THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MEDIA AND PROPAGANDA IN UGANDA: A
CASE STUDY OF NBS TELEVISION.

BY:

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Declaration

I **Namudola Moreen** declare that this research report is original work and has never been submitted to any university /institution for any award.

Signature   Date

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APPROVAL

This is to certify that the research of NAMUDOLA MOREEN **has** been done under my supervision and is now ready for submission to the faculty of Arts and Humanities for the award of Bachelor degree of Mass Communication of Kampala International University.

Mr. MUKEMBO MULUNGANA GEORGE

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The use of propaganda as a means of controlling information flow, managing public opinion or manipulating behavior is as old as recorded history (Jowett and O'Donnell 199:47).

Propaganda, in its most neutral sense, means to disseminate or promote particular ideas. In Latin, it means to propagate or to sow (Jackall 1995:1). The term can be found as early as the 17th Century, when it was used to denote the committee of Catholic cardinals, Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, who were appointed by Gregory XV to oversee foreign missions of the Church. Because the Roman Catholic Church intended to spread the faith to the New World as well to oppose Protestantism, the word propaganda lost its neutrality and subsequent usage has rendered the term pejorative (Brown 1963:10-11, Wilke 1999).

Most propaganda theories have been developed in the West (see section 2.6.1). Propaganda activities expanded greatly during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the widespread use of propaganda during the First World War became a watershed in the history of propaganda studies (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:105). Since then, propaganda studies have been the meeting place for different disciplines, for instance history, political science and psychology (Luostarinen 2002:32).

Some scholars, notably Leonard Doob (1989:378), argue that no systematic or clear-cut definition of propaganda is possible. Doob claims that the complexity of the subject and the wide range of cultural values in the world make such a definition impossible (Ibid.:378). Besides a reluctance to define the term in any systematic way, some scholars have also been prone to include everything from advertising to the leaflets dropped by military behind enemy lines to persuade enemy soldiers to give up a fight

(Wilke 1999). "This kind of comprehensive treatment of the subject has limited usefulness. There is a major difference between rhetorical inducement and propaganda. Theformer seeks voluntary compliance, the latter does not" (Ibid.:ix-x).

One of the most influential propaganda scholars, Harold D. Lasswell (1927:9), presented in his classic work, Propaganda techniques in the World War I, one of the first attempts to define propaganda: "It refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or, to speak more concretely and less accurately, by stories, rumors, reports, pictures and other forms of social communication". Ten years later, he launched a slightly different definition: "Propaganda in the broadest sense is the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations" (reprint from 1934 in Jackall 1995:13). These definitions include most advertising and also a teacher influencing a class to study, acts many people would not want to call propaganda (Severin and Tankard 2001:109).

Another famous scholar in the field of propaganda, Jacques Ellul (1973:61), emphasizes that *"propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in its actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically unified through p s y c h o l o g i c a l manipulations and incorporated i n an organization".* This definition includes the notion of propaganda as a mass phenomenon, but neglects that propaganda sometimes can have a passive and sedating effect, and that it can be an effective way to prevent undesirable action.

This research is based on the definition of propaganda applied by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:6) in Propaganda *and Persuasion*: *"Propaganda is a deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist".* Contrary to the definitions above, this stresses that propaganda promotes the interests of the propagandist.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The study of mass communication is based on the assumption that the media have significant effects, yet there is little agreement on the nature and extent of these effects (McQuail 2000:416). We can be sure that particular media effects are occurring, however we are not able to see or predict the aggregate outcome or to know after an event how much is attributable to the media. Nevertheless, the media are rarely likely to be the only necessary or sufficient cause or effect, and their relative contribution is extremely hard to assess (Ibid.416).

Several authors have highlighted the effect of the radio propaganda (Des Forges 1999, Frohardt and Temin 2003a, Chalk 1999a). The role of radio propaganda in the genocide remains, apparently, the clearest example of the baleful role that radio can play (Kirschke 1996:3). On the other hand, many of the accusations leveled at the radio stations are exaggerated and inaccurate (Carver 1996:2). The causal relationship between the killings and the propaganda is difficult to establish with certainty. The aim of the study is therefore to ascertain the relationship between the media especially the radio station and propaganda.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The aim of this study is to find out the relationship between the media and dissemination of propaganda in Uganda.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study will be guided by the following objectives;

1. To specifically identity the role of the media in promoting propaganda
2. To examine how the media acts as a tool to disseminate propaganda
3. To find out how the media and propaganda are interdependent
4. To asses overall challenges of the media in dissemination of peace propaganda in Uganda.
5. To suggest some remedial actions that assists the radio station in peace propaganda in Uganda.

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1.5 Research questions

1. What is the role of the media in peace propaganda in Uganda
2. What are the challenges of the media in dissemination of peace propaganda in Uganda
3. What are some of the actions that assist the radio station in peace propaganda in Uganda

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study will investigate the relationship between the media and dissemination of propaganda in Uganda with a focus on NBS television. The study will be limited by the objectives of the study. The study will be carried out for a period of four months from June 2018 to August 2018.

1.7 Significance of the Study

The study will be beneficial to the following people;

This study contributes to the promotion of the role of the media in conflict mitigation and increase social responsibility.

It also comes up with recommendations for Uganda and international media in applying the framework to their coverage on different conflict settings.
This also contributes to long-term conflict mitigation and reconciliation

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter brings up relevant literatures required to find answers and connect to our research questions.

2.1 Analyzing Propaganda

Analyzing propaganda is a complex task. Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:280) recommend using a ten-step plan that recognizes the following stages of propaganda:

1. The ideology and purpose of the propaganda campaign

2. The context in which the propaganda occurs

3. Identification of the propagandist

4. The structure of the propaganda organization

5. The target audience

6. Media utilization techniques

7. Special various techniques

8. Audience reaction to various techniques

9. Counterpropaganda, if present

10. Effects and evaluation.

These ten steps take into account toward what ends, in the context of the times, a propaganda agent working through an organization, reaches an audience through the media by using special techniques to obtain a desired reaction (Ibid.:280).

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:23) define communication as a process in which a sender transmits a message to a receiver through a channel. This process has been represented by both linear and transactional models. Contrary to the linear versions the transactional models also stress that the sender and the receiver of a message create and share information in order to reach mutual understanding (Ibid.:23).

Holsti (1969:24) stresses that all communication is composed of six basic elements: A source or sender, an encoding process which results in a message, a channel of

transmission, a detector or recipient of the message, and a decoding process. These elements are reflected in Lasswell, Lerner and Pool's (1952:12) classic definition of the communication process: "Who says what, to whom, how, and with what effect?".35 Holsti (1969:24) also adds "why?" and he presents the communication process in a figure similar to figure 1 (Ibid.:25).

Figure 1: The Communication Process

Sender ⇒	Encoding Process ⇒	Channel ⇒	Message ⇒	Decoding Process ⇒	Recipient
⇑	⇑	⇑	⇑	⇑	⇑
Who?	Why?	How?	What? How?	With what effect?	To whom?
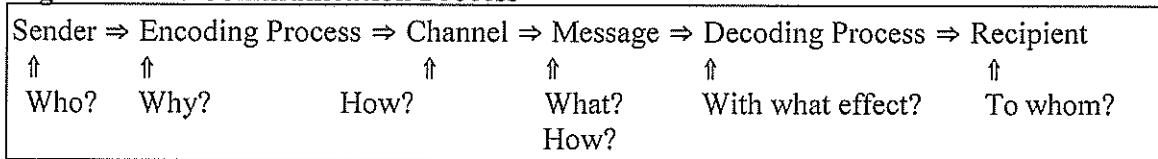
Jowett and O'Donnell's ten-step method reflects this figure36 and the thesis analyzes the radio propaganda by using a simplified and limited version of their method. The limitation is based on this figure, in that this thesis does not answer the question "With what effect?" As a result, steps eight and ten are excluded from the analysis.

What Holsti (1969) and Lasswell et al. (1952) do not take into consideration is the context of the communication process. A mere analysis of propaganda messages is insufficient if we are to gain an understanding of propaganda disseminated via the media. To achieve that, we must also understand the environment in which the propaganda is formulated (Malesic 1997:9). This aspect will be highlighted in the thesis. Consequently, the following six steps from Jowett and O'Donnell's ten-step method will be the focus of this thesis:

1. Identification of the propagandist and the structure of the organization.

2. The ideology and purpose

3. The target audience and the media utilization techniques

4. The counterpropaganda

5. The context

6. The propaganda techniques used

Step 1: The Propagandist and the Structure of the Organization

The owners of the media exercise control over the communication message (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:284). The source of the propaganda message is often an institution or an organization with the propagandist as its leader or agent. The agents are those who facilitate messages directly and through the media for an institution. Sometimes there will be complete openness about the identity of the organization behind the propaganda, while other times the organization will conceal itself in order to achieve its goals (Ibid.:283). Additionally, successful propaganda campaigns tend to originate from a strong, centralized decision-making authority that produces a consistent message throughout its structure (Ibid.:283). Section 4.1 analyzes the organizational structure of the radio, and the persons connected to it will be presented. Most of these persons belonged to the ruling political party, nevertheless, the radio station was presented as independent.

Step 2: The Ideology and Purpose of the Propaganda

The function of propaganda within an ideological framework is to provide "the audience with a comprehensive conceptual framework for dealing with a social and political reality" (Kecskemeti 1973:849-850). In locating the ideology of the propaganda, Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:281) advise the researcher to look for a set of beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors, as well as ways of perceiving and thinking that constitute a set of norms that dictate what is desirable and what should be done.

Øyvind Østerud (1997:91) defines ideology as political principles and goals for a society, organized systematically and with a program through which these goals can be achieved. These principals are often referred to as doctrines and are usually thought of as being explicit philosophical systems (Evans and Newnham 1990:236). In light of this, it could be problematic to view what Mahmood Mamdani (2001:190) calls "the ideology of Hutu Power" as a real ideology. The heart of this ideology was the conviction that the Tutsi were a race alien to Rwanda, and not an indigenous ethnic group (Ibid.:190, Prunier 1995:226).39 The Hutu Power ideology, however, was not an explicit philosophical system with references to all aspects of a society. On the other hand, this was clearly

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systematic thoughts, among others written down in the Bahutu Manifesto. Evans and Newnham (1990:236) emphasize that the claim of ideologies as philosophical system is a too narrow view. And in accordance with Kecskemeti's statement above, this thesis views Hutu Power as an ideology which guided the acts of the extremists, the RTLM staff included (Mamdani 2001:199).

The main purpose of propaganda is to achieve acceptance of the propagandist's ideology by the people (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:282). The intention of propaganda may be to influence people to adopt attitudes that correspond to those of the propagandist (in other words his/her ideology) or to engage in certain patterns of behavior. "To furnish the collective ideological motivations driving man to action is propaganda's exact task", Ellul (1973:141) states. Because the essence of propaganda is its deliberateness of purpose, considerable investigation is required to discover what the purpose is (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:279).

Step 3: The Target Audience and the Media Utilization Techniques

All communication must take its audience into consideration, and propaganda is considered to be more effective if it is in line with the audience's existing opinions, beliefs and dispositions (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:290, Evans and Newnham 1998:453). A target audience is selected by a propagandist for its potential effectiveness. The propaganda is aimed at the audience most likely to be useful to the propagandist if it responds favorably (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:286). Radio stations can, among other things, reach its audience through the style of program or choice of presenter (Street 2001:55).

It is important to examine which media are being used by the propagandist (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:287). Propaganda must be total; it will not succeed if it is used in a sporadic fashion. The propaganda agent utilizes all of the technical means at his/her disposal – the press, radio, TV, movies, posters and meetings (Ellul 1973:9). The various messages provided by the same source through the various media outlets should also be compared to see if there is a consistency of apparent purpose (Jowett and

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O'Donnell 1999:288). The analyst should examine the flow of communication from one medium to another and the relationship between the media themselves. The focus should be on how the media are used. The propagandist might show a film and hand out leaflets afterward. This type of practice maximizes the potential of the media (Ibid.:288).

Step 4: The Propaganda Context

Research on context is crucial as media messages have little meaning apart from their cultural and political-economic origins (Kellow and Steeves 1998:111). The media do not exist outside the political and social world they describe (Allen and Seaton 1999:4), and "perhaps the most fundament defect of most studies made on the subject [propaganda] is their attempt to analyze propaganda as an isolated phenomenon" (Ellul 1973:xvii). Successful propaganda incorporates the prevailing mood of the times, and that is why it is essential to understand the socio-political context in which propaganda occurs (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:282). Nevertheless, to identify all possible contextual factors surrounding a message is an impossible task. A context is to be seen as open, as the contextual factors are infinite (Lindkvist 1981:27).

Messages have greater impact when they comport with existing opinions and beliefs. Propaganda cannot create something out of nothing, it must build on a foundation already present in the individual (Ellul 1973:36). Consequently, action cannot be obtained unless it responds to a group of already established tendencies or attitudes stemming from the regime, the churches and the schools. Propaganda is confined to utilizing existing material; it does not create it (Ibid.:36). Propaganda must be familiar with collective sociological presuppositions, myths and ideologies of a particular country (Ibid.:38). The propagandist uses the predispositions of the audience to reinforce an ideology or in some cases to create new attitudes and behaviors. Rather than attempting to change political loyalties, racial and religious attitudes or other deeply held beliefs, a propagandist that supports commonly held views is more likely to be effective (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:290).

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Step 5: The Counterpropaganda

Counterpropaganda can be as powerful as propaganda itself (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:297). The enemy of the Hutu extremists, the RPF, had its own radio station called Radio Muhabura.

Step 6: The Propaganda Techniques

In 1937, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA) was established in USA. Its aim was to "conduct objective, non-partisan studies in the field of propaganda and public opinion" and "to help the intelligent citizen to detect and analyze propaganda" (Jackall 1995:223). The same year, the institute published seven propaganda devices that often are used by propagandists.43 These famous devices have been criticized for being too simple and that detecting them would necessitate ·a subjective method of analyzing propaganda (Jowett and O'Donnell 1999:290). Yet, they are still widely quoted in textbooks on propaganda, and some of them will be used in this study. Each device has a specific and theoretically defined content, thus the use of these devices does not require a reliance on personal opinions.

Propaganda is not an arsenal of ready-made techniques and arguments suitable for use anywhere (Ellul 1973:34). Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:290) have chosen not to make a comprehensive list of propaganda techniques because "propaganda is too complex to limit its techniques to a short list". Nevertheless, they recognize certain principles that can assist in the analysis of propaganda. Some of these principles resemble what other scholars define as propaganda techniques. For instance, what Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:293) term the principle of source credibility is similar to what Brown (1963:29) describes as a propaganda technique called the appeal to authority. The principle Jowett and O'Donnell term reward and punishment resembles what Hvitfelt (1983:44) identifies as a propaganda technique on its own.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods the researcher will to collect data. It focuses on the Research design, organization of the study, data collection, and data collection procedure and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study will use a descriptive research design, where both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection will be employed. Questionnaires and interviews will be used to collect data from a cross section of respondents.

3.2 Population

The study will use Top management, viewers of NBS television Station and employees of the station in order to get the answers to the questions in this study.

3.3 Sample size

The study will use a sample size of 50 respondents most of whom will come from the employees of the television station will be randomly selected.

3.4 Sampling Procedure

The researcher employed purposive sampling on the customers and staff members of the radio stations. Television administrators will help the researcher identify customers and staff members who were relevant to the study.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

(i)   Survey

The researcher will use self-administered questionnaires. This will be applied while collecting data from key customers involved in the study. Interviews will be conducted among the top management.

(ii)   Key Informants

The researcher conducted key informant interviews with the members of the management teams who play a key role in the television services. The interviews are intended to generate information on policy and challenges faced in the process of doing their job.

(iii)   Documentation

The researcher will carry out documentary review. The documents will include; policy, strategic plans, and work plans.

3.6 Data control and measurement

The researcher will ensure that the names of respondents do not appear on the questionnaire to ensure confidentiality of the respondents as it is part of the ethical procedure to ensure that respondents are protected.

The researcher will assure respondents that the information given by them was purposely for the reasons of this study and was not used for any other purpose. This will be done to ensure that they confidently answer all the necessary questions for this research with out fear of using it for other purposes other than that of academic research.

The permission to conduct the research will be got from the relevant institutions, which include, Kampala International University and heads of the Radio stations where data collection will take place.

The researcher then will go ahead to administer questionnaires to the customers and employees and conduct interviews with the top management in order to obtain information relevant to this study.

3.6 Data Processing and Analysis

The researcher will carry out qualitative and content analysis,   The researcher will prepare the code sheet specifically for items which are open ended. While for the close ended items, data will be entered straight into the computer. The data will be analyzed using a statistical software package known as Excel'

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation, interpretation and discussion of the field results. The objectives of the study were to find out the role of the media and propaganda, to investigate the challenges the media faces in peace building in southern Sudan and to propose strategies that can help solve the challenges the media faces in peace building. The results are presented in tables and in form of frequency counts and percentages.

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

4.1 profile of the respondents

This includes the sex or gender of the respondents, age of the respondents and the academic level.

Table 1: Response on profile of the respondents

Respondents	Frequency (f)	Percentage (%)
Sex		
Male	30	60
Female	20	40
Total	50	100
Age		
30yrs and below	8	16
31-40yrs	22	44
41 and above	10	20
Total	50	100
Years spent at radio station		
1 – 2 Years	15	30
3 - 5 years	15	30
6 – 7 years	10	20
8 – 10 years	10	20
Total	50	100

Source: field data

Sixty (60) questionnaires were distributed to respondents and 50 were filled and returned this therefore represents 83.3 % of the total number of questionnaires that were distributed.

The study covered 50 randomly selected at SPLA Radio employees of whom 30(60%) were male and 20(40%) were female

The age category of the respondents were divided into three groups that are 30 yrs and below were 8 (16%), 31-40 yrs were 22 (44%) and 41yrs and above were 10 representing (20%) of the total number of the respondents.

The numbers of years respondents had spent on their job was divided into three categories that are three years and below, between 4 and five years and above five years. 15 (30%) of the respondents had worked for below three years, 25 [50%] had worked for more than three years but less than six years and 10 (20%) of the respondents had worked for more than five years.

4.2 Role of the media in peace propaganda

The first objective of the study was to investigate the role of the media in peace propaganda. To achieve this, respondents were asked on whether the media ensures that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved; whether the media gives all the parties in the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias; whether the media Informs the populations of conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution and whether the media helps to prevent the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate-media, or damaging rumours which destroy communities and prevent the building of trust. The results are presented in the subsections illustrated below;

4.2.1 The media ensures and realistic expectations about what can be achieved

Respondents were asked if the media ensures that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved. Their responses are summarized in Table. 2;

Table 2: Opinion on whether the media ensures that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved

Response	Number	Percentage (%)
Agree	13	26
Not sure	12	24
Disagree	25	50
Total	**50**	**100**

Source: Primary Data

The results in Table 2 shows that 25(50%) of respondents disagreed with the statement that the media ensures that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved. 13(26%) were not sure and 12(24%) agreed that the media ensures that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved.

The results in the findings contradict with the findings of Gordon (2004) who carried out a study on whether the media ensures that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved.

The difference in the findings could be related to the fact that the findings of Gordon (2004) were done in the United States where the media is free and is not biased.

4.2. 2 The media and the opportunity to see each other's position without bias
Respondents were asked if the media gives all the parties in the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias. Their responses are summarized in Figure 1

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Figure 1: Opinion of respondents on whether the media gives all the parties in the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias
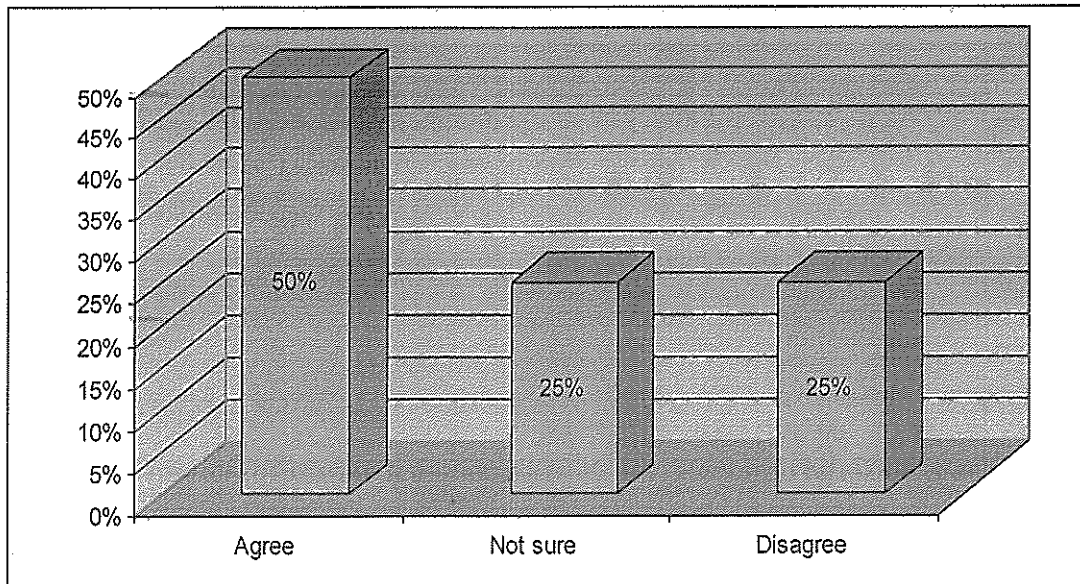
The results in Figure 1 showed that 20(50%) of respondents agreed that the media gives all the parties in the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias. 10(25%) were not sure and 10(25%) disagreed that the media gives all the parties in the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias.

According to Bray (2002:8), Equality gives a built-in advantage to the incumbent party, which has many other opportunities to convey its policies through the media. What equality does is to promote the no-hope opposition parties at the expense of those with a genuine possibility of ousting the ruling party. Equality may also mean that there is simply too much material being generated for the electorate to absorb. They will get bored and the direct access process may become a waste of time. Again this is likely to favour the incumbent.

Another argument against automatic equal access is that it will encourage frivolous candidates who are only interested in the free publicity.

The results of the findings therefore show that the media gives all the parties in the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias.

4.2.3 Media and community level conflict resolution

Respondents were asked if media informs the populations of conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution. Their responses are summarized in Table 3;

Table 3: Opinion of respondents on whether media informs the populations of conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution

Response	Number	Percentage (%)
Agree	25	50
Not sure	10	12.5
Disagree	20	37.5
Total	50	100

Source: Primary Data

The results in Table 3 showed that 20(50%) of respondents agreed that media Informs the populations of conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution. 5 (12.5%) were not sure and 15(37.5%) disagreed that media Informs the populations of conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution.

While the media can help in opening up such complexities to a wider view, peace journalists do not occupy a position of omniscience in respect of the 'truth' or how we can best arrive at it. Much will depend on the interests, vantage points and perspectives of all the parties involved (Cottle, 2006:103). In conflict-ridden areas in Asia, newspapers have shown inclination toward war journalism. Two competing frames of Asian newspapers in covering regional conflicts are examined by Lee and Maslog (2005). They investigated news coverage of four conflicts in five newspapers of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka,

Indonesia, and the Philippines and found that the news coverage of these conflicts is dominated by a war journalism frame

Thus it can be said basing on the results from the findings that media informs the populations of conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution

4.2.4 Media and the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda

Respondents were asked if the media helps to prevent the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate-media, or damaging rumours which destroy communities and prevent the building of trust. Hence, their responses are summarized in Figure 2;

Figure 2: Opinion of respondents on whether the media helps to prevent the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda
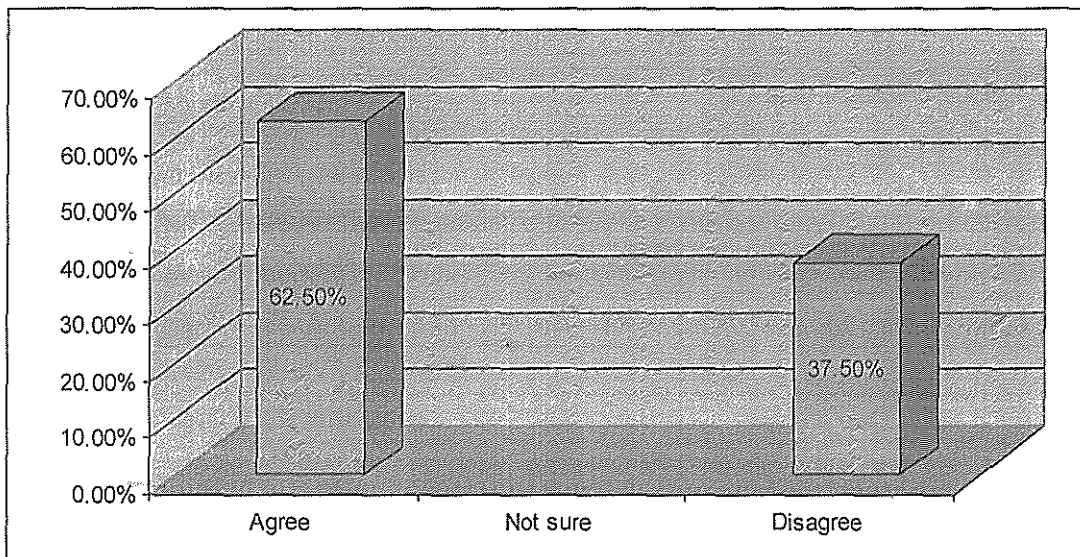
The results in Figure 2 showed that 25(62.5%) of respondents agreed that the media helps to prevent the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate-media, or damaging rumours which destroy communities and prevent the building of trust and 15(37.5%) disagreed that the media helps to prevent the circulation and broadcasting

of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate-media, or damaging rumours which destroy communities and prevent the building of trust.

According to WHO (2003), some restrictions on free expression are justifiable where they seek to prevent genuine instances of incitement to violence, or to inflame racial or religious feelings, and there is a legitimate cause for concern when it is advocated that these restrictions be eased or repealed in societies which may be particularly vulnerable to such incitements. Where such offences are criminalized, however, it is vital that this is along very strict guidelines with no scope for abuse, e.g. where highly virulent criticism is repressed even if it does not incite violence or violent disruptions to the public order.

The results therefore conclude that the media helps to prevent the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate-media, or damaging rumours which destroy communities and prevent the building of trust.

4.2.5 Media and stereo-typing of groups, populations, leaders

Respondents were asked if the media avoids stereo-typing of groups, populations, leaders etc. Their responses are summarized in Table 4;

Table 4: Opinion on whether the media avoids stereo-typing of groups, populations, leaders

Response	Number	Percentage (%)
Agree	40	87.5
Not sure	-	-
Disagree	10	12.5
Total	50	100

Source: Primary Data

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The results in Table **4** showed that 40 (87.5%) of respondents agreed that the media avoids stereo-typing of groups, populations, leaders and 10 (12.5%) disagreed that the media avoids stereo-typing of groups, populations, leaders.

For the media to accurately mirror our societies, to produce coverage that is complete and diverse, it is critical that the news reflect the world as seen through the eyes of women as well as men. Women should be involved at all levels of media organisations, including as reporters and decision-makers. But simply having more women in a newsroom is not enough to guarantee gender-sensitive reporting. The nature of news, the choices made about what is newsworthy and the way the story is reported must change too. Women need to be used more as the sources and subjects of stories. They need to be interviewed as commentators and experts. Women are interested in, concerned with and write about things that men are interested in. It's important for both not to be isolated in gender-based ghettos and to avoid any separation on gender lines in terms of who writes about what. (WHO, 2003)

Thus, it can be said that that the media avoids stereo-typing of groups, populations, leaders according the findings of this study.

4.2.6 The median and the process of social reconstruction and democratization
Respondents were asked if the media participates in the process of social reconstruction and democratization. Their responses are summarized in Figure **3**;

Figure 3: Opinion on whether the media participates in the process of social reconstruction and democratization
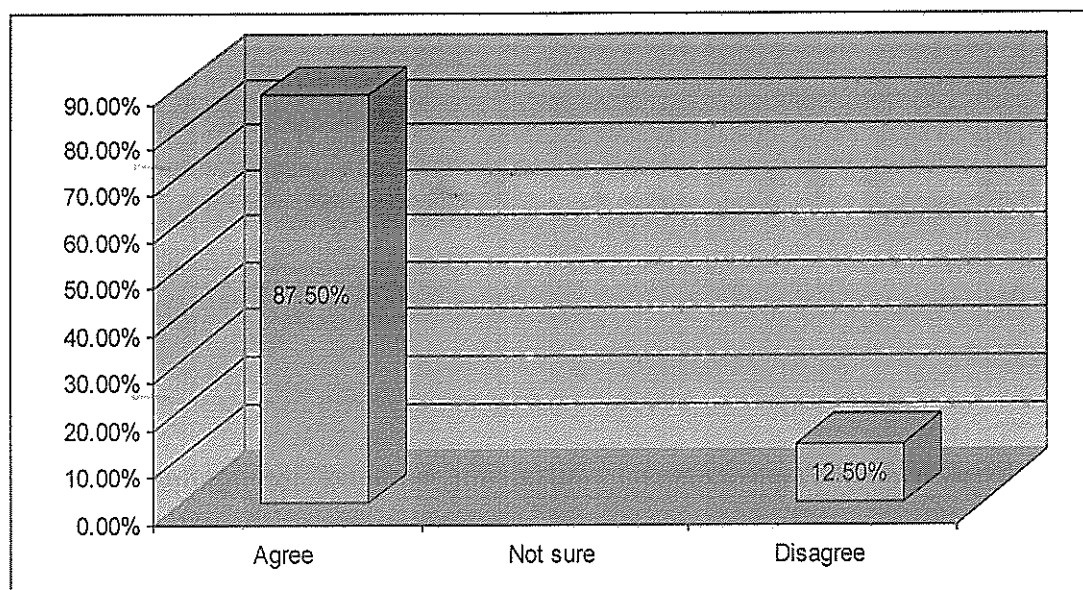
The results in Figure 3 showed that 35(87.5%) of respondents agreed that the media participates in the process of social reconstruction and democratization and only 5(12.5%) disagreed that the media participates in the process of social reconstruction and democratization.

According to Barber et al (2003), there is a need for legislative review aimed to expunge derogable provisions and clawback measures in the sections of the constitutions that provide for the right of freedom of expression. This is not to suggest that the constitutions should guarantee absolute press freedom. This is because there is no such thing as absolute press freedom anywhere in the world, especially in times of national emergencies, a point that Hass (1994) and Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1984) have also articulated. Even Anglo-American societies have on occasions imposed limitations on freedom of the pres (see Shaw and Brauer, 1969; Stevens, 1969 and Stebenne, 1991). Even Walter Cronkite, former CBS Television network news anchorperson, who is considered by many as the conscience of journalism in the United States, once told the Italian daily, Corriere della Sera, that press censorship during war is justifiable. Cronkite said: "A certain degree of military control is inevitable. Journalists should accept it and

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do their job . . . .The news must not be transmitted live; the military have the right to control copy and photographs

Thus it can be said that the media participates in the process of social reconstruction and democratization.

4.3 Challenges of the media in dissemination of peace propaganda

The second objective of the study was to investigate the challenges of the media in dissemination of peace propaganda. To achieve this, respondents were asked the media faces the challenge of the provision of a platform for participatory governance and the advancement of ideas on media rights and free speech; the development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict; devising strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level; the provision of training and other support to strengthen the professional capacity and independence of the mass media; and supporting the development, growth and the strengthening of the mass media for peace, democracy and development. Data collected was analyzed below;

4.3.1 The media and provision of a platform for participatory governance

Respondents were asked if the media faces a challenge of provision of a platform for participatory governance and the advancement of ideas on media rights and free speech. Their responses are summarized in Table 5;

Table 5: Opinion of respondents on whether the media faces a challenge of provision of a platform for participatory governance and the advancement of ideas

| Response	Number	Percentage (%)
Agree	25	50
Not sure	10	12.5
Disagree	20	37.5
Total	50	100

Source: Primary Data

Results from Table 5 show that 20(50%) of respondents agreed that the media faces a challenge of provision of a platform for participatory governance and the advancement of ideas. 15(37.5%) of the respondents did not agree that the media faces a challenge of provision of a platform for participatory governance and the advancement of ideas while 5(12.5%) of the respondents were not sure. It can thus be concluded that the media faces a challenge of provision of a platform for participatory governance and the advancement of ideas according the results of this study.

4.3.2 The media and development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict

Respondents were asked if the media faces a challenge of the development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict. Their responses are summarized in Figure 4;

Figure 4: Opinion on whether the media faces a challenge of the development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict
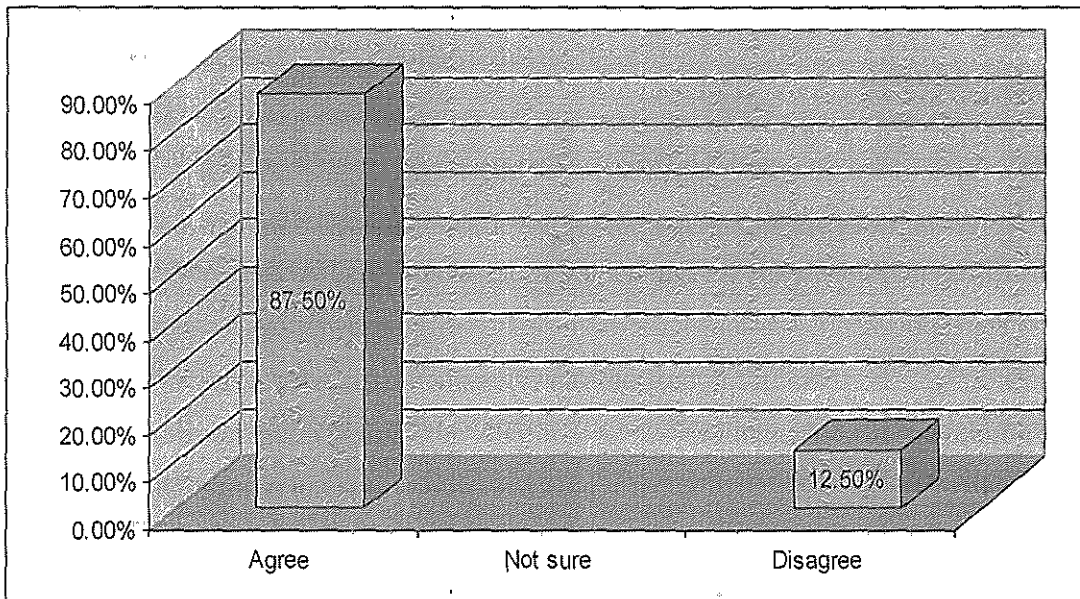
The results in Figure 4 showed that 35(87.5%) of respondents agreed that the media faces a challenge of the development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict and 5(12.5%)

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disagreed that the media faces a challenge of the development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict. Thus, it can be said that the media faces a challenge of the development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict basing on the findings of this study.

4.3.3 Media and strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level

Respondents were asked if the media faces a challenge of devising strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level. Their responses are summarized in Table 6;

Table 6: Opinion on whether the media faces a challenge of devising strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level

Response	Number	Percentage (%)
Agree	25	50
Not sure	15	25
Disagree	15	25
Total	50	100

Source: Primary Data

The results in Table 6 showed that 20(50%) of respondents agreed that the media faces a challenge of devising strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level. 10(25%) were not sure and 10(25%) disagreed that the media faces a challenge of devising strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level.

It thus be concluded from the findings that the media faces a challenge of devising strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level.

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the conclusions from the study and the recommendations made are presented. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis.

5.1. Summary and Discussions

5.1.1 Summary of findings on the role of the media in peace propaganda

The findings of the study discovered that the following is the role of the media in peace propaganda: 50% of respondents agreed that the media ensures that the public have realistic expectations about what can be achieved; another 50% of respondents agreed the media gives all the parties in the opportunity to speak and to see each other's position clearly and without bias; 62.5% of respondents agreed that the media Informs the populations of conflict areas about the possibilities for action, even on a very small scale, towards community level conflict resolution; and 87.5%) of respondents agreed that the media helps to prevent the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate-media, or damaging rumours which destroy communities and prevent the building of trust.

5.1.2 Summary of findings on the challenges of the media in dissemination of peace propaganda

It was revealed from the findings of the study that 50% of respondents agreed that the media faces the challenge of the provision of a platform for participatory governance and the advancement of ideas on media rights and free speech; 87.5% of respondents agreed that the media faces the challenge of the development of effective and comprehensive early warning mechanisms through the use of the media to prevent the outburst of conflict; and 50%) of respondents agreed that the media faces the challenge of devising strategies for peace building and de-escalation of conflict at local, regional and national level.

5.2. Conclusion

It is very clear that Media should reflect in their structure and content the various social, economic and cultural realities of the societies (and communities) in which they operate, in a more or less proportional way.

Media should offer more or less equal chances of access to the voices of various social and cultural minorities that make up the society.

Media should serve as a forum for different interests and points of view in a society or community.

Media should offer relevant choices of content at one point in time and also variety over time of a kind that corresponds to the needs and interests of their audiences

5.3. Recommendations

The leaders need a media structure in place, which can reach the broader population through relevant media channels. The media structure should itself be easy to control, simple to use, efficient in its reach and favorable to the parts of the population who are the most likely supporters of the rulers' interests.

The leaders need media legislation, which can efficiently restrict the media's freedom of expression from being used to criticize the rulers' conflict escalation. They can punish media and journalists who violate these restrictions and can limit the access to information and the establishment of new media. Equally important is that the implementation of media legislation must be in the spirit of the ruler.

The leaders need to have loyal managers and editors in place in the relevant media, who do not guard their own professional ethics or actively defend the media's standards of impartiality, diversity and editorial independence.

The leaders are best helped by journalists without solid journalistic education, professional experience and professional pride, who are willing to produce programmes or articles, which are rewarded by the representatives of the rulers.

Finally, the leaders are keen to have media content supporting the rationale behind the leadership's strategy for entering into violent conflict.

5.4. Suggestions for Further Research

More research should be done on the causes and effects of violent strikes in schools in order to come up with measures to stop the practice.

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