

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT: A
CASE STUDY OF THE KENYA-SOMALIA MARITIME DISPUTE**

NAME: WANZETSE WINNIE WERE

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SUPERVISOR: DR. PATRICK M. MALUKI

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20TH SEPTEMBER 2021

Declaration

This research project is my original work and has not been presented before to any university for academic award.

Signature.....

Date.....29TH NOVEMBER, 2021

WANZETSE WINNIE WERE

REG. NO. R50/31477/2019

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university supervisor.

Signature.....

Date.....29/11/2021

DR. PATRICK M. MALUKI

Supervisor

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS)

Dedication

This research project is dedicated with love and gratitude to my family, especially to my late father, Mr Martin Wanzetse Wabuyabo for starting me off on this journey, and Alexander (Mr Fidelis Khafumi Wabuyabo) for cheering me on.

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Chapter One

Introduction and Background to the Study

1.0 Introduction

Conflict resolution just like other areas of International Relations has been affected by the rapid changes of the 20th and 21st century. The rise of media as a tool and instrument of setting agenda together with the revolution of internet global communication has indeed impacted the conduct and practice of conflict resolution. Media has since become a tool of modern-day conflict resolution. This study will analyze the role media play in conflict resolution with a specific interest in the Somali-Kenya dispute.

1.1 Background to the Study

Negroponte describes the transition from the traditional to digital media as “a shift from atoms to bits”. The digital era has converted the world into a little village and eased the speed of delivery of information. Any form of news spreads across the world in less than a minute.¹ The Internet, which is at the centre of the digital era, has made a light play of the traditional forms of communication for how quickly information spreads. Campbell, MacKinnon, and Stevens² even go on to decry how much people do not appreciate enough the fact that information can flow that fast across the globe in seconds, allowing “communication to transcend the limits of space and time”.

Dispute resolution is not a new concept. Since time immemorial, conflict was as common as the concept of peace. Disputes over common resources, e.g. land and issues of social standing like immorality, theft, assault, marital conflicts were common. In the pre-historic days in African communities, for example, disputes between members of the same family/ clan/ community were

¹ Nicholas N. (1995): *Being Digital* New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

²Patricia J. Campbell; Aran MacKinnon and Christy R. Stevens (2010): *An Introduction to Global Studies*

resolved amicably in the presence of clan elders. Disputes between different communities/ clans/ tribes were resolved in a similar way but on a larger scale with the offering of gifts/ tokens to signify peaceful coexistence. For some communities, songs, poems, and other performances were then put together to narrate the conflict and its resolution and then communicated to future generations as a way of pre-empting similar conflicts from arising. This is basically how information was compacted for consumption by the masses from one generation to the next, or one geographical location to the next.

Historically, disputes were also resolved at these gatherings. Sometimes there were occasions where songs, poems, and even activities like wrestling were part of the communication media. This formed the basis of traditional media.

The media (print, broadcast, and emerging) operates under the premise of Freedom of expression. Kuusik, N. (2010)³, in her article *The Role of the Media in Peace Building, Conflict Management, and Prevention* emphasises the importance of freedom of expression as not only being the core of a healthy media but also a fundamental human right and a very vital factor for maintaining a democratic structure in any society.

The media has a host of roles that it has played over the years. It remains to be a source of (reliable) information for the masses. During the September 11 attack by Al Qaeda on the US, the media all over the world kept the masses up to speed on the goings-on. They covered the unfolding events in real-time and also dug into the background as some facts surrounding the tragedy began to emerge. The media also shapes the minds of its audience and can easily sway public opinion. In event of general elections or referendums, people have relied on media coverage and the power of the media to influence the vote. In the United States, for example,

³Kuusik, N. (2010): *The Role of the Media in Peace Building, Conflict Management, and Prevention*

public debates between aspiring candidates are held to pitch them against each other to discuss general issues. The public is allowed to pick each aspirant's mind and evaluate their response towards certain topics. The media also exposes societal ills and warns of dangerous elements thus protecting, in most cases, human (and even animal) rights. Through investigative journalism, vices like human trafficking, civil strife, drug trafficking, and poaching have been brought to light.

The media also acts as an instrument of peace. The media has been at the forefront to present proceedings in peaceful negotiations and promote amicable dealings between warring factions.

Kenya and Somalia have been in disputes about the delimitation of the maritime border since 1999. The disputed region is a triangle within the Indian Ocean that spans for over 100,000² kilometres and contains a number of maritime gas and oil deposits. The disagreement hence is about oil and gas blocks within and underneath the seafloor, the location of which is in dispute. Somalia maintains that its 1960 border ran diagonally south-eastward, while Kenya contends that it should have moved eastward.

In 2016, Kenya welcomed Somalia into a “provisional arrangements of a substantive nature” awaiting a boundary demarcation agreement. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2017 ruled that it had the authority to hear Somalia's August 28, 2014 application. As a result, Somalia submitted a response, and Kenya replied between June and December, 2018. The ICJ reserves the following protocol for a final decision that would be binding on all parties. Kenya asserted uncontested sovereignty in the disputed region after its first declaration of the EEZ in 1979, prior to the matter being submitted to the court. The border dispute between Kenya and Somalia escalated on February 6, 2019, following the unveiling of the final delineation of the oil exploration zone consisting of up to fifty oil blocks.

In response, Kenya recalled its ambassador to Somalia, Amb. Lukas Tumbo, and summoned his Somalia counterpart in Kenya, Amb. Mohamoud Nur, demanding a withdrawal of the maps that were displayed in London and a stop to the auctioning of the blocks. According to Kenya, these maps reinforce Somalia's claims to maritime zones and are consistent with the country's position currently before the ICJ. In a tense statement, Kenya's principal secretary for foreign affairs and international trade, Mr Macharia Kamau, reportedly threatened that the country would do all it could, including perhaps going to war, to protect its territorial integrity.

Kenya's reaction should be viewed within a broader context. The country hosted the peace process that led to the first semblance of a government installed in Baidoa, Somalia in 2007 after numerous unsuccessful attempts to resolve the Somalia conflict. In addition, it provided the special envoy, the late Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat, who spearheaded the peace process. For years, Nairobi has served as the centre for humanitarian coordination efforts for conflict-affected Somalia. Kenya perceives that Somalia's action is in bad taste and shows a lack of appreciation of their contribution to post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding in Somalia.

The media has been covering the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute since it began. In many media outlets in Kenya and Somalia, the conflict was and still is a major point of discussion where panelists and experts have discussed their opinion on the conflict. It is upon this that the study will analyze the role the media can play in international conflict resolution.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Conflicts in society are difficult to resolve. A case in point is the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute which has defied various resolution methods. In situations like the one Kenya and Somalia finds themselves in, media could come in handy and help in resolving the dispute. Abhishek Gaur⁴ et al, in the paper titled *Mass Media and Peace Education*, sums up the role of the media as being for or against conflict at any one time. When disputes arise between states, the media may make or break the resolution process. Without the backing of good practice, the media sometimes oversteps its role in providing coverage during conflicts and their subsequent resolution.

The media at times, and more so in the resolution of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Border Dispute, has, in carrying out its duty, gone above and beyond the standards of best practice. Whereas the effects of the mishaps may have already been felt, this study seeks to establish the ideal role of the media in such situations, point out the negative action within this role, and recommend media best practice in carrying out its role during the resolution of conflicts.

The effects of conflict are severe. Conflict leads to destruction of properties, deaths, suffering and poverty, misplacement of people among others. Countries undergoing major political changes towards democracy often face conflict in different forms. The influence that the media has in conflicts around the world has tremendously increased over the past few decades. Looking at the Rwandan genocide, the Libyan civil war, and Kenya's post-election violence, you notice that media is a double-edged tool in a conflict situation and thus can be used to escalate or deescalate situations. Studies show that the possibility of media escalating conflict is more common with local vernacular media outlets, while national and international media outlets play a significant role in de-escalation roles.

⁴Gaur Abhishek et al (2019): *Mass Media and Peace Education*

To comprehend the exact role that the media plays in the Kenya-Somalia Maritime dispute, it is very imperative to figure out the ways in which media outlets influence conflict and how they can be used to manage it. Much academic work has been done in the field of how media can transform the economy, society as politics of a nation, but little effort has been focused on media in conflicts. Furthermore, the field of media and how it contributes to conflict management is a new one that arose due to the high demand, since conflicts are commonplace in today's world. This research is therefore aimed at examining the role media can play in resolving the dispute between Kenya and Somalia over their maritime border.

1.3 Research Questions

The study will be directed by the following research questions:

1. What are the traditional roles of media in conflict resolution?
2. How have the changes in world order affected the emerging roles of media?
3. What role (negative and positive) has the media played in the resolution of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The core objective of this study is to examine the role of the media in the resolution of international conflict and in this case the Kenya-Somalia Maritime dispute will be our area of focus.

1.4.2 The specific objectives

- i) To examine the traditional role of media in conflict resolution
- ii) To determine the emerging roles of media in conflict resolution

- iii) To analyze the actual role(s) played by the media in the resolution of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute

1.5 Literature Review

This section will provide an overview of the relevant literatures both Empirical and theoretical.

1.5.1 Theoretical review

This study will be premised on three main theories; the Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and the Agenda Setting Theory.

1.5.1.1 Libertarian Theory

Media under liberal frameworks stresses free and mindful media. The key principle of the libertarian theory is that the press ought to be free to perform its functions as opposed to the authoritarian theory, where the media was under governments' licensing, and censorship. The theory further argues that the freedom of media, entitling it to publish and write freely, means that the media will provide truthful information any day. The libertarian believes that a reporter is a rational person who has the right to publish and write what they feel is truthful. In this sense, the media's obligation is to inform the public of the activities of the governmental. As such this makes the media a fourth pillar. Libertarian strongly advocates for the media to act naturally and report truthfully with morally strict code and polished skill. Libertarians believe that the conscience of the media is to seek truth, engage in public debate and as such the press is better to strengthen if it is free. The freedom of the press would allow the media to expose the truth about what is going on in society without censorship or authority blockades.⁵

⁵ Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. .Four theories of the press.Chicago, (London: University of Illinois Press Urbana, 1972)

1.5.1.2 The Social Responsibility Theory

Sierbert Peterson and Scharrm officially developed the concept of Social Responsibility in 1956. Social Responsibility is an ethical principle that guides all activity, whether in the media or in any other agency that bears an obligation in any way to the community, population, culture, and economy. To this end, the media should not injure but instead lay more emphasis on environmental and socio-cultural aspects related to the place economy. The theory advocates for the freedom of the media that is devoid of censorship, but it should be controlled in accordance with social responsibility and external regulations. Public duty and intervention are both used to filter content. The right to free speech must be weighed against the privacy rights of others and the vital interests of society. Private owners should publish in accordance with ethical standards and in a respectful manner. The theory established guiding lines that the media could obey in order to meet the requirements of a democratic society, claiming that the media should self-regulate by adhering to different percepts such as high standards of professionalism, truth, and accuracy.⁶

1.5.1.3 Agenda Setting Theory

The Agenda Setting Theory elaborates the media's power to control a variety of issues on the national agenda. The fundamental premise of agenda-setting theory is that if a new item is discussed regularly and extensively, audiences are more likely to consider it more relevant. The agenda setting theory was formalized by Dr Max McCombs along with Dr Donald Shaw during the presidential elections of 1968. By comparing the substance of the public's views of the most critical election topic, McCombs and Shaw were able to ascertain just how much the media

⁶ Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. Four theories of the press. Chicago ., op cit.

influences public opinion.⁷ The theory of agenda-setting is further discussed in Walter Lippmann's 1992 book, *The Public Opinion*. According to Lippmann, the media plays an important part in forming images in its audience's heads and memories. He writes that the audience responds to the picture of the real incident in their minds rather than the actual event itself. As a result, the media serves as a vital link between global affairs and public perceptions of such events.⁸

Agenda setting normally occurs to what Lippmann refers to as accessibility. Accessibility is created by how frequently and prominently an issue is covered in Media. The more an issue is covered the more it becomes a regular point of reference in the audience's memories.⁹ Hence, when an individual is asked what problem the country faces, the answer provided will be the most regular/accessible news item embedded in memory, which is what the media focused on most. In this sense, agenda-setting cannot be achieved by just receiving a few messages but a large amount of messages. This is the concept that diplomats have used in dealing with social media. Where they use agenda-setting concepts to reach the target population. This is done through over-emphasizing an issue on social media. Social media has become a good tool for agenda-setting since it is now accessed by the majority of individuals who can influence others.

⁷ Kim, S.T., & Lee, "New functions of Internet mediated agenda-setting: Agenda –rippling and reversed agenda-setting: (Korean Journal of Journalism and Communication Studies, 2006)

⁸ Lyengar, S; Kinder, D, News that matter: (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987)

⁹ Dealing J; Rogers, E., Agenda-setting research: Where has it been, where is it going?. (Communication Yearbook 11, 1986)

1.5.2 Empirical Review

This section will provide the relevant empirical literature as per the study's objectives.

1.5.2.1 The traditional role of media in conflict resolution

Most media analysts claim that since World War II, mass media has been increasingly used as a channel for public diplomacy, which has overhauled the substance of diplomacy. This has expanded the job of the media to include being a tool for international conflict resolution and diplomacy. The media has undergone tremendous transformation in the past decades and the parallel change in the dynamics of the international arena, thus ultimately bringing about alternative and new roles for media in international conflicts. Technological advancements have indeed continued to shape the impact of media in armed conflicts.

The coverage of media on a specific conflict can either lead to two things; escalation of the violence because the journalists decide to employ war journalism, or de-escalation of conflict after promoting peace journalism. Journalists usually incorporate facts with the views from opposing sides just to allow them to put forward their narratives. By focusing on casualties and who won over whom, the media oils war machines and makes conflict parties widen their animosity. On the other hand, by focusing on efforts to resolve the conflict while keeping a keen eye on the destruction that resulted from the war, media brings opposing sides closer to each other thus initiating dialogue and ultimately peace. This kind of journalism promotes positive considerations among rival parties through appreciating opposing viewpoints.

Most armed clashes take place within the borders of states and are usually between government troops and rebel groups. In this scenario, every side targets to win the support of the masses, in other words, the heart and the mind of the ordinary citizens. In most cases, the state is financially and militarily superior to the non-state actors, thus the latter strives to play the victim and

influence the perception of the population mainly through media. Thus media outlets became a handy tool in this digital era. Chapter 14 of the Media and Culture¹⁰ journal posits that over-dependence on news outlets without checking the self-interest of individual journalists can make media and its practitioners considered as players in conflicts, increasing the overall parties to a given conflict.

In conflict-torn nations, the media often plays a pivotal role in developing and propagating both promoting and inciting/alarms factors related to both internal and external problems or threats confronting the country. Terzis, Melone, and Belli contend that the media will exacerbate tensions by failing to portray pluralism in social and political institutions.¹¹ This may be accomplished by serving as a mouthpiece for ethnic power circles in order to contribute to the formation of an educated citizenry within a society. As a result, she argued that intentional manipulation of news media for specific reasons quickly exacerbates tensions between opposing factions and serves as a significant catalyst for violent conflicts. However, this report did not investigate how the media might affect human factors.

There have been several occasions where conflict arose between states on account of resources held within an area of interest. The US-UN relations were, for instance, rocked heavily by the Iraq War between 2003 to 2011 when the UN Security Council held back on endorsing the invasion and occupation of Iraq by the US and the UK in 2006. The US went to war with Iraq in the skewed belief that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. Dominic McGoldrick¹², in his book on 9/11 says the Iraq war prompted the UN, to try to establish authority and authority of the

¹⁰ Media and Culture: News Media and Ethics (<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/suny-massmedia/chapter/14-3-news-media-and-ethics/> accessed April 11, 2021)

¹¹ Melone, S.D. and Terzis, G. and Beleli, O. (2002): Using the Media for Conflict Transformation: The Common Ground Experience. In: Berghof Handbook for Conflict Transformation, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin, pp 1-15.

¹²McGoldrick Dominic, (2004) From '9-11' to the 'Iraq War 2003': International Law in an Age of Complexity

UNSC with states continually emphasizing on the importance of the SC's response on the Iraq issue and its overall impact on the future of the UN and the world order.

1.5.2.2 The emerging role of media in conflict resolution

A huge chunk of the literature focusing on media and conflict management indicates that journalists play a major role as actors – whether positive or negative – in conflicts. Scholars of peace are convinced that if the media decides, it can play a crucial role in resolving tensions and building peace.

The UN-Habitat, in its 2019 report¹³, places land as one of the leading sources of competition and conflict among countries as they grapple with the effects of factors like global warming, urbanization, population growth, and even food security. Land as a shared resource is usually at the centre of the conflict as it remains the basic factor of production. Be it on a global, regional, state, or community level, land, and the need to control the resources therein always come smack in the middle of most conflicts.

The world currently has an estimated 512 maritime boundaries, which oftentimes forms the basis of disputes between states as the shared resource sways the dynamics for either country. There have been several reported maritime disputes, including those in the East and South China seas.

In media discussions, conflicts and peaceful coexistence hold the same position because reporting on violence can also mean finding another productive solution to the conflict. Goodhand and Hulme characterize the conflict as a struggle between entities over a variety of

¹³UN-Habitat (2019) Guidance note of the Secretary-General: The United Nations and land and conflict

issues such as principles, assertions, ranks, authority, and minimum resources, where the interests of the various parties are often at odds with those of the others.¹⁴

As the controversy rages about whether or not the media perpetuates disputes, few communication analysts and academics argue that the media, as an effective medium, should also be used to resolve unending conflicts. In the case of a volatile situation, Kuusik believes on the strengthening of the interaction between the Media and the audience's as this will prevent and/or minimize foreseen and unexpected conflicts. Unfortunately, when tensions escalate, contact is a critical factor, and the media is needed to keep people informed at all times.¹⁵

The dissemination of information is critical because a lack of it causes people to be antsy, anxious, and vulnerable to manipulation. With good media coverage, people from conflict-affected areas are forced to make prudent and knowledgeable choices that are critical to the strengthening of their communities. Regardless of the situation of a conflict, good media coverage can be useful in strengthening the prosperity of the nation where it operates, solidifying the nation's democracy, and allowing people to maintain a positive outlook for the future amid the acrimony that bedevils them at the time. As a result, while operating during these volatile times, the media is encouraged to fearlessly provide information since the audience will undoubtedly want communication on potential difficult scenarios and how to overcome such problems throughout these conflicts. A number of International as well as non-governmental organizations frequently arrive in conflict-affected areas to give support and humanitarian aid. Most of these groups require assistance from the media establishments in order to contain the

¹⁴ Goodhand and Hulme (1999): Journal article in *Third World Quarterly From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflict and Peace-Building in the New World Disorder* (Journal article in *Third World Quarterly* <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3993180?seq=1> accessed April 12, 2021)

¹⁵ Kuusik, N. (2010): *The Role of the Media in Peace Building, Conflict Management, and Prevention* (<https://www.e-ir.info/2010/08/28/the-role-of-media-in-peace-building-conflict-management-and-prevention/> accessed April 10, 2021)

problem. According to Himelfar and Chabalowski, the media has the potential to make vital contributions to peace initiatives by disseminating information and acting as a watchdog. Given that numerous questions about how the media might achieve these are certain to occur, it is worth noting that the media may achieve this by efficiently broadcasting information centred on peace and cohesiveness, as well as fostering good dialogues, thoughts, and comments from citizens.¹⁶

Wolsfeld notes that media has the ability to deliver engaging programs while also eliciting favourable feedback from their audience. As a result, the media urgently needs to desist from disseminating war-related information and instead to broadcast many peacebuilding programs prior to and throughout the war period. Media scholars and researchers, public opinions and viewpoints, and observers have always accused both local and international media and journalists of having, at best; put oil on fire, at worst, fomenting the conflict. With regard to this issue, a lot of studies have been undertaken to seek to understand how they are affected through their report on conflict management. The role of media in conflict management continues to evolve, as it requires a more comprehensive and general understanding of these aspects of conflict management. According to the study, understanding the influence of media reporting on conflict necessitates the development of a new paradigm that reflects the multilayer and hybrid media environments of current conflicts. The role of media and the dynamics of geopolitical conflicts is a complicated and important problem. The media is also regarded as an independent actor who exerts pressure for action on topics it thinks important or appropriate. Therefore, it is important to develop this knowledge because the dynamics of political and media conflicts, which are closely related, make different regions with both opportunities and consequences.

¹⁶ Sheldon Himelfarb, S. and Chabalowski, M. (2008): *Media, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: Mapping the Edges*

Unfortunately, when relevant experiments and research continue to develop and occur, the current view on the subject is still being planned. Therefore, this study consistently aims to research, identify and properly address the adverse impact at a comparative level between the local and international media because they result in many hindrances that would help to know their impact at the individual level. This study helps shed light towards that aim, by investigating how the media in its reporting influences (positively and negatively) conflict resolution.

Adeyinka, Buhari, Oluwafemi in their journal article¹⁷ bring forth two prerequisites to conflict resolution: the conflicting parties must have faith in the resolving tribunal, and each party must tell the whole truth from its side of the conflict. The dispute tribunal consisted of either a council of elders, chiefs, age set (peers), priestesses, priests, etc, and was trusted to deliver a fair verdict at the end of the hearing.

1.5.2.3 The actual role played by Media in Conflict resolution

More recently and closer home, the Kenya-Somalia boundary dispute has rocked the airwaves and kept the two countries on a tense standoff. According to the HORN Institute (2019) report¹⁸, both Kenya and Somalia both assert territorial control over the exact same 10,000-square-kilometer maritime zone in the Indian Ocean. Kenya's claim to the sea region is founded on the theory of parallel of latitude or straight-line boundary delimitation, which leads in an eastward-running border south of Kiunga. Somalia, in its submission, claims the territory based on the premise of equidistance which results in a boundary going south-eastward. Somalia, in 2014, sought higher jurisdiction to resolve the matter when it filed a case at the International Court of

¹⁷Adeyinka, A; Oluwafemi, L. and Buhari T. (2014): Methods of Conflict Resolution in African Traditional Society

¹⁸HORN Institute (2019) Maritime border challenges and implications on security: The Kenya-Somalia dispute in perspective

Justice (ICJ). The ICJ is yet to make a ruling on the matter and all eyes are currently trained on it to solve the matter as fast as possible.

In 2014, another dispute punched a dent into the United Nation's dispute resolution mechanisms. Russia and Ukraine had a dispute over ownership of the Crimean Peninsula and in total disregard to the UNSC's stand on the matter, Russia employed military might to annex Crimea. This particular act threw light and raised concerns on the UN's ability to reign in conflicts among states. Zadorozhnii, Oleksandr¹⁹ in his book, *Russian doctrine of international law after the annexation of Crimea: Monograph* decries the gross violation of human rights and international law during this assault.

The methods of conflict resolution have not morphed much over the years. They remain mediation; adjudication; negotiation and reconciliation. Each method, though employing different tactics, is aimed at restoring harmony among the parties in conflict. Some methods, e.g. mediation, employ the use of third parties to deliberate on issues at hand objectively and in a non-coercive way and bring the conflict to a favourable solution. Adjudication involved bringing the conflicting sides together in a meeting where the family heads or clan heads would be present and hear both sides out and make a decision. While solving conflict through negotiation, the concerns, and interests of both parties are considered in the final decision. Among the Yorubas, for instance, Olaoba (2005)²⁰ says a formal apology was also made through the clan elders to seal the deal, signifying the end of the standoff between the warring parties. Reconciliation is almost always the last stage of conflict resolution regardless of the method used to resolve it. It means restoration of the previous status quo to assure harmony.

¹⁹Zadorozhnii, Oleksandr (2014): *Russian doctrine of international law after the annexation of Crimea: Monograph*

²⁰Olaoba, O.B. (2005): *Ancestral Focus and the process of conflict resolution in Traditional African societies*

1.6 Literature Gap

The aim of this study is to help fill current gaps in the study of the role of the media as an institution for conflict resolution. There seems to be deficient literature around the Emerging roles of the media especially because the nature of conflict and the media coverage platforms are also evolving. There is also little literature around technology and its impact on coverage of issues which would have shone a lot of light on how the role of media is affected while covering present-day conflict and attempts at its resolution.

1.7 Justification for the Study

The media is regarded as the fourth pillar of society since it plays a significant influence in moulding people's perceptions and lives. The media is ranked 4th after the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. Through education, News, and entertainment, the media impacts every aspect of our lives (thoughts, attitudes, choices, lifestyles, decision making, and so on). Given this critical role, the media might be utilized as a tool for conflict transformation and peacebuilding by providing objective reporting and peace – centred journalism. However, the media may be exploited to incite conflict. Subjective reporting, for example, has the potential to polarize a nation hence fostering or exacerbating conflicts. As a result, this research focuses on a deep understanding of how the media escalates conflicts and/or promotes peace by concentrating on key human elements with reference to the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute.

1.7.1 Policy Justification

Conflict resolution remains an important topic not only for studies but also for policymakers. This is because the impact of conflict can be devastating. In the case of the Kenya- Somalia Maritime dispute, the conflict has held to strained relations among the two countries that were

close allies. Therefore, the findings of this study will be used in the formulation of media best practice policies on covering conflict resolution processes.

1.7.2 Academic Justification

The findings of this study will be important to academicians since they will influence future studies in the area of not just maritime dispute resolutions but general conflict resolution with the role of media as the reference point. It will also equip scholars in the media field to adopt best practices when covering conflict resolution.

1.7.3 To the general public

The general public is usually the target audience of media coverage during conflict resolution. This study will inform them on what to expect from media during times of crisis and when to decry negative media representation during conflict resolution.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This research study will be based on the Social Responsibility Theory and the Agenda Setting Theory.

Sierbert, Peterson and Scharmm officially developed the concept of Social responsibility in 1956. Social Responsibility is an ethical principle that guides all activity, whether in the media or in any other agency that has an obligation of any kind to the community, population, culture, and economy. To this end, the media should not injure but rather lay more emphasis on environmental and socio-cultural aspects related to the place economy. The theory advocates for the freedom of the media that is devoid of censorship, but it should be controlled in accordance with social responsibility and external regulations. Public duty and intervention are both used to filter content. The right to free speech must be weighed against the privacy rights of others and

the vital interests of society. Private owners should publish in accordance with ethical standards and in a respectful manner. The theory established guiding lines that the media could obey in order to meet the requirements of a democratic society, claiming that the media should self-regulate by adhering to different percepts such as high standards of professionalism, truth, and accuracy.²¹

The social responsibility theory is relevant to the study in that the media has a social responsibility to the community. Peterson and Schramm insist that conflict has devastating impacts hence the media has the social responsibility to ensure that their coverage of the conflict is aimed towards addressing the conflict. Positive media coverage of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime will lead to successful conflict resolution.

The Social Responsibility Theory, despite stating that the media has a social responsibility, does not explain how the media can lead to conflict resolution. This is where the Agenda-setting theory comes in. Agenda Setting Theory sheds light on the media's power to control a variety of issues on the national agenda. The fundamental premise of agenda-setting theory is that if a new item is discussed regularly and extensively, audiences are more likely to consider it more relevant. The agenda setting theory was formalized by Dr Max McCombs along with Dr Donald Shaw during the presidential elections of 1968. By comparing the substance of the public's views of the most critical election topic, McCombs and Shaw were able to ascertain just how far the media influences public opinion.²² The theory of agenda-setting is further discussed in Walter Lippmann's 1992 book *The Public Opinion*. According to Lippmann, the media plays an important part in forming images in our heads and memories; he writes that the audience

²¹ Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. *Four theories of the press*, Chicago., op cit.

²² Kim, S.T., & Lee, "New functions of Internet mediated agenda-setting: Agenda –rippling and reversed agenda-setting: (Korean Journal of Journalism and Communication Studies, 2006)

responds to the picture of the real incident in our mind rather than the actual event itself. As a result, the media serves as a vital link between global affairs and public perceptions of such events.²³

Agenda setting normally occurs to what Lippmann refers to as accessibility. Accessibility is created by how frequently and prominently an issue is covered in Media. The more an issue is covered the more it becomes regular in the audience's memories.²⁴ Hence when an individual is asked what problem the country faces, the answer provided will be the from the most frequent news item in memory which is what the media focused on most. In this sense, agenda-setting cannot be achieved by just receiving a few messages but a large amount of messages. This is the concept that diplomats have used in dealing with social media. Where they use agenda-setting concepts to reach the target population. This is done through over-emphasizing an issue on social media. Social media has become a good tool for agenda-setting since it is now accessed by the majority of individuals who can influence others. The media can set the agenda for conflict resolution in the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute.

1.9 Study Hypotheses

- i. The use of Media has positively impacted conflict resolution.
- ii. Positive media coverage of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime will lead to successful conflict resolution.
- iii. Biased media coverage negatively impacted the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute

²³ Lyengar, S; Kinder, D, News that matter: (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987)

²⁴ Dealing J; Rogers, E., Agenda-setting research: Where has it been, where is it going?. (Communication Yearbook 11, 1986)

1.10 Research Methodology

In this section, the study will explain the methodology that will be used to analyze the role of media in conflict resolution.

1.10.1 Study design

This study will adopt the mixed-method design of data collection and make use of both qualitative and quantitative data at the same time. This will ensure data gathered is adequate for a comprehensive analysis and final authoritative conclusion. Comparing data from both sources will ensure an unbiased angle to the research results and enhance my general overview of the subject under study. The study will employ a descriptive case study research design since the study intends to establish the role of the media in international conflict management.

1.10.2 Study Site

The area of focus is situated in the horn of Africa region. The focus will be Kenya and Somalia. The area in contention in the maritime border dispute is in the Indian Ocean, a triangular-shaped section measuring approximately 100,000 square kilometers. The area is located West of Lamu, Kenya, and North of Mogadishu, Somalia. Both countries' claims to the area are due to differences in boundary delimitation between Kenya and Somalia.



Figure 1.1: Map of Kenya and Somalia showing the area under Maritime Dispute

1.10.3 Target Population

The target population that this study will focus on includes media practitioners from both Kenya and Somalia, policymakers from both Kenya and Somalia, officials from the African Union, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya, and the Embassy of Somalia in Kenya. It will also include independent observers from both countries who are an authority in conflict resolution along with experts in international relations.

1.10.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

The study will employ purposive sampling approaches. Purposive sampling will be used in identifying media houses. The population of the study will consist of 5 major television stations, 5 major newspaper printers, and officials from the Ministry of foreign affairs for both countries.

By employing the purposive sampling method, the study will examine over 20% of the media coverage, together with international media outlets like Al-Jazeera, Reuters, BBC, and CNN.

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003)²⁵ advise a formula for use when the target population is less than 10,000. This study will adopt the same formula to determine the desired size of the study sample:

$$n_f = n = 1 + n/N$$

Where n_f is the required sample size

n denotes the intended sample size

N denotes the population size estimate.

The sample size is 76 respondents.

| Target Sample | Sample size | |
|---|-------------|---------|
| | Kenya | Somalia |
| Media practioners | 10 | 10 |
| Policy makers/ Experts | 10 | 10 |
| Officials from African Union | 5 | 5 |
| Officals from the Ministry of foreign Affairs (Kenya) and Somalia Embassy | 10 | 10 |
| Independent Observes | 3 | 3 |
| Total | 76 | |

²⁵ Mugenda, O.M. and Mugenda, A.G. (1999): Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

1.10.5 Data collection methods

This study will use both primary and secondary data concentrating on data linked to the role the media plays in conflict resolution and media transformation focusing on the efforts to resolve the conflict. While aiming at gathering as much accurate primary data as possible for this study. The study will use focus group discussions, face-to-face interviews, self - administered questions. The secondary data will be gathered from document/literature reviews, books, articles, journals, magazines, websites/blogs, existing studies, and public reports on the Kenya – Somalia Maritime dispute. The study will also rely on primary data in form of interviews with some journalism and security experts who have wide knowledge about the Kenya-Somalia Dispute for key information relating to the impact the media has on the conflict and the challenges it's facing. The secondary data intended to be used will include paper-based sources such as academic journals, books, periodicals, internal records of media organizations, research reports, annual reports, and conference papers.

1.10.6 Validity of data collection instruments

The data collection instruments settled on, the questionnaires and face-to-face interview along with in-depth query into pre-existing coverage of the case study dispute are valid to the data that will be relevant to this study. This is because the information gathered will be current or recently current and therefore directly responding to both the research questions and the hypotheses.

1.10.7 Reliability of data collection instruments

Through triangulation, this study will adopt the mixed-method design of data collection to ensure that all data possible is collected. To boost trustworthiness, the design the data collection instruments will be characterised with explicit, logical, and inclusive questions. The information

regarding the specific tool will also be inspected, cross-checked and scrutinized to make sure that it gives accurate and consistent results.

1.10.8 Data Analysis and presentation

The study findings will be presented in the second, third, and fourth chapters after which qualitative and quantitative approaches will be applied during its analysis. This will be in the form of reports, tables, maps, pie charts, and any other methods of data presentation that will be relevant at the point of submission. Thereafter, conclusions and recommendations based on research findings will be presented.

1.10.9 Ethical Considerations

While conducting the research, the confidentiality of the respondents' information will be ensured. The respondents will also be advised on the objective of the study. No human rights will be abused or overlooked while conducting this study. While conducting the study, the questionnaire will be efficiently administered to the respondents. They will be made aware of the intention of the study and afterward their approval will be achieved assuring them that the information they give out will be confidential. For purposes of anonymity, the respondents will not write down their names on the questionnaire. The researcher and the supervisor are the only people to access that information.

1.10.10 Scope and Limitation of the study

The study covers the role of media in the resolution of international conflict management and especially within the area specified. The study anticipates limitations in terms of the data collection in the form of the sensitivity of the information. The dispute is before the international court hence some information is sensitive. To overcome this, the study will first assure the

respondents of the confidentiality of the information given that it will be used for academic purposes only.

The study may also be limited due to the global pandemic Covid-19 which has led to restrictions that limit free movement and free interactions. The study will also explore internet-based data collection methods like the google-forms as opposed to physical/ face-to-face options.

1.10.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: The introduction chapter gives background information on how the media transforms conflicts. It also contains the research problem, research questions objectives, study hypotheses, justification. Moreover, this chapter presents the relevance of media to conflict, literature review, theoretical framework as well as the methodology used in this study.

Chapter 2: This chapter will do an in-depth study combing through the yesteryears on the traditional role of media in conflict resolution. It will follow through with traditional conflicts and show how the traditional role that the media played in the resolution of these conflicts.

Chapter 3: This chapter will determine the emerging roles of media in conflict resolution. By observing the advent of emerging media and the evolving nature of conflict, this Chapter will burrow deep and find out how the media has (or is) adjusted to its mutating role in event of conflict resolution.

Chapter 4: This chapter will seek to establish the actual role(s) played by the media in the resolution of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute. It will look into the coverage, the thought leadership and shaping, and the use of information to influence issues in event of resolution of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute.

Chapter 5: This chapter will contain the conclusion, recommendation, and suggestions for further study with regard to the role of the media in International Conflict Resolution.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRADITIONAL ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

2.0 Introduction

Since time immemorial, the media has played a crucial role in conflict resolution. In any conflict or dispute, the media can play two opposing and opposed roles: it either participates actively and aids the course and escalation of the dispute; or it remains neutral in its coverage of the conflict, therefore helping to avert violence and arrive at amicable levels of resolution for the conflict. The growing recognition of the great influence the media has in times of conflict creates a need to establish how the media can play a constructive role in resolving conflict. This chapter will explore the traditional role of the media as a backdrop to the current and, later, future (emerging) roles of the media.

This Chapter will examine the traditional role played by the media in resolution of international conflict. It will also specifically shine a light on the three major instances of international conflict where media stepped forward to play a multi-faceted role in either aiding or abating the conflict and its resolution. These three instances are: World War 1, World War 2, and the Cold War.

2.1 The traditional role of the media in conflict resolution

2.1.1 The Media in disseminating information during a conflict

The primary role of the media is to pass information to the masses. In event of a conflict, the media updates the masses on the goings on of the conflict right from when it breaks out through to when it is resolved. In event of a conflict, information is important because it governs the

process of decision making for all parties, without which there would be a major communication breakdown with adverse results.²⁶

While covering an international conflict, the media wields a powerful weapon, as the information delivered can either aid or abate the process of resolving the conflict. Mass media has become so critical in information dissemination.²⁷

To begin with, television has long been regarded as not only a vital source of information for the general public, but as being one of the most influential instruments of mass information. In 1950, only 9% of American households had a TV. By 1966, the percentage had risen to 93%. Around this time, the Vietnam War was at its peak, with the US military playing centre stage. With no military restrictions in place, journalists were free to follow the forces into battle and publish their findings. As journalists witnessed the harsher side of the warfare first-hand, they used more gruesome photos to convey their findings to the public.²⁸ Troops who were interviewed revealed their dissatisfaction with the conflict's status, which was a stark contrast to the government news progress reports on the war. By March 1967, 9 out of 10 households were watching evening news which was dedicated to the conflict, and around 50 million individuals were watching television news and also reading newspapers every evening. The disparity in the information published by the two sources (US government vs mainstream media) was not appreciated by a big chunk of the US population. As a response, public and congressional support for the United States' foreign policy dwindled. In this way, the media's

²⁶ Gowing, N. (2014). Real-Time Coverage of Armed Conflicts and Diplomatic Crises: Does it Pressure or Distort Foreign Policy Decisions? US Security - Working Paper 94-1

²⁷ Gilboa, E. (2002). *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making policies, shaping opinions*. NY, Ardsley: Transitional Publishers Inc.

²⁸ Deutsche Welle – Global Media Forum (2008) *Media in Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention*. p.15

persuasive power in forming opinions and influencing decisions through disseminating information comes out strongly, as well as its role as a mediator in the conflict.²⁹

Accurate reporting and assessment are required to avoid a crisis from evolving into an arms race or resulting in a cease-fire. Coverage and analysis ought to be adequately probing, penetrating, and in-depth to ensure authoritative historical and sociological research is used to guide interpretation. The article argues that supplement to facts and statistics, this interpretation gives data on the importance of occurrences. Without accuracy, the media can easily pass on the wrong information as was witnessed in the Truman case as reported by the Chicago Tribune.³⁰ Interpretative remarks and viewpoints give readers a different viewpoint on the story of the occurrence, particularly articles that can evaluate the origins of an occurrence, helping in the resolution of any ambiguity that may present. The listener is thus exposed to a vast variety of various viewpoints that he would not otherwise be introduced to through human contact, allowing him to analyze all perspectives before reaching a conclusion. The media also creates a wide spectrum of expertise and knowledge available to the people who don't have the ability to access it via interpersonal communication, allowing them to absorb the opinions of experts and change their positions. Since the media has such a strong impact on people, agreement on a topic can be quickly obtained by focusing on the problem and how to address it.³¹

Ignorance of either of the conflicting parties breeds restlessness and rash decisions. To add to that, ignorant people are easy to convince. Informed decisions are supposed to be made based on factual evidence. Informed decision-making is a driving force towards the growth and

²⁹ Electoral Reform International Services. (2011). Broadcasting a peaceful future. London.: 6 Chancel Street Press.

³⁰ Dewey defeats Truman: The most famous wrong call in electoral history (<https://www.chicagotribune.com/featured/sns-dewey-defeats-truman-1942-20201031-5kkw5lpdavejpf4mx5k2pr7trm-story.html>) accessed 05/07/2021

³¹ Etyan Gibboa. (2009), Media and conflict resolution. A framework for analysis.

development of a nation. The United Nations argues that media channels should be left to conduct their activities freely in the country.³² The role of media channels in offering citizens accurate information is vital for peace and tranquillity in the country. Moreover, citizens have the right to credible information from media channels.³³ The media channels come in to play a critical role in justifying issues in society.³⁴ The media distributes credible information to the public that gives better insights on conflicting topics.

2.1.2 The Media in exposing the activities of the conflicting parties

In the event of a crisis or conflict, the media can help to draw attention to the happenings especially if it touches on humanitarian issues. The media is ingrained in our daily lives and can therefore come forth as a tool of exposing the reality of a conflict to the world. This will force the conflict parties to act, at the same time it will provoke a reaction from the international communities and other stakeholders. When exposed they feel compelled to act humanely.³⁵

The vast majority of violent confrontations are asymmetric, and many of the conflicts occur across national boundaries. What's crucial to emphasize, especially in relation to the media's significant role, is capturing individuals' "hearts and minds" and establishing peace. Because states are usually always tactically ahead in terms of military, non-state actors rely mostly on psychological warfare, which comprises shaping people's perceptions and feelings, such as using media. As a result, the media aspect is becoming progressively crucial, and it is no

³² United Nations Millenium Declaration (2000)

³³ Westphal, Florian (2004) The Right Information at the Right Time
URL:<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001389/138983e.pdf> page 27-29

³⁴ Koven, Ronald (2004) An Antidote to Hate Speech: Journalism, Pure and Simple

³⁵ Himelfarb, Sheldon and Chabalowski, Megan (2008) *Media, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: Mapping the Edges*. United States Institute for Peace. <http://www.usip.org/resources/media-conflict-prevention-and-peacebuilding-mapping-edges> accessed on 19th July, 2021.

accident that after the ending of the Cold War, the media has evolved and grown in prominence.³⁶

In Africa, the media has been seen to also serve as an important connection in conflict mediation. This is because of its ability to bring together components of a community. Through media, geographically isolated individuals who share similar interests have been joined, just as it has also established entirely new groupings by connecting individuals of society who share comparable interests. The media has been utilized to foster peace by creating a common benefit for the public. A great example is Mega FM which has been actively promoting reconciliation in Northern Uganda since 2001, with great results. Data also implies that the radio station was instrumental in convincing LRA militants to leave the woods³⁷. The LRA hierarchy was also encouraged to tune in to the radio channel and on many occasions attended radio conversations and chat shows and held dialogues with governmental and non - governmental representatives and the countries' executives, according to the report, which was a positive step toward reconciliation. As a result, the media played a key role in promoting peace.³⁸

The conflict in Afghanistan was summed up well in Stoehr's sentiments: "As the faces of the victims and the civilian casualties are exposed to the American people, there will be a steady strengthening of peace feeling and peace activities - exactly what the war machine fears," he says. Stoehr believes that the evolution of the media is beneficial to our country: "Despite Bush and company's efforts to keep the truth away from the American people, bits and pieces of news of civilian fatalities and indications of the actual motive for our participation there are affecting

³⁶ Westphal, Florian (2004) *The Right Information at the Right Time*. URL:<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001389/138983e.pdf> page 27-29

³⁷ UGANDA: Using Community Radio to Heal After Kony's War (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/01/uganda-using-community-radio-to-heal-after-konyrsquos-war/>) accessed July 2, 2021

³⁸ Betz, M.,(2004) Radio as a Peace Builder - A case Study of Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Great Lakes Research Journal.

on the public,” Stoehr said of the beneficial influence of media in Afghanistan. “The coverage of the efforts of the peacekeeping forces is having an effect on public opinion toward the war.³⁹”

2.1.3 The Media as an instrument of peace and platform for debate and opinion sharing

The media offers a platform that enables the conflicting members to agree or disagree, aiding the negotiation of peace when a conflict occurs as was seen in the case of the LRA leader Joseph Kony offensive.⁴⁰

After exposing the activities of conflicting parties, the media can offer a platform for debate and opinion sharing with the aim of abating the conflict. OBN, a television network founded in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996, is the most significant and early purposeful media endeavour to lessen violence. It is still the only television station dedicated to purely promoting peace and cooperation today. The Dayton Peace Agreement, signed in 1995, put more pressure on Serbians, Croatians, and Bosnians to stop a severe war that had been running for three years. This was by establishing a temporary, global governmental body (the Office of the High Representative, OHR) that would oversee peace enforcement.⁴¹ Given that previous evaluations of the Bosnian dispute that misinformation, delivered via tribal TV channels had resulted in the spread of hateful comments that stirred up and sparked the dispute, the Office of the High Representative developed and implemented “unbiased media” to counter persistent misinformation. As an outcome, Open Broadcast Network, a new national television network, was launched. OBN began broadcasting in 1996. It has fostered peace journalism by concentrating on government officials’ attempts to promote peace during times of conflict. It was also the first media platform

³⁹ Gilboa, E. (2002). *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, making policies, shaping opinions*. NY, Ardsley: Transitional Publishers Inc.

⁴⁰ UGANDA: Using Community Radio to Heal After Kony’s War (<http://www.ipsnews.net/2012/01/uganda-using-community-radio-to-heal-after-konyrsquos-war/>) accessed July 2, 2021

⁴¹ Berry, D. (2008) “Journalism, Ethics and Society” pages 75-77, Ashgate Publishing Limited (Farnham)

to implement a variety of programs aimed at fostering cross-national cooperation. The programs offered practical assistance in the areas of forgiveness and repatriation. Other channels featured exact, on-air readings of partisan news releases; footage of parties' theatrical media interviews; and uncensored open letters, something that OBN editors explicitly declined to publish. The news and information branch of OBN set the bar high for professional and ethical broadcasting, escaping several of the pitfalls that war journalism often falls into, while also promoting peaceful reconciliation.⁴²

Similarly, the UN Mission in the Central African Republic founded a new channel called Radio Ndeke Luka (RNL), the radio channel focused on justice and welfare of the community in the country, which is run by the Hirondelle Foundation to promote peaceful co-existence and reconciliation in the country. The channel has been able to foster peacekeeping activities, democracy, and economic growth since its establishment. RNL has focused on problems such as human dignity and basic rights violations, as well as the desire for peaceful co-existence and peace efforts. It has also supported skills courses for Central African Republic reporters and professionals, resulting in the establishment of a training centre providing good influence on the local press.⁴³

2.1.4 The Media in influencing government and international actors

The agenda-setting ability of the media has the ability to influence the government and other actors in addressing conflict. Information and knowledge on conflict remains “useless” if not

⁴² Kiplagat Chebii Z (2010), *The Role Of Media In Conflict Management: The Case Of Electoral Conflict In Uasin Gishu County, Kenya*. BA, Kenyatta University.

⁴³ Koni, D., *African media and conflict*. Retrieved June, 2021, from http://www.cr.org/occ_papers/af_media/

acted upon.⁴⁴ Ideally, the media can easily compel the governing bodies of the conflicting countries to find an amicable solution and shun violence.

Boruc reaffirms the importance of war coverage, noting the media's capacity to deter warmongers and zealous pro-war politicians from dragging the country into their own conflict. He opines that since World War II, the media's war coverage has made it "increasingly difficult for the government and proponents of armed combat to sustain the wave of patriotic enthusiasm that their exploits inspire at the commencement of hostilities". According to Stoehr, the more the press covers the conflict, the more the war facts emerge, counteracting the misinformation that has been so prevalent throughout history.⁴⁵

2.1.5 The Media in highlighting human suffering during international conflict

At the later stages of the Cold War, for instance, the media played a key role in conflict resolution, a role that gave birth to the name the "CNN EFFECT." The US-led humanitarian intervention in Somalia in the 1990s was the consequence of media pressure borne of the frequent media calls for the International community to 'Do something!'. Sir Michael Howard summed up the situation by saying: "Television brings a crisis closer to governors but gives no new ways to address it." The CNN effect, which claims that the media drives Western conflict management by compelling Western governments to act militarily in humanitarian situations against their choice, affected this intervention.⁴⁶

In 1994, Rwanda underwent one of the toughest genocides in history. Approximately 800,000 Tutsis were slaughtered by the Hutu militia. In this conflict, the media played a key role in the

⁴⁴ Westphal, Florian (2004) *The Right Information at the Right Time*. URL:<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001389/138983e.pdf> page 27-29

⁴⁵ Buric, A. (2000). Media, War and peace in Bosnia. In E. David (Ed.), *Regional Media in Conflict* (p. pp 64). London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting.

⁴⁶ Koni, D. (2012). African media and conflict. Retrieved June 18, 2021, from http://www.cr.org/occ_papers/af_media/

conflict resolution efforts. For instance, a national radio station was created during the time in Burundi which closely borders Rwanda to try and foster peace between the Hutus and Tutsis.⁴⁷ The station was named Studio Ijambo which stands for wise words in the Kirundi language. The station was developed to foster peace and tranquillity in Burundi and Africa as a whole. Media, in this case, was used to promote peace in Africa and prevent genocide from ever happening again. Surprisingly, the radio station was developed by an American organization called Search for Common Ground in 1982. Although it is a non-governmental organization, several countries fund its activities. The radio station depicts how the media has been used as a tool for promoting peace in society.⁴⁸

2.1.6 The Media in aiding or abating conflict resolution

Naturally, the media has always been bestowed with disseminating information freely and allowing people a chance to express themselves freely. On the flip side, however, the media has been put on the spot from time to time for not allowing people to have free political participation or to express themselves freely, and, as a result, causing conflict. Without proper control, the numerous media streams that give a platform for discussions towards solution of conflicts could also be used to spread untruths and incite hatred among the people.⁴⁹

Conflict resolution will assist in making sound decisions and contribute to a strong society, foster economic growth, and create firm democratic structures.⁵⁰ In any conflict, the media always has a dual role: on the one hand, reporting and reflecting on current events, and on the other, assisting to challenge established conceptions and ideas. On the flip side, the media can be

⁴⁷ Hagos, A. (2001) Media intervention in peace building in Burundi-The Studio Ijambo experience and impact. Retrieved June 20, 2021 from www.usaid.gov/regions/afr/conflictweb/pbp_report/case6.pdf

⁴⁸ Radio Netherlands (2004). Peace Radio: Burundi. Retrieved June 29, 2021 from <http://www.rnw.nl/realradio/dossiers/html/burundi-p.html>

⁴⁹ Thomson, O. (1997). Mass persuasion in history. New York: Crane-Russak & Company Press.

⁵⁰ Hallin, D. C. (1986). The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam. London: University of California press.

misused for propagandist reasons, attempting to conceal information rather than disclosing it, (therefore violating people's right to information) or even publishing partisan information to sway the audience towards one side of the conflict. This was especially witnessed around the time when the Open Broadcast Network(OBN) was started. Other channels featured exact, on-air readings of partisan news releases; footage of parties' theatrical media interviews; and uncensored open letters, something that OBN editors explicitly declined to publish. Regardless, the media's potential in war and post-conflict circumstances is a net positive that has been severely underused up until now.⁵¹

2.2 Case studies

2.2.1 The Media in the World Wars

As old as conflict is, propaganda has been used to fuel international wars and disagreements. This technique for initiating war was widely prevalent during the twentieth century. Countries involved in World War 1 greatly employed this strategy to win the war. They formed alliances with other European nations to increase their forces and territories.⁵² To coordinate the large troops, a clear line of communication had to be created. Each of the warring factions invested heavily in the media to serve three main purposes: Army commanders used media channels to relay commands to the troops; To aid in formation of alliances with other countries; and lastly, to initiate war and conflicts through spreading propaganda. Propaganda as a weapon was also put to good use during the Gulf War.⁵³

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² Chretien, S., Spurk, L., & Christopher, J. (1995). *Media and Peacebuilding, Concepts, Actors and Challenges*. KOFF: SwissPeace.

⁵³ Hallin, D. C. (1986). *The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam*. London: University of California press .

Conflicting countries have used propaganda to manipulate the perception and viewpoint of the general public, to reduce the influence their rivals have on the public, and incite revolts against a strong enemy. Countries use propaganda to legitimise any unethical actions committed in the name of war. Propaganda is also used as a strong arsenal for some countries to plead for support and sympathy from other countries or international (aid) organizations. The significance of propaganda as a tool of war is said to be as important as the soldiers on the ground.

According to Edward Bernays, countries understood why it was important to market their objectives and standards. Since propaganda worked effectively in past wars, national governments and economic institutions ventured into the creation of propaganda. Germany, Britain, and the United States are examples of countries that invested heavily in developing propaganda. Germany and Britain developed propaganda for two reasons. The propaganda was used to garner the support of their citizens towards war and justified the cause of them venturing into the war. On the other hand, propaganda was also used to demoralize the rivals and incite uprisings against stronger enemies. Britain and Germany supplied pamphlets using airplanes to disseminate initiatives of World War I.⁵⁴ Additionally, the two countries used films, books, and symbolic emblems to spread inciting information to the masses. The countries communicated with the United States in a bid to ally. The United States provided a platform for propaganda wars in the 20th century. The United States itself used propaganda to gain the support of its citizens who were reluctant to support its cause in the war. The US additionally used propaganda to incite other countries to fight its enemies.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Kingsbury, C.M., 2010. For Home and Country: World War I Propaganda on the Home Front. University of Nebraska Press, London

⁵⁵ Dijk, V. (1997). The Tamil Panic in the Press. In News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press (pp. 215-254). Erlbaum, New Jersey: Hillsdale.

Despite being used to spread propaganda during World War I, the media was used positively to attract international attention towards World War I. This helped in the international efforts towards ending World War I. In the event of a crisis or war, the media can help to catch the attention and inspire a reaction from concerned parties around the world.

2.2.2 The Media during the Cold War

The Cold War took place between 1947 and 1991. The main forms of media during the cold war were films, radios, print, and television. Traditional media were expensive since the equipment was few and very costly. The media during that period was also dominated by the state as the private sector had yet to invest in the media industry.⁵⁶

During the second half of the 20th century, audio-visual media such as TVs were beginning to increase their market share. Many people were shifting from traditional print media to modern audio-visual media. The shift caused media to shift from being a state tool to being a liberal and independent industry. Private investors began to venture into the media industry.

The media influenced the initiation and sustainability of the cold war in the 20th century. The United States used media to spread its capitalistic idea and theories. Russia's propaganda did not aim to incite any wars; instead, the country invested in surveillance and monitoring of the enemies' activities. Other European nations however spread propaganda to their citizens and rival countries for various reasons.⁵⁷

The use of media to spread a country's political stand can be traced back to slightly before the commencement of the Cold War. During that time, media platforms and the information aired were controlled by the country's defence departments. The defence department tailored the

⁵⁶ Koni, D. (2012). African media and conflict. Retrieved June 18, 2021, from /

⁵⁷ Metzl, J. (1997). Information intervention: When switching channels isn't enough. *US Foreign Affairs* , 76 (6),.

information aired to gain the support of their citizens for engaging in war. Initially, media was used to encourage soldiers of World War 2 to strategize and return to the war for the nation's sake. Countries in Western Europe used their media platforms to defend and spread their ideas and interests to their citizens and allies while Russia used media to safeguard its interests. The media action eventually fuelled the commencement of the Cold War between the two parties while rallying the nations to gunner support from their citizens.⁵⁸

During the early days of the Cold War, the media was used to increase fear among the citizens. The United States partnered with other countries against Russia. The western countries used the media, particularly propaganda, to increase the fear of imminent attacks by the rival soviet nation using tactics dubbed 'The Red Scare programs'. The US government used print media embedded with inciting information to portray themselves as an innocent nation that was under attack by Russians.⁵⁹ The propaganda spread by the government sustained the cold war. 'Better dead than red' is an example of a slogan that was used to incite the American citizens into supporting their nations' activities.⁶⁰ The United States government intended to rally its citizens and allies into criticizing the communist theory and nuclear capabilities of Russia. The strategy worked since it reduced the sympathy Americans had towards Russia. The US could therefore perform its activities more openly as it had the support of its citizens.

During the Cold War period, not many had access to media equipment. At that time radio, newspaper and television were the most widely used forms of media. Despite this, the media played a more positive role in managing various conflicts, unlike the case during World War I. For instance, during the Vietnam war due to the absence of military restrictions, journalists were

⁵⁸ *ibid*

⁵⁹ Schecter, D., 2003. *Media Wars: News at a Time of Terror*. Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham.

⁶⁰ Sproule, M.J., 2007. *Propaganda and Democracy: The American Experience of Media and Mass Persuasion*. Cambridge University Press, UK.

free to follow the soldiers into battle and report on their findings. As journalists witnessed harsher combat situations, they broadcast increasingly gruesome photos to the public, and for the first time, interviewed troops revealed their dissatisfaction with the war's development, which was contrary to their initial expectations.

In the 1960s, much of the evening news was devoted to the conflict, and millions of people watched television news and read newspapers every night. Media has long been regarded as the most significant source of information for the general public. This revolution which mainly happened in the cold war era shaped how conflict resolution was conducted. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, there has been a widespread perception that media coverage, particularly television, has had a greater impact on Western conflict management.⁶¹

2.2.3 The Media in Post-Cold War conflict resolution

The post-Cold War era was characterized by the increased role of media in conflict resolution.

Larry Minear and Collin Scott are activists who critique civil wars and push for the enhancement of humanitarian rights. The activists describe the impact media has on war and conflict as the crisis triangle. The crisis triangle is made up of media platforms, governments, and social organizations that fight for human rights. The three parties involved in the crisis triangle dictate how the international community reacts to international conflicts and the readiness to intervene. Social organizations developed to fight for human rights rely on media platforms to gain insights into the well-being of the citizens. Additionally, the organizations use media to pressure the governments to implement and foster human rights in society. The role of the social

⁶¹ Dijk, V. (1997). The Tamil Panic in the Press. In *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press* (pp. 215-254). Erlbaum, New Jersey: Hillsdale.

organization is evident in the missions of Iraq in 1991.⁶² The United States intervened in the Iraq wars to safeguard the rights of the oppressed Kurds of Iraq. The US partnered with Iraq's local troops to ensure the humanitarian rights of the oppressed victims were upheld. Information concerning the wellbeing of the Kurds in Iraq captured the attention of the international community thanks to media platforms such as televisions. Media platforms depicted how Kurds lacked food and other basic amenities. The scenes triggered sympathy from the international community forcing the American government to intervene.⁶³ Paul Wolfowitz who was the secretary of defense at the time highlighted how the bizarre images and videos fuel the need to intervene in Iraq to help the Kurds. In this way, the media played a crucial role in upholding humanitarian rights.⁶⁴

The issue of media platforms covering foreign conflicts has spiked the debate over the ethics of such activities.⁶⁵ In his book 'How far should we go?', Martin Bell points out the issue of bystanders and attacked journalists. Bell argues that bystander journalists usually cover international stories only if they involve social ills such as war when trying to identify the military tactics used in a foreign country. Attached journalists on the other hand cover war stories to identify the cause of the war and the affected parties. He also adds that attached journalists care about the stories they cover since they affect them directly.⁶⁶

Amanpour and Vulliamy, however, pushed for the international community to intervene in the ongoing wars in the Muslim nations. In the war between Palestine and the Israelites, the majority

⁶² Graber, D. A. (2002). *Media Power in Politics*. (2nd, Ed.) New Delhi: Macmillan

⁶³ Price, M. E. & Thompson, M. (eds.) (2002) *Forging peace: Intervention, human rights and the management of media space*. Edinburgh, U.K.: University of Edinburgh Press

⁶⁴ Howard, R. Rolt, F. van de Veen, H. Verhoeven. J. (ed.) (2003) *The Power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilders*. Retrieved from the SFCG Website June 20, 2021 from http://www.xs4all.nl/%7Econflic1/Media_book_nieuw/a_b_contents.htm

⁶⁵ Berry, D. (2008) "Journalism, Ethics and Society" pages 75-77, Ashgate Publishing Limited (Farnham)

⁶⁶ *ibid*

of the European journalists pointed out that Palestine was a victim and pushed for the international community to consider their plight. Media platforms usually side with a particular party or notion during a conflict. There was a heated debate in Bosnia concerning attached journalists and the role they play. David Binder, an editor for the New York Times argued that Martin Bell's theory was incorrect. He added that the work of a journalist is to cover stories from both perspectives and not to choose aside. Mick Hume also strongly rejects the idea of attached journalists. Hume argues that picking a side during a conflict is against all the principles of a journalist, saying that picking a side means the journalists are acting as a judge which is not right. Stephen Ward argued that Martin Bell's theory was unsubstantiated.⁶⁷

Nick Gowing, an editor for BBC, stated that Amanpour and Vulliamy were influenced by Bosnian delegates and that their involvement in the international wars was not warranted. Wilhel Kempf argued that attached journalism is against the rules of journalism. He added that Bosnian government officials were involved in manipulating media content to spread propaganda aimed at benefitting them and their country. Attachment journalism is predominant in Western countries and neglects the news of local media platforms that are directly affected by the conflict. Galtung argues that attachment journalism does not consider all the constraints that influence war and conflict.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Gilboa, E. (2002). *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making policies, sshaping opinions*. NY, Ardsley: Transitional Publishers Inc

⁶⁸ Howard, R. (2003). *The Power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilder*. Utrecht , Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the media's traditional role in the resolution of international conflict was both positive and negative. Whereas the options for media were limited (within print, television and radio), it was easy for each to be exploited by the powers that be and therefore have a negative effect on the process of conflict resolution.

Coming from the former main traditional role of purely disseminating information, the traditional role of the media has grown to even being a voice for the voiceless (direct and defenceless victims of war, for example) and also highlighting the actual undesirable activities in conflict and giving governments the much-needed push towards seeking an amicable solution towards resolving the conflict and ending human suffering.

This chapter followed through the most known international conflicts, i.e. the World War 1, the World War 2 and the Cold War and examined just how the media aided or abated conflict and its resolution. The next chapter will examine the changing face of the media and how its role in international conflict resolution has played out. The information technology revolution from the 1960s to the present along with the ensuing rapid globalization has necessitated a redefining of what we conceive as media and conflict, and created more avenues for the role of media to mutate too.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

3.0 Introduction

Information is power. It plays a crucial role in influencing public discourse. The media has the potential to alter the way people perceive various issues. Globally, various types of media are used to disseminate information. Free mass media is important in every society as it signifies democracy. Free media guarantees freedom of expression, which is a fundamental human right and a key pillar of democracy. For democracy to prevail, individuals should enjoy the freedom of speech, the right to information access, and the representation of varied opinions in a diverse society. Conflict resolution and prevention require effective and free media mandatory for a society seeking transition towards democracy and peace. Unless society has access to all facts relating to a particular conflict, making proper judgements is nearly impossible.

Poor democratic representation coupled with restrictions to free expression can yield conflicts. On the contrary, free and independent media is an avenue that provides platforms for sharing variant opinions. Misuse of the media to spread propaganda and instil hatred among individuals can cause conflicts.⁶⁹ Freedom of media does not entail only the conventional media but also contemporary digital media.⁷⁰ During conflicts, disinformation and misinformation are very dangerous because they can make people opt for desperate measures or be easily manipulated. The ability of a society to make informed decisions is dependent on media freedom and access to information which strengthens society's and enhances economic growth. Therefore, it is essential to guarantee media freedom in their activities and ensure public access to information.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Gadi (2004). *Media and the path to peace*. p.8-10

⁷⁰ Pankowski, Rafal (2007) *How to Understand and Confront Hate Speech*.

⁷¹ United Nations Millenium Declaration (2000)

This chapter will examine the available literature on the emerging roles of media in conflict resolution focusing on the different ways in which media can work towards conflict management and peacebuilding. It will highlight the existing literature gaps in the role of media in conflict management and provides a basis for the steps necessary for conflict resolution specialists engaging in conflict management.

3.1 Background of the role of media in conflict resolution

The relevance of a free and independent plural media has grown of late and how it influences governance. Free media is a source of free access to information for the public, allows dialogue and encourages the public to express their views and opinions, leading to greater political participation and accountability. The advancement in communication technology has significantly changed how conflicts are conducted and their resolution in the current world. People can learn more within a shorter time about major changes in international relations.⁷² Many global news networks have been established that offer live broadcasts worldwide through the internet, providing first-hand information about events as they unfold, thus impacting how they develop and end. Thus, this has led to the general feeling that media plays a major role in influencing conflict management.

The role of the local civilian population in conflict has changed of late, with their needs and perceptions having a significant impact on conflicts and their resolution. With the rapid technological changes in media, the role of information in conflict has changed from simply reporting on-scene developments to shaping the dynamics of the conflict by influencing perceptions and opinions.⁷³ As such, information has become an important means of propagating

⁷² Gilboa, E. (2002). *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making policies, shaping opinions*. NY, Ardsley: Transitional Publishers Inc.

⁷³ Galtung, J. (2004). *Violence, war and their Impact*. Retrieved August 11th, 2021, from Forum for intercultural

warfare used by governments, military and other leaders to spread propaganda and disinformation or for purposes of promoting peace.⁷⁴

The power of the media in warfare and conflict has been witnessed in the American Vietnam war, where television played a significant role in influencing the course and outcome of the war.⁷⁵ Winning a war requires the control of the media, especially the television, to filter what images reach the home front. In Africa, several armed conflicts have been blamed on the media. Most election-related conflicts in Africa are associated with scarcity of resources and social, political and economic disparities. The media has played a role in escalating these factors to cause severe conflicts in Congo, Somalia, Kenya, Rwanda, Eritrea, and Sudan. Of late, the role of media in escalating conflict has been witnessed in the Arab spring conflict that has led to the overthrowing of governments in North African and the Middle East. The same has been seen in Kenya, where the media played a significant role in electoral conflicts. Kenya has a robust, free and competitive media that should champion democracy and effective governance, but this was not the case in the 2007 post-election violence. Instead, the media significantly promoted violence.

Media has been useful in reporting the intensity of conflicts, where they are being fought, the course of the conflicts, and the reasons for fighting. But the most important aspect of the role of media in conflicts; how its influence on people determines conflict needs to be investigated. How media wins the hearts and minds of the people is worth investigating as it influences conflicts.

philosophy: <http://them.polylog.org/5/fgj-en.htm>

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Praeger, N. (1994). *Armed Conflicts and Diplomatic Crises*. Politics and Public Policy, Working Paper 94 (1).

Non- state actors in conflict management involve influencing people's attitudes and perceptions through media.⁷⁶

The media for development approach to conflict resolution in post-Soviet bloc countries gained credibility as it sought to promote free and vibrant media for creating and building peace and civil society in post-conflict countries. This has led to the growth and expansion of media assistance activities with various organizations locally, regionally and internationally working with the media in conflict countries to help resolve the conflicts and restore peace. Such activities include supporting and promoting free and competent media that will sponsor dialogues across diversity in society and promote democracy.

Today, conflicts are dynamic and becoming complex in many aspects. Currently, many deaths due to conflict occur due to internal conflicts rather than interstate conflicts. Also, the relapse rate of conflicts has escalated of late. The complexity of conflicts has made it impossible to resolve them using traditional political approaches. This is due to the emergence of organized crime that aggravates state fragility, the internalization of civil conflicts, and the intensification of violent extremism.⁷⁷

The conflict cycle is a dynamic and complex process that entails various diplomatic processes to maintain peace after the war. The peace efforts also follow a complex cycle involving various processes such as peace negotiations and treaties, preventing conflict relapse, and reconciliation. Thus, media interventions during and after conflicts must be tailored according to the conflict and peace process cycles.

⁷⁶ Price, M., & Thomson, S. (2002). An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding. Retrieved August 11, 2021, from IMPACS: www.impacs.org

⁷⁷ UN-commissioned paper Examining Major Recent Trends in Violent Conflict, 2015. <http://cpr.unu.edu/examining-major-recent-trends-in-violent-conflict.html>

The nature of media is also dynamic and changing so fast, and this shifting has significant implications on the role media plays in conflict and conflict management.⁷⁸ The growth of social media has increased the audience base, changing them to both content creators and consumers. This has given ordinary people the opportunity to voice and be heard, becoming a significant player in conflict resolution.⁷⁹ However, the free expression rendered to social media use is prone to misuse and malice, hence the possibility to ignite conflicts. Thus, there is a need to create awareness that freedom of expression has consequences and a degree of responsibility.⁸⁰ Unlike mass media that is under the control of editors who filter what should be heard, social media is volatile and uncensored, leading to filter bubbles by exposing to the public content that only coincides with their pre-existing beliefs. This causes bias and polarity in public opinion.⁸¹

3.2 Emerging Roles of Media in Conflict Resolution

3.2.1 Media Creates Ground for Dialogue

The media can establish grounds for different parties to come together and discuss issues about their conflict. It is an effective avenue for building new relationships. The media creates understanding and cohesion between parties having diverse views and opinions from each other. It has the potential to represent the marginalized and voice for their needs. For instance, the media in Nepal has managed to bring together people of diverse ethnicity and linguistic origin. Several FM stations and other smaller community radio stations in Nepal have been programmed

⁷⁸ Institute of Development Studies and BBC WST, *The Role of Media in Fragile Situations: A Research Dialogue Across Disciplines*, 2009, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Murthy, D. 2012. "Towards a Sociological Understanding of Social Media: Theorizing Twitter," *Sociology* (46:6), p. 3.

⁸⁰ White, A., (2016), *Media Ethics in a Context of War or Conflict: A discussion paper for International Media Support*, p. 12.

⁸¹ Miranda, S., Young, A., & Yetgine, E., (2016), "Are Social Media Emancipatory or Jeggemonic? Societal effects of mass media digitization in the case of the SOPA discourse", *MIS Quarterly*, vol. 40 (2), p. 304.

and networked to share programmes and news. These stations address issues of ethnicity and linguistic diversity, thus being a source of unity.⁸²

The media is an avenue for promoting dialogue and mediation between conflicting political parties. The media steps in where there are no alternative means to dialogue, especially during conflict and reconciliation after the conflicts. For instance, the media in South Africa played a significant role in reconciling the parties who were not ready to meet and solve their differences. Through the “Peace Café” programme, the media interviewed the parties separately and showed the edited videos to the opposite parties, which led the parties to meet and negotiate directly.⁸³

3.2.2 Media Promotes Peace and Reconciliation

On several occasions, the media has been used to promote peace and reconciliation after conflicts. For instance, the media played a significant role in creating peace in Northern Uganda following years of insecurities caused by the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA).⁸⁴ A radio station in Uganda named Mega FM was at the forefront of creating peace in the region by calling LRA members to come out of the bush and stop fighting. The station occasionally linked the LRA leaders with the government and civil society by providing radio phone-in talks and dialogues, which played a significant part in establishing peace.

In Bosnia, a television network called Open Broadcast Network (OBN) was established to ease conflict in the region. OBN was established as an alternative television network that would replace the biased ethnic television stations that spread propaganda and ethnicity among the

⁸² Coronel, S. (2001). *The Role of the Media in Deepening Democracy.*, p.9. Accessed 13 August 2021 at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UN/UNPAN010194.pdf>

⁸³ <http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/example/mano7476.htm>

⁸⁴ Struges, D. (2007). *Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement.* International Organization, No. 4: 653-681.

Serbs, Bosnians and Croats.⁸⁵ OBN promoted peace journalism through unbiased reporting and advocating for community efforts to promote peace amid the conflict. It set standards for professional reporting and avoided the biased reporting that led to war journalism, and set efforts towards peaceful reconciliation.⁸⁶

Similarly, efforts in the media in Burundi aimed at promoting peace and reconciliation during the ethnic and political conflicts in the region. In 1995, Search for Common Ground (SFCG) established studio Ijambo to foster reconciliation, understanding among the conflicting parties and promote peaceful conflict resolution.⁸⁷ Through its unbiased programmes, it has helped in resolving the conflict by uniting the radio listening community. It employed journalists from diverse ethnic groups and produced competitive high-quality radio programs that played a significant role in supporting reconciliation and dialogue through neutral programs, discussions, dialogues and phone-in conversations.⁸⁸ The station also played a major part in training other radio professionals on capacity building and professional reporting.⁸⁹

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the United Nations mission in the democratic republic of Congo (MONUC) and Hironnelle Foundation, a Swiss non-governmental organization, established Radio Okapi in 2002 to promote peace reconciliation in the conflict-stricken DRC. The station employed local Congolese journalists who broadcasted about the

⁸⁵ Sadkovich, J. (1998). *The U.S. media and Yugoslavia - 1991-1995*. CT: Westport.

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ SFCG. (2004). *Middle East media*. Retrieved August 12th, 2021, from Search for Common Ground: http://www.sfcg.org/programmes/middleeast/middleeast_media.html

⁸⁸ Slachmuisjlder, L., & Nkurunziza, N. (1972). *Radio Isanganiro and Studio Ijambo in Burundi*. Retrieved August 11th, 2021, from http://www.xs4all.nl/~conflic1/Newsletter/Newsletter_6=1.pdf

⁸⁹ Ibid

peace activities of MONUC. It has played a critical role in reunifying the government and the rebels by enlightening the listeners on the peace process.⁹⁰

Similarly, the media has taken significant steps in promoting peace and development in the Central African Republic (CAR). The United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic, in conjunction with Hironnelle Foundation, established Radio Ndeke Luka (RNL) to promote peace and reconciliation in the conflict-stricken CAR. The station has helped the country in healing and reconciliation as well as fostering development and democracy. RNL addressed human rights issues and human rights violations, and initiatives towards peace and reconciliation. In addition, the radio station has undertaken measures to train local journalists and technicians in CAR leading to the establishment of a professional, vibrant and sensitive local media.⁹¹

In South Sudan, the conflict was triggered by unprofessional reporting by the local media. As a result, UNICEF partnered with SFCG to train local media since they were perceived to be the main influencers of the conflict.⁹² The efforts aimed at promoting the media to accommodate diversity in reporting and promote constructive dialogue and discussion towards peace and reconciliation. The local media practitioners were trained on reporting the conflict in a professional and unbiased manner not to trigger more conflicts. The efforts yielded fruits since the majority of media professionals were untrained in war reporting. The training changed media conflict reporting in South Sudan and enhanced effectiveness as it started reporting messages for reconciliation, paving the way for the establishment of peace.

⁹⁰ Betz, M. (2004). Radio as a Peace Builder - A case Study of Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Great Lakers Research Journal, Vol 1.

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² 2016. Sfcg.Org. https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/SFCG_Final-Report_Forcier2016.pdf.

3.2.3 Media Helps Improve Governance

The media can improve governance through impartial, independent, transparent and professional reporting. This serves to hold governments accountable and force them to be more transparent. This allows citizens to take an active role in public activities, understand government policies and apply the impartial information gathered to exercise their human rights. All these play a key role in preventing conflicts. For instance, the media in Latin America played a role in the downfall of Fernando of Brazil, Carlos of Venezuela, Abdala of Ecuador, and Alberto Fujimori by investigating and reporting on their complicity.⁹³

The media in democratic countries that guarantee media freedom acts as a watchdog of power.⁹⁴ As a watchdog, the media promoted government accountability and transparency. This is achieved through revealing corruption and poor administration, and power misuse. Another role of media in governance is acting as a civic forum for political debate and dialogue, thus promoting the public's understanding of political knowledge and efficacy.⁹⁵ The media facilitates discussion between the public and the government, thus connecting the governed and the governors through debates and dialogues about key political issues.⁹⁶ Media that reflects cultural and social diversity promotes the representation of the various opinions in society. Thus, free, competitive and independent media plays a major role in establishing an all-inclusive and impartial public domain, encourages rationality in public opinion, and helps to keep state power in check hence promoting peace and reconciliation.

⁹³ Coroneil, S. (2001). *The Role of the Media in Deepening Democracy.*, p.9. Accessed 13 August 2021 at <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UN/UNPAN010194.pdf>

⁹⁴ de Burgh, H. (2003). Kings without crowns? The re-emergence of investigative journalism in China. *Media, Culture & Society*, 25(6), 801–820. doi:10.1177/0163443703256005

⁹⁵ Dahlgren, P. (1995). *Television and the public sphere: Citizenship, democracy and the media* (Vol. 10). London: Sage.

⁹⁶ Habermas, J. (2006). Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? the impact of normative theory on empirical research. *Communication theory*, 16(4), 411-426

Similarly, the media acts as agenda setters, potentially establishing a national agenda and diverting public attention towards specific important political agendas. The media avails information about various public issues and determines the amount of significance the public should attach to the issues depending on the media's emphasis. In democratic states, the media sets the agenda for the leaders by creating awareness on issues of public concern. In disasters such as conflicts, the media serves as a crucial channel for informing policymakers and pushing the government and other stakeholders to take effective and responsible steps in addressing the conflict. Through agenda setting, the media forces the government to be responsive and effective in addressing political controversies such as political conflicts. Thus, the media promotes good governance by pressing for government transparency and accountability, which reduces power abuse, preventing conflicts since poor governance may cause conflicts.

Media helps the public gain knowledge of complex issues that have the potential to yield conflicts. These include vices such as power abuse, corruption, marginalization, political injustices, and economic disparities. All these can stir violent extremism. Through the media, people can learn, critically think, and hold discussions about these critical issues.

3.2.4 Media Provides Early Warning for Conflicts

The media plays an active role in creating early public awareness on the possibility of conflict emergence. Through providing early signals of potential conflicts, it calls for immediate actions to mitigate the conflicts. For instance, in Sri Lanka, the Foundation for Co-Existence (FCE) established a citizen-based initiative to monitor media and establish appropriate response mechanisms for early conflict warnings. There is a need to develop early warning signals to conflict, especially in Africa, where situations are highly deteriorating due to human rights violations, power struggles, military coups, ethnicity, corruption, and other vices. African states

are highly fragile; hence the media's need to participate in early warning and conflict prevention.⁹⁷

In Kenya, various institutions have initiated the use of innovative ICT in early warning. These include the National Cohesion and Integration Commission and other security agencies that monitor hate speech in the country. Through a web-based conflict prevention initiative called Uwiano, they maintain a digital data collection and analysis system and an SMS system. The information collected is shared with security officials. The Uwiano platform has succeeded in strengthening negotiation and agreement among conflicting communities in Kenya.⁹⁸

3.2.5 Media Acts as a Motivator for Peace

The media can act as a motivator to people calling for action and participation in community activities. It achieves this by shaping people's attitudes and behaviours that, in turn, influence their actions.⁹⁹ For instance, the Kenyan government used social media to motivate people to participate in civic activities and promote transparency and accountability in the 2013 general election. This was achieved through the social media monitoring technology devised by iHub. Through the initiative, Kenyan citizens took an active part in sharing information and peaceful messages via SMS, social media and the internet.¹⁰⁰ A similar case in Nigeria involved integrating conventional media and social media to create public awareness, educate the electorate, and encourage voter participation in the elections. This helped sustain peace and

⁹⁷ Linus Chukwuemeka Okere (1996) The role of African media in early warning and conflict prevention systems, *The Round Table*, 85:338, 173-182, DOI: [10.1080/00358539608454304](https://doi.org/10.1080/00358539608454304)

⁹⁸ National Cohesion and Integration Commission, "Milestones of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission," *The Star*, September 10, 2012

⁹⁹ Bratic & Schirch, 2007, p. 14. Behavior change communication (BCC) is especially common in communication for development (C4D) work using communication techniques to address development issues including health, education and human rights. BCC theories could be useful when developing media assistance support in conflict or fragile settings.

¹⁰⁰ <https://www.insightonconflict.org/blog/2013/07/social-media-conflict-prevention/>

acceptance of the election results without conflicts. All the radio stations in the country before the presidential elections dedicated airtime to sharing peace messages.

3.3 Conclusion

Media can trigger conflicts when misused, and on the other hand, when used responsibly, free, vibrant and professional media can help mitigate conflicts. Media acts as a mirror that reflects issues in society to the public. Media is the vehicle that conveys various views and perspectives in society, thus acting as agents in the conflict where its action has a direct consequence on the development of the conflict. Media freedom helps prevent misinformation and the spread of propaganda that yields conflicts. Through the information shared by the media, the public forms judgments, hence professional media can be a solution to conflicts. Media creates platforms for dialogue, motivates individuals towards peace, promotes peace and reconciliation, provides early warning for conflicts, and promotes good governance by keeping governments in check. Thus, the media should understand the significant role their actions play in conflict development and work towards actions that yield peace and reconciliation.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS ON THE ACTUAL ROLE(S) PLAYED BY MEDIA IN RESOLUTION OF KENYA-SOMALIA MARITIME DISPUTE

4.0 Introduction

Kenya and Somalia have had unfavourable relations over time due to economic reasons, which the maritime boundary issues have further strained. Somalia has accused Kenya of interfering with its internal affairs. This has drawn interests from countries in the Horn of Africa, threatening to destabilize an already unstable region. The dispute has drawn the attention of major western countries taking sides depending on which country serves their oil interests best.¹⁰¹ The area under dispute is a 100,000 square kilometre territory with enormous oil and gas deposits.

Diplomatic relations between Kenya and Somalia have been deteriorating since 2019 when Kenya accused Somalia of intending to auction Kenyan blocks during the Somalia oil and gas conference in London.¹⁰² After this conference, Kenya recalled its ambassador to Somalia and requested Somalia to do the same to give room for consultations. In 2014, Somalia sued Kenya at the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for unlawful operation in its territorial waters and requested a redrawing of the sea boundary to favour Somalia. The case was scheduled to commence on 3rd September, 2019. However, Kenya petitioned for the court to adjourn the case until 2020.

On closer scrutiny, the dispute has turned out to be more than what meets the eye since there are underlying forces from western countries pushing for their interests. The US, UK, Italy, France,

¹⁰¹ Maluki, Patrick M. "Why the US, UK, France and Norway Are Taking Sides in Kenya's Maritime Row with Somalia." Quartz. Last modified November 7, 2019. <https://qz.com/africa/1743984/us-uk-france-norway-pick-sides-in-kenya-somalia-maritime-row/>.

¹⁰² Ibid

and Norway have all registered their interests to exploit the oil and gas deposits in the maritime.¹⁰³ For instance, the UK is supporting Somalia because its relations with Kenya are not perfect and also due to the long relationship between the UK and Somalia in onshore and offshore oil exploration.¹⁰⁴ Norway, too, was backing Somalia and was one of the primary bidders at the London conference. On the other hand, the US supports Kenya due to their partnership in the anti-terrorism war, hence the prospects of benefitting from oil and gas exploration if the maritime zone goes to Kenya.

This chapter brings in the interpretation, and presentation of the analysis of the data obtained from the online questionnaire. All responses were received from the target population of 76 potential respondents from both Kenya and Somalia, constituting a 100% response rate for the questionnaire. Out of 76 respondents, 61.5% completed all questions required for answering and 38.5% did not answer some of the questions provided. The responses obtained from the online questionnaire were analysed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 26.0 and Excel spreadsheets. This chapter solely focuses on the presentation of data obtained in an attempt to facilitate the discussion section. It focuses on the demographic characteristics, followed by the research findings and data analysis, and finally the summary based on the research objective.

4.1 Demographic Characteristics

Demographic characteristics are the specific attributes of a target population in a study.¹⁰⁵ It includes age, gender or sex, ethnicity, marital status, religion, and education among others. This

¹⁰³ Ibid

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

¹⁰⁵ Al-Dmour, A., Maysam Abbod, and N. Al-Balqa. "The impact of the quality of financial reporting on non-financial business performance and the role of organizations demographic 'attributes (type, size, and experience)." (2018).

study presented sex, age, the highest level of formal education, and nationality as the main attributes describing a population.

4.1.1 Sex

The study described the population’s sex as either female or male. Population sex is applicable in the study since it is the standard demographic data important in descriptive analysis.¹⁰⁶ Table 4.1 below represents the frequency distribution table of the population’s sex.

Table 4.1: Sex of the Population

What is your sex?

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|--------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | Female | 30 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 33.3 |
| | Male | 46 | 66.7 | 66.7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 76 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

From the table, out of 76 respondents, 30 were females and 46 were males. This implies that 33.3% of the respondents were females and 66.7% were males as shown in the following pie chart.

¹⁰⁶ Ibrahim, Azianah, Devinder Kaur Ajit Singh, and Suzana Shahar. "‘Timed Up and Go’ test: Age, gender and cognitive impairment stratified normative values of older adults." *PloS one* 12, no. 10 (2017): e0185641.

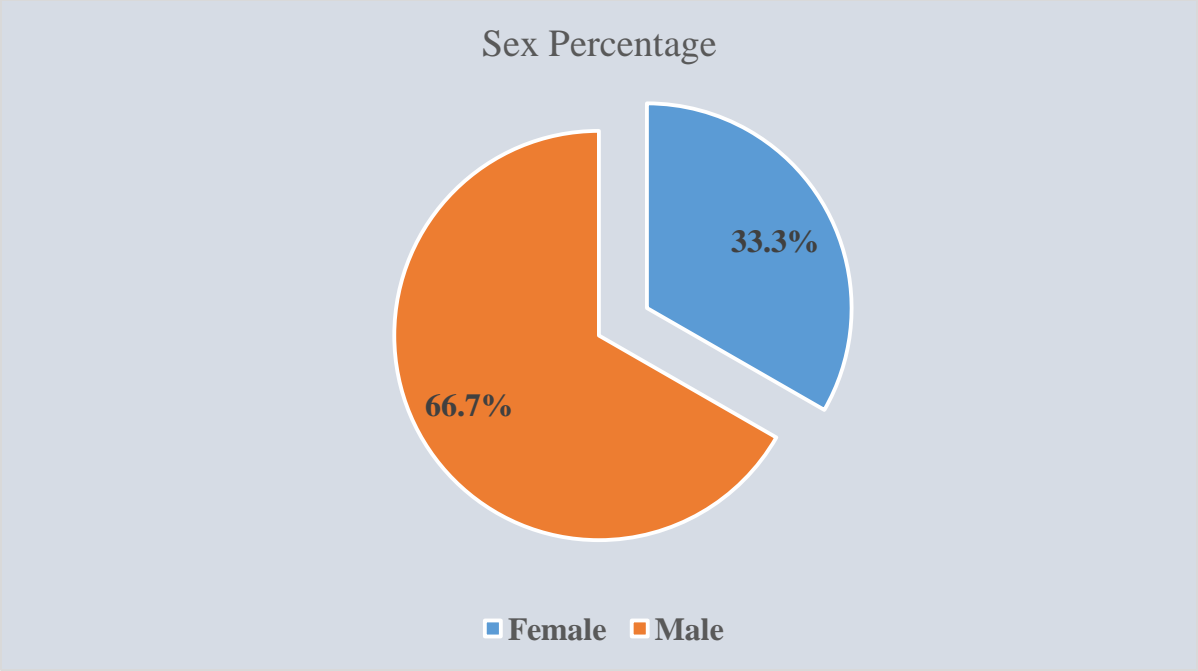


Figure 4.1: Percentage Distribution of Population’s Sex

4.1.2 Age

Age is an important characteristic of a population under study. It categorizes respondents based on the number or the range of years they have lived or the current age group. The Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute is a matter that has occurred over time, and age is the only determinant over the reliability of the result obtained. The age of the respondents is distributed as shown in Table 4.2 below:

Table 4.2: Age of the Respondents

What is your age?

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|-------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | 20-30 | 47 | 36.7 | 36.7 | 36.7 |
| | 31-40 | 20 | 33.3 | 33.3 | 70.0 |
| | 41-50 | 5 | 16.7 | 16.7 | 86.7 |
| | 51-60 | 4 | 13.3 | 13.3 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 76 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

Most of the respondents lie in the age category of 20-30 (36.7%), followed by 31-40 (33.3%), and finally 41-50 (16.7%) and finally, 51-60 (13.3%). This implies that the majority of the respondents are Kenyan youths. In Kenya, the age category of youth is between 18 and 35 years¹⁰⁷. The variety in age of the respondents is presented in the following histogram.

¹⁰⁷ Adeyanju, Dolapo, John Mburu, and Djana Mignouna. "Youth agricultural entrepreneurship: Assessing the impact of agricultural training programs on performance." *Sustainability* 13, no. 4 (2021): 1697.

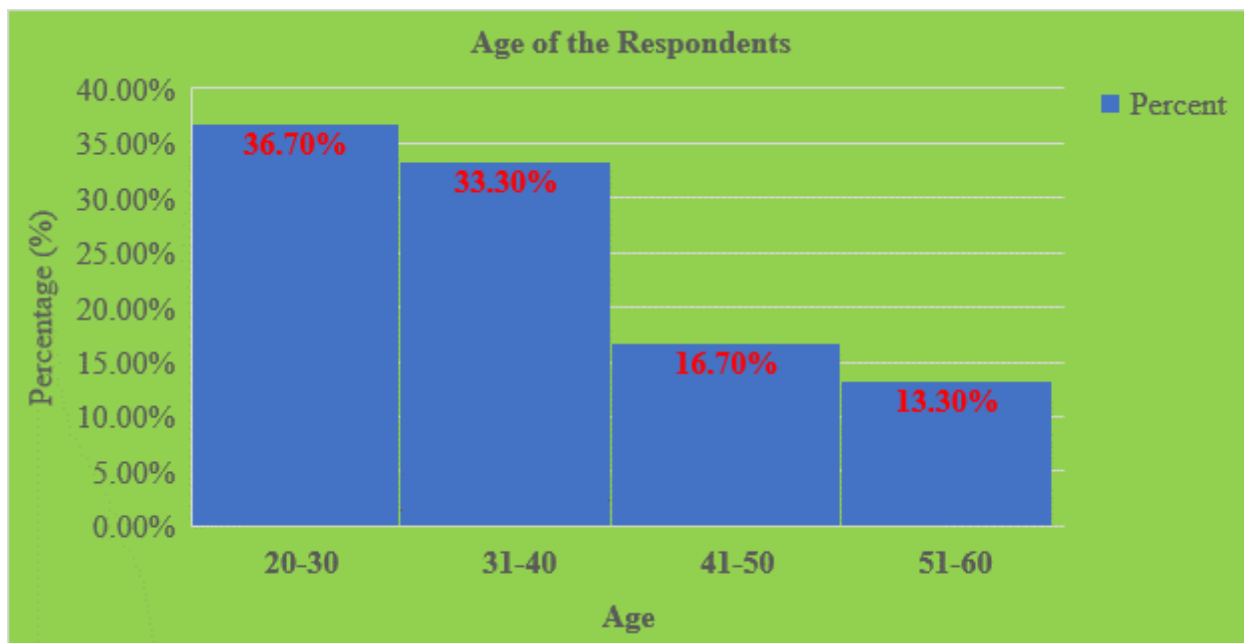


Figure 4.2: Age of the Respondents

4.1.3 Highest Level of Formal Education

From the online questionnaire, the respondents presented their highest level of formal education as either formal college education or university education. The distribution of each of these levels of formal education level is presented in the following frequency distribution table:

Table 4.3: Highest Level of Formal Education of the Respondents

What is your highest level of formal education reached?

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | College Education | 32 | 40.0 | 40.0 | 40.0 |
| | University Education | 44 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 76 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

In the highest level of formal education, 44 out of 76 respondents had a university education, while 32 out of 76 had a college education. A large percentage of 60% represented university education while 40% represented college education as shown in the following pie chart.

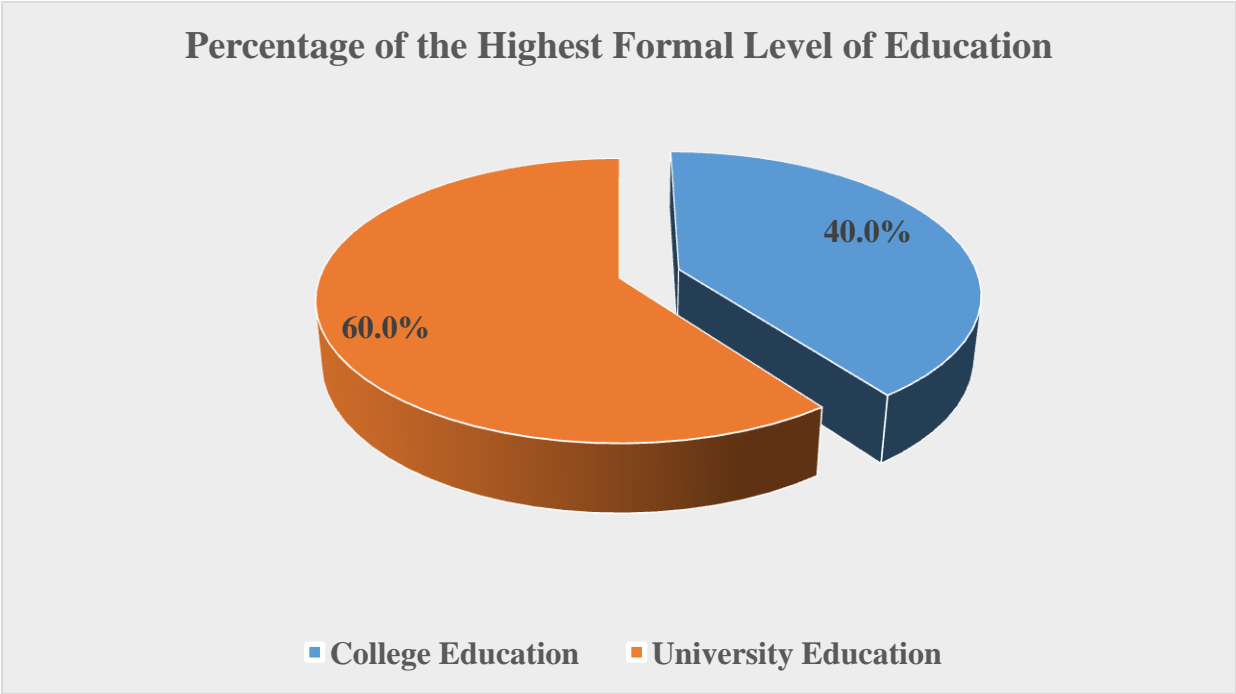


Figure 4.3: Respondents' Highest Level of Formal Education

4.1.4 Nationality

Nationality refers to the status of belonging to a specific country based on birth, ethnic and racial characteristics. The study targeted the Kenyan and Somali nationalities. However, from the online questionnaire, 51 out of 76 (63.3%) of the respondents were Kenyans, while 25 out 76 (36.7%) of the respondents did not respond to the nationality question. The following table shows the distribution table of the respondents based on their nationalities.

Table 4.4: Respondents' Nationalities

What is your Nationality?

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|---------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | Kenyan | 51 | 63.3 | 63.3 | 63.3 |
| | Somalia | 25 | 36.7 | 36.7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 76 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

The nationality table is presented in the form of a bar graph as shown in the figure below;

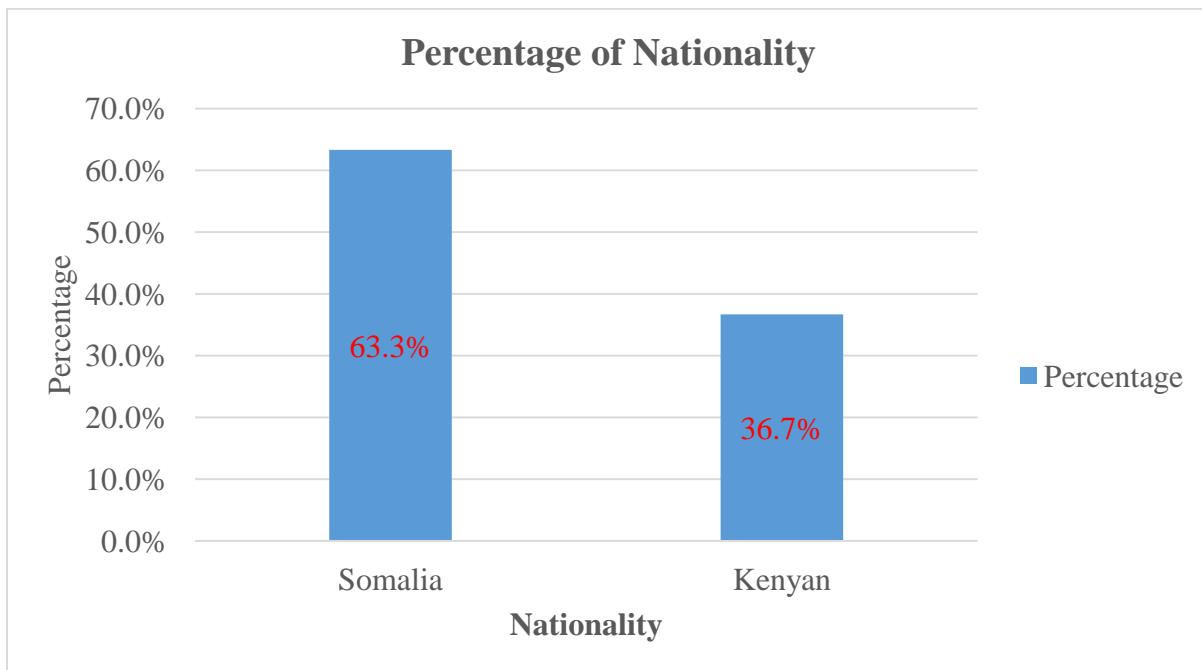


Figure 4.4: Nationality of the Respondents

4.2 The Actual Role(s) of Media in the Resolution of Kenya-Somali Maritime Dispute

4.2.1 The Understanding of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute

In the wake of the maritime border dispute, Somalia presented a case against Kenya to the International Court of Justice in August 2014. The two East African neighbours are fighting over

160,000 square kilometres of Indian Ocean land with oil fields and vast prospects for gas¹⁰⁸. This controversy arises from conflicting interpretations of how the borders should extend into the Indian Ocean. Somalia argues that its southern border should extend to the southeast as an extension of its land border. Kenya believes the Somali border should rotate 5 degrees along the coast and the line of latitude. In the diplomatic dispute between the two sides, the trial lasted nearly seven years. In March 2020, Kenya announced that it would not participate in the proceedings.¹⁰⁹ Nairobi opposes the prejudice that the court refused to grant the request for adjournment of the hearing.

The question on the understanding of the Kenya-Somali Maritime dispute is answered by 39 out of 76 respondents. This represents 36.7 % of the respondents, while those who never responded to this question are 37 out of 76 never responded to the question, representing 63.3%. The first respondent understood that Kenya and Somalia claimed ownership of a section of the Indian ocean rich in oil deposits. Secondly, the dispute involved a disagreement over the ownership of a part of the Indian Ocean bordering/ between Kenya and Somalia. According to the third respondent, the dispute was initiated by political forces. As a result, Kenya was trying to take over Somalia's maritime territory. As if that is not enough, the dispute almost caused a diplomatic row between the two countries. In addition, the conflict arose between Kenya and Somalia due to border conflict that made Somalia sue Kenya at the International Criminal Court. However, it is alleged that Kenya took advantage of the Somalia invasion in a bid to drive out Al-Shabaab militants to expand its territory, something that saw Somalia take the case to the ICC

¹⁰⁸ Maluki, P., Muthengi. "The Maritime Tussle Between Kenya And Somalia -- And What Happens Next". The Conversation (2021). <https://theconversation.com/the-maritime-tussle-between-kenya-and-somalia-and-what-happens-next-159953>.

¹⁰⁹ Farhan Abdi, Gurhan. "Examining the impact of Security Council Resolution 2036 (2012) on Somalia's Peace and State-building Efforts: A study on repercussions of neighboring country's participation in UN-mandated peacekeeping mission." (2021).

to resolve the matter. The understanding of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute is summarized in the table below as pointed out in the responses on the online questionnaire.

Table 4.5: The Understanding of the Kenya-Somali Maritime Dispute

| Valid | What is your understanding of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime dispute? |
|-------|---|
| i. | A disagreement over the ownership of a part of the Indian Ocean bordering/ between Kenya and Somalia |
| ii. | Each part is claiming ownership especially Kenya while Somalia alleges Kenya took advantage of the Somalia invasion in a bid to drive out Al-Shabaab militants to expand its territory, resulting in Somalia taking Kenya to the ICC to resolve the matter. |
| iii. | It is a conflict about which of the two countries owns the border. |
| iv. | It is a result of the scarce natural resources found within the disputed area. The powerful nations' scramble for natural resources from Africa has also taken the dispute to the next level. |
| v. | Kenya and Somalia are each claiming ownership of a section of the Indian ocean rich in oil deposits. |
| vi. | Kenya and Somalia are fighting over who owns the natural gas area in the Indian Ocean with Somalia stating the resource is in its territorial waters. |
| vii. | Kenya was trying to take over Somalia's maritime territory. The dispute almost caused a diplomatic row between the two countries. |
| viii. | Political |
| ix. | That Kenya and Somalia have a dispute over a part of the Indian Ocean. |

- x. This is a political dispute.
- xi. This is a conflict that arose between the two countries i.e., Kenya and Somalia due to border conflict that made Somalia sue Kenya in Ok International court.

From the understanding of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute, it is pointed out by the respondents politically influenced and at times conflict over border or ocean boundary.

4.2.2 The Most Interactable Media

Media refers to communication or tools used to store and deliver information and data. The term refers to components of the mass media in the industry such as print, publishing, social media, photography, film, broadcasting, digital media, and advertising¹¹⁰. As for the question on the most interactable media in the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute, 100% of respondents pointed out various media. Every respondent responded to at least one media, obtaining a total of four media with different frequencies as shown in Table 4.6 below:

Table 4.6: Most Interactable Media in Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute

| Media | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| Social Media | 9 | 47.4% |
| Radio | 2 | 10.5% |
| Television | 7 | 36.8% |
| Newspaper | 1 | 5.3% |
| Total | 19 | 100.0% |

¹¹⁰ Farhin, Mushabbiha. "THE RISKS OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT: IMPACT ON MASS MEDIA AND SOCIAL LIFE OF PEOPLE." *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 17, no. 7 (2020): 5925-5932.

From the table above, the most commonly used media is Social Media (47.4%), followed by Television (36.8%), and Radio (10.5%). The least interactable media is Newspaper (5.3%) because of the nature of access (requires money to purchase or to leave the house to access, unless if online). The Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute bars individuals from obtaining some forms of media, hence acquiring them is quite challenging. The bar graph below is a presentation of media as pointed out by 76 respondents in the study.

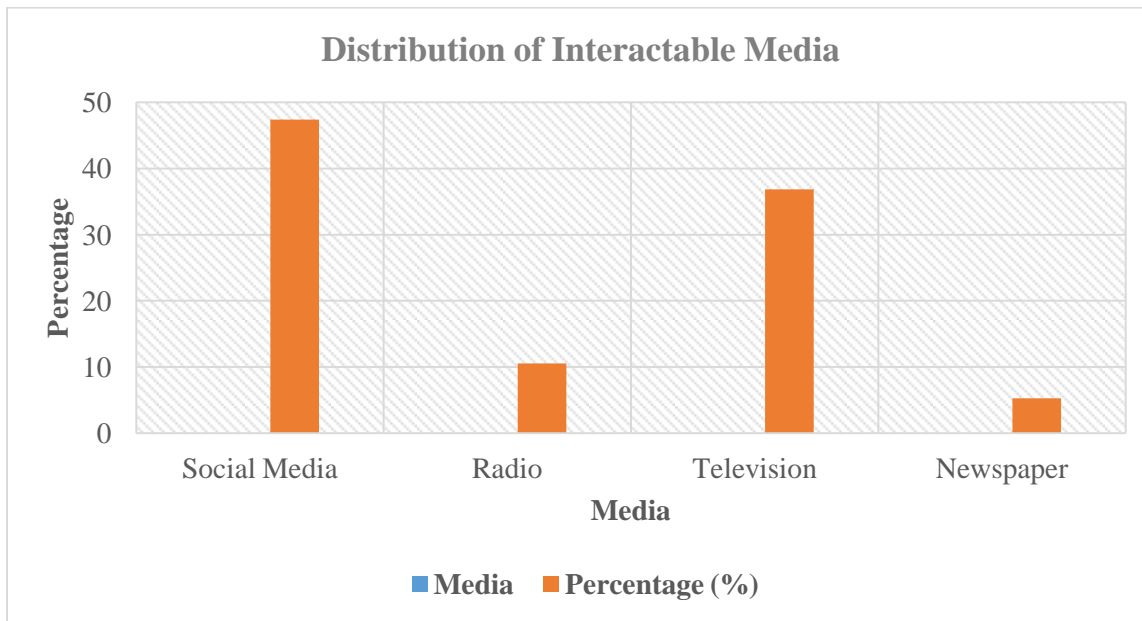


Figure 4.5: Distribution of Interactable Media

4.2.3 The Role of the Media in Resolving the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute

The role of the media in vulnerable and conflict-affected societies has changed dramatically in the recent years as media conditions and technologies have changed¹¹¹. To function properly, according to social responsibility theory, the public must have free access to information and public opinion. As a result, policymakers should focus on the role of the media in building the public sector of society that can be nurtured and fostered in a way that enables effective dispute

¹¹¹ Ansari, Jamal Abdul Nasir, and Nawab Ali Khan. "Exploring the role of social media in collaborative learning the new domain of learning." *Smart Learning Environments* 7, no. 1 (2020): 1-16.

resolution¹¹². In addition, the media is a multidimensional tool that can serve both the governments and the citizens of Kenya and Somalia. The multidimensional nature of communication is relevant when it comes to the multidimensional nature of the dispute.

Kenyan newspapers took active roles in reporting the progression of the dispute. For instance, they were fast to report the decline of Kenya to take part in the ICJ hearings, citing ICJ's bias and reluctance to accommodate calls for delaying the hearings due to the pandemic.¹¹³ According to an article by the Standard newspaper, the best solution to the maritime dispute is holding talks between the two states. The article also noted that there is hope amid the dispute for the two states to revive their diplomatic relations. As noted, the Kenyan and Somalia foreign ministers held a conversation over the phone and resolved to end the diplomatic standoff. This is a gesture of hope from the ugly situation that began when Somalia cut off diplomatic relations with Kenya.

Kenya and Somalia need to engage in good faith to yield a long-lasting solution to the stalemate. In a bid to restore relations, Somalia was to restore unrestricted Miraa importation from Kenya and withdraw the maritime case from the ICJ to permit the commencement of talks. However, Mogadishu declined to lift the ban on Miraa, and withdrawal of the case, leading to the banning of commercial flights between the two states.

A similar article by Aljazeera called for the two states to come together and hold discussions that would restore the neighbourly cooperation. Abdullahi contends that neither Kenya nor Somalia has the potential to afford to turn the dispute into a protracted crisis, noting the essence of the long land border and strong socioeconomic ties that have lasted many years before

¹¹² Caniglia, Guido, Christopher Luederitz, Timo von Wirth, Ioan Fazey, Berta Martin-López, Kristina Hondrila, Ariane König, et al. "A pluralistic and integrated approach to action-oriented knowledge for sustainability." *Nature Sustainability* 4, no. 2 (2021): 93-100.

¹¹³ "Kenya-Somalia Maritime Boundary Dispute Explained." Breaking News, World News and Video from Al Jazeera | Today's Latest from Al Jazeera. Last modified March 14, 2021. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/3/14/somalia-kenya-maritime-dispute-explained>.

colonization.¹¹⁴ Several Kenyans work in Somalia in various sectors in the country, with effective visa arrangements that permitted the business to thrive easily.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, Kenya is home to several ethnic Somalis and hosts many Somali refugees. Kenya is also helping Somalia fight Al Shabaab through AMISOM. Thus, the two states cannot afford to protract their maritime dispute, adversely affecting both.

According to Aljazeera, Kenya and Somalia can take several key steps together and independently in resolving the maritime dispute. For instance, establishing a joint committee comprising Kenyan and Somali diplomats can solve the border grievances between the two states and provide policy recommendations. The issue of the maritime border dispute can be addressed swiftly and effectively if the Kenyan and Somalia governments commit to implementing the recommendations of the bilateral committee. The international community, regional bodies, and other African nations should also pressure Kenya and Somalia to resolve their diplomatic and address their grievances through dialogue. Countries like Ethiopia, which have close ties to both countries, can call them to come to the negotiating table. Similarly, IGAD, in which both Kenya and Somalia are members, can also participate in resolving the maritime dispute.

From the respondents' point of view, media plays a positive role in the Kenya-Somalia dispute resolution by reporting exactly what is happening. This is possible in that media validates their reports before being released to the consumers (citizens). As a result, enough facts are brought to the table of the citizens, considering that the information given is not biased. Through media, we get to understand the underlying conflict area, making the people well-informed and the governments can come in so that there is peaceful mediation. As if that is not enough, media is a

¹¹⁴ Abdullahi, Abdimalik. "Somalia and Kenya Still Have a Road to Neighbourly Cooperation." Breaking News, World News and Video from Al Jazeera. Last modified January 11, 2021.
<https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/1/11/somalia-and-kenya-still-have-a-path-to-neighbourly-cooperation>.

¹¹⁵ Ibid

good tool that has helped in ensuring there is effective communication among the disputing parties and making people aware of dispute proceedings.

On the flip side however, the media has played a negative role in resolving the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute. To begin with, the media did not dig deeper into the conflict, hence did not present enough information on the dispute to the masses. Instead, the media has been used to raise animosity and tension between the two nations with each country discrediting its counterpart. Some media employs exaggeration, insinuating an inaccurate state of affairs. The table below is a presentation of the sentiments of 8 out of 76 respondents:

Table 4.7: The role of media in resolving the Kenya- Somalia maritime dispute

| Valid | The Role of Media in Resolving the Kenya Somalia Maritime Dispute |
|-------|---|
| i. | Because in most cases they provide evidence (especially videos) to substantiate their reports. In short reporting exactly what is happening. |
| ii. | The media has brought facts to the table. |
| iii. | The media is a good tool that has helped in ensuring there is effective communication among the disputing parties. |
| iv. | The media didn't dig deeper into the conflict and I feel they lack enough information on the dispute. Instead, the media has been used to raise animosity and tension between the two nations with each discrediting its counterpart. |
| v. | They do the report but do not seem to be doing enough. |
| vi. | They have made people more aware of the proceedings. |
| vii. | Through exaggeration and giving the wrong impression of the state of affairs. |

| | |
|-------|---|
| viii. | We get to understand the underlying conflict area. Through this, the people are informed well and the governments can come in so that there is peaceful mediation |
| ix. | What I have read on the Kenyan side shows Kenya owns the territorial waters and vice versa. |

4.2.4 Impacts of media on Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute

The influence of mass media is felt in many aspects of human life, including voting in particular ways, opinions and beliefs of individuals, and distortion of knowledge of a person on a particular subject due to misinformation¹¹⁶. The media can manipulate, influence, persuade, and pressure society, and even control the world in both positive and negative ways. Controversial stories about the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute are reported and printed using social media, television, radio, and newspapers¹¹⁷. The media forms affect the resolution of the Kenya-Somalia marine dispute both positively and negatively. Such impacts are presented as primary data given by the respondents and supported with secondary researched evidence.

First, the media helped in informing the citizens of the world about the existence of a dispute. The purpose of the media is to inform people about current new events about the Maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia. It informs about communities that have separated geographically like Kenya and Somalia. Secondly, it ensures proper reporting on the prior documentation of ownership (if any), the proceedings of the dispute including each country's

¹¹⁶ Guess, Andrew M., and Benjamin A. Lyons. "Misinformation, disinformation, and online propaganda." *Social media and democracy: the state of the field, prospects for reform* (2020): 10-33.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

claims, and what the law dictates about the facts of the dispute. As if that is not enough, the media gives a true picture of what caused the conflict, preaches peace, reconciliation, and advocates for more solutions to solving the conflict.

According to social responsibility theory, media brought into perception what has been happening in the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute. In this case, it brings presents the facts of the problem, hence other countries without knowledge about the problem are made aware. The media generally highlights the dispute and what led to the stalemate, but in some cases may be used to exaggerate the state of affairs. Further, it informs about the history of the Kenya-Somalia borderline distribution and exact areas disputed. Finally, media has played a positive role in educating the people about what is being disputed and why, by providing a lot of positive information. The question on the impact of the media received 65 out of 76 responses as ‘Yes’, 1 out of 76 did not know or was not sure of what the question wanted, while 10 out of the 76 responses was ‘No’ as presented in table 4.8 below:

Table 4.8: A Feeling of the Media’s Role in Resolving Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute

Do you feel the media has a role to play in resolving the Kenya-Somalia Maritime dispute?

| | | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|-------|---------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Valid | I am not sure | 1 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 3.3 |
| | No | 10 | 30.0 | 30.0 | 33.3 |
| | Yes | 66 | 66.7 | 66.7 | 100.0 |
| | Total | 76 | 100.0 | 100.0 | |

From the table, 3.3% of the respondents were not sure of the media's role in resolving the dispute. However, 30.0% indicated that the media did not play any role, with 66.7% felt that the media had a role to play in the resolution of the dispute as shown in the Figure 4.6 below:

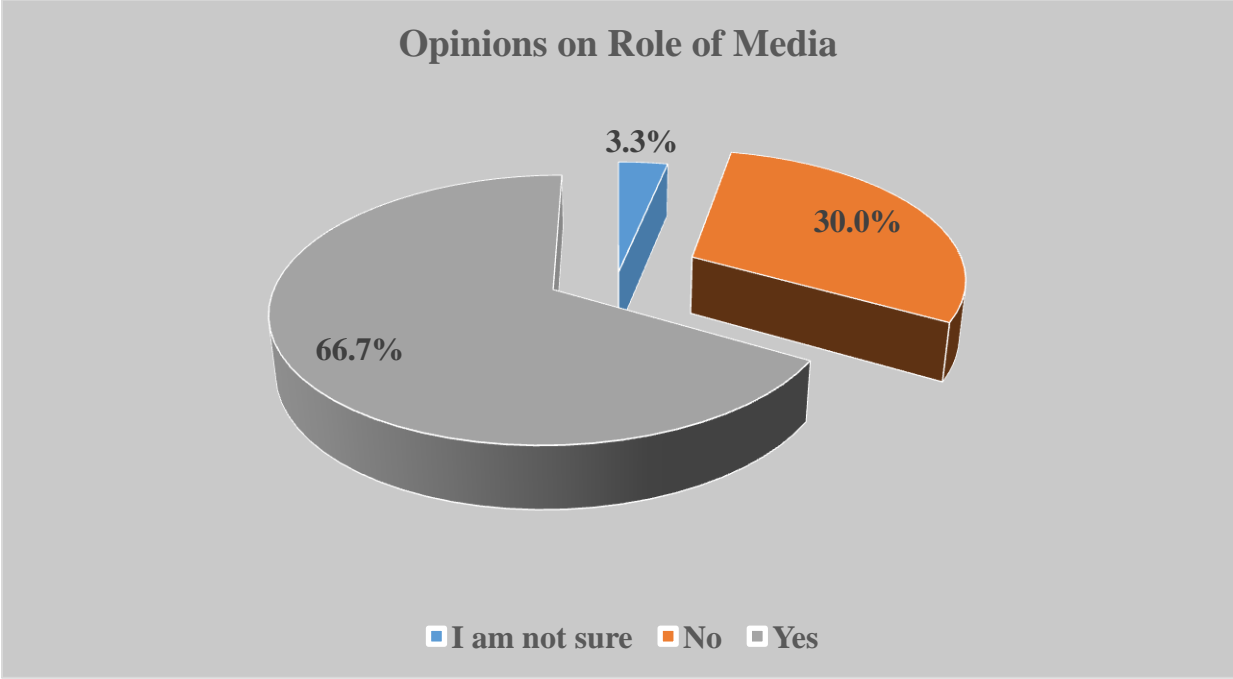


Figure 4.6: Opinions on the Role of the Media

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter concludes that media played varied roles in resolution of Kenya-Somali maritime dispute. When the dispute first erupted, media coverage of the dispute was able to air to the world about the existence and intensity of the dispute. Through media, people got to understand the underlying issues about the conflict, making the people well-informed and inspiring the active participation of the governments towards peaceful mediation. Media is a good tool that has helped in ensuring there is effective communication among the disputing parties and making people aware of dispute proceedings. However, the media has also played a negative role in resolving the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute. The act of not digging deeper into the conflict

and hence giving half-baked information has sometimes influenced decisions based on inaccurate information. In some instances, the media has been used to raise animosity and tension between the two nations with each country working to discredit its counterpart. The next chapter will present the conclusion and the recommendation of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

With key emphasis on assessing the role of the media in resolution of international conflict: a case study of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute, the study sought to examine the traditional role of media in conflict resolution, determine the emerging roles of media in conflict resolution and analyse the actual role(s) played by the media in the resolution of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute. This chapter therefore covers summary of the key findings, presents conclusion and recommendations flowing from the three key objectives that guided the study.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

This section covers key findings from each objective of the study.

5.1.1 The traditional role of media in conflict resolution

The study found that media played a role in the commencement and continuation of the Cold War in the twentieth century. The media was employed by the United States to disseminate its capitalist ideas and beliefs. Russia's propaganda did not seek to ignite wars; rather, it invested in surveillance and monitoring of its adversaries' operations. Other European nations, on the other hand, disseminate propaganda to their populations and competing nations for a variety of reasons.

The use of the media to propagate a country's political position may be dated back to just before the Cold War began. During that time, the country's defence departments controlled media channels and the information broadcast. The material broadcast by the defence department was intended to gain residents' support for going to war. Initially, the media was utilized to inspire World War II soldiers to strategize and return to the fight for the sake of the country. Western

European countries used their media platforms to defend and propagate their ideals and interests to their populations and friends, whilst Russia used its media platforms to protect its interests.

The media was utilized to instil fear among citizens during the early days of the Cold War. The US joined forces with other countries to fight Russia. Using strategies dubbed "Red Scare programs," western countries employed the media, particularly propaganda, to instil fear of imminent attacks by the rival Soviet nation. The US administration used inciting information embedded in print media to depict itself as an innocent nation under attack by Russians.

5.1.2 Determine the emerging roles of media in conflict resolution

The study found that for a long time, the media has been a primary trigger and propagator of violent conflict around the world. The media decides what to broadcast to the public and what not to broadcast. As a result, certain wars have been ended up gaining worldwide notice through dynamic media exposure, while others have been unable to get considerable attention due to media neglect. Many African conflicts in which millions have died, such as the Congo wars since 1997, Rwanda's genocide, Sierra Leone's struggle, and the Sudanese conflict, have mostly gone unnoticed by the world community. The advancement in communication technology has also significantly changed how conflicts are conducted and their resolution in the current world. People can learn more within a shorter time about major changes in international relations. With the rapid technological changes in media, the role of information in conflict has changed from simply reporting on-scene developments to shaping the dynamics of the conflict by influencing perceptions and opinions.

The media serves as a mirror, reflecting social issues to the general population. The media is the channel via which various viewpoints and opinions in society are communicated, thereby functioning as conflict agents whose actions have a direct impact on the conflict's progression.

Media independence aids in the prevention of conflict-causing misinformation and propaganda. The public forms judgments based on facts supplied by the media, hence professional media can be a conflict resolution tool. The media develops dialogue forums, pushes individuals to seek peace, promotes peace and reconciliation, gives early conflict warnings, and supports good governance by keeping governments in check.

5.1.3 The actual role(s) played by the media in the resolution of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute

The study found that various media outlets took an active role in reporting of the maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia. For instance, Kenyan newspapers took active roles in reporting the progression of the dispute. For instance, they were fast to report the decline of Kenya to take part in the ICJ hearings, citing ICJ's bias and reluctance to accommodate calls for delaying the hearings due to the pandemic.

According to an article in the mainstream media, having negotiations between the two countries is the best way to resolve the maritime conflict. The article also stated that despite the controversy, there is optimism for the two countries to resume diplomatic relations. The Kenyan and Somali foreign ministers spoke over the phone and agreed to break the diplomatic deadlock. This is a sign of hope in the tumultuous scenario that erupted after Somalia severed diplomatic ties with Kenya. In addition, Aljazeera called for the two states to come together and hold discussions that would restore the neighbourly cooperation reiterating that the essence of the long land border and deep socioeconomic linkages that have endured many years before colonialism means that neither Kenya nor Somalia can afford to convert the dispute into a protracted conflict.

5.2 Conclusion

The study concludes that the media has both a beneficial and detrimental impact on the South Sudanese conflict, making it a two-edged sword in the conflict. In as much as it has been a medium supporting peace-building, the media in all of its forms plays a significant part in fuelling the conflict. While humanitarian crises, violence, and peace processes have been covered and reported with the goal of keeping the public informed, the warring parties used various media in varied ways to push their agenda. For instance, Kenyan newspapers took active roles in reporting the progression of the dispute. They were fast to report the decline of Kenya to take part in the ICJ hearings, citing ICJ's bias and reluctance to accommodate calls for delaying the hearings due to the pandemic. Therefore, this confirms two hypotheses of the study that stated that the use of Media has positively impacted conflict resolution and the hypothesis that biased media coverage negatively impacted the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute.

Media mobilization has also made it easier to address obstacles such as continuous conflicts and access issues for humanitarian services. For example, a worldwide diplomatic push aided by the media resulted in the deployment of more United Nations peacekeepers to Juba during the conflict. The Regional Protection Force was formed with extra troops drawn from African countries (RPF). Its mission was to ensure security in the capital and to create more conducive conditions for the country's stabilization. This also confirms the hypothesis that positive media coverage of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime will lead to successful conflict resolution. However, only when the media is employed as a crucial component in peaceful reconciliation and healing can this happen. Several news organizations have chosen to utilize their platforms to preach reconciliatory messages to the public in order to reduce tensions. Social media users, on the other

hand, have chosen to communicate accurate information free of misinformation, which has shown to be beneficial in the nation's recovery.

5.3 Recommendations

When covering a conflict, the media should proceed with caution and responsibility as this is a sensitive subject that can inflict more harm than good. To do this, the media should be allowed to act without being influenced or compelled. Furthermore, it has been noted that the regulatory and policy climate in Kenya and Somalia is deemed unfavourable for the development of the media, and that progressive regulations are needed to provide an impetus for the sector's continuous expansion. Finally, the media has been accused of failing to uphold ethical and professional standards, contributing to the spread of racial hostility and prejudice, therefore media needs act professionally. The regulatory bodies for the various media should also step forward to crack the whip on media that may not be employing best practice while covering a conflict.

5.4 Areas for Further Research

1. A research should be conducted to investigate media as a key element in building diplomatic relations among conflicting parties.
2. A study should be conducted to investigate the effectiveness of mainstream media in mitigation of security threats.
3. A research should also be conducted to examine the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

This is a Research in fulfillment of a Masters' Degree in International Studies. It is aimed at Establishing **the Role of the Media in International Conflict Resolution with special reference to the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Dispute**. All the information you share in this questionnaire will be handled with strict confidentiality. Please answer all questions as best as you can.

The role of the media in Marine Dispute Resolution: A case study of Kenya –Somalia Maritime dispute

SECTION A: Bio Data. Please tick as appropriate

What is your Sex?

Male Female

What is your age?

20-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-80

What is your highest level of formal education reached?

None at all

Primary education

Secondary education

College education

University education

What is your Nationality?

Section B

1. What is your understanding of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime dispute?

2. Which media do you most interact with the most?

Radio Television Newspaper Social Media

3. Do you feel the media has a role to play in resolving the Kenya Somalia Maritime dispute?

4. What role do you think the media has played in the Kenya – Somalia Dispute?

5. Has the media impacted the Kenya-Somalia conflict positively or negatively?

5b. Why do you say so?

6. In your opinion, how well has information regarding the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute been disseminated?

7. Would you say the media has performed its role well with respect to the Kenya-Somalia dispute?

YES NO

Support your answer.

8. What would you like to see in future when media cover conflicts of national or international importance?
