of the Sudan Radio Service in peacebuilding efforts in southern Sudan.

For the purposes of this research, a total of 192 items were analyzed. All programs analyzed were civic education programs. The programs were of different categories including peace and reconciliation, culture and tradition, elections, anti-corruption and gender related programs.

Majority of the programs analyzed (51%) were those whose objectives were to promote peace and reconciliation. This high percentage demonstrated that the management and producers of the Sudan Radio Service attached high importance to peace and peaceful process to Sudan especially towards the January 2010 general elections in the country. The programs also covered other contentious areas that have been known to be sources of conflicts like culture and tradition, gender related issues, elections and anti-corruption.

From the results, the radio, since its establishment in 2003 has focused on disseminating peace messaging to its primary as well as secondary audience. According to the radio station, enlightening various communities about the

cultures and traditions of other communities help in diffusing tension between communities. Highlighting and discouraging negative cultural practices such as cattle raiding and child abduction also played a great role by encouraging peaceful co-existence among various communities in southern Sudan.

Foreign agencies and local politicians demonstrated the zeal to promote peace and peaceful co-existence among communities in Sudan with 43% of program material being from international or foreign agencies and individuals while 37% were from local politicians. It can thus be concluded that the Sudan Radio Service continued to play a vital role in raising awareness about the importance of peace and peaceful process from both local and international sources.

Sudan Radio Service's programming has influenced people's perception regarding peace profoundly. Results from the study noted that the Sudan Radio Service played a major role of creating awareness about peace and how peace was important for the development of the country, and for the general elections that was upcoming. The radio station has been involved in peacebuilding activities through various ways. This included peace building through dramas, interviews, songs, debates and news casts.

Most people in southern Sudan like listening to the news cast, as indicated by the Radio's marketing and monitoring and evaluation team. According to the study, majority of the civic education programs base their program content as a follow up the big story of the day, thus providing an in-depth coverage of critical events occurrences every week, thus enhancing a deeper understanding of issues by the audience.

As a result of these programs, the people's perceptions have been altered and changed positively. Consequently, the people of southern Sudan have been able to understand each other by learning about different communities, they have been taught how to live together by tolerating their differences, and they have

also increased dialogue among warring communities, especially the cattle keepers thus reducing hatred and fear among the different communities.

In addition to the sensitization role, the radio also played a major role of highlighting corrupt leaders and corruption cases in a bid to curb the vice. The programs also played a major role of advocating for peaceful co-existence among community members especially, the cattle keepers who clashed into conflict every time and again due to cattle rustling.

With 67% of the civic education programs having a length or broadcast duration of between 15 to 30 minutes, the radio demonstrated that southern Sudan was a young nation that required serious attention and support in terms of educating, informing and enlightening citizens and leaders about civic and other related issues to the country to grow.

The wide range of programs broadcast by Sudan Radio Service have shaped and altered the public's perceptions, especially by highlighting the importance of peace during major events like elections, census and other political events in the country. The Sudanese have learnt the importance of embracing dialogue as opposed to violence, which has improved relationships thus increasing social cohesion and consequently promoting peace in Sudan.

5.2 Conclusions and Recommendations

The findings in chapter four of this study demonstrate that the media has a crucial role to play in peacebuilding efforts in emerging democracies.

The opportunities for intervention by the media are extensive, in societies that are emerging out of regimes that practiced violence, ignored human rights, suppressed civil society and neglected infrastructure.

Most of the initiatives focus on basic and increasingly sophisticated journalism; others are exploring redefinitions of conventional journalism to include a conscious ethic of conflict resolution, while a third momentum is expanding the concept of intended outcome programming for conflict resolution and peacebuilding.

Technology, and most particularly the electronic sector, has been able to reach even the most remote parts of Sudan. Sudan Radio Service broadcasts on shortwave and has been able to reach a wide range of audience, including those in remote areas that have no privilege of FM stations.

It is evident that the radio, whose main objective is to promote peace and development, is clearly supportive of initiatives both within and outside the country aimed at promoting peace in the region.

Sudan Radio Service provided constant peace and conflict-oriented programs. For instance, at the community levels, the radio highlighted instances of community conflicts by covering background information on the causes of conflict and problems of inter-ethnic understanding. The radio put emphasis on the importance of traditional reconciliation thus promoting peaceful co-existence among warring communities, especially the cattle keepers.

Although news and information, which is the main objective of Sudan Radio service are most often the basis for media and conflict activities, specialized programmes can also be a useful tool to counter misconceptions, build confidence, and promote dialogue.

The *Let's Talk* on Sudan Radio Service is a drama series that promote dialogue by airing views of citizens as well as their leaders on various topics including politics. Research has shown that the program has gathered a huge following due to its weaving of crucial civic information into an entertainment form. These

broadcasts have encouraged inter-ethnic understanding, cross-cultural communication, and conflict resolutions through dramatized topics.

By increasing the overall knowledge of citizens on contentious issues such as elections, Sudan Radio Service enhanced citizens to make informed decisions on the elections thus ensuring peaceful elections in January 2010. Ahead of the elections, the radio accorded the issue the attention that it deserved and acted more than a mere reporter of goings on. More importantly, it showed the way forward by highlighting the benefits of peaceful elections thus encouraging Sudanese to observe peaceful polls.

These findings demonstrate that the first hypothesis of this study is correct. That is, "The media, by playing its moral and social responsibility role, can contribute to peace building"

At the onset of this study, the question "does media promote peacebuilding in a post-conflict society?" was posed. Whilst this project paper does not exhaust all possible answers and approaches to this question. It does attempt to demonstrate that media play an important and ever-changing role in not only international arena but also in peace operations and specifically in peacebuilding efforts. Further research is however needed, and ongoing dialogue will continue benefitting the field on this front.

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BROADCAST ANALYSIS CONTENT ANALYSIS PROJECT

CODE SHEET (INSTRUMENT OF ANALYSIS)

Study: To contextualize the contribution of the media to peacebuilding efforts in a post-conflict society, a case study of the Sudan Radio Service in Southern Sudan.

Content under Study: Programme broadcasts from 1st January to 31st December 2009.

Indicators of Analysis:-

1. Program Title _____
2. Program Topic _____
3. Broadcast Date

4. Program Type:
 - a. Interview
 - b. Straight Talk
 - c. Package
 - d. Story
 - e. Debate
 - f. Drama
 - g. Music
5. Placement of Programme/Air time
 - a. Morning
 - b. Mid-morning
 - c. Afternoon
 - d. Evening
 - e. Late Evening
6. Language of Broadcast
 - a. English
 - b. Arabic
 - c. Language of the Day:

- i. Nuer
- ii. Dinka
- iii. Shilluk
- iv. Zande
- v. Moru
- vi. Bari

6. Interviewees:

a. Politician (indicate name of politician)

b. Citizens (Indicate groups of individuals, title in society)

c. Foreign agencies/Individuals (indicate title of individual/organization)

d. Other (Specify)

7. Program Length (duration of broadcast) _____

8. Category/ focus of program

- a. Peace and reconciliation
- b. Culture and tradition
- c. Elections
- d. Anti-corruption
- e. Gender

**SECTION B: PERTINENT ISSUES REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA
IN RELATION TO THE CATEGORY/ FOCUS OF THE PROGRAM**

Note: This section is divided into 4 sub-sections based on the category/ focus of the article you selected in Qsn.8. Please provide answers for the relevant section only. For instance, if you answered (c) in Qsn.8, proceed to the

sub-section labeled "8c: Gender". Please do not answer any other sub-category.

Sub-section 8a: ELECTIONS (ELECTIONS MESSAGING)

Part One

9. Peace and reconciliation messages (Indicate frequency of peace and reconciliatory messages in the broadcast)

- a. Very often
- b. Often
- c. Not often
- d. No mention at all
- e. Neither a, b, c or d

Part Two

From the following questions, tick the box that signifies your views in relation to the article under study through this particular instrument of analysis. The scale is as follows: **(SA)** – Strongly Agree; **(A)** – Agree; **(N)** – Neutral; **(D)** – Disagree and **(SD)** - Strongly Disagree

10. The Program has given adequate peace and reconciliatory messages.

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

11. The messaging in the program is simple and can be understood by everyone.

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

12. The messages have evidence of promoting peaceful co-existence between people

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

13. The messages are targeting all communities in Sudan.

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

14. Is the program is advocating for human rights

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

Sub-section 8b: CULTURE AND TRADITION

14. Does culture and tradition promote peace among community members?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) I don't know
- d) Neither a, b or c

15. Is culture and tradition important in the governing the country?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) I don't know
- d) Neither a, b nor c

17. Should communities learn and know about each other's cultures and traditions?

- a. No
- b. Yes
- c. I don't know

18. Do cultural practices promote violence among communities?

- a. Yes

- b. No
- c. I don't know

19. Name some of the cultural practices that may cause violence among community members.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.
- v.
- vi.

20. Does the program condemn the negative effects of any of the practices mentioned in (19) above?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Neither a or b

Sub-section 8c: ELECTIONS

21. How has the program framed elections?

- a. important
- b. not important
- c. Neither a or b

22. Does the program address the importance of peaceful electoral period?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Neither a or b

23. Did the program play a role in creating awareness about elections?

- a. Yes

- b. No
- c. I don't know

24. Does the program condemn violence during elections?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Not mentioned
- d. Neither a, b nor c.

Sub-section 8d: ANTI-CORRUPTION

25. How has the program framed corruption in society?

- a. Illegal
- b. Legal
- c. Neither a or b

26. How does the program frame the impact of corruption cases on the countries economy?

- a. Negative
- b. Positive
- c. Neither a nor b

27. Does the program seem to condemn corruption cases?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. Neither a nor b

Sub-section 8d: GENDER

28. Does the program promote gender equity?

- a. Yes
- b. No

c. Neither a nor b

29. Does the program encourage gender balance in governance?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Neither a nor b

30. Does the programme encourage women participation in society?

a. Yes

b. No

c. Neither a nor b

SECTION C: PERTINENT ISSUES REGARDING THE ASSESSOR'S VIEWS
ON THE PROGRAM CONTENT

This is a compulsory section and applies to all sub sections in Section B above. From the following questions, tick the box that represents your views regarding the article under study. The scale is as follows:-

(SA) – Strongly Agree; **(A)** – Agree; **(N)** – Neutral; **(D)** – Disagree and **(SD)** - Strongly Disagree

31. The program is accurate

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

32. The program is educative

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

33. The program is simple and can be understood by many people

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

34. The tone or attitude of the program is positive

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

35. The program contains peace messages

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

36. The program contains simple language that is easy to understand

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

37. The language in the program demeans other communities

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

38. The program is slanted toward a particular gender

SA () A () N () D () SD ()

39. The program is slanted toward a particular community

SA () A () N () D () SD ()