

**THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN POST CONFLICT PEACE BUILDING:
POST INDEPENDENT SOUTH SUDAN**

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DECLARATION


This research project is my original work and has not been presented to any institution for the award of any academic certificate.

Signature..........Date12/11/2012.....

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This research project has been submitted for oral defense with my approval as the student supervisor.

Signature..........Date12/11/2012.....

Patrick Maluki

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family and all those who supported me in the completion of this project. Thank you and May God bless you abundantly

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to take this opportunity to pass my heartfelt gratitude to all the people who played a big role in assisting me complete my study. First of all, I give thanks to the Lord for giving me good health to start and complete this project successfully, without Him, I would not have come this far.

To my supervisor, Patrick Maluki, thank you for your dedication, time and effort to guide me. Your comments, advice, criticism and suggestions are highly appreciated. To my best friends Robert Mugabe and Lucy Odera without them, this undertaking would not have come to fruition.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GoS	Government of Sudan
SPLA	Sudan People Liberation Army
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
GoNU	Government of National Unity
NCP	National Congress Party
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding

ABSTRACT

Conflict has existed in Sudan for several decades and due to this, millions of people have been displaced from their homes. Sudan has always been on focus in the world's media, with raging wars pre-dating the country's independence. The primary parties in the civil war were the government of Sudan (GoS) and the Southern People Liberation Army (SPLA) and after over two decades of fighting, the conflict came to an end in 2005 with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)

The overall objective of this study was to establish the role of the media in post conflict peace building in post-independent South Sudan. Specific Objectives were; to determine the influence of the media as Information Provider and Interpreter on peace building in post-independent South Sudan, determine the influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships on peace building in post-independent South Sudan and establish the role of the media in policy making on peace-building in post-independent South Sudan.

The study adopted a descriptive survey as it deemed the best strategy to fulfill the objectives of this study was a technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of responses and objectively identifying and using the same approach to relate trends. The study used both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was obtained through interviewing media personalities involved in conflict and peace building efforts. The interviews were carried out with the help of an interview guide. The interview guide contained relevant issues concerning the conflicts in South Sudan and peace building. Secondary data was obtained from analysis and review of books, journals, papers and other available literature on the issue of role of media in peace building. The data was analyzed using content analysis. The population for this study included the media houses in the post independent Southern Sudan, Non Governmental Organizations, Government officials and the General public. Simple stratified random sampling was used based on the sampling frame below to come up with a sample of 50 respondents.

The study concluded that on role of the media in peace-building as a social practice, media took an active role to report on the peace process that followed the civil war in Sudan. Particularly, in terms of monitoring policy decisions that led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). The study concludes that media is a strong tool that acts as an information provider and interpreter. It is also a strong means of building diplomatic relationships and also for policy making on peace building. The study recommends that the government of South Sudan institutes the policy to govern the media for efficient and careful reporting for the successful peace building mission. The journalists be given freedom and be trained on journalism to promote professionalism in the areas of work.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

From history, media plays an important role in fueling and controlling conflicts through inciting people toward violence. For example, Hitler used the media to create an entire worldview of hatred for Jews, homosexuals, and other minority groups. In Africa, Rwanda's radio RTLM was used to fuel genocide by urging listeners to pick up machetes and take to the streets to kill what they called 'the cockroaches'.¹ However, this simple relationship must not be taken for granted and should be critically examined in order to most effectively use the media for conflict prevention and peace building. There are ways the media can assist peace building. The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Conflict's Awareness Raising Toolkit details, amongst other things, how to use the media². The media is a double-edged sword. It can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment. Media plays a crucial role in representing conflicts. Especially when media systems are located in states-at-war, or find themselves in (geographical or cultural) proximity of these states, the media's traditional claims towards objectivity, factuality and truth-speaking have to face severe pressures.

¹ Vladimir Bratic and Lisa Schirch (2007) Why and When to Use the Media for Conflict Prevention and Peace building. Global partnership for the prevention of armed conflicts, Issue paper 6

² Bratic, V. (2006) „Media effects during violent conflict: Evaluating media contributions to peace-building“, Conflict and Communication Online, Vol.no.5, No.1.

The media shapes what we see and hear about conflict. The perspectives of those who run the media shape stories that are covered with their personal beliefs and business inclination so that they can sale. Journalists have opinions and beliefs based on their experiences³. Media owners have economic interests; they want to sell their stories and programs to a public who will buy their newspapers or watch their programs or listen to their radios. Increasing corporate control over media in some countries also plays a role in controlling the types of stories that get covered and the way stories get framed.

Media's contribution to conflict is more often noted than praise is given to its role in peace-building processes. Media and journalists are victims of conflict, but they also at times play an active role in exacerbating tensions in divided societies⁴. In many respects, however, the news media and journalists are also at the forefront of peace-building initiatives because, when they function effectively, they are crucial for the safeguarding of peace and democracy. A reliable and diverse media that can express itself freely provides early warning of potential outbreaks of conflict⁵. Media also helps alert and mobilize the international community on a particular crisis. During a peace-building process, media serves multiple purposes and is an important complement to almost every program pursued in different sectors. ⁶Disagreement and resolution is the essence of

³Anderson, Mary B., Diana Chigas, Lara Olson and Peter Woodrow. (2004). *Reflecting on Peace Practice Handbook*. Massachusetts, USA: Collaborative for Development Action.

⁴Gilboa, Eytan. (2002). *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making Policy, Shaping Opinions*. Ardsley, NY, USA: Transnational Publishers Inc.

⁵Dahal, R. (2011): „Conflict and Media“, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. [Online] Available at: <http://www.nepaldemocracy.org/media/conflict&media_freedom_drd.htm> (Accessed 07.06.2012)

⁶Ibid

constructive change. However, a clash of interests, values, actions or directions often sparks a conflict which becomes violent, at terrible cost and losses for the society.

The idea that can consider a governance reform agenda in a post-conflict society assumes that there is “governance” and, in particular, governance that has about it a structure, preferably a rational one. This study aims at investigating the role of media in peace building.

Media implies something through which an effect is produced or is made known. It refers to various means of communication such as, television, radio, or the newspaper. Media plays a significant role in a society today. According to Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur⁷, reliable, accurate and objective media, whether it is mainstream, alternative or traditional, can both prevent and resolve conflict through responsibly disseminating information, furthering awareness and knowledge, promoting participatory and transparent governance, and addressing perceived grievances. Such media can contribute to societal reconciliation, change misperceptions and broaden understanding of the causes and consequences of conflict.

Howard argued that the media can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment⁸. However, another aspect to the media is that it can also be an instrument of Peace-building, when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse

⁷Ball-Rokeach, S. J. & M. L. DeFleur, (2000). *A dependency model of mass media effects*. *Communication Research*, Vol. 3 pp. 3–21

⁸ Howard, R. (2002). *An Operational Framework for Media and Peace building*, IMPACS.

views. The media enables people to make well-informed choices. It can reduce conflict and foster human security by providing people with important information about their environment and respond to more imminent problems. At least in part, people make decisions about whether to dress for warm or cold, choose political leaders to vote for in elections, and judge other groups in society based on the media. The media interpret events beyond our physical realm and help us make sense of them. With the improvement of technologies and the advancement of new media such as the internet, media plays an increasingly more prominent role in our daily communication and entertainment.

Peace building refers to the intensification of efforts towards establishing lasting peace and towards resolving conflicts peacefully in societies marked by conflict. Peace-building has become a catchall concept, encompassing multiple (and at times contradictory) perspectives and agendas⁹. It is indiscriminately used to refer to preventive diplomacy, preventive development, conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. Peace-building activities address the root causes or potential causes of violence, create a societal expectation for peaceful conflict resolution and stabilize society politically and socioeconomically. Post-conflict peace- building is the strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not recur.

⁹ Spence Rebecca, (2001) "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace?" in Bronwyn Evans-Kent & Roland Bleiker (eds) *Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference Proceedings, 24-26 September 2001*. (St Lucia: University of Queensland), pp. 137-8.

According to Spence,¹⁰ the process of peace-building calls for new attitudes and practices: ones that are flexible, consultative and collaborative and that operate from a contextual understanding of the root causes of conflict. In this regard, the use of media or media-oriented peace building interventions can be considered to be cost-effective mechanism towards sustainable peace.

There is growing recognition among policymakers and conflict management experts that the media should be a building block of any comprehensive peace-building strategy. Recognizing the media's reach is but a first step in harnessing its power as a potential peace-builder. If the intent of peace- building and conflict prevention programs is to change attitudes and behaviors, a single media strategy is insufficient in an environment of pervasive violence¹¹. An integrated and diverse set of media practices, however, can carry maximum effect. Community media operates on a local level through traditional platforms such as television, radio and print. In general it serves as a conduit for community information. Care must be taken to prepare media accordingly for the different roles it can play as information provider, watchdog, mobilizer and promoter, among others. Currently this is done in a haphazard manner, with policymakers and peace-building media practitioners often working independently of one another and without reference to previous experiences.

¹⁰Spence Rebecca, (2001) "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace?" in Bronwyn Evans-Kent & Roland Bleiker (eds) *Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference Proceedings*, 24-26 September 2001. (St Lucia: University of Queensland), pp. 137-8.

¹¹ Spence Rebecca, (2001) "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: Who Determines the Peace?" in Bronwyn Evans-Kent & Roland Bleiker (eds) *Rethinking Humanitarianism Conference Proceedings*, 24-26 September 2001. (St Lucia: University of Queensland), pp. 137-8.

The media, especially the news media, is now well-recognized as a critical influence in whether societies resort to violent conflict or not. Many of the conflicts and media influence appear directly related to journalistic quality of the news media in those countries and regions where conflict brews or boils over¹². Given their influence, socially responsible journalists are obliged to constantly consider and appraise their own and competing media's coverage of conflict within and between their communities and borders.

1.1.1 Media and Peace Building in Sudan

Conflict has existed in Sudan for several decades and due to this, millions of people have been displaced by violence. Sudan has always been on focus in the world's media, with raging wars pre-dating the country's independence. The primary parties in the civil war were the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the Southern People Liberation Army (SPLA) and after two decades of fighting, the conflict came to an end in 2005 with the comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The agreement included an autonomous Government of South Sudan (GoSS) led by SPLA political party in Juba as well as a Government of National Unity (GoNU) within Khartoum, which provided power sharing between the North and the South. Southerners were given leading positions in the Government and this way had more influence in Sudanese politics. However, a great deal of power still remained in the hands of the National Congress Party (NCP) led by the sitting president Omar El-Bashir¹³. The Signing of the CPA brought peace and subsequent division of the country into two: Sudan and Southern Sudan. With the ever

¹² *ibid*

¹³ IDMC: International Displacement Monitor Center. Durable solutions evasive as Southern IDPs return and Darfur remains tense

increasing popularity of the media, the two countries were bound to sign the agreement to avoid looking as the country that is hesitant in bringing lasting peace in the region.

1.2 Problem statement

Conflict has existed in Sudan for several decades and due to this, millions of people have been displaced from their homes. Sudan has always been on focus in the world's media, with raging wars pre-dating the country's independence. The primary parties in the civil war were the government of Sudan (GoS) and the Southern People Liberation Army (SPLA) and after over two decades of fighting, the conflict came to an end in 2005 with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The agreement included an autonomous Government of South Sudan (GoSS) led by the SPLA political party in Juba as well as a Government of National Unity (GoNU) within Khartoum, which provided power sharing between the North and South. Southerners were given leading positions in the government and this way had more influence in Sudanese politics. However a great deal of power still remained in the hands of the National Congress Party (NCP) led by the sitting president Omar El-Bashir¹⁴. The signing of the CPA brought peace and the subsequent division of the country into two: Sudan and Southern Sudan.

Most South Sudanese have access to the media, particularly the radio as compared to other forms of media outlets. South Sudanese are familiar to both local and international radio stations as actors in post-conflict peace building activities. However, in post-independent South Sudan, the coverage of the pre- and post-violence phases by the media is negligible at best and only a few armed conflicts are covered in the violence phase. In

¹⁴ IDMC: Internal Displacement Monitor Center. 2010. Durable solutions elusive as southern IDPs return and Darfur remains tense.

addition, even though the media in post-independent South Sudan has contributed towards the formation of attitudes, opinions and increased knowledge and awareness by supplying information, the uncertainty of whether these positive impacts will be transferred to behavior or result in action is yet to be ascertained. In this regard, the study seeks to find out the role of media in peace building in post-independent South Sudan.

1.3 General Objective

The overall objective of this study was to establish the role of the media in post conflict peace building in post-independent South Sudan.

Specific Objectives were;

1. To determine the influence of the media as Information Provider and Interpreter on peace building in post-independent South Sudan.
2. Determine the influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships on peace building in post-independent South Sudan
3. Establish the role of the media in policy making on peace-building in post-independent South Sudan.

1.4 Hypotheses

The hypotheses of this study were:

- i. Adoption of media in peace building strategies can lead to societal reconciliation
- ii. The use of media in peace building mechanisms inspires peaceful political transition.
- iii. Lack of independent media poses a challenge to post-conflict peace building initiatives.

1.5 Justification

With the ever increasing volatility media sector and greater demand by media output consumers, media services providers have been forced to look into ways of increasing their potential customer base by providing news which seems to be stunning which facilitates conflict within the community of various categories in terms of tribes' ethnicity.

This has forced the media houses to enter into strategic alliances with other companies especially telecommunication companies to leverage on social activities through encouraging unity. As a consequence, this development has created a new and pleasant sense within the community and encouraged relationships to the society.

The findings of this study will assist policy makers in drafting policies that can form the legal framework for the participation of the media in conflict management in the country and promotion of peace and cohesion. Such a policy would address issues such as what is hate speech and how to deal with the media channels found to be promoting or disseminating such information with the potential of causing conflicts or fuelling existing conflict.

As the researcher relied on past scholarly works, so the findings of this study would be used by future scholars in their research work. The study findings also has formed a basis for future research as future scholars and researchers may use the results as a source of reference in subject matters related to media, ethnic prejudice and conflict. The people of South Sudan were the ultimate beneficiaries when the findings of this study were used to develop policies and programmes that promote their social and economic welfare.

1.6 Literature Review

This section presents and discusses the literature relevant to the study. The literature explored what other scholars wrote on the media and its role on peace building efforts.

Conflict prevention and peace building programs use a number of approaches, from facilitating dialogue and negotiations between conflicted groups to using peacekeeping forces to separate armed factions¹⁵. By incorporating media strategies, however, these programs can reach and potentially influence a far larger audience. Recognizing the media's reach is but a first step in harnessing its power as a potential peace builder. Care must be taken to prepare media accordingly for the different roles it can play as information provider, watchdog, mobilizer and promoter, among others.

1.6.1 Media as Information Provider and Interpreter

Information is power and insight can impact on public discourse especially during times of conflict. Information can influence the perceptions of individuals across the divide in a conflict. Freedom of expression is not only the core of a healthy media but also a fundamental human right and vital for a democratic structure. It stands for freedom of speech, the right to information and the representation of different opinions in a heterogeneous society. In any culture of prevention, effective and democratic media are an essential part and indispensable for societies trying to make a transition towards peace and democracy. The transmission of ideas is also not limited to conventional media such as newspapers, TV or radio. Arguably, the traditional media takes primacy in this,

¹⁵ Milja Jovanovic. "Rage Against the Regime: The Otpor Movement in Serbia." In Van Tongeren, Paul Malin Brenk, Marte hellema and Juliette Verhoeven (eds) *People building PeaceII: Successful Stories of Civil Society*. Boulder, Us: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2005

however, new technologies, the internet and digital content should also be considered in this context.

Successive evolutions in communication technologies have significantly altered the conduct of conflict, warfare, and conflict resolution. Compared to people of earlier ages, people around the world today know much more and much sooner about major developments in international relations¹⁶. Global news networks that broadcast live from all corners of the world and via the Internet provide immediate access to unfolding events and, under certain conditions, could influence the way those events develop and end¹⁷. Evolutions in communication technologies have changed the meaning of power in international relations, the number and nature of actors participating in international political processes, and the strategies these actors employ to achieve their goals.

Communication is central to many aspects of work in conflict and post-conflict settings especially peace-building to ensure co-existence of citizens. The use of traditional or mass media (radio, TV, print journalism) has long been acknowledged as playing a crucial part in providing information and messaging that can shape popular views¹⁸. These tools of communication have been used to both incite violence as well as carry messages that help prevent violent conflict, and promote peace and reconciliation. Technological innovations have created new opportunities and outlets for communication in today's world. In particular, the spread of mobile phones, crowd sourcing technologies, and social networks have enabled messages to be amplified, information flows to be

¹⁶ Eytan Gilboa (2009) Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis, Marquette Law Review, Volume 93 Issue 1 Symposium: International Media and Conflict Resolution

¹⁷ Ibid

¹⁸ ICT for Peace Foundation, Peace building in the Information Age: sifting hype from reality ICT for Peace Foundation, Jan. (2011)

accelerated, and new spaces opened up for the involvement of individuals and communities to play a role in the various phases of the conflict cycle and peace-building.

A measure of peace-building can be enhanced by peace journalism where peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. In enhanced peace journalism, journalists don't try to exploit the loss and suffering but make sure that the reporting is balanced and also demonstrate how easily news can be manipulated. Part of the ethical guidelines for this kind of reporting is to bring out people that use peaceful measures and speak out against war and violence and document the suffering and loss on all sides thereby creating a reconciliatory mood. Possible solutions and trying to prevent further escalation of the conflict are at the centre of peace journalism as well. A suggested framework used by peace-building media can employ different strategies such as: conflict-sensitive and peace journalism; peace-promoting entertainment media; media regulation to prevent incitement of violence, but also peace-promoting citizen media

The media plays a critical role in passing on messages to the people from both sides of the conflict. However, much of the controversy stems from the fact that incitement by the media (and educational organizations as well) on both or all sides of the conflict often contributes to the outbreak or continuation of violence itself. This does not mean that there is no constructive role for the media to play in peace-building efforts in a transitional or post-conflict environment. Theoretically, the media could contribute to these efforts by: stimulating the political and public debate within the population of a conflict or post-conflict area questioning the resort to violence and war means; and warning of the high potential costs, including adverse international implications, of

resorting to war means not just for the resistance groups' political cause but, more importantly, for the local civilian population whose support they might enjoy.

The media interpret events beyond our physical realm and help us make sense of them. With the improvement of technologies and the advancement of new media such as the internet, media plays an increasingly more prominent role in our daily communication and entertainment. For example, the Otpor Movement, developed in 1998 by Serbian students, responded to new restrictions on academic and media freedom with a highly unconventional movement called Otpor ('resistance' in Serbian). Otpor developed their own grassroots media campaign to provide information and inspiration to all who resisted the Milosevic government. The ending of overt violence via a peace agreement or military victory does not mean the achievement of peace. Rather, the ending of violence or a so-called 'post-conflict' situation provides "a new set of opportunities that can be grasped or thrown away". The international community can play a significant role in either nurturing or undermining this fragile peace-building process¹⁹.

1.6.2 Influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships

Sometimes the media is used to cover diplomatic initiatives and send messages back and forth between sides of a conflict. While policymakers usually prefer secret negotiations, sometimes there are no direct channels of communication that can be accessed easily by both sides of the conflict that are reliable because of the high levels of suspicion. In such a case, the media comes in handy in providing unbiased information to parties from either side of the conflict thus building the confidence in the information provided especially on

¹⁹Ryan Stephen, (1990) *Ethnic Conflict and International Relations* (Aldershot: Dartmouth), pp. 61-2.

the peace-building efforts. If one side wants to test reactions to a negotiation proposal, they may send signals and messages to other groups through the media. At times, the news media will invite leaders of opposing groups or nations onto a Television or radio program to talk with each other thereby promoting the elusive peace that either side may be looking for. The media may help to create bridges among enemies and build confidence needed to open negotiations

Preventive diplomacy primarily requires attention to 'early warning' to identify situations that might lead to violent conflict. The media plays a key role in bringing to the fore the early warning of such situations. To do this effectively, the media should have the to distinguish warnings of real conflicts from false alarms to avoid escalating the conflicts. The problem for preventive diplomacy is often not the inability to identify potential trouble spots but, rather, one of understanding such situations well enough to forecast which ones are likely to explode and when²⁰. Information gathering is a central aspect in early warning and requires a different and broader approach from the media. The crucial precondition for preventative diplomacy is early warning, and the latter cannot exist without appropriate information gathering.

In humanitarian, financial and political terms conflict prevention is much cheaper than peacekeeping or rebuilding societies after a violent conflict. Everyone agrees that it's a lot less costly to prevent conflict than to react to it after the event. But very few policy makers ever seem to take the force of this observation seriously enough to do something about it. Maybe they would if they stopped now and again to do some calculations. The

²⁰ martin griffiths, terry o'callaghan and steven c. Roach, in *International Relations: The Key Concepts*, (2008), p. 263.

media plays a key role in constantly reminding such individuals of the importance of preventing the conflict. By so informing the leaders and the whole community about conflict prevention, the media plays an important role in stopping the conflict.

A great deal of human suffering is linked to violent conflicts, political instability, or unjust policies and practices. They argue that short-term humanitarian relief and crisis intervention, while important, are not enough in conflicted or post-conflict societies. They propose that there is increasing awareness of the need for post-conflict reconciliation, development of capacity for conflict resolution, and building of sustainable peace. Thematic Assessment²¹ indicates that media can contribute a lot to a society. It can change opinions because they have access to people and this gives it a lot of strength. This strength can either be used constructively by educating the people. But the most important use of media is to educate the people about the basic human rights. The dilemma of the developing countries is that people are not fully aware of their basic rights and if they know, they don't know about what to do and where to go (Wolfsfeld, 2004; Wright, 2008)²². They don't know their collective strength. Media should portray the facts. The media work to help the people understand their surroundings and to liberate the people and to empower the people. The media is an important tool for dialogue and reconciliation, needs to tailor make programmes geared towards healing the society

²¹Thematic Assessment (2004), *The Role of Media in Peace-Building and Reconciliation. Central Sulawesi, Maluku and North Maluku*. Researched and Prepared By: The Institute for the Studies on Free Flow of Information Institut Studi Arus Informasi (ISAI), Jakarta, Indonesia

²²Wolfsfeld, Gadi. (2004). *Media and the path to peace*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

(Zaffiro, 2002)²³. There is no doubt that today's media environment increases choices, provides opportunities for cultural expression and dialogue.

In today's conflicts, the media have a pivotal role to play, as an arena and as an actor in the political system. Influence of the media is closely related to the conflict dimensions pertaining to the communication of attitudes and perceptions that influence legitimacy and credibility in any political system. Attitudes are essential in people's decision making and behaviour, and the media's role in conflicts is closely related to this component. Wallensteen ²⁴argued that actors in a conflict will only trust each other based on expectations and perceptions of behaviour and attitudes.

1.6.3 Role of the Media in Policy Making on Peace-Building

The media has influence on policymakers, particularly as they think about how to prevent and respond to violent conflict. The media is also a tool of policymakers to get across their message to their followers and the general population of a nation or nations in conflict. Media can be an instrument of conflict resolution by fostering the formulation of laws governing the relationships of two sides of a conflict. When it responds well to its own professional strictures such as accuracy, impartiality and independence, the media can have an influence on policy making in peace building.

In peace building process, communication is a vital component. The media being the most influential tool in communication, it determines the direction of the peace process. Communication in this context means the process of sharing and exchanging information

²³Ibid

²⁴Wallensteen P. (2002) *Understanding Conflict Resolution*. London: Sage publications Ltd., p 37.

between individuals, groups and potential parties in a conflict situation. Interactions and relationships with other people involved in a conflict situation as well as between the two parties engaged in conflicts are very essential and required for resolving conflicts²⁵. To prevent conflicts, there needs to be exchanging and sharing of information in order to remove doubt, suspicion and help build confidence. The truth is that poor communication or lack of it will definitely escalate conflict situations but being able to talk about the nature and type of the conflict actually helps to diffuse tensions, fears, suspicions and engender the positions, interests, needs and feelings of the parties in a conflict situation.

Professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict. They seek to present accurate and impartial news. But it is often through good reporting that conflict is reduced. On that note, Howard(2002) presents eleven “unconscious roles” of journalism: “channeling communication, educating, confidence-building, correcting misperceptions, making them human, identifying underlying interests, emotional outlet, framing the conflict, face-saving/consensus-building, solution-building and encouraging a balance of power”. Similarities between media and “conflict resolvers” (those involved in trying to mediate or arbitrate a dispute) are quite obvious according to Botes(1994). First, they both provide protagonists with a representative voice; second, open, perceptive thinking is essential in both journalism and conflict resolution; and third, both professions involve confidentiality and impartiality.

To be effective, peace building activities requires careful and participatory planning, coordination among various efforts, and sustained commitments by both local and donor

²⁵ Akinawonu B. M (2006), *The Methods of Conflict Resolution in Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introductory Text*, ed. S. Amuseghan, T. Obamuyi and K. Ogen, 178-185. *Industrial Relations and Collective Bargaining in Nigeria*. Lagos: Fadec & Company Ltd, p. 183

partners. To summarize a construction metaphor used by Lederach(2005) peace building involves a long-term commitment to a process that includes investment, gathering of resources and materials, architecture and planning, coordination of resources and labour, laying solid foundations, construction of walls and roofs, finish work and ongoing maintenance. Lederach also emphasizes that peacebuilding centrally involves the transformation of relationships. "Sustainable reconciliation" requires both structural and relational transformations. To achieve these structural and relational transformations communication is required. Moller further observes that the Somali conflicts show how the media can influence the structural and relational transformations. He noted that media reports on what was going on in the Somali National Reconciliation Conference in Nairobi led to either escalation or lessening of the conflict in Somali.

Sometimes the conflicting parties own the media outlets which they use to spread propaganda about the conflict and the other parties. Carruthers (2000) argues that when media participates in a conflict and continues to portray the other groups as less human and threatening to peace process, it discourages communication between the warring factions. The primary result is that it becomes exceedingly difficult to get the parties to agree to any attempts at resolution. Once stuck in such a dynamic (which one?), any conciliatory behaviour will not be interpreted as such. The risk is that it becomes more and more difficult to solve the basic incompatibility and peace agreements will more easily be broken.

Peace researchers (Bercovitch, 2009; Lederach, 2005; Spence, 2001; Botes, 1994) committed to the notion that conflict prevention is possible are convinced that media can play a constructive role in diffusing tension and preventing or moderating deadly conflicts and forging peace between warring groups/nations. But it should also be noted here that using media to diffuse tensions and prevent deadly conflicts is a new phenomenon. The value of mobilizing newspapers, radio, television and other media in the quest for peace has never been scientifically proved or thoroughly evaluated.

Howard (2002) argued that the media can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment. However, another aspect to the media is that it can also be an instrument of conflict resolution, when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse views. The media enables a people to make well-informed choices. It can reduce conflict and foster human security.

According to Paluck(2007), one of the most infamous examples of media inciting prejudice and conflict is the Rwandan radio station Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM), which was used to perpetuate prejudices, stereotypes and hate campaigns against the Tutsi community and moderate Hutus. This led to the killing of up to 800,000 Tutsi and politically moderate Hutu civilians in 100 days. The media's role in the genocide was deemed so central that the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda based in Arusha charged two of the radio station's founders with crimes of genocide, arguing that the radio "set the stage" for genocide. The founders of Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) indirectly and directly called for murder,

even to the point of providing the names and locations of people to be killed. In the days leading to and during the massacres, RTLTM received help from Radio Rwanda, the government-owned station, and programs were relayed to villages and towns throughout the country by a network of transmitters operated by Radio Rwanda.

Relatedly leaders must be convinced of the need to turn their media into promoters of peace before an agreement is reached. A first step would be to fund the creation of television programming featuring peace-building efforts, and intervening diplomatically to gain access for such programs on local government-sponsored broadcasts. Fund could also be provided for other documentary and dramatic films (for TV and cinema) that promote reconciliation and humanize the “other”. It would also help to fund and publish studies detailing the economic costs to both sides of continued conflict, and the likely economic benefits of a peace agreement including the offer of funding for reconstruction in case the conflict is resolved.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The international approach to peace-building and conflict prevention is grounded in the concept of “liberal peace” which derives from a long tradition of Western liberal theory and practice. The liberal peace thesis views political and economic liberalization as effective antidotes to violent conflicts. Thus, promotion of human rights, democracy, elections, constitutionalism, rule of law, property rights, good governance, and neo-liberal economics have become part and parcel of the international peace-building strategy. Liberal internationalism is interventionist in nature. Going beyond assisting individual countries emerging from war, it promotes a normative agenda. Creating

designated units with special mandates for conflict management enabled governments and agencies to respond to immediate needs for transitional assistance. But these ad hoc responses could not serve as a substitute for clear policy development which required multi-dimensional responses.

1.7.1 The democratic Peace Theory

According to Jack Levy, the democratic peace theory is “the closest thing we have to an empirical law in the study of international relations.”²⁶ This theory refers to the idea that democracies by nature do not go to war with one another, a fact which historically has guaranteed peace between democratic states, arguably without exception. The democratic peace thesis offers a strong empirical attack in the liberal arsenal against the traditional intellectual hegemony of realism in American IR theory.

Democratic peace is rooted theoretically in the writings of Immanuel Kant and in particular his work “Perpetual Peace”. Kant claims that peace is a reasonable outcome of the interaction of states with a republican form of government. He believes that the republican constitution “gives a favorable prospect for the desired consequence, i.e., perpetual peace. The reason is this: if the consent of the citizens is required in order to decide that war should be declared, nothing is more natural than that they should be very cautious in commencing such a poor game, decreeing for themselves all the calamities of war.” Contrasting republicanism with other forms of governments, Kant argues, “On the other hand, in a constitution which is not republican, and under which the subjects are not

²⁶ Jack S. Levy, “Domestic Politics in War,” in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 88

citizens, a declaration of war is the easiest thing in the world to decide upon, because war does not require of the ruler, who is the proprietor and not a member of the state, the least sacrifice of the pleasure of his table, the chase, his country houses, his court functions, and the like²⁷.

Because peace under Kant's paradigm is a function of the form of government of the two potential parties to a conflict, the logical implication is that liberal republicanism must be diffused and made universal in order to achieve perpetual peace among states. Until states share a common liberal perspective, war will be necessary to prevent autocratic and despotic governments from oppressing their own people and from threatening the freedom of citizens in the liberal states themselves. This semi-evangelical view of liberalism may also contribute to strengthening the democratic peace theory.

Authoritarian regimes may view liberal states as particularly threatening because of this ideology that values the diffusion of liberalism to other states, which would of course threaten the authoritarian leader's own power. Liberal states, on the other hand, would not feel threatened by the universalistic outlook of other liberal republics since they already share a similar form of government. This theory is the most relevant for this study because it holds the idea that democracies by nature do not go to war with one another, a fact which historically has guaranteed peace between democratic states, arguably without exception. This study seeks to explore the role of the media in post conflict peace building in post independent Southern Sudan. The real cause of the conflict in this area

²⁷ Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace." *On History*, trans L.W. Beck, R.E. Anchor, & E. Fackenheim (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957), p. 94-95

was politically instigated hence the relevance of the theory in explaining the relationship between democracies and peace-building.

1.8 Methodology

This section presented the methodology which was adopted by the study so as to ensure that the objectives were achieved. It outlined how the study would be carried out. The chapter presented the research design, the population, sampling design and the sample size, data collection method and instruments and data analysis.

The study adopted a descriptive survey as it deemed the best strategy to fulfill the objectives of this study. Descriptive studies described characteristics associated with the subject population. Descriptive research was appropriate in investigating relationships among variables. The variables of this study were political factors cultural factors and role of media in conflict prevention and peace building process. Surveys allowed the collection of large amount of data from a sizable population in a highly economical way.

The population for this study included the media houses in the post independent Southern Sudan, Non Governmental Organizations, Government officials and the General public. These formed the population of the study. Dealing with all members even for a smaller accessible population was difficult due to the tremendous amount of time and resources needed. A sample was a smaller population obtained from the accessible population. Simple stratified random sampling was used based on the sampling frame below to come up with a sample of 50 respondents.

The study used both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was obtained through interviewing media personalities involved in conflict and peace building efforts. The interviews were carried out with the help of an interview guide. The interview guide

contained relevant issues concerning the conflicts in South Sudan and peace building. Secondary data was obtained from analysis and review of books, journals, papers and other available literature on the issue of role of media in peace building. The data was analyzed using content analysis. Content analysis was a technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of responses and objectively identifying and using the same approach to relate trends. The results were presented under identified themes.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The study was organized into five Chapters. The first chapter was the proposal which gave the introduction to the study. The research problem was conceptualized and provided justification for this study. The chapter also presented literature review, theoretical framework, the hypotheses and the research methodology that was used by the study. The second chapter was a discussion on the role of the media in conflict prevention and peace building in the global and regional context and the global factors affecting this endeavor. The third chapter gave a discussion of the role of media in conflict prevention and peace building in the Southern Sudan context. The fourth chapter was on data analysis and presentation of findings. The fifth chapter constituted the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING

Even though this study is exploratory, the relevant theoretical perspectives, which provide a theoretical framework to which exploratory findings must be tied, are important. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical framework, which combines intergroup contact theory with other theoretical perspectives on the role of media in post conflict peace building.

2.1 Peace building

Prior to discussing the specific role of the media in the peace-building process, the main factors preventing the attainment of long-term peace must be elucidated and the mechanisms for reducing those factors identified. First, peace building must be defined and differentiated from peacemaking and peacekeeping. “Peacemaking” generally refers to the signing of agreements between policymakers, which results in a suspension of fighting. For the United Nation, peacemaking involves bringing hostile parties to agreement through diplomatic means, most commonly through negotiation²⁸. Peacekeeping is generally a multilateral activity, and all of these missions involve military personnel, although many include substantial civilian components as well²⁹. While certainly peacemaking, and often peacekeeping, are integral to successful peace

²⁸ United Nations, “The UN in Brief: What the UN Does for Peace: Peacemaking,” available at

<<http://www.un.org/Overview/uninbrief/peacemaking.shtml>>.

²⁹ Virginia Page Fortna, *Does Peacekeeping Work? Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 5.

building, they represent narrower and generally shorter commitments. In contrast, peacebuilding refers to a long-term commitment that includes post-conflict reconstruction, but also involves a wide array of processes and stages necessary to transform a conflict toward more sustainable peace³⁰. To simplify, peacemaking aims at bringing about a cessation in hostilities and allow the combatants to pursue nonviolent solutions; peacekeeping attempts to separate the disputing parties and maintain a state of non-violence; finally, peacebuilding is a process that establishes the conditions for a sustainable settlement³¹. Thus, the major purpose of peacebuilding is the prevention of a relapse into violent conflict. To achieve this, peacebuilding goes beyond diplomatic agreements to promote social and psychological change at the grassroots level³².

2.1.1. The emergence of the concept of peacebuilding

It is generally held that peacebuilding has been practiced since ancient times, and later as a form of confidence-building during the Cold War and an instrument in reducing conflict around issues of economic inequality³³. Peacebuilding analysis and practice gained significant international momentum in the early 1990s, with the end of the Cold War, as the focus shifted away from inter-state conflicts to the management and resolution of armed conflicts within states. The argument was that because the nature of conflicts had changed, since the end of the Cold War, it was necessary to change the process, the goals, and the

³⁰ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), pp. 17-18.

³¹ Jacob Bercovitch and Ayse Kadayifci, "Exploring the Relevance and Contribution of Mediation to Peace- Building," in *Peace and Conflict Studies* 9, no. 2: (2002), pp. 21-22.

³² Jacob Bercovitch and Ayse Kadayifci, "Exploring the Relevance and Contribution of Mediation to Peace- Building," in *Peace and Conflict Studies* 9, no. 2: (2002), pp. 21-22.

³³ Paffenholz Thania and Christoph Spurk (2007) *The different roles of Civil Society in Peacebuilding: New insights from a functionalist perspective*. Paper presented at the 48th annual convention of the International Studies Association, 28th February to 3rd March 2007, Chicago.

actors that can lead to peace.³⁴ It was during this period that the concept of peacebuilding became popularized by the former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali while making clear the functions of UN organizations for conflict resolution in the post-Cold War era.

In fact, since 1990, despite the belief that the end of the Cold War in 1989 was to have introduced a new era of peace, rights and privileges of human beings, pervasive and pernicious violent conflicts¹³—most of which having been occurred within countries—have persisted in many parts of the world³⁵. Secessionist struggles, civil wars, local warlord-ism, collapsing states, gross human rights violations and genocide characterized this period. The level of violence in many of these cases was intense in many countries, such as in the former Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Kosovo, Haiti, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, and others, notably in Africa³⁶. It was in this context that the idea of peacebuilding gained significant international momentum, with the central idea to provide countries emerging from violence with the skills and resources they required, not only to rebuild, but also to prevent future violence³⁷. As pointed out above, the first international appearance of the concept of peacebuilding was found in the 1992 and 1995 editions of *An Agenda for Peace*, proposed by the former UN-Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Boutros-Ghali's 1992 report proposed a new framework to manage international armed conflicts. Proclaiming the advent of a new generation of peace

³⁴ Miall Hugh (2007). —The EU and the Peacebuilding Commission. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Volume 20 Number 1, March: Routledge.

³⁵ Prager Carol A. L. and Govier T. (2003). *Dilemmas of Reconciliation: Cases and Concept*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University press.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Attack Iain (2004). —Peacebuilding as conflict management or political engineering? □ *Trócaire Development Review*, pp.17-32.

missions in the post-Cold War era, Boutros-Ghali suggested the use of innovative concepts, notably - peacebuilding', limited to the post-conflict period and defined as —action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict³⁸.

Since 1992, peacebuilding had remained focused on post-conflict situations, reflecting the linear thinking about conflict, where peacebuilding takes place only after the phases of preventive diplomacy (conflict prevention), peacemaking (conflict ending) and peacekeeping (conflict management) have been completed. This was found to be the shortcoming that the *Supplement to An Agenda for Peace (1995)* rectified. Therefore, since 1995, the use of the concept of peacebuilding took a broad perspective in relation to two types: efforts to reinforce preventive diplomacy, and efforts to buttress peacemaking³⁹. While differentiating between peacemaking, peacebuilding and peacekeeping, Boutros-Ghali had emphasized the importance of structural peacebuilding in the post-conflict period, stating its functions as: rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war⁴⁰. Over time, however, the structural orientation of peacebuilding has been expanded upon by those who view peacebuilding as encompassing equality and social justice, improved relationships, and meeting of basic needs⁴¹. Concepts of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peace-enforcement have been reframed, and military-focused missions have been replaced with a broader notion of

³⁸ Boutros Boutros-Ghali (1995). *An Agenda for Peace*. New York: United Nations.

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Fisher D., Rote K., Miller L., Romprey D. and Filson, B. (2006). *From relief to recovery: Peer support by consumer relieves the trauma of disaster and recovery from mental illness*. Delmar, NY: The National GAINS Center.

peacebuilding efforts. Simultaneously, the notion of neat, chronological phases of conflict followed by stabilization, transition and consolidation have proven problematic when applied to the realities of complex peace operations and development. There was a need both to respond more effectively to the immediate crises, and to plan post-crisis responses in the context of long-term peace-building strategies⁴².

2.1.2 Two approaches to peace building

A general statement in peacebuilding literature is that peacebuilding can be driven either *from above* the top-down approach, by external actors (international bodies or national governments) or *from below* the bottom-up approach, by local non-state actors⁴³. However, it is observed that most texts dealing with peacebuilding often tend to promote a concept that is heavily approached in a top-down manner. The reason for overemphasizing the top-down approach to peacebuilding is perhaps due to the fact that official peacebuilding has emerged as an international involvement in conflict situations, and therefore is mainly associated with the work of outsiders, donors and intervention forces⁴⁴. Consequently peacebuilding finds itself much more frequently approached in a top-down manner —liberal internationalism—guiding the work of most international agencies aiming to transform war-torn states into liberal market democracies'. These

⁴² CPHS and CERI (2006). *Integrated Approaches to Peacebuilding: A Round-Table Discussion*. Conference Report. Conference organized by the Center for Peace and Human Security (CPHS) and the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI); L'institut d'Etudes Politiques; (Science Politique); 2 June; Paris, France. Available at: <http://www.peacecenter.sciences-po.fr/pdf/pb-report.pdf>.

⁴³ Oda Hiroshi (2007). —Peacebuilding from Below: Theoretical and Methodological Considerations toward an Anthropological Study on Peace—. *Journal of the Graduate School of Letters, Hokkaido University*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-16.

⁴⁴ Ramsbotham Oliver, Tom Woodhouse, and Hugh Miall (2005). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. 2nd Edition fully revised and expanded. Malden, Cambridge: Polity Press

liberal market democracies are often sought to be transplanted and implemented in all war-torn countries, with the assumption that it would suffice to export the market democracy model in order to secure a peace-built on the basis of democratic and economic liberalism ⁴⁵, with less attention paid to actions of local actors, who are simply taken as _implementing partners. John Paul Lederach stands as one of the writers who challenged the top-down approach to peacebuilding. In Lederach's view, the single most important aspect of encouraging an organic perspective of peacebuilding politics is to create a genuine sense of participation, responsibility, and ownership of the process across a broad spectrum of the population⁴⁶ instead of transplanting international liberal democracy, to be blindly implemented by local peacebuilding actors. Prager and Govier (2003:5) also hold that it is very difficult for outsiders to intervene constructively, so as to build within a country a capacity for sustaining non-violence and better relationships. In this regard, Tongeren et al. (2005:2) state that the international community, as it is embodied by the UN, has too often proven ineffective when faced with the harshest realities of world conflicts. They also emphasize that since the nature of conflicts has changed, shifting from inter-state to intrastate, so must the strategies to solve them change. It is in this regard that many hold that the top-down approach needs to be supplemented with bottom-up approaches, or grassroots peacebuilding initiatives. Their point is that peacebuilding solutions must be adopted by local actors and cannot be forced from above⁴⁷.

⁴⁵ Prager Carol A. L. and Govier T. (2003). *Dilemmas of Reconciliation: Cases and Concept*. Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University press.

⁴⁶ Lederach John Paul, Reina Neufeldt and Hal Culbertson (2007). *Reflective Peacebuilding: A planning, monitoring, and Learning Toolkit*. University of Notre Dame and catholic Relief Services. He Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies.

⁴⁷ Ibid

2.2 Understand the Role of Media in Post conflict Peace building

The common argument in post-conflict peacebuilding literature emphasizes that the progress in peacebuilding mainly relies on the (positive) transformation or restoration of broken relationships between people in conflict⁴⁸. Communication is central to many aspects of work in conflict and post-conflict settings. The use of traditional or mass media (radio, TV, print journalism) has long been acknowledged as playing a crucial part in providing information and messaging that can shape popular views. These tools of communication have been used to both incite violence as well as carry messages that help prevent violent conflict, and promote peace and reconciliation. Technological innovations have created new opportunities and outlets for communication. In particular, the spread of mobile phones, crowd sourcing technologies, and social networks have enabled messages to be amplified, information flows to be accelerated, and new spaces opened up for the involvement of individuals and communities to play a role in the various phases of the conflict cycle⁴⁹. The media has changed the nature of communication flows that contribute to crisis and disaster response, conflict monitoring and early warning, civilian protection, community peacebuilding, and state-building activities.

According to the *Peacebuilding in the Information Age: sifting hype from reality* (ICT for Peace Foundation Jan 2011), suggested that present situation is moving from a rigid top-down hierarchical approach to an increasing reliance on mobile, inclusive, interactive media, building on a wealth of information gathered from locals and those outside of

⁴⁸ Schirch Lisa (2005). *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, Inc.

⁴⁹ Coyle, Diane and Patrick Meier (2009) "New Technologies in Emergencies and Conflicts: The Role of Information and Social Networks" Washington D.C. and London U.K.: UN Foundation and Vodofone Partnership.

traditional development, humanitarian and peacebuilding communities. This transformative switch to a more bottom-up approach, focusing on the individuals and communities in crisis and conflict areas, creates opportunities for improved real-time communication with a range of agencies, but also creates opportunities for greater self-sufficiency in times of crisis and conflict. In essence, the media has changed what information can be gathered and accessed, who can participate in the communication process, and also, who can be a peace builder⁵⁰.

The Communication for Peacebuilding work has its roots in the philosophy and practice of Communication for Development. Communication for Development is characterized by the diversity of communication techniques used to address the problem and comprise a diverse “toolkit” including: information dissemination and education, behavior change, social marketing, social mobilization, media advocacy, communication for social change, and participatory development communication. Communication for Development practice began in the 1940s following the establishment of the Bretton Woods system, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1944⁵¹. Informed by a mainly economic perspective, the dominant approach to development came to be known as modernization and growth theory. This approach characterized development as a unilinear, evolutionary process and divided the world into poor, traditional societies on the one hand and rich modern societies on the other hand.

Mass media was seen as important in spreading awareness of new possibilities and diffusing practices and shaping peoples’ attitudes and behaviors. The effectiveness of

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Manyozo, Linje (2006). Manifesto for Development Communication: Nora C. Quebral and the Los Baños School of Development Communication, *Asian Journal of Communication* 16 (1): 79–99.

these approaches were questioned, with some believing that at the point where individuals decide on whether to change their behavior or not, personal communication was far more likely to be influential⁵². The communication approaches in this era attempted to gain support for development initiatives, typically with messages informing the population about projects, illustrating the advantages of these projects, and recommending that they be supported; in short, engaging in a 'soft-sell' approach.

The elitist, *vertical or top-down orientation* of the diffusion model, influenced by a Eurocentric perspective on development was challenged by Latin American social scientists, and a theory more focused on *dependency and underdevelopment* emerged during the 1960s⁵³. The dependency approach formed part of a general re-orientation or paradigm shift in the social sciences that was informed by structuralist and political economy explanations of development. As the dependency paradigm took hold, it gave rise to a movement for a New World Information and Communication Order from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. The new states in Africa, Asia and the success of socialist and popular movements in Cuba, China, Chile and other countries provided the goals for political, economic and cultural self-determination. These new nations shared the ideas of being independent from the superpowers and moved to form the Non-Aligned Nations. The Non-Aligned Movement defined development during this period as political struggle and communications strategies became contested and politicized.

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Ibid

During the 1970s and 1980s, a new concept of development emerged emphasizing *cultural identity and multidimensionality*. The growing interdependency of nations and global issues such as economic and financial crisis, ecological and security crises gave rise to a new perspective on development and social change. The defining characteristic was that change needed to be examined from the ‘bottom-up’, from the self development of the local community⁵⁴.

2.2.1 Media Communication for Peacebuilding

The advent of the Information Age with the increasing availability of mobile phones and the internet has generated new interest in the impact of the media on development and more focus on the poor as producers and innovators, as opposed to just consumers of information. The advent of M-Services such as M-Finance, M-Health, M-Agriculture are examples of how the availability of new media communication tools have spawned new approaches to communication for development⁵⁵.

In the arena of conflict transformation and peacebuilding, communications have historically played a role in shaping the views of policy-makers and influencing popular opinion on conflicts. Starting with the Crimean War (print media), through the American Civil War (photo journalism and print media), World War II (cinema newsreels, radio and daily newspapers) and the wars in the Persian Gulf (1991) and the invasion of Iraq (2002) (global television and the 24-hour news cycle), we can see how communication

⁵⁴ Servaes, Jan and Patchanee Malikhao (2004) Communication and Sustainable Development Background Paper, 9th United Nations Roundtable on Communication for Development, 6 – 9 September 2004 FAO Rome, Italy.

⁵⁵ Ibid

and media has shaped the views of policy makers and the public on war and the prospects of peace⁵⁶.

With the accelerating pace of change and the use of an increasingly diverse range of communication tools, there has been a shift from the institutional, vertical realm to the new communication space characterized by the merging of mass media and the interactive, horizontal networks of communication. This has given rise to a new form of communication, mass self-communication, through the Internet and wireless communication networks. It has been evident in the recent events in the Middle East how this form of communication has enabled social movements to organize and bring about revolutionary social change⁵⁷.

The seminal work of Kalathil, Langlois and Kaplan (2008) provides a rare examination of the role of communication and media in post-conflict and fragile states. They observe that nearly every post-conflict intervention involves some aspect of communication, from messaging on distinct topics to encouraging national dialogue to rebuilding destroyed media infrastructure and institutions. They conclude that both in research and in the field, communication remains an afterthought, frequently treated as part of the public relations strategy rather than an integral and technical component of the post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction process⁵⁸. Because of this, there is very little understanding of the role that communication processes play in the numerous strands of post-conflict

⁵⁶ Castells, Manuel (1996, second edition, 2000). *The Rise of the Network Society, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture Vol. I*. Cambridge, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid

reconstruction, including peacebuilding, governance, and long term development⁵⁹. They recognize that the media and communication sector can be an important element of stabilization, reconstruction and peacebuilding challenges.

There appears to be a common understanding that interpersonal violent conflict often involves a breakdown in communication, and that where adversaries are unable to talk to each other, it is unlikely that they can resolve their differences. It is also argued that without communication, the 'other' is frequently dehumanized, and mistrust and fear prevail. Conflict transformation, then, frequently involves finding ways to restore communication and encourage dialogue, which can occur at all levels, from the grassroots up to heads of state⁶⁰. This is thus assumed to lay the groundwork for the reciprocal enactment of acknowledgement of transgressions, apologies for these, forgiveness of these, and assurances that such acts will not occur in the future. In this regard, it is argued that opening channels of communication and interaction is crucial, as it asserts a shared humanity, challenges prejudices and shows opponents that division is not the means of addressing conflict issues, and creates opportunities (offers space) to address relational issues⁶¹. When channels of communication are opened, the hostile person can discover that her or his 'enemies' do not, in fact, wish her or him harm, and she or he comes to see the aggressiveness in her or his own behavior; and as a result becomes less defensive and hostile.

⁵⁹ Kalathil, S. Langlois, J and Kaplan A (2008) Towards a New Model. Media and Communication in Post-Conflict and Fragile States. CommGAP, World Bank.

⁶⁰ Van Tongeren Paul, Malin Brenk, Marte Hellema, and Juliette Verhoeven (2005). *People Building Peace II. Successful Stories of Civil Society*. A project of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention (Utrecht, Netherlands), Boulder, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

⁶¹ Ibid

However, communication per se does not assure conflict transformation, since in certain cases, it can actually worsen communication outcomes. Poor communication is very likely to exacerbate conflicts⁶². In this regard, it is generally stated that what is needed is effective communication between former enemies, which is one of the essential elements for relational peacebuilding. Effective communication refers to communication which is open and empathic between conflicting parties. Yet, effective communication requires 'safe' spaces that will help to change perceptions, build trust, open communication (not defensive) and increase empathy. This is so since interpersonal communication can be difficult at the best of times, because of misunderstandings, hurt feelings and prejudices⁶³. The point is that if no 'safe' spaces are provided, communication between conflicting parties can be extremely negative, even leading to destructive outcomes. 'Safe' spaces — advocated for constructive communication — involve dialogue in traditional problem-solving workshops (open dialogues in which problem identification and the generation of solutions towards understanding, is nurtured), and in joint projects that are unrelated to the conflict's core issues, and that rather centre on shared interests⁶⁴. As Krauss and Morsella's study found, communication, coupled with a genuine desire to solve a problem that conflict parties share in common, makes the restoration of their relationships more likely⁶⁵. Buber perceives open

⁶²Krauss Robert M. and Ezequiel Morsella (2000). —Communication and Conflict□. In Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman, eds.*The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bas Publishers, pp. 131-43.

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ Maiese Michelle (2003). —Peacebuilding□. *Beyond Intractability*. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Research Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Available at: <<http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peacebuilding/>>.

⁶⁵ Krauss Robert M. and Ezequiel Morsella (2000). —Communication and Conflict□. In Morton Deutsch and Peter T. Coleman, eds.*The Handbook of Conflict Resolution: Theory and Practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bas Publishers, pp. 131-43.

and honest communication as a true encounter between equals, and terms such rare meetings dialogical moments⁶⁶.

2.2.2 Framing media communication for peace building

There are many ways to understand the current practice of Communication for Peacebuilding. There is no commonly accepted definition, but most would agree it involves the use of a variety of communication media to support the processes and activities involved in resolving violent conflict and establishing a sustainable peace. There are four ways to conceptualize how the media has been applied to peacebuilding. First, one might look at the channels of communication flows between the following entities: between individuals in conflict; within a group where conflict exists; within groups or communities in conflict; and between communities and organizations such as multilaterals, government, and NGO's where cooperation and coordination are issues. This approach draws on traditional communication theory and provides one way of framing where communication takes place and is useful to identify at what level communication might be helpful in promoting positive change⁶⁷.

A second way of framing Communication for Peacebuilding is to look at the media or platforms that are used. A distinction is made here between 'traditional' and 'new forms of media', although this divide has been questioned and there are those who feel the use

⁶⁶ Buber M. (1958). *I and Thou*. (2nd ed.: R. G. Smith, Trans.). New York: Scribner. (Original work published 1923) and Buber, M. (1965). *Between Man and Man*. (R. G. Smith, Trans.). New York: Macmillan. (Original work published in 1947).

⁶⁷ Hattotuwa, Sanjana ACR Conference 2010 presentation: ICTs and peacebuilding August 31, 2010

of these tools are now blurred and the distinction is no longer relevant⁶⁸. This approach highlights the multitude of pathways, functions and relationships essential to communication and focuses on the tools through which people communicate. Traditional methods, like community meetings, radio, television, and newspapers, have long since served to inform communities and organizations on the ground. With the addition of new communication tools like mobile phones, SMS, and social media, individuals, communities and organizations can now complement these traditional forms of media (and even challenge subversive narratives) by communicating their own stories. In addition, new tools for communication facilitate more information gathering and interactions between users. In their application to peacebuilding, these new tools can contribute to greater knowledge about changing conditions on the ground, needs of communities that are enduring or have endured violence, and even increase contact and understanding between opposing groups. New technologies change what information can be gathered and who can participate in the communication process⁶⁹.

Another approach might involve a functional analysis of how media is involved in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. One such framework is that proposed by Schirch and Bratic who identify 7 functions that media can play: Media as Information Provider and Interpreter; media as Watchdog; media as Gatekeeper; media as Policymaker; media as Diplomat; media as Peace Promoter and media as Bridge Builder. This approach shows how media and communication have been used in diverse ways in conflict and peacebuilding settings, with different purposes, serving different interests. It shows the

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Hattotuwa, Sanjana ACR Conference 2010 presentation: ICTs and peacebuilding August 31, 2010

potential for communication to play a multitude of valuable roles in promoting peace and preventing conflict⁷⁰.

2.2.3 Media in Conflict Prevention, Early Warning and Crisis Information Management and Response

Communication technologies can provide effective tools to prevent violent conflicts provide early warning and enable more effective responses to crises. Until recently conflict early warning systems have not taken full advantage of new technologies. Recent activity by multilateral/international agencies (the dominant actor in this sphere) has begun to change this. In response to the absence of mechanisms to report across sectors on the immediate impacts that global shocks have on the lives of the poorest and most vulnerable populations, multilateral actors and governments are developing a variety of information gathering systems to help predict and prevent such impacts. Many of these new approaches involve information management approaches that take advantage of the vast amounts of information available through the internet and mobile technology, and then code for specific indicators that the organizations believe are telling signs of change. Gathering information can identify developing trends in countries that can point to potential sites for violence. Information can also provide evidence for human rights abuses, incidents of genocide, and complaints of oppressive regimes.

⁷⁰ Bratic, V and Schirch, L. (2007) Why and When to Use Media for Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding. Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict. Issue paper

2.2.4 Media involvement in Post-Conflict Reconciliation and Reconstruction

Peace builders have used communications media to promote cultures of peace, strengthen the freedom of speech, build trust and understanding, and change attitudes towards violence, and improve systems of governance through their use of media and communication. Search for Common Ground, Interviews, Developing Radio Partners, Equal Access, and Panos are examples of organizations that look to help build media capacity and to promote messages of peace, through, among other things, journalism training, media legislation, radio networks, TV and production assistance, and inspirational dramas. These organizations also support the development of local media content through radio shows, interviews, and community outreach programs like traveling theater. This programming provides public service information on health issues, women's rights, and youth interests. It also helps to empower local voices, create transparency throughout the development process, and provides a safe space for interaction between different factions within communities⁷¹. The peace builders focus on a range of media communications, although are mostly centered around the use of radio programming as it is the most accessible form of media.

⁷¹ ICT for Peace (2005) "Information and Communication Technology for Peace: The Role of ICT in Preventing, Responding to, and Recovering from Conflicts" New York, NY: United Nations Information and Communication Technologies Task Force.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACE BUILDING IN SOUTH SUDAN

This chapter presents the role of the media in conflict prevention and peace building in South Sudan. In particular, the chapter reviews the role of the media in reference to the stated research objectives in chapter one. In particular, the chapter reviews the role of the media in providing information and interpreting the same for ease of understanding by the citizens. The existing media primarily uses two main languages including Arabic and English. However, the main challenge with these two languages lies in the fact that in most media houses, there is no interpretation of the news from one language to another at the presentation time instead that has scheduled news presentation in specific language at a given known time.

3.1 The Media Houses in South Sudan

The country's most popular and perhaps the most politically robust broadcaster is Radio Miraya, a project of the United Nations Mission in South Sudan, managed by Fondation Hirondelle and drawing much of its strength from its attachment to the UN Mission. Both the NGO internews and the Catholic Radio Network have community stations across the country, often broadcasting in local languages to rural communities. South Sudan's state radio and television is also broadcasting as a public service broadcaster.

The entire media sector in South Sudan continues to need long-term support from donors in both financial and political terms especially considering the fact that the media laws are yet to be passed.

Radio is the single most important source of information for the people of South Sudan, with some surveys suggesting that up to 96 per cent of the population accesses information through their radios. Research by BBC Media Action and internews in rural areas found that 63 to 82 per cent of respondents cited radio as their most used source of information. Trust levels are also understood to be high, with up to 70 per cent of radio listeners claiming that radio is their most trusted source of information because of its quality of being relatively accessible, not dependent on literacy, and radio listeners are served by an existing network of local and international services.

South Sudan is a very fragile country whose recent history is characterized by civil war and inter-group conflict. The process of transitioning to self-governance is made doubly difficult by the related challenge of building a more peaceful society. Media and communication could have a substantial role to play in addressing the causes of violent conflict.

3.2 The media as Information Provider and Interpreter on peace building in post-independent South Sudan.

The media in Southern Sudan shapes what the civilians see and hear about conflict and the progress in the peace building process. The perspectives of those who run the media shape stories that were covered. The journalists and news presenters acted as interpreters especially when it came to translating from Arabic to English and vice versa. Journalists had opinions and beliefs based on their experiences which in turn influenced the communications process during the period of peace building. Media owners too had economic interests; they wanted to sell their stories and programs to the public who will buy their newspapers or watch and listen to their programs. This however negatively

influenced their reporting on some issues because they still wanted to remain relevant and make profits out of the whole venture. Increasing corporate control over media in Southern Sudan also played a role in controlling the types of stories that got covered and the way stories were framed. Following many years of civil war, the civilians were doubtful of the news presented by certain media houses as they were perceived to be inclined to a given political side in the conflict.

In some instances, media owners and professionals decided what they thought the public or some target audience wanted to see and hear. Just like the common journalist principle states, "If it bleeds, it leads." Meaning that peace building messages will be headline news, not news of cross-cultural dialogue and understanding hence promote the civilians knowledge of what is happening at a national level to bring about peace in Sudan. The media mostly covered peace building activities and not conflicts so as to assure the civilians that something was happening on bringing about peace in Sudan. This tendency to cover peace building activities and the personalities involved in the peaceful negotiations promoted the peace building initiative hence refrain some members from engaging in further violent activities.

The media also provided information on the dealings and discussions happening within the country and outside the country on peace building initiatives. This provided citizens with the much needed update on whatever was happening on the negotiations between the SPLM leader and the Sudan Government⁷². The media also helped in decoding the messages for the citizens almost on a real time basis especially from Arabic to English

⁷² BBC Media Action , Country Case Study: South Sudan Support to media where media freedoms and rights are constrained (2012) May.

and vice versa. Through this role as an information provider, the media informed the citizens on what they needed to do to ensure peace was reinstated.

Just as Manoff and others have pointed out, professional journalism in its normal pursuits has innate potential for contributing to conflict resolution. The similarities of function position and even attitudes among reporters and mediators who assist disputants to resolve their differences are considerable, although largely unrecognized by journalists. With no intention beyond doing its job according to accepted standards, the news media can deliver an essential requisite of conflict resolution, which is communication hence help in bringing about peace. In the same manner, the media in Sudan was used to communicate and provide the relevant information on the developments in the peace building processes to the citizens of Sudan. The citizens were updated on whatever was happening regularly hence we able to reduce their activities of unrest thereby causing harmony among the citizens and from time to time requested the citizens to maintain peace for the prosperity of the Sudan. The media educated and corrected misperceptions, identified underlying interests and humanized the parties to the dispute thereby supporting the peace building in South Sudan. The media updated the citizens of the signing of the collective Peace Agreement which brought about the much needed peace in South Sudan. Through this news broadcasts, the citizens were much at ease and were ready to work with their disputants in ensuring the success of peace agreement in South Sudan. The media also provided an emotional outlet, enabled consensus building and offered solutions among the citizens to maintain peace and encouraged co-existence.

3.3 Influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships on peace building in post-independent South Sudan

The media have been described as a strategic partner in fostering closer diplomatic relationship and as the pillar needed for building a peaceful nation. In post independence Southern Sudan, the media played a significant role in promoting diplomatic relationships on peace building. The media from time to time announced congratulatory messages send from other countries wishing South Sudan prosperity on the attainment of independence. This helped inform the citizens and the Government of South Sudan on the likely partners following their gaining of independence. The media also helped in opening up the country to other countries for negotiations and business ties.

Through the media, the Nation was able to be connected to the whole world. The media exposed all that happened in the country to the world through the independent journalists and Reuters. The Reuters captured the happenings in the local context and sold this to international media houses which exposed it making the perpetrators to refrain from such activities as they were being watched from all angles.

The media also fueled the conflict through their reporting and the kind of news they reported. The independent journalists clearly understood that news on the conflicts were selling hence they concentrated on the collection of more news on fighting and instability to make a sale. This in essence intensified the tension among communities thus leading to further deterioration of the fragile peace grounds gained by the peace builders. More specifically, this was in respect to the local radio stations broadcasting in the local vernacular languages.

3.4 Role of the Media in Policy Making on Peace-Building in South Sudan

The media also played a critical role in policy making on peace building in post independence South Sudan. Through the media, the government was able to develop policies and guidelines to overcome the challenges realized. First, the country set up the operating framework under which the media industry was to operate in order to ensure peaceful co-existence among the citizens. In addition, the media assisted the government in learning of the likely hot spots that were prone to insecurity and conflicts likely to disrupt the peaceful co-existence. The hot spot areas included the Abyei area due to the mines which were still under dispute especially on the revenue sharing formulas.

Through the media, the Government has been able to establish the positive and negative effects of the media on peace building in the country. This has led to the harassment of journalists and media censorship.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

This chapter presents an analysis and interpretation of findings of the study as set out in the research objective. The study findings were presented on the role of the media in post conflict peace building in post-independent South Sudan. The data was gathered both primary and secondary data. The primary data was gathered using a questionnaire.

4.1 Response Rate

From the study, 32 out of 50 sample respondents filled in and returned the questionnaire contributing to 64%. For the respondents who had time, the researcher held an interview session with them while those who had a busy schedule were given a questionnaire to fill and return. This commendable response rate was made a reality after the researcher made personal calls and visits to remind the respondent to fill-in and return the questionnaires as well as explaining the importance of their participation in this study. This response rate was good and representative and conforms to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) stipulation that a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting; a rate of 60% is good and a response rate of 70% and over is excellent.

Table 4.1: Response Rate

Response rate	Frequency	Percentage
No Response	18	36%
Response	32	64%
Total	50	100%

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

4.2 Demographic Information

The researcher sought to establish the age bracket of the respondents, their career affiliations, and the media one was aware of and whether the news was informative.

4.2.1 Age Bracket

Most (13) of respondents were in the age bracket between 26-35, with 41%, followed closely with 36-45 years at 31%(10), then that of below 25 years at 19%(6),and finally above 46 years at 9%(3). The findings are illustrated in the table 4.1 below.

Table 4.2: Age bracket

Age Bracket	Frequency	Percentage
Between 26-35 years	13	41
Between 36-45 years	10	31
Below 25 years	6	19
Above 46 years	3	9
Total	32	100

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

4.2.2 Career

The study sought to establish the career of the respondents. The findings from the table below show that Government officers were the most with 41%, followed by general public at 25%, NGO administrators at 22% while media professional were at 13% as illustrated in table 4.2 below. A good percentage of the respondents were affiliated in careers, therefore are knowledgeable and hence understand the concepts in the interview guide.

Table 4.3: Career

Career	Frequency	Percentage
Government officer	13	41
General Public	8	25
NGO administrator	7	22
Media Professional	4	13
Total	32	100

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

4.2.3 Awareness of any news media

The study sought to the level of awareness of the presence of media in the region. The study findings were as shown in the table 4.3 below:

Table 4.4: Awareness news media

Media	Frequency	Percentage
Radio	13	41
Television	10	31
Newspapers	6	19
Social Media	3	9
Total	32	100

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

From the above findings, awareness of radio as media in the region was the highest with 41%, followed closely by television with 31%, then newspapers with 19% and finally social media with 9% as illustrated in the table 4.3 above.

4.2.4 How Informative Media Is

Researcher further sought to establish whether the news in South Sudan was informative, by indicating either very informative, informative, less informative .The findings are indicated in the table 4.4 below.

Table 4 5: How informative media is

	Frequency	Percentage
Informative	15	47
very informative	10	31
Less informative	8	25
Total	32	100

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

The findings above indicate that the media was informative with 47%, very informative with 31% and finally, less informative with 25%. These results indicate that the roles of media in the region were well effective to their objectives.

4.3 Media as Information Provider and Interpreter

The study sought to establish media as information provider and interpreter. The respondents were required to score the level of their agreement with various statements on the same. The scale ranged from 1-5, (Where 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=moderately agree, 4=agree, 5= Strongly Agree). The study computed means and standard deviation as described in the table 4.5 below,

Table 4.6: Media as Information Provider and Interpreter

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
The media avails more information to us	4.612	1.516
The media avails information to us in a timely manner	4.356	1.289
The media avails information to us in an efficient manner	3.942	1.641
The media presents the information in many languages understandable to the local community	4.591	1.184
The media offers a variety of options on information delivery including TV, Radio and social media	4.791	0.918
The media informs us of what the parties to a conflict are planning in advance	4.638	0.569

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

The study sought to establish whether the media availed more information to the public, respondents strongly agreed by a mean of 4.612. Asked whether the information availed was timely, to which they agreed at a mean of 4.356. Respondents further agreed that the information availed in an efficient manner at a mean of 3.942. In addition, respondents strongly agreed that media presented the information in many languages understandable to the local community at a mean of 4.591. They also strongly agreed that media offered variety of options on information delivery including TV, Radio and social media at a mean of 4.791. Finally the respondents strongly agreed that the media informed them of what the parties to a conflict are planning in advance at a mean of 4.638.

The researcher further sought to establish the respondents opinion on how else the media played the role of providing information and interpreting it. Most of the respondents indicated that the media covered the weekly press, being briefed by the ministry of information and using different languages to explain new events.

4.4 Influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships

The study sought to establish the influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships. The respondents were required to score the level of their agreement with various statements on media in building diplomatic relationships. The scale ranged from of 1-5 Where 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=moderately agree, 4=agree, 5= Strongly Agree. The study further computed means and standard deviation to help measure influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships. The findings were in table 4.6 below.

Table 4.7: Influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
The media provides an easy link between South Sudan and the rest of the world	4.723	1.084
The media creates a rapport necessary for peace building in South Sudan	3.856	1.015
The media promotes peace building through provision of infrastructure	2.451	1.384
The media provides preventive diplomacy in a conflict	4.572	1.054
The media plays the role of a mediator in a conflict	4.481	1.118
The media allows reduction of tension among worrying factions in a conflict	4.641	1.218

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

From the above findings, respondents strongly agreed that media provided an easy link between South Sudan and the rest of the world at a mean of 4.723. Asked whether media created a rapport necessary for peace building in South Sudan, to which they agreed at a mean of 3.856. On whether media promoted peace building through provision of infrastructure, respondents disagreed with a mean of 2.451. Further; respondents strongly agreed that media provided preventive diplomacy in a conflict at a mean of 4.572. It also played a role of a mediator in a conflict which was agreed at a mean of 4.481. Finally, whether media allowed reduction of tension among worrying factions in a conflict, respondents strongly agreed to a mean of 4.641.

The study further sought the respondent's opinion on how else the media played the role of building diplomatic relationships in South Sudan. In response, respondents indicated that the media brought together two conflicting sides together for a programme discussion so that they may come to an agreement at the end of the show. This caused positive opinion in the eyes of the public. In addition respondents generally agreed that the media took an active role to report on the peace process that followed the civil war in Sudan. Particularly, in terms of monitoring policy decisions that led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), the comprehensive peace agreement between the two principals in Nairobi. They indicated that the public and politicians were engaged in dialogues at different levels on how to consolidate existing power struggles and ethnic disparities at the time of the conflict. While it is widely accepted that the peace accord and the formation of an all inclusive government and the further split of the nation into Sudan and Southern Sudan was a positive step towards stability, some respondents still see unresolved formulas as regards the sharing of resources especially minerals as a hindrance to peace building in Southern Sudan and Sudan.

4.5 Role of the Media in Policy Making on Peace-Building

Several statements were floated on the role of the media in policy making on peace-building. The respondents were required to score the level of their agreement with various statements on role of the media in policy making on peace-building. The scale ranged from of 1-5 Where 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=moderately agree, 4=agree, 5= Strongly Agree. The study further computed means and standard deviation to help measure influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships as illustrated in the table 4.7 below.

Table 4.8: Role of the Media in Policy Making on Peace-Building

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
Media has influenced policymakers thinking about how to prevent and respond to violent conflict.	4.576	1.021
policymakers use the media a tool of to get across their message to their followers	4.712	1.182
Media is an instrument of conflict resolution by fostering the formulation of laws governing the relationships of two sides of a conflict	4.287	0.018
Media allows exchange of information between individuals, groups and potential parties in a conflict situation	4.651	1.119

(Source: Research Data, 2012)

Asked whether media influenced policymakers to think about how to prevent and respond to violent conflict, respondents strongly agreed with a mean of 4.576. They also strongly agreed that policymakers used the media as a tool to get across messages to their followers at a mean of 4.712. In addition, they agreed that media was an instrument of conflict resolution by fostering the formulation of laws governing the relationships of two sides of a conflict at a mean of 4.287, and finally they strongly agreed that media allowed exchange of information between individuals, groups and potential parties in a conflict situation at a mean of 4.651.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This thesis has attempted to establish the role of the media in post conflict peace building in post-independent South Sudan. It also aimed at examining how the media can set the human rights agenda through peace building initiatives within its institutional framework and the Journalism profession. Discourse analysis and interviews constituted the research method. Textual material in relation to the research topic was used to support arguments and analysis. The research was informed by the democratic peace theory, on how the media can influence policy through shaping public opinions. The analysis and findings sought to achieve the following research objectives; a) determine the influence of the media as Information Provider and Interpreter on peace building in post-independent South Sudan, b) determine the influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships on peace building in post-independent South Sudan, and c) establish the role of the media in policy making on peace-building in post-independent South Sudan.

5.2 Key Findings

In summary, the study established that the media was informative with 47%, very informative with 31% which indicate that the roles of media in the region were well effective to their objectives. On media as information provider and interpreter, the study established that it availed more information to the public which was timely and efficient. In addition, media presented the information in many languages understandable to the local community, it offered variety of options on information delivery including TV,

Radio and social media and that it also informed them of what the parties to a conflict are planning in advance.

On role of the media in peace-building as a social practice, respondents generally agreed that the media took an active role to report on the peace process that followed the civil war in Sudan. Particularly, in terms of monitoring policy decisions that led to the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), the comprehensive peace agreement between the two principals in Nairobi. They indicate that the public and politicians were engaged in dialogues at different levels on how to consolidate existing power struggles and ethnic disparities at the time of the conflict. While it is widely accepted that the peace accord and the formation of an all inclusive government and the further split of the nation into Sudan and Southern Sudan was a positive step towards stability, some respondents still see unresolved formulas as regards the sharing of resources especially minerals as a hindrance to peace building in Southern Sudan and Sudan.

The study further concluded that media played a critical role in policy making on peace building in post independence South Sudan. The media further was used as a tool get across messages to their followers, as an instrument of conflict resolution by fostering the formulation of laws governing the relationships of two sides of a conflict and that it allowed exchange of information between individuals, groups and potential parties in a conflict situation.

5.3 Conclusions of the Study

The study concludes that media is a strong tool that acts as an information provider and interpreter. It is also a strong means of building diplomatic relationships and also for

policy making on peace building. This conclusion agrees with Hattotuwa, (2010) who presented that there are many ways to understand the current practice of Communication for Peace building. There is no commonly accepted definition, but most would agree it involves the use of a variety of communication media to support the processes and activities involved in resolving violent conflict and establishing a sustainable peace.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

This study concentrated on the role of media in post conflict peace building in South Sudan. It therefore suggests that further studied be contacted on the effectiveness and efficiency of the media in South Sudan to its roles and objectives.

5.5 Recommendations for Policy and Practice

The study recommends that the government of South Sudan institutes the policy to govern the media for efficient and careful reporting for the successful peace building mission. The journalists be given freedom and be trained on journalism to promote professionalism in the areas of work.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Guide

1. Please indicate your age

Below 25 years () Between 26-35 years ()

Between 36-45 years () Above 46 years ()

2. Please indicate your career

NGO administrator () Media Professional ()

Government officer () General Public ()

Other (Please Specify) _____

3. What news media are you aware of in South Sudan?

Radio () Television () Newspapers ()

Social Media ()

4. How informative are these news media in South Sudan?

Very informative () Informative () Less informative ()

Media as Information Provider and Interpreter

5. Below are statements on the role of the media as Information Provider and Interpreter in post conflict peace building in South Sudan. On a scale of 1-5, please rank your level of agreement with each statement. (Where 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=moderately agree, 4=agree, 5= Strongly Agree)

Statement	5	4	3	2	1
The media avails more information to us					
The media avails information to us in a timely manner					
The media avails information to us in an efficient manner					
The media presents the information in many languages understandable to the local community					
The media offers a variety of options on information delivery including TV, Radio and social media					
The media informs us of what the parties to a conflict are planning in advance					

6. In your opinion, how else does the media play the role of providing information and interpreting it?

Influence of the media in building diplomatic relationships

7. Below are statements on the role of the media in building diplomatic relationships in post conflict peace building in South Sudan. On a scale of 1-5, please rank your level of agreement with each statement. (Where 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=moderately agree, 4=agree, 5= Strongly Agree).

Statement	5	4	3	2	1
The media provides an easy link between South Sudan and the rest of the world					
The media creates a rapport necessary for peace building in South Sudan					
The media promotes peace building through provision of infrastructure					
The media provides preventive diplomacy in a conflict					
The media plays the role of a mediator in a conflict					
The media allows reduction of tension among worrying factions in a conflict					

8. In your opinion, how else do the media play the role of building diplomatic relationships in South Sudan?

Role of the Media in Policy Making on Peace-Building

9. Below are statements on the role of the media in policy making on peace-building in post conflict peace building in South Sudan. On a scale of 1-5, please rank your level of agreement with each statement. (Where 1= strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=moderately agree, 4=agree, 5= Strongly Agree).

Statement	5	4	3	2	1
media has influenced policymakers thinking about how to prevent and respond to violent conflict.					
policymakers use the media a tool of to get across their message to their followers					
Media is an instrument of conflict resolution by fostering the formulation of laws governing the relationships of two sides of a conflict					
Media allows exchange of information between individuals, groups and potential parties in a conflict situation					