

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the history of media and conflict, conceptual issues of the study, theoretical background and the context of the study. The end of this chapter emphasizes the history of Sudanese media outlets.

1.1 Background

History has shown that media can incite people to violence. People usually perceive what they hear on radios, watch on TVs and read in newspapers and magazines as the ultimate truth. In the Second World War, the German leader Adolf Hitler used the media to create an entire worldview of hatred for Jews. In 1994, Rwanda's radio RTLM urged listeners to pick up machetes and take to the streets to kill each other. The media's impact on the escalation of conflict is more widely recognized than the media's impact on peace building which must be significant given its powerful impact on conflict (IMS, 2006, p5-11). However, this simple relation must not be taken for granted and should be critically examined in order to measure media's effects and the ways media can assist peace building.

The media shape what we see and hear about conflict. Several studies confirm the impact of media on conflict prevention and peace building. In peace journalism, scholar Gadi Wolfsfeld notes there is a *“fundamental contradiction between the nature of peace process and news values, the media often plays a destructive role in attempts at making peace”*

The media play a wide range of roles in our lives. Some of these roles are constructive and some are destructive. Most people accept the idea that the media can influence people. But the degree of that influence as well as who is most impacted, when, how, and why, have been the subject of greater debate among communication scholars for nearly a century.

Media effects refer to the many ways individuals and societies may be influenced by both news, entertainment and mass media. Media effects have been studied by scholars in communication, psychology, sociology, political science, anthropology and education, among other fields. Many early communication models designed to explain the process of message dissemination were simple, one-way, and linear positioning the medium or message as the cause and behavioral, emotional or psychological response as effect modern theories (Shonno & Weaver, 1994, p2-4).

Bryant & Thompson (2002), however, a two-way process that is more transactional or interactive in nature, in which the message or medium affects the recipient (s).

1.1.1 Conceptual background

Media has been used in conflict and peace throughout the 20th Century (Bratic 2006, p2). Media played a vital role in situations of conflict. It has been used as a vehicle to communicate propaganda and to advocate for war. Also, media has been used to promote peace and earlier scholars emphasized the role of media in ending war. (Iorttea Hieber 2001, p1)

(Akuma,2008,45) defined media as a means of communication used to produce and deliver information that reach or influence people widely, through different tools such radio, television, newspaper, magazine and web. Each of this means broadcast or transmit information via specific communication networks or published on paper.

Therefore, media refers to channels of communication that involve transmitting information, content or images in a way to target a large number of people with the aim to influence, impact or affect. (noted that content is information that is to be expressed through a medium, as speech, written or any form of communication and at that it may make an influence or effect on the receiver.

The concept of media's effects have been discussed by a number of

scholars from different academic backgrounds. Bryant and Thompson (2002, p5) defined media effects as a method in which individuals and societies may be influenced by news or entertainment media or other types of media. McCombs & Shaw (1972) noted that scholars in that period of time were concerned about the influence of media and they studied a relation between media and violence) Bratic (2006) argued, “if media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflict, they should have the power to support the forces of peace” and he stressed the impact of media outlets on communities who have experienced conflict. He added that engaging media in promoting specific behavior should consider media’s effect on its audience

(World Bank, 2002, p1). Media effects is a term widely defined as those things which occur as a result in a part of or the whole public because of media’s influence. Media effects happen during exposure to media, it takes place for a long time after particular media exposure, it can be positive effects or negative effects, and it can reinforce the existing patterns that seem as no change occurred. Media effects can occur whether the media has an intention for that to occur or not. Media effects can affect individuals or the general public and it can affect institutions as well as society. This definition explains several things; firstly, media effects have different types of effects and effects have functions that make influence on audiences. Secondly, media effects apply to different forms of media and communication means that influence different levels of audiences, such as individual level, public and media organization.

(Maxwell McCombs, 2001, p4-8) The media effects process and products of media that have have direct influence on target on individual and macro units of society. Moreover, media effects have four functions in the way that they influence an audience: triggering, that is activating something that already exists in an individual; secondly, acquiring that

media influence to obtain something that has prior or a particular exposure; thirdly, altering, that means media influence to change something that person already has; and fourthly, reinforcing, the media influence that gradually makes something in the person more difficult over time.

(World Bank, 2002, p2-3) Media effects are structured by six types of effects: behavior, cognition, beliefs, affect, attitude and effect. Due to the objectives of this study, research focus on behavior and attitude effects. Behavioral effects means the media exposure exercises an influence on individual's doing something. Attitudinal effects means the media's exposure exercises an influence on an individual's evaluation and judgment that involves providing people elements to evaluate or shape the standards of evaluation.

1.1.2 Theoretical background

The media shapes our world, conflict resolution and peace builders who strive for sustainable peace. The sustainable peace can only be ensured through adequate media, which can change the perception of conflict parties and the relationship between audience and media institutions and having supportive environment that can aid both peace builders and media organizations in solving the Darfur conflict.

This study is based on media effects. The study applies the framing theory and agenda setting theory, in which agenda setting is based on the work of MacCom and Shaw and the Framing theory based on the work of Entman, and conflict transformation approach and peace building approach.

Mattelart in 1998 (p45) noted that the beginning of media study dates back to the study of propaganda during the first World War. The media effects topic was a debatable issue among the scholars of communication and other academic fields. The major theory of media effects is the

framing theory. Entman (2004, p23) defined framing in mass communication as a relation to a specific issue, event or political actor. Further, Entman elaborated in his views regarding framing location and time and how to identify the frame and how framing works.

On the other hand, Maccomb & Shaw's "Agenda setting theory" focuses on the media issue or news item that has strong correlation between mass media and audience. MacComb believed that agenda setting influence of the news media is not limited to attracting attention of public on specific topic, but that the media can influence our understanding on the topics in the news.

1.1.3 Contextual background

Sudan is among the largest countries in Africa and has been badly affected by several decades of civil conflict. An estimated 2 million people are believed to have died in the fighting or as a result of conflict-induced famine. Around 4 million people were displaced from their homes. Recently, the crisis in Sudan's western region of Darfur was described by the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations as one of the world's worst humanitarian crisis. But the conflict, which began in February 2003, is also one of the most complex conflicts in the world. Darfur is the epicenter of three overlapping circles of conflict. First and foremost, there is ongoing war between the Darfur rebel movements and Government. The conflict is part of the breakdown between Sudan's center in Khartoum, which controls wealth and political power and the marginalized peripheries (Molly Jurmu, 2007, p28). Secondly, there are localized conflicts, primarily centered on land tensions between sedentary and nomadic tribes. Finally, the Darfur conflict has triggered a proxy war that Chad and Sudan are fighting by hosting and supporting the other's rebel groups. International interests

have added to the difficulty in resolving the conflict (Tim Young, 2004, p22).

(M. Salih, 2005, 8-12). A massive campaign of ethnic violence has claimed the lives of more than 70,000 civilians and uprooted an estimated 1.8 million more since February 2003. The roots of the violence are complex and parts of the picture remain unclear.

The crisis in western Sudan has grown out of several separate but intersecting conflicts. The first is a civil war between the Islamist, Khartoum-based national government and two rebel groups based in Darfur: The Sudan Liberation Army and the Justice and Equality Movement. The rebels, angered by Darfur's political and economic marginalization by Khartoum, first appeared in February 2003.

(Omar & Annete, 2012, p 2-3). Frustration with Doha, which threatens to result in an even worse outcome than the failed 2006 Darfur Peace Agreement, signed in Abuja, clearly necessitates a radical re-examination of the overall peace strategy for Darfur. The shortcomings of Doha and Abuja, however, will only be worsened by acceding to the Sudanese government's plan for full nationalization or "domestication" of the peace process prior to fundamental changes on the ground, and will not be solved solely by cosmetic changes to the venue and mediation. Recent escalating attacks on civilians by the Sudanese Armed Forces and rebel groups, ongoing restrictions on humanitarian and peacekeeping access, and the detention and repression of human rights activists and political protestors make Sudan an impossible venue for such critical negotiations

1.2 Problem statement

The media has been widely and rapidly adopted across a variety of conflict resolution and peace domains. To understand the role of media in the escalation of conflict and peace building processes, this study will examine media effects in conflict transformation and peace building.

Literature on conflict and peace building reveals a dismal focus on the role of the media in peace processes. Existing theory only tends to portray the media as essential in reporting and generating discourses on conflicts (Wolfsfeld, 2004; Watson, 2006; Bratic, 2006).

The Darfur conflict attracted the attention of international media outlets when displaced people spread everywhere in Darfur and refugees flooded to eastern Chad. News agencies reported rape cases, mass killings, villages burned and livelihood destruction by pro-government militias. News organizations portrayed the Darfur conflict as Arab against Africans tribes. The international community responded quickly to the humanitarian crisis in Darfur. On the other hand, Sudan's government described the Darfur conflict as a conflict between farmers and nomads. Sudanese national media and local radio stations based in Darfur were reported to underestimate the bloody conflict and assisted the massive government campaign in Darfur.

The ongoing crisis in Darfur is a good case to examine media effects in conflict and peace building. It measures the degree of constructive and distractive media effects on Darfur societies.

This study is applying qualitative and quantitative techniques to understand the media's role in transforming the Darfur conflict as well as its ability to mediate peace by using media effects theories: framing theory and agenda setting theory with purpose to measure the degree of change on behavior and attitude of Darfur population towards conflict and peace building. The central goal of using media effects approach in this research project is to understand the consequence of using media for conflict transformation and peace research. It is also hopeful that this research will contribute in general to provide media measurements that can be used in situations of conflict.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The need for information during any time of conflict or crisis is crucial not only for those directly affected but also for those involved and engaged from outside the affected area. The need for information of the Darfur conflict is no exception. Indeed, Darfur is often cited as one of the world's worst humanitarian disasters, but it is also one of the most complex. Considering that mass media often is a main source of information in relation to a given conflict and its development, it will be useful to examine what type of media coverage has been accorded to the conflict by the media. In particular, it will be relevant to examine the coverage by the Sudanese media as well as by international media.

1.4 Study Aim and Objectives

This Study aims to assess the media effects in mobilizing Darfurian communities towards conflict and engaging them in peace building processes.

1. To examine how media usage affected attitude and behavior towards conflict transformation and peace building.
2. To establish and assess how media coverage affected the attitude and behavior of people towards conflict transformation and peace building.
3. To determine how media frame and media agenda affected the attitude of Darfur people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

1.5 Research questions

1. How does media usage affect attitudes and behavior towards conflict transformation and peace building?
2. How does coverage affect attitude and behavior of people towards conflict transformation and peace building?
3. How did media frame and media agenda affect the attitude of Darfur people towards conflict transformation and peace building?

1.6 Hypotheses

1. Media has constructive effects on conflict and peace building; media has destructive effects in conflict and peace building
2. Media exposure would influence attitude and behavior of Darfur vulnerable people towards conflict transformation and peace building.
3. Variations of media effects of media framing and agenda setting affected attitude of Darfur people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

1.7 Scope of the study

This study was carried out among five capitals of Darfur states: Nyala, capital of South Darfur state, Aldein, capital of East Darfur state, Zalengi, capital of central Darfur state, Algenina, capital of West Darfur state, and Alfashir, capital of north Darfur state. This study involves internally displaced people, host communities, media practitioners and peace practitioners and scholars. The research carefully deals with different categories of Darfur communities and ensured that all are represented.

The study's scope covered media effects, conflict transformation and peace building. These elements were considered as critical elements, because they are the core aspects in Darfur crisis.

In Darfur crisis the element of media was considered as the major one, conflict transformation is crucial through which all conflict activities coordinated, and peace building which can bring sustainable peace particularly in Sudan in general.

1.8 Justification of the study

Sudan is an environment with daunting challenges for media. While print journalism is popular in urban centers, the logistical challenges in distributing newspapers across all states in Sudan are huge, and high illiteracy rates mean such materials are of direct relevance to very few.

Television, while popular and growing in importance and size, is for the moment hampered by the lack of electricity and the expense and fragility of television receivers, meaning that few people have access, even through communal viewing. Radio, by contrast, is easily accessible, not dependent on literacy, is served by an existing network of local and international services that reach into even the most remote regions of Sudan and is already widely established as a popular and cheap source of information.

(Akuma, 2008, p48). The radio is a vehicle of a mass medium. It is a type of communication technology extensively used to broadcast different kinds of programs in Sudan since 1940 when radio was introduced by British colonization. Radio in Sudan became one of the traditional communication mediums. Most Sudanese people are familiar with radio. Also Sudan is a country known with high culture and ethnic diversity. In such context, radio is a very important medium among other mediums to communicate information and engage audiences in political life. Radio covers a huge radius, is economical, easy to operate and multi-optional. The illiteracy rate is very high in Sudan, and so radio can play an educational role and it can communicate important messages, policies and issues to Sudanese communities. In the era of communication technology, people became able to communicate and participant in interactive programs. Based on information mentioned above, radio was chosen for the purpose of this study.

1.9 Significance of the study

Along the years of the conflict, most international media portrayed the Darfur conflict as an Arab versus African conflict; however, this is an oversimplification of the Darfur conflict. Media showed insolvability of the conflict. Media coverage of Darfur conflict has tended to be ethnocentric, partial and superficial. The study examines the effect of

media on people to engage in conflict according to Arab versus African image.

In times of war the news media are major agents for mobilizing public support for the continued use of violence. No peace process begins with a culturally blank slate, but rather a slate filled with terrible images of death and destruction that remain important elements in collective memories.

The role of the news media in peace processes is an important topic that receives surprisingly little attention in the field of conflict resolution. It should be clear, however, to even the most casual observers that the news media play a critical role in attempts to lower hostilities among antagonists. The public, after all, receives virtually all of its information about 'the other side' from the media (Beaudoin and Thorson, 2002) and thus this flow of reports and images is likely to have a significant effect on the political atmosphere surrounding any attempts at significant effect on the political atmosphere surrounding any attempts at reconciliation.

1.10 Overview on Sudanese media and communication

(Rayudu 1993, p82) The history of communication was started from an earlier alphabet to the world web. The story of civilization is in a way the story of communication. The growth of civilization has been followed by the exploration of printing in China in 868 AD. However, due to the slow spread of literacy to the masses in China and the relatively high cost of paper there, the earliest printed mass medium was probably European in the 15th Century. Johannes Gutenberg's invention of the printing press allowed the mass production of books and other printed materials. The invention of the printing press gave rise to some of the first forms of mass communication.

(Salah, 1989, p32) Newspapers developed around 1612 with the first examples appearing in English in 1620, but it took until the 19th Century to reach mass audiences directly. The increase in circulation, however,

led to a decline in feedback and interactivity from readership, that made newspapers a one-way medium at that time.

The term “mass media” was restricted to print media up until the post Second World War period, when Radio and TV became popular. In recent times, the Internet has become the latest and most popular medium. Language, wireless, electronic and satellites were the five peaks conquered by man.

1.11 Sudan media landscape

1.11.1 Print media:

Sudan experienced media during the colonization era. The historian and researchers consider contemporary Media in Sudan dating back to 1903. The first newspaper was *Al-Sudan*, founded by Shahin Mekarios and Faris Nimir, owners of Almugatam publishing house in Egypt. It was published twice a week in English and subsequently in Arabic (Mahjoub, 1971, p22)

(Mahjoub, 1971, p39) Before 1903 there were attempts and forms of journalism, such as the gazette that was founded in 1899, but these attempts should not have been considered as newspapers based on the scientific definition of newspaper. Gazette published laws & government policies, nominations and official telegraphs.

Some researchers considered Gazette as a newspaper. They argued that it was published regularly and it was distributed to all government officials, but on the other hand there were some researchers who considered it as a means among other tools developed by the colonizer to communicate with the masses.

(Salah, 1989, 33). *Commercial chamber magazine published in 1908, it was published in English, but it wasn't distributed regularly.* Saad Afandi was correspondent of Sir, Shadi. Saad established a Khartoum newspaper in 1909, but it didn't continue. In 1911 *Sudan Herald* was established. It

targeted the Greek community and immigrant traders. Two years later, *Sudan Herald* published *Raad Al-Sudan* in Arabic language and biweekly copy. It opened space for Sudanese writers. Hussain Sharief was a famous writer who later became editor in chief.

Besides the growing of the newspaper sector, Sudan Notes and Records was born in 1918. It was a government owned magazine focused on Sudanese studies, history, folk, custom and tradition.

The number of educated people in Sudan had also increased, also the economy boosted and the colonizer preferred to hire Sudanese journalists rather than the foreign ones to achieve their interest. These factors helped in the appearance of Sudan Civilization (*Hadarat Al-Sudan* newspaper in Feb 1918).

Researchers agreed that *Hadarat Al-Sudan* was the first Sudanese national newspaper and its editor in chief, Hussain Sharief, was the first Sudanese journalist. This newspaper, same Sudanese paper but its content and an objective was serving British colonization.

(Awad Ibrahim, 2004, p191) Newspapers and magazines continued appearing in the 1930s and in 1931 *Al nahda* magazine was issued. It focused on art and social issues. In 1933 *Alfajr* magazine issued beside the other publications that appeared during this period. Also there were two newspapers issued at this time, *Altejarria* (commercial) newspaper 1928 and *Al-Sudan* Newspaper in 1934. In the mid 1930s party newspapers appeared to express the political parties' views on different Sudanese issues.

Following the independence of Sudan in 1956, the press grew, but it faced hard times during the first military government led by Aboud. The press faced stop and confiscation. Also political parties' newspapers had been stopped. There was only one newspaper, *Althora* (revolution)

newspaper which existed during the military regime (Mahjoub, 1971, p39-43).

During the democratic regime (1964-1969) Sudanese newspapers were characterized as political parties' papers. Each political party had a newspaper beside the independent papers. During this time, the press focused on issues such political parties' disagreements, national unity, South Sudan conflict, dismissal of constituent assembly and dissolution of Communist Party. These disagreements led to the interference of the army and the birth of the Nemyri regime in 1969 (Salah, 1989, p32).

Political parties' newspapers' were back to operation after Abuod regime fell in 1985. When a military coup took power in 1969, there were independent newspapers, political parties' newspapers and other publications, but gradually the press disappeared because of Nemyri regime policies. Sudanese press experienced freedom of expression during the transitional regime following the fall of the Nemyri regime. The press continued enjoying freedom of expression during elected government in 1986. At this era of Sudan's political history, the press was divided into political parties' papers and independent ones. The Press faced logistical challenges and the general economic situation in Sudan at that time which affected the press's production sustainability (IMS, 2007, p23). (Salah, 1989, p170) The newspaper industry flourished and enjoyed freedom of expression during the democratic regime and it faced harsh restriction during the military regime's governments. Before the press had recovered from logistics challenges and economic problems in the country, the military carried out the third coup and took power in 1989.

At this time Sudan had about 55 publications appearing in different forms (daily papers, magazines and other publications). The new regime labeled as an Islamist regime started to place new policies and reforms. The new regime closed newspapers and dissolved all political parties and unions.

The military newspaper was the only paper allowed to circulate. For a brief period, some pro-government newspapers existed such as *Al angaz Alwatani* (national salvation) and *Al-Sudan Al-hadeith* (new Sudan). There were some newspapers focused on culture, sport and entertainment, which were allowed to be published.

Table (1/1): List of daily newspaper in Sudan 2015

Name	Content	Ownership	Status/Remarks
Al-Sudani	Political	Private	In operation
Almaidan	Political	Communist party	Suspended
Akhir Lahza	Political	Private	In operation
Alwatan	Political	Private	In operation
Aldar	Social paper	Private	In operation
Almeghar Alsyasy	Political	Private	In operation
Alahiram Alyoum	Political	Private	In operation
Aljareeda	Political	Private	In operation
Sada Alahdath	Social issues	Private	In operation
Akhbar Alyoum	Political	Private	In operation
Alyou Altali	Political	Private	In operation
Alayaam	Political	Private	In operation
Alakhbar	Political	Private	Stopped
Altaqyeer	Political	Private	In operation
Aladwaa	Political	Private	In operation
Awaal Alnahr	Political	Private	In operation
Alsaada	Sport	Private	In operation
Goan	Sport	Private	In operation

1.11.2 Radio in Sudan

Radio broadcasting is considered as the oldest form of electronic media. Radio has been shown to be a medium that makes daily contact with almost everyone's life (Awad, 2004, p245).

Sudan has experience with radio since the British colonization. Sudan state radio (known as Omdurman radio) was established in 1940. Omdurman Radio was founded to support colonization policies and provide news on the Second World War to the Sudanese public. Omdurman radio was started to broadcast 30 minutes of radio program and in 1943 broadcasting was increased to one hour. When the radio was launched, audiences were gathered in Omdurman post office to access news through speakers distributed around the place. The main language used in the program was Arabic, but in the mid-1940s English was used to meet the need of information of top officials and Sudanese elites. The radio staff was Sudanese journalists who were governed by the British Colonization Information Office.

Following the independence of Sudan, radio enjoyed the freedom to develop programs and organize work among the radio stations.

Radio stations as other media institutions were affected by military governments in Sudan. Radio Omdurman developed and expanded in staffing, programming and information service during Aboud regime (IMS, 2007, 23-25).

There is a correlation between the development of Omdurman radio and the political atmosphere. Rebellion started in Sudan before independence of the country. South Sudan corner radio service established in 1955 was broadcasted through Omdurman radio. It became a radio station in 1969. (Awad, 2004,191-95).

Based on Addis Ababa agreement in 1973, a radio program was established to target the southern audience. The radio service was named, national unity broadcasting. It was a broadcast in different languages spoken in South Sudan. National unity broadcasting service integrated with Omdurman radio in mid-1960s and opened space to include other languages from different parts of Sudan. Local languages used in election propaganda in the 1970s and the transitional period in 1985. Also, local languages used by military government held power in 1989.

Radio Omdurman was controlled by the government. It's owned by governments that have ruled Sudan since the independence. Its broadcasting varies program content, but news is the main format besides other kinds of radio production. Arabic language remained the main broadcasting language, but English and French programs were also produced. Omdurman radio contributed to the founding of many directed stations and broadcasting services. These stations included Almugtaribeen (Sudanese people working abroad) radio; Holy Quran radio, founded in 1970 and oriented broadcasting to Somalia, this service launched in 1967 was based on an agreement between Omdurman radio and Somalia radio to share radio production.

Political oriented broadcasting was started in 1988 when the Sudanese armed forces faced a new form of rebellion; some Nuba mountain leaders joined Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPL/M). Military directive department launched oriented program through national unity radio service. Later this program became the armed forces radio.

Previously, Omdurman radio accommodated oriented radio services such as peace radio, armed forces radio and FM100. Omdurman radio adopted broadcasting technology, which was using different broadcasting bands ranging between MW, SW and FM. This variety in broadcasting allowed radio service and oriented radio stations to operate and broadcast

independently. The Nimeiri regime applied decentralization to the political system in 1980. This new system allowed regions to have their own radio stations (Nyala, Wa madani, Elobied, Atbara). Earlier in the 1990s, a federal system was applied in Sudan. Sudan was divided into 26 regions; there were 18 regions with radio stations. This political news set up expanded broadcasting media services in Sudan's regions. The Sudanese radio and Television corporation (SRTC) and the National Communication Corporation approved licenses for transmissions in Sudan. (IMS media assessment) and the government had regulative authority in issuing media license to private sector. (See table 2 for FM radio lists) Following the separation of South Sudan on July 9, 2011, west Kordufan separated from South Kordufan and there were two states formulated in Darfur. Currently, each State has a radio station, excluded the two states of center Darfur and east Darfur states.

Table (1/2): FM Radio stations based in Khartoum:

Station Name	Content	Ownership	Frequenc y	Remarks
Sudan radio	General content	Federal government	95	
Sudan house	Cultural content	Governmen t	100	Par of Sudan national radio
Khartoum FM	General content	Khartoum state radio		
Halla	Entertainment	Private	96	
Sawa Sudan	News	Internationa l radio	97.5	

Miraya FM	News	UN		
Radio Alrabea	Entertainment & advertising	Private	94	Belong to businessman from UAE
Kawthar	Religious	Private		
Sudan open university radio	Educational	Private	89.5	
Radio sport	Sport content	Private	104	
Holy Quran radio	Religious	Government		Part of national radio
Alegtisadya	Economic	Private	89	
Police radio	Legal education	Ministry of interior	96.6	
Sudanese forces radio	News	Ministry of defense	97	
Darfur FM	News/culture	Private	90.3	
Capital	News/entertainment	Private	91.6	Broadcast in English
Alkhadra	Entertainment	Private	88.3	
Altibia	Health content	Private	99.3	
Khartoum	Education	Government		

university radio		t		
Health and life	Health/entertainment	Private		
Tiba radio	Religious	Private		

researcher

1.11.3 Television in Sudan:

(Awad,2004, 248) Sudan TV is part of Sudan National Broadcasting Corporation (SNBC), started in 1962 with limited broadcasting that covered Sudan's capital, and is government –owned and operated. Sudan TV is one of number of government owned, pro-government TV channels and private ones.) Sudan TV expanded its transmission coverage which benefited from the development and growth in communication and telecommunication technology field. In 1976, Sudan experienced color. Sudan TV programing included news, news programs, drama, sport and entertainment programs that targeted different categories.

Sudan TV broadcasted on two channels and was also available via satellite. At the beginning of the 21st Century, Sudan had two government-owned channels: Sudan National TV and Blue Nile TV.

Blue Nile was established in 2001 and it became a TV channel in 2003. Blue Nile TV broadcasted diverse programs raging between political, social, sport and cultural programs.

Sudan regions (states) started in 1972, Aljazeera rural TV born, followed by Atbara TV. In the 1990s, the radio sector in Sudan grew and the federal political system was applied and these two factors contributed to existence of regions (states) local TV channels.

Some of these channels were in operation and some of them had failed to continue operation or closed. Some regions (states) channels were starting

to broadcast through satellites like Kasala and Port Sudan TV channel. All regions (states) local TV channels are owned by state governments, but they operate under the Federal Ministry of Information.

1.11.4 Private TV channels in Sudan:

Private TV started operating outside the country. It started broadcasting from Dubai and Media City in Egypt (MCE). There was no private TV licensed to broadcasting in Sudan. Private channels used satellites to reach Sudanese audiences. Recently, Sudan government started issuing private TV licenses.

This new media policy helped create some private TV channels that range between cultural, sport and religious channels. Also there are some channels that shifted bases and weren't operating inside Sudan.

Ashorooq TV was based in Dubai, it started in 2006, and mostly airs in Arabic and a few English programs. A few years later, Ashorooq started to operate from Sudan.

Zoal private TV is a Sudanese channel based outside the country. Its programs include news, sports, talk shows and other program formats.

Omdurman TV was established in 2011. It is owned by Hussien Khogsli editor in chief of *Alwan* daily newspaper. Omdurman TV programs focus on art, culture and news programs.

Table (1/3): List of Televisions in Sudan:

Name of the station	Content	Ownership	Remarks
Sudan national TV	General content	Government	
Blue Nile	Cultural	Government	
Khartoum TV	General	Khartoum state government	

Ashrooq	News	Private	
Omdurman	Cultural	Private	
Al-Nileen	Sport	Private	
Goan	Sport	Private	
Sahour	Religious	Private	
Tiba	Religious	Private	
Sudan open university	Educational	Private	
Zoal	Culture/entertainment	Private	
Angam	Music	Private	

Note: each state in Sudan has local TV.

1.11.5 News Agencies:

Sudan News Agency (SUNA) is the Sudanese official news agency. In 1970, Sudan launched it. It is issuing news bulletins in Arabic, English and French. SUNA provides text, audio and video news. It disseminates information to local and international audiences

There are some governmental media centers, such Sudan Media Center (SMC). Also there are independent news agencies like Teeba Press (IMS, 2007, p30).

1.11.6 Websites and social media in Sudan:

Sudan benefited from telecommunication technology; there are four companies which provide cell phone and internet services in Sudan. These telecommunication companies contributed to the spread of internet services in the country, but the infrastructure is not optimized for high-speed data communication services.

There are many Sudanese news websites operating, including daily newspapers, TV channels and radio station pages. The most visited websites include Sudaneseonline.com, sudantribune.com, sudan.net, Alrakoba.com, Sudanile.com and ashorooq.com. These websites provide

news, breaking news, and discussion forums in Arabic and English. Internet usage is concentrated in Khartoum more than the other regions of Sudan. Meanwhile social media usage is growing in Sudan as people access different social media applications through smart phones. Facebook and What's App are famous applications used by most of Sudanese people.

1.11.7 Media in Darfur

Omdurman radio was the first radio station in Sudan. It broadcasts programs throughout Sudan via different transmission waves (MW, SW, AM and FM). Audiences in Darfur get access to Omdurman, other international radio services and local radio stations. As mentioned earlier, regional radio stations and special services were started in 1955 with 40 minutes' program (South Sudan corner). In the beginning of the 1980s Darfur, had the first local station based in Nyala town.

1.11.7.1 Nyala radio station

Nyala radio station was the first station established in Darfur in 1983. It was established to be a relay station to Omdurman radio general program targeting local people and audience in the neighboring countries of Central Africa Republic, Chad and Libya. Omdurman radio provided Nyala station technical staff and broadcasting materials that meet the need for information of Darfur's audiences.

Nyala radio station was widely known among other states' radio stations. It has broadcasted programs that reached neighboring countries including the Central Africa Republic, Chad, Cameroon, Mali, Libya, Uganda, Kenya and South Sudan republic. Nyala radio station programs focused on cultural, folk and social programs to maintaining population diversity in the region. Since 2010 the station focused its programs on social peace and development to bridge the gaps between different groups due to current conflicts in the region.

1.11.7.2 Alfashir Radio Station:

In 1993, Alfashir radio station was founded. The establishment of this station aimed at raising awareness among local people when armed robbery appeared in the 1980s. (34)

It broadcasted in Arabic language and its total output was five hours. One hour had music content and four hours were dedicated to talk and other radio production formats. The program schedule raised in terms of topics to be broadcasted; it included music, religious programs, talk show, political programs and local news.

1.11.7.3 Algenina Radio Station

Algenina Radio station belongs to the West Darfur government and the station has been in operation for 22 years with a radius covering 50 km broadcasting on FM95. The station starts to broadcast local content at 5:00 pm to 8:00 pm and half an hour out of this time the station broadcasts community contents. The station doesn't vary broadcasting by days. The station covers culture and health programs, local news and other programs produced in collaboration with national non-governmental organizations (NGO) and international ones (INGO)

1.11.8 International media project focused in Darfur:

The Darfur crisis attracted news agencies and international organizations conducting media projects. In 2004, BBC media action launched Darfur lifeline program; aimed to providing information to help internally displaced people (IDP) to cope with conflict situation

In addition to that there are some media initiatives launched to provide survival information. African union launched Afia Darfur newspaper to provide information to Darfur people on their figures, aid situation and political efforts to solve the conflict.

1.11.8.1 Dabanga radio:

In 2008, Radio Dabanga came on air. It hired Darfuri staff to produce news and informative programs. Dabanga Radio was supported by Free Press Unlimited in the Netherlands.

1.11.8.2. Afia Darfur radio Station

Afia Darfur began broadcasting to Darfur and east Chad in 2008. Its program focused on news and news updates. Afia Darfur targeted internally displaced people in Darfur (IDPs) and Darfurian refugees in eastern Chad. Afia Darfur broadcasts 30 minutes of daily programming.

While the Sudan crisis in Darfur became chronic, the international response increased. The United Nation's hybrid mission formulated (UNAMID) and deployed in Darfur. As part of UNAMID, the communication and public relation department created *Yala Nebni Darfur* (Let's Build Darfur). This radio program aimed to raise awareness about the mission's mandate and related activities. In addition, it broadcast programs on health, education, culture, children and women's programs. Darfurian journalists produce the programs and it is broadcasted twice daily on Omdurman-based Alsalaam Radio.

CHAPTER ONE

Overview on Darfur History

Darfur is located in the western part of Sudan. It borders Libya, Chad, Central Africa Republic and South Sudan as international borders. The internal borders of the Darfur region include North Kordofan at the eastern side and Northern State at the North East. Darfur is one of the most populated regions in Sudan. The population is estimated at 7.5 million according to the last Sudanese People and House Census in 2008. Darfur covers an area of 493,180 square kilometers. One of the most prominent features is Jebal Mararah, located in central Darfur rising up to 9,980 ft. It serves as a water division line during the rainy season. Darfur's physical geography varies between sandy and sandstone soils. Each geographical inhabitation was based on water availability and open space for cultivation and pasture. North Darfur is classified as desert being part of the great Sahara. The region is divided between desert, semi desert and Savannah that is further divided into poor Sudan and rich savannah. Following the elongated drought periods associated with desert creeping the mentioned classification moved South following drought.

2.1 Major Kingdoms and Sultanates:

Darfur being an ancient human settlement is described by (O'fahy, 1980, p8) as an area of noticed state-formation of a number of states, kingdoms and Sultanates. Darfur is influenced by other states in West Africa and eastern Chad. The history of state-formation in Darfur goes back many centuries, as is evident by many sites and large stones and brick complexes.

Sources mentioned three successive ruling groups, Daju, Tunjur and Keria/ Fur. Daju formed their kingdom in southeast of Jabal Mara during the period of 12th and 13th Centuries.

2.1.1 Dago

Dago inhabited central/east Darfur; there is no evidence in written documents that they were the ruling race in Darfur a claim that rests entirely on the oral tradition of present-day inhabitants of Darfur and Wadi (Barth, 1857, p68)

This tradition does not imply, as one might be inclined to suppose, that the Dago rule extended to the whole of Darfur (MacMichael, year, p76)

Dago now living in Darfur, Wadi and West Kordufan; in the former country they formed with Birged and Bego a distinct, albeit heterogeneous, negroid group, east and south-east of Gebel Marra, to the north of the Baggara country, where they had a hereditary Sultan. Further west they are the preponderating element of population of Dar Sila. Ali Al-tunisis mentioned that they are one of five aboriginal tribes of Wadai.

2.1.2 Tunjur Kingdom

In the sixteenth century, there was a powerful Tunjur kingdom in Sudan, but its power was eclipsed by the rise of the Fur Empire in the 17th Century. Approximately 10,000 people in Chad and Sudan identify themselves as Tunjur today. They live primarily in Darfur Province and across the border in Chad. The Chadian Tunjur live near the Batha River in Wadai Province, in Dar Ziyud, and in the Abu Telfan hills. They no longer speak the Tunjur language; it was replaced by Fur, Arabic, or Beri languages as their primary tongue. They live in settled villages of reed-walled, conical-roofed houses built on hilltops or elevated ridges. They are farmers, raising a variety of crops, including millet, beans, sorghum, and haricot beans, but they are best known for their skill at cultivating date palms. The Tunjur are devout Sunni Muslims of the Maliki School. (Olson, James S. 1996, P13)

2.1.3 Masalit Sultanate

The Masalit ethnic group is one of the Darfur tribes having a sultanate in Darfur. Masalit are classified as a non-Arab tribe, and live on the border of Sudan and Chad, but mainly they live in Sudan in Dar Masalit. Masalit groups living on both sides share similar cultural values, customs and traditions, and they speak their own language. Masalit are categorized as a settled tribe and they cultivate land and they interact with others economically, politically and socially. (O'fahy and Jerme Tubian, 2005, p8-15) In the 1880s Sultan Taj Al-Dien carved out a separate Sultanate which survived until today. Masalit were known as strong warriors who fought hard to protect their Sultanate.

2.1.4 Fur Sultanate

There is no agreement on Fur history between historians and travelers who visited the Fur tribe. Darfur's recorded history begins in the 17th Century; some historians have stated that the Fur, an ethnic group from western Sudan and principally inhabiting the region of Darfur, belong to Akhofirs, a grandfather of many tribes (Kara, Binga and Fur. All called Firtit) in Bahr Algazal (Bitonltton), other historians linked the Fur to Arab roots, and said Fur Kira belong to Ahmed Almagour, and came to Darfur from Tunisia when Shawdorshid ruled Darfur. The Sultan married his daughter to Ahmed; Suliman Solon (Son of Ahmed Almagour) was born and grew up and became the first Muslim sultan of Darfur. Ofahey and Opsoldong (1974, p3) stated Kira united people in Jabal Marra in the 16th Century, but they did not appear as an Islamic sultanate until the 17th Century. The sultanate was led by Suliman Sonlon.

Views on Fur history vary as well as on the establishment of the Darfur Sultanate. The Darfur Sultanate is a result of historical development for many centuries. It built on the remnants of former kingdoms and comprehensive development of sultanate and royal families in Darfur.

Suliman's grandson, Ahmed Bukr (1682-1722) declared Islam the religion of the sultanate and he accommodated immigrants from Bornu and Bagirmi Kingdoms. His rule extended up to the Nile Valley in the East. He fought with the Sennar Sultanate, Wadai Sultanate, Egyptian and Arab tribes located in the South of the Sultanate. At that time ALzubair Rahma started his slavery business in Bahr Al-gazal and south Darfur. He diverted the trade route to Khartoum instead to pass by Darfur Sultanate, he stopped the flow of goods that Darfur would trade to Egypt. AlZubair Raham was wanted by Egyptians, but he allied with them to fight Ibrahim Garad Sultan of Darfur and that war led to the destruction of the Darfur Sultanate and Darfur came under Turkish-Egyptian colonization. A few years later, Abdalla Altaishi mobilized Darfuri tribes to support Mahdist revolution to restore Sudan from colonization. Darfur sultanate contributed to success of Mahdist revolution, but it never subjected to Islamic rule of Mahdist state. Mahdist rule was eliminated by the British in 1898. The new Anglo-Egyptian government was declared in 1899. Ali Dinar was released from Mahdi prison and nominated as sultan of Darfur. Darfur remained as an independent state up to the killing of Ali Dinar in 1916 (Musa Almubark1970, p47).

The Darfur sultanate created an administrative system built around land ownership since Sultan Musa, the son of Sulioman Solong (Naom shogair). Darfur has been divided into Dars and Dars into Demligias at the time of Sultan Mohamed Al-Fadol. At the time of Hussain, Demligias were further divided into Hawakeer (Idris yousif 2014, p13).

Darfur social structure was built around land ownership; land is the basis of all political and administrative systems and the general social structure of the Darfur region (Suliman Yahya 2007, 45-47). The nature of land ownership determines the type of native administration and governance.

Darfur native administration leaders' authorities and roles were inherited from old Sultanate and kingdoms ruled Darfur in different periods.

2.1.5 Native Administration in Darfur:

Darfur was known and characterized by a tribal system inherited from old kingdoms and sultanates found in this area (O'fahy, 1980, p49). Native administration was deeply rooted in Darfur society, culture, environment and economy. Tribal leadership is an old method of administrative system in Darfur, it's applied by nomad and settled tribes. In fact, based on existing structures, the native administrative system crafted during the Turkish-Egyptian era, and later on the system was developed and sustained by British colonization.

Tribal leaders have authority given by their tribes/clans to rule the community and provide security and maintain relations with other tribes (musa almubark, p49). The native administration system in Darfur was built on collaborative ties and blood relations; it imposed mutual relation and commitment among tribes.

The native administration system is flexible and adapted in Sudan in general especially in Darfur. It is adjusted with political and administration systems following Sudan independence. Native administrative system in Darfur faced challenges when Nymiri regime dissolved it, a decision that generated insecurity feelings among tribes because of the disappearance of native administration. Tribes and races armed and tribal disputes became bloody and developed into armed robbery in some parts of Darfur.

When Al-bashir took power in 1989, native administration accommodated in governance system, but leaders were playing different roles; such as mobilizing communities, nomination of new leaders and tribal administrative unites resulted in conflicts described as civil war. The government involved in this conflict (Abdallah Altom, 2007,19, 29).

Native administration in Darfur is still playing a vital role in spite of challenges and changes it is facing to carry its historical role to resolve disputes between individuals and groups within the tribe and between nomads and farmers.

2.1.6 Darfur Society:

There are different views among historians who wrote about Darfur tribes. (Nachtigal 1874, p117) said that Darfur society includes African rooted tribes and Arab rooted one, mixed tribes and others. According to Nachtigal Darfur tribes can be listed as follow: Fur and its sub-tribes, Dago, Tunjor, Doginya, Zagawa, Nawiba, Masalit, Jalaba, Gimir, Meedub, Wadi, Fugoro, Birgid, barti, Mima and its sub-tribes whom inhabited Darfur. The term Nawaiba includes Arab groups in Darfur.

Darfur geographical position is centered elements for tribes' immigration. People came to Darfur from Barno, Wadi and Tama sultanates. Darfur position is across road for trade and visit of Islamic Holy place (Maaca) in Saudi Arabia (Idris Yousif, 2014, p19). People came to Darfur from different directions; for different reasons and intentions. Immigrant people from west Africa came to Darfur because of war in their kingdoms or crossing to visit Holy Maaca. Some people settled in Darfur due to natural resources, trade and good condition of living in Fur Sultanate. Darfur characterized by a mixture of tribes from different places, but majority are from neighboring kingdoms in west Africa (Idris Yousif, 2014, p19-20). (Nachtigal 1874 and O'fahey 1980) noted that Fur tribe is the dominant tribe which established and ruled Sultanate between 1640-1916. Through out this period people continued to come to Darfur. Tribes who settled earlier in Darfur, they are living in own land (hakiura) provided by Fur Sultanate leaders (Idris Yousif, 2014, p20-21). (Nachtigal, 1874, p 119-130) classified Darfur tribes into African tribes and Arab ones.

(O'fahey & Tubiana, 2005, P5) Arab and non-Arab in division should be considered in Darfur. Idris Yousif in his book: the realities of Hawaker (Community Lands) and native administration system in Darfur, he supported Nachtigal claims. Idris classified tribes in Darfur into the indigenous tribes and immigrant ones. Majority of indigenous tribes are classified African rooted, who can be listed in the following: Fur, Dago, Tonjur, Zagawa, Masalit, Birgid, Burti, Firteet, SImeiat, Meedob, Tama, Miseeria Jabel, Baigo, Sowa, Mowa, Kirash, Bunda, Kineen, Ab Durak, Dadinga, Kaitinga, Eringa, Sinyar, Zimiral, Karra, Fongora and Osongora.

While the immigrant tribes into Darfur from north and west Africa who have been there for many centuries; the majority are classified as Arab rooted tribe, who can be listed in the following: Rizaigat, Taaisha, Bani halba, Habbania, Miseeria, Salamat, Barno, Fallata, Khozam, Zibaidiya, Fizan, bani Mansour, Saada, Targum, Mahadi, Bani Hessain, Showaihat, Thalba, Howtiya, Raaina, Burgo, Marareet and others.

Moreover, there are some tribes who came to Darfur from inside Sudan, most of them are classified as Arab rooted, who flee from north and central Sudan (Mohammed Suliman, 2006, p343). According to (Idris Yousif, 2014, 22) these tribes can be listed as following: Algawaamah, Alzayadia, Almaaliya, Al Hawarra, Alkorobat, Danagla, Shaigiya, Gaaliya, Mahas, Halfaween and Awla Alreef (Egyptian). These tribes came to Darfur for trade and commerce.

The main factor that attracted people to be settle in Darfur was the attitude of Fur Sultanate leaders. Leaders were famous with concern of religious, trade and justice.

Inter-marriage between indigenous and immigrant tribes is the main factor for current Darfur community. This factor made tribal classification hard to be identified. Features of both indigenous and

immigrant is not clear and very complicated. Current Darfur society became multi-ethnic and multi-tribal one. The reason is Darfur society experienced human interaction throughout the last six centuries and before this period. This interaction resulted Darfur society to share history, culture, customs and traditions.

2.2 Darfur common values

Customs, traditions, and wisdoms in Darfur community represent an important part of the daily life. These elements shaped Darfur folklore, culture and social values related to Darfur people, believes. The social values are colored by religious concepts. Some of customs and traditions have social tone that promote positive attitude; generosity, honesty, courage and welcoming guests, on other hand there are customs and traditions expelling negative attitudes; stealing, stinginess, coward and lying. Darfur people expressed about these traditions and customs in their proverbs, public sayings and wisdoms. Darfur communities have social ruling institutions (Hakamat) are women singing or telling poem on those who make wrongdoing or brave thing. This social institute makes statements publically on wrongdoings and motivate people to act good and avoid misbehavior.

There are many social values such as talking to elders, how to eat (oticate), marriage, collaboration action (Nafeer), help, rescue and conflict resolution tools such as Jodia and Rakouba to maintain people co-existence within tribes and retain customary law. Native administration leaders and religious leaders played vital role in instillation of these values, in addition to the elements of language and Islam that admixed with culture and African believe. These are the values contributed to the formation of Darfur social and its cultural identity. Darfur communities are a results of a mixture among number of people that produced current Darfur tribes and ethnicities (Suliman,2005, p67.

2.2.1 Darfur Economic Base:

Darfur economic base comprise of agriculture, animal raring, natural resources products and trade. These elements of Darfur economy were interrelated and interacting together since origination of the kingdoms and sultanates in Darfur at the end of the Sultanate in 1916.

Trade is the lifeblood to Darfur people; they were practicing it since hundreds of years between different parts of Darfur and through “Darb Alarbaïen” to Egypt, Libya and North Sudan. Cross border trade included Chad with Central African Republic.

Darfur has different sources and products that contribute to major Sudanese exports: agriculture products such; groundnut, Hibiscus, Gum Arabic and livestock. In spite of Darfur contribution on national economy, it’s like other regions in the country, has been manipulated by central government (Mohamed Suliman 2006, P340).

Darfur is one of the most underdeveloped areas in Sudan (Mohamed Suliman 2006, P374). The economic deterioration in Darfur as result of the disruption of development distribution historically, Darfur is isolated from the central Sudan due to lack of roads, very poor transportation infrastructure and communication means; these elements had negative impact on trade and growth of local economy. The major factor affecting Darfur local economy is drought that hit Darfur in 70s’ and 80s’ respectively and led to famine and population displacement. Drought aggravated conflict over natural resources and led to disputes between communities that exacerbated and complicated production and producer conditions in the region.

Livestock and animal production is one of Darfur and Sudanese economic elements, in addition to oil beans and Gum-Arab; these items earn hard currency to the central bank, beside products for local consumption. These products faced scarcity in Darfur region

Darfur economic production bases have collapsed and the society became fragile. In addition, the internal displacement from rural areas to urban towns and centers increased and affected economic productivity in Darfur. Darfur never had development projects until 70s' of last century, traditional industry such as oil factory, fabric factory and manufacturing industry in Nyal. Darfur local economy has been boosted in mid 90s especially across border trade with Libya, Chad and central Africa republic, but Darfur economic growth declined with political conflict starting in 2003. Darfur region remained as marginalized and exploited economically.

2.2.2 Darfur Politics and Governance:

Turkish colonization controlled most of Sinnar Sultanate, then took over Elmasabat kingdom in 1821. The new colonizer dominated transportation leading to Darfur "Darb Alarbaien". Sultan Ibrahim Gard fought in two fronts; in south part of Darfur, he fought against Zebair Basha, who was confederated with Turkish and he fought Turkish in east part, as a result Alfashir fell and was subjected to Turkish-Egyptian colonization (Musa Almubark 1970, P60).

Darfur people were the main power in Al-mahdi revolution to eliminate Turkish- Egyptian colonization. They contributed to installation of the new ruling up to taking over Umdorman in 1898. They supported Sultan Ali Dinar to rule Darfur, but they remained under Al-mahdi revolution principles.

Darfur has been a sovereign independent state until 1916, when British colonization occupied Darfur after the killing of Sultan Ali Dinar.

The British colonization controlled Sudan, and it started implementation of locked- area policy, which included parts of Darfur. The colonizer worked on economic objectives in central Sudan, it established Aljazeera agriculture Scheme. Colonization used cheap manpower from Darfur in

this project. British colonization divided Sudan into sectors and regions, Darfur ruled as district, counties and region (Mohamed Suliman, 2006, P7-18). Sudan had independence in 1956, but conflict over power left social and economic bases established by colonization, Darfur remained far from the power center and is ruled from Khartoum.

First military government in Sudan expanded agricultural projects international cooperation and infrastructure. Darfur gained railway line aimed to facilitate transportation of livestock and provide manpower to Cotton projects in central Sudan.

Sudan experienced October revolution against military government in 1964, this period of Sudan political history, before this revolution; Darfur renaissance front has been formulated in 1963. Deraij was the first president of the front aimed to get position to Darfur in the ruling system. Before formulation of Darfur front there were Al-lahib Al-ahmar front and Soni; both followed secret political approach (Abdalla Altom, 2011, P33). Following, October revolution; Sudan political atmosphere was complicated, political parties fought over power, while the military was planning to take over power through military coup, in 1969 Nymair took over power. This part of Sudan political history witnessed expansion on agricultural projects, industry and huge political conflict. The hard political battle was Hashim Alata military coup in 1971, Hassan Hussin Coup, July front that was support by Libya and the majority of fighters of this movement were people from Darfur. Also during Nymair regime a peace agreement was signed to end conflict in South Sudan. Darfur people protested against Altyb Almardi, Derij nominated as Darfur governor in 1981.

Third democracy period: this period was marked by harsh political conflicts among political parties who won the election. Political parties focused in ruling the country and ignored regions. Darfur parliamentary

caucus put pressure on government and Uma party to address Darfur region issues, but their pressure did not lead to tangible results. Some of Darfur parliamentarians' resigned for more pressure to change context in Darfur. During this period, Darfur faced insecurity triggers, such as, Armed robbery, tribal dispute as a result of drought and desertification which hit Darfur. In addition to that Chadian factions fought over Darfur land and appearance of Islamic religion in north Darfur.

These entire factors affected Darfur social fabric, political situation and Darfur economic bases. On the other hand, Sudan countryside forces alliance was born, aimed to change political climate in Sudan.

The Current government was continuing historical ignorance of Darfur region. Some government policies deepened inequality development and tribal conflicts as result of amendment of native administration policies between 1990-1991.

Beside that, Darfur was divided into three states in 1993, at that time north Darfur consisted of four counties divided into 24 administrative units. South Darfur divided into five counties and 38 administrative units and west Darfur divided into six counties and 28 administrative units. Darfur experienced re-division; states number has been increased, counties and administrative units' number increased as a result of political pressure from tribal leaders and local administrative leaders, in addition to tribal leaders' interference, there was land issue as a fact.

Post separation of South Sudan in 2011, government formulated a committee to look into governance levels, as a result of that revision Darfur was divided into five states.

2.2.3 Protestation, Armed Movements and political Development Timeline:

Darfur people protestation and revolution signs appeared early as a result of growing political consciousness about rights and feeling of injustice

from central government following the Sudan independence and even during the colonial era.

Great Britain flag burning in Alfashir city 1952, which did not happen in any of the Britain colonized countries, underwent the British Crown at the time. (Jibril Abdall 2014,P22) There are two stories of this action; Darfur students in Cairo got news, Egypt- British colonization planned to separate Darfur region from the rest of Sudan and its annexation to the South Sudan, Kenya and Uganda, the other story was a rumor, British colonization planned to nominate a King for Darfur, for that event British arranged an exhibition to be conducted in Zalinji and Sudan general-governor Robert will attend the event. Based on two stories, an envoy of students arrived in Al-fashir to investigate the rumors, tension escalated, people protested and called for departure of colonization from Sudan.

Red Flames Movement: it was born following Sudan independence in 1957, it did not last for long, it was secret, political peaceful movement, it launched its activities by distribution of leaflet in major Darfur cities. It called for reforms in the Sudanese political system and to improve overall situation of Darfur citizens.

Sony Movement/ Front established between 1963-1964, it's was military front that included military officers from Darfur, fighting in South Sudan and some civilians. Government dealt with this movement very serious, it arrested some people, military officers fired from services and government conducted campaign against the front and described it as a racism movement.

Darfur Renaissance Front: Was a peaceful political organization established by pressure group consisting of Darfur student union, charity organization and Darfur people regional associations based in Khartoum. It was a political framework including people with different background from Darfur regardless of their affiliation. It had been similar to Beja

front, Nuba union and other protestation organizations. It demanded to be part of the political process, it benefited from freedom space during October revolution, and it demanded social and economic development in Darfur region. It recruited political leaders, parliamentarians educated from Darfur, it called for Darfur to be represented by parliamentarians from Darfur region, as a result of political pressure; it achieved political representation, a number of Darfur parliamentarians won elections and Deraij won election as an independent candidate. (Mahmoud 2014, P18) Some research recorded that, this was the first political penetration of Darfur citizens against the central government and traditional political parties.

West Sudan people organization 1977-1979, it was a civilian political movement emerging during Nimiri region. It was like other regional political organizations calling for change in reforms and demand development projects to be implemented in Darfur region.

The uprising 1980, people of Sudan in Darfur region upraised in Al-fashir against the appointment of a governor from outside of Darfur region, unlike other regions, according to a decree issued by Nimiri. Uprising included major Darfur towns and it involved students and other categories. This uprising resulted in dismissal of Al-tayeb Al-mardi and the appointment of Ibrahim Deraij as governor for Darfur region.

1988 demonstration: it took place during the third democratic era; demonstrations condemned the deteriorating situation in the region and called for central government to solve the problems in the region.

Bolad uprising: Daoud yahya Bolad is a member of Islamic Movement; he departed the Islamic movement due to strategies of the government towards Darfur region and political and economic marginalization. He joined Sudan people's liberation movement led by Dr. John Garang. He was supported by SPLA/M to enter Darfur from south in 1990-1991.

Aggressively, Central government reacted towards Bolad uprising and he was caught and killed.

Federal Democratic Alliance founded by Ibrahim Deraij and Dr. Sharif Ha rir in 1994 participated in Sudanese Democratic Alliance.

Group of Truth and Justice, issuing of Black Book, imbalance of power and wealth distribution in Sudan in 1997.

March 2003, Sudan Liberation Movement launched its operation in Jabal Marah. Justice and equality movement launched its operation in 2003.

April 2003 the occupation of Alfashir airport by rebel movements.

The above-mentioned two rebel groups launched a full-scale rebellion against central government of Sudan based on different claims; economic marginalization, insecurity, unequal power sharing and misdistribution of development project.

Forming of Militias: in responding to escalated conflict, Janjaweed militias was formed to fight rebellions.

Ceasefire agreement Abeshe, April 2004: Sudanese government and Darfur rebels reached a cease-fire agreement; cooling a yearlong security crisis in Darfur burned region and opening the door for flow of humanitarian aids, agreement parties signed an agreement on the modalities for establishment of the ceasefire commission and deployment of international observers in Darfur.

Declaration of Genocide: In 2004 United States Secretary of State Colin Powell described Darfur conflict as genocide and called it the worst humanitarian crisis of the world.

Spilt of Sudan Liberation Movement/Army 2004: the main faction rebel group, Sudan Liberation movement split into two factions, one faction led by Mini and the other one led by Abdulwahid. The issue of division was the Darfur peace agreement. Upon signing of the agreement, Mini became Darfur transitional regional authority president from 2007 up to

2010. Mini faction withdrew from Darfur peace agreement in 2011 and it joined the opposition.

This separation in main rebel faction opened a window to other leaders to split from mother movement and they formed their own groups, such as Sudan liberation movement historical leadership, Sudan Liberation Movement General Command formed in 2010 by Ali Shogar former member of SLM and JEM. In 2011 Sudan liberation Movement Mainstream led by Mohammed ALzubair Khamis. Splitting among different rebel faction became a culture and attitude. LJM movement faced separation as well in different occasions. Increasing of the number of rebel factions complicated the situation in Darfur and it created instability and insecurity in the region that fed ethnicity and spread of weapons among tribes who were not participants in the conflict whether with rebel faction or militia.

Comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) 2005: while government of Sudan continues fighting with Darfur rebel factions, it signs the comprehensive peace agreement with Sudanese People Liberation Movement/Army to mark a new era of Sudan modern political history. This agreement ended up a long civil war in the world.

Signing of Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA): in 2006 conflict parties signed peace agreement in Abuja, Nigeria. One-armed faction signed the agreement, the faction led by Mini. Later Mini was nominated as president assistant and Darfur transitional authority formulated according to peace agreement.

African Union Mission (AU) in Sudan 2004: African union deployed peacekeeping force with an aim of execution of peacekeeping related conflicts in Darfur. In 2005 the force number increased based on Security Council resolution 1564. Later African union mission in Sudan mandate extended number of times until it was replaced by united nation mission

in Darfur UNAMID. Full deployment of 26,000 troops was completed, but attacks continued throughout Darfur region.

Omdurman Attack May 2008: Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) is one of the lead rebel faction in Darfur conflict, it extended, its operation from Darfur, undertook a raid against the Sudanese government in the city of Omdurman and Khartoum outskirts.

Arrest Warrant: in March 2009 International Criminal Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant to Sudanese president under genocide claims.

United nation (UN) and UN Security Council (UNSC) resolutions on Darfur Conflict:

Both bodies adopted many resolutions since the conflict started, after recalling resolution 1502 in 2003 and resolution 1547 in 2004 on the situation in Sudan, the Security Council asked Sudan government to disarm militia and bring justice to victims of Darfur conflict based on human rights violations and international humanitarian law. Resolution 1564 adopted, an international inquiry was established to investigate violations of human rights in Darfur region. Resolution 1593: in 2005 U.N. Security Council passed this resolution, which referred the situation in Darfur to the international criminal court ICC. 1706 resolution adopted in 2006 after recalling previous resolutions on situation in Sudan in general and Darfur in particular. Security Council expanded the mandate of united nation mission in Sudan (UNMIS) to include deployment of peacekeeping forces based on Darfur Peace Agreement. This 1709 resolution extended the mandate and time frame of United Nation Mission in Sudan (UNMIS).

United Nation and Security Council issued a number of resolutions on Sudan ranging between forming of investigation committee, extension of mandates, sanctions based on human right violations and call for peace solution to Sudanese crisis included Darfur conflict.

Darfur and 2010 Election: A general election was conducted in Sudan in April 2010 as part of CPA commitments and to mark The end of the transitional period. The Election results were announced and Omar Albashir won the presidency. The election was conducted in part of Darfur areas and in some area it was not possible to be conducted. Internal Displaced people's camps IDPs were hard to be access to government officials, candidates and election officials.

Following the election in late 2010 an unserious peace treaty began in Doha.

2011 South Referendum: results This announced a secession of South Sudan from Mother country Sudan. Following, the separation of South Sudan, Sudan central government signed the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD) with a coalition of rebel factions. This agreement marked a new term of political development. Sudan government invested in this agreement, as a peace framework to accommodate each rebel faction that will be interested in peace. (Enough Evaluation Report) “As the DDPD is implemented with very limited success, violence in Darfur continues. The proliferation of militias, inter-communal violence, and the army itself remain threats to the civilian population. Conditions in refugee and IDP camps, specifically security for IDPs, have deteriorated”. The separation of South Sudan resulted in a start over of war in South Kordufan and Blue Nile that expanded war areas in Sudan.

Sudanese revolution front is an alliance between Sudanese factions was operating politically and militarily as opposed to the central government of Sudan. The front included main factions of Darfur and the Sudan Liberation movement/Army of south Kordofan and Blue Nile. Also it included Sudanese national political figures. The alliance aimed at political coordination and joint military operation to eliminate government.

South Sudan Conflict 2013, the new country suffered from internal political conflict, which turned into ethnic conflict. Conflict in South Sudan had impact on Darfur politics and security situation. Sudan and South Sudan governments accused each other with support of rebel groups.

In December 2014, Sudanese armed opposition and civil opposition sign the Sudan Calling Document, the new alliance included revolution front, Umma party, National Consensus Forces and civil society initiative.

2.3 Nature, sources and causes of current conflict:

2.3.1 Traditional Rural Conflict:

(Suliman Yaha, 2005, 67) He noted that Darfur community is a result of historical social interaction between originated people, inhabited Darfur and immigrants' people came over from different directions and sultanate in West Africa. Darfur tribes and ethnics structure is very complicated, but it was dynamically interacting negatively and positively throughout Darfur's social, economic and political history.

Each tribe or ethnic group in Darfur had characteristic, on history and its traditions differ from other tribes sharing neighborhood.

Tribes in Darfur built their identity on claims such as, unique identity, originated race, geographic area they owned or race roots; generation after generation tribes restricted to culture values, social values and possession of land (Hagora), these elements shaped tribes and ethnics identities and they became able to compete on governance, economics and political position at local, regional and national level.

Sociology scholar's defined competition, as a process of dealing, interacting between individuals and groups around objectives and specific interests such employment opportunities, political representation or get land. Based on this definition violence never occurs, because competition manages through traditional tools, customary law or constitution. In

Darfur's case, competition became violent and power was extensively used in land disputes.

Traditional rural conflicts in Darfur are around the following:

Land: Darfur uses traditional mechanism that gives individuals and groups the right to use land that they own, except urban area lands and some exceptional cases in rural areas that manage through Sudan land act (Musa Adam 2006, P45).

Conflict over land marked as high type of conflict in Darfur, due to many factors; such, traditional (Hagora) system, tribal identity and government land policies that did not consider social and historical ownership of tribes.

Second kind of conflict is farmers: Nomads' conflicts around the use of land was a result of agrological changes, declining of agriculture lands, increasing of Darfur population and increasing of number of animals in Darfur. In some cases, disputes over land use took place between groups that have the same economic style, such as farmers disputes on agriculture land edges and dispute between nomads around pasture and livestock routes. Different kinds of such disputes were solve through customary law that involved tribal leaders and native administration.

(Mohamed Suliman 2006, P374) Darfur was hugely affected by drought that hit Africa coast in 70's and mid 80's that agrological change resulted in massive migrations and population movement. Disputes occurred due to these agrological changes in Darfur. (Musa Adam 2006, P54) government involved in responding to population movement; but it created more disputes, because Darfur had laws and traditions on land use, that were never considered.

Thirdly, disputes around water sources are related to increasing population and number of animals, expansion of agriculture and pasture.

In addition to lack of development planning, and lack of national water policies.

Fourthly, disputes related to social and economic issues such as marriage tradition, equestrian events, magnanimity, dishonesty and loans.

2.3.2 Multi-dimensional conflict:

2.3.2.1 Identity disputes:

Ethnic identity is a main element in social interaction and integration and it remains an important element during the time of conflict in Darfur. Darfur communities developed strong peaceful co-existence, economic ties, integration and collaboration between nomads and settled tribes, since ancient Sultanates up to Darfur modern history.

Darfur was inhabited by different ethnic groups, but differences among these groups were not clear (Abdulgafar Mohamed 2006, P29). The differences are in marriage tradition, customs, wisdoms and land ownership.

(Musa Adam 2006, P54), he highlighted that Darfur people were divided into two main groups; Arab –rooted and local people, Arab represent culture identity than race, so Arabs are those people speaking Arabic, who mixed with local people non-Arab. The mixed race has an African feature than Arabs of the Middle East.

Disputes between different groups were solved through traditional conflict management tools, identity issues were never addressed in rural conflict in Darfur, but became addressed in the last two decades (Abdulgafaer Mohamed, 2006, 29-30).

Historically, rural area conflict was never shaped as ethnic conflict based on identity. (Sharif Harir 2004, p50) said that Arab and non-Arab term appeared during the conflict between Arab and Fur during the period of 1985-1990, when regional governance system was applied in Darfur and Darfur educated people held constitutional positions at regional

government. At that period of time, conflict situation changed, because regional government officials had tribal and ethnic relation involved in the conflict. This period of Darfur political history was marked by political and ethnical alliances; therefore, identity became part of conflict elements in Darfur. Arab-Africa identity used in conflict as modern term aimed to control power and manage political conflict. (Atah, 2003, 49) competition between Zagawa and Arab in Darfur was unceasingly continuous rather than declining, because of hard competition around administrative and political resources in Darfur region. Also the appearance of Islamic fundamentalism in central Sudan and its alliances then confrontation between Darfur region and central government; all these elements contributed to appearance of identity in Darfur different forms of conflict. (Abdallal Osman, quoted from Albagir Alafifi 2011) the process of framing identity in Darfur is comparable to what happened in Nilotic area in north Sudan. Darfur inhabited by number of ethnic groups. The majority is black African. They are Muslims, some of them still keeping their original African languages, but they are using Arabic language as communication language among them. Some of them lost their language and used Arabic identity. They labeled by Black identity (Zorga) regardless they speak Arabic or not. (Atah, 2003, p67)said Islamists took power in 1989, ethnicity process of conflicts in Darfur increased quickly because Islamic military coup had Arabic tendency and it had direct effect in escalating conflict through injecting ethnic ideology among conflict parties who identified themselves as Arab and non-Arab.

2.3. 2.2 the proliferation of weapons:

Darfur bordered Chad, Libya and Central Africa Republic; borders are open between these countries and Darfur. These countries had internal conflicts that were a supportive environment to flee and spread weapons to Darfur people. In addition to that, economic ties, cross border tribes

and culture linkages with Chad, these factors collectively contributed to spreading of weapons in the area.

Some academic researchers said that spreading of weapons in Darfur was dated way back to mid seventies, when national front formulated it and led by Alsadic Al-mahdi. National front aimed to overthrow Nimairi regime. Weapons stored in Wadi Hawar in north Darfur, also some of national front members escaped with their weapons from Khartoum to Darfur, later they framed armed robbery gangs in Darfur.

(Gasim magazine 20011) Chad-Libya conflict over Ozo region played a vital role in arming some tribes in north Darfur. That conflict timed with disintegration of Central Africa Republic army, increased flow of weapons to Darfur.

In earlier eighties, Chadian-Chadian conflict resulted in fighting extending to Darfur, also in nineties Darfur region noticed the Chadian aided dispersal of weapons.

Tribes arming intensified in mid 80's, timed with escalation of tribal conflict, especially Fur-Arab conflict. This conflict re-mapped tribal alliances and contributed to creation of new tribal alliances between tribal groups and central government in Khartoum. When the current government came to power, it did not take a clear stance regarding Fur-Arab conflict, that situation drove some of Darfur Islamists out, Bolad jointed Sudanese liberation movement and led troops to launch rebellion in Darfur, the government aggressively responded to that situation. This situation contributed to flow of weapons to Darfur and provided a golden chance to some tribes to possess arms (mally jurmu 2007, P7)

The Current government launched its political approach which based on reinforcement of military power and citizens' military training, that approach provided space to tribes in Darfur to have military training and tribes involved in South Sudan conflict. This political approach allowed

tribes to contest to prove loyalty to the central government, through proving loyalty, tribes gained military training and weapons. (Adam Alzien 2008, p42) said: that politicizing of tribes and ethnic groups, empowerment of tribal leaders with weapons, this approach changed the role of native administration leaders became political-administrator rather than administrator. This development contributed to huge changes in position and roles of native administration and tribal leader's role in Darfur, which resulted spread of weapons in the area.

2.3. 2.3 Competition over Power:

(Adam Alzaïen 2003, P20) Following October revolution, educated people from Darfur admitted that Darfur region was under developed as compared to other regions. At that time in history, Darfur development front was born and it was headed by Ibrahim Deraij. Darfur Development Front (DDT) funders failed to transform this front into apolitical party, as a result of that failure; front leaders chose to work under political party's umbrella. When Nimaïri took power, Darfur educated people were active with political parties. Nimaïri declared regionalism governance system in 1980 and Nimaïri nominated Altayib Almardi as Darfur governor, Darfur elite refused this nomination and they congregated under Deraij, that elite position reflected a spirit of pertinence to Darfur region, and they expressed their desire to rule their region. This desire increased at beginning of 90's when the Federal system was applied.

Competition over power among Darfur elite's dates back to mid 80's in the Fur- Arab conflict. Elite classified Arabs felt that they did not get appropriate positions; at that point some of Darfur political leaders aggregated and recruited their people based on Arab – non-Arab. This position encouraged political recruitment based on ethnicity. During the third democratic period, those interested in power held executive and political position. When Islamic front took power in 1989, it banned

political organizations and limited freedom of expression to political opponents, that situation pushed those interested in power to join dominant government. (Adam Alzain 2003, p34) the affiliation in one political party never led to win, candidates had equal rights at the political party, therefore candidates used tribalism, ethnicity and regionalism to gain electors votes. In 1974 Darfur was divided into two counties, north Darfur county, Al-fashir as the capital, south Darfur, Nyala as the capital, at that point of history some politicians invested that division and they started to recruit supporters based on ethnicity, Arab – non Arab, through the time of competition, native administration remained active in political life. (Adam Alzain, 2003, p23) said that when Deraij was nominated as Darfur governor, that impulse the elite and educated people to compete within the region and they fought to hold the governor position, the focusing of elites in this position resulted in three ethnic groups interested to have the Darfur governor position, the most interested to have that position are Arab, Zagawa and Fur.

The competition intensified in south Darfur, among Bagara groups, when federal system applied, this governance approach pushed these groups to solicit to be involved in all levels of governance based on Hagaura (land), that trend resulted in division within some ethnic groups to executive positions.

2.3. 2.4 National policy factor:

Native administration endured as a guard of peaceful co-existence among different tribes and ethnic groups in Darfur. Native administration used to play an important role in conflict resolution and solving of rural conflicts, such as resource conflict, conflict over livestock routes etc. (Abdall Altoum 2007, P29) said that, native administration maintained customary, local conflicts and kept tribal agreements. Central governments gradually pulled power from them and replaced them with local governance system,

regional system and other forms of governing systems and dissolved the Nimairi regime in 1970. Mid-eighties witnessed hard political conflict at national level and regional level, native administration fell prey to political recruitment. When the current government took power, it applied federal system that deepened administrative crisis and had negative impact on Darfur political environment. In south Darfur, federal system applied based-on tribal land ownership that injected fragile region with ongoing conflict over land, such as Rezigat and Maalia conflict. (Abdulgafar Mohamed and Mangar, 2006, P25) emphasizing that establishment of new native administration in Masalit in the beginning of nineties. That was an indicator of lack of experience of official authorities in ruling Darfur region. The Central government designed policies ,created tribal congestion, which resulted in bloody conflict and it deepened division between Darfur ethnics. (Adam Alzain) said that subsidiary and border re-demarcation increased division among people, in addition to that central government passed legislation, which affected tribes' administration border.

Sudan foreign policies, especially with neighboring Chad, since sixties ,the central government supported political change in Chad, without consideration of policy impact on Darfur region and overall Sudan.

2.3.2.5 Development Absenteeism:

Today, the general conception of development means investing of human capacity and natural resources in a country to achieve welfare to majority of population in that country that means resources distribution is an important element in development (Musa Adam 2003, P23).

Darfur did not get strong infrastructure projects, which isolated Darfur region form central Sudan and limited opportunities of economic development, social cohesion, and absenteeism of infrastructures hindering economic growth, limited trade and marketing. Development

projects established in Darfur in sixties and seventies had faced liquidation and closing, that approach resulted in a huge population movement from rural to urban areas and from urban areas to central Sudan agriculture project and Darfur neighboring countries.

(Mohamed Sulieman, 2006, 374) Darfur region remained as a neglected area and economically abused. Development absenteeism has different elements and dimensions, such as, lack of schools, water resources, energy, poor health services and lack of health staff.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

This study assessed the media effects in mobilizing Darfuriian communities towards conflict and engages them in peace building interventions. In this respect, this study falls under interdisciplinary research. It drowns into intersecting fields: conflict and peace studies and media effects research. This chapter provides a review of literature on conflict and peace researches with special focuses on media framing and agenda setting theories.

2.1 Conflict and peace studies:

Conflict and peace studies were growing academic disciplines since last century as violence had characterized human being history. Conflict and peace studies described interdisciplinary academic field by many scholars. The conflict and peace studies used a number of disciplines that included and not limited to political science, sociology, history, education, anthropology, psychology and other fields. This interdisciplinary field applies different methodologies, concepts and techniques to study different forms of conflicts and fostering opportunities for peace.

This interdisciplinary nature of conflict and peace studies used to study conflict resolution, complex security issues, post conflict issues, peace building and other issues related to peace. However, conflict and peace studies concern to understand causes, nature of conflict, and escalation of conflict and fostering peace opportunities in order to bring harmony and peaceful societies

Since the end of World War II , scholars from different disciplines began thinking about war prevention. (Harbert 1981, p95) said that 1952 marked

the beginning of peace research through research exchange on the prevention of war. Development in the mathematic models and quantitative models in social research, both were contributed to beginning of a peace research. The beginning of work in the field of conflict and peace studies backed with pioneers such as Quincy Wright, Lewis Richardson and Pritirim Sorokin; paid extensive efforts during the period between two world wars. (Harbert 1981)

These academic scholars represented different academic backgrounds including psychology, mathematics and sociology.

Peace research continued at individualistic levels and research exchange efforts continued; both work in this field resulted in tangible publication, like the Journal of Conflict Resolution in 1957 (Habert 1981, p98). These efforts contributed to foundation of peace research institutes. The establishment of research institutes in Europe and US back to early 1950s and (Roger & Ramsbotham, 1999). The oldest peace research institutes founded in Sweden, peace research institute and Stockholm international peace research institute.

The foundations of in this field followed establishment of numeric of peace research centers around the world.

In looking at several conflict and peace studies scholars work, they study conflict to inventing ways for peace. On the other hand, peace research were studying peace based on studying of the conflict. Thus conflict and peace terms connected together in research. Earlier scholars in the field of conflict and peace studies focused their work in prevention of war and peace meant to them, absence of war.

Pioneers such as Quincy suggested that power struggle is the main source of war (Elias and Turpin, 1994, P). Other scholars described peace research as interdisciplinary enterprise. These approaches continued until John Galtung introduced new concept of positive peace and negative

peace. Galtung defined positive peace as bringing harmony and integration and he defined negative peace as absence of war.

The concept of positive and negative peace shaped the nature of peace research for many years. However other efforts of peace research continued such peace research movement that included a number of scholars from different backgrounds. Diversity among peace research movement brought tension among different peace research at that time, they debated on characteristics of peace research some of them argued that peace research is a scientific “quantitative and behavioral approach. On the other hand, some scholars suspected peace research from radical critique with underlining assumption of traditional international relation research (Harbert 1981, 63).

(Harbert 1981, 67) in his reflection on history and status of peace research, stated that the tension among peace research movement, is related to the relationship to various scholars, critic and internal disagreement within peace research community itself.

He described that situation as healthy due to the desire of scholars to build peace research as an enterprise and to build a body of knowledge that has theoretical base and it will be applicable.

In 1969 Galtung called for expanding in peace research to be more focused in reduction of structural violence (Habert 1981, p67). This new approach of Galtung supported by many scholars such as Anatol Raport in 1972 (cited in Habert, p92) Anatol stated that peace research should be considered as an applied science with a goal of preventing war and minimum and more comprehensively with a goal of promoting peace. Anatol's point of view interpreted the idea of negative peace and positive peace building and his colleagues' prior Galtung, they called for adding new perspectives in the field of peace research beyond the international

relation. Galtung's work opened a new window of thinking on peace and conflict studies.

Scholars studied conflict within the state, but Galtung's approach allowed scholars to study different forms of conflicts that take place at different levels such as ethnic conflicts, social and class conflict, religious and other forms of conflict.

The fundamental factor contributed to expansion of peace research in the development of peace concepts within United Nations organization. United Nations founded in 1945 following the end of Second World War, aimed to prevent potential conflict at global level (Townsend & Douglas 1997, p50). In addition to that, a number of countries joining United Nations grew due to decolonization in 1960s and the appearance of civil rights groups. United Nations' multiple goals such as maintaining of international peace and security, promoting human rights, environment protection, women rights and fostering social, economic development and other Objectives were contributed to increasing on the number of peace institutes and organizations.

This development in United Nations' body provided an opportunity to peace researchers and scholars to study different types of conflicts ranging between individual to inter-states and global conflicts and multiple level analysis of conflicts. The definition of peace term deepened due to the development in peace research. United Nations passed the declaration on preparation of societies for life in peace in 1978 and that added value to peace research.

Ramsbotham noted that “*the constant expansion of peace research and conflict agenda maybe seen as a sign of its dynamism*”. Earlier 1980s marked the appearance of negotiation and mediation as conflict resolution tools. These two approaches embedded during nuclear race, they used

part of problem –solving approaches (Ransbotham, Tom & Mill,1993p48).

(Alger 1994, P11) noted that peace and war theories got new dimensions and fundamental transformations in peace thinking. Alger classified the three transformations as following: peace definition was deepened, secondly, grass roots' role in peace highly considered and thirdly, perception of peace change. Peace was not only meaning absence of peace, but it included other elements such harmony, social justice, people living in a life of peace with others.

The huge shift of peace theories and concepts occurred in 1990 when Galtung presented the triangle of violence. Many scholars recognized this as a major contribution of Galtung beside positive and negative peace concepts. In this theory Galtung differentiated between the three levels of violence as following cultural violence cases, direct violence. Direct violence is a visible behavior and structured violence that will be administered by society, stated or global (Galtung 1990, p1). In other words, these three types of violence are interrelated and violence can take place in any level of Galtung triangle, which leads to occurrence of other types of violence.

Galtung's concepts of positive peace, negative peace and triangle one, collectively, these concepts contributed to expansion of peace research filed. These concepts allowed peace and conflict researchers to study the role of social institution, social cohesion, social justice, human rights and other issues.

At the end of the last century, huge changes took place. At the end of the cold war, Soviet Union collapsed and South Africa decolonized. Many states in African, Mideast and Asia, faced inter-state conflicts. In responding to these changes and challenges many peace and conflict studies centers had been established in Africa, Asia, and South American.

2.2 Conflict, Conflict resolution and conflict management

Conflict marked human being history. Many years' scholars of conflict and peace studies paid remarkable efforts in studying conflict. Scholars from different academic backgrounds were committed and passionate to tackle conflicts and peace issues; they developed concepts, generate terminologies, approaches and theories to study conflict. They developed theories that included conflict resolution, conflict management, conflict settlement and conflict transformation. These conflict study approaches focused on nature, causes and dynamics of the conflict.

This section focused on the discussion of characteristics of mentioned theories with more emphasis on conflict transformation and its relation to media effects, for the purpose of this study.

According to (Miall, 1999, p17), conflict means the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups. Conflict is an intrinsic and inevitable aspect of social change. It is an expression of the heterogeneity of interests, values and beliefs that arise as new formations generated by social change to come up against inherited constraints. (Miall, 1999, p22), however argues that the way we deal with conflict is a matter of habit and choice. Galtung sees conflict, as a dynamic process in which structure, attitudes and behavior are constantly changing and influence one another, (Rambothom,1999, P45). Gaya. Quoted (Miller,2003, P8), conflict resolution as a variety of approaches aimed at determining conflicts through the constructive solving of problems, distinct from management or transformation of conflict.

Conflict resolution is a more comprehensive term, which implies that the deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed and resolved. This implies that behavior is no longer violent, and attitudes no longer hostile and the

structure of the conflict have been changed. The term is used to refer both to the process and the intension to bring about these changes and to the completion of this process (Miallet 2001, p14).

(Vayrynen,1991, 125), conflict resolution is a pass to peace, at least to a negative peace, and serves other values, such as social order and economic development as well. (Vayrynen,1991, P126) further argues that conflict resolution is a process of facilitating a solution where the actors no longer feel the need to indulge in conflict activity and feel the need that the distribution of benefits in the social system is acceptable. But argued that this may require a third party.

In conflict resolution, the primary responsibility for responding to contemporary conflict no doubt lies within the affected states and even solutions' sources lie as inside and outside the states. The international community in its various guises is often responsible for the conflict in the first place. Increasing interdependence means that contemporary conflict affects the interests of regional neighbors and beyond. A combination, of human suffering and media transparency makes it difficult for outside government to persist in doing nothing, (Miall, 1999, P16).

On the other hand, others in conflict resolution field have been highly critical as many of the ways in which states and international organizations actually do intervene. Galtung, critics 'conflict dictators' those who impose settlements in their own interests. Conflict resolution is not only possible in certain conflicts but also necessary and desirable for change, emancipation, and transformation. The discourse of conflicts in both their context specificities and regional resonance are a necessary condition for enunciating appropriate intervention and resolution measures.

Lederach introduced Conflict transformation. It is assumed that it goes beyond conflict resolution to build longer standing relationships through

a process of change in perception and attitude of parties. Therefore, the aim of conflict transformation is to change the parties, their relationships, and the conditions that created conflict (Miall et al 2001, p14). Conflict transformation entails the coming into being of new situations involving conflict issues, perceptions, relationships and communication patterns. John Lederach sees conflict transformation as a change in conflict transformation, (Varyrynen1991, P115) identified a number of ways in which conflict can be transformed. His ideas complement those of Galtung (1984,1989, 1996) who developed his views on resolutions of interparty and intraparty conflicts, in their structural, attitudinal and behavioral aspects into a full theory of non-violent conflict transformation.

In this case, (Vartrynen1991, p14) talks of structural transformation, where he argued that conflict structure is the set of actors, issues and incompatible goals or relationships which constitutes the conflict. If the root causes of the conflict lie in the structure of relations within which the parties operate, the transformation of this structure is necessary to resolve the conflict. Varyrynen also identified actor conflict transformation where there is the view that parties in this case have to redefine directions, abandon or modify cherished goals and adopt radically different perspective.

Varyrynen further identified context conflict transformation, where conflicts are embedded in a social, regional and international context which is often critical to their continuation. This sometimes has a dramatic effect to changes in the party or in their relationship. Issue conflict transformation, where the conflicting position parties on the issue define conflicts. When they change their positions, or when issues loose salience or new one arises, the conflict is transformed. In short, reframing of issues may open the way to settlements.

Then there is group conflict transformation, the proponent argues that conflict is in the hearts and minds of people and these can change. Conflicts arise from craving for fixed goals, striving for mystery hatred or generalized suspicion and self-distorted perceptions. And this can be transformed through reconciliation, mutual acceptance, and broad vision and clarity.

On the same note, Lederach stated that conflict transformation is to envision and respond to the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes, reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real life problems in human relationships.

Conflict transformation theorists identify four major areas that distinguish transformation from the previous approaches of conflict management, settlement and resolution. The first is that conflict resolution and management considers conflict a negative phenomenon that needs to be controlled or eliminated or resolved. On the contrary, conflict transformation conceptualizes conflict as normal, continuous and dynamic that can be a force towards positive change (Lederach, 2003, P35).

On contrary, Lederach, 1995 emphasize that conflict transformation should be in the powers of the indigenous parties to transform the conflict from within, rather than relying on third party to impose conflict settlement. That the parties should actively envision, include respect and promote the human and cultural resources from within a given setting. (Lederach, 1995, 212) argues that this should involve a new set of lenses through which parties do not primarily 'see' the setting and the people in it as the 'problem' but considering the outsider as the 'answer'. However, lederach did not consider other factors that may be at play because by the time the third party intervention is sought, all inside opportunities have

been exploited and failed, you find that indigenous resources are not enough to handle the conflict.

Another distinction according to (Lederach, 2003, P223) is that conflict transformation seeks to understand the root causes of the conflict in its context. So conflict transformation seeks to understand the particular episode of conflict, not in isolation but in greater pattern. Change is understood both at the level of immediate present issues and that of broader patterns.

Conflict transformation also recognizes that conflicts that are deeply rooted in societal systems cannot be transformed overnight. Therefore, conflict transformation calls for gradual process or change.

Also conflict transformation conceptualizes peace building as a process that needs to be multidimensional, multifaceted and overtime. In this case conflict transformation approach, peace is understood not as static state but rather as an ongoing process that needs to be maintained and developed continuously. As (Miall, 2004, P13) explained “the key dimension of this process are changes in the personal, structural aspect of conflict, brought about over different time periods (short, mid, and long term) and affecting system level at different times” this argument conquers with Varyrynen views on structural conflict transformation. As mentioned earlier, conflict transformation approach endeavors to reduce violence, increase justice, enhance direct interaction and transform social structure with the conflict context (Lederach, 1995, 1997, 2003).

The conflict transformation approach recognizes that conflict especially intractable conflict is along-term phenomena. Therefore, addressing the personal, structural, relational, and cultural aspects of conflict needs to be done overtime. Transformation, thus, is a long term goal that has to move forward from immediate crisis and humanitarian intervention that lead to sustainable peace, (Lederach, 1997, p17).

From the above discussion, it is apparent that the conflict transformation approach combines the elements of conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict prevention. However, conflict transformation goes beyond the immediate manifestations of conflict to address the histories and future of the societies undergoing the conflict. With multifaceted, multi-dimensional, and multi-time-frame aspect, conflict transformation has the ability to address direct as structural and cultural violence dimensions. It also stresses the relational dimension of the peace building process, which is vital when dealing with intractable conflicts. Protracted social conflicts unlike interstate conflicts, “typically drawn along group identity lines, resulting in long standing conflicts” (Inderacch, 1997, p20). Thus, intractable inter-state social conflict, such as Sudan’s conflict demands an approach that goes beyond political. The negotiations and peace agreements to a more reconciliatory approach that addresses deeply rooted post conflict negative emotions and trauma. Such an approach needs to go beyond just ending violence to achieve sustainable peace. Conflict transformation provides such a “comprehensive, multifaceted strategy” (Inderach 1997 p 18), which makes it more suitable to address intractable conflict, such as the Sudan conflict.

This concur and more applicable to the conceptual framework of Galtung’s conflict triangle, conflict transformation, thus a step towards cultural peace.

2.3 Peace, peacemaking, peacekeeping, Peace building and role of media:

Since the beginning of peace research studies, earlier scholars focused their works on war prevention and they defined peace as absence of war. Galtung, 1967, P27) came up with the concept of positive peace and negative peace, this concept redefined the peace term and it distinguished

between different kinds of peace. In addition to that Galtung work broadens the peace research area that include violence, social justice, development, environment, economic opportunities and other areas. Therefore, peace is no longer the absence of war, it means creating a situation in which individuals and societies interacting in harmony and both can benefit from social cohesion.

This section concentrated on different peace approaches that include peacekeeping, peacemaking and peace building. Peace building is the main area of focus in this section of the purpose of the study.

Peace keeping entails the use of peacekeepers to keep conflicting parties apart and keep the conflict at current low level. We use peacemaking in the sense of moving towards settlement of armed conflict, where conflict parties are induced to reach agreement voluntarily (Darby, 2003, P28)

Peace is a process involving activities that are directly or indirectly linked to the increased development and redefining conflict, both within specific societies and in wider international community.

Building peace presupposes that conflict, most likely violent has occurred and affected society that this conflict could have been due to deep-rooted human needs that were frustrated or unmet, hence compelling the population to resort to violence. This theory (human needs theory) is associated with the work of early pioneers in the field of conflict resolution such as Edward and John Barton, having built their thinking on the work of other thinkers like Abraham Maslow (Ramsbotham et al, 1999,45-48).

According to UN, 'building peace' is the fourth stage in the conflict resolution continuum; it works when preventive diplomacy (conflict prevention) fails to resolve a conflict, and when peacemaking and peace keeping has established an enabling environment for example through a negotiated settlement or ceasefire (UN, 1992, UN 1995)

Peace building concept is generally attributed to Dr Boutros Boutros – Ghali, the then United nations secretary general and is adequately elaborated in Agenda for peace (UN 1992) and was later expanded in supplement to agenda for peace (UN, 1995).

The concept was, then, conceived as an integral part of UN efforts to promote peace and found its place among the organization's more traditional instruments; preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peacekeeping of peace building. It's now gaining widespread acceptance in academic, practitioner and political circles (government).

Prior to an Agenda for peace (UN1992; 1995). Peace building was understood to mean “undertaking programs designed to address the causes of conflict and grievances of the past and promote long term stability and justice.

Peace building consists of “sustained, cooperative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. It includes, but is not limited to; disarmament, restoring order, destroying weapons, repatriating refugees, resettling internally displaced people, training security forces, monitoring elections, advancing the protection of human rights, forming institutions, and promoting political participation (UN, 1992)

Also peace-building consists of a wide range of activities associated with capacity building, reconciliation and societal transformation. It is generally a long-term process that occurs after violent conflict has slowed down or come to a halt. Thus, it is the phase of the peace process that takes place after peacemaking and peacekeeping (UN 1992)

In this narrower sense, peace building is a process that facilitates the establishment of durable peace and tries to prevent the recurrence of violence by addressing root causes and the effects of conflict through

reconciliation, institution building and politicians as well as economic transformation. This consists of a set of physical social and structural initiatives that are often an integral part of post conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.

Peace building involves actions to identify and support structures that will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict (1992). Why peace-building, it addresses the underlying context and attitudes that give rise to violence such as unequal access to employment, discrimination, unacknowledged and unforgiven responsibility of past crimes, prejudice, mistrust, fear, hostility between two groups (Fisher,et el, 2000, P14)

World bank recognizes that, a country recovering from a civil war has 50% chance of relapsing into a conflict in the first five years of peace, and that it can take a generation to return to pre-war living standards (Ramsbotham, 2006, P222). With every conflict, a country loses part of its capacity to handle future conflicts in peaceful way (Miall, 2001, P15)

In peace building activities, special attention should be attached to the roles and obligations of the parties to a conflict, as well as the local population. Since the cooperation of the parties is essential for the success of peace building, increased effort should be made to secure their consent and support of the activities.

However, unfortunately scholars have devoted relatively little attention to analyzing the concept of peace-building itself, including its underlying assumptions (Roland, 1997). It has been defined differently, peace-building refers to two major tasks: (a) preventing a relapse into war or violence; (b) creating a self-sustaining peace (Bush, 2002, P17)

While (John paul Lederach, 2005, P31) defined it as a complex task that is beyond any shadow of doubt and an overwhelming challenge, (Bush,

2004, P25) refer to it as “a two-fold process of deconstructing the structures of violence and constructing the structures of peace.

Peace-building ‘from below’ is an approach closely associated with John Paul Lederach, a new approach based on criticism that, the conventional peace building has not worked satisfactorily. It views people from the conflict-affected area as the problem; while outsiders provided ‘solutions’ to the conflict.

On the same note, the approach does not deny the role of local people in fuelling conflict nor does it deny the role that can be played by outside third parties, but it advances a need for orientation of their roles (Ramsbotham, 2006, p223)

Although the concept of peace building is, generally, perceived to be positive conception. Scholars have not analyzed it. Among practitioners, including UN agencies, there has been inadequate critical reflection on the peace-building processes, hence resulting into the failure to attribute measure or evaluation.

Moreover, the fact that many post-conflict countries like Sudan in particular relapse back into violent conflict, it is a glaring pointer to the fact that peace-building interventions undertaken in such countries would have been effective and sustainable if peace is achieved.

The role of independent media has shown to be extremely important in peace building activities, as it helps reach a broad range of population, facilitate public communication and amplify advocacy campaigns (Rolt, 2005). Printing and broadcasting of objectives, nonpartisan information (on mass killings, human rights violations, and truth and reconciliation efforts) is one important media report support for peace building. Producing and distributing more focused peace education features, raising awareness on the need and feasibility of nonviolent solutions is another.

However, what should not be forgotten is that media can easily perpetuate group-based stereotypes and fuel further hostilities and violence. In Rwanda for example, radio milles Collines preached hatred and helped orchestrate the genocide. An enabling environment to facilitate the emergency of independent outlets, including community radio and aimed at promoting high professional standards via self-regulation measures. Furthermore, in Burundi UNESCO, UNDP and UNHCR collaborated with media to promote reconciliation and peace education. Search for common ground, and NGO supported the establishment of the country's first radio station in 1995(Cheema, 2005, p198)

2.4 History of Media effects research

In the beginning of last century mass communication scholars started to study media effects. Many people believe on that idea that media can influence and effect people. Media effects have been a subject of great discussion and argument among academic scholar from different background.

Media effects defined as methods in which individuals and societies maybe influenced by news or entertainment media or other kind of mass communication means. Media effects studied by scholars of communication, psychology, sociology, political science, education, anthropology and other field (Bryant & Thompson 2002, p5).

Mass use of political propaganda motivated earlier mass communication scholars to study media effects. Following the First World War, communication scholars were concerned about the role of media and its impact on public. They developed hypodermic needle theory, which mainly focused on power of message to influence audience. (McQuail 1994, p329) noted that this period of 20s and 30s was characterized by studying propaganda used in world war one. Mid last century was the era of behavior studies. This period noticed development of social research

and empirical research that included study of media impact. McQuail said that this is the second stage of media research, this period marked by paradigm of media effects and its impact on individuals and change of attitude. McQuail added that beginning of 1970s is third stage of media effects research. This period dominated by searching for new approaches (Noell Neumann 1992,)

(McCombs & Shaw 1972, p 179,180) said that in 1970, scholars studied media and its relation to attitude, behavior, opinion and relation between media and violence. At this period of time scholars began to be concerned about the impact and influence of different groups such as children. This period saw a shift from attitude change into cognitive effects of mass.

Based on McQuail classification of media research, the stage number four has been started in 1980s, this period was characterized by social constructivism. In this stage there were combined elements of strong effects and limited effects of mass media that describe relation between media and audience; that means media has impact and constructing social reality, that is “by framing image of reality in a predictable and patterned way” (McQuail 1994, p 330, p331)

On other hand, (Gamson&Modigliani 1989, p2) noted that

“Media discourse is part of process by which individuals construct meaning and public opinion as the part of the process by which journalists develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse”

In other words, media effects are limited by interaction between media and recipients.

2.4.1 Media Effects Theories:

This development of media effect research was a result of different efforts paid to study media and mass communication effects throughout last century. Scholars’ efforts have been marked the major shift in mass communication field with more focus on media effects research and

theories. Media effects' main theories are agenda setting theory, priming theory and framing theory. These theories studied what people know, believe and act based on their media consumption.

Media priming theory: Is defined as “changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluation” (Lyenger Kinder, 1987, p63, 64). In other words, priming focuses on exposure to media having effects on the audience, those effects can be measurable.

Agenda Setting Theory: It's a mass communication theory. It describes the “ability of news media to influence salience of the topic on the public agenda. (Maccomb&shaw, 1972, p8) defined agenda setting as an issue (News Item) that has strong correlation between mass media on certain place and the importance attributed to this issue by mass. In other words, it means the way media interact with audience on public agenda.

(Schoufele 2000) noted that agenda setting theory focused on issues that are selected for media coverage will make uncovered impact, while the most important issue in the mind of audience. In political perspective, agenda setting is a process ideally suited to comparative analysis.

Since agenda setting theory means ability of media to bring issues to attention of the public related to political situation, that means media devotes more attention to an issue and the public perceives the issue as important.

Agenda setting in social science means that is the idea the media has the power of influence over the issues that audience thinks about, because the agenda is already set by media and journalists. This can only be discussed and forming views about the issues they have been informed about. This means the power media and journalists have in society is clearly extensive. Media is having the ability to set the agenda and decide the main topic of discussion for people in society. In other words, people

never discuss some issues because they are not aware that issues are on the agenda for discussion.

Agenda setting integrated in communication research since 1970s (Macomb & Shaw). Agenda setting research concentrated on question of “who set the public agenda – and under what conditions? Recently, the question shifted to who set the media agenda? This question was linked to social science, communication and other fields.

Framing theory: This theory referred to media coverage of different issues with focus on what should be included in coverage and what should not exclude in coverage. This theory is highly concerned about effects in audiences (Severin and Tankard 2001, p43)

Framing based the assumption on how an issue characterized in news reporting can have an influence on how it is understood by audience. The frame as term used by scholars in many disciplines such as, political science, psychology, sociology, communication and other fields. Goffman is a sociologist, he coined framing term in 1974 (Dietram A. Scheufele& David Tewksbury 2007).

(Goffman,1974, p) defined the frame as “Schemata of interpretation that provides a context for understanding information and enables us to locate, perceive, identify and label”. In other words, media gives any issue a frame, which provides that issue an identity through the framing process. Framing process includes objective, effective attribute and includes and excludes discussion.

Media in order to frame an issue; it is considering other elements to cover an issue. Each media has different consideration based on the nature and type of outlet, such newspaper considers space, and television and radio both are considering time to focus on specific issues/ part of the story.

Tankera et al in 1991 defined media framing as “the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context” that means, when media

covers an issue, that issue doesn't have value on its own, but media coverage gives that issue importance.

Framing in communication is described by Tuchman 1978 as "organizing everyday reality".

(Entman 2004, p23, 24) argued that framing in communication can be defined in relation to specific issue, events or political actors. Scholars' tracked frames to categorize trends and dimensions in issue definitive examining variations across the different types of media and compare coverage across media institutions.

However, framing in communication field, affects attitude and behavior of audience. Frames audience was adopted by politicians, media or citizens. Citizens normally adopt frames that they can learn in discussion with other citizens or they adopt frames out of their media consumption.

Political communication scholars argued that journalist consciously or in their unconsciousness, adopt the controlled elite or group frame and is disseminated through media. This dominant groups' frame influences media institution to adopt that frame as a reference for conceptualization and interpretation. As a result, the dominant group in the society have more access and space in the media than the other groups of the same society.

2.5 How framing is working:

This question is answered by many scholars based on their academic background, (Entman 2004, p23) frame is an issue or event defined. A frame in communication is defined in relation to specific events, issues or political actors. Entman noted that frame includes selection and salience.

That means, initially identify the issue and consider the affect over audience. In other words, framing effects is a process that influences citizens' frames and attitude by politicians, media institutions and interested groups.

Many factors influence the creation of frames. These factors included and not limited to culture, media institute approach, journalists' work routine and power relation. In other words, framing issue can be viewed from variety of perspectives and be interpreted as having implication for multiple values.

Entman explained that frames located within the minds of individuals “mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals, processing of information”

Entman outlined below points to be considered when you conducting Framing studies:

- 1- First stage is to identify a problem to be studied
- 2- Organization of information
- 3- Evaluation
- 4- Suggestions

Framing in other fields are using approaches similar to those outlined above in this section.

2.6 Relationship between Framing and agenda setting theories

(MacCombs and Shaw 1993, p48) worked to get connection and relation between framing and agenda setting theory. They argued that news report information about specific issue and this is how agenda- setting takes place. On other hand, news emphasizes on one attribute of the issue, this is how framing of the issue occurs. However, (Scheufel, 2000, p) argued that frame is a complex pattern for a causal interpretation which can be substituted only through offering another complex pattern.

MacCombs& Shaw 2004, cited in Bratic, 2006, p8) described “effects” as second level of agenda setting or attribute agenda setting. In addition to

that, MacCombs agreed with Entmans' definition of the frame, he said, "Frame is an attribute of respective issue"

So, development of frame process leads to the agenda setting process.

Research believes that processes in framing and agenda setting are different and both created separately, but they are interacting whereby one creates conditions for the other (FrantiekKalras, Jan, Maertina 2004, p4) presume that if some establish themselves in public discourse, the agenda setting of the given issue is more successful than if some other is framed.

However, researchers assume that different media frames have the ability to influence the process of agenda setting in the context of this study. This opinion supported by (MacCombs 2004, p93) statement "certain ways describing an object may be more compelling than other ways in certain object salience among public" in media effects theories agenda setting grouped with concepts of priming and framing. (Kaivas, 2002 p3) noted that "priming enables agenda setting by influencing an individual to evaluate an issue along particular dimension favorable to the viewpoint being suggested, framing is its complement refers to the association of a viewpoint that will automatically call for the other viewpoint."

2.7 Media Effects in the Context of Conflict and Peace:

To study relationship between media, conflict and peace; media effects theories: framing and agenda setting are considered to understand media role on this relation. The Media has influence in societies through reporting of information that affect attitude and behavior of people (Bratic 2006, p3). History of media effects studies back the beginning last century media. Media has been studied by a number of scholars from different fields, such as psychology, sociology, communication, anthropology and other fields. At the beginning of 1960, Kapper studied the social impact of mass communication.

Furthermore, media effects in context of war was concerned by earlier scholars of peace and conflict resolution fields. Media scholars analyzed the role of media in inciting violence (Thompson, 1999, Desforges, 1999, Kirscke 1996). Conflict was defining modern world history, particularly, inter-state conflicts, such as the genocide in Rwanda, ethnic cleaning in Kosovo, inter-state wars in Middle East and Asia (IMS, voices of war, 2006, p5-6). Media played vital role and it directly incites genocide in the case of Rwanda (IMS, 2006, p6). On the other hand, (Hattotuw 2002, p1, 2) argued that media can play a crucial role in reinforcing the benefits that can be achieved through peace process. In other words, media helps in transformation of a negative picture of conflict parties. However, the impact of media on peace building and conflict should be considered and not underestimated, because media outlets do not report only facts, they have direct influence on the way people think and act.

Furthermore, media can play a distractive role within the peace context, it can negatively report on issues related to peace agreement that raise the legitimacy of those opposed, concessions and reinforce negative image of the enemy (Hattotuw 2002, p3-4). (Bratic, 2006, p4) suggested, “In context of conflict, it's very important to understand direct impact of conflict on audience in order to predict its behavior”. In other words, understand the impact of conflict on audience and how audience reacted to the media in the time of the conflict. In this case, the question of how the conflicted framed and how issue of conflict framed by conflict parties is significant. Frame is a perception and interpretive method that allows people to understand the conflict. (Goffman, 1974, p8, cited in Hala) defined frame as “view that one person or group of what is going on” in the context of conflict and peace, people understanding framing based on which way peace and conflict issues are framed. Some scholars said that the way issues have been framed; they have contributed to escalation of

conflict or transformation of conflict (Lewicki, Gray, 2003). (Lewicki 2003, p) noted that the identity frame, characterization frame, power and social control frame, conflict management frame and others frames identified in the context of conflict. Beside the framing theory, agenda setting theory is a model of media effects developed by (MacCombas and Shaw 1993, p).

(MacCombs1993, p8) noted that real life events determine the media agenda more than the other factors. This idea, in the context of conflict, can mean the conflict dynamics drive the media agenda. The audience share and discuss issues reported over media outlets. (Cohen 1963 cited in Vladimir, Bratic) noted “media do not tell audience what to think, but rather what to think about” this statement can explain that audience can share an agenda similar to the agenda reported over media institutions.

However, for the purpose of this study, media in context of conflict and peace, can encompass more than news and information, but it puts agenda and frames for public.

2.8 Literature Review: media effects, conflict transformation and peace

This part of the study discusses multi – dimensional literature review that examines many studies conducted in academic disciplines: media effects, peace building and conflict transformation studies.

Research adopted this approach, because there's limited literature describing the relation between media and peace studies in one hand, and limited studies examining media effects and conflict transformation on the other hand. To be specific there are limited studies in the field of media and peace studies that research Darfur crisis in Sudan. In spite of that Darfur crisis news spread throughout international media and Sudan

national media outlets, which attracted a few number of academic researchers to study media coverage on Darfur crisis.

2.8.1 Studies under media effect theme:

One of the examples; Katherien Osos studied Internet news sources under the title: covering the Darfur crisis. This study involved BBC vs. Aljazeera. The study aimed to determine how each medium framed the Darfur crisis. This study based on studying online news content of both channels applied quantitative and qualitative methods and it concluded that there are similarities and differences concerning the coverage of two news institutions regarding the Darfur crisis.

Another example; Ehab Hamid in 2008 conducted a study trying to analyze the media coverage and comparing between Sudanese media outlets frames and video blog frames. The study analyzed the framing of Darfur conflict that was started in 2003. Sample of this study included that Sudanese four newspapers and NGOs and human rights activists' videos pilot exercise examined 100 news items and 100 videos. The study used content analysis and the study found that Sudanese newspapers framed conflict as rebels using foreign aid to achieve Sudan enemies' agenda, while activist's videos framed the issue of genocide.

2.8.2 Peace studies:

This research was conducted under the title of media planning to achieve a culture of peace. This research was conducted in 2011 by Ibrahim Albozai, it aimed at examining the elements of media planning and the elements of culture to produce programs on peace issues. This study was applied on peace radio station, which is peace oriented radio station as part of Sudan national radio.

This study followed descriptive and analytic methods and concluded that station did not consider media planning in there programing, that radio station often does not effectively communicate with the audience.

This conclusion has strong relation between media planning and production of effective peace building programs that can support the reinforcement of a culture of peace in society.

Another example, this study analyzed elements of social and psychological problems due to absence of social peace. This study was conducted to obtain a PHD in peace studies. Sample of the study was displaced people in Khartoum state. This study used descriptive and analytical methods and found that displaced people do not feel social peace, however female displaced women suffered from social problems more than men, but widow's females suffered greatly than the other group.

Ekram Boshra 2012, studied the role of media in supporting Darfur peace agreement (DPA) and Doha document for peace in Darfur (DDPD). Both agreements were developed to end the Darfur crisis. This study followed descriptive and analytical methods and it conducted peace agreements. did it did not get space on national media. In addition to that negative reporting from local and regional media institution resulted in increasing of the disputes in Darfur rather than promoting culture of peace in Darfur society.

2.8.3 Conflict transformation:

This study analyzed the content of two radio stations, Sudan national radio station (SNR) and Sudan radio Service (SRS), it aimed to examine radio role in informing audience perceptions and interpretation on issues of peace and conflict. This study was published in 2011. This study draws on peace and conflict studies and media effect with special emphasis on framing theory and conflict transformation. The study focused on Sudan conflict before the separation of South Sudan. The study employed media ethnography and framing analysis. In addition to that this study applied comparative framing analysis between media frame and audience frame

of peace and conflict studies. This study revealed that there is a difference between Sudan national radio frames and Sudan radio service frame. Sudan radio service adopted conflict and blame as its mainframe, while Sudan national radio adopted unity, solidarity and development project as its major frames of peace and conflict issues.

Summary of literature Review:

Most of the previous studies reviewed by the researcher had been conducted in Sudan. Previous studies examined different academic disciplines related to the current study title, but did not examine media effects on conflict transformation and peace building and impact of media effects on conflict affected people towards peace. Previous studies were examined coverage of Darfur crisis, it comparative study examined online content of BBC vs Aljazeera website. The other study focused on role of media coverage in framing Darfur conflict. Under Media Effects, both studies examined media role and its impact on Darfur conflict.

Under peace building variable of the current study, there are two studies reviewed, first one examined media planning to achieve a culture of peace and the other one examined social and psychological problem due to absence of social peace. Both studies focused on social peace, which is part of peace building as conflict transformation process.

While, under conflict transformation variable, the researcher reviewed one study that relevant to the theme of current study and related to conflict transformation variable. Previous study examined radio role in framing perceptions on peace and conflict issues, this study to some extent is relevant to the conflict transformation variable of the current study, but it different from the whole study in following; context, scope, society and methodology. The researcher benefited from the previous studies on following:

To in-depth understanding of concept and theories of conflict transformation and peace building. Also previous studies helped the researcher to determined society and area, where the variables of current study to be measured. The current study examines the media effects on conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur conflict, that making this study unique and different from the previous studies. We can conclude that the current study is different from the previous ones in following:

Subject	Previous Studies	Current Study
Context	Most of the previous studies conducted on post conflict or conflict situation. Those studies focused on conflict situation were conducted online.	This study conducts in the conflict area of Darfur and its method included field work. Moreover, data collected from respondents directly affected by Darfur conflict.
Society	Previous studies focused on role of media in peace or conflict	This study focuses on media content affects on attitude and behavior of people directly affected by conflict towards conflict and peace building.
Variables	Previous studies examined dependent variable.	The current study examines media effects as independent variable
Methodology	Previous studies adopted descriptive, historical or media ethnographic method	The current study applies mixed method to measure degree of media effects on war affected people

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design and Methodology

3.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology for the study, which included the procedures and processes to be followed in conducting this research. It includes the study design, area of study, study population and sampling techniques that were employed, data collection methods, quality assurance of research instruments, data processing and analysis, ethical considerations, limitations incurred during the study.

3.1. Research Design:

This study is qualitative and quantitative to apply the agenda setting and framing media effects with a purpose to measure the change on behavior and attitude of Darfur population towards conflict transformation and peace building. Qualitative technique is used to get in-depth understanding of behavior of people and the change of their attitude towards peace building and the role of media played in this change. Quantitative research technique will be used to measure the degree of change among different groups.

To understand media effects it is first critical to consider how media is used and for what purposes. In addition to the survey methodology, in-depth interview will be conducted with media specialists, researchers and journalists to deepen the understanding of these effects.

The study employed a cross sectional survey design because a large cross section of respondents various selected radio stations both national and international, other organizations focused their operation in peace and conflict resolution, some Sudanese media institutions (local state's radio), humanitarian workers, academic media practitioners, displaced people,

host communities and peacekeepers in order to get their views about the conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur.

The study applied descriptive survey design whose purpose, is to collect detailed and factual information (where people's views and opinions were sought and described accordingly) that describes an existing phenomenon used in order to examine media effects in Darfur crisis.

The study also used explanatory design because observation was done in order to explore effects on conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur.

This study adopted a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research approaches, because many of the respondents were covered by use of questionnaires and interview guides such that they described their feelings, beliefs and attitudes regarding conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur. Specifically, the quantitative research approach was used in order to generate quantifiable data to explain the relationship between media effects in conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur. Correlation (Beta) was used to establish the relationship that existed between independent and dependent variables; regression analysis was used to determine the significance, t-test and the R-Square values, descriptive analysis was used to establish the mean, frequency and percentage of the variables.

Qualitative data was collected so as to capture attitudes and opinions of participants with regard to media effects, conflict transformation and peace building in order to analyze and develop themes according to the study objectives. The triangulation of the above two approaches subsequently helped to generate both quality and quantity information about the subject under study.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative methods is also recommended by (Amin, 2005) as an important form of triangulation in a study that involves a large number of people.

The correlation design was also chosen because the problem in the study was examining correlation of media effects, conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur. It was generally used in general objective three to determine the strength of the relationship.

3.2 Area of Study

The study was carried out in selected main capitals of Darfur states that included both displaced people and host communities in order to ascertain whether or not their media had effects in conflict transformation and peace building. Also the area of study-included organizations that focused their operation in peace and UNAMID that dealt with peace and conflict resolution in Darfur.

3.3 Study Population

A population is the total of all individuals who have certain characteristics and are of interest to a researcher. Population refers to the number of persons or objects covered by the study or with which the study was concerned”

Questionnaire: The population of 353 in the study comprised of host communities and internal displaced people in Darfur.

Interviews: Peace and humanitarian workers (6), media practitioners and scholars. These were the population of respondents accessed. The total population of (359) was derived from the records of United Nation's humanitarian coordination commission and Sudanese census of selected areas of study. Important to note also is that the study did not concentrate on all members of the public because there are in millions and could not all be accessible.

3.4 Sample Size.

A Sample is a segment of the population selected to represent the population as a whole (John, 2014,201). Ideally, the sample should be representative enough and allows the researcher to make accurate estimates of the thoughts, attitude and behavior of the larger population.

Whereas there are various ways of determining sample size including mathematical ones (John, 2014, p202-204. The sample size, for a given population of about four hundred ten (410), is two hundred (200) respondents.

Then the sample size for each category was determined using interpolation derived from the total sample size putting into consideration the total population of 352 and population of each individual category. For the respondents, purposive, convenient, simple, random and stratified random sampling was used to group the respondents in their respective categories and strata.

Table (3/4): Sample Size Selection

Type of population	Population	Sample Size		Sampling Technique
Host community	70	$70/410 \times 200$	34	Purposive, ,convenient, ,stratified and random sampling
IDPS	60	$60/410 \times 200$	29	Purposive, ,convenient, ,stratified and random sampling
Peace and conflict	20	$20/410 \times 200$	10	Purposive, convenient,

organization				stratified and random sampling.
Media practitioners	20	20/410*200	10	Purposive, ,convenient, ,stratified and random sampling
Humanitarian workers	50	50/410*200	24	
Journalists	50	50/410*200	24	Purposive, ,convenient, ,stratified and random sampling
Peace keepers	60	600/410*200	29	Purposive, ,convenient, ,stratified and random sampling
International radio station	80	80/410*200	40	Purposive, ,convenient, ,stratified and random sampling
Total	410		200	

Source Primary Source

The sample size of about 200 respondents from all the selected areas was deemed representative enough.

Table (3/5): Number of Participants

Location	Number of Participants
Central Darfur	52.89
East Darfur	35.3
North Darfur	95.31
South Darfur	123
West Darfur	45.89
Total	353

3.5 Sampling Techniques and Procedure

Because the aim of a sample is to act as a reliable substitute for the whole statistical population from which it is drawn, the host community and displaced people in selected cities and displaced people in camps, media institution personnel, media practitioners, peace and conflict practitioners and academic scholars' humanitarian workers and community leaders provided the statistical population from which the sample study was generated.

Sampling theory stipulates that after identification of the statistical population, a sampling frame is to be established which ideally lists all the individual members of the statistical population from which a sample is to be drawn (John W. Creswell 2014, p202).

In the study situation, such a list is nonexistent in some cases and, within the scope of this study difficult to compile. This was because the media affects all the citizens of Darfur because of the high media coverage on the conflict and peace process. The researcher thought that the conflict situation and huge media coverage were increasing media usage among Darfur people. This has not proved to be the case, thus causing anxiety.

The way forward was, then, to create a substitute-sampling frame. The substitute-sampling frame developed for the fieldwork rested on a number of sampling procedures ranging from cluster sampling to random sampling. Cluster sampling was used to select large groupings and then selecting sampling units from within the clusters following the application of random sampling.

A multi-stage sampling approach was used. A host community, registered displaced people camps and other institution of media, peace centers and organizations were obtained from the Sudanese census commission and United Nations humanitarian coordination agency used to draw sample the population and institutions to create sampling units.

The study applied both probability and non-probability sampling techniques as below:

3.5.1 Probability Sampling Strategies

Simple random sample: selecting any participant at random. We used this because every member of the population had a known and equal chance of being selected.

Stratified random sample: Population was divided into mutually exclusive groups {stratum}. Media intuitions and peace organization managers, selected peace centers at university, humanitarian workers, community leaders, displaced people and host communities and the researcher believed that no respondent belonged to more than one stratum.

Cluster {area} sampling was used by putting each as a cluster or group to select large population from the selected group and then selecting sampling units from within the areas following the application of random sampling.

3.5.2 Non probability Sampling Strategies/

Convenience sample: The researcher selected the easiest population members from which to obtain information because it was not possible to meet every participant.

Purposive sample: The researcher used his personal judgment to select population members who are good prospects at accurate information, for example top management of media institution and peace organization.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

The researcher used both secondary and primary data collection methods. The primary sources of information were collected from the respondents using questionnaire and direct interviews. Secondary data was collected from the library, through research and textbooks, journals, reports, newspapers, magazines, Internet and the current news.

The methods of data collection are explained as below;

3.6.1 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was used to record data in all survey-based studies, as it is one of the most widely used survey data collection techniques. Questionnaires were used to gather primary data on a number of samples and included questionnaire design, the camp administrators included sheikhs and humanitarian aid commission, both were used in the selection of participants, data, time and addresses where the interview was conducted. This was necessary for validation purposes through check-backs, the demographic section that described the profile of the participants such as age, gender, education, occupation and experience and their views on conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur. The information section, which was the substance of a questionnaire, contained all the questions, which extracted data from respondents to address the study's objectives. This section was generally divided into various categories of questions, each of which pointed to a different

aspect of the study in media effects. Questionnaire sub sections (see appendix 1)

- **Closed-ended**

Closed ended questions included all possible answers/prewritten response categories, and participants asked to choose among them such as; scale questions. These were used mostly for quantitative research and analysis.

- **Open-ended**

Open-ended questions allow respondents to answer in their own words. Questionnaire does not contain boxes to tick but instead leaves a blank section for the respondents to write in an answer and were used for qualitative research and analysis.

- **Combination of both**

This way, it is possible to find out how many people affected by media content and what they think of the media content in the same form.

This begins with a series of closed – ended questions, with boxes to tick or scales to rank, and then finish with a section of open-ended questions or more detailed response. These were used for both qualitative and quantitative research and analysis.

3.6.2 Semi-Structured Questionnaire

Semi-structured questionnaires were used, which include both structured and unstructured questions. Face to face interviews were conducted with the respondents who were selected to participate in the study, such kind of questionnaire gives respondents freedom to elicit some information in details, due to the open-ended nature of some of the items it consists of. It it can also accommodate a wide range of close-ended questions and therefore gives more latitude to cover all areas of interest as far as desired data is concerned.

The study used questionnaires because they helped to cover a large number of respondents in a relatively short time and generated reliable

data, because the respondents answered the questions in their own mood without being affected by the researcher's presence.

3.6.3 Interview Schedule

Interviews were administered to Media academia and practitioners; radios included: National radio and three Darfur states' radio stations and international radio projects focused in darfrur (Afia Darfru, Dabanga and Inter-news) UNAMID peace and media officers; United Nation peace and security panel, Heads of organization focusing their operations in peace and conflict resolution; humanitarian workers; community leaders; the conflict and peace scholars and peace practitioners as it was deemed necessary by the researcher. These respondents were interviewed because the researcher believed that they had adequate information required for the study. Interviews were used in order to obtain detailed information on the study variables.

3.7 Data Collection Instruments:

The instruments used include: interview guide and questionnaire:

3.7.1 Interviews carried out at Khartoum. The interview duration was 45 minutes -60 minutes. Interviews were recorded, researcher wrote some notes during each interview. Audio-recording has been transcribed, Following, the field work accomplished. This study designed to be exploratory, in this sense some initial analysis was carried out after each interview. This analysis aimed to identify topics and themes not covered in the questions list.

3.7.2Administrative Questionnaire:

Questionnaire carried about across five Darfur states. In each location questionnaire fill up by respondents mentioned in sample design.(see table 2.1 sample selection). Permission was issued by humanitarian commission and national security in order to access displaced people

camps. Camp administration and some national organization helped in questionnaire distribution and data collection. Following the field work researcher classified questionnaire had been filled by respondents for the analysis purpose. Researcher used Excel computer software for data entry and analysis.

3. Validity and Reliability

These were used for data quality control

3.8.1 Validity

After constructing the questionnaire, the researcher contacted the supervisors and other experts. Hence, the researcher constructed the validity of the instruments by using expert judgment method.

The instrument was refined based on expert advice. The following formula was being used to test the validity index.

CVI= $\frac{\text{No. Of items regarded relevant by judges}}{\text{Total No. Of items judged}}$

CVI = Content Validity Index.

Table (4/6): The Content Validity Index

Raters	Questions Relevant	Total Rated	questions	Fraction
Rater 1	55	70		0.79
Rater 2	54	65		0.83
Rater 3	46	60		0.77
Rater 4	44	55		0.80
Rater 5	45	60		0.75
Average	46	62		0.79

Source: Primary Data

From the results, the validity test indicated a validity value of 0.79, which on average 79%. This implied that the questionnaire set were 79% valid

and this allowed the researcher to regard the instrument as valid as supported by (John, 2014) who argues that if the validity is above 50% the instrument can be used.

3.8.2 Reliability of the Questionnaire

In order to prove the internal reliability of the model used, the authors have performed Cronbach's Alpha test of Reliability. Applying this test specifies whether the items pertaining to each dimension are internally consistent and whether they can be used to measure the same construct or dimension of service quality. According to (Amin, 2005), Cronbach's alpha should be 0.700 or above.

The reliability of the questionnaire was established using the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient. The Cronbach's Alpha formula below is used to establish the reliability of the questionnaire.

It should be noted, however, that the researcher applied the help of the computer to calculate the reliability.

$$\alpha = \frac{k}{K-1} \left(1 - \frac{\text{variance of individual items}}{\text{variance of the total instrument}} \right)$$

Where α = reliability Alpha Coefficient (Cronbach's)

K= Number of items in the instrument

or:

The researcher used Inter Rater Reliability Index (IRRI)

Using the following formula: $IRRI = \frac{\text{No. Of agreements}}{\text{Total No. Of items}}$

Using SPSS analysis package, the Cronbach's alpha was established from each objective as follows:

Table (4/7): Cronbach's alpha

Objective	Cronbach's alpha
Media usage	0.82
Media coverage	0.84
Media effect	0.73
Conflict transformation	0.75
Peace building	0.76
Average	=sum(0.82,0.84,0.73,0.75,0.76)/5 =0.79

From the objectives, the average of Cronbach's Alpha coefficient was 0.79. This implies that the questionnaire set were reliable and acceptable since the established value of 0.79.

3.9. Data Processing and Analysis:

3.9.1 Quantitative Data Analysis

After the data collection exercise, the data were edited and the researcher ensured that every form was filled. Raw data were then coded and entered into the computer using SPSS data analysis tool. The researcher then generated percentages and frequencies to present the findings, which were then discussed and interpreted.

Chi-Square was also used to determine correlation between independent and dependent variables and to establish whether the variables are significant in the study or not.

All the hypotheses were tested using Chi square by getting the figures from the Chi Square such that if the calculated value relating to degree of freedom is smaller than the standard value from the table then the hypothesis is rejected and when using the regression analysis, if the R Square value is 50% or more, then the hypothesis is rejected and adopted

and if less then it is accepted and not adopted. This was because all the hypotheses were concerned with relationships between media effects and conflict and peace in Darfur case.

3.9.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

Qualitative data collected during the interviews was also presented and discussed to supplement the quantitative data to bring out situations clearly for easy understanding by the readers. The data collected from respondents using interviews and the open-ended questionnaire in the semi-structured questionnaire were analyzed using Themes derived from quotations, attitudes and opinions of the respondents.

3.10 Measurement of Variables

A Media effect was measured using framing theory, agenda setting theory, media coverage and national frame vs international frames to conflict and peace issues.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

To ensure confidentiality of the information provided by the respondents and to ascertain the practice of ethics in this study, the researcher implemented the following ethical activities:

- The respondents and institutions were coded instead of reflecting their names;
- Solicited permission through a written request to the concerned officials of the selected institutions in the study;
- Requested the respondents to sign in the Informed Consent Form;
- Acknowledged the authors quoted in these study citations and referencing; and
- Presented the findings in a generalized manner.

3.12 Limitations of the Study

In view of the following threats to validity, the researcher claimed an allowable 5% margin of error at 0,05 level of significance.

There are some challenges, which were beyond the researcher's control such as respondents' honesty, personal biases, unwillingness to participate and uncontrolled setting of the study.

These challenges solved by explaining to participants that this research was conducted for academic purpose.

CHAPTER FOUR

Analysis, Interpretation of the Results and Hypotheses Testing

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on presentation, analysis of quantitative and qualitative data and interpretation of the results. Quantitative part of this study presents responses of (353) participants. Responses collected through administrative survey that carried out across five capital of Darfur States. Data collection included host community, displaced people, men, women, youth. Survey carried out between May 2016 – August 2016.

Qualitative part of this chapter presents results of six interviews conducted with media, peace and conflict resolution experts in Khartoum. Interviews conducted between August and November 2016. Interviews conducted, recorded and transcribed by Arabic language, then the analysis and interpretation of results translated in English language by the researcher. Some quotes in this part were originally in Arabic. Analysis includes experts' views regarding media effects in conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur.

This study conducted along the main research aim, which was to establish the factors related to media effects in conflict transformation and peacebuilding. In order to meet that research aim, three research objectives were developed to study the media effect factors in mobilizing Darfur people towards conflict and engage them in peace process.

Through establish the factor relation of media coverage, agenda setting and framing that affected attitude and behavior of Darfur People towards conflict transformation and peace building. Research hypotheses

developed based on the research objectives. Data presented in four sections where first section divided into two parts. It presents primary information on the background of respondents and participants media usage, section two presents respondents' media usage, while section three and four present results on the objectives of this study.

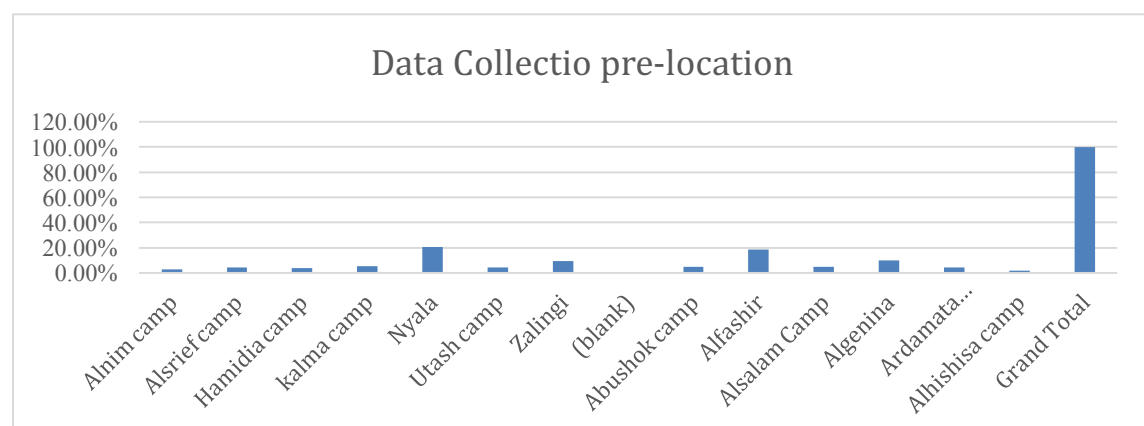
4.1 Analysis:

4.1.1 background of the participants:

This study involved different categories of participants. It involved respondents of varying characteristics that enable the researcher to get in-depth information on the study variables. The characteristics of respondents who participated in this study ranged from location, gender, age, education, marital status and occupation.

This study included displaced people who were living in camps, host community who were inhabiting capital of five Darfur States (Alfashir of North Darfur, Nyala of South Darfur, Zalingi of Central Darfur, Algenina of West Darfur & Aldein of East Darfur). In addition to that the qualitative part of this study involved media, peace and conflict resolution Sudanese experts.

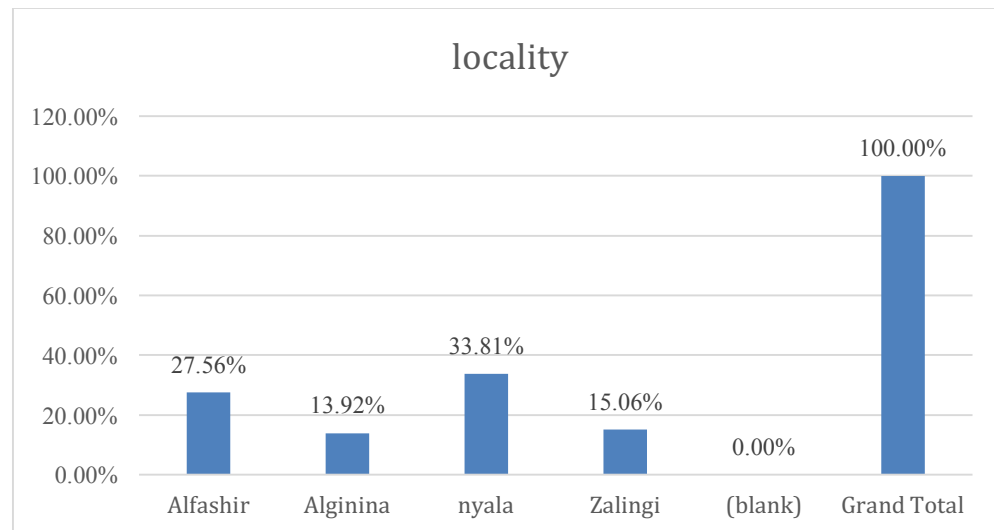
Figure (4/1): location: Areas/ Camps



In figure (4/1) quantitative data collected across five capital of Darfur States, that included host and displaced people. IDPs (34.19%)

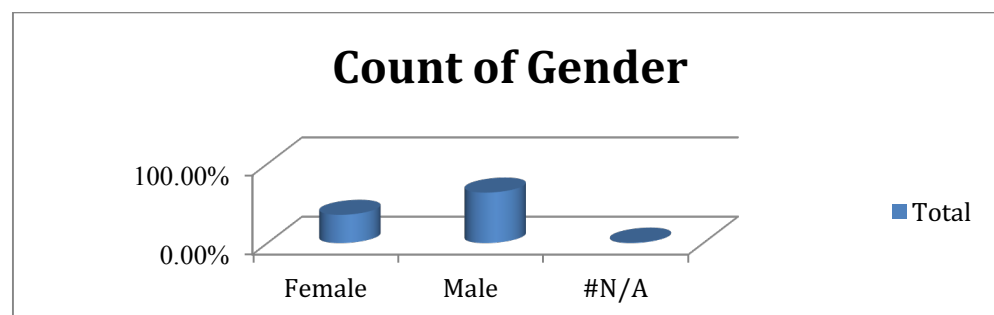
participants, they were selected from nine displacement camps. While participants from host community were 65.81%.

Figure (4/2): localities of Participants



Both host community and displaced people participants of this study clustered into five locations. Sample distributed based on number of population on each location. Sample distribution as following; Nyala is capital of south Darfur 33.81% this cluster has high percentage of participants due to number of population. Alfashir is capital of north Darfur 27.56%, Zalingi is capital of Central Darfur 15.06%, Alginina is capital of West Darfur 13.92% and Aldein is capital of East Darfur 9.65%

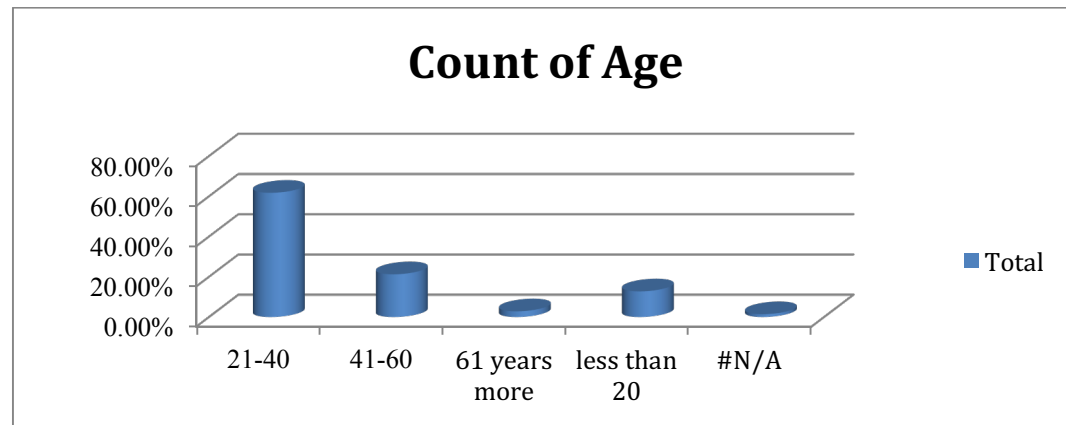
Figure (4/3): Gender



The study considered gender distribution of the participants. Gender element was important factor for this study; because media effect and affect women and men differently. In above figure (4/3) the majority 63.74% of the participants were males as compared to females who were

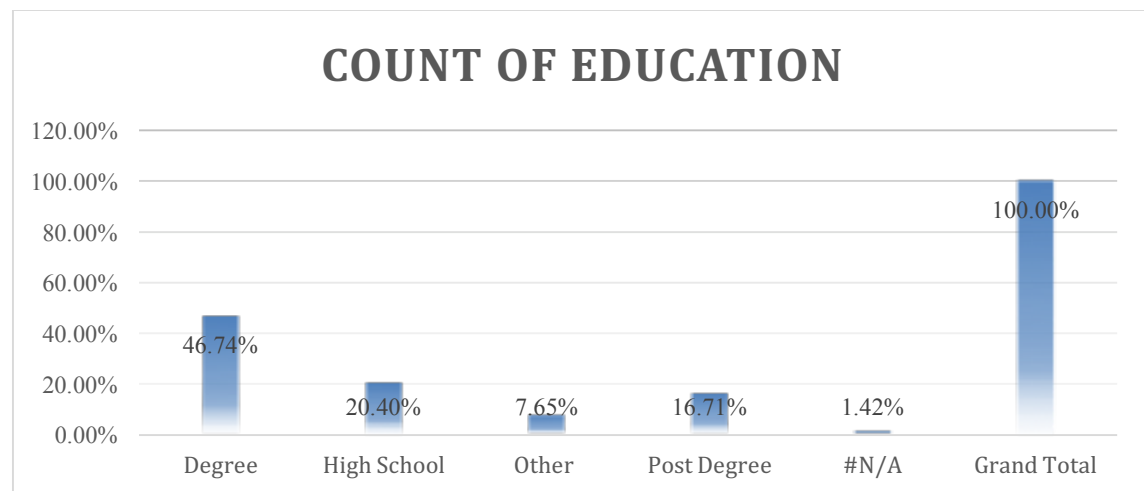
35.69% of 352 respondents participated in the study. This gender distribution gave researcher an opportunity to collect different views of both men and women at different level.

Figure (4/4): The age distribution of participants



In the above Figure (4/4) the results indicated that 61.76% of the participants were in the age of (21-40) during the field work researcher observed that most of participants completed bachelor degree.

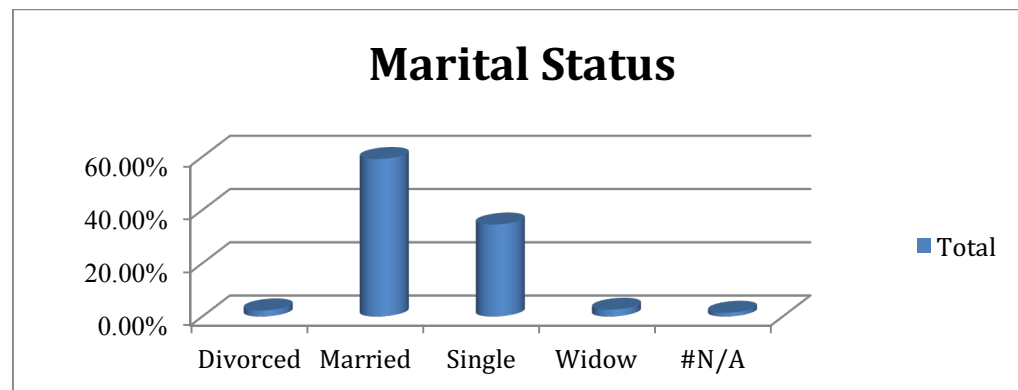
Figure (4/5) Participants Level of Education



In this figure (4/5) participants level of education revealed that, the majority (46.74%) of the participants had bachelor degree. While participants have post degree (16.71%). Participant completed high school were (20.40%). Few participants got informal education 7.65% while illiterate were 1.42%.

from the field work there are some PHD holders and PHD candidates participated in this study. Researcher was much interested in level of education, the reason was that level of education worthwhile to media message interpretation and the position of the participants in the community were surveyed.

Figure (4/6): Marital Status of Participants



In above figure (4/6) the researcher studied marital status of the participants. The majority of respondents (59.21%) were married, while single participants were 34.56%. Widow and divorced participants were very few (2.55%) and (2.27%) respectively.

These results indicate that information sharing within married participants' household. Moreover, researcher during the field work noted that Darfur people eat in groups and listening in groups.

Figure (4/7): Occupation of Participants

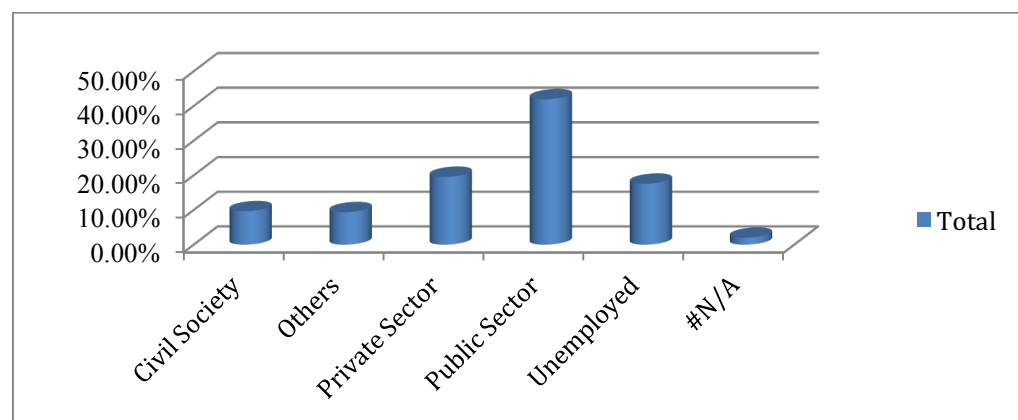


Figure (4/7) above, majority of participants were working for public sector and they represented (41.93%) of respondents participated in the

study. Whereas participants were working in private sector (19.55%). Unemployed participants were (17.56%). (9.63%) of total participants were civil societies workers.

This distribution of the respondents by their position indicate that they were varying and holding different views, that gave research opportunity their media response and media usage attitude.

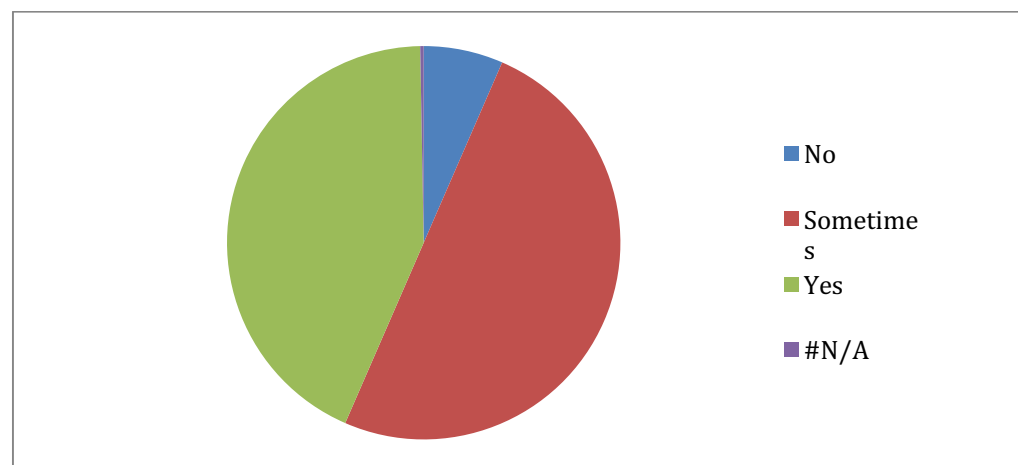
4.1.2 Media Usage

Presentation of results on Research Objective One: elements related to media usage and attitude towards conflict transformation and peace-building

Measuring participants' media usage is important element to study media effects. The study investigated the participants' listening attitude, time spent in listening, moreover participants preferred news program formats and news topics.

The description of the results of this study were analyzed based on views and responses of administrative questionnaire and interviews. The results were displayed in the following presentation.

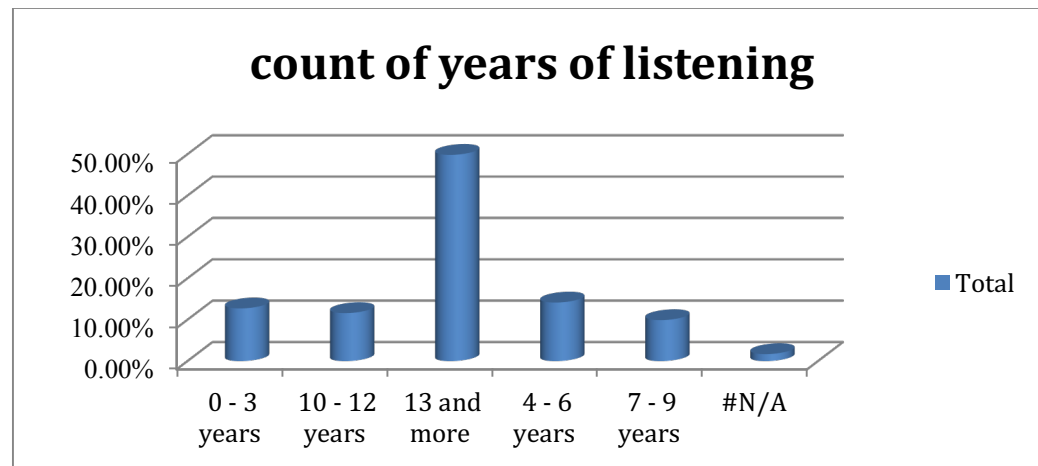
Figure (4/8): Listenership Habits



In above figure (4/8) (50%) of the participants were listened sometimes, while (43.18%) of the participants were regular listeners. This result in compared to respondent were not listening (6.53%) is very high, this

indicate that respondent participated in this study, they have strong listenership habit.

Figure (4/9): Participants' Years of Listening to Radio



The researcher also investigated the time respondent were spent to listen to the radio, the result revealed that, the majority of the respondent had spent a period of more that 13 years listen to radio (49.86%) of respondent participated in this study. Moreover, there were 14.16% listen to radio (4-6) years. While participants listen (0-3years) were (12.75%), participants listen (10-12years) were (11.61%) and participant listen (7-9 years) were (9.92%). However, these results indicated that most of the respondents participated in this study listen to radio regularly.

In general, participants regularly listen to radio, responding have varied. But research found that (49.86%) of participants listening to radio more that 13 years. This result indicated that listenership among respondents participated in this study is very high. Researcher during the four months of field work observed that listening to radio increase when there are peace talks or insecurity event reported that means listenership is connected to conflict and peace dynamics.

Figure (4/10): Source of Information

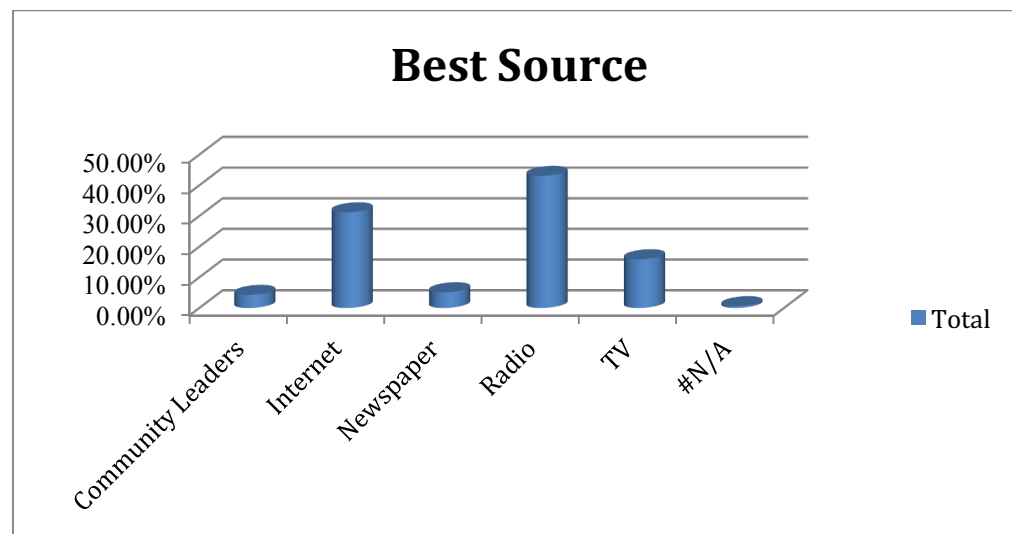


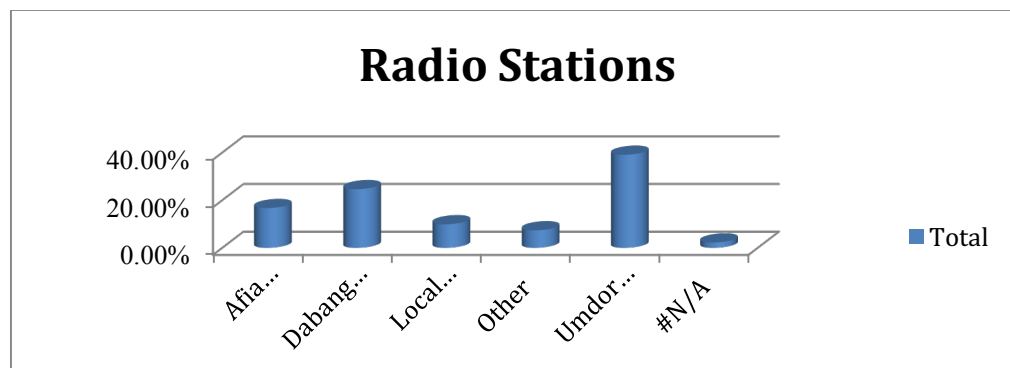
Figure (4/10) above is participants responding to question of best source of information. Majority of the participants mentioned that radio was best source (43.06%). While (31.16%) of the total participants considered internet as best source. Television was best source for 15.86% of the total participants. Researcher during the course of data collection observed lack of electricity in most of data collection clusters. Newspapers and community leaders were less rated as sources of information for 5.10% and 4.25% respectively for the total of participants.

The study found that most of the participants preferred radio as best source of information, it revealed by (43.06%) of total participants. However, even when there are many sources of information are providing news. The reasons revealed for such likeness is advantage of radio as medium and its during the time of the conflict.

From data collected regard other sources, it revealed that community leaders less rate (4.25%) as source of information. This result indicated that there are few number of participants were looking for information from community leaders. This result meat that there is huge change in media usage among participants. The most notable result was (31.16%) of

total participants considered internet as best source of information. This result evidenced the change of media usage among Darfur communities.

Figure (4/11): Radio Station participants listen to

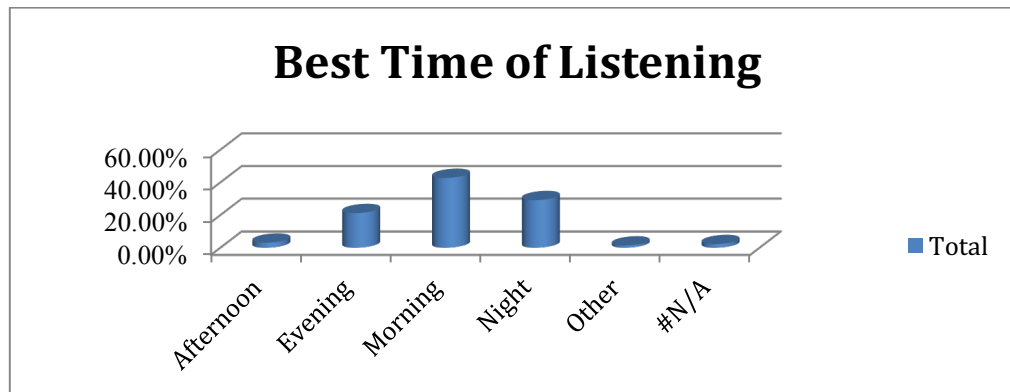


In above figure (4/11), Majority of participants (39.09%) listen to Omdurman radio station that is broadcasting from capital Khartoum. While (24.65%) were listen to Dabanga radio that is broadcasting from Netherlands. Some of participants (16.71%) listen to Afia Darfur Radio that broadcasting from United States of America. Both Dabanga and Afia Darfur radio stations focused on Darfur conflict issues. Very few (7.37%) of total participants listen to local station. The researcher noted that each capital of states has local radio station and television. During the interview with these stations managers, researcher noted that these stations have limited broadcasting time and coverage due to number of logistics, finance and human resources constraints.

Form above findings, it can be concluded that there are many factors that determine the high listenership of radio station that others. The majority of respondents (39.09%) listen to Omdurman radio than other station. This result indicated that Omdurman radio is highly listening by people in Darfur. The researcher argues that, this result related to this station history and due to the expansion in broadcasting services in Sudan as evidenced by spread of local station in each state and FM's station in Khartoum state. The local stations are owned by local government; therefore, these stations are relying station for Omdurman radio. These

stations are connecting to Omdurman radio during the news hours. Moreover, Omdurman station provides different radio services such FM100, Alsalam Radio and other services.

Figure (4/12): Participants Time of Listening



Time of listening is determinant factor for media usage and it will result positive or negative effects. Researcher investigated this factor, results indicated that most of the participants (42.78%) were listen at morning time. However, there are some participants (29.18%) were listen at night time. (21.25%) of participants were listen at evening time, while a few number of participants (3.12%) were listen at afternoon. Researcher during fieldwork addressed the following question, what program you list to? Majority of participants mentioned “news program” this result indicated that high listenership during morning and night time. However, when researcher considered participants’ occupations, that mean afternoon time does not relevant to them to listen. The reason was most of them were working for public, private sector and civil societies.

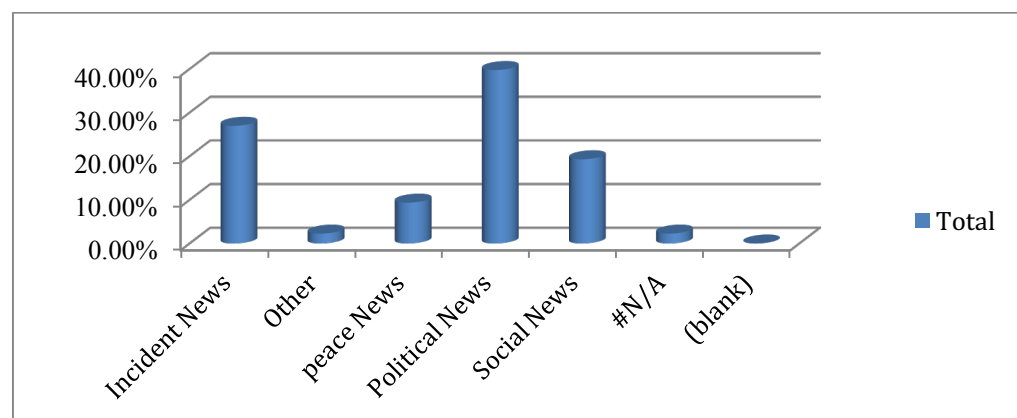
Figure (4/13) Participants Best Program



In figure (4/13) above, majority of participants (47.59%) preferred news program, while (21.81%) of participants preferred religious programs and (17.56%) of participants mentioned that they preferred cultural programs. However, a few number of participants (9.63%) like to listen to social program and (1.13%) of total participants preferred other program formants.

This results in compared to radio station participants listen to in figure (5.3.4). International radio station focused in Darfur results as (24.65%) listen to Dabanga and (16.71%) are listen to Afia Darfur. This mean that, this (47.59%) in figure (5.3.6) preferred news program, they find news programs offered by international stations are not cover in Omdurman and local stations. Not only that, but Dabanaga and Afia Darfur program schedule include interactive programs that engage in people affected by the conflict. This study finds that (47.59%) preferred news that due to availability and variety of news providers that included international radio stations focused broadcasting in Darfur

Figure (4/14): Preferred News Topics



In this figure (4/14), political news was preferred by most of the participants (39.77%) followed by incidents and insecurity news events (26.99%). However, (19.32%) of participants preferred social news,

moreover (9.38%) of total participants preferred peace news. A few number of participants preferred other types of news formats.

News remained dominant programs for most of the participants of this study, but political news was the best news topic for both host communities and displaced people communities were participated in the study.

Figure (4/15): participation in any radio program

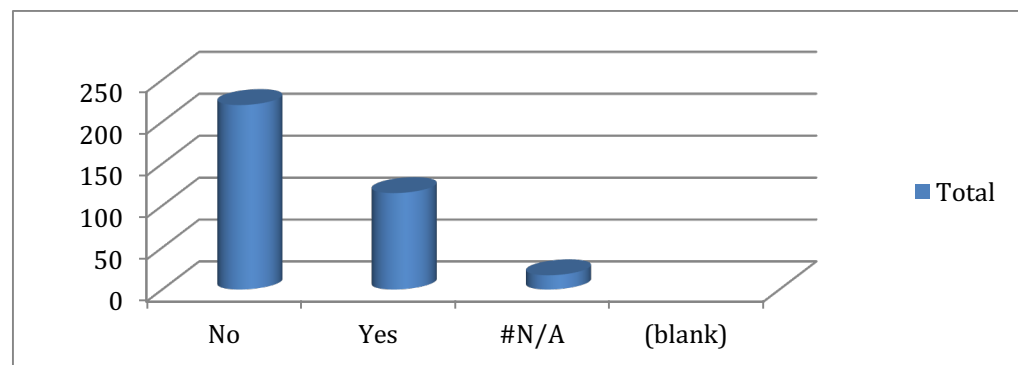
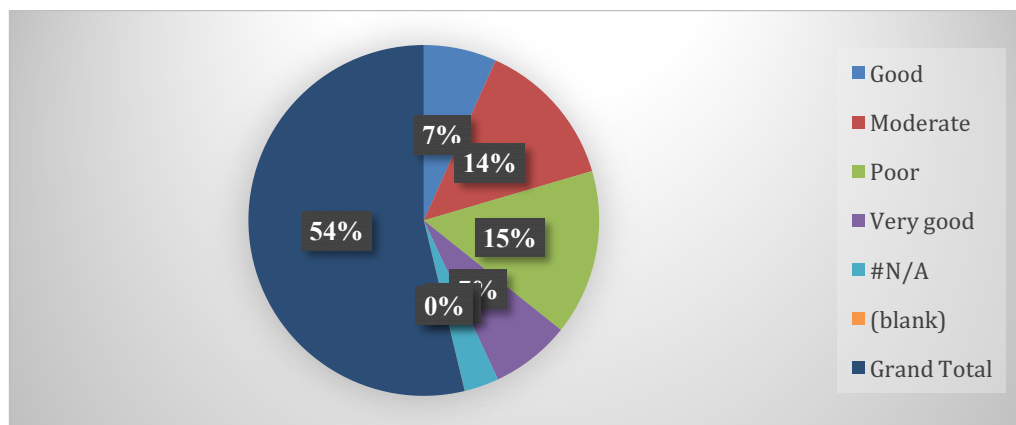


Figure (4/15) In response to the question of participation in any radio program, the majority of participants (220) participants answered “No”, while (115) participants answered “Yes”. However, there were (17) participants answered “Do Not Know” from total participants.

4.1.3 Opinion on Radio Station Coverage:

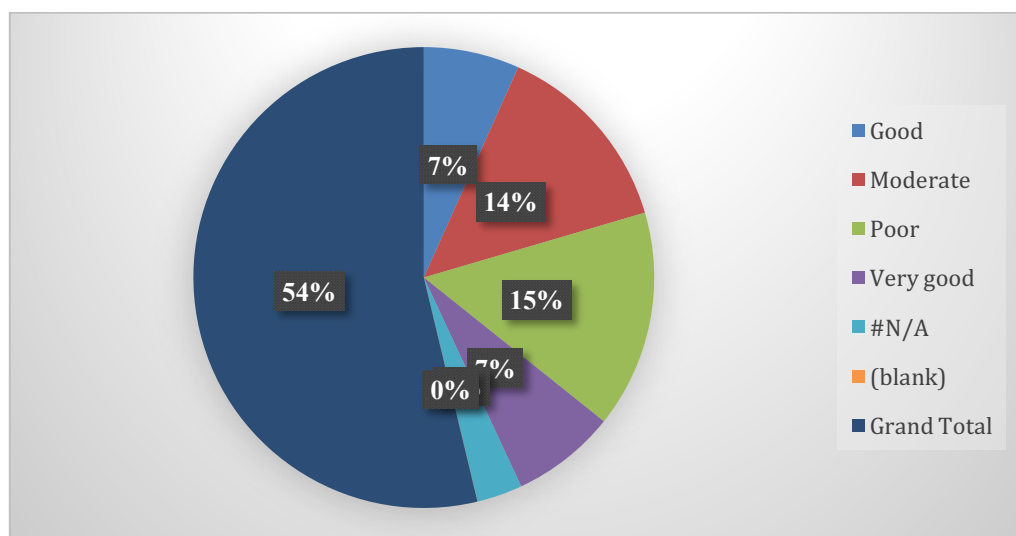
Researcher investigated participants’ views concern the coverage of four radio station which were considered for this study. Ranking of stations’ coverage was important elements for participants’ media usage. Moreover, researcher considered as analysis factor to study effects of each station on participants of this study.

Figure (4/16): Participants’ Response to Omdurman Radio Station



In above figure (4/16) (30.4%) of total participants evaluated Omdurman station coverage as “Poor”. While (20.17%) rated coverage as “Good” and “Moderate” rated by (18.18%) of total participants. However, (13.91%) of total participants rated this station coverage as “Excellent” and (12.50%) raked coverage as “Very Good”.

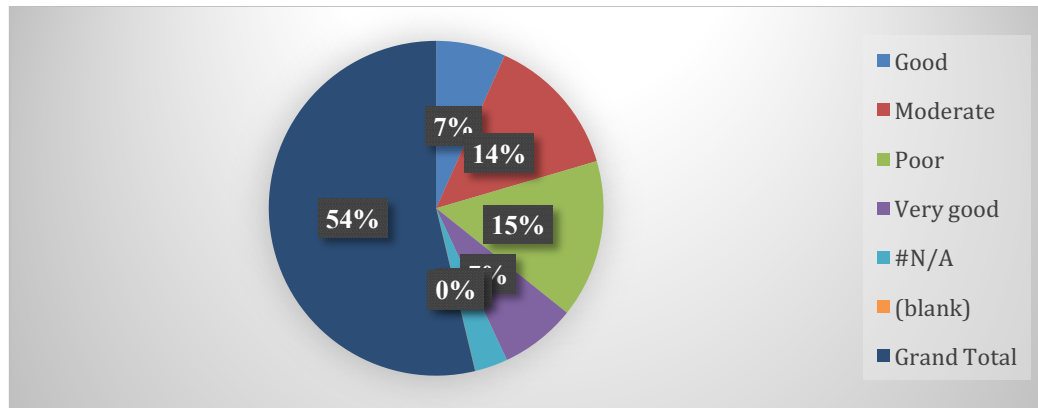
Figure (4/17): Participants’ evaluation of Dabanga Station



In figure (4/17) above, some participants (29.83%) ranked coverage of this station as “Excellent” and “Very Good” rated by (21.59%) of total participants. This results indicated that majority of participants evaluated this station coverage between “Excellent and Very Good”. While (14.77%) of participants rated as “Moderate” and “Good” rated by

(14.49%) of the participants. However, (12.78%) of total participants rated coverage as “Poor”

Figure (4/18): Participants Evaluation of Afia Darfur Station



The study found that most of the participants evaluated Afia Station Coverage as “Very Good” by (28.98%) of total participants of the study. It was also revealed from interviews that, Activists and human right defender played vital role in establishment of these stations, media became actively contributing in dogmatic and political process with more focus on human right violations against individuals in Darfur. The establishment of this station was natural due to number of reasons; conflict attracted many activists to advocate for conflict, additionally, Darfur conflict coincidental with telecommunication revolution which allowed people to communicate easily. (19.60%) of participants rated coverage as “Excellent”. Most experts interviewed thought that this station and Dabanga radio effectively contributed to flow of information and news that do not possible to be reported over Sudanese media outlets. While (25.57%) ranked coverage as “Good”. These stations able to collect news and there were different of sources in compare to Sudanese national media which was reporting government view. Participants rated coverage as “Moderate” were (13.07%) and those rated coverage as “Poor” were (6.53%).

Afia Darfur station evaluated by experts as balanced in editing news,

language and coverage, while Dabanga radio evaluated as biased in reporting that due its staff who were political activists, they were doing advocacy more that professional journalism.

Further interviews findings revealed that Afia Darfur Station reporter allowed by Sudanese government to operate from Khartoum, which does not the applied for Dabanga station case. This indicated that Sudanese government satisfied by Afia Darfur station coverage. Dabanga radio station can be professional station, but security development in Darfur does not support this station to practice professionalism and be balanced, but it less biased that Sudan national radio which was advocating and supporting one of conflict parties.

Interviews with experts revealed that media for development was founded in Darfur before Afia Darfur. these was Darfur lifeline project which launched by BBC Media action. It stopped broadcasting in 2008. This project adopted media for development approach that helped international organization to communicate health, nutrition and primary information to help people affected by conflict to cope with new situation.

Figure (4/19): Participants' Evaluation of Local Stations Coverage

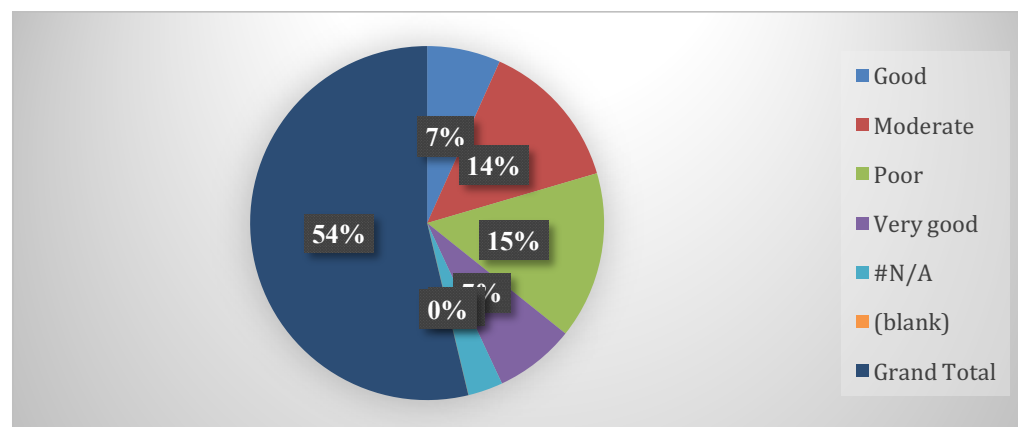
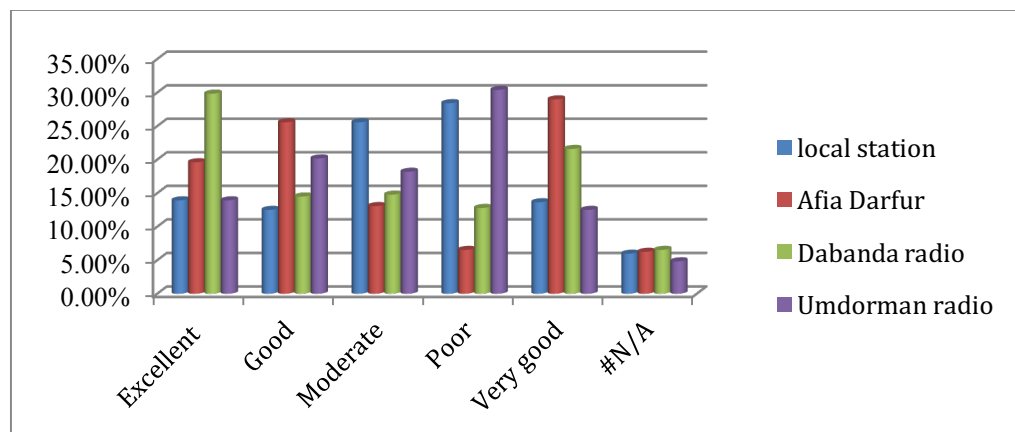


Figure (4/19) Most of participants evaluated coverage of local station as “Poor” by (28.41%) and participants rated coverage as “Moderate” were (25.57%). This result indicated that local station in Darfur poorly coverage Darfur Conflict. However, participants rate coverage as

“Excellent” “Very Good” and “Good” were (13.92%), (13.65%) and (12.50%) respectively.

Figure (4/20): Summary of Station Coverage



Experts' responses varied regard role of national radio and international ones. Study revealed that each station role based on establishment principles and objectives, for example, Omdurman radio evaluated by experts as biased station due to its establishment as political centralized, government controlled station that holding government discourse. The figure above summarized administrative questionnaire participants' response regard coverage of each station. Dabanga radio coverage of Darfur conflict ranked as “Excellent” by (29.83%) of total participants. While Afia Darfur coverage as “Very goo” by (28.98%) and “Good” by (25.57%) of total participants.

However, Omdurman Radio station classified as “poor” station covered Darfur Conflict by (30.40%) of total participants. The study results of experts interviews revealed thatNational media in Sudan adopted media blackout strategy and broadcast incorrect information to describe crisis in Darfur, that shaped views of some people in Sudan. National radio coverage depended on one source of information, which was government officials. Officials described conflict as “nomads vs. farmers” and they were support military solution of the crisis.

Media blacked from reporting news related to security situation and military operation. National media/local station failed in deal with conflict in Darfur crisis. There were some attempts to reduce the tension through directed peace radio programs, but this programs lacked message design, in-depth analysis of the crisis and program content was very weak. Experts thought that this as result of not admitting the crisis by the government when was erupted. Government described the conflict in Darfur as armed robbery.

“Media prohibited to report on Darfur conflict and the government insisted in describing Darfur conflict as armed robbery, nomad’s vs farmers conflict and Arab vs non-Arab clashes, these claims and classifications were not the accurate description of the crisis, because these claims existed among communities in Darfur region and there is conflict of limited natural resources. If the government offered space for media to intervene at the beginning of the conflict, it makes positive impact, before the conflict to be globalized” (Mahjoub M. Salih-interviewed in Khartoum August 2016)

In the other hand local stations’ coverage rated as “Moderate” by (25.57%) of total participants. Expert interviews revealed that local media at state level lacked to cover important details in compare to international radio stations focused in Darfur, which covered detailed information about conflict in Darfur, but coverage was from these stations point of view and their understanding to Darfur crisis.

Furthermore, National media was disappeared from the scene in order to clarify misconception and misinformation. National station and local radio stations interviewed some of armed groups leaders whom were signed peace agreements. Interviews focused on agreements, leaders’ opinions on peace issues and their peace perspectives.

These results indicated that “Afia Darfur Station” was the best station covered Darfur conflict. It rated as “Very good” (28.98%) “Good” (25.57%) and “Excellent” (19.60%) of total participants.

From above summary of stations’ coverage revealed that each radio station had its advantage over other based on certain elements. Radio stations will continue to attract listeners based on coverage. This is based on the fact that some of the stations are established because of Darfur conflict grounds, under different objectives.

However, in such situation, these stations have huge effects in listeners in general and specifically, people affected by war.

The conclusion based on descriptive statistic expressed under objective on of this study, the relation between media usage and attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building can never be denied.

This is because media usage is major factor of media effect, any alteration of the media usage rates affects the entire attitude of listeners towards conflict transformation and peace building operation. Hence media role in conflict transformation lies in their ability to establish environment that is sustainable situation at all times.

4.1.4 Media has constructive and Distractive effects on conflict and peace building

Presentation of Results on Research Objective two and related to Objective One

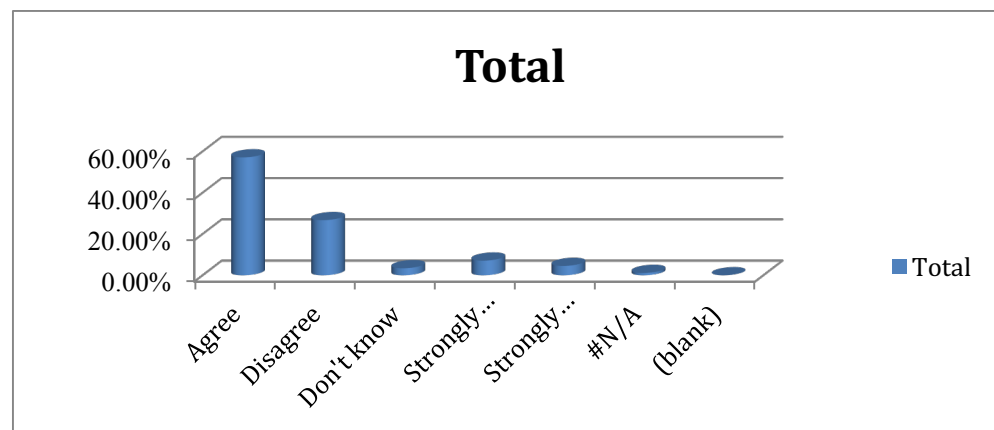
This section results on factors related to radio coverage affect on attitude of Darfur people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

The result of this study were analyzed based on views generated out of administered questionnaire (quantitative data) and interviews (qualitative data).

The second research objective of the study aimed at assessing media coverage effects in conflict transformation and peace building. The

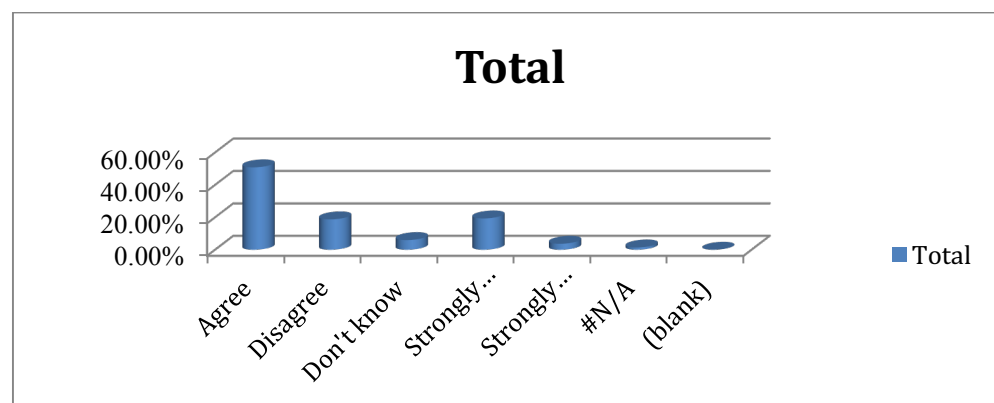
purpose of this investigation was to make an assessment of the relation between coverage effects and attitude toward conflict transformation and peace building. The researcher analyzed the descriptive statistics of the study that is the percentages of the responses generated from survey and the results of interviews. The results discussed as flows:

Figure (4/21): did news on Darfur crisis and Peace effects your attitude and people around you?



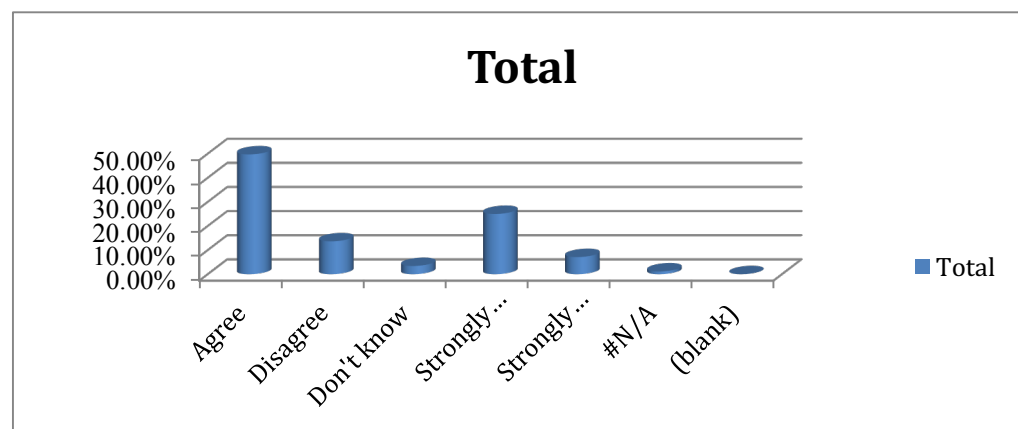
Above figure (4/21) presented participants response to the question of news effects participants' attitude and people around them? Majority of participants (57.10%) answered agree news has effects on behavior on people. While (26.70%) of participants responded disagree. However, (7.10%) responded strongly agree in compared to participants responded strongly disagree were (4.55%). There were participants were responded do not know (3.41%) of total participants.

Figure (4/22): news content effects on community/family members?



In figure (4/22) responses to above mentioned question, most of participants (50.85%) were answered agree news have effects in their communities and families. While there were some participants responded strongly agree (19.32%) this results illustrated that majority of participants stated that news effected their communities. However, some of participants were responded disagree (18.75%) and (3.69%) were responded strongly disagree. (5.97%) of total participants answered they do not know.

Figure (4/23): news of looting, killing and other insecurity issues mobilized people towards conflict?

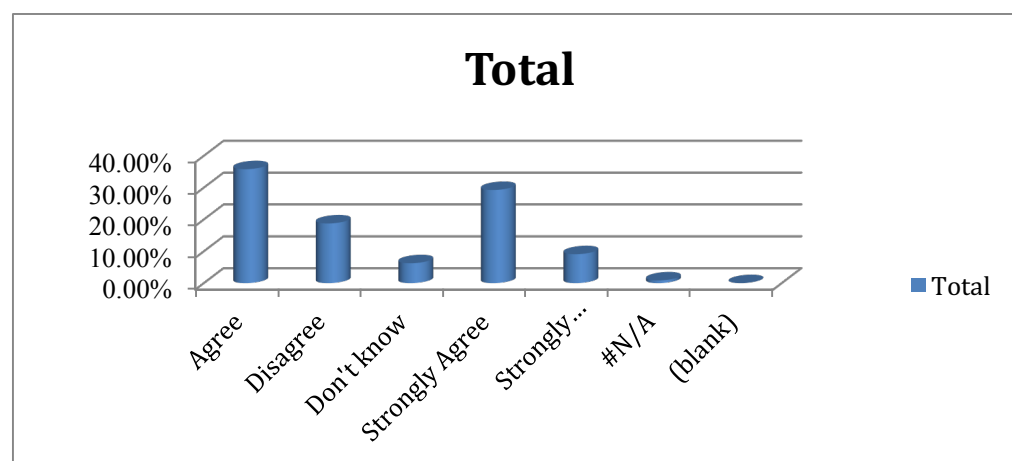


In above figure (4/23) most of the participants were responded agree (49.72%) and (25.00%) of participants were responded strongly agree. This result indicated that majority of participants were stated that “Hard News” contributed to mobilization of people towards conflict. While some participants were responded to this question as following (13.64%) disagree, (7.10%) were responded strongly disagree. While few number of total participants (3.41%) were answered do not know.

The study findings revealed that radio coverage affected the trends of Darfur conflict. The study compared experts’ opinions regard coverage of Dabanga and Omdurman radio station, it revealed that Dabanga radio works to increase the information flow and inform people on insecurity incidents, but its reporting approach was amplifying news.

The study findings, further revealed that, flow of news affected quality and balance of news reported by Dabanga. Sudanese media limited access to armed groups to address their concerns, that opened the door for armed groups to talk to international public media. In both national and international radio station coverage there were frames such “Arab against Non-Arab” this frame created a division among communities and escalated the conflict, increase clashes among different tribes, tribes had been politicized and it contributed to formulation of new armed factions. These factors burned the conflict situation in Darfur and made words wars between conflict parties. Sudanese government expanded in propaganda discourse that include Dabanga radio and people classified based on their media usage, such those listen to Dabanga were supporting armed groups. Difference in coverage techniques and editorial policy of both national and international radio station hardly affected the situation in Darfur and made audience confused because of media war between conflict parties.

Figure (4/24): international media frame “Arab vs African”



In general, media operates to documenting events and cover conflicts, but when media support one of the conflict parties, it became “war media” that conducts conflict parties’ propaganda, communicate vogue information and it will be part of psychological war.

International media normally use frame, when cover any conflict. When conflict in Darfur erupted “Arab vs non-Arab frame” used to describe the conflict. The interviews results revealed that this frame was very simple and does not accurate in describing Darfur crisis. While administrative questionnaire results revealed that, majority of participants were responded as following (35.80%) agree and (29.26%) were responded strongly agree.

This result indicated that “Arab vs. African Frame” adopted by international media to described Darfur conflict had huge affect on people. There were some participants answered disagree (18.75%) and strongly disagree (9.09%). Experts interviewed thought Journalists covered earlier stage of conflict in Darfur, they lacked adequate information and appropriate knowledge about Darfur region.

The study further found that this framed widened division and it negatively contributed to the escalation of the conflict. This frame adopted by conflict parties to recruit supporters. Continuation of tribal conflict in Darfur is one of the indicators of impact of this frame. However, there were few number answered do not know (6.25%) of total participants. This result indicates that there were people against violence and they were supporting peaceful solution to end conflict in Darfur.

The interviews with experts revealed that the use of this frame for many years, while ongoing conflict escalated, it was generated more frame such “ethnic cleaning and genocide”. These terms affected displaced people more than the other groups in Darfur. IDPs became more violent and aggressive. Arab groups in Darfur labeled by “Janjaweed” they made responsible for any crime or insecurity event in Darfur, in other hand there were many villages were burned with one claim “rebel supporters”.

The study investigated the impact of radio stations’ coverage of Darfur conflict? This question designed to get participants’ response

through ranking of number of issues. This question aimed at measuring impact of the station on following issues: increasing of conflict tendency before war has been started, escalation of conflict after war has been started, degree of security and safety, Sudanese government response to the situation in Darfur and global attention to conflict in Darfur.

Table (4/8) Summary of Sector One

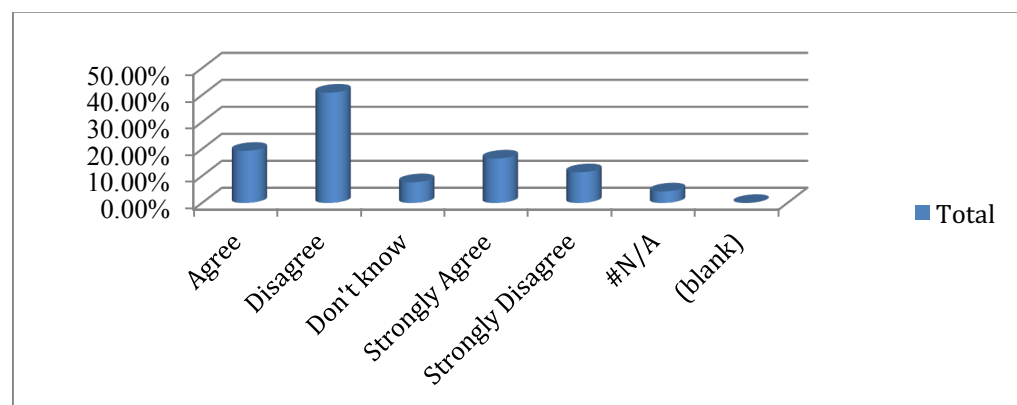
Sector one	Percentage agreement	mean	explanation	Chi-Squ	Level of significant
Media has constrictive and distractive role on conflict transformation and peace building)	64.51	1.31	agree	272.96	0.000

Source: Researcher: Questionnaire Data 2017

From above table (4/8) we conclude from the first sector of the study (Media has constrictive and distractive role on conflict transformation and peace building) has been achieved in the all terms of the hypothesis with a percentage of (64.51%) agree

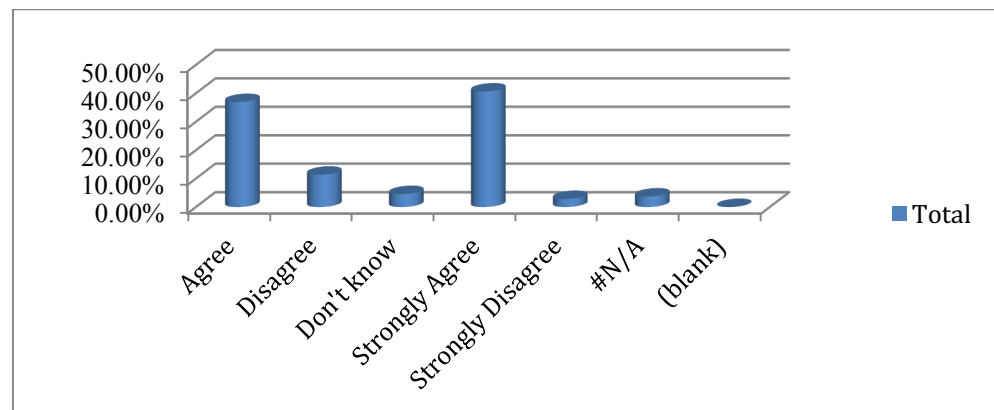
4.1.5 News Coverage Impact on Darfur Conflict

Figure (4/25): increasing of disputes before starting of war in Darfur.



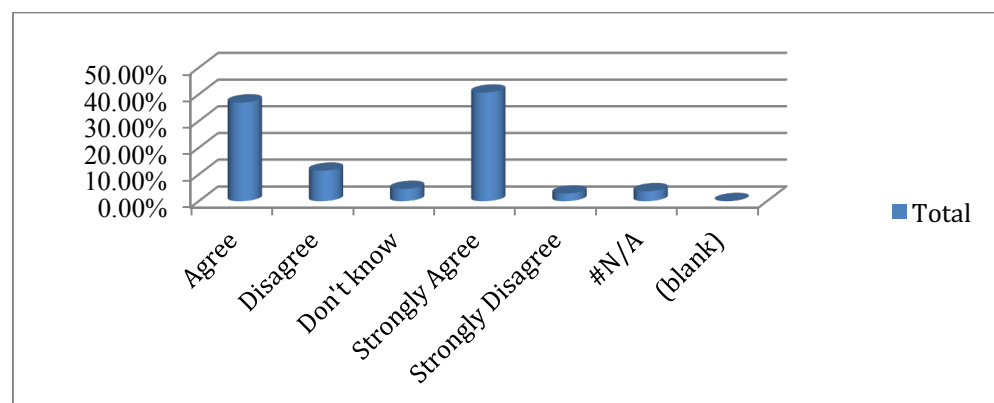
In figure (4/25) above, most of the participants were responded disagree (40.91%). While (19.32%) of participants were responded agree. However, some of participants (16.48%) were responded strongly agree; in other hand (11.36%) were responded strongly disagree. There were few number of participants answered do not know (7.67%)

Figure (4/26): escalation of conflict after war was starting



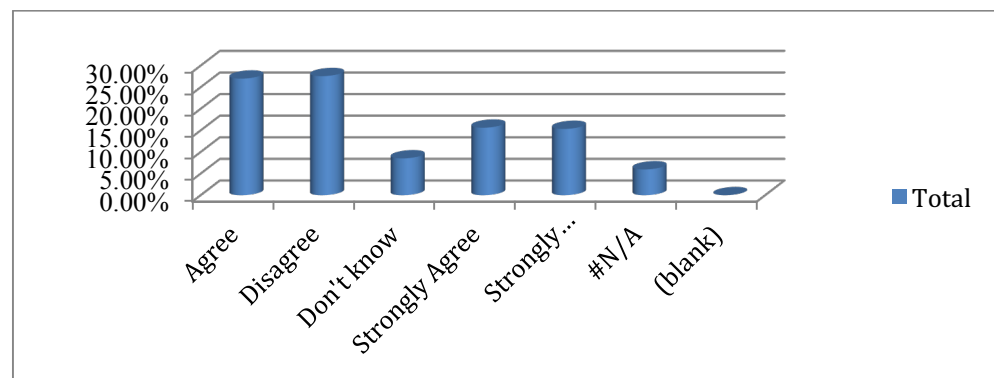
In response to impact of station coverage on escalation of conflict question, participants ranked strongly agree were (40.63%) and those rated agree were (36.93%). This result indicated that majority of participants were surveyed said that radio station coverage contributed to escalation of conflict in Darfur. However, (11.36%) of participants were responded disagree and few participants (2.84%) were responded strongly disagree. While respondents answered do not know were (4.55%) to total participants.

Figure (4/27): Degrease of insecurity and un-safety



In above figure (4/27), majority of participants responded as following (40.63%) were rated strongly agree and (36.93%) ranked agree in response to the question of stations' coverage impact on security and safety. This result signposted that there was strong relation between stations' coverage and insecurity. Also this result shared similarities with figure (5/27) results in term of participants' percentage responses. However, participants responded disagree were (11.36%) and (2.84%) were rated strongly disagree. Respondents rated do not no were (4.55%)

Figure (4/28): Government responding to insecurity in Darfur



In figure (4/28) above, participants' answers were varied (27.56%) were responded disagree, while (26.99%) of participants responded agree. However, participants responded strongly agree were (15.63%), while participants responded strongly disagree were (15.34%). These results indicated that there was a division among participants surveyed regard government response to insecurity in Darfur. Researcher observed that (15.34%) of total participants were answered do not know.

Figure (4/29): Global Attention to Darfur Conflict

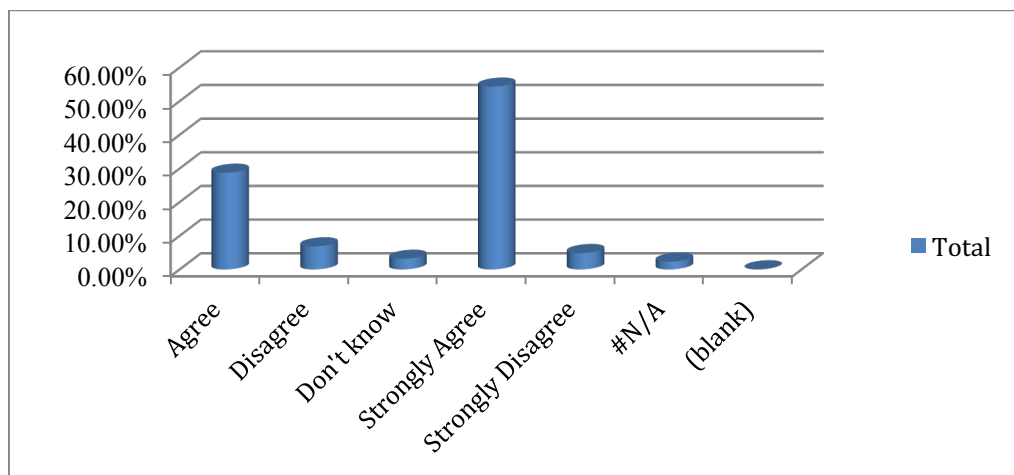


Figure (4/29) above showed that majority of participants (54.26%) were strongly agree that radio stations' coverage attracted global attention to Darfur conflict. There were some participants answered agree (28.69%). However, participants responded disagree were (6.82%) and those responded strongly agree were (4.83%). While, few number of participants responded no not know (3.13%).

Figure (4/30): Summary of Radio Stations' Coverage Impact on Darfur Conflict

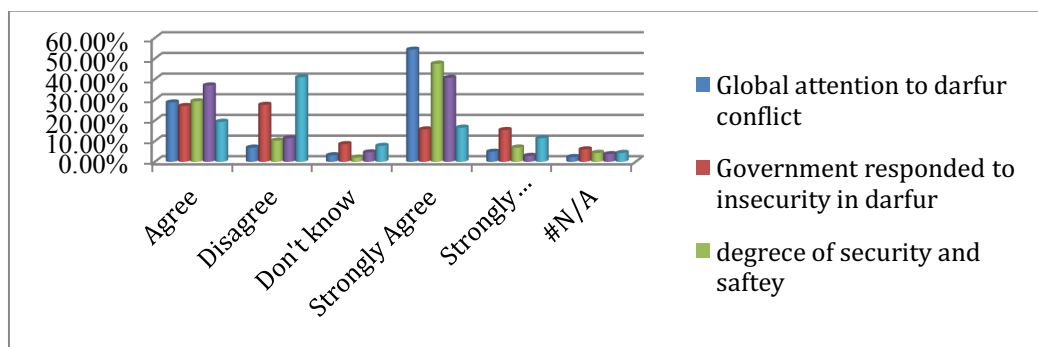


Figure (4/30) above summarized overall participants' responses on impact of radio station coverage on Darfur conflict. In response to impact of stations' coverage regard global attention to Darfur conflict (54.26%) of total participants were responded strongly agree.

The study linked between this results and interviews results, which revealed that Media coverage to Darfur crisis contributed to shaping of

public opinion on escalated violence at national and international level. This affected overall situation in Darfur and draw a negative image in both categories displaced people and host community. This mental image divided people into two groups, some people blamed government and they thought that it has a hand on their miserable situation were become in and other group thought armed groups caused displacement and the wave of violence in Darfur.

Participants (47.44%) were responded strongly agree; station coverage impacted negatively security situation and degree of safety in Darfur. (40.63%) of total participants were responded strongly agree to impact of stations coverage on escalation of the conflict. Moreover, (36.93%) of total participant rated agree in response to impact of stations' coverage on escalation of conflict. While (40.91%) were ranked disagree in response to impact of stations' coverage on increasing of conflicts before war was starting. More noticed point was (15.34%) of total participants were strongly disagree with government responding to insecurity in Darfur. This result read with interviews results that revealed that displaced people were aggressively responding to national radio media products, while host communities were responding neutral to official media products. Through, the term displaced people (IDPs) became a frame and made stereotype among people affected by Darfur conflict. This term created stigma among displaced people and increased violence tendency. Media impacted social relationship and increased political recruitment.

From above results of descriptive statistics and analysis of the expert's interviews, the study concluded that international media dealt with conflict as news coverage, while Sudanese media worked to reduce the tension through misleading information. National radio lacked the vision on how to deal with Darfur conflict, that was obvious on program planning and program schedule. This media conflict affected attitude of

vulnerable people, they became aggressive towards media institutions and media usage.

Table (4/9) Summary of Sector Two Results

Sector two	Percentage agreement	mean	explanation	Chi-Squ	Level of significant
News Coverage impact on Darfur conflict	65.6	2.4	agree	206,62	0.000

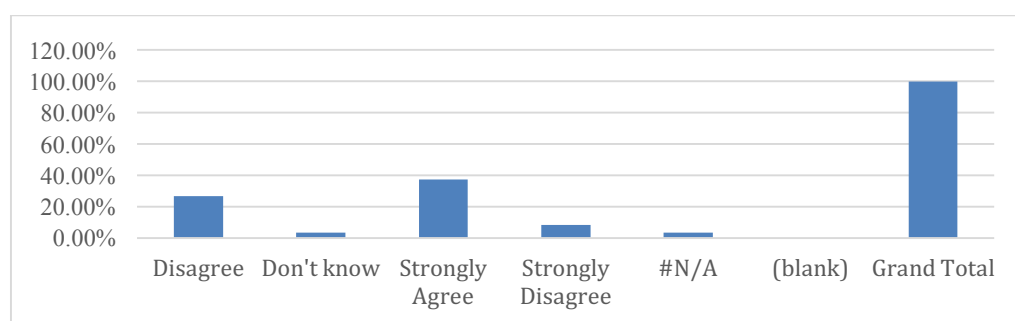
Source: Researcher: Questionnaire Data 2017

Above table (4/9) presents summary results for sector two terms. From this results we can conclude that the second sector of this study (News Coverage impact on Darfur conflict) this result indicates that all the hypothesis terms achieved with respond (65.6%)

4.1.6 Radio stations coverage of Darfur crisis on attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building

Moreover, the study addressed the following question, did radio station coverage to Darfur crisis affected your attitude towards? This question designed to get participants' response through ranking of number of issues related to conflict transformation. This question aimed at measuring impact of the stations' coverage on attitude of participants regards the following issues: increasing of tribalism, regional bias, support of the conflict parties, gender stereotype and work to achieve peace.

Figure (4/31): Increasing of Tribalism



In above figure (4/31) (37.22%) were responded strongly agree of total participants to impact of stations' coverage on attitude toward tribalism. From interview analysis, the study found that national media adopted nomad-farmer frame, which is a division frame. Historically, there is a conflict between nomads and farmers in Darfur, this indicate that conflict over natural resource is one of the root cause of current conflict in Darfur. From the literature review of this study, these two economic activities are practicing by communities inhabited Darfur, in spite of huge changes in characteristics of Darfur population.

The use of this framer to describe conflict in Darfur, it means that underestimation of Darfur crisis. The study further founded that in Darfur context This frame similar to Arab vs non-Arab frame according to characteristics nature of Darfur communities.

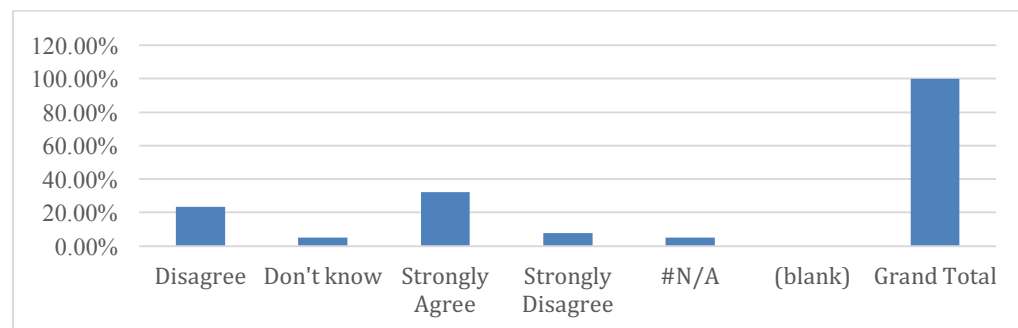
There are (26.70%) of total participants were responded disagree in response to the same question. In addition to that (8.24%) were responded strongly disagree to contribution of coverage increasing of tribalism. When we compare this result with interview results, it revealed that nomad-farmer frame has impact on war affected people when interacting with other frames such (Arab vs. Non-Arab frame, ethnic cleaning, Janjaweed and others).

Interviews results further revealed that the adoption of this frame by Sudanese media has limited effects in shaping public opinion of Darfur Citizens that due to lack of trust of people no official media in Sudan.

However, very few number (3.13%) were responded do not know in response to impact of media on increasing tribalism.

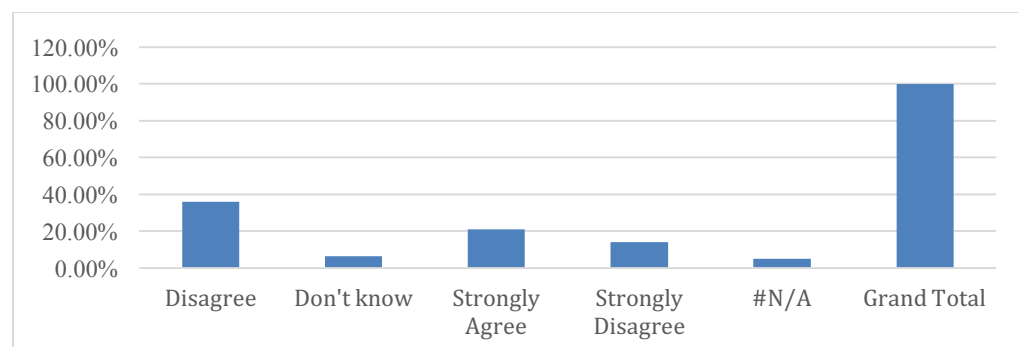
In conclusion, these frames collectively escalated conflict tendency. Sudanese media adopted Farmers vs. nomad frame to depict conflict as traditional one which is less sever than Arab vs non-Arab frame. This frame could have impact on official media audience are not living in conflict area. In spite of peace efforts in Darfur, but Arab vs non- Arab frame has huge impact on Darfur peace and conflict dynamics.

Figure (4/32): impact of stations' coverage on regional bias.



In Figure (4/32) most of the participants (32.10%) were responded strongly disagree and (27.27%) were responded agree. This result indicated that majority of participants stated that stations' coverage impacted attitude of respondents' regional bias. However, there were some participants (23.30%) responded disagree and (7.67%) were responded strongly disagree. While (4.83%) were responded do not know.

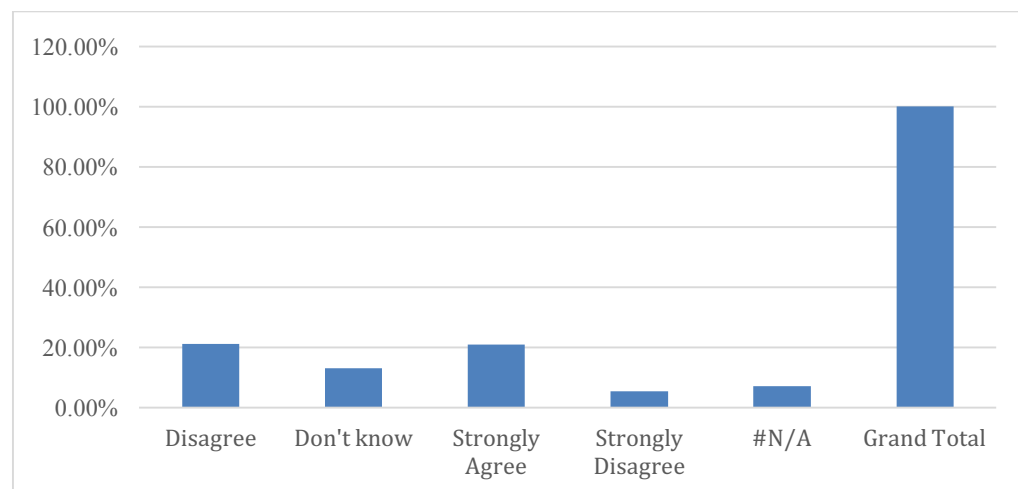
Figure (4/33): Impact of stations' coverage on participants' attitude to support one of conflicts' parties.



In above figure (4/33), most of the participants (35.98%) were responded disagree. This result contradicted with expert result that revealed that Sudanese official media adopted an approach that operate to reduce conflict tendency, under-estimated the Darfur crisis impact and promoting government military solutions. This media strategy mobilized people affected by the conflict towards armed groups. The escalation of the conflict waved people to search save areas, the save areas were under control of the government.

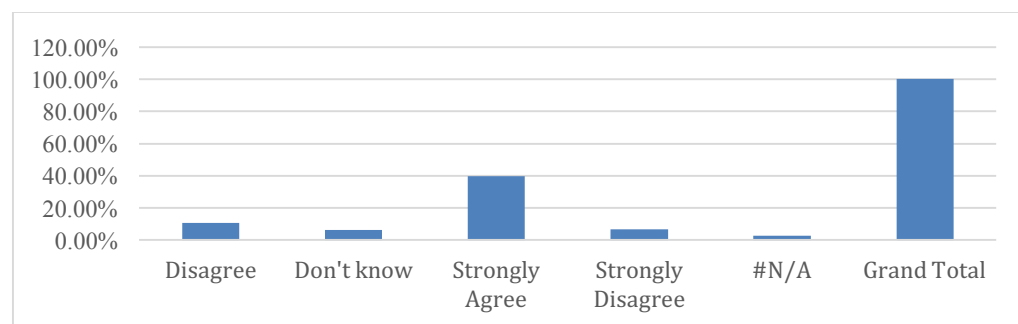
In other hand, international radio station focused their operation in Darfur (Afia Darfur and Dabanga) both stations content motivated people to joint conflict and contributed to political recruitment, since most of the staff belong to Darfur region and activists. Activists produce advocate media content around human right violations and insecurity events. This type of content played vital role in mobilization, recruitment and affiliation for one conflict party. This result in compared with questionnaire results of impact of coverage on attitude to support of the conflict parties, it revealed that (20.96%) were responded strongly agree and (17.56%) were responded agree. While (13.88%) were responded strongly agree. From above result there are very few number (6.52%) of total participants were responded do not know.

Figure (4/34): Gender stereotype.



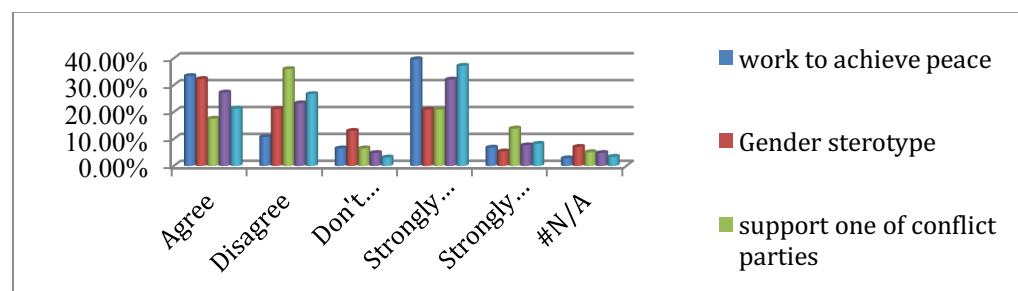
In figure (4/34) above most of participants (32.29%) were ranked agree in response to impact of the stations' coverage on attitude towards gender stereotype. While (21.25%) of participants were responded disagree. However, some participants were responded strongly agree (20.96%) in compare to (5.38%) responded strongly disagree. (13.03%) of total participants were responded do not know. This result indicated that some of participants were not sure about gender stereotype.

Figure (4/35): Work to achieve peace



Most of participants (39.66%) of total participants were responded strongly agree. Moreover, some participants (33.43%) ranked agree. This result indicated that majority of the participants responded positively in response to impact of radio stations' coverage on mobilizing participants towards work to achieve peace. However, participants were responded disagree were (10.76%) and (6.80%) were responded strongly disagree. While participants were responded do not know were (6.52%).

Figure (4/36): Summary of radio station coverage to Darfur crisis affected participants' attitude towards numbers of mentioned below issues.



Above figure (4/36) summarized participants' responses regard impact of

radio stations' coverage on participants' attitude. This study measured impact on different elements. Descriptive statistics results analyzed along Experts interviews, which revealed that National media in Sudan and international media outlets were competing to report the conflict, this differences in coverage for the same conflict affected vulnerable people in Darfur. Moreover, conflict parties competed over media space to reach their supporters that resulted confusion, over load of information, disorientation, disruption. In addition, to these factors, there were language challenge and sources challenges were faced people affected by conflict in Darfur. People were host at Sudan national radio were government officials or pro-government, they reinforce messages of government discourse and sometimes provided misleading information that increased conflict tendency.

coverage impact on participants to work to achieve peace; majority of participants (39.66%) were responded agree and (33.43%) were responded agree. While participants were responded disagree (26.70%). This result showed that coverage motivated number of participants to work achieve peace. However, participants' responses to the question of supporting one of the conflict parties as following; most of participants were responded disagree (35.98%) and (13.88%) of total participants responded strongly disagree.

When we compare to participants' response (20.96%) were responded strongly agree and (17.56%) agree, this indicated that radio stations' coverage mobilized some participants to support one of the conflict parties. However, majority of participants (37.22%) were responded strongly agree and (21.31%) were rated agree in response to impact of media in their attitudes towards tribalism. Moreover, (32.10%) of total participants were responded strongly agree and (27.27%) rated agree to impact of media on their attitude regard regional bias. Gender stereotype

some participants were responded strongly agree (32.10%) and (27.27%) were responded agree.

However, experts' interviews revealed that national radio program schedule was focusing in entertainment program more than news, specially news on Darfur conflict. This approach of program schedule made people in Darfur feel isolated and their concerns were not addressed in national radio. National radio news' language was hard to be understood by people in some Darfur areas. Also, sources of news were very limited, most of the time government officials' statements. This situation pushed audience in Darfur to turn to tune in other radio station that focused their broadcasting in Darfur. The study founded that, both coverage approaches contributed to the escalation of the conflict and spreading culture of violence

Table (4/10) Summary of Sector Three Results

Sector three	Percentage agreement	mean	explanation	Chi-Squ	Level of significant
radio stations coverage of Darfur crisis on attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building	59.2	2.43	agree	120.90	0.000

Source: Researcher: Questionnaire Data 2017

Above table (4/10) summarized results of sector three terms, from this sector (radio stations coverage of Darfur crisis on attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building) we conclude that all hypothesis terms achieved by (59.2%) agree.

5.1.7 Impact of Hard News (Insecurity Reporting)

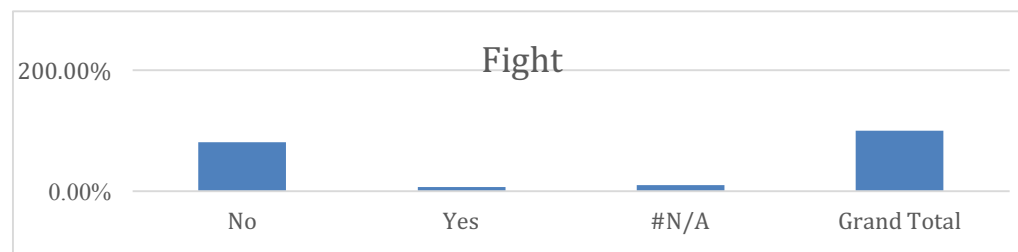
This section results on factors related to radio coverage effects on conflict transformation and peace building.

The result of this study were analyzed based on views generated out of administered questionnaire (quantitative data) and interviews (qualitative data).

The study examined reaction towards insecurity: What you do when you listen over radio news on insecurity incidents? This question designed to get participants' response through ranking of number of issues. This question aimed at collecting participants' reactions regard insecurity reporting. The reactions were: fight, get sad, yell at people around you, do whatever and no reaction.

What you do when you listen over radio news about insecurity incidents:

Figure (4/37): Participants response to insecurity (fight)



In above figure (4/37), majority of participants (80.45%) were responded "No"

Darfur experienced ethnic and tribal conflict before eruption of current conflict in Darfur. Expert interviews results revealed that the conflict in Darfur as a result of many factors that includes political agreement, lack of development service and projects and addressing the historic political crisis in Sudan. In addition to, the policies adopted to tackle conflict in Darfur.

The current study results further revealed that Sudanese official media promoted military and security solutions policies, extreme tribal

recruitment and early governments' recognition by the crisis. These factors collectively contributed to complexity of Darfur conflict.

But media plays the major role on this complication, both rebel groups and government use media to inject their agenda which is escalating the conflict, increase displacement, nomination of specific tribes over media are supporting rebel groups. Moreover, media and journalists are not applying journalistic values that intense the situation. Additionally, Sudanese Government media restricted by editorial policies and other media institutions as well. This editorial policies and coverage approach of the conflict complicated the situation and resulted the change of peaceful coexistence to comprehensive civil war.

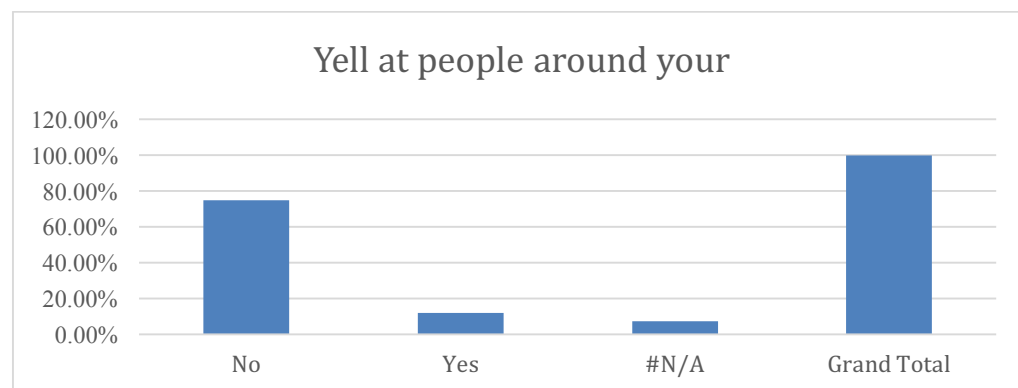
While those responded “Yes” were (6.80%). This result indicated that participants were not fight when they listen to insecurity reporting over radio.

Figure (4/38): Participants’ react Sad



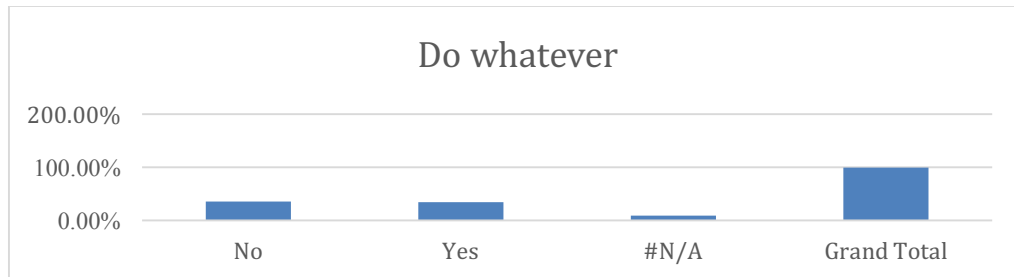
In figure (4/38) all participants (96.03%) were responded will get sad when they listen to insecurity reporting.

Figure (4/39): responding of participants yell at people around them



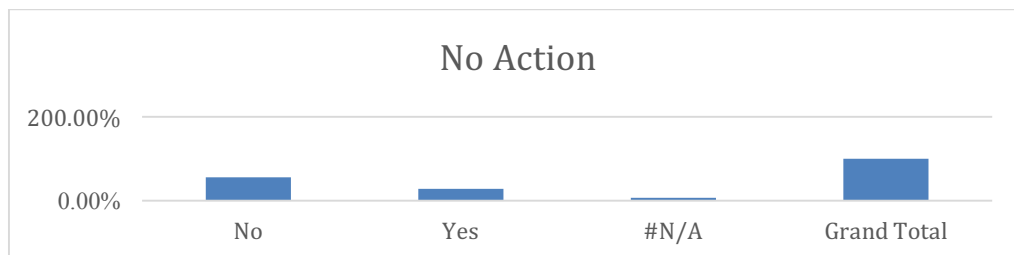
Majority of participants (74.79%) were responded “NO” while (11.90%) of total participants were responded “YES”

Figure (4/40):vResponding of participants “do whatever”



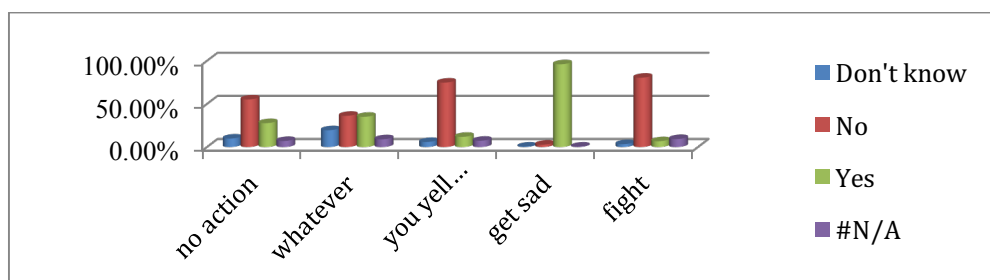
Most of participants in figure (4/40) were responded “NO” (36.26%) and those were responded “YES) (35.13%)

Figure (4/41): responding of participants “No action”



In figure (4/41) above most of participants (55.24%) were responded “NO” while those responded “Yes were (27.76%) of total participants

Figure (4/42): Summary of participants’ reaction to insecurity reporting



Above figure (4/42) summarized participants’ overall reaction on insecurity reporting. Majority of participants (96.03%) were responded “YES” in response to the question do you get sad when you listen insecurity reporting. While participants’ reaction to the question to do whatever were (36.26%) responded “NO” and (35.15%) responded

“YES” respectively. However, (80.45%) of total participants were responded “NO” to the question do you fight when you listen insecurity reporting over radio. Moreover, (74.79%) of total participants answered “NO” regard yelled people around them and those answered no reaction were (55.24%).

Afia Darfur and Dabanaga radio stations funded in critical time of Darfur crisis. Both stations become a platform to those people never get chance in Sudanese official media.

Experts interviews results revealed that these stations contributed to flow of information and news with more focus on attacks and insecurity events.

Radio journalist expert interviewed for the current study said that these station provided space to people affected by Darfur conflict to express and address their problems and concerns that was positive to reduce the tension in Darfur region, in other hand both station sometimes amplify news that is negative in compare to Sudanese official media which is focusing on positive things in Darfur society without mentioning the root causes of the conflict and facts about insecurity situation that is negative as well.

The results further revealed that both stations offered interactive programs targeted refugees and displaced people, but both station focused on news out of media processes.

Generally, these stations are not contributed to shifting in attitude of war affected people towards conflict transformation and peace building, that due to many reasons; conflict dynamics, insecurity continuing, daily changes in political environment. Collectively, these reasons limited stations’ capacity to make impact on attitude of affected people.

Table (4/11) Summary of Sector Four Results

Sector Four	Percentage agreement	mean	explanation	Chi-Squ	Level of significant
Impact of Hard News (Insecurity reporting)	47.6	1.17	No	76.91	0.000

Source: Researcher: Questionnaire Data 2017

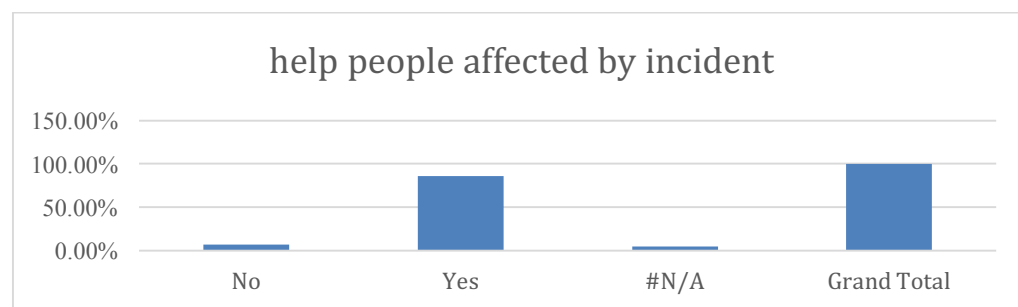
Above table (4/11) summarized results of sector four terms, from this sector (impact of hard news) we conclude that all hypothesis terms achieved by (52.4%) for people responded no.

4.1.8 Cooperation at The Time of Insecurity

Are you cooperating with other when you hear news about insecurity incidents?

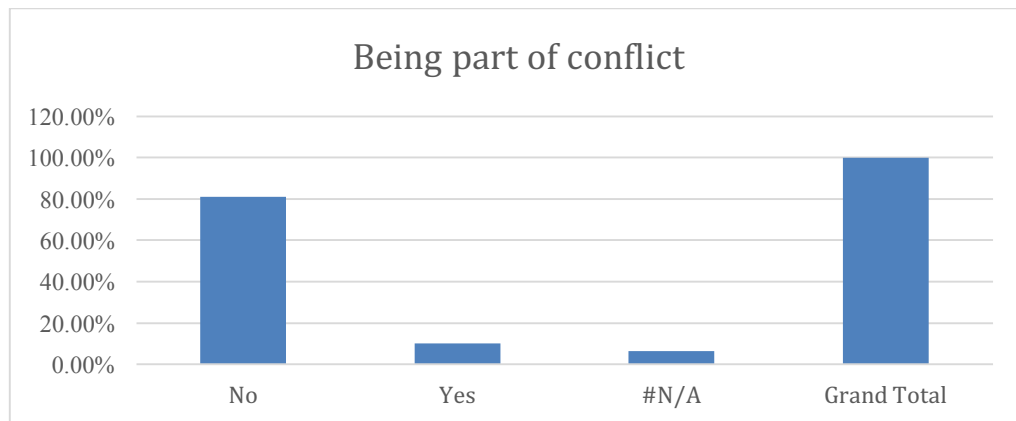
This question designed to get participants' response through ranking of number of issues. This question aimed at collecting participants' cooperation role regard conflict transformation.

Figure (4/43): participants' responding to help people affect by incident



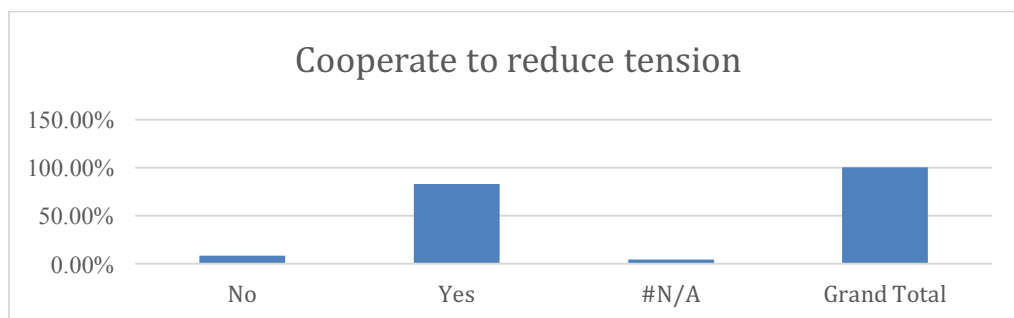
Majority of participants (85.84%) of total respondent answered "YES" in response to the question of help people affected by insecurity incident. While few participants (6.80%) were responded "NO".

Figure (4/44): participants responding to being part of the conflict



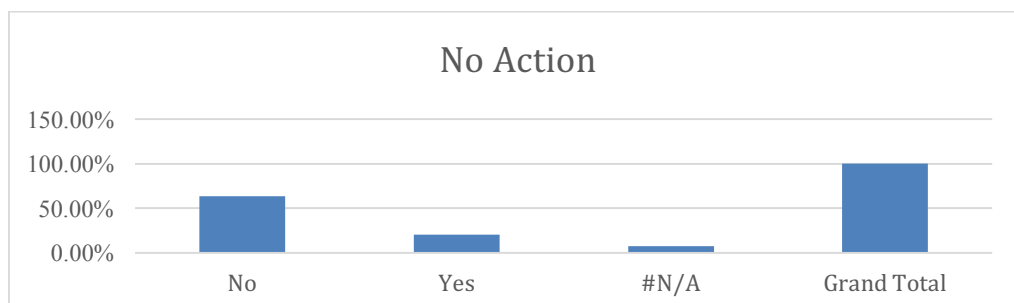
Majority of participants were responded “No” (81.02%) while those were responded “YES” were (10.20%) of total respondent were participated in this study.

Figure (4/45): participants’ responding to cooperate to reduce tension



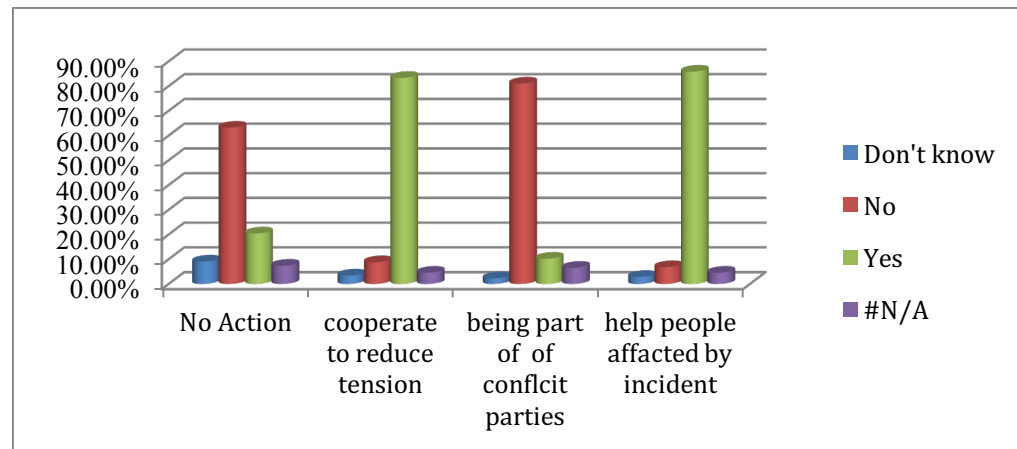
Majority of participants (83.29%) were responded “YES”. In the other hand few participants (8.78%) were responded “NO”

Figure (4/46): participants’ responding “No reaction”



Most of the participants (63.17%) were responded “NO”. while (20.40%) of total participants were responded “YES”

Figure (4/47): Summary of Participant Cooperation in Conflict Transformation



Majority of participants (85.84%) responded positively in response to help people affected by insecurity incident. While (83.29%) of total participants willing to cooperate to reduce tension when they listen clashes reported over radio. However, (81.02%) of total participants were responded “NO” to be part of conflict parties. Moreover, there were some participants (61.17%) did not have action when they listen insecurity reporting.

Table (4/12) Summary of Sector Five Results

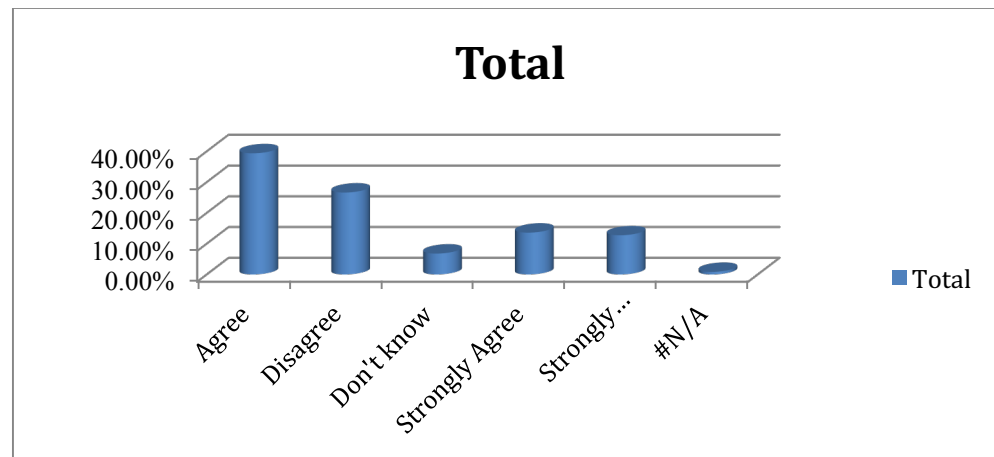
Sector Five	Percentage agreement	mean	explanation	Chi-Squ	Level of significant
Cooperation at the time of insecurity	60.92	1.43	Yes	366.64	0.000

Source: Researcher: Questionnaire Data 2017

Above table (5/11) summarized results of sector four terms, from this sector (Cooperation at the time of insecurity) we conclude that all hypothesis terms achieved by (60.92%) for people responded Yes.

4.1.9 Impact of Peace Agreements Reporting

Figure (4/48): coverage of UN resolutions impact on conflict transformation and peace building

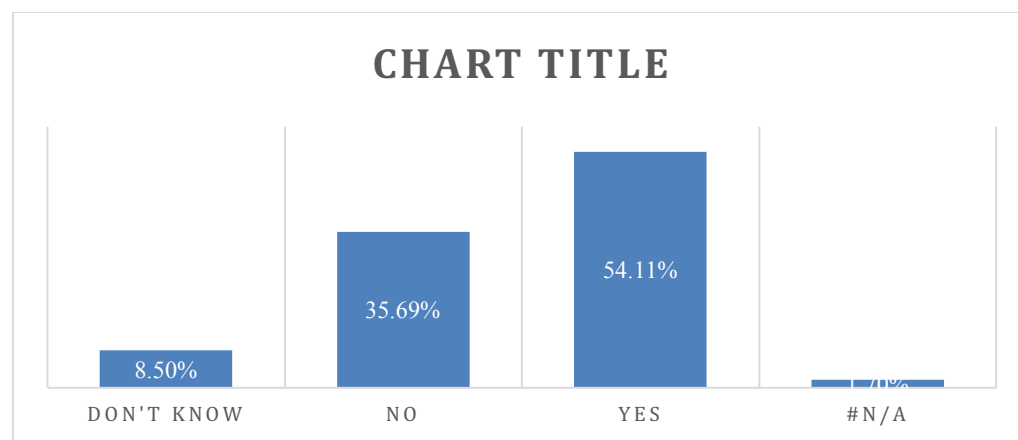


In above figure (4/48) (39.38%) of total participants responded agree, in compare (26.63%) were responded disagree. while participants were responded strongly agree (13.60%) in compare to (12.75%) were responded strongly disagree of total participants surveyed

Media coverage to UN security council resolution on Darfur crisis contributed positively to reduction of Darfur conflict. These resolutions drove government to work towards ending of the conflict, in the other hand international community put pressure on armed groups to negotiate with government to reach into agreement to end crisis. Resolutions made positive feelings among war affected people, they create feeling of protection. Official media adopted a strategy to reduce the impact of these resolutions, while armed groups through international radio stations, they worked to amplifying the impact of these resolutions. Dabanga and Afia Darfur station have more coverage to these resolutions that Sudanese official media. Some expert interviewed as part of this study said that, some of these resolutions effective in restriction of military operation and threaten conflict parties with sanctions, while there are poor resolutions are not support peace and conflict situation. Conflict parties' response to

UN resolutions are varying. Government reacted aggressively, its stated that these resolutions are violating national sovereignty and support armed groups position. This position portrayed government do not serious in ending conflict. In the other hand armed groups use these resolutions to reprisal from government and addressing their agenda to international community.

Figure (4/49): peace agreements positively affect participants’ life and family



In above figure (4/49), majority of participants (54.11%) responded “Yes” peace agreements positively impacted their life and their families, while (35.69%) of total participants said agreements not have affect in their life and family. Few number of participants (8.50%) ranked do not know.

Expert interview results revealed that both national media and station focused in Darfur covered peace talks between Sudanese government and Darfur armed groups. It covers different stages of negotiations, but changing place of negotiation complicated talk process and confusing audience. Different place of peace talks provide solutions are not accepted by conflict parties. Media covers international community efforts to inject peace proposals for conflict parties, but that coverage leads to division among armed groups that resulted more complexity of

the conflict situation. Multi-place of Darfur peace talks creates distrust among conflict parties.

Table (4/12) Summary of Sector Six Results

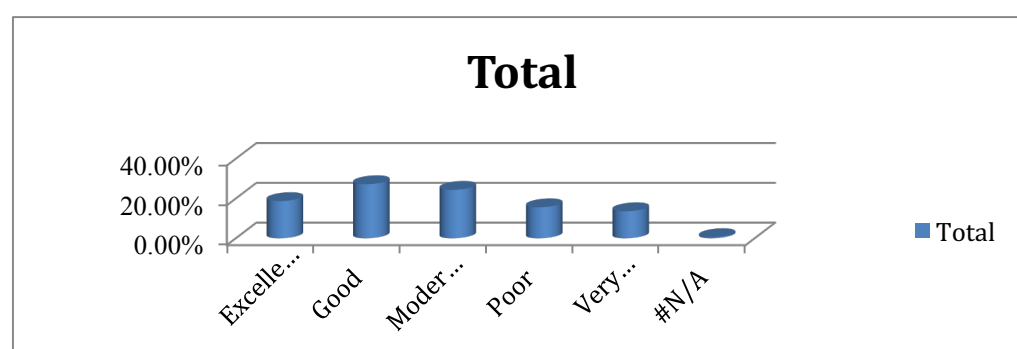
Sector Six	Percentage agreement	mean	explanation	Chi-Squ	Level of significant
Impact of peace agreements reporting	54.4	1.52	Yes	120.68	0.000

Source: Researcher: Questionnaire Data 2017

Above table (4/12) summarized results of sector four terms, from this sector (Cooperation at the time of insecurity) we conclude that all hypothesis terms achieved by (54.4%) for people responded Yes.

4.1. 10 Radio Station Coverage effects on Peace Building

Figure (4/50): Opinion on peace issues coverage on following station

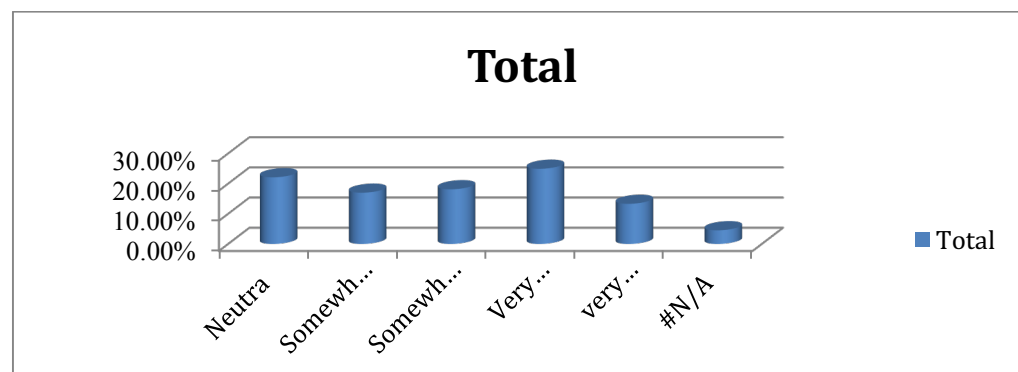


In figure (4/50) most of participants (27.20%) ranked very good in response to the question of peace issues coverage on station they listen to. While (24.36%) of participant were rated moderate. Those ranked excellent were (18.70%) and very good were (13.60%) in compare to those rated poor were (15.58%)

Experts have interviewed, they agreed that Sudanese national radio is not contributing to shift among affected people towards conflict transformation and peace-building. Sudanese national radio adopted soft news approach and local station followed reduce the tension approach.

National radio scheduled peace issue part of its programming message, but tools and formats used are poor. This station peace programs are propaganda and promotion, but messages are insignificant and not pursuing, furthermore, language and guest of peace programs in order to mobilize affected people towards peace building. National radio developed peace radio service (Alsalam Radio), but it adopted national approach that use by national radio. Alsalam radio focused its cultural programs which have limited effects and these program do not address war affected people issue. The official media approach to crisis was supremacy and reinforce government policy. The national radio focused on peace issue following the signing of Doha peace agreement, but programs focused on stop of war that is negative peace.

Figure (4/51): satisfaction on peace talks and negotiation coverage

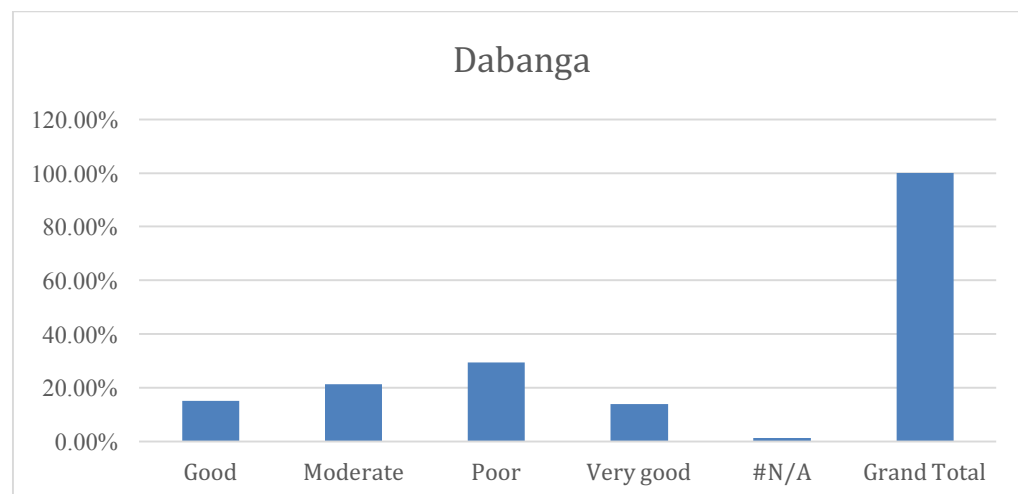


Researcher in above figure (4/51), examined respondents' satisfaction on coverage of peace talks and negotiation. Respondents responded very dissatisfied (24.93%), Neutral (22.10%), somewhat satisfied were 18.13%). While participants were responded somewhat dissatisfied were 17.00%) in compare to (13.31%) were rated very satisfied.

Peace agreements have been signed are not achieved positive peace to Darfur conflict that due to implementation approach and these agreements did not include all armed groups. Conflict resolution experts interviewed for the purpose of this said that rebel factions signed agreements do not have power in Darfur which is limited factions'

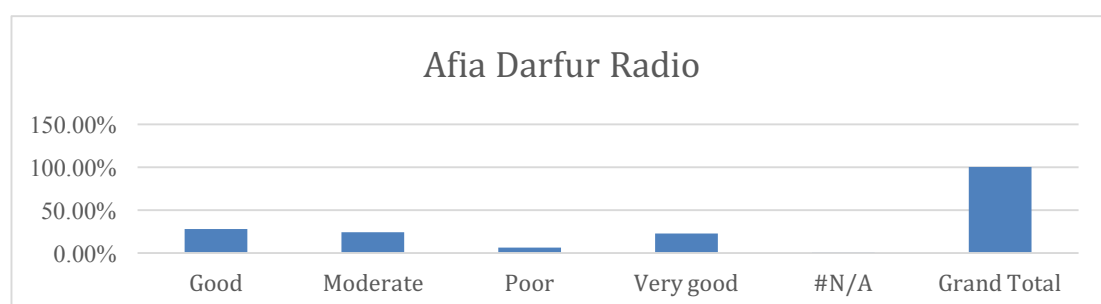
abilities to make changes in Darfur context. Also, failure of peace agreements due to political and economic crisis in Sudan there for peace agreements are not treat root cause of the conflict. There are different views among experts' regard Doha peace agreement, some experts thought Doha peace document (DPD) funded Darfur transitional authority which contributed to conflict reduction and unifying armed factions that facilitated negotiation and provide international community hope to each comprehensive peace. While some thought that this agreement did not achieve war affected people right and increasing division among armed groups.

Figure (4/52): Dabanga radio coverage of Darfur peace issues



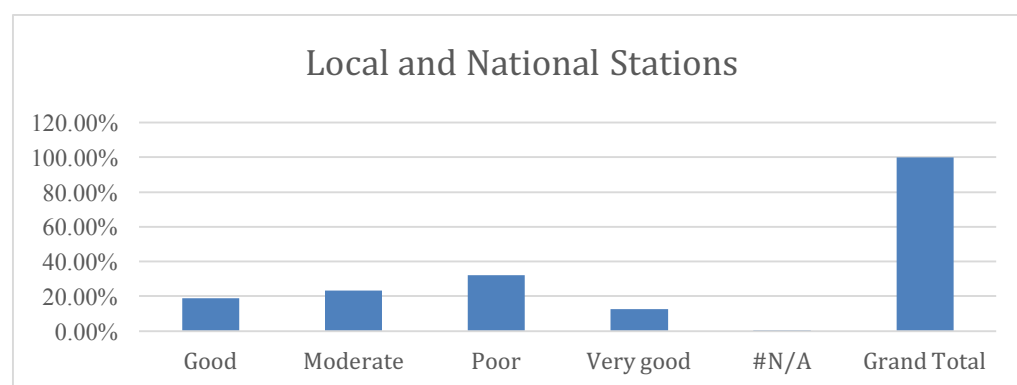
Most of participants (29.46%) in above figure (5/52) were ranked Dabanga coverage to peace issue “poor” and (21.25%) rated “moderate”. However, those rated “Excellent” were (19.26%), “Good” were (15.01%) and “Very good” (13.88%).

Figure (4/53): Afia Darfur Radio coverage to peace issues



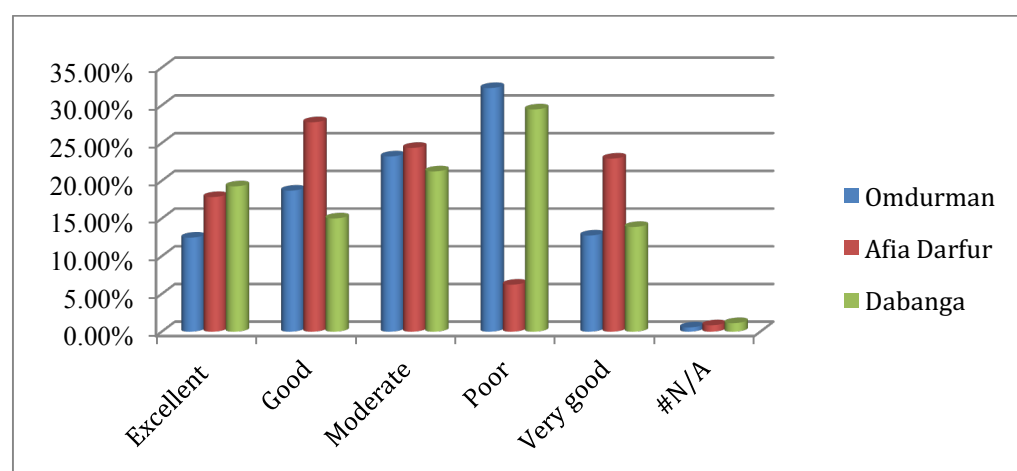
Some participants in above figure (4/53), ranked Afia darfur coverage as good were (27.76%) and very good were (22.95%) while those rated as moderate coverage were (24.36%). However, participants ranked this station coverage as excellent were (17.85%) in compare to those ranked as poor (6.23%).

Figure (4/54): Nation & Local Station coverage to peace issues



In figure (4/54) most of participants were ranked national and local radio coverage as poor were (32.29%) and moderate were (23.23%). While those rated coverages as good were (18.70%), very good were (12.75%) and excellent (12.46) respectively.

Figure (4/55): summary of radio Station coverage of peace building issues.



Majority of participants (32.29%) evaluated National radio coverage as poor and (29.46%) of total participants raked Dabanda coverage as poor.

Participants rated coverage station coverage as “Moderate” Afia (24.36%), National/Local station (23.23%) and Dabanga (21.25%) respectively.

Media agenda are changed according to the changes and development in Darfur crisis. Local media have effects on dynamics of the conflict, In spite of its role in process government image, peace coverage and political propaganda. Moreover, media coverage of the failure of peace agreements and some rebel groups back to war, this escalated the conflict.

Media agenda moving between peace and war, but official media plays propaganda role during the military victories in Darfur. When peace talks start, official media directs to address conflict resolution and coverage negotiation process.

This situation made war affected people in Darfur feeling that government do not commit to peaceful solution and rebel groups do not have vision to end the conflict. That media coverage portrayed Darfur conflict as endless conflict through flow of information and supporting agenda of both conflict parties.

Political division marked Darfur armed groups that due to the disparity among these groups. Sudanese official media pictured armed division as poor and do not have intention of end the conflict in Darfur.

Armed faction division impacted were affected people, special displaced people, it confused them regard peace.

Displaced people become not sure about the ending of the conflict. This division affected peace and conflict dynamics, its escalated conflict tendency and violence has been increased.

Table (4/13) Summary of Sector Seven Results

Sector Seven	Percentage agreement	mean	explanation	Chi-Squ	Level of significant
Radio Station Coverage effects on peace building	55.59	3.14	good	91.87	0.000

Source: Researcher: Questionnaire Data 2017

Above table (4/13) summarized results of sector four terms, from this sector (Radio Station Coverage effects on peace building) we conclude that all hypothesis terms achieved by (55.59%) for people responded good.

4.2 Hypotheses Testing:

The first hypothesis: Media has constructive effects on conflict and peace building; media has distractive effects in conflict and peace building.

First hypothesis analysis: from data analysis of sector one and sector seven, we accepted first hypothesis for this study, which revealed that media have constrictive role on conflict transformation and peace building.

Second Hypothesis: Media exposure would influence attitude and behavior of Darfur vulnerable people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

Second Hypothesis Analysis: from data analysis of second sector, sector five and sector seven, we tend to accept the second hypothesis, which media exposure would influence attitude and behavior of vulnerable people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

Third Hypothesis: Variations of media effects of media framing and agenda setting affected attitude of Darfur people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

Third Hypothesis Analysis: from data analysis of sector three, sector four and sector five, we tend to accept the third hypothesis, which Variations of media effects of media framing and agenda setting affected attitude of Darfur people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

Conclusions

This section presents the discussion of the results developed from the data presented in chapter four. The discussion leads to a number of conclusions and recommendations. The discussion of the results is conducted based on the research questions. The research questions generated under the main research objectives, which is to assess the media effects in mobilizing Darfur communities towards conflict and engage them in peace building processes. The key questions that guided the study were as follows:

How does media usage affect attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building? How does coverage affect attitude of people towards conflict transformation and peace building and what are the factors related to media frame and media agenda affect attitude of people towards conflict transformation and peace building?

Discussion:

Research Objectives One: to examine how media usage affects attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building.

The hypothesis was derived from the first objective of the study. The study results indicated that the relationship between media usage and conflict transformation and peace building is significant. This was revealed by the (Chi-Square) which indicate appositive relation. The relationship between variables as well as reflected by the descriptive statistics which were analyzed in chapter five. This basically included views such as the fact that media usage was leading to conflict transformation and peace building processes, it affected conflict transformation due to the conflict dynamics and escalation in Darfur. The results of this study were analyzed along views of media experts and scholars of conflict resolution and peace studies.

For example, (Bratic 2006) noted that the media had influence in societies through reporting of information that affects attitude and behavior of people. This finding is related to those of the current studies especially where it was revealed that the listeners were increasing in Darfur in Darfur since the eruption of conflicts in 2003. Based on Bratic notes, however, listeners increased among displaced people especially those who were listening to international radio stations focused in broadcasting about the Darfur conflict. Listeners of these stations believed that these stations covered their situation within the media outlets in the Darfur conflict. Therefore, high listenership meant high media usage and information related to their situation that affects attitude and behavior towards conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur.

The finding of the current study also agrees with (Hattotum 2002) who argues that media can play a vital role in reinforcing the benefits that can be achieve through peace. Media helps in transformation of negative picture of conflict parties. The impact of media in conflict and peace building should be considered because media outlets do not report only facts, but they have direct influence on the way people think and react. Based on the findings of this study, some of the radio stations started recently in 2008, the establishment of these stations indicated that concerns about Darfur Darfur conflict and peace is growing. This increase in the number of news providers resulted from the growing of the audience. This finding agrees with Bratic views understanding of the impact of conflict on audience and how audience reacts to the media in the time of the conflict.

The results of the current study agree with (Ekram Boshra 2012) noted that peace agreements did not get space on national media, moreover, negative reporting of local and regional media institutions. This explained

the increasing of the disputes in Darfur rather than promoting a culture of peace.

This study found that news program format was the preferred format. The study revealed that people listened to international radio stations focused in Darfur because they get news and information not covered in Sudan national radio. Also international stations were broadcasting interactive programs hosting people affected by the conflict. As a result, Darfur conflict is re-escalated due to media coverage. There is information need and competitive challenges will require many radio stations to change these reporting approaches, coverage plan and editorial guides of operation. The key aspect is taking into consideration the emergence of Darfur conflict dynamics and technologies, such social media software which requires the creation of multidisciplinary approach to produce radio programs across radio stations focus in Darfur and national radio.

However, the results of the study reveals that media role in transformation conflict and peace building lies in their ability to establish an environment that is sustainable at all times. Media usage guides the direction of radio stations to engage audience in peace operation. This is important because most radio stations not consider peace elements in their production. This is study results related to (Bratic 2006) who proposed that working within these parameters, look at types of messages, audience and conditions in the environment where media have the most powerful impact.

Given the findings of the current study and views expressed by other scholars, it can be concluded that media usage and conflict transformation and peace building are related and there is need for media outlets to plan properly by having audience media usage element which to be base decision that priorities are program planning and promote peace building.

Discussion of Research Hypothesis Two:

Media exposure would influence attitude of Darfur Vulnerable people towards conflict transformation and peace building.

The second hypothesis was developed from the second research objective. It aimed at assessing the relationship between media coverage and attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building. The hypothesis was verified and accepted for this study.

The major areas analyzed in coverage affects were the news affect, news content effects, hard news coverage, media frames and impact of coverage on conflict transformation and peace building. These elements were considered important in the study and they are core of media exposure variables.

The results indicated that the media coverage is highly related to conflict transformation process, especially as it related to the issues of peace building.

The researcher analyzed the results of the current study along those of other scholars in this field and other in which a correlated situation established. The researcher noted that the institution involved in news providing and information sharing such as radio stations have a mission that is to provide quality information in hostile environment.

This view related to findings of the study because all radio station covered by this study were focused coverage and news generating and their missions have been evaluated by audience.

It was well illustrated by respondents in the study that news affected and effects them and their communities. It revealed by the most of the participants that news on Darfur crisis has effects on attitude and behavior of people. This supported by (Vladimir Bratic 2006) he noted that media has influence in society through reporting of information that affects attitude and behavior of people. Researcher pointed out that the

double processing activities, between reporting of information and audience that news media provide, promote itself to audience by reporting information and at the same time influence audience by reporting of information, where affect on attitude and behavior take place. Given findings of the current study, it can be deduced that news content is a key media coverage in radio stations, but coverage will impact by number of factors; situation, message and approach of coverage. This related to the (Steverin & Tankord 2001) who define framing is refer to media coverage of different issues with focus on what should be included in coverage and what should be exclude. This means that news content is different, therefore, news reporting can have influence on how it is understood by audience.

During the study, it was revealed that the radio stations broadcast different content, because of dynamics of peace and conflict in Darfur, media outlets cover Darfur do not report only facts about insecurity, causalities and peace events. In such context like Darfur one, news content has direct influence on the ways vulnerable people think and react.

(Bratic 2006) noted that in the time of conflict media outlets consider direct impact of conflict on audience in order to predict their behavior. This Bratic view contradicted with the current study results, hard news, such looting, killing and raping contributed to the mobilization of people towards conflict.

However, coverage of both national and international radio stations created more confusion among war affected people in Darfur. For example, Dabanga radio is covering Darfur conflict with the clam that to increase information flow, update people on insecurity issues and reporting conflict news stories, this reporting approach and flow of information affected audience attitude towards conflict.

In the other hand Sudan national radio is rarely reporting news from Darfur, this approach affected vulnerable audience in Darfur. Researcher noted that National radio approach made war affected people feel isolation and reinforce the discrimination feeling among displaced people in specific.

However, true to the study that good coverage is not a complete entity in itself, especially in the context such Darfur conflict. Coverage is a transactional process across news and information users and consumer, especially when it comes to information that related to war affected people.

It should be noted from current study that flow of information is most important element that the radio stations provide because it has effects on individuals, groups, conflict parties and peace building actors, but poor reporting and lack of engaging vulnerable audience in coverage that led to division among individuals and communities in Darfur.

This result of the current study relates to (Hattotuw 2002) who noted that media can play distractive role within peace context, it can report on issues that reinforce negative image of enemy. In the recent years, there are peace agreements had been signed between Armed groups and government of Sudan, these agreements provide positive situation for peace actor, but continuing of reporting insecurity affected limited positive outcomes of peace agreements.

The study further found that media framing is important element in the analysis of media effects on conflict transformation and peace building of Darfur situation. Media frame is a topic or event to specific issue or political actor (Entamn 2004) this definition is very important to explain the effects of media in Darfur context. International media framed the Darfur conflict as Arab vs. no-Arab or Arab vs. African, the term non-Arab and African is inter-changeable term used by media.

This frame influences citizens and vulnerable people attitude, politicians, media institutes and interested groups in Darfur conflict. In the other hand Sudanese government media framed conflict as farmers vs. nomads' conflict, this frame in context of Darfur is similar to Arab vs.non-Arab frame.

The communication scholars tracked frames to study trends and dimension across types of media and compare coverage. This idea relates to current study results that revealed that international media use frame to describe any case of conflict. It labelled Darfur conflict as Arab vs. African. This study note that this frame is not accurate and simplified Darfur conflict. Sudanese government national radio adopted framers vs nomad frame which is old form of traditional conflict in Darfur. Both frames affected people and dynamics of Darfur conflict.

(Entman 2004) explained that frame located in the minds of individuals that guide them to processing information. The current study further noted that Arab vs. African frame adopted by conflict parties to recruit supporters. Media developed news frames such, Janjaweed, Ethnic cleaning and genocide, all these frames built around the idea of Arab vs. African frame.

Furthermore, the current study results revealed that this frame widened division among communities and negatively contributed to escalation of conflict. Tribal conflict rapidly increasing in Darfur that is one of the impact indicator of this frame. This frame limited local peace builder role, whom against current conflict in Darfur. Moreover, the impact of this frame affected displaced people, they become more violent and aggressive against media. This result supported by (Goffman 1974) when he pointed out that media put a frame for any issue, which provide that issue a context for understanding information and enable us to locate, perceive, identity and label.

International media coverage gave Arab vs. African frame an importance, which affected conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur.

This study found that covering of conflict issues and dynamics contribute to the escalation of the conflict through shaping of public opinion at national and international level. Additionally, coverage draws a negative image in communities, conflict divided people into displaced group and host community group.

This situation divided people political opinion into, some people putted the blame into government and its has a hand on their miserable situation. Other group putted the blame on the armed groups, who caused the displacement and violence in Darfur.

The current noted that term displaced people (IDPs) creates stigma among displaced people, affected social relation and increased political recruitment.

The results of current study that related to impact of media coverage on conflict, it has contradiction relation with views of (Jeong 2000) on conflict transformation, who explained that conflict transformation works to create news situation involving conflict issue, perception, relationship and communication patterns. This means that media coverage of conflict limited the opportunities of conflict transformation.

Statistical results of the current study, radio stations, coverage mobilized some people to support conflict parties. The study found that conflict parties compete to have space over media coverage. Armed groups do not host and national media due to number of political reasons and national radio coverage approach this situation offered opportunities to armed groups to have space in international media, especially radio stations focus coverage in Darfur. In other hand government media supported government discourse, host officials and paly propaganda role for military intervention and operation. These reasons cause national radio to

lack the trust of war affected people. This means that media use by both conflict parties incite the escalation of the conflict.

From the findings of the current study and analysis of views expressed by scholars in other studies, it can be concluded that the variable of media coverage is the media effect itself. It affected conflict transformation in many ways, the station need to put more balanced news and programs to overcome media effects on Darfur conflict.

Discussion of Research Hypothesis Three:

Variations in media effects of media framing and agenda setting affected attitude on Darfur people towards conflict transformation and peace building. It aimed at establishing the relation between variation in media coverage and conflict transformation and peace building. The result of Chi-Square and from data analysis of sector three, sector four and sector five, we accepted the third hypothesis.

The findings of current study were discussed with those scholars in the field of media effects, conflict and peace studies. For example, (Gamson & Modigliani 1989) they explained relation between media and audience, media discourse is important factor in media effect, as the vital element for individuals to construct meaning, shaping public opinion and journalists develop meaning in public discourse.

This explanation of media effect process relevant to current study results, where news media effects were found to affect all process of conflict transformation and peace building. Media coverage role can be believed by both the current study and other scholars that it is able to help the conflict transformation and peace building organization to achieve their aims, register success, effectiveness in situation of conflict such as Darfur one. This is in line with media effect framing theory which argues that media coverage of different issues that affect audience. E.g. conflict and peace

how are characterized in news reporting and what influence can has on audience.

The results of the current study on variations in media coverage related to (Clase 2005) who found that generic news frame may be identified and use to understand national media difference in news coverage. This current study investigated differences coverage effect. Also this study results supported by (McCombs & Shaw 1974) whom documented media effect history. They noted that scholars studied media and its relation to attitude, behavior, opinion and relation between media and violence. This study results revealed that respondents are not fight when they listen to insecurity reporting. Furthermore, the stations cover Darfur conflict are contributed to escalation of conflict, but do not contributed to shift in attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building.

Above results supported by (Goffman 1972) who explained that in the context of conflict and peace, people understand framing base on which way peace and conflict framed. This view related to the current study results that revealed National radio station framed Darfur conflict as insecurity event and military operation, these frames affected situation in general, but have limited shift on attitude of war affected people to be engaged in fighting. That means station have limited capacity to make impact on attitude of Darfur people towards conflict transformation.

The analysis of the relationship of variation coverage related to cooperation in conflict transformation, the statistical results revealed that people will cooperate to reduce the tension and fighting, but war affected people negatively responded regard being part of conflict.

The findings of the current study are further supported by (Schoufele 2000) who noted that media coverage making unplanned impact, but the most important issue remains in the mind of the audience. He elaborated

that that, in political situation, media able to bring issue to the attention of public and make public perceives the issues as important.

These are media process and practices, in compare to Darfur context, the current study results revealed that coverage of United Nation Security Council Resolution positively contributed to reduction of conflict. The public perceived that the resolutions drove conflict parties to setting for negotiation and restriction of military operation. (MacComb & show 1972) noted that agenda setting is an issue that has strong relation between media, place and way media interacting with audience in public agenda. This study results revealed that stations interacted with people on different issues that included UN resolution that created sense of protection among war affected people.

This is clear, that media affected war affected people and change their perception through inject UN resolution in media agenda. This study result supported (Vladimir Bratic 2003) media has influence in societies through reporting of information that affects attitude and behavior of people. This results of the study indicate that for radio station to make positive effects for all Darfur people, these station need to develop specific achievable coverage plan that make shift of war affected people attitude towards conflict transformation and peace building.

Media agenda which was examined in the current study an important coverage aspect. This related to (Schoufele 2000) who noted that agenda setting for media coverage will make impact, in context of conflict media have ability to set the agenda and it can impose the main topic to be discuss by public. This mean that media agenda is very important for ensuring smooth coverage of any radio station.

Talking about framing and agenda as valuable coverage aspects, (MacCombs 1993) argued that news report information about specific issue, this how agenda setting take place. So when media reporting stress

on one attribute of an issue, this how framing of issue occurs. This related to the current study in different aspects of media effects, especially UN resolutions, insecurity events, peace talks, these issues covered inline with stations coverage to Darfur conflict. However, according to the current results and other studies, people in Darfur depend on radio as source of news and information. This is where is need for comprehensive coverage plan to streamline the process of coverage and effects. This view supported by (Ibrahim Albozai 2011) who argued media planning has strong relation with the production of effective peace building programs, which it can support the reinforcement culture of peace.

Further, the current results of the current study on variations in media coverage related to views of (MacCombs 1993, Entman 2004) both agreed on frame definition “Its is an attribute of respective issue” Researcher believe the development of framing and agenda setting are different, but both created separately, but they are interacting whereby one creates conditions for other.

The results of the current study revealed that national radio and international ones covered Darfur peace agreements processes. Statistical analysis confirmed that coverage have positive impact on respondent and their families’ life. Moreover, media covered international community peace efforts, negotiation locations, Hybrid force and peacekeepers deployments. The interaction between framing and agenda related to peace agreement, the coverage led to division among armed groups, which contributed to complexity of solution and escalation of the conflict. The above views and results supported by (Semetko & Vakenburg 2000) framing affects behavior of audience that can take place, audience uses frames adopted by politicians, media or citizens. This means that media usage and discussion, audience can adopt frames. So the impact of peace

agreement on attitude of war affected people in Darfur guided by media coverage.

Galtung concepts of positive, negative peace and violence triangle, these concepts allowed the current study to investigate variation of media coverage. In the context of this study media can be social institute based on Galtung concepts. These concepts lined with finding of this study, results revealed that media agenda are moving between peace and war agenda, that means media agenda changes and develop according to changes of conflict context in Darfur. Furthermore, current study results revealed media coverage play propaganda role during the military operations between conflict parties.

This result related to Galtung concepts, especially violence triangle concept. But the result contradicted with conflict transformation concept of (Lederach 2003) who argued that conflict transformation to envision and respond to conflict as opportunity for creating constructive change process, reduce violence, increase justice and respond to real life problem in human relation. This view means that the coverages do not focus on role of media in conflict transformation, it portrayed Darfur conflict as endless conflict through flow of information that escalated conflict, violence and affect peace building process.

In the final analysis, therefore, the results of the current study and views expressed by other scholars on relation between variation of media coverage of framing and agenda setting affect in attitude of people towards conflict transformation and peace building, indicates that there is valid relationship, this value has to be put into consideration for any development is to be undertaken.

Recommendations:

The study was capable to come up with the following recommendations:

Radio stations should develop programs and strategies to attract vulnerable people to be engaged into peace building process in Darfur. This is very important because low levels of peace issues coverage were found to be a major factor affecting the conflict transformation and peace building. There is also need to develop means by which radio stations can attract audience in order to reduce conflict tendency which was found to be unpredictable.

Radio stations should adopt production exchange and journalists exchange, which will help journalists not to look at these stations as competing institutions, but sources of knowledge and information. This can be achieved by having an arrangement of third party such UNAMID that can help journalists enhance skills through access facilities of other radio stations which will enhance learning and contribute to conflict transformation and peace building in fragile regions.

Management of radio stations should put in place modern production technologies, especially adoption of social media audience research tools such frontline SMS software in order to make sure they are able to plan properly and avoid propaganda and rumor spreading. There's need to priorities what should be included in coverage to avoid unforeseen circumstances in conflict context.

Cooperation should be established between radio stations and conflict resolution and peace building organization such united nation–African Mission in Darfur (UNAMID)to make sure whenever insecurity takes place, it can be easily accessed through UNAMID operation which can provide logistics. Such support can be arranged at conditions that support peace building process.

The radio station management should put more focus on media role in conflict resolution to avoid any reporting which will contribute to escalation of conflict. Stations should adopt United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) guidelines concerning conflict resolution and peace building, promotion human rights and peaceful solutions to avoid unnecessary dissatisfaction caused to vulnerable people due to lack of sensitiveness in war reporting.

Open space form media, special media for development that will positively contribute a balance of coverage and coverage includes a range of issues which are not included in news media.

The researcher recommended the need for future study into the following areas:

- 1) A comparative study can be carried out between Omdurman and Dabanga radio stations to see how they've addressed Darfur conflict and peace.
- 2) There is highly a need for study on the effect of journalists' competency on performance of radio stations focused on broadcasting in Darfur
- 3) A related study can be carried out on the contribution of Alsalam radio and UNAMID radio to peace building in Dafur .

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Appendices

Appendix One: survey questionnaire

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جامعة السودان للعلوم والتكنولوجيا

Sudan University of Technology and Science

كلية الدراسات العليا والبحث العلمي

College of Graduate Studies

مركز دراسات السلام

Centre for Studies and Culture of Peace Studies

استبيان

Questionnaire

مقدم بغرض جمع البيانات والمعلومات المرتبطة باطروحة الدكتوراة للعام 2016

بغنوان أثر الاعلام في تحويل النزاع وبناء السلام والقياسات - دراسة حالة ازمة دارفور

المقدمة من الدارس: عباس التجاني محمد صالح

اشراف: بروفيسر/ سعد عبيد ودكتور/ عاطف عجيب

افيدكم بأن البيانات والمعلومات التي تدلي بها لن تستخدم الا لاغراض هذا البحث فقط. كما ان

سريتها تكون مكفولة. عليه ليس مطلوب منك ان تكتب اسمك او توقيعك.

الرجاء الاجابة على الاسئلة الواردة في هذا الاستبيان بصراحة وامانة، دقة ووضوح، والرجاء

ايضا وضع علامة (X) امام الاجابة التي تراها مناسبة في المربع المخصص لذلك ما لم ينص

على غير ذلك.

This questionnaire aims to collect information related to PHD proposal 2016. I acknowledged that information provided will be used only for the purpose of this research. Therefore, it is not required to write my name or my signature. Please answer all questionnaire question with honesty, accuracy and frankness, please put (X) in around the answer that you think is adequate and in its right place unless otherwise required.

مع خالص شكري

2016

Section one: primary Information

1. Address: العنوان State الولاية _____ Locality المحلية _____

location المنطقة/المعسكر _____

2. Gender النوع: male ☐ رجل Female ☐ امرأة

3. Age العمر:

Less than 20years ☐ اقل من 20 سنة 21 – 40 years ☐ 20 - 40 سنة

41 – 60 years ☐ 60 – 41 سنة 61 years more ☐ 60 سنة فاكثر

4. Education التعليم:

Basic ☐ اساس High school ☐ ثانوي ☐ university

جامعي

Post Degree ☐ فوق الجامعي

Other (specify):.....(اذكرها) اخري

5. Marital Status الحالة الاجتماعية

Married ☐ متزوج single ☐ عازب ☐ divorced
مطلق widow ☐ ارملة

6. Family members عدد افراد الاسرة

Between 0 -2 ☐ بين 0 -2 ☐ between 3 – 6

بين 3 -6

Between 7 - 1 ☐ بين 7 - 10 ☐ 11 and more ☐ 11

فما فوق

7. Number of males عدد الذكور:

Between 0 -3 ☐ بين 0 -3 ☐ between 4 -6 ☐ بين 4 -6

7 and more ☐ 7 فاكثر no one ☐ لا يوجد

8. Occupation الوظيفة:

Public sector ☐ قطاع عام private sector ☐ قطاع خاص
unemployed ☐ لا اعمل

Civil society ☐ مجتمع مدني other (specify)

.....(اذكرها) اخري

Section Two: القسم الثاني

Part (A): life history: الجزء (أ) التاريخ الشخصي

9. Where are you from (originality) (الأصلية) ماهي منطقتك

.....

10. How long have you lived here? كم من الزمن عشت هنا؟

0 -3 years ☐ 3-0 سنوات 4 -6 year ☐ 6-4 سنة 7 ☐ years

9 - 7 سنة

10 -12 years ☐ 12 - 10 سنة 13 years and more ☐ 13 سنة فاكتر

11. Do you regularly listen to radio? هل تستمع الي الراديو بانتظام؟

Yes ☐ No ☐ only sometimes ☐

12. How many years have you listened to the radio كم سنة تستمع الي الراديو

الراديو

0 -3 years ☐ 3-0 سنوات 4 -6 year ☐ 6-4 سنة ☐ 9 years

9 - 7

10 -12 years ☐ 12 - 10 سنة 13 years and more ☐ 13 سنة

فاكتر

Part (B) Media Usage

13. What are your best sources of information ما هي افضل المصادر لك في

الحصول علي المعلومات؟

Radio ☐ الراديو Television ☐ التلفزيون newspaper ☐

الصحف

Internet ☐ الانترنت community leaders' ☐ قيادات المجتمع

14. What are radio stations you listen to ماهي المحطات الاذاعية التي تستمع

اليها

Omdurman ☐ اذاعة ام درمان Dabanga ☐ دبنقا Afia Darfur ☐

عافية دارفور

Local Station ☐ الاذاعة المحلية other (specify)

..... اخري (اذكرها)

15. What is your best time to listen to radio ما هو الوقت المفضل لديك للاستماع للراديو؟

Morning ☐ الصباح afternoon ☐ النهار evening ☐ المساء
Night ☐ الليل other ☐ اخري

16. What are your preferred programs? ما هي البرامج المفضل لديك؟

News ☐ الاخبار social program ☐ البرامج الاجتماعية
cultural ☐ البرامج الثقافية

Religious ☐ البرامج الدينية other ☐ اخري

17. What are preferred news topics? ما هي موضوعات الاخبار المفضلة لديك؟

Political ☐ الاخبار السياسية incident news ☐ اخبار الاحداث
social ☐ الاخبار الاجتماعية

Peace ☐ اخبار السلام other ☐ اخري

18. Did you participate in any radio program? هل شاركت في اي من برامج الراديو

Yes ☐ نعم No ☐ لا name of the Station..... اذكر اسم الاذاعة

19. What is your opinion on coverage of following stations?

ما هو رأيك في التغطية الخبرية للمحطات الاذاعية الاتالية

No الرقم	Station المحطة	Excellent ممتاز	Very good جيد جدا	Good جيد	Moderate متوسط	Poor ضعيف
1	Omdurman Radio اذاعة ام درمان					
2	Dabanga Radio اذاعة دبنقا					
3	Afia Darfur Radio					

	اذاعة عافية دارفور					
4	Local station الاذاعة المحلية بالولاية					

القسم الثالث: اثر الاعلام Section three: media effects

20. Did news on Darfur crisis and peace affect your behavior with people around you?

الاخبار حول ازمة دارفور و السلام اثرت في طريقة تعاملك مع المجتمعات من حولك

لا ☐ disagree ☐ اوافق ☐ agree ☐ اوافق بشدة ☐ Strongly agree ☐ اوافق

لا ادري ☐ I don't know ☐ لا اوافق بشدة ☐ Strongly disagree ☐

21. News content on Darfur crisis affect your community/ family members

محتوي الاخبار حول ازمة دارفور اثر علي افراد مجتمعك/ اسرتك؟

لا ☐ disagree ☐ اوافق ☐ agree ☐ اوافق بشدة ☐ Strongly agree ☐ اوافق

لا ادري ☐ I don't know ☐ لا اوافق بشدة ☐ Strongly disagree ☐

22. Some news of looting, killing and other mobilized people towards conflict

بعض الاخبار عن النهب الناس اتجاه النزاع دفعت

لا اوافق ☐ disagree ☐ اوافق ☐ agree ☐ اوافق بشدة ☐ Strongly agree ☐

لا ☐ I don't know ☐ لا اوافق بشدة ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ اوافق

23. international media framed Darfur conflict as Arab vs African, did that affected your life

اظر الاعلام العالمي الصراع في دارفور علي انه عرب ضد غير العرب اثر ذلك في حياتك

لا اوافق ☐ disagree ☐ اوافق ☐ agree ☐ اوافق بشدة ☐ Strongly agree ☐

لا اوافق

Strongly disagree ☐ لا اوافق بشدة I don't know ☐ لا ادري

24. Impact of radio stations Coverage on Darfur conflict **اثر التغطية**
الخبرية لاصراع في دارفور في:

Description البيان	Strongly agree اوافق بشدة	Agree اوافق	Disagree لا اوافق	Strongly disagree لا اوافق بشدة	I don't know لا ادري
Conflict increased that before war ارتفاع النزاعات قبل الحرب					
Conflict escalated after starting of conflict ارتفاع حدة النزاع بعد بداية الحرب					
Degree in security and safety قل مستوي السلامة والامن					
Government responded to insecurity in Darfur استجابة الحكومة للاحداث في دارفور					
Global attention to Darfur conflict اهتم العالم بالصراع في دارفور					

25. Did radio station coverage to Darfur crisis affected your attitude towards conflict

اثر تغطية المحطات الاذاعية لازمة دارفور علي سلوكك اتجاه الصرع الحالي في دارفور
نحو الاتي:

Description البيان	Strongly agree اوافق بشدة	Agree اوافق	Disagree لا اوافق	Strongly disagree لا اوافق بشدة	I don't know لا ادري
Increase of tribalism ارتفاع حدة القبلية					
Regional bias التحيز الجهوي					
Support one of conflict parties التضامن مع طرف من اطراف الصراع					
Gender stereotype الصورة النمطية للمرأة					
Work to achieve peace العمل علي تحقيق السلام					

Section four: conflict transformation and peace building

26. what you do when you listen over radio news about insecurity incidents

ماذا تفعل عندما تسمع من خلال الرديو اخبار عن الاضطراب الامنية في دارفور

Description البيان	Yes نعم	No لا	لا ادري
Physically you fight تقاتل			
You get sad تشعر بالحزن			
You yell at people around you تصرخ في اوجه			

الناس من حولك			
Whatever I felt like doing افعل ما اشعر به لكي افعله			
No action ليس لديك ردة فعل			

27. Are you cooperating with others when you hear news about insecurity incidents?

تتعاون عندما تسمع اخبار عن الاضطرابات والاحداث الامنية

Description البيان	Yes نعم	No لا	لا ادري
Help people to understand what happened تساعد الذين من حولك لفهم ما حدث			
Helping others who have been affected by the incident تساعد الذين تضرروا في الحادث			
Being part of the conflict parties تنضم لاحد ا طراف الصراع			
Cooperate with others to reduce the tension تتعاون مع الاخرين لتقليل التوتر			
No action ليست لديك ردة فعل			

28. Do the peace agreements positively affect your life and your family?

التي تم توقيعها لانهاء الحرب في دارفور اثرت اجابا علي حياتك و حياة اسرتك اجابا اتفاقات السلام

Yes ☐ نعم No ☐ لا I don't know ☐ لا ادري

29. UN resolutions on Darfur conflict have impact on conflict transformation and peace process قرارات الامم المتحدة حول النزاع في دارفور لها اثر في تحويل النزاع وبناء السلام في دارفور

Strongly agree ☐ اوافق بشدة agree ☐ اوافق disagree ☐ لا اوافق

Strongly disagree ☐ لا اوافق بشدة I don't know ☐ لا ادري

30. What do you think about the reporting of peace issues of radio stations you listen to?

ما هو رأيك حول تغطية مواضيع السلام من خلال المحطات الاذاعية التي تستمع اليها؟

Excellent ممتاز	Very good جيد جدا	Good جيد	Moderate متوسط	Poor ضعيف
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. How satisfied are you with coverage of peace agreements and peace talks over national and local radio? هل انت راضي عن التغطية الخبرية

لاتفاقات ومحادثات السلام من خلال الاذاعة القومية والمحلية

Very satisfied ☐ راضي تماما somewhat satisfied ☐ راضي لحد
neutral ☐ محايد

Very dissatisfied ☐ غير راضي تمام somewhat ☐ غير راضي لحد ما
dissatisfied

32. What do you think about role of international radio stations (Ddabanga and Afia Darfur) in Darfur peace process ما رائيك في دور

اذاعة دبنقا في عملية السلام في دارفور؟

Excellent ممتاز	Very good جيد جدا	Good جيد	Moderate متوسط	Poor ضعيف
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

33. What do you think about role of international radio stations (Ddabanga and Afia Darfur) in Darfur peace process ما رائيك في دور

اذاعة عافية دارفور في عملية السلام في دارفور؟

Excellent ممتاز	Very good جيد جدا	Good جيد	Moderate متوسط	Poor ضعيف

34. What do you think on role of national and local radio in conflict transformation and peace building? كيف تري دور الاذاعة القومية و المحلية في عملية تحويل النزاع و بناء السلام؟

Excellent ممتاز	Very good جيد جدا	Good جيد	Moderate متوسط	Poor ضعيف

35. What is missing in radio stations' coverage to Darfur conflict transformation and peace.

ما هو المفقود في تغطية الاذاعات المحلية لتحويل النزاع و بناء السلام في دارفور؟

.....
.....

36. Do you have any comment, suggestion or recommendation هل لديك تعليق، اقتراح او توصية؟

.....
.....

Thank you very much خالص الشكر

Appendix Two: Interview Questionnaire

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

جامعة السودان للعلوم و التكنولوجيا

Sudan University of Technology and Science

كلية الدراسات العليا

College of Graduate

مركز دراسات وثقافة السلام

Centre for Studies and Culture of Peace Studies

حافطة اسئلة المقابلات

1. كيف تصف الدور الذي لعبه الاعلام المحلي في ازمة دارفور

how do you describe the media role in Darfur Crisis?

2. ما هو تعليقك على تغطية المشروعات الاعلامية العالمية (دبنقا، عافية دارفور) التي

تركز بثها على دارفور؟

what is your opinion on international media projects focus their

coverage on Darfur?

3. هل تعتقد ان التغطية الخبرية لاذاعة السودانية ودبنقا وعافية دارفور اسهمت في

تطور الازمة في دارفور؟

do you think mews coverage of Sudan national Radio, Dabanga

radio and Afia Darfur Radio escalated Darfur Crisis?

4. في تقييمك ما هي التحديات التواجه المتأثرين بالحرب في دارفور في استقبال

المعلومات المقدمة من الاذاعة السودانية والمحطات الاذاعية التي تركز بثها على

منطقة دارفور؟

how do you evaluate the challenges that face war affected

people in Darfur, when they receive information provide by

Sudan national Radio and international media projects focus

their broadcasting on Darfur Crisis?

5. الي اي مدي إثر الاعلام في سلوك وافعال النزحيين والمجتمع المستضيف؟
to what extent, do you think media affected attitude and action
of internal displaced people and host community in Darfur?
6. هل تعتقد ان المحطات الاذاعية اسهمت في دفع بعض من سكان دارفور نحو
مناصرة الي طرف من أطراف الصراع؟
do you think radio station mobilized population to support one
of conflict parties?
7. ما يدور من صراع في دارفور تم تاثيره من قبل الاعلام العالمي على انه صراع
بين المجموعات العربية ضد الافريقية؟ الي اي مدي تعتقد ساهم هذا الإطار في
الاستقطاب الاثني وزيادة وتيرة النزاع؟
international media described conflict in Darfur as conflict
between Arab against non –Arab, to that extent do you think
this frame helped in ethnic recruitment and increase conflict
tendency?
8. الاعلام السوداني وصف ما يدور في دارفور بانه صراع بين الرعاة والمزارعين؟
كيف ساهم هذا الإطار في حدة الاستقطاب القبلي والاثني؟
Sudanese media described Darfur conflict as a conflict between
nomads vs farmers, how this frame contributed to tribal and
ethnic recruitment?
9. في تقديرك كيف ساعد الاعلام في التحول من التعايش السلمي الي حالة الاحتراب؟
in your opinion, do you think media contributed to the shift in
context from peaceful coexistence into war situation?
10. المحطات الاذاعية التي تركز بثها في دارفور (دبنقا، عافية دارفور) هل ساهمت في
تغير سلوك المتأثرين بالحرب في دارفور اتجاه تحول النزاع او بناء السلام في هذا
الاقليم الملتهب؟
do you think international radio stations focused in Darfur are
contributing in changing war affected people attitude towards
conflict transformation and peace building?

11. هل الاذاعة السودانية/ الاذاعات المحلية ساهمت في تغير سلوك المتأثرين بالحرب في دارفور تحويل النزاع وبناء السلام في دارفور؟

do you think, Sudanese national radio and local radio contributed to change in attitude of war affected people towards conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur?

12. الاجندة الاعلامية متغيرة وديناميكية، هل تعتقد ان اجندة الحرب والسلام ساهما في ارتفاع وتيرة النزاع؟ وبدورها اثرت على سلوك المتأثرين بالحرب؟

do you think media agenda of war and peace contributed to escalation of conflict and impacted war affected attitude?

13. كيف تقيم انعكاسات القرارات الاممية على مجريات الصراع في دارفور وما هو أثرها علي النازحين و المجتمعات المستضيف؟

how do you evaluate impact of united nation security council resolutions on conflict dynamics? And how affected internal displaced people and host community?

14. تعدد منابر التفاوض (ابوجا، سيرت، ابشي، الدوحة واثيوبيا) حول ازمة دارفور هل أربكت المستمعين واثرت على سلوكهم اتجاه النزاع؟ هل ذلك صور لهم بان السلام بعيد المنال؟

do you think, changes of peace talks locations confused audience and impacted their attitude towards conflict? Do you think this change in location of peace talks pictured peace too far to war affected people?

15. الي اي مدي اسهمت الاتفاقيات التي تم توقيعها بين الحكومة والحركات المتمردة في تحويل النزاع وبناء السلام في دارفور؟

to what extent do you think peace agreements signed between government and rebel groups contributed to conflict transformation and peace building in Darfur?

16. كيف تقراء إثر التغطية الخبرية لانشقاقات الحركات المسلحة؟ وإثر ذلك على المتأثرين بالحرب؟

how do you evaluate impact of media coverage on armed groups' divergence? And what its impact on war affected?

17. ما هي الموضوعات التي لم تغطي في الاذاعة السودانية/ دبنقا وغيرها، يمكن ان تسهم ايجابا في بناء السلام؟

what are topics did not cover on Sudan national radio, Dabanga and other radio station that could contribute positively to peace building?

18. هل هناك نموذج اعلامي للتعامل مع حالات النزاع مثل ازمة دارفور (للاعلاميين فقط)

is there any media module to be adopted to tackle conflict like Darfur one? (this question for media expert only?)

Appendix Three: Interviewee List

No	Name	Position	Address	Date of interview	Remarks
1	Mahjob Mohammed Salih	Editor in Chief	Alayam Daily Newspaper	7/8/2016	
2	Abdallah Adam Khatir	Columnist Writer	Expert in Darfur Conflict	1/8/2016	
3	Faisal Mohammed Salih	Journalist	Teeba Press	10/8/2016	
4	Prof. Attaa Albathani	Political Science Professor	University of Khartoum	8/8/2016	
5	Ahmed Almahdi Jowa	Radio Journalist	Nayal Radio Station in South Darfur	15/6/2016	
6	Khalid Ahmed Danna	Radio Journalist	Director of Radio & TV in Central	20/06/2016	