

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN THE
HORN OF AFRICAN REGION:
A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH SUDAN

NAME: MARY KILOBI

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SUPERVISOR: DR. PATRICK MALUKI

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University or Institution.

Signature: Date:

MARY KILOBI

R50/70139/2013

This Project is submitted for examination with my approval as the supervisor.

Signature..... Date.....

DR. PATRICK MALUKI

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my late brother Emmanuel Weyusia, whose life was cut short two weeks ago. He encouraged me to do my masters by helping me apply and even picking my admission letter. Special thanks to my husband for his unwavering support throughout.

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ABSTRACT

South Sudan gained self-rule in 2011 and since then the young nation has experienced sporadic civil conflict which have devastated the country's economy, resulted to over 50,000 people killed and displaced up to 1.6 million. The civil war which started as political between the two leaders President Salva Kiir and his counterpart vice-president Riek Machar has now transitioned into an ethnic conflict with both parties accused of war crimes targeted at civilians. However, the conflict continues to escalate despite several agreements signed between the warring parties. The media has been pointed as one essential tool which shapes the dynamics of the conflict, since it seeks to mold the opinion of the users. The media can positively be incorporated in the comprehensive conflict resolution in a diplomatic approach as it has been demonstrated to dictate the direction which the conflict will take. This study aims at establishing the types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan, examining the contribution of media diplomacy in solving the South Sudanese civil Conflict and assessing the challenges of media diplomacy in solving conflicts in the South Sudanese civil Conflict. This study was be guided by Agenda setting Theory of mass Media. This theory investigates, the priority interlinks issues between those of the media and of the public. This study adopted explorative and descriptive research design to gather information through utilizing both primary and secondary sources. Data was collected using questionnaires from a sample of 100 respondents using purposive sampling and Proportionate stratified sampling techniques from selected South Sudanese respondents residing in Kenya, who include government officials, diplomats, business entrepreneurs, lawyers, journalist, political analyst, academicians, politicians, correspondents, security personnel and refugees. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies were utilized for data examination. It's evident that, TV'S and Newspapers often peddled unconfirmed information and inciting citizens against each other. Mobile phones have been used to relay messages and communication, some of which could be used to escalate conflict. The internet and social media was also used to incite the local populations due to their immense influences based on ethnicity. 32.5% disagreed with the statement that social networking sites for instance; Facebook, Twitter, Skype and, Whatsapp had been instrumental in Peace building in South Sudan. Therefore, there is need for stringent measures and approaches, which will help in combating hate speech and control information passed by these instruments. From the findings, media diplomacy has been an effective instrument of solving violent conflict in South Sudan as espoused by majority of respondents. It is responsible for presenting a distorted image of South Sudan which internationally carries an image of a troubled nation ever rocked with humanitarian challenges emanating from the protracted civil conflict. However, it is also credited with confidence building and facilitation of negotiation among conflicting parties. Through media diplomacy parties into a conflict can find a common ground where a compromise can be reached and an end to a conflict be achieved as posited by majority of the respondents. The study established that prolonged hostility among the two ethnic communities, incitement by particular political leaders, conflict of interest by external actors, tribalism, violence, bad governance and mistrust, lack of political good will, weak economy, hatred, underdevelopment, censorship are some of the challenges holding back the progress of reconciliation in south Sudan.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

This study pursues to establish the role that media diplomacy has played in resolving the protracted conflict which has engulfed the newest state in the global system in comprehending the larger efforts of conflict resolution. The role of media diplomacy is essentially more effective than coercive force which has mostly characterized conflict resolutions in the Horn of African region. This research study therefore seeks to establish how media diplomacy has aided the process of resolving conflicts in this region by utilizing the case of South Sudan.

1.2 Background of the Study

There is an extant nexus between media diplomacy and conflict resolve. The media can serve as a unifying force as well as a tool for inciting violence. In this regard, it is pertinent to carry out studies aimed at investigating the crucial role of media diplomacy in conflict situations. Seeing that the radio, television as well as internet based media are currently covering events live as they unfold, these media sources have a lot of capacity to influence conflicts.¹ This is particularly so since state and non-state actors with unlimited opportunities to interact with other in real time.

Evidently, the media has been both of help or an obstacle to outcomes of conflict resolution depending on the prevailing circumstances. To maximize media's input towards positive determination and reduce on their negative contributions, it is therefore critical to unveil these conditions.

¹ Robinson, P. (2002). *The CNN effect: The myth of news, foreign policy and intervention*. New York: Routledge.

This research sets out to develop a model on the exact role which the media has played in de-escalating the conflict in south Sudan and measure its effectiveness.

The media has extensively covered the South Sudan conflict which has resulted to displacement of people, death and devastating repercussions on the economy of the country. Many of South Sudanese have often resorted to the use of online platforms to report on the events through Facebook, twitter, Instagram and Whatsapp which was fast picked by both the local and international media. Although these new media channels created platforms and opportunities for people to discuss, deliberate and share on internal and external processes and happenings that are at play within political entities,² their exact role conflict resolution is yet to be well studied.

In South Sudan, both government and rebel groups have seen the media as their nemesis. More often than not, some of the media reports have been in negative light, leading to journalists being captured and recaptured by the government and rebels and other international journalist banned and deported. The government warned various journalists on dire consequences regarding the information they were airing and passing to the public.³ This denied freedom of press, undermining media's opportunities in resolving the conflict.

Evidently, the media has a responsibility in creating a peaceful atmosphere for resolving conflict in a nonviolent manner. This is due to the fact that it can create an environment for information exchange and dialogue. Regrettably though, the media

² Rodney, C. (2005). Modern Communication Technologies and the new world Information order. *International Journal of Communication*, 2(1) 147

³ Lisa, J. L & Kelly, P. (2009). Mediating Post-Conflict Dialogue: The Media's Role in Transitional Justice Processes. *International Media and Conflict Journal*, 93(1), 251.

has often been regarded as a possible tool to fuel conflict and make it hard to resolve conflicts. In South Sudan, the media is weak and can fuel conflict. In most cases, lack of access to accurate information prompts conflicting parties to cheat and manipulate the system and escape from their responsibilities in regards to the effects of the war. It is in this background that, this study sets out to find out how media influences conflict resolution in South Sudan.

Several studies exist demonstrating the link between conflict escalation and de-escalation and the role of media. While utmost of these studies emphasis on the undesirable side of fueling the escalation of conflict, few have media demonstrated how the media can positively be incorporated in the comprehensive conflict resolution in a diplomatic approach. For instance, Gilboa writes that both Television and Radio were central to propagation and escalation of both Rwanda and Bosnia Genocide and Civil Conflict respectively.⁴ Additionally, a study on the controversial Danish Cartoon depicted a situation of creation of an international conflict as it demonstrated how the Cartoon had potential to create a religious conflict among Muslims and other religions.⁵

The Kenya's 2008 post-election violence report findings had established how local Radio stations particularly, those broadcasting in vernacular had actively participated in the commission of the ethnically politicized electoral violence that engulfed the

⁴ Gilboa, E. (2006). *Media and Conflict Resolution*, in the sage handbook of conflict resolution 455–74 (Jacobin B, Victor K et al eds., 2009) hereinafter Gilboa, *Media and Conflict Resolution*. Bar-Ilan University: Sage Publication.

⁵ Bent, N, B. (2007). *How 12 Cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed Were Brought to Trigger an International Conflict* in Shawn P. (2007) *Examining the Danish Cartoon Affair: Mediatized Cross-Cultural Tensions*. Nordicom Rev

country after the 2007 Presidential Polls. This was demonstrated by the criminal trial of a Radio Journalist at the International Criminal Court.

Before assessing the role of media diplomacy, this study will first explore the concept of conflict resolution then analyze how it can be achieved through media diplomatic approaches. The notion of resolving conflicts can be understood as processes and methods involved in aiding the ending of a conflict using peaceful means in shapes of group members accepting to dialogue and parties making compromises on behalf of their respective groups.⁶ Conflict resolution creates an environment where parties involved start to see a window for ending a conflict and this is a step towards demystifying the magnitude and intensity of the matter. During the initial phase of conflict resolution, the parties get the opportunities to internalize, reexamine their views and positions. Such meetings expose the divergent views and this sets the stage for evaluating other options and diverse options to resolving the crisis. Communication thus, is very central in resolving any conflict.

According to Gisesa, conflict and peace have revealed that conflict is mostly founded on misinformation, inadequate information, inaccurate messaging, misrepresentation, exclusion of information, social differences and inconsistency in opinions that often leads to heightened conflict.⁷ Since conflict is a manifestation of a struggle between two codependent parties with extreme goals, competing over scarce resources and disruption of achieving their goals from the other party, this expression can be contained through availing credible information which suits both parties' interest.

⁶ Augsburger, D W. (1992). *Conflict Mediation across Culture*. Louisville, Kentucky: Pathway and Pattern

⁷ Gisesa, L. (2002). *The use of ICT in Conflict resolution in Kiplang*, J.N. et al. eds. Available at [http://www.africa.upen.edu/urgent action](http://www.africa.upen.edu/urgent%20action). Accessed on 3/4/2017

From these studies, it is evident that a close relationship exists between the role of media and conflict dimensions in a contemporary world which is globalizing rapidly. For instance, some studies have demonstrated how the media and generally mass communication means can be employed positively to solve conflict before they escalate to unprecedented levels which are complex to solve. For instance, Gilboa, concluded that the media's negative role in conflict can be reversed and be incorporated into the wider approaches of conflict resolution.⁸ Media's role in conflict dynamics is complex and one which warrants a multi-disciplinary framework to establish its nexus with conflict resolve in the context of Horn of Africa.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The intensity and frequency of conflicts occurrences in the larger Horn of Africa and particularly the protracted conflict which has fractured the republic of South Sudan into an ethnic bigotry has been of major cause concern for individuals, states and the international community at large. People in this side of the world have embraced conflict as part of their lives due to its longevity and the manner in which it erupts in their society. The media has been pointed as one essential tool which shapes the dynamics of the conflict since it seeks to mold the opinion of the users.

Media's has the ability to shape the opinion and decisions of its consumers, the negative influence has been associated with negative effects on the society. While the media is mandated with ensuring that conflicts receive wider public attention, it has been demonstrated to dictate the direction which the conflict will take. Media has the chance to input in an active role in building a peaceful setting for resolving conflict in

⁸ Ibid

a nonviolent manner. This is due to the fact that it can create an environment for information exchange and dialogue. However, it has often been regarded as a possible tool to fuel conflict and make it hard to resolve conflicts. In South Sudan, the media is weak and can fuel conflict and in most cases, lack of access to accurate information prompts parties to a conflict the impunity to escape taking responsibility for atrocities they commit.

There is limited research based on media's input in resolving conflict in South Sudan which can give credible insight on the effectiveness of media and peaceful mechanisms of resolving conflict in the country. This study takes a probe into media's role in resolving conflict in the Horn of Africa, particularly in South Sudan and the existing measures of resolving conflict put in to end the prolonged conflict, with an intend of bringing the knowledge gap between measures and role of media .

1.4 Research questions

1.4.1 General research Question

What is the role of media diplomacy in conflicts resolutions in the Horn of African Region?

1.4.2 Specific Research Questions

- i) What are the types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan
- ii) What is the contribution of media diplomacy in solving the South Sudanese civil Conflict?
- iii) What challenges does the media diplomacy face in solving conflicts in the South Sudanese civil Conflict?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

This research is guided by the following research Objectives:

1.5.1 General Objective

To establish the role played by the media diplomacy in solving violent conflicts in the Horn of Africa region.

1.6 Specific Research Objectives

This research study endeavors to achieve the following specific research objectives

- i. To establish types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan
- ii. To examine the contribution of media diplomacy in solving the South Sudanese civil Conflict
- iii. To assess the challenges of media diplomacy in solving conflicts in the South Sudanese civil Conflict

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 Introduction

This chapter will examine relevant literature on media's role in resolving conflict in Horn of Africa and particularly South Sudan. It will delve into a thematic review on the types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict. The chapter will also examine the challenges media diplomacy face in solving conflicts in the South Sudanese civil Conflict. The study will examine a desktop review in line with the objectives guided by Agenda setting theory. This literature will come from Academic Thesis, Journals, government reports, institutional reports and publications, published and unpublished works as well as UN resolutions.

1.7.2 A brief History of South Sudan's Conflict

Most of history of South Sudan is littered with armed violent conflict since the decades old civil war with northern neighbor Sudan. A comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed 2005, which ushered in a peace deal which ushered the country's independence. Over a period of two decades particularly since 1983, close to 1.5 Million people and an estimated 4.5 million others were displaced in inter-state conflict which has metamorphosed to an intra-state conflict by the time of writing this research study.⁹ The new state gained independence in 2011 and has been embroiled in a political feud which has fractured the country into two volatile antagonistic ethnic camps which are highly politicized.

Embroiled in a struggle for power is the top leadership of President Salva Kiir and his vice-president Riek Machar. The duo has plagued the new nation into a state of violent clashes which have since taken ethnic lines and produced various outcomes which this article sets out to discuss. The sporadic clashes have escalated to all time high with fears that another genocide might occur in the continent accompanied by ethnic cleansing. The conflict has attracted several players both protagonists and antagonists who have differently influenced the conflicts dynamic. Despite several exertions to solve the conflict, the stalemate has continued with several outcomes originating from it.

Since 2013, a new political violence has erupted in the new republic fueled by two political leaders and typically exhibiting ethnic bigotry. There has existed a protracted political distrust between the Dinka tribe and that of the Nuer; the two dominant

⁹CIFP. (2017). *An Analysis of Political, Economic, Military and Social trends defining the South Sudanese landscape since 2012, Policy Brief*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press

ethnic compositions in South Sudan who have constantly feuded over political leadership and distribution of economic opportunities. President Kiir hails from the Dinka group, and his opponent, former vice president Riek Machar, is a Nuer. The two are instrumentalizing ethnic identities and appealing to their tribes' people into their personal vendetta. The cost of the conflict is more pronounced on the civilian population which is carrying the heaviest cost of with current estimates from humanitarian agencies indicating that an approximated 10,000 people have died, with over 4 million others displaced.

A report by the International Crisis Group 2016 documented that following the eruption of new conflict in 2013, an estimated 2.3 million people have been displaced with 704,000 refugees arriving in neighbouring countries of Kenya, Ethiopia, Sudan and in Uganda. It was recorded that over 10,000 new arrivals of refugees were recorded on weekly basis in the period of three weeks following the onset of the conflict.¹⁰ The protracted conflict has continued to affect food security for the entire population with WFP indicating that delivery of food supplies is severely hampered by the conflict while markets are disrupted where more than 2.8 million people are in severe crisis and in emergency situation particularly in Greater Upper Nile, greater Equatoria state and Northern Bahr El Ghazal state.¹¹

1.7.3 Media and Conflict Resolutions

Global communication evolutions have altered the notion of power as it has been known in international relations. Comparatively, the current generation of people in the world today can access information faster and conveniently concerning global

¹⁰ International Crisis Group -ICG, (2014). *South Sudan: a civil war by any other name* (Africa Report no. 217), Addis Ababa: ICG

¹¹ Ibid

issues in real time than the previous generations. The internet has been at the center stage of this communication evolution and has played a critical role in altering international power relations. Global communication solutions have altered how power is comprehended within the notion of international relations.¹² The evolution has brought about change in the number of actors involved international relations, the strategies involved and the intended goals envisioned by these actors.

The state which used to be the primary actor in the international relations have lost most of its monopoly of information to other non-state actors due to this communication evolution. Both state and non-state actors now can employ both soft and smart power which makes them as powerful as state actors. This is a clear indication that there is a change in power relations in the international system. Effective utilization of soft power and smart power as well as public diplomacy depends largely on global communication networks. Contemporary conflicts are most common within intra-state situation than inter-state. Terrorism and Guerilla Warfare dominated most of the international conflicts. There was an escalation of violent internal conflict as new conflicts developed across the globe. Ethnic motivated and civil wars erupted in Yugoslavia, the Former Soviet Union, Kenya, Somalia and, in Sudan.

Terrorist attacks in USA by Islamic extremists and in Britain, Spain, Indonesia, Kenya and in Saudi Arabia led to sporadic conflicts and declaration war in Afghanistan and in Iraq. The evolution of conflicts on the global scale has led to analytical distinction of them according to their nature. Conflicts analysts,

¹² Gilboa, E. (2009). Media and Conflict Resolution: A framework for Analysis. *Journal on Marquette Law Review*, 93,(1), 9

differentiate between High Intensity Conflict (HIC) where the nature of violence is predominantly inter-state. Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) are those which involve violence between irregular forces and irregular armies.¹³ Low intensity Conflict has been defined by some scholars as small wars.

In essence, Low Intensity Conflicts (LIC) have been explained by the U.S department of state as an unconventional war that involves confrontation whether military or political between two competing parties. It largely emanates from prolonged tussle over competing ideologies and principles. Low intensity conflict may include subversion to the extreme of use of armed forces. It is carried out using combined approaches including the use of political, economic, informational, and military instruments. Low intensity conflicts are mostly localized especially in the developing world but they have regional and global security consequences.¹⁴

LIC is characterized by prolonged period and presents dynamics that makes it difficult to resolve thus well- thought out conflict management strategies are required to tone down the extent of violence. Further, LIC escalates in phases of ceasefire and is characterized by violent cycles. Worst manifestation is that with this conflict form, there is no clear differentiation between soldiers and civilians or battle field and home field. This is the kind of conflict which this research endeavors to study and analyze. To better understand international conflict it is imperative to understand the phases which they undergo. Many scholars have distinguished three phases which a conflict undergoes. They include; pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict phases. The events

¹³ Loren, B. (1989). *Low Intensity Conflict: The Pattern of Warfare in Modern World*. Oslo. New York: Thompson Publishers

¹⁴ Davidson, J. (2009). *Principles of Modern American Counterinsurgency: Evolution and Debate*. Washington: Brookings –US Department of Defense.

which come before and after the conflict are the most chronologically important since they determine the direction of the conflict.

There are four distinguishing phases of conflict growth founded on diverse critical situations and principle interventions. They include onset prevention, escalation management, de-escalation management, de-escalation resolution and termination-reconciliation.¹⁵

Table 1.1: Conflict Phases, Intervention and Outcomes

Stage/Phase	Pre-conflict	Conflict	Post-Conflict	
Revised Phase	Onset	Escalation	De- Escalation	Termination
	Prevention	Management	Resolution	Reconciliation
Outcome	Violence	Ceasefire Peace	Negative Peace	Positive Peace

Source: Eytan Gilboa, 2009. Media and Conflict Resolution

1.7.4 Types of Media Diplomacy used in Solving Conflict

The analysis of media's contribution in conflict determination need to feature the conservative and modern and emerging new media which include the Radio and the Television as old media and internet which constitute the modern media. The concept of global news has enabled live broadcasts from many parts of the world. The term CNN was invented by scholars and inventors as a way of demonstrating the prominence of global coverage of world affairs particularly in relations to conflicts of

¹⁵ Ackermann, A. (2003). The Idea and Practice of Conflict prevention. *Journal of Peace Research*, 40(3), doi.org/10.1177/0022343303040003006

international interests.¹⁶ Internet provides both state and non-state actors with unlimited opportunities to interact with other in the international scene in real time.

The internet provides people with unprecedented opportunities for interaction in an all-inclusive approach targeting government, citizens, and non-state actors. News consumers are provided with information from diverse sources, on real time occurrences, and divergent outlooks.¹⁷ It facilitates people to engage each other from casual conversations to blogs and uploading of photos and videos via social networking sites for instance; Facebook, Twitter, Skype and, WhatsApp among others.

Dissimilar to the other media communication, the internet is limitless by space and offers instant kind of communication which permits for targeted utilization of media. However, it is very hard to verify the accuracy and reliability of internet sources of information. The internet affords many opportunities to both state and non-state players particularly the vulnerable ones. Websites and internet platforms facilitates individuals and organizations with an opportunity to share their positions and build a virtual community that supports their causes. This enhances cross-sharing of messages. It can effectively be used as weapon by an actor to attack and discredit hostile forces. As Etyan asserts, parties that do not exploit the internet miss out on utilizing an essential instrument in the conduct of diplomacy and foreign policy.

¹⁶ Robison,P. (2002). *The CNN Effect. The search for a communication Theory of International Relations*. Milton Park: Taylor & Francis Inc.

¹⁷ Holli, A. S. (2009). Media and Public Diplomacy in Times of War and Crisis. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(5), 639-642

1.7.5 The Role of Media diplomacy in the Conflict

To comprehend media's contribution in resolving conflicts, there is need to appreciate that there are various kind and levels of media engagement. In this regard, existing studies have focused majorly on western media, a position that under looks the universality of media to reach audiences globally without escalating existing social differences. Media's level can be classified into five and in appreciation of geopolitical criteria. These comprise local, media, national media, regional media, international media, and global media. Local media include newspapers, television, and radio stations operating in a town, city, or district. National media include newspapers and electronic media operating within the boundaries of nation-states. Regional media operate in a region defined by history, culture, tradition, values, language, or religion. Examples of regional media include Qatar-based Al Jazeera Arabic and Dubai-based Al Arabiya, which broadcast primarily to the Middle East, and the South African Broadcasting Corporation, which serves Africa.

BBC, VoA, China's CCTV, Al Jazeera International and France 24 are prominent examples of international media which are sponsored by their respective governments and have operations from across the globe.¹⁸ Similarly, global media encompasses privately owned media conspicuously CNN International and print media such as the *International Herald Tribune* and the *Economist*. Both the global media and the international media has greater and wider audience compared with the rest.

All these media sources have been actively following the unfolding of the South Sudanese Conflict and have contributed immensely on the outcome of the conflict as

¹⁸ Lisa, J. L & Kelly, P. (2009). Mediating Post-Conflict Dialogue: The Media's Role in Transitional Justice Processes. *Journal of International Media and Conflict*, 3(1)

of now. While the reputation of the new state has been blurred by the images of humanitarian suffering other media sources have portrayed the country as just teething with nation-building problems and will soon emerge from the shell and build a prosperous nation with Oil revenues and other natural resources abundant in that country.

Therefore, the media can be employed in facilitating resolve conflicts or in contrast if negatively utilized, it can be an obstacle and thus media input is informed by certain conditions and in context. Understanding such conditions allow for parties to exploit the mind positively and diminish negative influence. This research will develop a model which will study the exact role which the media has played in de-escalating the conflict in south Sudan and measure its effectiveness.

1.7.6 The Challenges of Media Diplomacy in Solving Conflicts in South Sudan

South Sudan conflict occasioned mass displacement of people, loss of lives and devastating repercussions on the economy of the country. Many south Sudanese were scattered and ran for their safety as refugees in the neighbouring countries. Many of South Sudanese used online platforms to report on the events through Facebook, twitter, Instagram and Whatsapp which was fast picked by both the local and international media. Online new media created a platform and an opportunity for people to discuss internal and external events and processes within political entities.¹⁹ Regional bodies and other non-state actors accessed all the information and updates on the conflict through Facebook and twitter. However, presence of these media platforms lead to emergence of journalists who reported events from the camps and towns and most of them ended up being captured and recaptured government and

¹⁹ Rodney, C. (2005). Modern Communication Technologies and the new world Information order. *International Journal of Communication*, 1(2), 147

rebels and other international journalist banned and deported. The government warned various journalists on dire consequences regarding the information they were airing and passing to the public.

Media has an opportunity to create an enabling peaceful setting for resolving conflicts using non-violent approaches. For this to be realized, the media must perform in a free space that permits factual information sharing for the parties to find it reliable. However, media has been in most cases regarded to fuel conflict and complicate the process of resolving conflict in most warzone countries.

Weak media in south Sudanese still struggle with issues of restricted legal protection, limited media liberty, state regulation of media, and impunity in disrespecting freedom of expression. Media practitioners further operate in a hostile environment, with constrained financial resources which limits professionalism as training of journalists is constrained. Getting credible news is compromised because of insecurity and this permits parties alleged of committing war crimes to escape justice. Thus, there is need to strengthen and establish a legal framework that will protect journalists and establish a safe media space that will assist in ending the conflict and promote development in the young nation.

1.8 Research Gaps

It is evident that numerous studies have been undertaken to establish the interlink between media and processes of conflict resolution. However, none of the documented studies have expressly analyzed media diplomacy in conflict determination in the protracted south Sudanese Conflict. Most of the extant studies are also not directly focused on the objectives under investigation in this study. This

means that without studies such as this current one, it may remain a tall order drawing informed conclusions on the role media diplomacy has played.

1.9 Justification of the Study

1.9.1 Academic Justification

This study purposes to provide empirically researched evidence on the critical role that the media has on influencing conflict situations. This knowledge will supplement the available information concerning media relations and conflict situations. This research is a multi-disciplinary one incorporating journalism, mass communication, conflict studies, diplomacy and international relations. This is because the study involves the art of using negotiations between representatives of groups of people or states. Since this art involves professional, it is imperative for them to utilize thoroughly researched-evidence based information to conduct the international relations of conflict resolution which this study aims to offer. The study could also prompt other studies on the role of media diplomacy on conflict resolution.

1.9.2 Policy Justification

The information generated from this study, can be used by policy makers, legislators, and administrators to develop suitable policies which can be incorporated in the wider approaches of decision making, which aim to resolve conflicts in the global scene and particularly those which erupt in the Horn of African region. The findings obtained will be pivotal in the formulation of policies on the use of media diplomacy in conflict resolution.

The current intra-state conflict in South Sudan serves an appropriate case study, since several diplomatic approaches have been tried, but the conflict has not been holistically solved, but rather has escalated increasing humanitarian crisis and

suffering. Therefore, the study will place the present conflict in its correct historical and hypothetical context, while utilizing communication studies to give meaning to progressions in media and communication studies.

The findings of the study could also avail valuable information on how the community could resolve the conflict peacefully between themselves as well as ways engage in developmental projects aimed at building their nation. Lastly, the study could contribute to existing knowledge and current discussions on conflict resolution mechanisms in the country. It would hence provide more insight that may be used by other scholars for future research.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

This research study utilized the Agenda setting Theory of mass Media. This model was advanced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. They investigated the inter-relation on priority issues pursued by the media vs those of the public.²⁰ Media agenda setting purpose is well documented in existing researches. The role is well featured in publications focusing on elections, public issues amongst other relevant subjects across the globe.

From the findings established by these studies, it is documented that there is a strong media influence in the creation of public opinion. Hence, the fundamental notion in agenda-setting is that media has substantial inferences on opinions and in attitudes. In trying to understand how media-setting theory works, it is imperative to look at how message is relayed and delivered. Consistently repeated reportage on issues of public interest forms a crucial process of how media influences.

²⁰MacCombs, M ., & Valenzuela, S. (2007). *The Agenda Setting Theory*. Santiago: University of Texas at Austin

Media objects in the context of framing an agenda may comprise of prominent individuals, organizations, public figures, nations, or any other object they choose to focus on. The selected media object is characterized by many and telling features that define it. Media focuses more on some attributes, giving less attention to others, while some are completely ignored. This informs the agenda of an object and determines what journalists focus on and what is eventually the public builds an interest in when they talk about the objects. The media then sets the agenda through an emphasis on a particular object or item. This can be replicated in the conflict resolution by giving it prominence and prioritizing the news items which encourage negotiations and mediation.

Dearing and Rogers points out that mass communication influences the public and how to reflect about issues and what to ponder about in certain conditions.²¹ In the same accord, McQuail and Windahl point out that “the media plays pivotal roles in bring to attention some of the socioeconomic as well as political issues or deciding to neglect some stories.”²² In media diplomacy, this theory is relevant since it could cast light on pertinent issues in conflict resolution processes. It could also highlight some of the key focus areas in present peace agreements.

Baran and Davis posit it’s possible to develop the notion of agenda setting to encompass the model of agenda building.²³ This is after they studied the correlation between the press and public opinion. They identified matters pertinent to societal

²¹ Dearing, J.W., & Rogers, E. M. (1996). *Agenda-Setting*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Inc.

²² McQuail, D., & Windahl, S. (1993). *Communication Models for the Study of Mass Communications* (2nd ed.). London: Longman

²³ Baran, S.J., & Davis, K.D. (2012). *Mass Communication Theory, Foundations, Ferment, and Future*, 6th Edition. Boston: Cengage Learning.

needs and amplified them through coverage and media framing so that the society can have a platform to discuss issues. Through this role, the media is capable of swaying the society and, in the process, bring about desired social change. The media influence society's perspectives on issues of significance and rally its institutions towards realizing them.²⁴ In line with this current study, also the media can contribute to higher regard for peace agreement and other conflict mitigation arrangements by placing emphasis on some aspects of agreements and vice versa.

1.11 Hypotheses

The following hypothesis will guide this study:

- i) There is no significant relationship between role of media and conflict resolution in South Sudan
- ii) There is a significant relationship between role of media and conflict resolution in South Sudan

1.12 Methodology of the Study

This section provides research methodology for the study which is sequenced as follows: Research design, case study, data collection methods, target population/sampling frame, ethical issues, data analysis and presentation and the chapter outline.

1.12.1 Research design

Research design guides how the study will be embarked and thus it is the road map.²⁵

It is a plan, structure and strategy of investigation to acquire answers to research questions and control inconsistency. The study adopted Explorative and descriptive

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Law, J., & Lodge. T. (1984). *Science for social scientists*. London: Macmillan

research design which gathered information through utilizing both primary and secondary sources.

1.12.2 Case study

This research adopted a case of South Sudan which is situated in Horn of African Region, a country that has recently attracted heightened publicity and attention, due to armed violence and mass displacement of people. A case study provides a means for extracting practical examples and developing methods of solving real global problems. South Sudan presents quite a classic case study, due to its ethnic led resource conflict which has attracted both national and international media concern.

1.12.3 Data Collection Methods

This study utilized both primary and secondary data to generate information. Primary data was collected using questionnaires from the study sample. The questionnaire shall have four sections. Section A comprised of respondents' demographic information, with the other section containing collected data on each of the study variables namely: the types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan, section; the contribution of media diplomacy in solving the South Sudanese civil conflict and the challenges of media diplomacy in solving conflicts in the South Sudanese civil Conflict. For secondary sources the research existing published works on the subject from wide sources to corroborate data. The aim was to assemble relevant published information related to media diplomacy and conflict resolution.

1.12.4 Target Population

The research obtained primary data from questionnaires which was issued to 100 South Sudanese respondents residing in Kenya, who include the following categories of people, well versed with media and Conflicts in South Sudan. They include Government officials, diplomats, business entrepreneurs, lawyers, journalists, political analysts, academicians, politicians, correspondents, security personnel's and refugees.

1.12.5 Sample Size

The sample size was derived at through sample size computation at 95% confidence level and a 5% margin of error (Research advisors 2006).²⁶ The study used proportionate stratified sampling and purposive sampling techniques. Out of the target population, the researcher sampled 100 respondents from the departments and institutions relevant to the study. The views of the sampled group selected with the assumption that, the views of the sample selected reflects views of the sample population. Sample size was achieved through selection, where each member had an equivalent opportunity of been chosen.

²⁶ <http://research-advisors.com>

Table 1.2 Sample Size

	Sample Size (n)
Government Officials	10
Diplomats	10
Business entrepreneurs	10
Lawyers	10
Journalists	10
Political Analysts	10
Academicsians	10
Politicians	5
Correspondents	5
Security Personnel	10
Refugees	10
Total	100

Source: Researcher, 2019

1.12.6 Data Analysis Procedure

The study utilized both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in examining available data. Quantitative data was analyzed through Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 11.5) while qualitative data derived from the open ended questionnaires was categorized thematically and presented in a description form. Both data were used to complement each other.

1.12.7 Validity and Reliability of Study

Research data should be consistent and valid to be of value and be useable. In order to obtain valid and reliable data the researcher conducted a pilot testing to ensure acceptable levels of validity and reliability acceptance. The use of the right measuring device e.g. questionnaire for research to truly measure what was supposed to be measured can help attain validity and reliability.

1.12.8 Validity

Validity is defined as the accuracy, and relevance of inferences and dependability of outcomes of conclusion.²⁷ In order to achieve some acceptable levels of soundness, the researcher enlisted a specialist opinion on content and construct validity utilizing selected sample of security personnel in South Sudan. Thus, piloting improved the validity of the instrument together with comments of experienced researchers of University of Nairobi who reviewed the instruments. Validity is an extent of how well a tool measures what it was intended to measure. Expert opinion contributed to the correctness of the tools and researchers of UoN input and sticking to the objectives also ensured validity.

1.12.9 Instrument Reliability

Reliability is when a particular measure yields the same results, under the same circumstances even when they are measured at different points.²⁸ Questionnaires reliability was guaranteed using the split half method which involves splitting the questionnaire items into two groups. A score for each respondent is then calculated based on each half of the scale. In case of huge correlations between the two halves may be suggestive that the instrument is reliable.²⁹ Reliability is a measure of how consistent the results of a test are, when same subject is tested twice. The researcher achieved reliability by strictly complying with the methodology. The researcher expected that an assessment tool used produced stable and consistent results.

²⁷ Kothari, C.R. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Delhi: New Age international Publishers

²⁸ Hofman, N. G. (2004). Toward critical research ethics: Transforming ethical conduct in qualitative health care research. *Health Care for Women International*, 25(7), 647-662

²⁹ Ibid

1.12.10 Legal and Ethical Consideration

Legal and moral consideration is the ethics for conduct of research that ensures appreciation and differentiate suitable and improper behavior. The researcher found it suitable to explain to the respondents that information taken from them was purposely used for academic purpose only. The right to contribute in this research is voluntary, backed with the respondent's consent and their confidentiality was guaranteed through application of stringent standard of anonymity. The researcher was guided by established procedures for data collection by the University as well as other statutory organs. Additionally, the researcher operated with a research permit from NACOSTI.

1.13 Chapter Outline

This research study comprises of five chapters which are as highlighted; Chapter one is the introduction and it discusses the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, related literature review, theoretical framework and the methodology. Chapter two sought to establish the types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan. Chapter three examined the contribution of media diplomacy in solving the South Sudanese civil Conflict. Chapter four assessed the challenges of media diplomacy in solving conflicts in the South Sudanese civil Conflict. In close, chapter five is the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

TYPES OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY USED IN SOLVING CONFLICT IN SOUTH SUDAN

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings and analysis of the study in line with the first objective of the study which was to “establish types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan.” The data collected using questionnaires as well as relevant secondary data sourced from official documents, institutional reports, and other published works. The findings obtained are presented in the following sections

2.2 Response Rate

The sample of the study was 100 persons including government officials, diplomats, business entrepreneurs, lawyers, journalists, political analysts, academicians, politicians, correspondents, security personnel’s and refugees. From these, 93 responded, making a return rate of 93 percent. According to Babbie, “a response rate of more than 70% is considered sufficient for the study.”³⁰ In this regard, the questionnaires returned were considered sufficient to represent the study. Table 4.1 shows the response rate.

Table 2.1 Response Rate

Response Rate	Sampled	Responded
Sampled	100	93

Source: Field Data (2019)

³⁰ Babbie E. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research (13th Ed.)*. California: Thomson/Wadsworth.

2.3 General Information of the Respondents

The study pursued to explore sex, age, and professions of the respondents. The findings obtained are presented in the following sections.

2.3.1 Sex of Respondents

When asked to state their sex, most of the respondents (51.6%) pointed out that they were female while 48.4% were male. This is indicative of the fact that both sexes were well represented in the study.

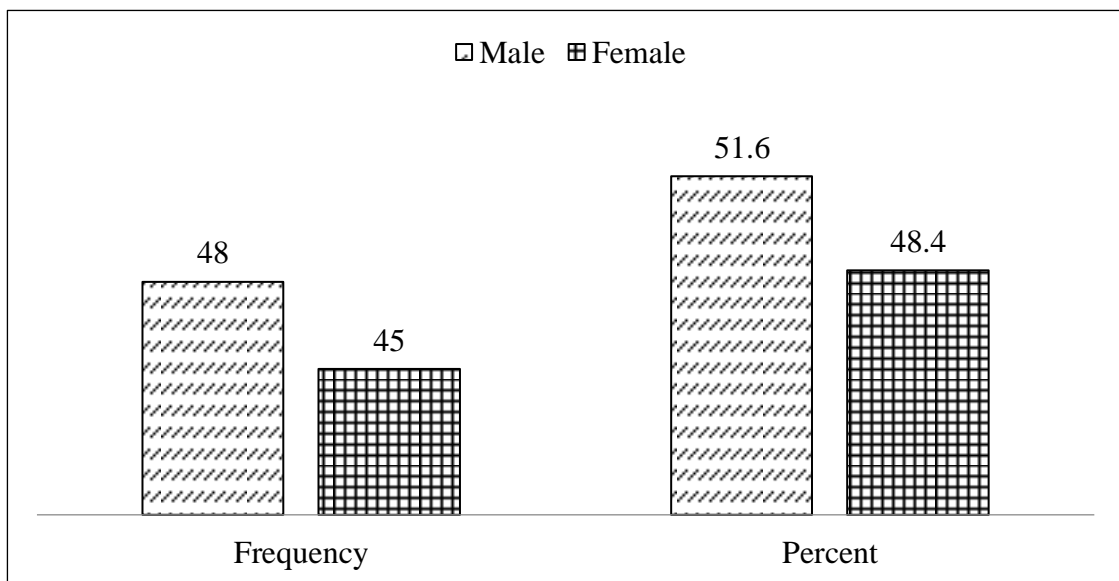


Figure 2.1 Sex of respondents

Source: Field Data (2019)

2.3.2 Ages of Respondents

The respondents were informed to state their age. The majority of the respondents, (32.3%) pointed out that they were aged between 41 and 50 years. These were followed by 25.8% who were aged between 31 and 40 years and 16.1%) who were aged between 51 and 60 years. The others were either aged between 21 and 30 years or over 60 years each at 12.9% respectively. These findings show that the respondents came from diverse age groups. In this regard, age-related bias could be avoided.

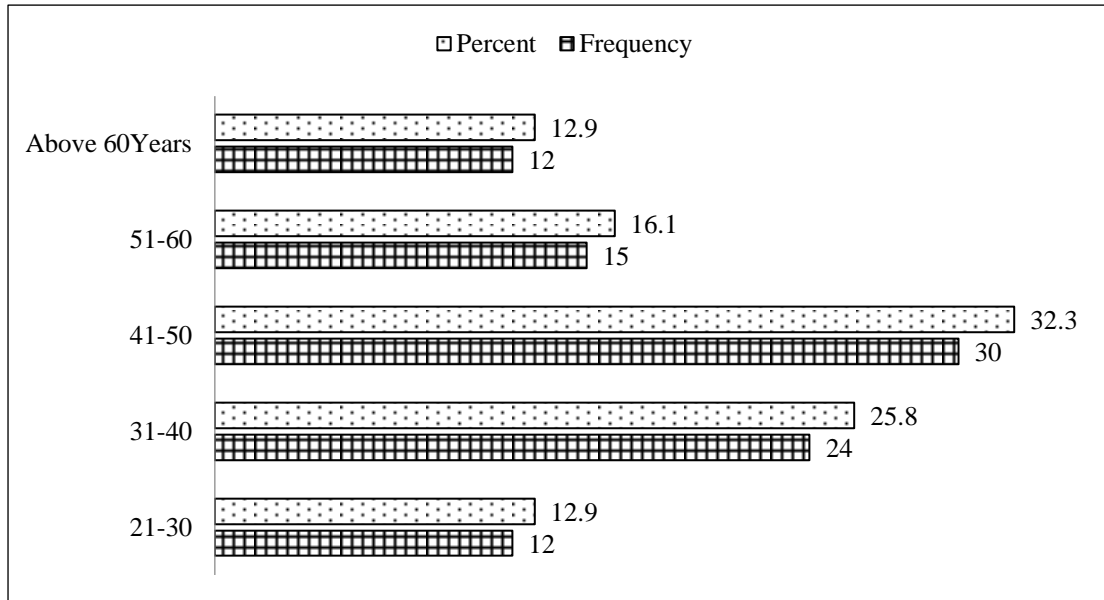


Figure 2.2 Ages of respondents

Source: Field Data (2019)

2.3.3 Profession of Respondents

The respondents requested to state their professions. The findings obtained show the respondents came from a wide array of professions. They were either Media personnel, Security personnel, Academician researcher, Lawyers, Government official, Businessmen, Politicians, Refugees, Political Analysts, Students and civil servants.

2.4 Study Findings

The following section presents the study findings obtained from questions as well as the supporting literature obtained from secondary data sources. To begin with, the informers were given numerous statements concerning the types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan.

2.4.1 Internet provides opportunities for interaction on conflict and war

To begin with, majority of the respondents (41.9%) differed with the statement that the internet provided people with unprecedented opportunities for interaction on conflict and war in South Sudan. As such, it could be deduced that the internet was not used a strong avenue for conflict resolution. Although the internet can create space through which people could interact and map out possible ways of resolving conflict, it was not strongly employed in the Sudan. This goes against the grain in extant literature that shows that internet based media are currently covering events live as they unfold, these media sources have a lot of capacity to influence conflicts and that they could create unlimited opportunities for government and non-state players to interact with other in real time.³¹ The failure of armed groups in South Sudan to highly use internet based media could be due to lack of strong internet connectivity and poor infrastructure such as access to electricity and other supporting services.

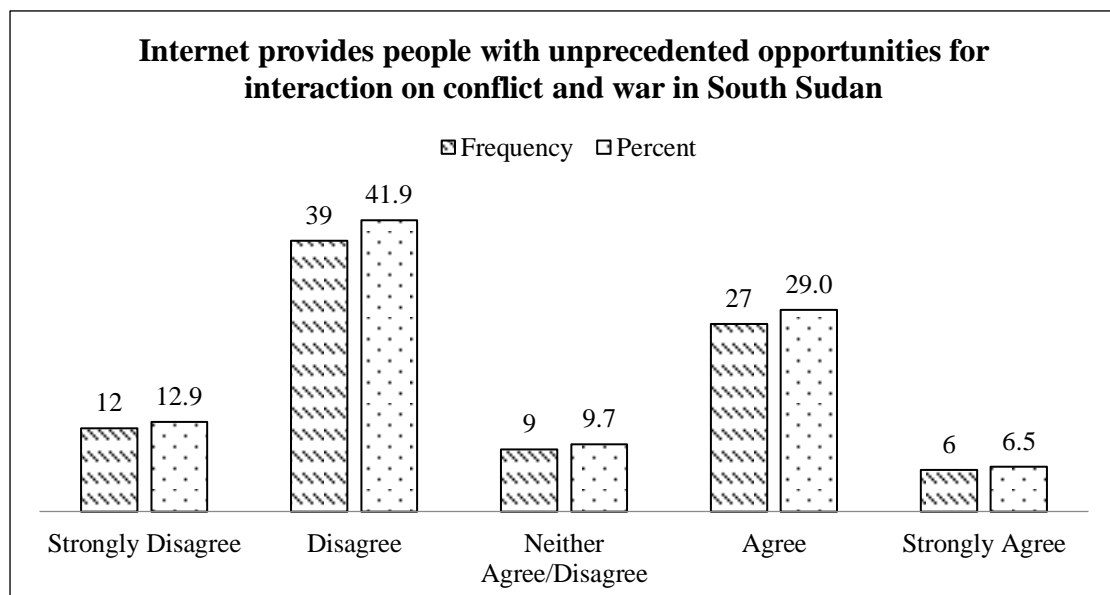


Figure 2.3 Internet provides opportunities for interaction on conflict and war
Source: Field Data (2019)

³¹ Robinson, P. (2002). *The CNN effect: The myth of news, foreign policy and intervention*. New York: Routledge.

2.4.2 Internet and Website Provides People with Access to News

Most of the respondents (38.7%) also agreed that internet and websites are significant sources of news for real time reportage of events, conflict and conflict resolution procedures in South Sudan. These findings show that although the internet was not being employed as a strong avenue for interaction, it provided an avenue for access to information on the conflict and conflict resolution in South Sudan. However it was still apparent that its use was not very extensive as shown by 29% of the respondents who disagreed. These findings corroborates other findings that show that the internet has been at the center stage of this communication evolution that it can be influence conflict resolution processes wherever it was being used.³²

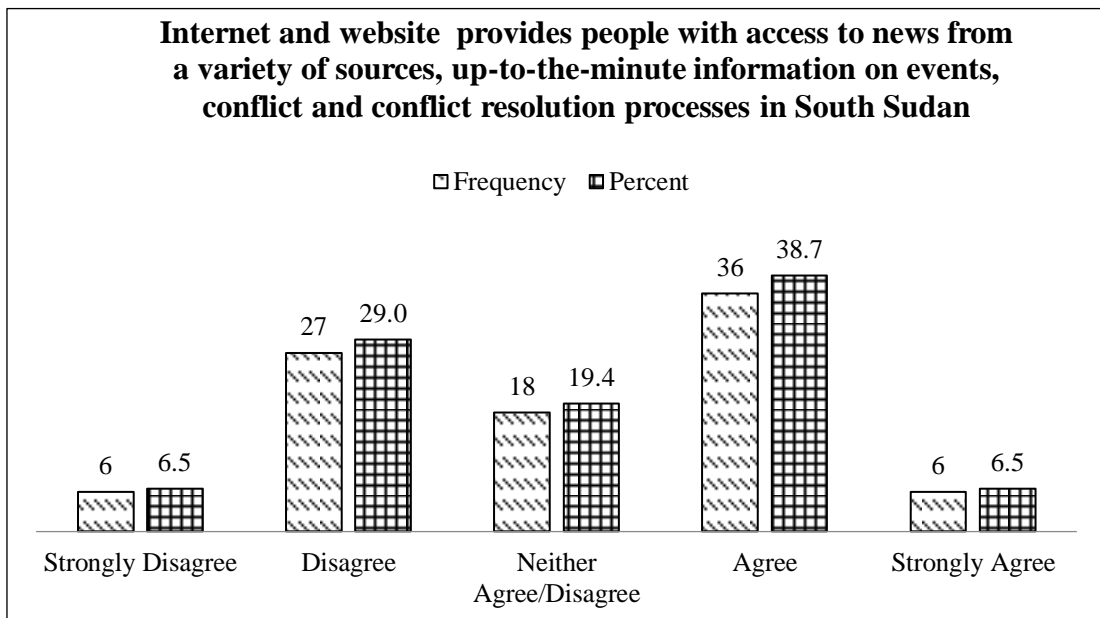


Figure 2.4 Internet and Website Provides People with Access to News

Source: Field Data (2019)

³² Gilboa, E. (2009). Media and Conflict Resolution: A framework for Analysis. *Marquette Law Review*, 93(1), 9

2.4.3 Radios and Televisions in South Sudan provides an opportunity for warring groups to share their opinions on the conflict and war

Furthermore, majority of those who gave responses (35.5%) concurred with the statement that radios and televisions in South Sudan provided an opportunity for warring groups to share their opinions on the conflict and war. These were followed by 22.6% who intensely settled with the statement. This is indicative of the fact that traditional media channels such as the radio were highly employed in conflict resolution since it was possible to get information on the warring groups and be in a position to undertake informed conflict resolution measures. These findings also agree with extant literature, for example the work of Gilboa who argues that both Television and Radio were central to propagation and escalation of conflicts.³³ Conversely they could also be used to conflict resolution efforts by “initiating a compromising dialogue or ideologies” among combatants.³⁴

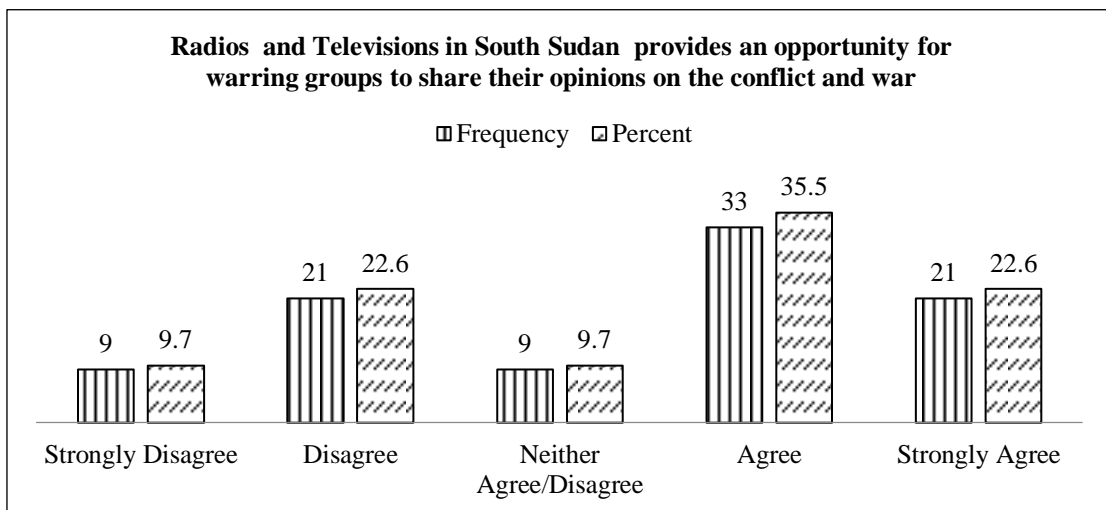


Figure 2.5 Radios and Televisions in South Sudan provides an opportunity for warring groups to share their opinions on the conflict and war

Source: Field Data (2019)

³³ Gilboa, E. (2006). *Media and Conflict Resolution*, in the sage handbook of conflict resolution 455–74 (Jacobin B, Victor K et al eds., 2009) hereinafter Gilboa, *Media and Conflict Resolution*. Bar-Ilan University: Sage Publication.

³⁴ Augsburg, D W. (1992). *Conflict Mediation across Culture*: Louisville, Kentucky: Pathway and Pattern

2.4.4 Social networking sites for instance; Facebook, Twitter, Skype and, WhatsApp have been impactful in Peace building in South Sudan

The study went out to survey the extent of social networking sites for instance; Facebook, Twitter, Skype and, Whatsapp have contributed in peace building in South Sudan. To this, most of the respondents, 32.5% disagreed. Although this was followed by 25.8% who strongly agreed, it is evident that most social networking sites, which are usually based on the internet were yet to be highly used in peace building effort in South Sudan. This could be owing to the fact that the country was yet to institute a strong ICT infrastructure that could support such communication.

The fact that they were still being used means that there was possibility of it being used as an avenue for offering moderation on different points of view,³⁵ which could contribute to conflict resolution in South Sudan.

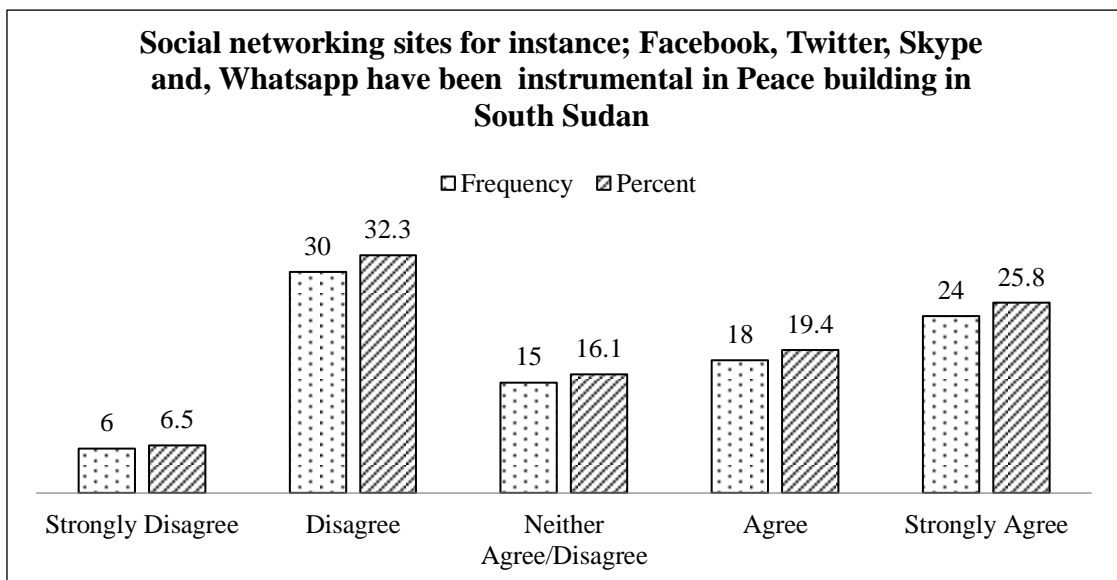


Figure 2.6 Social networking sites for instance; Facebook, Twitter, Skype and, WhatsApp have been instrumental in Peace building in South Sudan

Source: Field Data (2019)

³⁵ Holli, A. S. (2009). Media and Public Diplomacy in Times of War and Crisis. *American Behavioral Scientists*, 52(5), 639-642

2.4.5 Internet and Websites have been used as weapon by actors

Interestingly, above half of those who contributed (51.6%) showed that the internet and websites had been used as weapon by actors in South Sudan to attack and discredit hostile forces. This shows that the most armed combatants were increasingly using the internet and websites as propaganda weapons to discredit and attack hostile forces. As such the internet and websites were possible avenues through which armed groups could fuel animosity, making it hard to reach at agreements to conflicts and vice versa. This is in line with Etyan who asserts that players who do not utilize the internet short change themselves and miss out on an importance tool for conducting foreign policy and diplomacy.³⁶

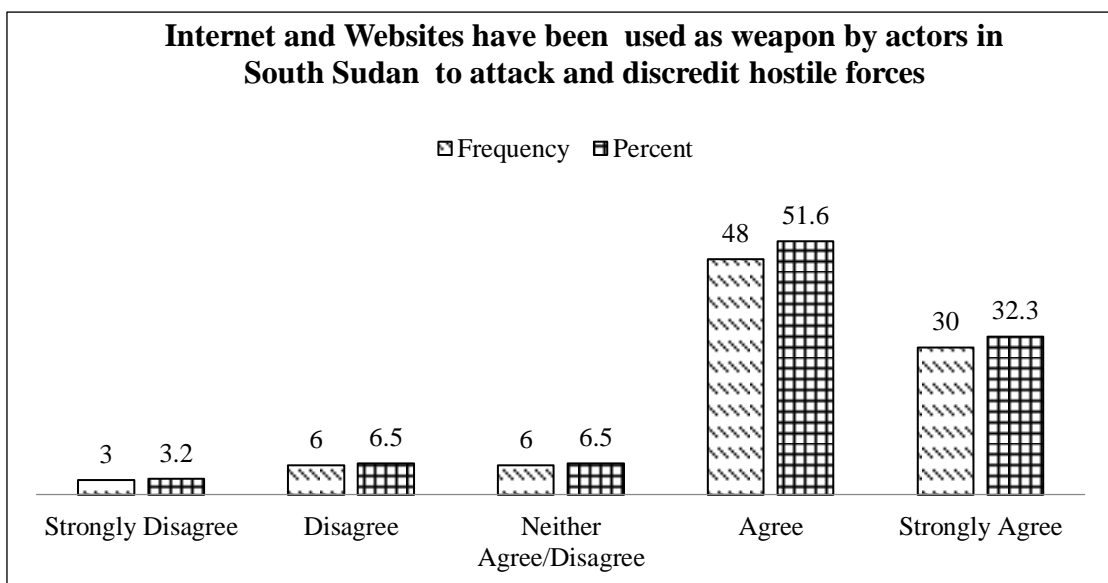


Figure 2.7 Internet and Websites have been used as weapon by actors

Source: Field Data (2019)

³⁶ Robison,P. (2002). The CNN Effect. The Myth of News, Foreign Policy and Intervention in Etyan Gilboa (2005). The CNN Effect. The search for a communication Theory of International Relations. *Journal of political Communication*, 22(27), 27-44

2.4.6 Newspapers and Mobile phones have been a tool for propagation of conflict and war

Lastly, most of the respondents (45.2%) strongly agreed that newspapers and mobile phones have been a tool for propagation of conflict and war. This shows that mobile telephony, which is widespread in most Africa countries as well as newspapers were often employed in most conflict zones, which could thwart conflict resolution efforts and vice versa. This stems out of the fact that they could reach many people across borders as argued by Lisa and Kelly, which enhanced their ability to persuade large populations of people.³⁷

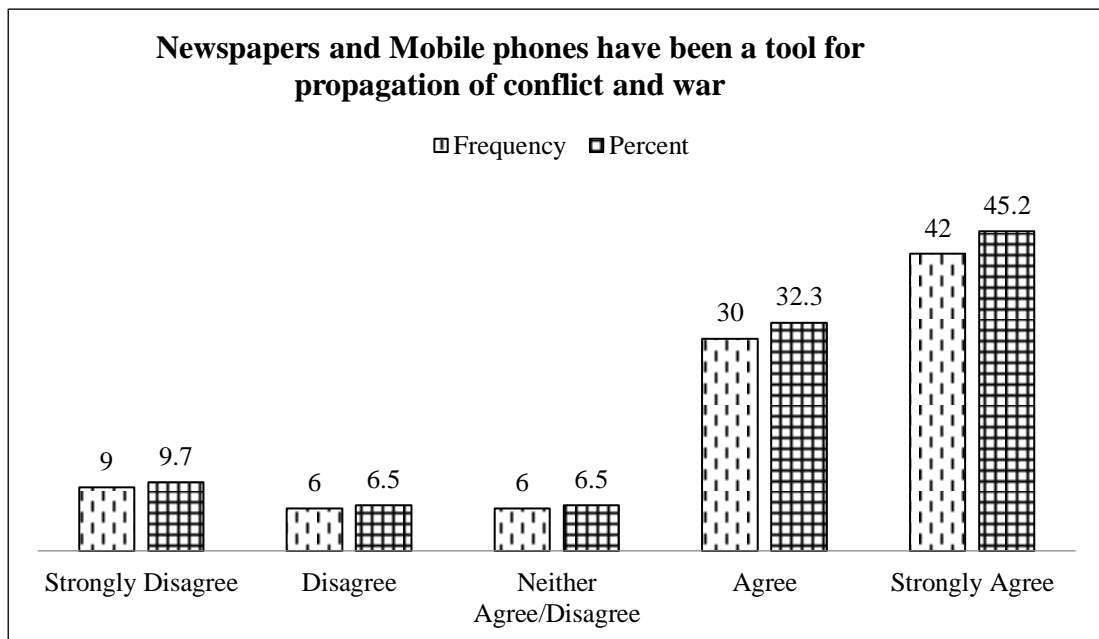


Figure 2.8 Newspapers and Mobile phones have been a tool for propagation of conflict and war

Source: Field Data (2019)

³⁷ Lisa, J. L & Kelly, P. (2009). Mediating Post-Conflict Dialogue: The Media's Role in Transitional Justice Processes. *International Media and Conflict Journal*, 93(1), 251.

2.4.7 Media diplomacy that has escalated the struggle in South Sudan and how can it be enhanced to de-escalate it

The respondents were posed with the question, “from your knowledge and understanding, which type of media diplomacy has escalated the conflict situation in South Sudan and how can it be enhanced to de-escalate it?” The responses obtained show that TV’S and Newspaper writing often peddled unconfirmed information and inciting citizens against each other. There were also instances of mobile phones being used to relay messages and communication, some of which could be used to escalate conflict. The internet and social media was also used to incite the local populations due to their immense influences based on ethnicity as it happened in the case Rwanda and Bosnia Genocide and Civil Conflict where both Radio and Television were central to propagation and escalation of both respectively.³⁸

The ways in which media diplomacy could be used to de-escalate conflict was through use of TV Radios and internet to implement media laws. The media was used to conduct trainings on capacity building for journalists. The media could also be encouraged to promote accurate news coverage, increase safety of journalist and promote the implementation media legislation.

2.5 Conclusion

Most of the replies (41.9%) disapproved with the statement that the internet provided people with unprecedented opportunities for interaction on conflict and war in South Sudan. This disagrees with extant literature that internet based media are currently covering events live as they unfold, these media sources have a lot of capacity to

³⁸ Gilboa, E. (2006). *Media and Conflict Resolution*, in the sage handbook of conflict resolution 455–74 (Jacobin B, Victor K et al eds., 2009) hereinafter Gilboa, *Media and Conflict Resolution*. Bar-Ilan University: Sage Publication.

influence conflicts and that they could create unlimited opportunities for government and other actors to interact in real time.³⁹ Most of the respondents (38.7%) also agreed that internet and website offer a great source on events, processes, conflict, and peace efforts on real time news in South Sudan. These findings show that although the internet was not being employed as a strong avenue for interaction, it provided an avenue for access to information on the conflict and conflict resolution in South Sudan.⁴⁰

Also, large portion of the respondents (35.5%) corresponded with the statement that radios and televisions in South Sudan provided an opportunity for warring groups to share their opinions on the conflict and war. Findings also agree with extant literature, for example the work of Gilboa who argues that both Television and Radio were central to propagation and escalation of conflicts.⁴¹ Conversely they could also be used to conflict resolution efforts by “initiating a compromising dialogue or ideologies” among combatants.⁴²

Majority of those who responded 32.5% differed with the statement that social networking sites for instance; Facebook, Twitter, Skype and, WhatsApp had been instrumental in peace processes in South Sudan. However, owing to the fact it was still being used means that there was possibility of it being used as an avenue for

³⁹ Robinson, P. (2002). *The CNN effect: The myth of news, foreign policy and intervention*. New York: Routledge.

⁴⁰ Gilboa, E. (2009). Media and Conflict Resolution: A framework for Analysis. *Marquette Law Review*, 93(1), 9

⁴¹ Gilboa, E. (2006). *Media and Conflict Resolution*, in the sage handbook of conflict resolution 455–74 (Jacobin B, Victor K et al eds., 2009) hereinafter Gilboa, *Media and Conflict Resolution*. Bar-Ilan University: Sage Publication.

⁴² Augsburger, D W. (1992). *Conflict Mediation across Culture*. Louisville, Kentucky: Pathway and Pattern

offering moderation on different points of view,⁴³ which could contribute to conflict resolution in South Sudan. Interestingly, above half of those who shared (51.6%) specified that the internet and websites had been used as weapon by actors in South Sudan to attack and discredit hostile forces. As such, it could be used to fuel conflict as argued by Etyan.⁴⁴ Further, most of the respondents (45.2%) strongly agreed that newspapers and mobile phones have been a tool for propagation of conflict and war. This shows that mobile telephony, which is widespread in most Africa countries as well as newspapers were often employed in most conflict zones, which could thwart conflict resolution efforts and vice versa due to their reach to extensive populations.⁴⁵

Lastly, the study shows that TV'S and Newspapers often peddled unconfirmed information and inciting citizens against each other. There were also instances of mobile phones being used to relay messages and communication, some of which could be used to escalate conflict. The internet and social media was also used to incite the local populations due to their immense influences based on ethnicity as it happened in the case Rwanda and Bosnia Genocide and Civil Conflict where both Radio and Television were central to propagation and escalation of both respectively.⁴⁶ In this regard, media diplomacy needed to be used in several ways to deescalate conflict. In this regard, TV Radios and internet could be used enhance the implementation of media laws. It could also be used to offer capacity building skills for journalists as a long term measure. Lastly, the media could also be encouraged to

⁴³ Holli, A. S. (2009). Media and Public Diplomacy in Times of War and Crisis. *American Behavioral Scientists*, 52(5), 639-642

⁴⁴ Robinson, P. (2002). *The CNN effect: The myth of news, foreign policy and intervention*. New York: Routledge

⁴⁵ Lisa, J. L & Kelly, P. (2009). Mediating Post-Conflict Dialogue: The Media's Role in Transitional Justice Processes. *International Media and Conflict Journal*, 93(1), 251.

⁴⁶ Gilboa, E. (2006). *Media and Conflict Resolution*, in the sage handbook of conflict resolution 455–74 (Jacobin B, Victor K et al eds., 2009) hereinafter Gilboa, *Media and Conflict Resolution*. Bar-Ilan University: Sage Publication.

promote accurate news coverage, increase safety of journalist and promote the implementation media legislation.

2.6 Summary

This chapter shared the findings and analysis of the study in reference to the first objective of the study which was to “establish types of media diplomacy used in solving conflict in South Sudan.” The next chapter presents findings in line with the second objective of the study which is “to examine media diplomacy contrinution in solving the South Sudanese civil Conflict.”

CHAPTER THREE

CONTRIBUTION OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN SOLVING THE SOUTH SUDANESE CIVIL CONFLICT

3.0 Introduction

This chapter projects the empirical analysis of media diplomacy in solving the South Sudanese civil conflict. The analysis utilized data collected through questionnaires as well as interview guides. The analysis will be presented in pie charts and graphs with detailed information explaining all the categories. The overall objective was to assess the contribution of media diplomacy in altering the conduct of civil conflict the context of South Sudan.

3.1 Effectiveness of media Diplomacy in solving the Civil Conflict in South Sudan

This investigation sought to establish the efficacy of media diplomacy in solving civil conflict in South Sudan and established that 41.9 % of the respondents agreed that media diplomacy has been efficient in relaying information on the enduring conflict situation in the country. It is a common understanding that rapid developments in communication technologies have influenced the means of conducting combat. As already noted in previous chapter examination on media's contribution in peace processes must appreciate the differences in traditional and new media. This study focused on both media outlets and how they are utilized by both government and other actors in solving the protracted political struggle in south Sudan.

The study established that 12.9 % of those who gave feedback strongly disapproved with the effectiveness of the media diplomacy in solving violent conflict in South Sudan while, a huge proportion of the responses representing 41.9 % granted that

media diplomacy has been impactful in solving the violent conflict. The Figure below shows the distribution of perceptions attributed to effectiveness of media diplomacy in relaying information in reference to South Sudan’s continuing conflict.

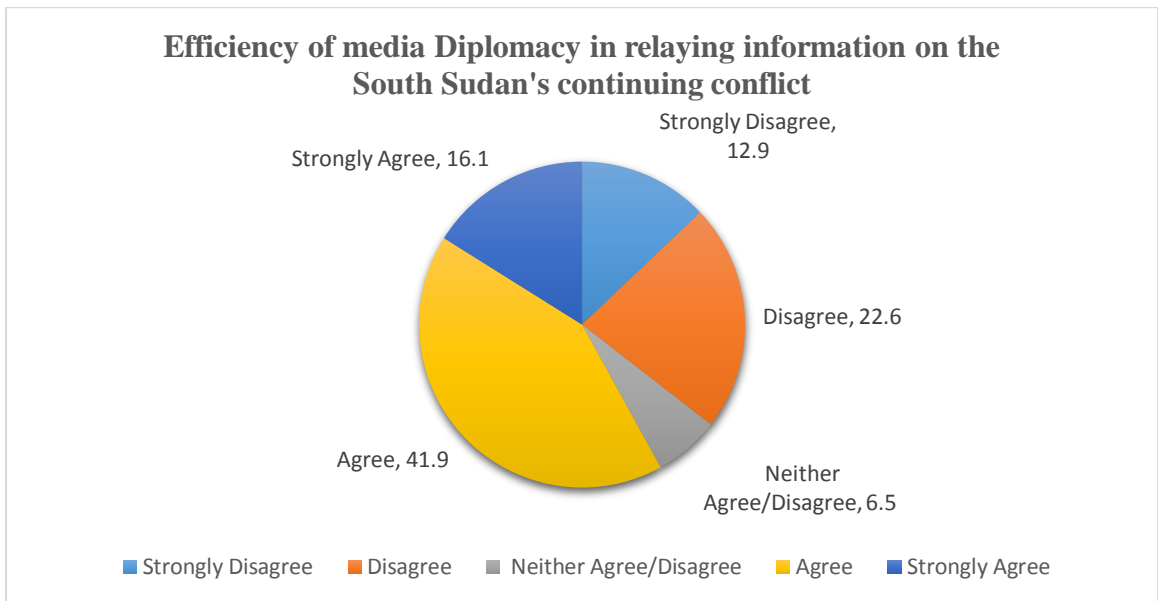


Figure 3.1 Effectiveness of media Diplomacy in solving the Civil Conflict in South Sudan

Source: Field Data, 2019

From the Figure 3.1 above majority of the respondent representing 41.9 % of the total agreed to that media diplomacy was very effective in relaying information on the ongoing civil conflict in South Sudan. From simple talks to blogs and newspapers prints as well real time news on occurrences’ and processes are constantly exchanged relaying on the ground facts on the prolonged struggle facing South Sudan.

The study also established that 6.5 % of the those who responded were neutral on media diplomacy input in in solving violent civil conflict. This can partly be explained by the complex interrelationship between violent conflict and media. Interestingly, interlinked dynamics that manifest in politically motivated conflicts and the performance of the media creates an environment for outcomes. Media handling

of international conflicts has constantly attracted ethical debates on approaches of media diplomacy. The prominent ones include ensuing debates on *looker-on* journalism and journalism of *connection*. This is well demonstrated by Martin Bell, in his work, *TV News: How Far Should We Go?* Where he condemns media reportage of conflict.⁴⁷ The component of respondent who remained neutral viewed media diplomacy as threat to state security since the media overlooked contextual background of most conflicts and instead, positioned itself as judge and adjudicators.

Regrettably, despite a research gap, existing studies in regards to this subject remain inadequate partly explaining the neutrality of some of the respondents. While 22.6% of the respondents disagreed with the efficiency of media diplomacy, media's contribution remains in a limbo and presents a complicated with simpleminded assumptions⁴⁸ From this study some common observations have emerged. First is an overpowering cadres of political elite and policy makers who recognize the power of media diplomacy. This appreciation should ensure that media is not neglected in political conflicts despite the strain in constructing generalizations. Strategic decision makers in the political stage at several levels cogitates media diplomacy as the backbone of their country's foreign policy and how appropriately it is packaged. Therefore, media diplomacy has been an effective instrument of solving violent conflict in South Sudan.

3.2 Media diplomacy has perpetuated a troubled image of South Sudan

This study sought to establish whether media diplomacy has perpetuated a good image of South Sudan. As already noted in the previous chapter, media serves to

⁴⁷ Bell, M. (1997). *TV News: How Far Should We Go?* Oxford-Brit. Journalism Rev. Oxford : Oxford University Press

⁴⁸ Ylva, B. (2000). *The role of media in Conflict*. Uppsala : Uppsala University

develop opinions both at home and abroad. The power of media is the propeller of propaganda which influences both national and international politics and security. This is because media is both an opinion and agenda setter. Amongst the effects of media diplomacy is the image building through national branding.

To establish the image of South Sudan as presented through media diplomacy, this study tasked respondents to present their views and majority of the respondents representing 38.7% disagreed that media has perpetuated a good image of South Sudan. The second majority representing 16.1% of the respondents strongly disagreed that media diplomacy has perpetuated a good image of South Sudan. Contrastingly, 25.8% of respondents opined that media diplomacy has perpetuated a good image of South Sudan. This was coupled by an affirmation of similar cluster of respondents composing of 16.1% who very much agreed of positive perception of the country's image as presented through the media.

Additionally, there were respondents who neither disagreed nor agreed of any influence of media diplomacy in the image of the country representing a minority of 3.2%. Overall, the image of South Sudan is perceived as *troubled* and this generalization is drawn from responses obtained. The Figure below demonstrates the respondents' perceptions as perpetuated by media diplomacy.

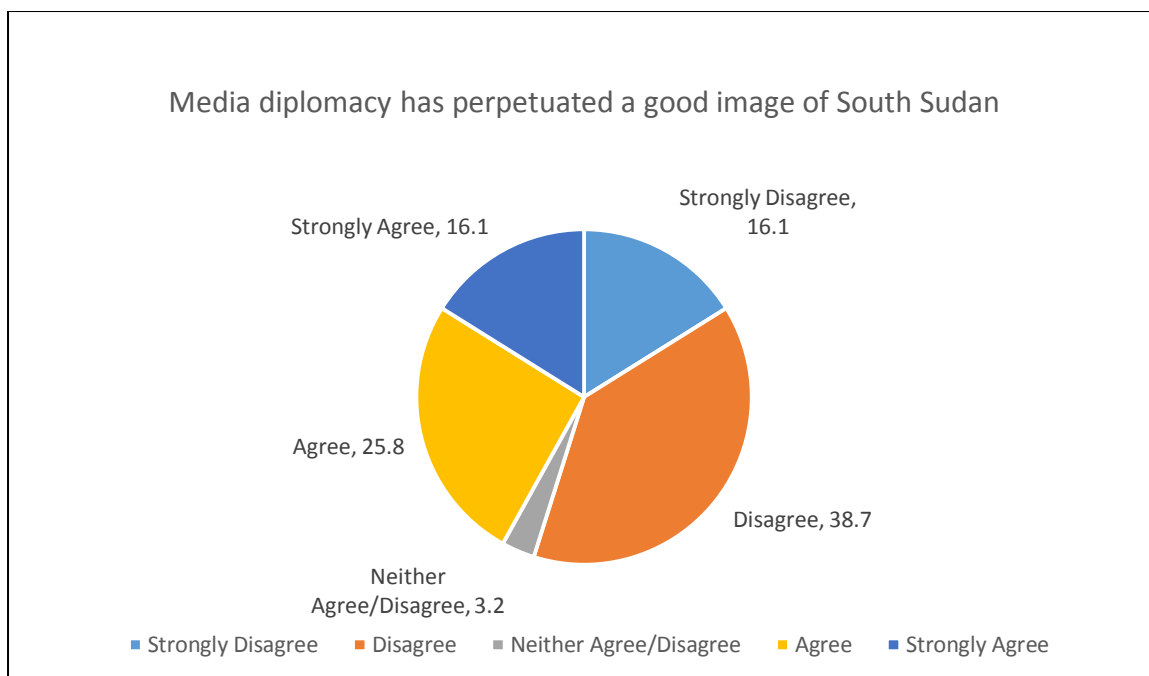


Figure 3.2 Media Diplomacy and the Image of South Sudan

Source: Field Data, 2019

When contemplating media diplomacy in conflict zones, media outlets considers largely the existing political structures. In light of this, media diplomacy should be acknowledged as a fundamental player who is similarly a product of their social framework. Thus media diplomacy is ideally not a neutral spectator but a vital actor with a responsibility to project the world objectively and with specific interest which directs the information to be presented to particular consumer categories.

The constant presentation of images of warlords, cattle rustling, malnutrition among children, refugees and sporadic attacks against civilians in Darfur is the vivid image which stems from South Sudan emanating from a society suffering from prolonged conflict (religious, ethnic or communal) which has devastated the country since its independence in 2011. South Sudan’s history since secession is riddled with conflicts and majority of the respondents in this research attribute this history to negative

reporting which dominates much of the information consumed by the national, regional and international communities. Most of the information emanating from South Sudan paints an image of misery, blood-letting, gun-fight, dilapidated infrastructure and generally weak government which cannot secure its citizens.

Credits to this *troubled* image of the newest republic go to the media diplomacy perpetuated by various media outlets which reaches the farthest corners of the world in minutes. This fact is reinforced by studies done referring to the new state which are mostly dominated by negative imagery and troubled generalizations which often disregard the numerous opportunities. For instance, a recent policy brief on South Sudan prepared by Carleton University and NPSIA on country indicators for foreign policy painted an image of deteriorating history of armed conflict, deteriorating population heterogeneity, unknown human development index and weak militarization.⁴⁹ The negative research produced by such international actors adds to the already distorted image of the South Sudan.

Media diplomacy often produces what is commonly referred to as media *framing*. Media *framing* projects their objects in a certain manner by focusing on their inharmoniousness and analyzing their demeanor. Framing is a powerful approach that influences audiences significantly towards certain actions and individuals. Hence, it can be used to converse certain customs. The international media is particularly recognized for its contribution in framing where one culture is communicated and replicated across the globe. Media's choice on framing issues is a key determinant in

⁴⁹ Carleton University & NPSIA. (2012). *Policy Brief: South Sudan. An analysis of political, economic, military and Social trends defining the South Sudanese landscape in 2012*. New York: Carleton University Press

fueling or reducing conflicts.⁵⁰ This can be generalized that media diplomacy has perpetuated a troubled image of South Sudan a generalization supported by empirical evidence established by this research study.

3.3 The Role of Media diplomacy in Confidence building and advocacy for negotiation in South Sudan

This research study pursued to establish the role media diplomacy has keyed in building confidence and advocating for negotiations in South Sudan. To establish that this study sought evidence which informed the final conclusion that media diplomacy was regarded as an important tool in building confidence and aiding negotiation which brokered peace in South Sudan. According to findings established by this study, majority of the respondents held neutral viewpoint concerning the role of media diplomacy. This is attested by 35.5% of respondents who neither disagreed nor agreed on the centrality of media diplomacy in confidence building and negotiations in South Sudan.

In times of armed conflict media's accountability is magnified ten-fold by society's need for news on unfolding events. That is, the mass media informs the public on the level of crisis or war in a community where involved. This claim is supported by 25.8% of respondents who agreed that media diplomacy has been instrumental in diffusing the armed conflict which engulfed South Sudan since independence. The media diplomacy's centrality in South Sudanese conflict was signified by the claims that it was both a carrier of different shades and forms of information both positive and negative emanating from the newest state. Perceptions shared by 19.4% of the

⁵⁰ Carruthers, S. L. (2000). *The Media at War: Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. New York: St. Martin's Press

respondents indicate that media diplomacy increased ability to form public thoughts and ensuing debates concerning the conflict in South Sudan. According to Olayinka *et al* media words and commentaries can serve as cruel tools of fueling incitements which can lead to devastating massacre.⁵¹ Averring media's input in conflict determination, Idowu, in Olayinka *et al* (2015) asserts that; in modern day conflict situation, media involvement and media diplomacy offers a platform for parties to a conflict to air their grievances and opinions on their points of strife in a conflict situation.⁵²

Whereas the media has the power of shaping a country's foreign objectives, it is however limited to how the information is perceived and interpreted by its consumers. The employment of negotiation in conflict resolution stems from general assertion that when the parties involved in a conflict are optionally satisfied, conflict will definitely not ensue. The media can either advance or derail negotiation and generally conflict determination. A minority of 6.5% of the responses shared, vehemently disapproved with the role of media diplomacy in building confidence citing underlying interests which undermine the attainment of meaningful conflict resolution. If there is a better recognition of these conditions, it will enhance better leverage on media's progressive effect and curtail negative influences.

It is well documented that in many conflicts mechanisms in Africa, mediation and negotiations are the most utilized.⁵³ These pacific settlement approaches are used in combination in many instances and benefit from a third party who is a mediator or facilitator. The mediator either takes the form of an institution, office or an esteemed

⁵¹ Olayinka, A.P. *et al.* (2015). Impact of Mass Media in Conflict Resolution in Abuja. *International Journal of Advanced Academic Research - Social Sciences and Education*, 1(1), 35–67,

⁵² *Ibid*, p.12

⁵³ Mwangi, M. (2001). *Conflict Management in Africa: Lessons Learnt and Future Strategies*; Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research (CCR) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).

individual. Case in point where the mediator was an institution is the peace process negotiations between the Government of FRELIMO Government and the RENAMO rebel group in Mozambique.⁵⁴ While in Rome, Italy, it was a religious non-profit organization titled Saint Egidio (Romano, 1998). The facilitators for the Burundi Peace negotiations were respected individuals starting with the Late Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, following his death, the talks were facilitated by Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa.⁵⁵ The two lead facilitators however worked under an institution named the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation. The elephant question lies in the role played by media diplomacy during the peace negotiations by these notable institutions and individuals?

According to McCormick, media diplomacy disseminates information depicting other people's way of life and by far, this influences people's appreciation of the diversity of life from other countries.⁵⁶ An independent and objective media is essential in illuminating democratic processes and provides the citizenry with information and knowledge. It further serves a platform for public debate and sharing of divergent opinions on issues of public priority.

From the findings of this study therefore, media diplomacy can be termed as influential source that impacts, controls, progresses, and strengthens existing standards and promotes new ones. It is therefore a principal agent for society progress, consensus and good governance and a fundamental component in spaces of confidence building and conflict resolution in South Sudan. It can be suggested that media diplomacy can be utilized as for noble or for damage in peace processes. Media diplomacy can utilized to advance human security and the findings above is

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ McCormick, M. (2004). *The agenda setting role of the mass media in the Shaping of public opinion*. Chicago: Richard Publishers.

corroboration that media diplomacy can trigger conditions for stimulating wars. The figure below presents the distribution of advocating for consultations in South Sudan.

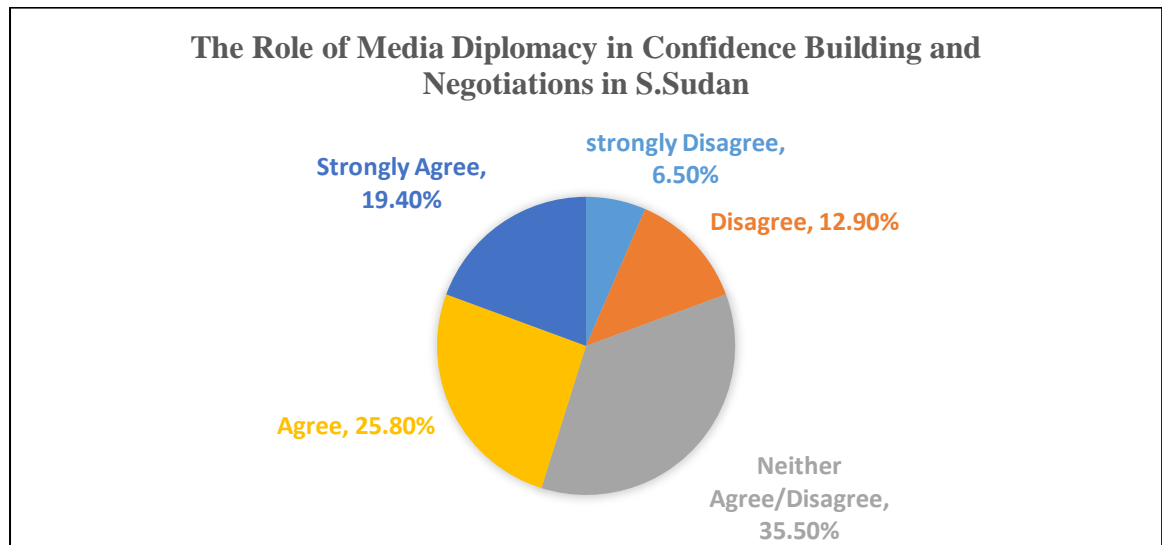


Figure 3.3 The role Media Diplomacy in Building Confidence and Negotiations Advocacy in South Sudan

Source; Field Data 2019

Therefore, media diplomacy has become increasingly significance in alleviating civil conflict in South Sudan. Media diplomacy's input in confidence building has revealed its image in public center. There are many ongoing initiatives to capture and integrate peace media in resolving conflicts. Media diplomacy has succeeded in de-escalating the current civil conflict between the government and the rebels. This sentiment is supported by empirical evidence from which majority of respondents representing 41.9% strongly agreed that media diplomacy has de-escalated conflict in South Sudan by bringing the hostilities committed by warring parties to international community's attention. This perception was shared by 16.1% of the respondents. Additionally, majority of respondents 29.0% agreed that media diplomacy has been an instrument of peace and peace building in South Sudan.

3.4 Media Diplomacy as a tool for Conflict propagation and war

While media diplomacy has been lauded as a critical component for peace-building and an essential component of negotiating for peace, it has often been manipulated by various actors for selfish interest. Various actors in the international system have been sanctioned negatively for utilizing media outlets for propagation of conflict and war in various countries. This research sought to establish whether media diplomacy has been instrumental in propagating conflict and war in South Sudan. The findings established that 41.9% of the respondents agreed that media has been utilized for conflict propagation by warring parties. This perception was consolidated by another 16.1% of respondents who very much agreed that media tools have been misused to propagate war and civil conflict.

Actors contending over media attention undertake that by exercising their authority over the press results to the success in the aforementioned and an influence framing direction. In environments where media freedom is largely curtailed by the state or captured by other actors, this is outcome. When media is more liberal, these results declines. How a media functions in a situation of a conflict influences how parties to a conflict engage and conduct themselves. In some cases, media can be a voice for groups who may not have access to the press.⁵⁷ A reference case is the demonstrations against the presidential outcomes in Iran in 2009 which revealed the influence of the internet and new communication. Iranian administration efforts to block reportage of the massive demos in Tehran and across many other cities by restricting local and international flopped. The opposition countered this by sharing news of protesters

⁵⁷ Wallensteen, P. (2002). *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: Sage publications.

crackdown to the media using online media platforms particularly YouTube and Twitter.⁵⁸

Media diplomacy can also be an instrument to propagate hate and conflict in a country. Closer home, In Rwanda, Radio *Télévision Libre des Mille Collines*, has been chronicled as a key tool that fueled the 100 days massacre while in Liberia STAR Radio on the contrary was instrumental in promoting peace through their broadcast and advance a development agenda in post-conflict phase.⁵⁹

3.5 Laws Enacted to Protect Media Personalities

International guarantees demand that media liberty and rights are upheld which calls for sovereign countries to enact laws and legislative processes which govern the media and safeguard these rights and freedoms. Given that media independence forms a critical part of peace conception and democratic movement the interim constitution of South Sudan proposed for formulation of a policy framework to govern the media legislation christened media policy framework for Southern Sudan.

This policy aspires that the media in South Sudan will be ultimately free, fair, and transparent in its coverage by offering factual and balanced reportage. It hopes that the South Sudanese will be free to participate in media discussions and share knowledge at all levels of engagement. With this, it aims at creating a more equitable and prosperous nation, that thrives on its diversity and united by its common values and a people that appreciate the interactions from the international system.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Holli, A. S. (2009). Media and Public Diplomacy in Times of War and Crisis. *American Behavioral Scientists*, 52(5), 639-642

⁵⁹ Foundation Hironnelle. Available at <http://www.hironnelle.org> Accessed on 10/8/2019

⁶⁰Media Policy Framework for Southern Sudan. Available on <https://www.article19.org/data/files/pdfs/analysis/southern-sudan-media-policy-framework.pdf>

According to the media policy framework, media practitioners shall be empowered to develop a self-regulatory framework that follows international. Additionally, the structure bars registration of independent journalist. Journalists in print and electronic shall be organized in an association with elected representatives among them.⁶¹ Interestingly, the policy framework proposes no registration for media outlets or any registration system.

This study sought empirical evidence on the need to protect media personalities in South Sudan and established that a significant percentage of the responses (38.7%) opined that enacting media legislation in South Sudan would avail conducive environment for media practicing. While 22.6% of the respondents very much agreed to enactment of legislation, a similar number of responders disapproved with the very notion whereas 12.9 % fervidly disproved and a minority 3.2% neither agreed nor disagreed (remained neutral).

While media regulation in South Sudan is still in its infancy, the state has taken bold steps towards ensuring that media is regulated and governed with appropriate legislation. The figure below projects the responses concerning the policies and laws for protecting media personalities and the entire media industry in South Sudan.

⁶¹ Ibid

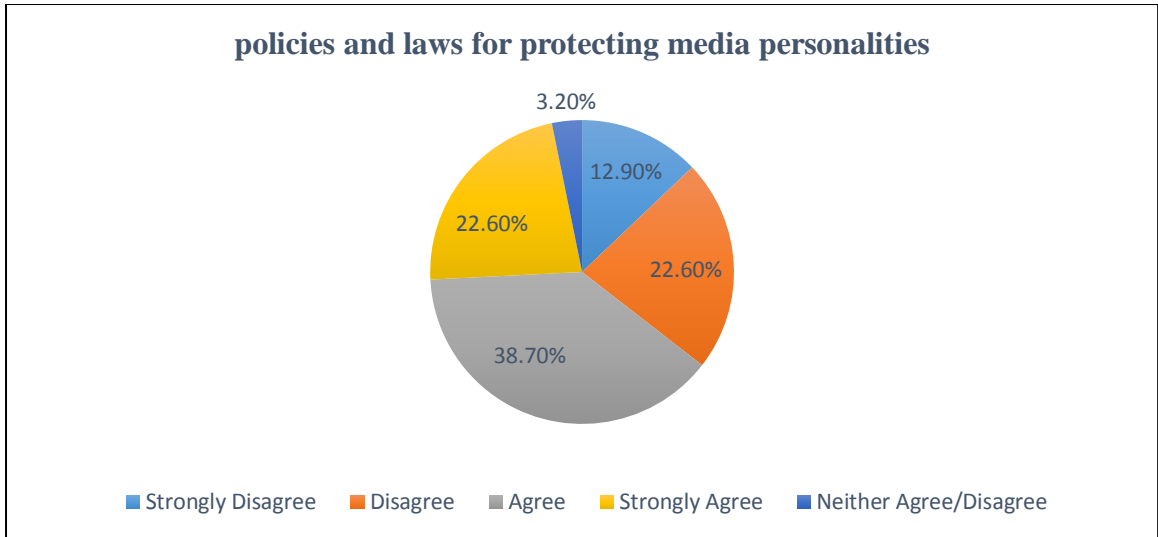


Figure 3.4 Should the GoSS Enact Legislation to Protect Media Practicing

Source: Field Data 2019

3.6 Chapter Summary

The encompassing objective of this chapter was to evaluate the contribution of media diplomacy in altering the conduct of civil conflict in South Sudan. This chapter has realized that currently political elites at both national and international echelons increasingly recognize media diplomacy as the backbone of their country’s foreign policy, consequently, media diplomacy has been an effective instrument of solving violent conflict in South Sudan as espoused by majority of respondents who participated in this research. The chapter has also established that media diplomacy is responsible for presenting a distorted image of South Sudan which internationally carries an image of a troubled nation ever rocked with humanitarian challenges emanating from the protracted civil conflict. The image of South Sudan is exacerbated by the negative reporting contained in the international media outlet which paints a grim picture of South Sudan. Media diplomacy is also credited with confidence building and facilitation of negotiation among conflicting parties. Through media diplomacy parties into a conflict can find common ground where a compromise can

be reached and an end to a conflict be achieved. In particular media diplomacy has provided the South Sudanese society with evidence- based experiences and information which enables a discussion and conception of a national conversation.

Additionally, this chapter sums media diplomacy has a potential peace-maker and also a war propagator as demonstrated by Liberia and Rwandese cases respectively.

Finally, media diplomacy has not fuelled conflict in South Sudan due to checks and balances which the state has imposed to regulate media personalities.

CHAPTER FOUR

**CHALLENGES OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN SOLVING CONFLICTS IN
THE SOUTH SUDANESE CIVIL CONFLICT**

4.0 Introduction

This chapter establishes the challenges which have engulfed the resolution of the South Sudan conflict by studying the media diplomacy input in solving the protracted civil conflict. The chapter utilized empirical evidence complimented with secondary data related to the subject under study to establish the challenges inherent media diplomacy in its pursuit of conflict determination in the context. Explanations in this chapter will be aided by use of pie charts and graphs to demonstrate various policy gaps and expound the challenge therein.

4.1 General Challenges facing conflict determination in South Sudan

This research sought to establish some of the challenges which have engulfed the process of conflict resolution in South Sudan. While media diplomacy has been central in advocating for return to normalcy, conflict has continued to erupt in various areas making peace to be elusive and challenging both national and regional stability. The daunting question so far has been; what is it that is not being done right? What is the point of contention? What is the ultimate goal of all warring parties? To answer those questions this study sought the opinion of independent policy shapers and incorporated their views into the broader aspect of conflict resolution.

Foremost, this study had to comprehend what constitutes conflict resolution. The mechanism of conflict resolution has been defined as the processes and methods utilized in ending a conflict peacefully. This largely comprises of group members giving an ideological comprises with the rest of the group.⁶² Whereas, this study is concerned with conflict resolution it is interested in establishing how effective the process has been and what challenges confront the conflict resolution process making peace elusive in this new country. To achieve that this research sought primary information from respondents and established that to a larger extend, lack of inclusivity in matters of governance was partly responsible for making media diplomacy ineffective in delivering conflict resolution in South Sudan, competition over scarce resources, interference from international community and others tabulated below were some of the challenges quoted by respondents which deterred media diplomacy from resolving conflict in South Sudan.

	Agree	Disagree
Challenges faced in post conflict peace and reconciliation.		
Lack of political good will	45%	55%
Conflict for scarce resources	67%	33%
Interference from the International Community	51%	49%
Feelings of revenge and painful memories	82%	18%
Weak South Sudan economy and inadequate financial resources from the government	87%	13%
Low competence levels of on the side of civil servants and government officers	80%	20%
Extreme poverty and lack of the culture of civilization	100%	0%
Average	73%	27%

Figure 4.1 Challenges facing Conflict Resolution in South Sudan

Source: Field Data 2019

⁶² Augsburger, D.W. (1992). *Conflict Mediation across Culture*:Louisville-Kentucky: Pathway and Pattern.

45% of the respondents agreed that lack of political good will is a big impediment to post conflict peace progressions while 55% disagreed on that statement. 67% of the respondents agreed that conflict for scarce resources is an obstacle to post conflict peace undertaking while 33% of the respondents disagreed. 51% of the respondents agreed that interference from the International Community is an obstacle to post conflict peace and reconciliation with 49% of the respondents differed with the statement. 82% of the respondents agreed that feelings of revenge and painful memories is an impediment to post conflict peace and reconciliation while 18% of the respondents contrasted. 87% of the respondents agreed that weak South Sudan economy and inadequate financial resources from the government is an obstacle to post conflict peace and reconciliation while 13% of the respondents disagreed weak South Sudan economy and inadequate financial resources from the government presents an obstacle to peace processes. 80% of the respondents agreed that competence levels on the side of civil servants and government officers presents an obstacle to post conflict peace headway while 20% of the respondents disagreed that competence levels on the side of civil servants and government officers is an impediment to post conflict peace evolutions. 100% of the respondents agreed that extreme poverty and lack of the culture of civilization is an disablement to post conflict peace progressions while 0% of the respondents contrasted the statement.⁶³

4.2 Interpretation of the Findings

The findings indicate that the challenges confronting conflict reconciliation in south Sudan are the existence of conflict of interest-particularly interests centered on natural resource and exploitation by external forces in the conflict resolution process.

⁶³ Chole, J.N. (2017). *Challenges and Prospects to Post-Conflict Reconciliation in South Sudan*. Nairobi: Africa Nazarene University

Prolonged hostility among the two ethnic communities-which prevent them from developing feelings of forgiveness, is also one of the significant challenge. Incitement by particular political leaders who incite their ethnic community's to violence as a bargaining chip for political power in the national government is also a challenge. Conflict of interest by external actors is holding back the progress of reconciliation. Other challenges include tribalism, violence, bad governance and mistrust, lack of political good will, weak economy and hatred.

4.3 Challenges Inherent Media Diplomacy Conflict resolution strategy in South Sudan

The growing debate on the input that media engages in triggering conflicts has necessitated an exploration on the contribution that media can make in determining conflict resolve. While the previous chapter tackled the role that media diplomacy has played in solving conflict, this section will present some of the challenges found in media diplomacy which have deterred the achievement of lasting peace in South Sudan.

While media diplomacy is critical in diffusing conflicts, conversely the media has the capacity to influence communities into violence, disrupts societies, and cause unimaginable conflicts more often when it is biased to advance interest of one party in the conflict.

Looking at media's conduct in modern days, it is clear that it is riddled with denunciations of different kinds. Media more often are exploited to create tensions, enlarge divisions, spread prejudice where it is common knowledge that media create agendas, the criteria and existing customs can pass the judgment by labelling certain

regions as conflict torn. Asked if the media diplomacy has accommodated divergent interest of both the state and other actors in building a peaceful and non-violent society in the dispensation of information in South Sudan, popular ration responses 38.7% differed with that statement while 19.4% agreed with the same. 16.1% of the respondents were neutral in that they never agreed with the statement nor denied it while 9.7% of the respondents very much agreed. The presentation of the findings can be summarized in the figure below.

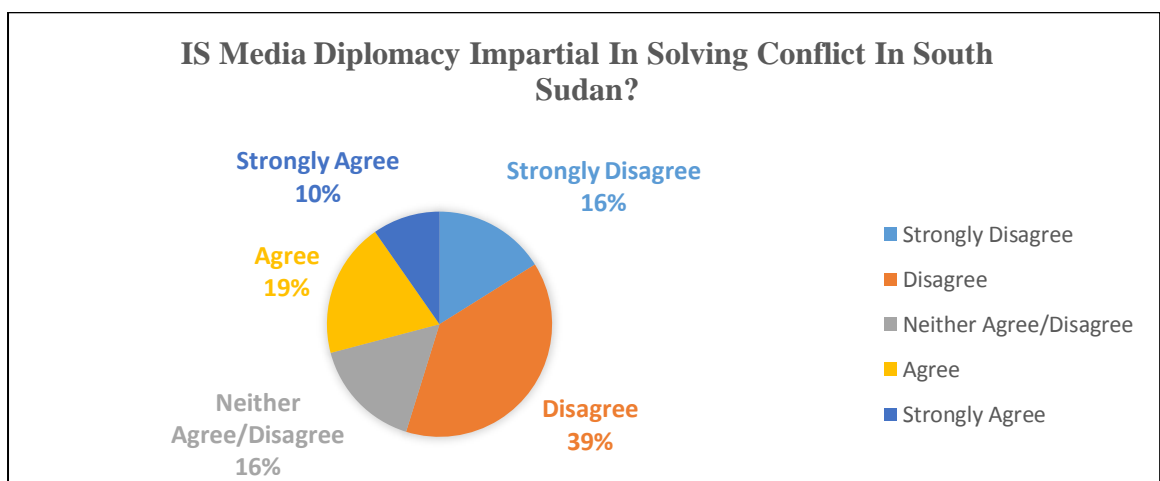


Figure 4.2 Media diplomacy Impartiality in Solving Conflict in South Sudan

Source: Field Data, 2019

From the above outcomes, media diplomacy has been perceived as not being impartial in presenting information to the world concerning the conflict in South Sudan. While media diplomacy is supposed to carry the foreign policy message and particularly sell the image of South Sudan as a an independent state with a functioning government, a population and territory to exercise sovereignty, the opposite is true when media articulation of the country’s foreign policy is currently constituted and implemented.

4.3.1 The Upsurge of Social Media Diplomacy Challenge

Traditional diplomacy is greatly challenged by the exponential upsurge of information communication technology anchored on internet which has made information circulate very fast (Talk of; Twitter, Youtube, WhatsApp and other Social media innovations) among a vast majority of the population. Sometimes confidential information which is uncensored by the government is shared on Social Media Platforms. South Sudan, just like the other countries has experienced the current digital insurgency in ICTs which has altered the practice of diplomacy at regional and globally. Information sharing is fast and in real-time. The challenge presented is triple-edged question which seeks to answer: To whose interest does the information serve? Does the information constitutes the national interest? And what is the action plan to foster a sound policy framework for formulation of a nation-led foreign policy centered on a robust media diplomacy?

In countries with restricted freedom of expression such as Yemen, Tunisia and Egypt, online media disseminate uncensored content among the users.⁶⁴ The distribution of uncensored information challenges the credibility of media diplomacy, hence, challenges the role of media diplomacy in solving conflict in other countries. What of south Sudan?

4.3.2 The Underdeveloped Media Challenge

Mark Frohardt and Jonathan Temin asserts that historically and across many societies, media has been exploited as a tool to fuel divisions and exacerbate violent

⁶⁴ Adesina, O.S. (2017). *Foreign Policy in the age of digital Diplomacy*. Abidan-Nigeria: University of Abidan Press

situations.⁶⁵ They reaffirmed the watchdog role of media but expressed reservations of under-developed media landscape to desist from exploitation and state manipulation. Independent media free from manipulation can foster a credible conflict resolution mechanism. In countries where there is limited information access, providing accurate and credible information which is impartial and factual is a major step towards de-escalation of the conflict.

This study sought to establish whether Journalists in South Sudan are safe to undertake reporting of some issues, the extent of threat of arrests and deportation and other manipulative media practices which challenges the independence of media. The findings were established as follows; 38.7% of the respondents agreed that there is harassment of journalist characterized by arrests and jailing. They represented the majority, while those who neither agreed nor disagreed tallied with those who disagreed at 22.6% respectively. Whereas, there were several variables denoting a manipulative media, this study specifically relied on information centered on detention of journalist in South Sudan to examine the level of media independence. The analysis of the findings are shown by the figure.

⁶⁵ Frohardt, M., & Temin, J. (1997). Use and Abuse of Media in Venerable Societies. *In Journal of the United States Institute for Peace*, 1 (2), 1-3

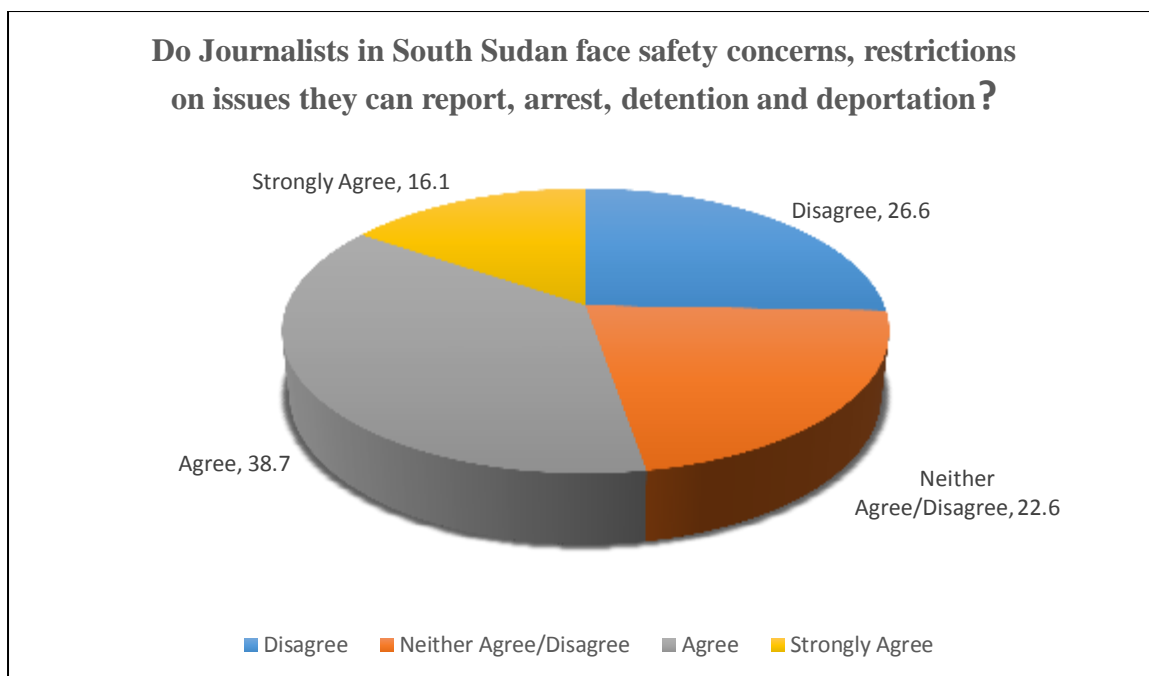


Figure 4.3 Level of Media Independence in South Sudan

Source; Field Data, 2019

The outcomes established above, highest population of responses 38.7% agreed to manipulation of media independence by authorities in South Sudan as evidenced by the statistics above. Independent reporting is highly challenged in South Sudan and often, journalist and media personalities are arrested and detained by South Sudanese police if the content of their reporting is contrary to government position.⁶⁶ The draft Media Authority Bill in Article 13 (k), warrants the editorial liberty of the state broadcaster but fails to guarantee the same freedom for general editorial independence.⁶⁷ In practice, there is a lack of media independence in South Sudan as the report by the Committee to Protect Journalists(CPJ) report indicated. In South Sudan, press liberty has been on the decline. Nhial Bol Aken, Editor of the Citizen

⁶⁶Tadesse, D. (2012).*South Sudan's Post-independence Challenges: Greed or Grievance?*. Addis Ababa:ISPI

⁶⁷ CPJ- Committee to Protect Journalist. South Sudan. (2013): Available at; <http://www.cpj.org/africa/south-sudan>. Accessed on 10/9/2019

and owner of Citizen TV, has been operating in constant fears as intimidation from security apparatus. This follows intelligence that the state had been trailing him for allegedly publishing anti SPLM views. This information was published in July 2013 in the Sudan Tribune.⁶⁸

Article 13(f) of the draft Media Authority Bill guarantees journalists the right to confidentiality and information non-disclosure.⁶⁹ In rare instances, media has published articles critical of the government and in a twist, they have contributed to the indictment of the implicated state officials. Case in reference is the former Undersecretary of Ministry of Education, George Justin Achor, who was suspended from his duties following an article in the The Citizen published that he had misappropriated public funds by paying travel expenses for his family members.⁷⁰

The figure below summarizes responses from media editors while responding to the question on the risks of journalists being troubled for guarding their sources. Over half (58.06%) of the responses indicated a real threat of risk of harassment. Although journalist' right to guard their source is assured in the law it is often violated in practice. Below is responses obtained from Journalist who participated in this research study. They were asked to comment on the risk of harassment if they did not reveal their sources. The results are as follows;

⁶⁸ Sudan Tribune, 13 July 2013. *South Sudan newspaper Editor says under threat for publishing critical views*. Available at: <http://www.sudantribune.com>. Accessed on 10/9/2019

⁶⁹ Media Authority Bill, Article 13, 2013

⁷⁰ The Citizen, 12 September (2012). *South Sudan: Court Dismisses Case by Former Education Undersecretary Achor*: Available at: <http://allafrica.com>. Accessed on 10/9/2019

Table 4.1 Risk of Harassment if Sources of information are Not Revealed

Responses by Journalist	Number of Respondents (93)
Certain that Harassment will happen (High Risk)	11
Substantial risk of Harassment will happen	54
Low risk of Harassment will happen	8
Virtually no risk of Harassment	9
No Answer (Neutral)	11

Source; Field Data, 2019

As already noted, South Sudan is still lacking on an independent media regulatory framework. The establishment of the draft Media Authority Bill aspires to create and advance media independence and professionalism in South Sudan.

From the above findings it can be generalized that media independence in South Sudan is to a larger extent compromised through manipulation hence under developing the media and challenging the role of media diplomacy in solving conflict in South Sudan.

However, after the adoption of the draft media bills, the state does not place unwarranted legal restrictions on the media.

While the draft Media Authority Bill is a positive move towards media independence, there still lacks clarity the practicality on some of the clauses and principles. The NGO ARTICLE 19, highlighted that the Bill provides that the members to the Media

Authority shall be appointed by the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, the Council of Ministers and the President jointly. The President has the mandate to remove a member following recommendation from the minister.⁷¹ Further, the authority budget is provided for by the state through sponsorship. This is likely to subject the body to manipulation and influences.

4.3.3 The Censorship Challenge

Reports indict security agencies in South Sudan for pursuing illegal censorship through unlawful arrests and detentions.⁷² Since the country gained independence in July 2011, security apparatus have continued with impunity to harass and intimidate journalists thus impeding free and independent news coverage. The Human Rights Watch reported that in April 2013, National Security Service (NSS) officers visited the *Juba Monitor* and ordered journalists to cease the reportage of fights within the SPLM and the impunity happening at the capital, Juba.⁷³ The press was threatened with a shut down in case they failed to adhere.⁷⁴

Additionally, reports emanating from *Sudan Tribune* Publication reported that the National Security Services (NSS in October 2012,) briefly banned the emportation of other newspapers from the East African countries particularly from Kenya and Uganda following articles that were considered to be critical of the South Sudan president.⁷⁵ This prohibition was hauled up in January 2013. This constitutes another

⁷¹ NGO-ARTICLE 19. (2012). *South Sudan: Media Authority Bill* Available at; <http://www.article19.org>. Accessed on 10/9/2019

⁷² Human Rights Watch. (2013). *South Sudan stop Harassing, Detaining Journalist*. <http://www.hrw.org/news>. Accessed on 10/9/2019

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Sudan Tribune. (2013). *South Sudan Presidency lifts ban on foreign newspaper*. Available at www.sudantribune.com. Accessed on 10/9/2019

major challenge which compromises the ability of media diplomacy to independently report on the affairs of South Sudan. The inability to report independently produces imbalanced journalism which is incapable of negotiating for peace and mediating for warring parties, consequently challenging conflict resolution.

In March 2011, an estimated 2,500 copies of the bi-weekly *Juba Post* were impounded by the security forces. This followed published content claiming General Athor intended to launch attacks in Juba ahead of Southern Sudan's independence in July.⁷⁶ The country's military stated that the publisher had been warned against carrying out that article which the paper defied forcing the military to intervene. This position was asserted by the Minister of Information who defended the action and called upon the press to exercise their freedom within the agreeable limits. He referred the article as an inciting call to war. This position was reinforced his counterpart in the Ministry of Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development.⁷⁷

This study embarked on to establish the incidence of censorship in South Sudan, hence asked respondents to reveal whether state security operatives in South Sudan subjected media outlets and journalist to suppress their content of information as well as confiscating media equipment and publications. The findings are as established in the **figure 4.4** below;

⁷⁶ UNESCO. (2015). *Interim Assessment of Media Development in South Sudan; Based on UNESCO'S Media development Indicators*. Gigiri-Nairobi. IPDC/UNESCO Publication

⁷⁷ Ibid

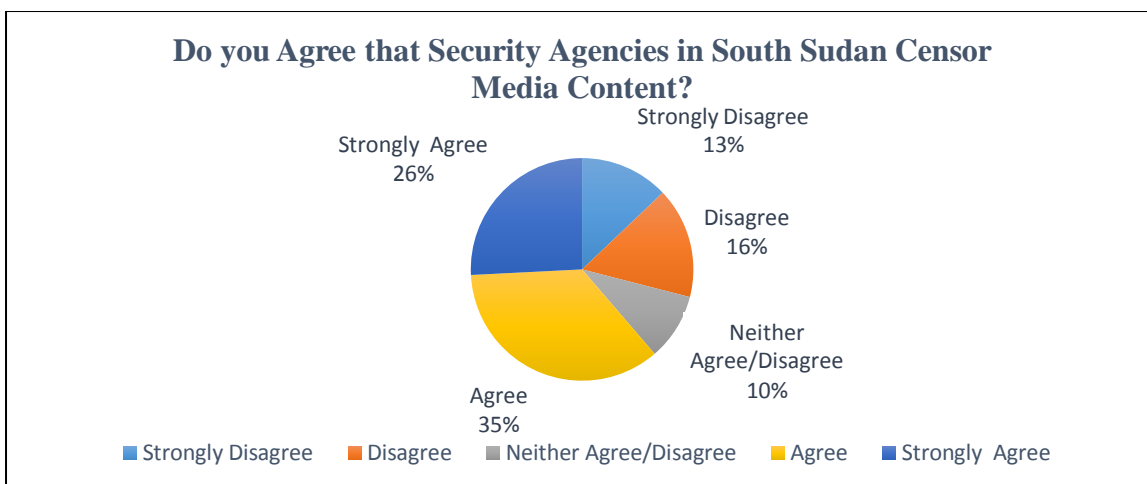


Figure 4.4 Security Agencies Censoring Media Content

Source; Field Data, 2019

The outcomes indicate that popular responses 35.5% concurred that security agencies in South Sudan engaged in media censorship a sentiment corroborated by the second majority representing 26% who very much agreed that security agencies were instrumental in gagging the media and compromising the independence of media hence compromising on the information which filters from South Sudan. Censorship by far is the most daunting challenge which deters media diplomacy from achieving its intended purpose while at the same time compromising its ability to offer conflict resolution mechanism espoused by independent media.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has established that for media diplomacy to function effectively it has to be exercised in an environment of independence free from manipulation and abuse. Media diplomacy is challenged by the exponential upsurge of ICTs and social media platforms which greatly challenges regulation of information and its credibility. In South Sudan, media diplomacy is challenged by lack of impartiality in information

dissemination resulting from state control. The chapter has established that the state places unwarranted legal restrictions on the media potentially determining what information is consumed in the country and across the borders. The challenge of underdevelopment creates limited access to information and deters divergent opinions which sustains violent conflict due to lack of compromise.

This chapter has also established that censorship is a detrimental challenge which confronts independence of media and thus compromises media diplomacy's ability to foster a reconciliatory mechanism capable of resolving the protracted conflict in South Sudan. As already shown in practice, the media is subjected to existing suppression. Whereas, the journalist right to safeguard their sources is enshrined in the law, it is not guaranteed in practice as evidenced by a number of detentions, arrests and deportation of journalists who publish anything critical to the government. Finally, this chapter has established that while draft Media Authority Bill in Article 13 (k), provides for the freedom of the state broadcaster, this liberty is not extended to the general editorial independence. In practice, this is an impediment and an obstacle for media diplomacy to offer a conflict resolution mechanism.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter highlights the empirical study outcomes and subject of discussion by summarizing the entire research as per the set-out objectives. Thematic areas of concern will be critiqued accordingly before making generalizations and conclusions which informs the policy recommendations appropriate for this policy gap. Hence, a summary of the outcomes, inferences and recommendations are encompassed in this chapter.

5.2 Discussion

To establish media diplomacy role in solving civil conflicts precipitating the Horn of Africa, case of South Sudan, the study utilized the regression framework. The study found out the alternative hypothesis is true; i.e. there is a substantial correlation between the role of diplomacy and conflict resolution. The independent variables that were studied explain a substantial and weighty connection between the role of media diplomacy and South Sudan's conflict resolve. This therefore means that the independent variables to a larger extent influence the behavior of the dependent variable (Conflict Resolution). When determining the extent of media diplomacy input in conflict resolution, it's crucial to differentiate the types and levels of media.

The first objective in this research study pursued to explore the different types of media. The review of literature established two dominant media forms; traditional and modern forms of media which include the Newspapers, Radio and the Television as

traditional media and internet which constitute the modern media. Among the two forms of media established, the internet media is to a larger extent challenging the existence of traditional media since internet offers many opportunities to both state and other players principally to the susceptible actors. Actors who fail to utilize the internet deny themselves an important platform that promotes the practice of diplomacy and foreign policy. It is no doubt, internet media transcends cross continents and can overcome national, ethnic, or cultural bias. Majority of the respondents (38.7%) agreed that internet and the website provides people with diverse news on occurrences in real time. This study established that the internet was not being employed as a strong avenue for interaction and for pursuit of foreign policy objectives in South Sudan since it provides an avenue for access to information on the conflict resolution to a majority of consumers. The daunting question is; should the nation-state abandon traditional media and adopt internet media as a tool for achieving foreign policy objectives?

An equally expedient method to distinguish between echelons of media adopted a geopolitical criteria which established; local media, national media, regional media, international media, and global media as other types of media which have been employed diplomatically. Local media include newspapers, television, and radio stations operating in a town, city, or district while national media include newspapers and electronic media operating within the boundaries of nation-states. Regional media operate in a region defined by history, culture, tradition, values, language, or religion. Examples of regional media include Qatar-based Al Jazeera Arabic and Dubai-based Al Arabiya, which broadcast primarily to the Middle East, and the South African Broadcasting Corporation, which serves Africa.

International media include broadcast and print media used or sponsored by states that operate across international borders. Examples include the Voice of America, BBC World News, China's CCTV-9, Al Jazeera International, France 24, Russia's Vesti-TV, and Iran's Press TV. The commonly used media form in South Sudan constitutes traditional media forms-Radio, Television and Newspapers. Although there is significant penetration of internet media, empirical evidence finds Radio and Newspapers as the commonly used media forms in South Sudan. The point of contention or discussion is; how diplomatically-effective are these media forms when employed in pursuit of conflict resolution? Again, what is the impact of their geographical reach?

The second objective sought to examine the contribution of media diplomacy in solving civil Conflicts in Horn of Africa region. This research employed a functional theory paradigm coupled with Agenda setting theory of media to comprehend the role of media diplomacy in solving civil conflict in South Sudan. Functional theory was used because it is a classic communication theory anchored in sociological system theory, which views institutions, including the media, as performing roles designed to meet the needs of individuals and societies, while agenda setting theory is a classic paradigm describing how the media operates. The study found out that the role of media diplomacy is a double-edged sword which has de-escalated and escalated the civil conflict in South Sudan in the same measure.

Media diplomacy main contribution (read role) to conflict resolution is double-edged because, even if the media are sincerely interested in positive contribution to prevent,

manage, resolve, or reconcile international conflict, the results may sometime backfire. For example, during the prevention phase, the media may wish to create awareness among the public for signs of an emerging conflict or violence. The result could be positive if the warning creates awareness and effective steps are taken to stop the drift toward violence. However, the result could be negative if the coverage produces apprehension that leads to escalated conflict behavior. It is important to educate the public about the sources of conflict and the potential for violence or conflict resolution. If the public is educated, the coverage could be functional, but if the public is not educated, the coverage could be dysfunctional.

Majority of respondents (35.5%) agreed with the statement that radios and televisions in South Sudan provided the largest opportunity for warring groups to share their opinions on the conflict and war. Both global and regional news networks and the Internet also allowed new actors, primarily non-governmental organizations and individuals, to actively participate in South Sudanese conflict resolution. Further, 22.6% of the respondents strongly agreed that; traditional media channels were highly employed in conflict resolution since it was possible to get information on the warring groups and be in a position to undertake informed conflict resolution measures. Majority of the respondent representing 41.9% cent of the total agreed to that media diplomacy was very effective in relaying information on the ongoing civil conflict in South Sudan. The media's role is especially enhanced by the upsurge of Internet, cell phones, and online social networks.

Whereas, several studies have focused on the positive contribution of media diplomacy in alleviating the civil conflict in South Sudan, this study critiques them and establishes that; media diplomacy is equally responsible for presenting a distorted image of South Sudan which internationally carries an image of a troubled nation ever

rocked with humanitarian challenges emanating from the protracted civil conflict. The image of South Sudan is exacerbated by the negative reporting contained in the international media outlet which paints a grim picture of the country.

5.3 Summary of the main findings

After a regression model was applied to determine the role of media diplomacy in conflict resolution in Horn of Africa, this study found out the alternative hypothesis is true, that is; there is a significant relationship between the role of diplomacy and conflict resolution in South Sudan. Media diplomacy has been utilized both as a friend and a foe to the conflict resolution process in South Sudan. It has been used to foster human security as well propagate conflict in the country. In particular media diplomacy has provided the South Sudanese society with knowledge and a variety of experiences which serves as a forum for public debate, conception and development of opinions for ending the protracted conflict. Media have an important role to play in promoting an honest and pluralistic political debate, and in providing accurate and timely information about issues, policies and strategies that will reduce tension, create the conditions for equitable development and reduce the levels of ignorance and fear that contribute to misunderstanding and hostility in society.

Media diplomacy in South Sudan is challenged by the exponential upsurge of ICTs and social media platforms which greatly challenges regulation of dissemination of information. Media diplomacy is also challenged by lack of impartiality in information dissemination emanating from state security control and censorship. Underdevelopment of the media sector has been cited as a major set-back bedeviling the achievement of foreign policy objectives. Weak policy framework has been cited

as a daunting challenge to the role played by media in articulating the foreign policy objectives of South Sudan particularly those which seek conflict resolution. While editorial independence of the public broadcaster is guaranteed in the draft Media Authority Bill it is not guaranteed in practice.

5.4 Conclusion

This study concludes that despite the critical, growing importance of the media diplomacy to conflict resolution and reconciliation, scholars and practitioners have not yet adequately addressed the media's role in solving a civil conflict in a dynamic period of media revolution anchored on Internet. Particularly lacking is the extensive research on the roles and effects of new media and global news networks on the delicate balance of state survival and civil conflicts resolutions. The media can both help and hinder conflict resolution, and so it is important to uncover the conditions determining the outcome. If these conditions are exposed, it would be easier to maximize the media's positive contributions and minimize negative contributions. The first priority should be to investigate functions and dysfunctions of the local media because they directly affect people engaged in conflict and conflict resolution. The next priority should be to focus on the reconciliation phase. This stage is crucial because successful reconciliation is the best guarantee against the resurrection and reemergence of conflict and violence. The third priority should be to focus on the roles and functions of the new media-the internet media diplomacy.

5.5 Recommendations

This study recommends that the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) should develop a comprehensive media policy in cooperation with media stakeholders and civil

society addressing the excessive restrictions on freedom of expression and guiding the implementation of the three Media Bills recently signed into law.

The study also recommends that, the Government of South Sudan should hasten to ratify international and regional human rights instruments critical to advancing freedom of expression, media freedom and access to information, and submit periodic reports as the conventions may require. This will reduce manipulation and censorship of media while at the same time ensuring the independence of the media.

Further, the study recommends that foreign policy shapers of South Sudan should adopt the modern media forms when engaging diplomatically. As it adopts new ICT-led media diplomacy, Government of South Sudan should enact progressive media laws that meet international standards for freedom of expression and take measures for their effective implementation once enacted.

Lastly, this study recommends that further research be instigated on the dynamic role played by internet-based diplomacy because of the constant and rapid developments in communication technology. Research in this field must resemble research in computer science. It has to be fast, dynamic, and highly sensitive lest published research results become obsolete. It must inform the government the intrinsic value and potential for conflict resolution therein internet media diplomacy.

5.6 Area for further Research

This study calls for further research on the impact of internet-based media diplomacy in International relations of nation-states. This research will establish the enormous opportunity presented by technology in the conduct of diplomacy.

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APPENDIX: QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

Dear Respondent

I am carrying out a study on “**The Role of Media Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution in the Horn of African Region, A Case Study of South Sudan**”. The findings and recommendations established by this study, will contribute to knowledge aimed at setting an agenda for conflict resolution utilizing the available media platforms. In this regard, I would like to collect data that will assist in accomplishing the objectives envisioned by this study. Kindly answer the questions appropriately since your contribution will be much appreciated and the information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

General Information

i. What is your gender? (Please tick in the boxes provided)

a) Male

b) Female

ii. Please tick the age bracket in which you fall.

21-30 years () 31-40 years () 41-50 years ()

51-60 years () above 60 years ()

iii. Kindly indicate your profession

.....
.....

PART A: Types of Media Diplomacy used in Solving Conflict in South Sudan

1. This section seeks to establish the types of media diplomacy used in solving South Sudan’s civil conflict. Please rate your level of agreement with the following

statements on a scale of: 1=Strongly Disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neither Agree/Disagree; 4=Agree; 5=Strongly Agree

Statement	Likert-Scale				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Internet provides people with unprecedented opportunities for interaction on conflict and war in South Sudan					
2. Internet and website provides people with access to news from a variety of sources, up-to-the-minute information on events, conflict and conflict resolution processes in South Sudan					
3. Radios and Televisions in South Sudan provides an opportunity for warring groups to share their opinions on the conflict and war					
4. Social networking sites for instance; Facebook, Twitter, Skype and, Whatsapp have been instrumental in Peace building in South Sudan					
5. Internet and Websites have been used as weapon by actors in South Sudan to attack and discredit hostile forces					
6. Newspapers and Mobile phones have been a tool for propagation of conflict and war					

2. From your knowledge and understanding, which type of media diplomacy has escalated the conflict in South Sudan and how can it be enhanced to de-escalate it?

.....

.....

.....

PART B: Contribution of Media Diplomacy in solving South Sudanese civil Conflict.

3. This section seeks to establish the role of media diplomacy in solving South Sudan’s conflict. Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale of: 1=Strongly Disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neither Agree/Disagree; 4=Agree; 5= Strongly Agree.

Statement	Likert-Scale				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. The media has been efficient in relaying information on the ongoing Civil Conflict in South Sudan					
2. Media diplomacy has perpetuated a good image of South Sudan					
3. Media diplomacy contributed to confidence building and advocating for negotiation in South Sudan?					
4. Media diplomacy succeeded in de-escalating the current civil conflict between the government and the rebels?					
6. Media has led to conflict resolution particularly in South Sudan					
7. Media has been instrumental in peace-building in South Sudan					
8. The media has been an instrument of peace					
9. Media has been a tool for propagation of conflict and war					
10. There has been clear-cut policies and laws for protecting media personalities					

PART C: Challenges of Media Diplomacy in Solving Conflicts in the South Sudanese Civil Conflict

4. This section seeks to establish the challenges of media diplomacy in solving South Sudan's conflict. Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements on a scale of: 1=Strongly Disagree; 2=Disagree; 3=Neither Agree/Disagree; 4=Agree; 5= Strongly Agree

Statement	Likert-Scale				
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Media diplomacy has not accommodated divergent interest of both the state and non-state actors in building a peaceful and non-violent society in the dispensation of information					

2. Journalists in South Sudan face safety concerns, restrictions on issues they can report, arrest and deportation, limited funding and training.					
3. Due to the Conflict, many South Sudanese have no or limited access to information through Social Networks i.e Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc					
4. There is limited media space and access to reliable and fact information in South Sudan					
5. Weak media in south Sudanese fuel conflict because of limited legal protection for public broadcasting, media regulation and freedom of information					
6. There exists a strong legal framework and policies that protect journalists and promote healthy media field					

Q.5 From your understanding and knowledge how can the above mentioned challenges be overcome in order to promote a peaceful environment for conflict resolution?

.....

.....

.....

*******THANK YOU*******

MARY KILOBI

by Mary Kilobi

Submission date: 26-Nov-2019 10:25PM (UTC+0300)

Submission ID: 1222324428

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