



# MEDIA FOR PLURALISM TOOLKIT

SUSTAINABLE INDEPENDENT MEDIA  
ACTIVITY (SIMA) SOUTH SUDAN



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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>AA</b>	Associate Award
<b>ACLED</b>	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project
<b>AKF</b>	Aga Khan Foundation
<b>AMDISS</b>	Association for Media Development in South Sudan
<b>CSM-STAND</b>	Civil Society and Media-Strengthened Together and Advancing in New Directions
<b>DEI</b>	Diversity, Equity and Inclusion
<b>GCP</b>	Global Center for Pluralism
<b>IDS</b>	Inclusive Development Strategy
<b>LGBTI</b>	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex
<b>LTTE</b>	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
<b>LWA</b>	Leader with Associates (award)
<b>SIMA</b>	Sustainable Independent Media Activity
<b>TRC</b>	Truth and Reconciliation Commission



## INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS THE TOOLKIT ABOUT?

Sustainable Independent Media Activity (SIMA) partners the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) and the Global Centre for Pluralism (the Centre) have developed this toolkit to support media actors in South Sudan. The purpose of this toolkit is to provide media actors with a set of analytical concepts, practical tools and frameworks to support their role in promoting a more inclusive and peaceful society. By applying pluralism concepts and tools to their work, journalists can promote respect for diversity by facilitating dialogue and understanding and by contributing to social cohesion in fragile and post-conflict contexts, such as South Sudan. This toolkit aims to empower media practitioners in their important role in supporting peacebuilding.

The toolkit covers comprehensive content to support media practitioners with the necessary knowledge and tools to identify and discuss issues of inclusion and exclusion in a conflict-sensitive approach. The curriculum will help media actors, including the Association for Media Development in South Sudan (AMDISS) and other SIMA<sup>1</sup> partners, to adopt long-term practices to integrate pluralism into their day-to-day work to support unbiased, accurate and fair content development while reducing discriminatory and divisive narratives that contribute to exclusionary attitudes.

### OBJECTIVES:

**With the above overall purpose, the specific objectives of the toolkit include the following:**

**Building Capacity:** The primary objective of this toolkit is to enhance the knowledge and analytical skills of journalists for covering issues of inclusion and exclusion in conflict-affected contexts, such as South Sudan. The toolkit deploys a set of applied concepts, user-friendly modules and practical frames. The applied relevance of the content seeks to build the capacity of media actors in producing accurate, unbiased and balanced reporting, a key goal of SIMA. The toolkit draws on the Centre's **Global Pluralism Monitor**, a tool that measures the state of pluralism in societies and produces recommendations for progress. The Monitor's analytical value for journalists has been illustrated through applied case studies.

**Enhancing Conflict Sensitivity:** The toolkit aims to equip media professionals with conflict-sensitive techniques, such as framing. The concepts and case studies aim to support the analytical skills of media actors in recognizing the impact of news reporting in situations of conflict, enhancing their capacity to contribute to peacebuilding efforts and in preventing the exacerbation of tensions in divisive narratives in media. The toolkit also includes models and frameworks on conflict analysis and the role of media in different phases of conflict prevention, de-escalation and reconciliation.

**Promoting Respect for Diversity:** The toolkit's content is based on rigorous academic research and applied knowledge about effective strategies to promote social cohesion in fragile and post-conflict societies. The modules will introduce users to the concepts of pluralism, diversity and inclusion to promote dialogue, understanding and respect for group differences and to support social cohesion. The content aims to strengthen the knowledge and analytical skills of journalists in identifying trends and gaps on pluralism in their societies and prompting dialogue about areas of improvement in institutional responses, social narratives and everyday behaviours of people toward group differences and inequalities.

**User Guide:** This toolkit is designed to be a comprehensive and accessible resource for media professionals. The following is a brief guide on its components

**Structure:** The toolkit is organized into six distinct modules, each focusing on specific aspects of pluralism concepts and their application to media work. The structure uses a clear logical sequence of topics and issues.

**Modules:** Each module contains prompts for applications to media work, academic research findings, expert insights, case studies and exercises with multiple-choice questionnaires. The case studies are based on academic research of real events from countries that have similarities to the broader context of South Sudan. The content is presented in plain language and user-friendly format, allowing for easy absorption and application of concepts. All the research and case studies included are cited for additional and more detailed exploration of the specific sections if users choose to explore topics more deeply.

**Applied Relevance:** The toolkit places a strong emphasis on the application of concepts and analytical frames with illustrated prompts for application in media work. There are step-by-step guides and indicators that can be immediately applied in day-to-day media work.

**Self-Assessment:** All modules have exercises that have the dual purpose of enhancing learning outcomes and encouraging users to engage in self-assessment and reflection on the concepts and their practical application.

**Ongoing Support:** The content of this toolkit is aimed to be delivered through training workshops. The training sessions are conducted over several workshops and include ongoing mentorship and other support for users as needed.

**Training Workshops:** To better comprehend and apply this toolkit, it is suggested that users participate in a training workshop for this toolkit. Participants will analyze all the concepts and case studies through group discussions, exercises and interaction with other participants and explore the application of models in their specific contexts and work.

**Methodology:** This toolkit has been developed through an action-research and co-creation approach, including two pilot workshops organized by SIMA partners with a group of 20 South Sudanese journalists.

A baseline assessment was conducted through a survey aimed to collect evidence on the needs and capacity of media actors who will use this toolkit. The assessment<sup>2</sup> findings highlighted important insights on professional competencies, training and facilitation needs and challenges, knowledge gaps, interests and preferences. This toolkit has been developed based on these findings, and the content (such as the scope and depth of topics, concepts, models and case studies) and facilitation methods have been tailor-made in a co-creation process with maximum input and feedback from the group of journalists.

**Facilitator's Guide:** A separate facilitator's guide on this toolkit for media trainers in South Sudan will be produced in early Year 2 (Y2) of SIMA.

It will include a detailed description of how to conduct training for the content of this toolkit.

1 - SIMA is an Associate Award (AA) carried out under the Civil Society and Media-Strengthened Together and Advancing in New Directions (CSM-STAND) Asia EE LAC and Africa, MENA Leader with Associates Award (LWA). It is implemented by the CSM-STAND consortium, with Pact as the holder of the leader award and recipient of the AA, and IREX as implementing lead of this AA. SIMA's goal is to improve access to credible, accurate, and reliable information for South Sudanese citizens by promoting the sustainability of high quality, independent radio operations.

2 - See 'SIMA\_Baseline Assessment/GCP\_July 2023'

## Module 1

# INTRODUCTION TO PLURALISM

In the first module, we will explore what pluralism means in different contexts, how it is different from similar concepts, such as gender equality, diversity and inclusion, and what types of group identities are linked to inequalities in a society. Then, we will reflect on the contemporary global relevance of pluralism and discuss why it matters in today's world.

### What is in it for me?

It introduces pluralism, group identities, biases and the differences between related concepts (multiculturalism, diversity and inclusion).

Users discuss global relevance of pluralism and why it matters in the context of South Sudan.

## SESSION 1: WHAT IS PLURALISM?

Before defining pluralism, let's think what words come to mind when you hear the word pluralism? Think of related, similar or words that are close in meaning!

- respect
- co-existence
- tolerance
- empathy
- trust
- harmony
- inclusion
- multiculturalism
- dignity
- differences
- diversity
- recognition
- belonging
- acceptance
- prespectives
- individual
- choices
- social behaviours
- mindset
- inclusive laws and policies
- inclusive institutions

### Now let's think about some words that are opposite to the meanings of pluralism!

- assimilation
- exclusion
- discrimination
- marginalization
- fear
- hatred
- stereotypes
- biases
- mistrust
- prejudice
- injustice
- hostility
- violence
- forced displacement

### Group Identity

Most of these words refer to behaviors or policies of inclusion or exclusion based on biases toward individual or group identities. Identity is plural both on individual and group levels.

#### Here are some examples of group identity:

- gender and sexual orientation
- race, ethnicity, nationality indigenelity
- geography
- class and caste
- age
- refugees, displaced people
- language
- education
- disability
- political affiliation
- urban and rural
- pastoralist and agrarian
- foods
- sports



## Biases

Biases are forms of stereotypes and/or perceptions that individuals or groups hold toward other individuals or groups based on the group identities. Such prejudices influence how people perceive and treat others from different groups. The following are several examples of biases based on group identity:

**Racism:** Discrimination and prejudiced attitude toward individuals from perceived racial or ethnic backgrounds.

**Sexism:** Unequal treatment or attitudes toward individuals based on their gender, often favouring one gender over another.

**Xenophobia:** Discrimination against foreigners and people from different nationalities or cultural backgrounds that leads to hatred and hostility.

**Homophobia:** Biases based on the sexual orientation of individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and/or queer.

## Access to or Denial of Rights and Opportunities

In our societies globally, people experience discrimination and marginalization based on their identities on multiple levels and varying scales. Perceptions of group affiliation can influence access to rights or denial of opportunities. In many countries, ethnic, religious or sectarian and/or linguistic identity is often linked to socio-political hierarchies in terms of socially practiced norms of equality and opportunities and political rights.

**This brings us to the universal reality: diversity of identities is a fact in every society!**

Even in mono-ethnic, mono-religious or mono-linguistic countries - where the majority of the population is considered to be from the same ethnicity, religion or language - there are other identities, such as gender, class, geography, age and so on, that influence rights and opportunities for individuals and groups.

While diversity is a universal fact, equal rights and opportunities for all members of a society are not. This brings us to how the Centre defines pluralism. **Pluralism is a systemic approach to embracing and celebrating diversity.** What distinguishes pluralism from other similar concepts, such as social cohesion, inclusion and multiculturalism? Pluralism takes us beyond measures to “include” or “tolerate” previously excluded groups into existing systems and structures. Instead, pluralism focuses on engagement with group differences in a systemic approach that can be transformative, giving members of a society a road map to collectively design and redesign systems over time to challenge intolerance, counter power imbalances and advance values and behaviours of respect and belonging. For example, multiculturalism specifically refers to policies that celebrate diversity in cultural practices, such as music, literature, customs, languages and beliefs. Pluralism considers the treatment of diversity in all walks of life, including legal, political, economic, social and cultural—and even in physical/geographic spaces.

### What is Pluralism?

When everyone feels that they belong as equal and legitimate members of a society. It refers to the decisions and actions taken by institutions and individuals to respond positively to differences, to see diversity as the basis for more just, peaceful and equitable societies. When diverse voices are represented accurately and when prejudice and ignorance are challenged, intergroup trust is strengthened and, over time, more stable and resilient societies are advanced.

Another similar concept is that of “diversity, equity and inclusion” (DEI), which refers to policies of inclusion within a workplace, organization or institution. How does inclusion or exclusion from rights and opportunities based on identity happen or change over time in a country? To better understand and distinguish pluralism, the Centre looks at the dominant policies and behaviours in a country through the frames of recognition and belonging.

## Recognition

Diversity (in all its forms) is recognized through laws and policies and how they are implemented and practised. Are there legal and other mechanisms to challenge the implementation of laws by institutions and individual behaviours that violate such laws and policies? Recognition of diversity is also manifested in the cultural norms and everyday behaviours of people. For example, the constitution or law in a country may state that every citizen of the country, regardless of gender, ethnicity, language, religion or any other group identity, has the equal right and opportunity to hold public office in the country—or run for the leadership of the country. But, in reality, positions of public office, especially senior leadership roles, are occupied by individuals from one specific group (gender, racial, ethnic, religious, linguistic group and so on), despite expansive diversity (gender, racial/ethnic, religious, linguistic and so on) in the population. Thus, diversity is recognized in the laws and constitution, but it is not implemented or practiced by the institutions and individuals in that country.

## Belonging

Belonging is the feeling of connection, satisfaction, security and support with social groups, physical places, and individual and collective experiences (workplace, society, country). It is an individual’s sense of acceptance and inclusion in a country that goes beyond the legal “right” to be in a country. Research in different academic fields, such as biology, neuroscience, psychology and sociology, have established that belonging is a fundamental human need and linked to our well-being. When individuals feel a strong sense of belonging, they are more likely to actively participate, contribute and support inclusive practices. The sense of belonging is linked to recognition, when laws and policies on diversity are implemented and individuals practice respect for diversity in their everyday attitudes.

For a longer list of terms for concepts within pluralism, diversity and inclusion, [please see Annex II](#).

## SESSION 2: WHY PLURALISM MATTERS?

Now that we have established what pluralism means and how it is distinct from other similar concepts, we will discuss why pluralism is important and identify some issues related to inequalities based on group identities in our societies.

### Inequalities are Drivers of Conflict



Research shows that risks of conflict increase with greater horizontal (or group-based) inequality. The United Nations (UN)-World Bank *Pathways for Peace* report notes that “many of today’s violent conflicts relate to group-based grievances arising from inequality, exclusion and feelings of injustice.”<sup>3</sup> The social costs of violence are worse for the most vulnerable, further exacerbating inequalities. The report argues that the best way to prevent conflict is to ensure that societies are resilient through investments in inclusion and social development.

**Inequalities Impede Development**



The World Bank’s Inclusion Matters report notes that, within countries, development investments produce unequal benefits.<sup>3</sup> Certain groups consistently encounter barriers that keep them from fully participating in their country’s social, political and economic life. Group-based identities have long been acknowledged as drivers of inequality-gender, race, ethnicity, religion, indigeneity and so on.

**Inequalities are Unjust and a Denial of Human Rights**



Respect for diversity is a foundational principle of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which underpins pluralism and establishes a universal and legal basis for institutions and policies that facilitate pluralism.

**Global Challenges**



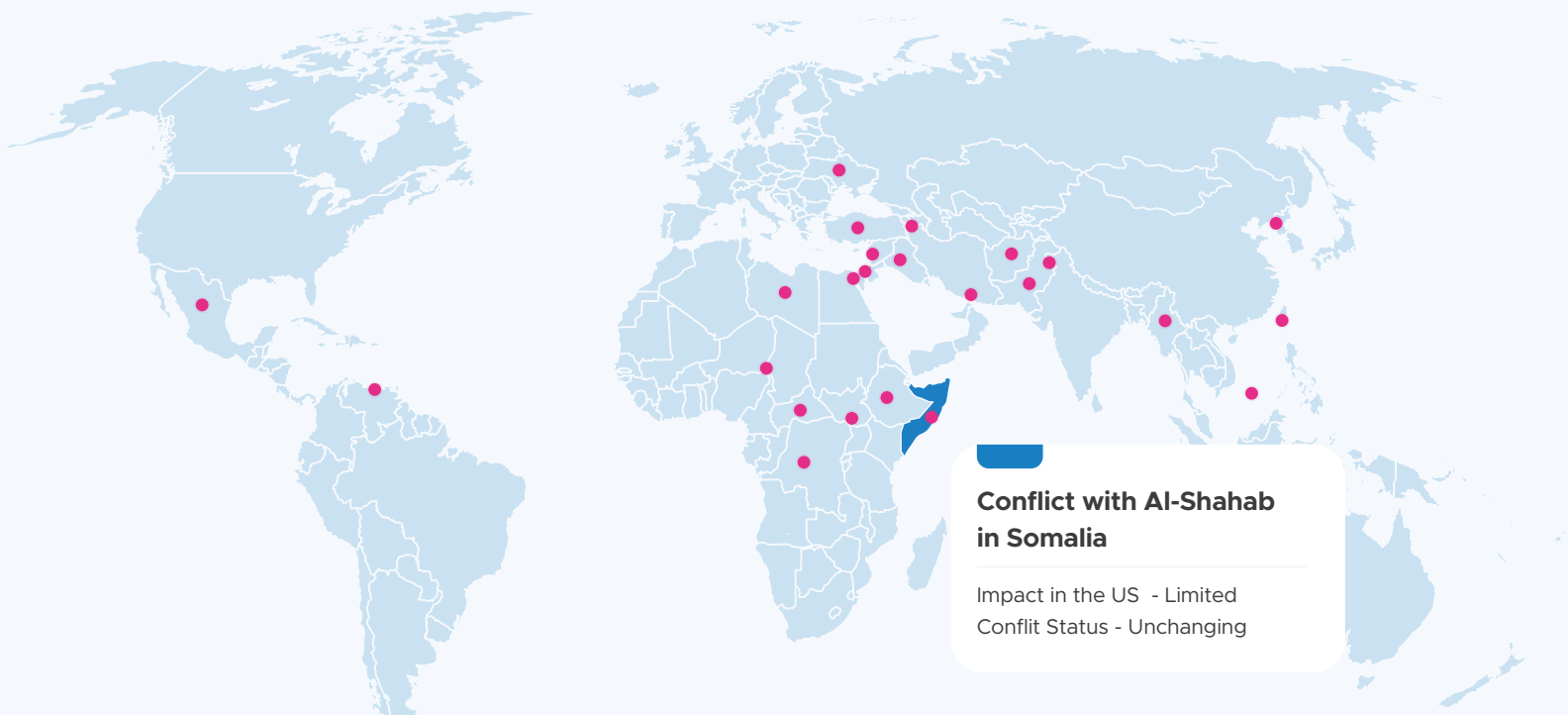
Humanity’s collective challenges of climate change, pandemics and wars require collective action on a global scale. With rising global polarization, it has become more important than ever to promote understanding, dialogue and co-operation.

Many armed conflicts and violence around the world are closely linked to group-based inequalities and failure to manage diversity. Due to the importance of conflict in our context, we will examine two maps and their related data next.

**GLOBAL CONFLICT TRACKER**

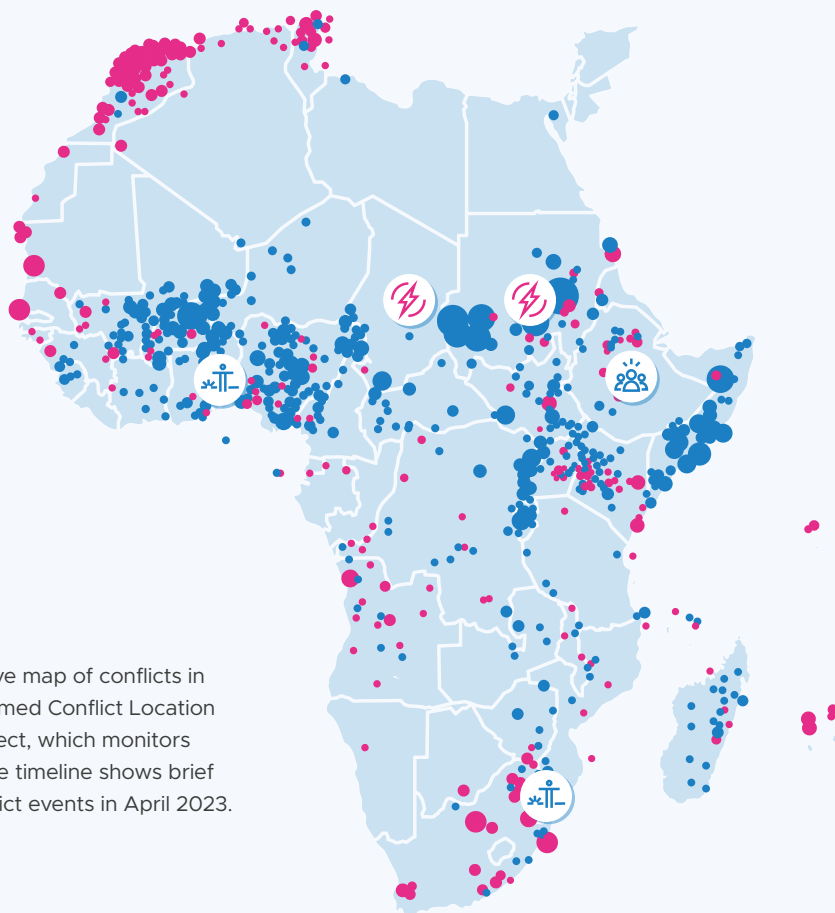
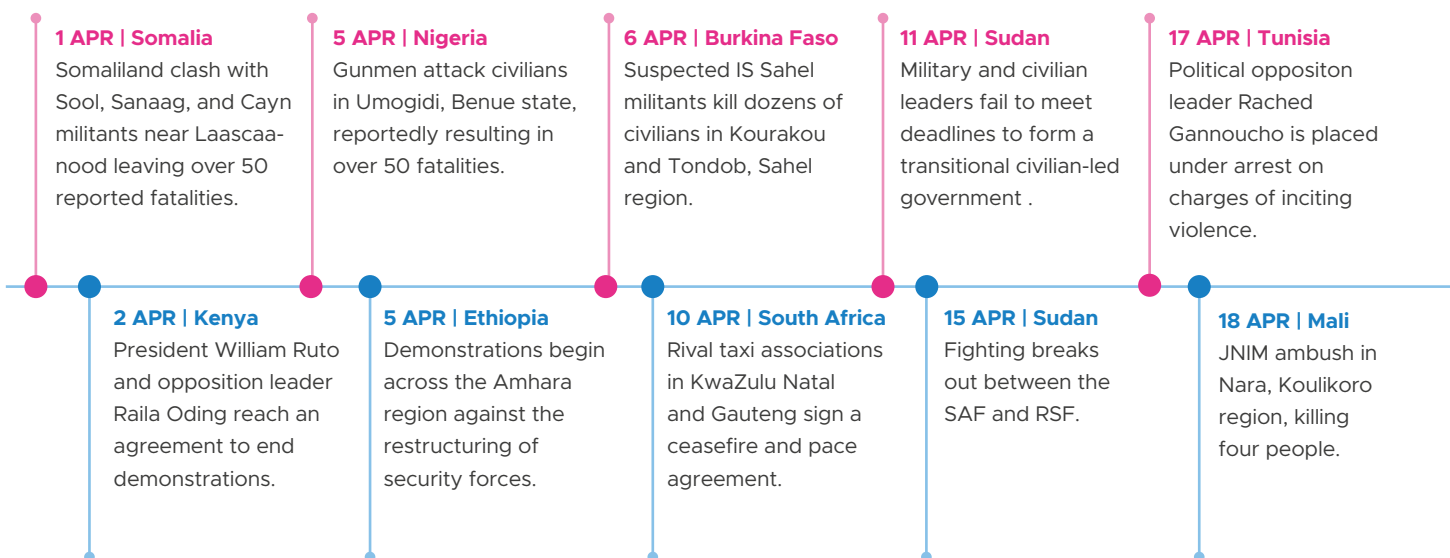
Methodology

Center for Preventive Action



**Map 1:** A map of conflicts across the globe tracked by the Council on Foreign Relations, a US think-tank.

<sup>3</sup> - United Nations and World Bank, [Pathways for Peace](https://www.pathwaysforpeace.org/), n.d., accessed October 12, 2023, <https://www.pathwaysforpeace.org/>; Edith M. Lederer, “UN Told Failure to Deal with Diversity is Root Cause of Wars.” AP News, October 21, 2021, accessed October 12, 2023, <https://apnews.com/article/thabo-mbeki-sierra-leone-burundi-sudan-united-nations-8b700142cb570b2ef5b56775a71ed03e>.  
<sup>3</sup> - World Bank, [Inclusion Matters: The Foundation for Shared Prosperity](https://www.worldbank.org/) (Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction/The World Bank, 2013).



**Map 2:** This illustrative map of conflicts in Africa is from the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project, which monitors conflicts globally. The timeline shows brief descriptions of conflict events in April 2023.



## EXERCISE 1

Below is a list of questions with multiple answers based on the topics covered in Module 1. Please select the answers by circling your choice. After completing the exercise, you can compare your selections with the list of answers in [Annex I](#).

### 1. What is the definition of pluralism?

- A. A sense of belonging and acceptance
- B. The presence of multiple cultures, backgrounds, and identities
- C. Respect for diversity

### 2. What are some examples of group identity? Select all that apply.

- A. Language
- B. Religion
- C. Ethnicity, tribe, race or nationality
- D. Hairstyle
- E. Blood type

### 3. What is inclusion?

- A. The process of excluding certain individuals from society
- B. The deliberate segregation of communities based on religion or language.
- C. The practice of creating equal opportunities and participation for all individuals

### 4. Which of the following is an example of exclusion?

- A. Denying employment opportunities based on gender or ethnicity.
- B. Celebrating holidays that are important to the majority religious group in a country.
- C. Offering mentorship programs to support marginalized youth.

### 5. What is recognition?

- A. Celebration of achievements and history of all groups in a country
- B. The dominance of one cultural group over others
- C. The refusal to engage in conversations about diversity.

**6. Which of the following best defines diversity in a country?**

- A. A powerful leader and economic development
- B. The presence of a variety of group and individual identities
- C. The promotion of equal rights and opportunities

**7. Which term refers to a feeling of acceptance and connection within a group or country?**

- A. Recognition
- B. Belonging
- C. Diversity
- D. Inclusion

**8. Why is it important to challenge biases in society?**

- A. Biases have no impact on people's behaviours
- B. Biases can lead to unfair treatment and discrimination
- C. Biases do not exist in diverse societies
- D. Biases only affect certain racial or ethnic groups

**9. What is the role of individuals in promoting a sense of belonging?**

- A. Excluding those who are different from oneself
- B. Valuing and respecting diverse perspectives and identities
- C. Assigning labels and stereotypes to others

**10. What is the difference between pluralism and tolerance?**

- A. Pluralism focuses on diversity, while tolerance promotes assimilation
- B. Pluralism promotes equal opportunities, while tolerance accepts differences without meaningful engagement
- C. Pluralism perpetuates discrimination, while tolerance fosters understanding and acceptance

## Module 2

## MEASURING PLURALISM AND ROLE OF MEDIA

## SESSION 1: PLURALISM MONITOR ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK

In this section, we will discuss how the Global Centre for Pluralism measures the state of pluralism in a country. The Centre has developed the Global Pluralism Monitor as a tool to assess progress or deterioration of pluralism in a given context.

### What is in it for me?

It provides media actors like you with a unique analytical framework to look at issues of inclusion and exclusion, and to facilitate conversations among peoples and institutions in a country to prevent conflict and to support progress.

**The Global Pluralism Monitor Assessment Framework and Methodology are designed to measure inclusion and exclusion holistically across political, economic and social dimensions. The Monitor considers the roles of a variety of actors in society. The Framework spans five dimensions:**

- Legal commitments in support of pluralism
- Practices by state institutions to realize commitments
- Leadership towards pluralism from political parties, news media, civil society and the private sector
- State of inequalities between groups in society
- Intergroup relations and feelings of belonging

**Institutional arrangements** such as constitutions, legislatures, courts and systems of government, outline the legal and political spaces within which members of societies act. Cultural habits or mindsets shape our perceptions of who belongs and who contributes, and influence how we interact with one another every day.



**Media Actors play a key leadership role in supporting pluralism, by facilitating dialogue between individuals and institutional actors in a society on the gaps, trends and good practices by highlighting issues in the five dimensions described above.**

# GLOBAL PLURALISM MONITOR ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK

COUNTRY PROFILE

Commitments	Practices	Leadership	Group-Based inequalities	Intergroup relations and Belonging
International Commitments	Policy Implementation	Political Parties	Political	Intergroup Violence
National Commitments	Data Collection	News Media	Economic	Intergroup Trust
Inclusive Citizenship	Claims-Making and Contestation	Civil Society	Social	Trust in Institutions
		Private Sector	Cultural	Inclusions and Acceptance
			Access to Justice	Shared Ownership of Society

RECOMMENDATIONS



## GLOBAL PLURALISM MONITOR ASSESSMENT REPORTS

The Assessment Reports offer recommendations for policy-makers and practitioners on how to advance pluralism. A team of national experts on diversity and inclusion in a given country applies the Monitor Assessment Framework to produce a country report, drawing on a range of qualitative and quantitative data. The reports are grounded in local realities and designed to impact policy and practice by state and non-state actors about the following:

- ➔ **GAPS:** current state of pluralism and where to focus future interventions
- ➔ **TRENDS:** trajectories towards inclusion or exclusion over time
- ➔ **GENDER LENS:** treatment of women in societies and intra-group dynamics
- ➔ **CONFLICT PREVENTION:** identify signs of exclusion and marginalization before crisis is imminent
- ➔ **GOOD PRACTICES:** initiatives that are having a positive impact and can be learned from and/or further developed

**Since 2020, the Centre has launched assessments in 20 countries and is developing partnerships to support the work of pluralism champions worldwide.**

### Illustrative Assessment Questions

<p><b>Legal Protections and Commitments</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To what extent are there legal frameworks to recognize and protect the rights of diverse groups?</li> <li>• To what extent are the country’s citizenship laws and practices inclusive?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Implementation</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are policies implemented and laws enforced equally and fairly across groups?</li> <li>• To what extent is data on group-based inequality collected?</li> <li>• To what extent are groups able to make claims and engage in peaceful contestation?</li> </ul>
<p><b>Group-based Inequalities</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the level and extent of group-based inequalities across political, economic, social and cultural dimensions, as well as access to justice?</li> </ul>

### Role of Societal Actors

- To what extent do major political parties espouse pluralistic values?
- To what extent do diverse groups participate in news media as contributors and creators?
- Are group stereotypes reinforced in media?
- How prominent are civil society actors that champion inclusion and respect for diversity?
- To what extent do the workforce/leadership in large private companies represent diverse groups?

### Intergroup Relations and Belonging

- To what extent is there violence in response to ethnic, religious or cultural grievances?
- To what extent do civic actors bridge diverse groups to repair and build social capital?
- To what extent do diverse groups trust public institutions and is there intergroup trust?
- To what extent do diverse groups feel included and accepted in society?

## SESSION 2: ROLE OF MEDIA IN ADVANCING PLURALISM

News media and journalists play key roles in communicating about issues of inclusion and exclusion that help facilitate debate and action in countries to improve the state of pluralism. Media actors have the capacity to mirror diversity within a society, and it can also strengthen viewpoints about individuals' roles within that society. Expanding the notion of inclusion is essential for the development of pluralist societies. In the media space, inclusive policies ensure that diverse groups actively engage at every level—whether it involves creating their own content or partnering with others.

### The following are examples of questions used to assess the media's role in advancing or eroding pluralism:

- Are group stereotypes reinforced by the media?
- Does the news media's coverage reflect the country's diversity?
- How prominent are news media actors that espouse pluralism?
- How are diversity issues portrayed by publicly funded national news broadcasters?
- To what extent do diverse groups participate in news media as contributors or creators?
- Is news media available in diverse groups' native languages?
- Is there news media created by and for minorities?

Global Pluralism Monitor Assessment Reports for several countries highlight how mainstream media, often controlled by elites, can perpetuate negative stereotypes or group divisions to bolster support for political agendas (for example, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kenya and Bolivia). Many reports also emphasize that local media and the rise of digital media alternatives have supported democratizing the space and building representation for marginalized communities in media (for example, Australia, Bolivia, Colombia and Nigeria). This suggests an important entry point for local actors to focus on amplifying and coalescing disparate voices and perspectives to combat exclusionary narratives.

## Sri Lanka Report: Triumphalist Narrative

News media in Sri Lanka give prominence to Sinhalese Buddhist perspectives and concerns, reinforcing a Triumphalist lens on the issues that are selected for coverage in the news media space. Both media owners and journalists tend to adopt myopic, communitarian positions that reinforce communal prejudices and existential fears. Moreover, news media consistently promote government narratives that minimize minority grievances, especially in the case of state-owned media. The persistence of these patterns even after the defeat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) over a decade ago underpins the opportunity structure for the government to sustain a securitized state with heavy military spending and perpetuation of terrorism prevention laws that are now being used to target other groups in society, such as Muslim Sri Lankans. These dynamics sustain the basis for weak intergroup interactions and diminishes intergroup trust. Ultimately, the framing of news media coverage dominated by Sinhalese Buddhist owners and journalists is implicated in the unwillingness of the Sri Lankan government, and the voters who provide it as an electoral mandate, from building a program of reconciliation in order to reshape Sri Lanka into a more pluralistic society.

**Source:** Global Pluralism Monitor, Sri Lanka (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism, 2023).

## Nigeria Report: Language and Belonging

Major news media in Nigeria enable a form of “linguistic colonialism” that privileges English as a language to access power and opportunity, as well as elevating the language of Nigeria’s Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba citizens. The overrepresentation of some peoples and languages contributes to a major-vs-minor status distinction between groups. This is compounded by national news coverage that does promote sectional sentiments, heightening ethnoreligious cleavages, especially a North-South divide in the country. In this way, news media coverage and its blind spots fuel fears of group-based domination and propel group-based agitation and mobilization over perceptions of exclusion. This is especially pronounced in perceived marginalization and exclusions in resource distribution and government appropriations processes. The news media’s promotion of sectional sentiments also serves to worsen impediments to increasing recognition and belonging at the subnational state level where “indigenes” (those seen as original inhabitants of a state) seek to deny state-based services and resource allocations to serve “settlers” (Nigerians who moved to a state from another state recently or who are the descendants of those who moved to a new state). As might be expected, Nigeria reports a low sense of shared ownership of society among diverse groups. Afrobarometer (2016) reported that only 17% of Nigerians choose to identify with their national identity as opposed to their ethnic identity. This stands in sharp contrast with the average of 41% of peoples who identify with their national identity in 16 other African states that were part of that survey exercise.

**Source:** Global Pluralism Monitor, Nigeria (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism, 2023)

## Canada Report: Indigenous Population and Media

Despite providing extensive state resources that either support or directly generate Indigenous-led news media content and coverage, it is unclear how much of this news media content reaches non-Indigenous audiences. Conversely, official data indicates that Indigenous peoples are severely underrepresented in major news media companies that reach national audiences. This reality is implicated in the skewed coverage of a host of issues ranging from sexual and gender-based violence targeting Indigenous women to drug-related health issues and outcomes that are part of the lived reality for many Indigenous communities. National news coverage largely assigns blame to Indigenous peoples for the wide array of forms of violence they experience, while consistently externalizing blame when the same issues impact the non-Indigenous majority of the population. Unsurprisingly, Indigenous peoples have very low levels of trust in the health care system and its institutions. In fact, Indigenous peoples report feeling unsafe at high levels in institutions and spaces operated by the health care system. The national news media’s contribution to invisibilizing this lived reality for Indigenous peoples sustains the level of Indigenous peoples’ mistrust and insecurity as national news media blind spots prevent full accountability, which is essential to realize change.

**Source:** Global Pluralism Monitor, Canada (Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism, 2022).



## EXERCISE 2

Below is a list of questions with multiple answers based on the topics covered in Module 2. Please select the answers by circling your choice. After completing the exercise, you can compare your selections with the list of answers in [Annex I](#).

### 1. What is the purpose of the Global Pluralism Monitor Assessment Framework?

- A. To assess the quality of news media in a country
- B. To measure the state of pluralism in a country
- C. To promote exclusion in society
- D. To evaluate economic growth in a country

### 2: What do Pluralism Assessment Reports offer to policy-makers and practitioners?

- A. Economic forecasts for a country's future
- B. Recommendations on how to advance pluralism
- C. Entertainment content for news media
- D. Promotional materials for political parties

### 3. What is the role of media actors in supporting pluralism?

- A. They encourage exclusion and division
- B. They highlight gaps and trends in pluralism
- C. They only focus on political parties
- D. They limit dialogue in society

### 4. Which dimension of the Global Pluralism Monitor assesses the inequalities between groups in a society?

- A. Legal commitments
- B. Practices by state institutions
- C. Intergroup relations and feelings of belonging
- D. Leadership toward pluralism

### 5. Why is understanding cultural habits important in assessing pluralism?

- A. They have no impact on pluralism
- B. Cultural habits shape how we interact with each other
- C. They only affect economic dimensions
- D. Cultural habits are not relevant to pluralism

### 6. How do Pluralism Assessment Reports address conflict prevention?

- A. They predict economic crises in advance
- B. They identify early signals of exclusion and marginalization before crises occur
- C. They promote conflict among different groups
- D. They analyze stock market trends

## Module 3

## MEDIA AND VIOLENT CONFLICTS

As discussed in the previous modules, research has established that group-based inequalities are drivers of conflicts. When inequalities exacerbate and institutions fail to manage diversity and reduce inequalities, group-based tensions and hostilities increase and lead to violence and conflict. In this module, we will briefly explore the role of media in situations of conflict.

### What is in it for me?

This module discusses framing techniques in media reporting and how it influences actors in situations of conflict.

News media (newspapers, radio, TV and online) has a major impact in situations of conflict. Media can influence the escalation or de-escalation of opposing sentiments in situations of violent conflicts. **There are many historical cases where media actors played key roles in exacerbating violent conflicts:**

<b>Rwandan Genocide:</b>	<p>This is a textbook example of the role of media in encouraging and sustaining genocidal tendencies. <b>Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines</b> and the national Radio Rwanda took active roles in fomenting ethnic hatred among citizens, driving the Hutu people to kill at least half a million of the Tutsi population in 1994.</p>
<b>Balkan Wars:</b>	<p>The media played a central role in fueling ethnic tensions in the Balkan wars, in which the Serbian state controlled the media to promote its <b>campaign against Kosovar Albanians.</b></p>
<b>Iraq War:</b>	<p>Coverage of the Iraq conflict by American media failed to investigate and challenge the United States government's assertions about key elements in the conflict, such as the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and the links between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda.</p>

There are many other examples of violent conflicts around the world in which both mainstream institutional media actors and social media users have influenced conflicts. We will look deeper into the dynamics of media reporting in conflicts in the next sections. One of the concepts used to look at how media functions is framing.

## FRAMING

Framing in media refers to dissemination of messages in ways to highlight, emphasize or obscure some aspects of the message over others. News framing refers to the process of organizing a news story, thematically, stylistically and factually, to convey a specific storyline and narrative, and to promote a

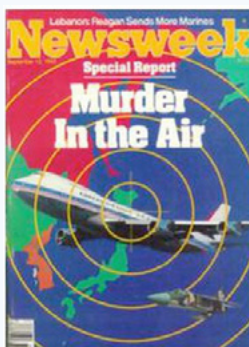
particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation. Robert M. Entman, a scholar of media and public affairs in the US, has identified the following specific patterns of framing in media<sup>4</sup>:

- ➔ **Importance:** Media producers can make choices about how they portray events in the news. They can make certain events seem bigger or smaller to make them more or less important. Together with the words and pictures used to show an event, they also decide how much information about the event is available and how often it is shown. This process determines the event's importance. Sometimes, news reports are made bigger to get the attention of a large group of people who are unaware of a specific issue or incident. Other times, the news is made smaller to make an event seem less important. This means it gets less coverage, and people are less aware of it. This aspect of framing measures and decides how important a news event is in politics.
- ➔ **Agency:** Agency refers to identifying actors in an event and building a narrative of what causal force created the newsworthy story.
- ➔ **Identification:** News narratives highlight shared cultural identification with subjects/topics of an event/issue, usually supporting perceptions of “us vs. them”.
- ➔ **Categorization:** When news reporting involves “us vs them” narratives, it uses moral or technical categorization of an event.
- ➔ **Generalization:** This takes place when specific events are generalized to a population, and the contextualization of an event links to broader social issues and a society.

### Case Study

#### Media Framing

On September 1st, 1983, a Soviet fighter plane shot down Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007, killing its 269 passengers and crew. On July 3rd, 1988, a US Navy ship, the Vincennes, shot down Iran Air Flight 655, killing its 290 passengers and crew. In both cases, military officials identified a passenger plane as a possibly hostile target; in both cases, the perpetrating nation's officials claimed the shooting was justifiable under the circumstances. The magazine covers show reporting of the incidents by two major US news magazines. What observations can you make in the framing of the two incidents on these magazine covers? To illustrate framing pattern through a specific example, let's dive deeper into Robert M. Entman's research study about the KAL and Iran Air incidents.



4 - Robert M. Entman, "Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrast in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents," *Journal of Communication* 41:4 (1991): 6-27.

Case Study

### Media Framing

The words and images reported on the KAL incident placed it in a moral framing, while the Iran Air incident was in a technical framing. There are four separate prominent aspects of the text that help create the moral or technical frame: the consistent use of words and images that portray responsibility for the reported action, or agency; which in turn encourage or discourage identification with those directly affected by the act; that then advance a particular categorization of the act; and that stimulate or suppress broad generalization from the act.

Agency is the identification of who caused the event. Attribution of agency is a common feature of news headlines. The headlines in the magazines frame agency in different ways for the two incidents. The Newsweek cover after the KAL incident is headlined “Murder in the Air”; the title on the lead article is “A Ruthless Ambush in the Sky.” The Time cover headline is “Shooting to Kill/The Soviets Destroy an Airliner”; the lead story is “Atrocity in the Skies/The Soviets Shoot Down a Civilian Airliner.” The framing in the KAL headlines intimate that the Soviet government knowingly acted to destroy a civilian airliner.

In contrast, the Newsweek cover about Iran Air is “Why It Happened.” There is no agency attributed. Time relegated the Iran Air shootdown to the corner flap, which said, “What Went Wrong in the Gulf.” Again, no agency; passive voice and abstract language are used. That is, not who did wrong but what went wrong.

**Table 1: Coverage of KAL and Iran Air Incidents in three categories of media**

	KAL		Iran Air	
Time and Newsweek	51	Pages	20	Pages
CBS <sup>a</sup>	303	Minutes	204	Minutes
New York Times	286	Stories	102	Stories
Washington Post	169	Stories	82	Stories

**Table 3: Use of words “attack” and “tragedy” in coverage of KAL and Iran Air**

	KAL		Iran Air	
	“Attack” n	“Tragedy” n	“Attack” n	“Tragedy” n
Time and Newsweek	38	21	0	23
CBS	10	9	12 <sup>a</sup>	15
New York Times	99	48	30 <sup>b</sup>	32
Washington Post	66	43	24 <sup>c</sup>	40

**Table 4: Use of assertions portaying Soviet action n the KAL Incident and U.S. action in the Iran Air incident as deliberate or a mistake**

	KAL		Iran Air	
	Deliberate n	Mistake n	Deliberate n	Mistake n
Time and Newsweek	39	2	2 <sup>a</sup>	13
CBS	6	0	7 <sup>a</sup>	6
New York Times	79	6	15 <sup>a</sup>	50
Washington Post	51	16 <sup>b</sup>	13 <sup>c</sup>	40

Source: Robert M. Entman, “Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrast in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents,” Journal of Communication 41:4 (1991): 6–27.

## Effects of Framing

News framing plays a powerful role in shaping political and policy decision-making, and public perceptions. Framing influences and shapes the political and policy implications of issues and events. The patterns of framing described can influence public perceptions, political responses and policy-making processes. The section below examines how news framing can shape political and policy impact.

## Political and Policy Impact

Framing can influence what political representatives and policy-makers prioritize in their decision-making. When news media consistently highlight and emphasize certain problems or policy solutions, politicians may feel pressured to prioritize those issues and decide on specific responses. Politicians may adjust their statements, positions or policy proposals based on how the news media frames a particular event or political situation, including issues of group inequalities. Policy-makers may take media coverage into account when making decisions, especially in response to events that receive wide national coverage across the majority of the mainstream news media in a country.

### Case Study

#### **The media framing of KAL incident influenced political and policy responses:**

The House and Senate both voted unanimously (416–0 and 95–0) to denounce the KAL shoot-down as a “brutal massacre”, the result of a “cold-blooded barbarous attack” and “one of the most infamous and reprehensible acts in history”.

## Public Perception

News framing and the ways in which media actors represent events can impact how people think, interpret and react to events and issues. Framing can provoke emotional responses, shape attitudes and mindsets, and influence public opinion on specific political issues and policies. It informs and shapes peoples’ support or opposition to certain policies and attitudes.

#### **The KAL story convinced the American public.**

A poll showed 52% of those polled saying that President Ronald Reagan’s responses were not tough enough, 37% saying they were tough enough and only 3% saying they were too tough, suggesting that almost everyone polled accepted the Soviets’ moral guilt and hardly anyone rejected it.

A Washington Post-ABC poll found that 71% of those polled believed that the US naval vessel was justified in shooting down Iran Air 655, 74% believed Iran was more to blame than the US and 82% wanted to maintain the US military presence in the Gulf.



## Other Case Studies<sup>5</sup>

1

### Perception of Arabs after 9/11:

In a study, researchers found that news media cues leading to unfavourable evaluations of Arabs as extremists or immigrants after 9/11 were closely linked to intolerance for the expression of extreme perspectives by Arabs, support for immigration restrictions and opposition to minority empowerment.

2

### Threat to Public Order or Freedom of Speech:

Another study found that undergraduate political science students (in the US) were less tolerant of a Ku Klux Klan rally when the story was framed in terms of maintaining public order than when it was framed in terms of free speech rights.



**News framing highlights the role of media in promoting or harming pluralism.**

### Framing: Photos of Ukraine War in Russian and Western Media

A new study compared Ukraine war images in Russian and Western media. The study examined three Russian media outlets (Russia Today, Tass and Pravda) and three Western media outlets (Reuters, the Associated Press and Le Monde). On March 16th, 2023 and March 18th, 2023, the first 10 photos encountered on their websites were categorized. Most were on home/landing pages, others were found on “Live Update” pages or in the first Ukraine story encountered. A total of 20 photos from each outlet (10 on March 16th, 10 on March 18th) were categorized. In total, 120 photos were analyzed—60 from Russian media and 60 from Western media. Some were double listed if they were “hits” in more than one category (for example, “Suffering” and “Bloody”).

**Findings:** In Russian media, the most common category of photos included those of officials/diplomats/generals, with 27 catalogued. Nineteen photos were general in nature (troops not in combat, the Kremlin, meeting rooms, airplane, UN, a dam, portraits of deceased soldiers and so on). Of the 60 photos from Tass, Russia Today and Pravda, **none showed any Ukrainian victims**. Only one showed destruction in Ukraine, though it was blamed on Ukrainian soldiers. One photo showed “Donbas refugees”. In Western media, of the 60 photos, 29 showed destruction, and 19 showed suffering (six were “Bloody”). The “Suffering” photos included five of children, three of families and 10 of others—adults or victims who couldn’t be clearly identified.

**Source:** Steven Youngblood - the Peace Journalist, Vol 11 No 1, April 2022

<sup>5</sup> - Richard C. Reuben, The Impact of News Coverage on Conflict: Toward Greater Understanding, 93 Marq. L. Rev. 45 (2009).



## EXERCISE 3

Below is a list of questions with multiple answers based on the topics covered in Module 3. Please select the answers by circling your choice. After completing the exercise, you can compare your selections with the list of answers in [Annex I](#).

### 1. How can media impact situations of conflict?

- A. By promoting violence and aggression.
- B. By influencing the escalation or de-escalation of opposing sentiments.
- C. By restricting the flow of information during conflicts.
- D. By ignoring conflicts entirely.

### 2. Which historical conflict showcases the role of media in encouraging genocidal tendencies?

- A. Balkan Wars
- B. Iraq War
- C. Rwanda Genocide
- D. Syrian Civil War

### 3. What was the role of media in the Rwandan Genocide?

- A. It promoted peace and reconciliation.
- B. It fueled ethnic hatred and encouraged violence.
- C. It emphasized the importance of cultural diversity.
- D. It provided accurate and balanced information.

### 4. What concept in media refers to organizing a news story to convey a specific storyline and narrative?

- A. Ethnic framing
- B. Conflict resolution
- C. Framing
- D. Sensationalism

### 5. How does news framing influence political and policy decision-making?

- A. It has no impact on political decisions.
- B. It shapes public perceptions but not policy responses.
- C. It influences what political representatives and policy-makers prioritize.
- D. It only affects news media coverage.

### 6. In the comparison of Ukraine war images, what category of photos was most common in Russian media?

- A. Destruction in Ukraine
- B. Suffering and bloodshed
- C. Russian officials and diplomats
- D. Troops in combat situations

Module 4

# CONFLICT TYPES, PHASES AND OUTCOMES

## TYPES OF CONFLICTS:

In the toolkit’s introduction, we described group inequalities as drivers of conflicts, including many wars. In this module, we will dive deeper to explore what the types and phases of armed conflicts are, the standard approaches to conflict prevention and conflict resolution, and the role of media in all of this.

When differences among groups are not managed peacefully, it is a failure of pluralism. When inequality gaps widen among different groups on access to rights and opportunities in legal, political, economic, social and cultural walks of life, tensions escalate to hostilities and violence. This can lead to intense and violent confrontations among groups within a country or between countries, leading to loss of life, destruction of property and significant social upheaval. Armed conflict can be driven by various disagreements, such as political disputes, territorial claims, religious differences, ethnic tensions or struggles for resources and power. Armed conflict can take different forms, depending on the nature of the groups involved and the issues at stake. Understanding armed conflict and its typology is crucial for comprehending the complexities and dynamics of violent confrontations around the world. The Geneva Conventions<sup>6</sup> distinguish between two types of armed conflicts: international and non-international armed conflicts.

### What is in it for me?

It provides media actors like you with analytical frameworks to look at different types of conflict, its phases and outcomes. The tools highlight the role of media at different stages of conflict and how they influence conflict actors and general populations.

#### International Conflict

Occurs when one or more states use armed force against another state, regardless of the reasons or the intensity of the confrontation. The ongoing Russian invasion of Ukraine is an example of international armed conflict.

#### Non-international or intra-State conflicts

Take place within the borders of a single country, when two or more groups within a country use armed force against each other. Such conflicts occur for various reasons, such as control of power and resources or autonomy. Civil wars along ethnic, religious or linguistic divides are common examples of intra-state conflicts. The ongoing civil war in Sudan is an example of non-international armed conflict.



#### Internationalized conflicts

Are other situations of armed conflict that involve the explicit or implicit and unofficial involvement of militia fighters or state military forces from outside a country in an internal dispute in a country. In such cases, external powers become involved in a domestic conflict, either by supporting one side or through direct military intervention. For example, the conflict in Syria involves the presence of terrorist armed groups and fighters from many countries, as well as the involvement of state military forces from several countries. There are also many examples of internationalized conflicts, including the wars in Yemen, Libya and Somalia.

<sup>6</sup> - International Committee of the Red Cross, “How is the Term ‘Armed Conflict’ Defined in International Humanitarian Law?,” Opinion Paper, March 2008, accessed October 12, 2023, <https://www.icrc.org/en/doc/resources/documents/article/other/armed-conflict-article-170308.htm>.

## Phases of Conflict

Violent conflicts among groups within a country or between countries do not erupt overnight. Early signals of tension manifest in the forms of highly polarized and divisive narratives and accusations in media and other expressions of disagreements, including protest demonstrations.

The tool below shows the different phases of conflict, intervention and responses by internal or external actors, and the different outcomes, which will be described further.

### Role of Media

Media actors play important roles in all stages of a conflict, which includes identifying early signals and supporting prevention efforts, as well as exacerbating the escalation of violence or influencing other outcomes.

**Table of Conflict Phases<sup>7</sup>**

Conflict Phases	Early Signals	Escalation [of Violence]	De-escalation	Post-conflict
<b>Response</b>	Prevention	Management	Resolution (peacemaking)	Reconciliation (peacebuilding)
<b>Outcome</b>	Violence	Cease Fire	Negative Peace	Positive Peace

## Early Signals

When intergroup trust erodes over differences and disagreements, there are early signals of escalation before tensions turn into hostilities and violence. Such early signs that can lead to violent conflict in a country or between countries are crucial to identify, understand and address promptly to prevent further deterioration of social cohesion and conflict. Media actors play a crucial role in preventing or provoking such escalation. The early signals of conflict manifest in many ways. The following are some key early warning signals. The order of these signals does not represent a linear or interconnected escalation. These are general precursors of violent conflict that can occur in different order, scale and scope in different places:

- ➔ **Historical Grievances:** The continuation of and memories of marginalization and/or violence from the past that are not addressed in a systemic approach can create resentments, intergroup distrust and tension. Such historical grievances can be about unresolved conflicts and disagreements from the past that can reemerge. Memories of historical injustices, such as segregation and exclusion based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, language and/or other group identity markers, can shape present-day perceptions, and provoke and contribute to tension on contemporary disagreements and reinforce existing distrust and animosities.

<sup>7</sup> - The table is created by scholar Eytan Gilboa in "Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis, 93 Marq. L. Rev. 87 (2009)"

- **Resource Competition:** Competition over access to scarce resources, such as water, land, infrastructure and services, can also lead to intergroup tensions along ethnic, racial, religious, linguistic or geographical divides. When political arrangements and institutional systems and mechanism of fair distribution of resources do not function, disputes escalate into clashes and violence.
- **Marginalization:** When discrimination based on group identities, such as race, ethnicity, religion, language, geography, over political differences, access to resources or other issues are widespread and systemic, intergroup trust erodes and tensions emerge. When some groups are systematically excluded from social, economic or political opportunities, feelings of resentment and injustice grow, creating fertile situations for mistrust and tension.
- **Polarization:** When marginalization and grievances become widespread and develop strongly along group identity lines, such as race, ethnicity, religion, language, region and so on, communities become polarized. Such polarization manifests itself in widening political differences expressed through “us vs them” narratives and the distrust of national institutions and policies. Perceptions that the other side is responsible for social, cultural, economic and political problems become hardened.
- **Hate Speech:** Hate speech and other forms of prejudices targeting specific groups along racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious or social lines can deepen animosity and escalate hostile rhetoric. Such inflammatory language may come from influential figures, media or extremist groups and can escalate tensions rapidly into violent confrontations and armed conflict.
- **Hate Crimes and Violence:** Increases in the frequency and scale of hate crimes based on group identities can widen intergroup distrust and escalate tensions into cycles of retaliation and violent incidents.
- **Segregation:** Discrimination, marginalization, polarization, hate speech and hate crimes create a reinforcing cycle that can lead to physical and social segregation along group identities. This erodes intergroup trust and increases feelings of alienation that create fertile ground for hostility and violence.
- **Political Instability:** Political institutions, such as the legislature and judiciary, perform functions of conflict resolution. When power is monopolized to pursue exclusionary policies, it can lead to intergroup tensions and volatility. Such political instability can create a volatile environment of coup attempts or civil war.
- **Mobilization of Paramilitary or Vigilante Groups:** When national law enforcement institutions, such as police and the armed forces of a country, are unable to control situations of violence along group divides, segregated communities take matters into their own hands and mobilize armed vigilante groups and militias. Sometimes, state institutions, such as military and intelligence agencies, also support the emergence of such groups in situations of civil war. When such militia groups are formed along distinct ethnic, religious or ideological groups, it contributes to the worsening of instability and violence.

Strengthening institutional policies and practices and individual mindsets that embrace diversity are crucial interventions to address these early signs of intergroup tensions for conflict prevention. The Centre’s Monitor Framework is designed to detect and analyze patterns of early signals of conflict in societies and to provide a set of policy recommendations. When armed confrontations erupt, a retaliatory cycle of violence protracts conflicts in intensity, scale and duration. Many armed conflicts in the world today have been ongoing for over a decade.

Since prevention is a priority strategy, the remaining phases of conflict, intervention responses and outcomes will be described briefly below:

## Conflict Escalation

When conflict escalates into violence and war, it expands along different dimensions in no linear order, as shown below.<sup>8</sup>



According to scholars **Dean G. Pruitt and Sung Hee Kim**, the presence of more participants or parties to a conflict is a sign of a more escalated conflict. The amount of resources, such as time, money, and energy, that the parties devote can mean that the more resources devoted, the more escalated a conflict will be. A larger number of issues (territorial claims, access to resources and so on) and extreme tactics of violence further escalate conflicts. Extreme goals (separatist movements, calls for regime change) also indicate escalation of conflicts.

## De-escalation

When conflict erupts into intense violence, the priority interventions for domestic and international actors are to de-escalate the situation through facilitating mediation and negotiation between the conflict's parties. The priority objectives of interventions at this phase of conflict are to mitigate and contain the scale of violence and manage its outcomes through ceasefire agreements to allow for humanitarian aid, civilian protection and to initiate mediation and dialogue efforts to bring warring parties to negotiations. A **ceasefire** is a temporary halt to hostilities agreed upon by conflicting parties, allowing for negotiations and a potential pathway to peace agreement. Interventions at this phase of conflict management focus on minimizing the impact of ongoing violence. This involves efforts to control and limit the escalation of hostilities and may include peacekeeping operations and humanitarian assistance.



**Media is crucial in this sensitive phase of conflict when intergroup trust is at its lowest level, and animosities are high and worsening.**

## Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking

Mediation and negotiations aimed at conflict resolution are a long and complicated process that include peace talks. When peace negotiations succeed, it leads to peace agreements. As shown in the Table of Conflict Phases, the desired outcome of interventions at this stage of a conflict is to achieve peace agreements among warring parties. However, the stages of conflict, interventions responses and outcome do not occur in a linear fashion, as shown in the table. An actual situation of armed conflict may move forward and backward erratically, from ceasefires to the resumption of intense violence and peace talks, all simultaneously. When negotiations succeed and conflict parties agree to stop the violence, some basic parameters of resolution mechanism are agreed upon, and peace agreements are signed. The period during implementation of such agreements is crucial, with high risk of relapse into violence.

<sup>8</sup> - Escalation dimensions identified by Pruitt and Kim in "Richard C. Reuben, The Impact of News Coverage on Conflict: Toward Greater Understanding, 93 Marq. L. Rev. 45 (2009). Available at: <http://scholarship.law.marquette.edu/mlr/vol93/iss1/8>

## Media in the Early Days of South Sudan's Independence

In the initial period following South Sudan's independence, the ability of certain South Sudanese media organizations to broadcast live coverage of peace talks from Addis Ababa, using shortwave radio, represented a significant milestone. This achievement was particularly remarkable considering the various challenges faced in the wake of independence, notably the sporadic outbreaks of violence and the nascent state of the media sector. Moreover, this development served as an example of the pivotal role played by local media in South Sudan. By offering unprecedented access to crucial information in local languages, these organizations distinguished themselves from their international counterparts, marking a new era in the dissemination of information and in empowering citizens with timely and relevant news. This initiative underscored the importance of media in shaping public discourse and fostering a sense of community during times of transition and uncertainty.

## Media's Role in Northern Ireland Peace Process

Conflict and Media Studies scholar Graham Spencer has studied how the news media played a constructive role in the Northern Ireland peace process by facilitating communications between the parties. It offered a means for Sinn Fein and Unionist negotiators to communicate with each other about contentious issues, such as their stances on prisoner release, and it also allowed them to interact with others in their organizations and with external supporters. Journalists played a role in facilitating back-channel communications by sharing information outside their news coverage, influencing the thinking of negotiators and their future plans. As the Good Friday Agreement came closer to reality, news media coverage continued to have a positive impact by pressuring negotiators to keep talking instead of walking away and by fostering a sense of hope among the public that the long-standing conflict would finally be resolved. One journalist stated, "I think it is fair to say that there would have been no Good Friday Agreement without the media. There was simply no forum to get this thing started except through the news."

**Source:** Graham Spencer, "The Impact of Television News on the Northern Ireland Peace Negotiations," *Media, Culture & Society* 26:5 (2004): 603–23.

## Reconciliation and Peacebuilding

Reconciliation moves from formal peace agreements to a process of structural change that includes addressing the root causes of conflict. This process aims to change the relationship between the groups, from animosity to an outcome of harmony, trust and social cohesion. Reconciliation focuses on healing the divisions and building trust. It involves addressing grievances, promoting dialogue and fostering understanding among different groups. There is a distinction between resolution of a conflict and reconciliation or transformation. In academic field of Peace and Conflict Studies, when peace talks lead to conflict resolution but not to a formal process of reconciliation, it is called **negative peace**. Negative peace refers to the absence of open hostilities and violence, but it does not address the underlying root causes of the conflict. The lack of a formal reconciliation process could lead to renewed violence in the future. Peace agreements are usually between leaders of conflict parties and not between peoples from the conflict groups. If such agreements are fully implemented and respected over time, it can lead to improvement in trust. When conflict parties take formal structural measures for reconciliation, the situation moves from negative peace to **positive peace**, or from conflict resolution to conflict transformation. Positive peace goes beyond the cessation of violence and aims to address the root causes of conflicts, promoting social justice and addressing group inequalities. It seeks to build institutions for resilient societies with mechanisms to address differences peacefully and embrace diversity.



**The Global Centre for Pluralism, through a pluralism lens, has a unique approach to peace. You can read more in this paper.**

1

## South Africa's Reconciliation Process

South Africa annually has observed the Day of Reconciliation on December 16th since 1995, marking the end of the apartheid regime, with the intention to heal wounds and foster reconciliation in the country. The reconciliation process in South Africa after apartheid was a significant and complex undertaking that aimed to heal the wounds of the past and foster a unified and inclusive society. Key features of this process include the following:

**Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC):** The TRC provided a forum for victims and perpetrators of apartheid-era human rights violations to give testimonies and seek amnesty for their actions. The Commission played a crucial role in uncovering the truth about past atrocities and facilitating dialogue and understanding between different groups.

**Restorative Justice:** The reconciliation process focussed on restorative justice rather than retributive justice. It emphasized the importance of acknowledging past wrongs, promoting accountability and fostering healing and reconciliation between victims and offenders.

**Amnesty and Accountability:** The TRC offered amnesty to those who fully disclosed their involvement in human rights abuses, provided their actions were politically motivated and proportional to the political objectives. This allowed perpetrators to come forward and admit their actions in exchange for immunity from prosecution.

**Public Hearings:** The TRC conducted public hearings where victims shared their experiences, and perpetrators were given the opportunity to express remorse and seek forgiveness. These hearings aimed to promote understanding and empathy among different communities and to confront the legacy of apartheid.

**Reparations and Rehabilitation:** The reconciliation process also included efforts to provide reparations and support for victims of apartheid, acknowledging their suffering and helping them rebuild their lives and communities.

**Education and History:** The reconciliation process emphasized the importance of education and re-writing history to provide a more inclusive and accurate account of South Africa's past, acknowledging the contributions and experiences of all communities.

**Source:** Desmond Tutu, ["Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Africa,"](https://www.britannica.com/topic/Truth-and-Reconciliation-Commission-South-Africa/Challenges-and-limitations) Encyclopedia Britannica, September 13, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Truth-and-Reconciliation-Commission-South-Africa/Challenges-and-limitations>.



## 2

## Media's Role in South Africa's Transitional Justice

“The transitional justice experience in South Africa exemplifies the critical role that the media can play in assuring that a truth commission’s work enters the public domain for full debate and discussion. South Africa undertook its transitional justice process to address almost fifty years of apartheid (1948–1994) by establishing its Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1995. The South Africa TRC’s public hearings, where victims publicly gave testimony, enjoyed both extensive media coverage and ample public interest. Truth Commission Deputy Chairman Alex Boraine wrote: ‘Unlike many other truth commissions, this one was center stage, and the media coverage, particularly radio, enabled the poor, the illiterate, and people living in rural areas to participate in its work so that it was truly a national experience rather than restricted to a small handful of selected commissioners.’”

**Source:** Lisa J. Laplante and Kelly Phenicie, “Mediating Post-Conflict Dialogue: The Media’s Role in Transitional Justice Processes,” *Marquette Law Review* 93:1 (2009): 268, *New England Law | Boston Research Paper*, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2665120>.

## 3

## Spanish Media's Role in Dealing with the Country's Past

Spain’s local media demonstrated the power of media’s role when it renewed public interest in addressing past abuses after a 20-year “pact of forgetting.” Dictator General Francisco Franco had ruled Spain with a repressive dictatorship from 1939 until his death in 1975. During Franco’s regime, more than 300,000 people lost their lives in a civil war (1936–39), and hundreds of thousands faced imprisonment or forced labour. The Franco dictatorship portrayed defeated Republicans as traitors, further suppressing their history.

However, Spanish media’s coverage of the extradition proceedings against Chile’s former dictator, Augusto Pinochet, who was in England in 1998 for medical treatment, reignited interest in seeking accountability for human rights violations in Spain’s recent past. Spanish Judge Baltasar Garzón Real’s efforts to extradite Pinochet led the Spanish media to draw parallels with Franco’s regime, prompting a re-examination of Spain’s own conflict and post-conflict periods. Advocacy by journalists and academics led to a delayed transitional justice project, including the exhumation of mass graves and the identification of victims’ remains, literature and museum exhibits on the war. Spanish media was able to awaken the society’s quest for the truth, a need that had gone largely underground.

Spain’s experience illustrates the role of media in constructing collective narratives and interpretations of the past. The media facilitates public debate on difficult truths about a collective history, though reaching a consensus in a polarized context remains a challenge. Truth commissions attempt to provide an objective account of repressive or violent pasts, but they must navigate multiple perspectives and interpretations of history.

**Source:** Lisa J. Laplante and Kelly Phenicie, “Mediating Post-Conflict Dialogue: The Media’s Role in Transitional Justice Processes,” *Marquette Law Review* 93:1 (2009), *New England Law | Boston Research Paper*, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2665120>.



## EXERCISE 4

Below is a list of questions with multiple answers based on the topics covered in Module 4. Please select the answers by circling your choice. After completing the exercise, you can compare your selections with the list of answers in [Annex I](#).

**1. What should be the main focus of media during the phase of conflict de-escalation?**

- A. Promoting hate speech
- B. Facilitating mediation and negotiation
- C. Escalating violence
- D. Encouraging polarization

**2. What is the outcome of armed conflicts that involves a temporary halt to violence?**

- A. Ceasefires
- B. Negative peace
- C. Conflict resolution
- D. Conflict prevention

**3. What are the main objectives of interventions during the conflict resolution phase?**

- A. To increase violence
- B. To achieve peace agreements
- C. To escalate hostilities
- D. To promote polarization

**4. What term describes the process of changing the relationship between groups from animosity to harmony and trust?**

- A. De-escalation
- B. Conflict management
- C. Reconciliation
- D. Polarization

**5. Which type of peace involves the absence of open hostilities but does not address the underlying root causes of conflict?**

- A. Positive peace
- B. Negative peace
- C. Conflict transformation
- D. Conflict prevention

**6. What are some early signals of conflict escalation?**

- A. Historical grievances and resource competition
- B. Hate speech and political instability
- C. Polarization and hate crimes
- D. Segregation and mobilization of paramilitary groups
- E. All of the above

**7. What is the distinction between conflict resolution and reconciliation?**

- A. Conflict resolution focuses on formal agreements, while reconciliation focuses on dialogue.
- B. Conflict resolution aims for negative peace, while reconciliation aims for positive peace.
- C. Conflict resolution involves military interventions, while reconciliation involves peace talks.
- D. Conflict resolution addresses root causes of conflict, while reconciliation does not.

**8. Which phase of conflict involves efforts to control and limit the escalation of hostilities?**

- A. Conflict resolution
- B. Reconciliation
- C. Conflict escalation
- D. De-escalation

**Module 5****MEDIA REPORTING OF CONFLICTS**

In the previous module, we explored different phases of conflict and the role of media in the prevention phase where identification of early signals of conflict are crucial to highlight to resolve issues before tensions turn into hostilities and violence. In this module, we will discuss the role of media during an ongoing conflict, negotiation efforts during the peace process and post-agreement reconciliation or transformation phase. Media actors have played a strongly negative role during many conflicts in recent history.

**What is in it for me?**

It provides analytical frameworks on the positive and negative impact of media reporting in different phases of conflict and how media actors like you can use the tools to support promoting a peaceful society.

As described in Module 3, notorious examples of the negative role of media in exacerbating conflict include the role of radio in the Rwandan Genocide. In this section, we will explore the different approaches of conflict reporting by traditional and mainstream media actors in detail. By traditional media, we mean print, TV broadcasts and radio, except social media platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp and so on.

It is important to distinguish between the local/national media in conflict regions and external/international media actors. Local/national media in a country have immediate and direct impact on the behaviour of people in conflict situations, while international media can mobilize external perceptions, reactions and responses. The table below provides an overview of media’s positive or negative roles in different phases of conflicts and outcomes.

### Role of Media in Different Phases of Conflict<sup>9</sup>

Media Functions	Prevention	Management	Resolution (peacemaking)	Reconciliation (peacebuilding)
News	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Interpretation	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Mobilisation	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Culture Transmission	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-
Entertainment	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-

Apart from news reporting, media also performs other functions, such as news interpretation (commentary and editorial opinion), transmission of culture (history, language, values, religion and so on), entertainment (movies, shows and the narratives of social reality they portray through fiction) and mobilization (campaigning for social and political causes, war, economic development, work and cultural values).<sup>10</sup>

#### Media Mobilization

The media’s mobilization function exists in autocratic societies at all times, in post-conflict societies during nation-building and in democracies in times of crisis and war. These efforts manifest as a result of a governmental initiative or from the media’s own initiative.

<sup>9</sup> - The table is adapted from scholar Eytan Gilboa in “Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis, 93 Marq. L. Rev. 87 (2009)”  
<sup>10</sup> - Gilboa (2009), pg107

In performance of all these functions during the phases of an ongoing conflict or post-conflict reconciliation process, media actors play key roles that can influence the processes either negatively or positively. During the resolution phase and peace talks, if media actors are highly critical of negotiation efforts between a government and opposition group (for example, using labels such as “terrorists, separatists, extremists”), this can lead to strong public opposition and the blocking of peace talks initiatives. Yet, if media actors mobilize reporting and commentary on the need for a peaceful settlement of conflict, it can influence public perception and create public pressure on conflict parties (for example, governments and rebels).

### Media Framing of Conflicts

In the section on framing, we briefly explored how media use framing in news reporting. In this section, using the same framing concept, we will discuss in detail how media reporting presents and shapes information during different phases of a conflict. Framing influences how people understand and interpret the events and issues surrounding a conflict. The media’s framing choices can significantly impact perceptions of people and their responses and can shape political and policy decisions. There has been much academic research on media framing of conflict. The following table presents 13 indicators that reflect framing choices by media actors. The table is developed by Communication Studies scholars Seow Ting Lee and Crispin C. Maslog<sup>11</sup> and is based on the pioneering work of Johan Galtung, a sociologist and Peace and Conflict Studies scholar.

War Framing 	Peace Framing 
<b>Language</b>	
<p>Uses victimizing language (for example, destitute, devastated, defenseless, pathetic, tragic, demoralized) that tells only what has been done to people</p> <p>Uses demonizing language (for example, vicious, cruel, brutal, barbaric, inhuman, tyrant, savage, ruthless, terrorist, extremist, fanatic, fundamentalist)</p> <p>Uses emotive words, like genocide, assassination, massacre, systematic (as in systematic raping or forcing people from their homes)</p>	<p>Avoids victimizing language, reports what has been done and could be done by people, and how they are coping</p> <p>Avoids demonizing language, uses more precise descriptions, titles or names</p> <p>Objective and moderate. Avoids emotive words. Reserves the strongest language only for the gravest situation. Does not exaggerate.</p>

11 - Seow Ting Lee and Crispin C. Maslog, “War or Peace Journalism? Asian Newspaper Coverage of Conflicts,” *Journal of Communication* 55:2 (2005): 311–29.

## War Framing



## Peace Framing



### Approach

Reactive (waits for war to break out or be about to break out, before reporting)

Reports mainly on visible effects of war (casualties, dead and wounded, damage to property)

Elite-oriented (focuses on leaders and elites as actors and sources of information)

Focuses mainly on differences that led to the conflict

Focuses mainly on the here and now

Dichotomizes between the good guys and bad guys, victims and villains

Two-party orientation (one party wins, one party loses)

Partisan (biased for one side in the conflict)

Zero-sum orientation (one goal: to win)

Stops reporting with the peace treaty signing and ceasefire and heads for another war elsewhere

Proactive (anticipates, starts reporting long before war breaks out)

Reports also on invisible effects of war (emotional trauma, damage to society and culture)

People-oriented (focuses on common people as actors and sources of information)

Reports the areas of agreement that might lead to a solution to the conflict

Reports causes and consequences of the conflict

Avoids labelling of good guys and bad guys

Multi-party orientation (gives voice to many parties involved in conflict)

Non-partisan (neutral, not taking sides)

Win-win orientation (many goals and issues, solution-oriented)

Stays on and reports aftermath of war—the reconstruction, rehabilitation and implementation of peace treaty

## Victims and Defensive Modes of Reporting

Some studies on local media reporting during conflicts have identified the victims and defensive modes of reporting through the framing of narratives. According to Gadi Wolfsfeld and his co-authors, the **Victims Mode** of reporting is used when members of one's own ethnic group are the victims, and it generally involves a high level of emotionalism. This is manifest through high story prominence, high levels of drama in the stories, and the personalization of the victims with their names, ages, pictures, etc. The Victims Mode of reporting also provides cultural context by using news frames that resonate with popular beliefs, such as by framing stories in terms of ethnic solidarity or demonization of the enemy. The **Defensive Mode** of reporting is used when members of one's own ethnic group cause the deaths. It is characterized by low levels of emotionalism, including low prominence of stories about the event; the use of an analytical or intellectualized perspective rather than a dramatized one; and the depersonalization of the victims, such as by transforming them into statistics. The Defensive Mode of reporting provides for cultural context by interpreting the event as justified by the actions of the other side.

## Case Study

### Palestine and Israel Case Study

Research has found strong evidence of these reporting modes in a content analysis of Israeli and Palestinian television coverage of two events: a Palestinian suicide bombing that killed 19 Israelis and the Israeli killing of a Hamas leader that also left 16 Palestinians dead. When covering the Palestinian suicide bombing, the Israeli television station reported with a high level of emotionalism and cultural context. Meanwhile, the Palestinian station demonstrated a Defensive Mode of reporting by covering the attack with a low level of emotionalism and a cultural context placing the attack in the overall context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The tables were turned, however, in the coverage of the killing of the Hamas leader and civilians. The Palestinian station’s coverage fit the Victims Mode of reporting by using a high level of emotionalism and cultural context of ethnic solidarity and demonization, while the Israeli station’s coverage reflected the Defensive Mode, with low emotionalism and cultural context suggesting the attack was justified because the Hamas leader was a legitimate target for attack.

**Source:** Gadi Wolfsfeld, Paul Fros, and Maurice T. Awabdy, “Covering Death in Conflicts: Coverage of the Second Intifada on Israeli and Palestinian Television,” *Journal of Peace Research* 45:3 (2008): 401–17.

### Sri Lanka Case Study

In the civil war in Sri Lanka (1983–2009), an estimated 70,000 to 80,000 civilians were killed over the course of three decades. Media played an important role in influencing public perceptions. The majority population speaks Sinhalese, the main minority group speak Tamil and the official language is English. The media was divided along these lines in reporting the war between government forces and the separatist-group LTTE. The Sinhalese media mainly backed the Sri Lankan military and its push to destroy the LTTE, whereas the Tamil media covered the effects of the war on the Tamil population, and, in some cases, supported the LTTE. “The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), a Sri Lankan think tank, released a media-monitoring report examining coverage during the final months of the war... The CPA found that due to polarized media coverage, Sri Lankans learned very different things about the war and thus formed different perceptions depending on the media coverage available to their ethnicity and language. The Tamil media used more sources and covered war-related civilian death and disasters. On the other hand, the (mostly government-run) English and Sinhalese media relied almost exclusively on state sources and only included information approved by authorities, who had a different focus from the Tamil media: ‘What was mostly revealed through the information provided by the authorities was either transportation of essential commodities or the harassments that the civilians were facing under the LTTE. It was only the Tamil media which reported on the loss of lives[,] injuries, dearth of food and medicine and many other grievances that the people [were] suffering, in addition to such information provided. For this they were depending on the sources such as [web site] reports, foreign media reports and the statements of local and international institutions and individuals [,] etc. (parentheses inserted in original).’”

**Source:** Lisa J. Laplante and Kelly Phenicie, “Mediating Post-Conflict Dialogue: The Media’s Role in Transitional Justice Processes,” *Marquette Law Review* 93:1 (2009), 257–58, *New England Law | Boston Research Paper*, <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2665120>.



## EXERCISE 5

Below is a list of questions with multiple answers based on the topics covered in Module 5. Please select the answers by circling your choice. After completing the exercise, you can compare your selections with the list of answers in [Annex I](#).

### 1. What role does media play during the prevention phase of conflicts?

- A. Highlighting early signals of conflict
- B. Inciting violence
- C. Promoting hate speech
- D. Escalating hostilities

### 2. Which media function involves campaigning for social and political causes, war and cultural values?

- A. News interpretation
- B. Culture transmission
- C. Entertainment
- D. Mobilization

### 3. During the resolution phase and peace talks, how can media positively influence conflict parties?

- A. By using labels such as “terrorists” and “extremists”
- B. By emphasizing differences that led to the conflict
- C. By mobilizing reporting and commentary on peaceful settlements
- D. By avoiding any mention of the conflict

### 4. What does media framing in conflict reporting primarily influence?

- A. Political alliances
- B. Entertainment value
- C. Public perception and responses
- D. Cultural transmission

### 5. Which indicator of media framing focuses on the areas of agreement that might lead to a solution to the conflict?

- A. Dichotomizing between good guys and bad guys
- B. Avoiding labelling of good guys and bad guys
- C. Reporting mainly on visible effects of war





**6. What is the main characteristic of the Defensive Mode of reporting?**

- A. High levels of emotionalism
- B. Transformation of victims into statistics
- C. Personalization of victims with names and ages
- D. Demonization of the enemy

**7. In the Sri Lanka case study, how did the media coverage influence public perceptions?**

- A. Different ethnic groups formed similar perceptions.
- B. The country's entire population learned the same things about the war.
- C. The Tamil media supported the Sri Lankan military.
- D. Different ethnic groups formed different perceptions based on media coverage.

**8. What is the main objective of media coverage during the post-agreement reconciliation phase?**

- A. Inciting violence
- B. Maintaining hostilities
- C. Shaping political alliances
- D. Fostering cultural understanding

## Module 6

# POST-CONFLICT SITUATIONS AND MEDIA

When conflict resolution efforts successfully lead to the signing of a peace agreement and its implementation, a post-conflict society embarks on a complex process of peacebuilding and reconciliation. During this period, many institutional and legal reforms are undertaken, as described in the South African case study on reconciliation. There are some events and issues that are particularly sensitive in this phase of conflict transformation. Media plays a key role in this period. The following section will explore electoral reporting, a critical and sensitive event in the peacebuilding and reconciliation process in a post-conflict society.

### What is in it for me?

It looks at election-related violence and what conditions lead to such situations. It provides media actors like you guidance and tips on conflict-sensitive reporting during election periods.

## Election Violence

Although election-related violence has occurred in many developing countries regardless of any recent history of conflict, it is a particularly sensitive experience for a post-conflict country that has experienced intergroup violence. There have been several recent cases of high-intensity violence during elections.

**In Macedonia**, violence erupted during the 2008 national parliamentary elections. The violence took place largely in ethnic Albanian areas. **In Kenya**, also in 2008, there was a wave of violence after incumbent president Mwai Kibaki was re-elected in a controversial election. Violent clashes along tribal and ethnic divides resulted in more than 1,000 people being killed and more than 350,000 people being displaced.

A commission of inquiry concluded that the media played a significant role in exacerbating the escalation - not by initiating the violence but by amplifying hate speech through local radio stations. A number of journalists and media houses were censured for their role in the violence. Journalists, such as Joshua Sang, a former presenter with a local radio station, were brought before the International Criminal Court to answer charges for crimes against humanity.<sup>12</sup>

## Elections in South Sudan

South Sudan is expecting to hold its first national elections in late 2024. Journalists working in South Sudan encounter a myriad of challenges, particularly in the face of constraints on media content. Restrictions not only impinge upon the freedom of expression and the scope of reportage but also pose significant risks to the operational viability of media organizations and the personal safety of the journalists themselves. These challenges are an undeniable fact, reflecting the complex interplay between media freedom and regulatory frameworks in a country navigating its path of democratization and political and social stability. Consequently, media actors in South Sudan must constantly navigate a precarious balance, striving to uphold journalistic integrity and disseminate crucial information while contending with the potential repercussions of their vital work.

### Conditions for Electoral Violence

- The existence of a persistent and sustained sense of election fraud.
- The outcome is not so contested, but there is a bitter and non-accepting loser. A subset of this is when the government loses (and is surprised and shocked by the result).
- The cause of the violence is an external or domestic source not immediately participating in the election process (another state, “terrorists,” economic “profiteers” of violence).
- The violence is connected to the contested legitimacy of the state itself or to the failure/weakness of the nation-building process.
- Violence that is supported or provoked by the government is meant to implement controversial restrictions, to consolidate political power or to weaken certain communities.
- Violence pursued by non-state actors (including opposition parties) is meant to result in economic profit from the conflict, to consolidate political power or to weaken certain communities.

**Source:** Nicole Stremmlau and Monroe E. Price, Media, Elections and Political Violence in Eastern Africa: Towards a Comparative Framework, Annenberg-Oxford Occasional Paper in Communications Policy Research, October 2009.

## Tips for Election Reporting<sup>13</sup>



### AVOID

- Avoid portraying races as only between two candidates.
- Avoid treating the election like a horse race. Polls and surveys are fine, but they are only a part of the story.
- Avoid letting the candidates define themselves through what they say.
- Avoid airing inflammatory, divisive or violent statements by candidates.
- Avoid airing comments and reports that encourage tribalism and divisions within society.
- Avoid letting candidates “get away” with using imprecise, emotive language. This includes name calling.
- Avoid framing the election as a personality conflict between candidates.
- Avoid unbalanced stories.
- Avoid letting candidates use you to spread their propaganda.
- Avoid stories that give opinions/sound bites only from leaders.

VS

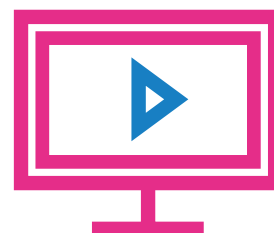


### INSTEAD

- Instead, give voices to multiple candidates and to multiple players involved in the process, especially the public.
- Instead, concentrate on issues of importance as identified by the public.
- Instead, seek expert analysis of the veracity and logic of the candidates' comments.
- Instead, edit these comments to eliminate these inflammatory statements. Or, broadcast these comments and then offer analysis and criticism of what is being said.
- Instead, insist on the candidates' addressing issues that bring communities together.
- Instead, hold candidates accountable for what they say, and use precise language as you discuss issues.
- Instead, focus on the candidates' positions on issues of importance—schools, health care, roads.
- Instead, seek to balance each story with comments from the major parties or their supporters in the public.
- Instead, as you broadcast their statements, include a critical analysis of what is being said.
- Instead, centre stories around everyday people, their concerns and perceptions about the candidates and process.

## Peace and Conflict Films to Watch

The following films and documentaries are recent productions that we strongly recommend. Some of them will be viewed during the training workshop for this toolkit, but users can also watch them separately.



<sup>12</sup> - Government of Kenya, [Kenya: Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence \(CIPEV\) Final Report](https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/kenya-commission-inquiry-post-election-violence-cipev-final-report), Reliefweb, October 16, 2008, accessed October 12, 2023, <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/kenya-commission-inquiry-post-election-violence-cipev-final-report>.

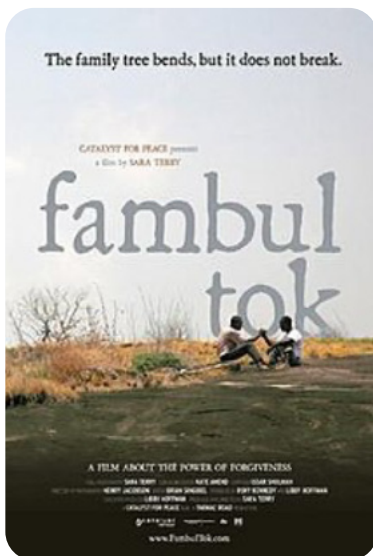
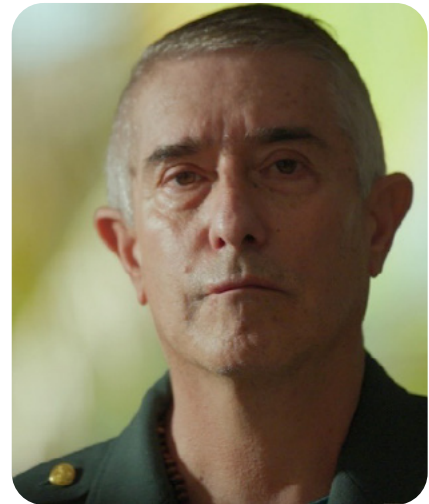
<sup>13</sup> - Steve Youngblood, [Peace Journalism Principles and Practices](#): Responsibly reporting conflicts, reconciliation, and solutions (Routledge/2016)”

## 1. Documentary: The Confession: A Colombian Colonel Faces His Victims

In exchange for amnesty, a military commander in Colombia confesses to covering up the killing of innocent civilians. This [Al Jazeera documentary](#) captures the confession of a Colombian colonel responsible for the deaths of 53 innocent civilians asking their families for forgiveness in exchange for amnesty.

In the mid-2000s, Colombia sought to prove it was finally winning its long-running war against the country's armed rebels. Top military personnel pressured ground troops to kill more fighters in action. As a result, soldiers executed thousands of civilians, framing them as rebel fighters and calling them "false positives." Soldiers who delivered the highest body counts were rewarded with bonuses, promotions and other perks.

In 2022, Colombia's truth commission revealed at least 6,402 civilians were executed between 2002 and 2008. Now, as a result of Colombia's historic 2016 peace deal, military officials responsible for these atrocities can qualify for amnesty in exchange for truthful testimony about their war crimes.



## 2. Fambul Tok – reconciliation in Sierra Leon

Imagine living next door to a person who murdered your father, raped your sister, or killed your child. This was the case for many Sierra Leonians who endured an 11-year brutal civil war in the 1990s: the majority of the 50,000 who died were killed by their own neighbors.

Fambul tok (or "family talk") is an ancient tradition in Sierra Leone where disputes are solved through community-wide conversation around a bonfire. In this post-war context, peacebuilder, filmmaker and author Libby Hoffman and her team facilitated the revival of this practice for Sierra Leonians. While filming ritual reconciliation processes in Sierra Leone, Hoffman learned that justice for Sierra Leonians isn't about punishing or ousting a perpetrator; rather justice comes from making the community whole again. "When you hurt somebody, you don't just hurt them; you hurt the community as well," says Hoffman.

## 3. The Path Away from War: The Science of Peace Systems

Peace and Conflict Studies scholars Geneviève Souillac and Douglas P. Fry teamed up with Sustainable Human to produce a short film (8:25 mins) called [A Path Away from War: The Science of Peace Systems](#), which can be watched on YouTube. Global challenges such as climate change, the loss of biodiversity, pandemics and nuclear proliferation endanger everyone on the planet and thus require co-operative solutions. The existence of peace systems demonstrates that, at many times and in various places, people have unified, stopped warring and worked together for the greater good. This film introduces several historical and cross-cultural peace systems from tribal peoples to nations, and even regions, to explore how peace systems can provide insights on how to end wars and promote intergroup cooperation.



#### 4. A Call for Peace

Colombian filmmaker Juan Carlos Borrero's documentary *A Call for Peace* tells the story of the lead up to the 2016 peace accord between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the Colombian government, which brought an end to 50 years of war.



### EXERCISE 6

Below is a list of questions with multiple answers based on the topics covered in Module 6. Please select the answers by circling your choice. After completing the exercise, you can compare your selections with the list of answers in [Annex I](#).

**1. Which of the following is a condition during elections that can lead to violence?**

- A. Peaceful transition of power
- B. Bitter acceptance of election outcome
- C. Successful media coverage of the election process

**2. What role did the media play in the election violence in Kenya in 2008?**

- A. Initiating violence by promoting hate speech
- B. Amplifying hate speech through local radio stations
- C. Preventing violence through unbiased reporting
- D. Encouraging peaceful dialogue among ethnic groups

**3. What conditions contribute to electoral violence according to the text?**

- A. Unbiased media coverage of election fraud
- B. Strong acceptance of election results
- C. Presence of international observers during elections
- D. Contestation of election outcome and contested legitimacy of the state

**4. Why were journalists like Joshua Sang brought before the International Criminal Court?**

- A. For initiating election violence
- B. For amplifying hate speech
- C. For advocating for peacebuilding
- D. For conducting unbiased election reporting

## ANNEX I: EXERCISES 1-6

Answers for the exercises in modules 1 to 6.

Questions	Exercise 1	Exercise 2	Exercise 3	Exercise 4	Exercise 5	Reconciliation
1	A	B	B	C	A	B
2	A, B and C	B	C	A	D	B
3	C	B	B	B	C	D
4	A	C	C	C	C	B
5	A	B	C	B	B	
6	B	B	C	E	B	
7	B			B	D	
8	B			D	D	
9	B					
10	A					

## ANNEX II: DEFINITIONS

To streamline and integrate inclusion and pluralism across implementing partners, SIMA project partners will develop, share and internalize a common understanding of key terminology. Key terms used extensively in the Inclusive Development Strategy (IDS) and CSM-STAND’s Advancing Pluralism Strategy are defined here. The terms explicitly reviewed in this document are not comprehensive. Over time, SIMA’s Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) advisers and related partners will support consortium members to reflect on key concepts central to the overall approach to GESI; diversity, equity and inclusion; and pluralism adopted by SIMA partners.

### Accessibility

Accessibility refers to the extent to which resources, processes and information are taken into consideration and respond to diversity- and inclusion-related needs. Accessibility relates not only to the extent to which resources, processes and information are universally accessible but also to the extent to which they accommodate and account for certain groups (including those living with disabilities, with intermittent internet connectivity or those speaking minority languages). For the Civil Society and Media - Strengthened Together and Advancing New Directions program (CSM-STAND), accessibility also includes a focus on access to digital tools and platforms.

**Agency**

Agency refers to the capability of an individual or group to identify objectives, to make choices and to act on them. Agency occurs in multiple public and private spheres, including in the home, at work and in public life. For CSM-STAND, agency refers to the capability of different actors to do the following:

1. Exercise their full participation across the objectives of the program.
2. Exercise their capability to contribute to and to shape core components of program.
3. Have their agency respected within the team in alignment with the values of the consortium. in alignment with the values of the consortium.

**Diversity**

Diversity refers to the broad array of social, political and cultural categories that exist in a group of individuals. For example, it can include racial diversity, in reference to the presence and inclusion of different racial groups. Similarly, it can refer to gender diversity, which can refer to the presence of different gender identities in a group.

**Gender**

Gender is a social construct that refers to relations between and among the sexes, based on their relative roles. It encompasses the economic, political and socio-cultural attributes, constraints and opportunities associated with being male or female. *(IDS Definition)*

**Gender Transformative**

Gender transformative refers to activities and approaches to human empowerment, institutional change and community development that seek to address the root causes of gender-related disparities and discrimination. They seek to change attitudes, norms and behaviours related to the roles of people of all genders that unfairly privilege the rights and opportunities of some (usually men) over others (usually women and non-gender conforming individuals).

**Inclusion**

Inclusion refers to a genuine respect for and acceptance of different forms of identity in both public and private life. This means making space for different forms of diversity within the public realm. Inclusion is not always accompanied by an effort to transform the systems that exist. In contrast, pluralism seeks to engage with difference in a more transformative way, giving participants agency to collectively design and redesign systems over time.

**Indigenous Peoples**

Indigenous peoples refers to different populations in different places. The terms “hill people,” “aboriginal,” “first nations,” “scheduled tribes” and “pastoralists” are all terms for indigenous peoples. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) follows the UN approach and does not adopt an official definition of “indigenous peoples,” but rather identifies indigenous communities based on the following set of considerations and factors: (a) self-identification as indigenous peoples, as well as recognition by other groups as being distinct; (b) historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies; (c) strong links to territories and surrounding natural resources; (d) distinct social, economic or political systems; (e) distinct languages, cultures and beliefs; (f) often form non-dominant groups of society; and/or (g) resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities. Not all indigenous peoples share all these characteristics. *(IDS Definition)*

**Intersectionality and Intersectional Inclusion (as related to minority voices)**

Intersectionality refers to the multiple ways in which an individual's or group's experiences are shaped by indivisible social identity categories, such as race, ability, class, migration status and so on), and the extent to which these intersecting categorizations are linked to one's capacity to experience equality and equity. Intersectional inclusion refers to substantive and procedural inclusion of all relevant parties, with special consideration for equitable participation and representation of individuals and groups which experience multiple forms of marginalization based on social identity categories, such as women of colour with disabilities. Procedural inclusion of relevant parties refers to the meaningful representation of minority voices in decision-making structures, while substantive inclusion refers to the extent to which the substance of the contribution is shaped by minority voices.

## Equity

Equity refers to the quality of fairness and it is informed by the principle that all people should be treated with equality. However, the concept of equity recognizes that power shapes the experiences that some groups have when trying to access equality. Thus, while equality promotes fair and equal treatment among people, equity assesses and responds to the contextual factors that lead to inequality, including power imbalances and historical and current unequal distribution of resources. In the context of SIMA, equity includes (but is not limited to) considerations of race, class, gender, ability, caste, indigeneity and sexual orientation.

## Meaningful participation

Meaningful participation refers to substantive and procedural participation that seeks to include groups (considering marginalized and intersectional identities) in processes of agenda-setting, decision-making and reflection (procedural), while at the same time onboarding, adjusting and shifting the substance of content and decisions undertaken informed by the groups invited to participate (substantive).

## LGBTI

LGBTI refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex peoples. This acronym is commonly used to refer to gender and sexual minorities. Variations exist that add, omit or reorder letters (that is, LGBT, LGB, GLBT and LGBTIQA, in which Q typically stands for “queer” or “questioning,” and A typically stands for “ally” or “asexual”). Other related acronyms include MSM (men who have sex with men) and SOGIESC (sexual orientation, gender identity/expression, sex characteristics).

1. **Lesbian:** A woman who is emotionally, romantically and/or sexually attracted to other women.
2. **Gay:** Emotional, romantic and/or sexual attraction to the same gender. The term gay is used most often for homosexual men, though sometimes it is used to refer to lesbians and bisexuals.
3. **Bisexual:** Emotional, romantic and/or sexual attraction to men and women.
4. **Transgender:** An umbrella term that refers to an individual whose gender identity is different from their sex assigned at birth.
5. **Intersex:** An umbrella term that refers to a variety of chromosomal, hormonal and anatomical conditions. *(IDS Definition)*

## Marginalized Identities

Marginalized identities refer to the fact that historical and current configurations of society and the political economy shape identities, and that these structures impact and contribute to group exclusion from full and meaningful participation in society, thereby hindering the capability of groups and individuals to exercise their agency.

## Power and Empowerment

Power refers to the ability of a group or individual to act in their own interests free from interference. Historical and current socio-economic and political factors shape the ability of an individual or group to exercise agency inform power. Power and its functions in development can be visible or invisible across spaces, shaping decision-making structures and opportunities for meaningful participation. Empowerment refers to the process of shifting power relations to the benefit of a group or individual.

## Youth

Youth refers to a life stage that is not finite or linear. USAID defines youth as 10–29 years of age based on distinct developmental stages of 10–14 (early adolescence), 15–19 (later adolescence), 20–24 (emerging adulthood) and 25–29 (transition to adulthood). Transition to adulthood involves multiple and overlapping physical, cognitive, emotional, political, social and cultural changes. *(USAID Definition)*



