The Role of the Media in Conflict Resolution and Management in Somalia

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Abstract: The role of the media in conflict resolution and management in Somalia cannot be overstated. Decades of conflict, violence, and instability have taken a toll on the country, and the media has been instrumental in shaping public opinion, disseminating information, and promoting peace building efforts. The media landscape in Somalia is diverse, with traditional and new media platforms such as newspapers, radio, TV, and social media. While the media can amplify conflict, it also has the potential to be a powerful tool for conflict resolution and management. It provides a platform for dialogue, promotes tolerance, and fosters understanding among different groups. The media can play a critical role in helping to bring peace and stability to Somalia, provided a strategic and responsible approach is taken that considers the complexities of the conflict and the diverse needs of the population. However, there are challenges and limitations to the media's role in conflict resolution and management in Somalia. Issues related to access, bias, and security can hinder its effectiveness. The paper examines the role of the media in conflict resolution and management in Somalia. The study focused on the reign of warlords, moderate Islamists, and extremists like Al-Shabab, and the federal government showed that local stations within Somalia actively promoted peace journalism, effectively diffusing tensions in various regions. Secondary sources of data were utilized, such as various media outlets' websites and reporters operating in the Horn of Africa. This highlights the crucial role that the media can play in promoting peace, but more needs to be done to prioritize peace journalism over war journalism.

Keywords: media, conflict resolution, conflict management, Somalia

1. Introduction

Although the media has been crucial in fostering peace and recovery, it has also frequently been used to promote propaganda and false information, escalating conflicts. For many years, conflict and instability have devastated Somalia, with numerous armed groups and local militias fighting for dominance. There is now widespread violence and suffering among the Somali people because of the absence of a functioning central government. Despite various obstacles, there have been some encouraging advances in recent years, and there are currently initiatives underway to support peace and reconciliation throughout the nation. The media's role in managing and resolving conflicts in Somalia is one area that has drawn more attention.

The media's role in conflict resolution and management has gained prominence in the 20th century, particularly after World War II. The advent of the UN and other international organizations drew more attention to the role the media plays in promoting peace and resolving conflicts (UN Charter, 1945). Around the world, there are more constant security challenges that threaten stability and peace than ever before. The causes of conflict from a global perspective are becoming more and more dynamic in nature. In today's war, the media, whether local or worldwide, plays an increasingly important role. In essence, their participation in conflict can occur in two forms: one that maintains conflict by feeding hostility and tension, thereby accepting responsibility for greater violence, and the other that aims to find solutions to the dispute by reporting on the steps taken to reduce tension.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, development plans to strengthen the independent capabilities of local media organizations received attention. To some extent, civil society and development workers signify the end of communism through the introduction of rebellious voices through radio locations such as Radio Free Europe and the subversive production and distribution of regulated publications (Arsenault, 2011). Adena, Enikolopov, Petrova, and Santarosa (2015) showed that the media can anger people and lead them toward hostility. A good example is how the German leader Adolf Hitler used the media to incite hatred against European Jews. It is reported that Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's effective assistant in propaganda, was eloquent and expressive and regarded radio and movies as his favorite weapons. In other words, a study carried out in two countries, Malaysia, and Indonesia, found that social media weakens democracy (Fadillah, Lin, & Hao, 2019).

In Africa, the media has played a significant role in conflict resolution and management since the continent's independence in the 1960s. African journalists and media outlets have used their platforms to promote peace, unity, and democracy on the continent (Ekeanyanwu, 2017). The media has played a significant role in promoting peace and reconciliation in conflict-affected areas. For example, in Rwanda, the media played a crucial role in promoting reconciliation and peace after the genocide by providing a platform for open dialogue and healing (Hagen, 2011). In Liberia, radio stations played a crucial role in promoting peace and reconciliation after the civil war by providing a platform for peace talks and advocating for peaceful elections (White, 2013).

From 1969 to 1991, while a military dictator, General Mohamed Siyad Barre, ruled Somalia, the government of Somalia held total control over the media. Radio Mogadishu and Radio Hargeisa were both under the control of the ministry of information's broadcasting office. The only daily
publication was the October Star, published by the government and offered in Somali, English, Arabic, and Italian. Moreover, the official news source for international news organizations was the Somali National News Agency (SONNA). However, several periodicals and radio stations launched during the terrible civil war's early phases, but due to the country's widespread conflict, they were forced to join clans or shut down. All media platforms, traditional and new, play a part in shaping Somalia’s politics, culture, and society, but it is radio that does so more than any other. Radio continues to dominate as a medium in most of the economically poorest countries, but particularly so in a country with such a strong oral tradition (Abdi & Deane, 2011).

Similarly, Somalia’s media landscape is currently characterized by the dominant role played by radio, mainly because of the strength of the oral culture in the country, its high illiteracy rates, and because the medium is relatively inexpensive. The TV and print media sectors are weak, and radio is by a long distance the dominant medium. There are at least 56 radio stations, though there is no national or domestic broadcaster (Einashe, 2018). However, Internet usage in Somalia and the number of digital news sources have increased significantly in recent years. Its growth has largely been fueled by Somalia's enormous and influential diaspora outside of its borders.

The media has been utilized in Somalia to increase violence as well as promote peace and reconciliation. For instance, in the mid-2000s, the media was crucial in rallying support for the Transitional Federal Government, which contributed to the end of the nation's protracted civil war (Kat, 2004). Yet in recent years, the media has also been accused of fueling clan rivalries and spreading radical ideologies (BBC, 2020). It is important to understand how the media might be utilized to promote peace and reconciliation in Somalia because of the media's importance in forming public opinion and influencing political discourse.

The extent to which the media deescalate violence in Somalia

The extent to which the media contribute to escalating or deescalating the overall conflict situation is one of the key questions that media studies should be asking in relation to societies that are at war. The claim is that either the media causes conflict to escalate by emphasizing disagreements, exposing violent confrontations, and giving loud voices airtime, or it causes conflict to be reduced by shunning extremism, allowing for different viewpoints, and visualizing peaceful alternatives (Skjerdal, 2012). For instance, both national and international media have frequently covered the protracted Somali conflict. Additionally, the unique circumstances surrounding the expanding Somali diaspora have prompted media attention to conflict issues in a special manner through civic-driven, international media platforms.

Insurgency by Al-Shabaab militants, clan-based disputes, and piracy have all contributed to decades of instability and conflict in Somalia. Several issues, including limited information access, low rates of literacy, and control by the authority and non-state actors, make it difficult for the media to play a constructive role in de-escalating conflict in Somalia. Despite these challenges, the media has played a significant role in raising awareness about the impact of violence on communities and promoting peace and reconciliation. For instance, community radio stations have been instrumental in disseminating information about peacebuilding initiatives and conflict resolution mechanisms, thereby promoting inter-clan dialogue and cooperation (Norton, 2011). In addition, by exposing atrocities and violations of human rights during conflicts, the media have stoked popular outrage and increased pressure on those accountable. For instance, the public outcry and demands for investigations followed the broadcast of a video showing Somali National Army soldiers killing unarmed civilians (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

However, the media has also been criticized for exacerbating conflicts in Somalia by promoting hate speech and propaganda. For instance, some Somali media outlets have been accused of inciting violence and spreading false information about rival clans, leading to retaliatory attacks (Giles & Elliott, 2017). Civil wars all around the world, including the one in Somalia, have played a big role in the media. It has exacerbated the conflict numerous times by disseminating propaganda, particularly through local media controlled by the warring sides. On the other hand, the media has helped to de-escalate violence among combatants by preaching peace and emphasizing that war has only one outcome: death and devastation.

De-escalation of Violence by the Media

Several studies have explored the degree to which media reporting has deescalated violence in Mogadishu. Ibrahim and Haji (2017), who analyzed media coverage of the conflict in Somalia between 2007 and 2015, conducted one such study. The study found that media coverage of violence in Mogadishu had decreased significantly in recent years. According to the authors, this reduction could be attributed to several factors, including the relative stabilization of the country, improved security, and the efforts of media outlets to promote peace initiatives. Similarly, another study by Human Rights Watch (HRW) examined the role of the media in reducing violence in Somalia between 2016 and 2018. The study found that the media had played a critical role in exposing abuses committed by different groups and promoting accountability. The report also highlighted the media's role in promoting reconciliation and creating spaces for dialogue. Furthermore, a study by Kassim (2019) examined the impact of media training programs on conflict resolution in Mogadishu. The study found that media training programs had a positive impact on the media's ability to promote peace initiatives and reduce violence. The study also highlighted the need for media outlets to adopt a conflict-sensitive approach to reporting.

Lynch and McGoldrick divided international and local media working in Somalia into two groups depending on their reporting styles, namely whether their stories on the violence in Somalia follow peace or war journalism ideologies (McGoldrick, 2005). This type of categorization made it possible to examine how the media in the Horn of Africa contributed to the management of the Somalia crisis through coverage.

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The internet spawned social media, which revolutionized many social elements of the world. This new media outlet is becoming increasingly involved in the conflict. Protestors, politicians, and insurgents have all used it as a means of communication. Scholars, on the other hand, have turned to it as a source of new conflict data (Thomas, 2017). In addition, the media reflect the deep schism that clanism has created in society, which in part has fueled the conflict in the country, which is a difficult country to govern. Another important factor to consider is how conflict has shaped the media environment and created a fragmented political map.

Since the formation of Al-Shabab in 2006, Somali journalists have been subjected to threats, intimidation, and even assassination. For the fourth year in a row, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), a New York-based group that monitors atrocities against journalists, has rated Somalia at the top of its list of nations where journalists are killed, and their assassins are not prosecuted (crisis group 2006).

The media, thus, play a significant role in facilitating the construction of the public sphere and democratic politics, and as such, the quality of information disseminated is of major concern (Joseph, 2014). He further argues that several variables, including the media's ownership structure—private, state-controlled, or owned by trusts or political parties—and its ideological foundation—have an impact on the type of coverage that is provided. In addition, there will be variations in the way that different media sources report the same conflict depending on the situation, the participants, the intensity of the conflict, the strategic implications, etc.

The media can both help and hinder conflict resolution, and it is important to uncover the conditions determining the outcome. If these conditions are exposed, it will be easier to maximize the media's positive contributions and minimize negative contributions (Gilboa, 2009.).

In this study, conflict is primarily depicted in the media as criminal activity rather than conflict over limited resources. High criminality frameworks may affect the public's opinion against a peaceful resolution to the conflict. It demonstrates that many Nigerian journalists have not yet incorporated the values of peace journalism into their reporting or analysis of violent situations. Peace journalism is an impartial means of reporting that emphasizes the significance of conflict-related problems to promote a peaceful resolution of the crises. As fairness, balance, and interpretation are the pillars and ethical foundations of peace journalism, the highly negative direction of coverage, the portrayal of one party (the attacked) as attackers, the use of demonizing speeches, and the biased reports in the media’ framing of the conflicts all demonstrate an excessive disregard for these principles. (Uche, Chukwu, Nwakpu et al., 2022).

While there have been studies on the role of media in conflict resolution and management globally and in Africa, there is a limited understanding of the extent to which media deescalate violence in Somalia. It is crucial to examine the effectiveness of media initiatives in Somalia and identify the factors that contribute to their success or failure. This literature review highlights the importance of exploring the role of media in de-escalating violence in Somalia, and the need for further research in this area.

The use of media in peacebuilding
In societies that have experienced conflict, the media may be a powerful instrument for fostering peace and reconciliation. Media may encourage dispute resolution techniques, inter-clan communication, and community trust by disseminating timely and precise information (Akindele & Olaniyi, 2017). Additionally, media can be used to promote positive narratives that emphasize shared values and common goals, thereby reducing the likelihood of violence (Hassan & Hassan, 2020). Moreover, the media can be used to counter hate speech and propaganda by promoting messages of tolerance and inclusivity. For instance, the use of social media campaigns to promote interfaith dialogue and cooperation has been successful in countering extremist narratives in Somalia (Mohamed, 2020).

In sum, the media's influence on reducing violence in Somalia is intricate and multidimensional. While the media has been criticized for escalating conflicts by encouraging hate speech and misinformation, it has also been used to foster peace and harmony. Yet, the media remains an essential tool for resolving conflicts and promoting peace in Somalia, and initiatives should be made to increase its ability to support positive narratives and oppose extremist ideologies.

Positive and negative impacts of local and international media on conflict management
Without the media, most of us would not be aware of what was happening elsewhere. Information becomes increasingly crucial and expensive the more one goes beyond his or her hometown or nation. We turn on the television or the internet to learn about what is going on in the world because, as the saying goes, no man is an island. Even if the news is sometimes biased or constrained, it still gives a sense of what is going on around the globe.

The way the media covers conflict can have a big impact on how much violence is reduced. Depending on how the media covers it, violence may either intensify or deescalate. For instance, provocative and dramatic reporting can escalate tensions, increase violence, and worsen divisions. On the other hand, proper reporting may promote comprehension, open dialogue, and reduce violence. So, it is crucial to assess the media's role in Mogadishu's decline in violence.

Media is a communication channel that conveys information to large audiences across the world. The media has been used in numerous cases to foster peace and reconciliation. It can enable the community to promote mutual understanding by focusing on the dissemination of accurate and reliable information. It can also contribute immensely to a vital role in social, economic, political, and development issues. For instance, the media has been used to generate collective good for people to uphold peace in northern Uganda (Strugis, 2007). In contrast to the positive roles that have been mentioned earlier, the media can also cause hatred in political issues, causing violent conflicts, and it can deteriorate election violence (Ibrahim, 2007). In conflict zones, the media can have both negative and positive
impacts on the conflict. The media can incite violence, perpetuate stereotypes, and polarize opinions by promoting extremist views (Galtung, 1998). In contrast, the media can promote peace by creating a platform for dialogue, bringing conflicting parties together, and promoting a culture of tolerance (Hafez, 2007).

The media frequently ignores most conflicts. Only a few armed conflicts are addressed in the violence phase, while the pre-and post-violence stages are barely covered at all. The 1990s have seen a shift in funding from more cost-effective, long-term operations aimed at preventing violent conflict and rebuilding war-torn societies to short-term emergency aid as emphasis and finances followed the cameras. Because coverage is based on reasons other than humanitarian necessity, biased media reporting also contributes to an irrational distribution of short-term emergency assistance. The discussion over the CNN effect focuses more on the direct effect on decisions to intervene and retreat than this indirect and invisible media impact on Western conflict management (Viggo Jakobsen, 2000).

According to a study conducted in South Africa, the media during apartheid was biased. South Africa was subjected to horrific, destructive action by the government and its security agencies. The apartheid-based government was so brutal and indiscriminate in its mistreatment of media establishments that closed and journalists who were tortured, banned, imprisoned, and even physically eliminated (Udomisor, 2013). The study further showed that the media in that country was actively disseminating information about the apartheid regime's heightened repression and the popular uprising against the system. It reported on and mobilized public opinion in response to Pretoria's actions and the political destabilization of the frontline states. The media also worked to resist the racist regime's massive misinformation and disinformation activities both inside and outside of South Africa. It also organized and sharpened global resistance to the brutal repression and numerous aspects of apartheid using all accessible media channels. Local media in Somalia generally have a better understanding of existing political institutions, conflict components, and the events that led to the outbreak of violence. By identifying and correctly addressing the issues at hand, the media can thereby lead society before a conflict occurs. Another advantage Somali local media has over international media is that they recognize and hold accountable the players who have the capacity to intensify the conflict. By providing reliable news and information to a large audience, the media aids in conflict resolution. It can also help with post-conflict healing and societal growth. In the negative aspect of local radio stations, for instance, the new radio stations had to compete for these two revenue streams by airing programs that were similar to theirs. The commercial side could be hazardous at times. After accepting money from a competitor company, Horn Afrika radio aired a disparaging advertisement about a Mogadishu-based shampoo (hair care product) production company, which resulted in an attack on its compound and multiple deaths (Gaas, 2012).

As a result, the media are crucial to the development of the public sphere and democratic politics, and as such, the quality of information disseminated is of major concern. According to the positive and negative effects of international media, before 2000, Somalia sponsored more than a dozen peace conferences, all of which failed. Several peace mediators questioned the approach taken by warlords and other armed groups at such meetings.

With the permission of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Djibouti government launched a peace process in 2000, bringing together Somali traditional elders, intellectuals, religious leaders, artists, and poets. The goal was to find a national solution that was devoid of armed factions, elect a president and a transitional national council, and then have the president pick a prime minister. Internal disputes do not arise out of nowhere but rather have a history. Local media usually have a better awareness of the existing political systems, the conflict actors, and the developments that occurred before the escalation of violence. As a result, the media can have an impact on society both before and after a conflict by recognizing and effectively addressing the issue. Local media, unlike foreign media that covers conflicts, is a recognized element of society with the capacity to increase or decrease anxiety. It is important to remember that the media can contribute to the escalation of conflicts, but it can also be used for good. The media can defuse tensions before they escalate and keep a critical eye on the government, opposition, and society. The media assists in the management of conflicts and the promotion of democratic norms by providing reliable information and reaching a large audience. Reconciliation and societal progress can also be supported in the aftermath of a conflict (Westphal, 2004).

In Somalia, local and international media have had both positive and negative impacts on conflict management. The media has played a crucial role in the ongoing conflict by promoting clan identities and exacerbating tensions between clans (Abdisalam, 2013). Furthermore, the media has also played a positive role in conflict management by promoting peace initiatives, disseminating information about conflict resolution mechanisms, and providing a platform for dialogue between conflicting parties (Said, 2014). Although there is extensive literature review material on the media's involvement in conflict resolution both worldwide and in Africa, there is a limited understanding of the specific negative and positive impacts of local and international media on conflict management in Somalia. This literature review highlights the importance of exploring the role of media in conflict management in Somalia, and the need for further research in this area.

**Challenges facing the media for conflict management**

From Siyad Barre's authority to the warlords, and from the warlords to Islamists, Somali media has had to deal with a variety of brutality throughout the last two and a half decades. However, one could argue that the Somali media survived and molded public opinion in the country during each of those challenging periods. In Somalia, the entire media, particularly radio, has been viewed as a force for moderation.

Lack of freedom of speech is one of the main challenges confronting the media in Mogadishu. Journalists who report
sensitive topics or hold the powerful accountable are frequently the targets of the government, militias, and other armed organizations (BBC, 2020). It is challenging for journalists to report on conflict-related issues objectively since they are frequently the target of harassment, intimidation, arrest, and even assassination (Amnesty International, 2019). Intimidation, death threats, and assassinations are frequent occurrences for Somali journalists. In recent years, the nation has twice been ranked as the most dangerous place for journalists to travel to. 64 journalists were murdered in Somalia between 1992 and 2018, according to CPJ. Most fatalities occurred on dangerous missions where they were either wounded or died during combat. As a result, Somalia stands at the top of CPJ's Global Impunity Index, which ranks nations where journalists are killed and go unpunished (CPJ, 2018).

Jamal Osman, a Somali-British journalist, argued in an October 2012 opinion piece for The Guardian (UK) that graft among journalists was one element in the series of killings of media workers in Somalia. In contrast to the CPJ's claim that Al-Shabab members were responsible for death threats and murders, his judgment was negative (Osman, 2012). The National Union of Somali Journalists (NUSOJ) described Jamal's work as "defamatory and slanderous. "According to the union, such statements are fabrications intended to divert public attention away from the real perpetrators, "which could contribute to the further murdering of Somali journalists. " According to NUSOJ, more than half of the assassinations took place in Mogadishu's capital, and those targeted were conducting their jobs or returning from work, with Al-Shabab claiming responsibility for most of the executions.

In April 2010, Mogadishu and parts of southern Somalia faced a difficult situation with their radio stations. The now-defunct Hizbul Islam militant group prohibited the broadcast of all forms of music, citing it as against Islamic law. This left radio stations in a Catch-22 predicament. In response, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) issued a statement ordering radio stations to disregard the militants' demands, warning of shutdowns for those who complied (Jayarajan, 2018). Despite this, all radio stations, except state-owned Radio Mogadishu and the UN-sponsored public broadcaster Bar-kulan, continued to play music, disregarding Hizbul Islam's directive, much to the TFG's disappointment.

In Puntland State, journalists have been subject to numerous arrests, local stations have been temporarily closed, and overseas media outlets have been prohibited. The authorities have shown particular attention to issues relating to the performance of government officials and the region's image. (BBC, 2011). Meanwhile, the federal government, through its security forces, such as the National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) and local militias, has been accused of detaining and intimidating local journalists, especially those working in the capital city of Mogadishu. Media sites suspected of promoting pro-insurgent propaganda have been shut down to discourage or punish the insurgents. In Somalia, some journalists believe that senior government officials use intimidation tactics to prevent the publication of articles they do not like (HRW, 2016).

One of the significant challenges facing the media in Mogadishu is the lack of freedom of expression. The government, militias, and other armed groups often target journalists who report on sensitive issues or hold those in power accountable (BBC, 2020). Journalists are frequently subjected to harassment, intimidation, arrest, and even assassination, making it difficult for them to report on conflict-related issues objectively (Amnesty International, 2019). The fear of retaliation means that many journalists self-censor, leading to a lack of comprehensive reporting on conflict-related issues.

Another challenge facing the media in Mogadishu is the lack of training and resources. Many journalists lack the necessary training to report on conflict-related issues, leading to inaccurate reporting and sensationalism. Additionally, media outlets lack the resources to cover conflicts comprehensively, leading to a lack of diverse perspectives and a focus on sensational stories (Lerew, 2016). According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), Somalia is one of the most dangerous countries for journalists, with 25 journalists killed between 2010 and 2020 (CPJ, 2021). The insecurity has forced some media organizations to close, while others have resorted to self-censorship to avoid risking the lives of their staff. The CPJ further argues that the challenges facing media in Somalia for conflict management are multifaceted and complex. Insecurity and violence are major obstacles that prevent journalists from accessing information and reporting on events accurately and in a timely manner. Additionally, concerns exist over the impartiality and objectivity of media outlets, given the ownership or influence of political actors with personal agendas.

The absence of media regulation and accountability mechanisms can result in the spread of false or misleading information that contributes to escalating tensions and conflict. Journalists' safety and security in Somalia are also major issues, with several media workers being killed or targeted for violence in recent years. Furthermore, lack of resources, limited access to information, professionalism, and ethics poses significant challenges to media organizations, impeding their ability to provide comprehensive reporting on conflict-related issues. The media play a crucial role in conflict management in Somalia. However, challenges such as a lack of freedom of expression, a lack of training and resources, and a lack of security limit their effectiveness in promoting peace and stability. Addressing these challenges requires a concerted effort from the government, media outlets, and civil society to create an enabling environment for the media to operate freely and report on conflict-related issues comprehensively and objectively.

2. Conclusion and Recommendations

The role of the media in conflict resolution and management in Somalia is crucial. Somalia has been plagued by conflict and violence for several decades, and the media has played a significant role in shaping public opinion, disseminating
information, and promoting peaceful coexistence. One of the key roles of the media in conflict resolution is to provide accurate and unbiased information to the public. In Somalia, the media has been instrumental in providing information about the conflict, the different factions involved, and their motivations. This has helped the public better understand the issues at stake and form more informed opinions about how to resolve the conflict. The media has also played a role in promoting dialogue and negotiation between conflicting parties. Through talk shows, interviews, and other programs, the media has provided a platform for different voices to be heard and for ideas to be exchanged. This has helped to build trust between conflicting parties and create an environment in which dialogue and negotiation can take place.

Another important role of the media in conflict resolution is to promote peace building initiatives. In Somalia, the media has been involved in promoting various peace building initiatives, including interfaith dialogue, reconciliation, and community-based peace building. These initiatives have helped to build bridges between different communities and create a sense of shared responsibility for peace. However, the media in Somalia also faces significant challenges. Journalists are often targeted by armed groups and face threats, harassment, and intimidation. This has led to self-censorship and limited the ability of the media to report on sensitive issues.

The paper concluded that the media plays a crucial role in conflict resolution and management in Somalia. By providing accurate information, promoting dialogue and negotiation, and supporting peacebuilding initiatives, the media can contribute to creating a more peaceful and stable Somalia. However, the media faces significant challenges, including security threats to journalists, a lack of resources, and limited access to information. Addressing these challenges is crucial to ensuring that the media can play a positive role in promoting peace and stability in Somalia. The paper recommended that the media could play a crucial role in conflict resolution and management in Somalia by promoting peace-building initiatives, ensuring balanced reporting, encouraging dialogue, promoting reconciliation and forgiveness, building trust, and educating and creating awareness among the population. By doing so, they can contribute to creating a more peaceful and stable Somalia.

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