



**Representing Justice on Radio:
A case of Post-war Northern Uganda**

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Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

DfID	Department for International Development.
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FJ	Facing Justice
GoU	Government of Uganda
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICD	International Crimes Division
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons'
IWPR	Institute for War and Peace Reporting
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NUMEC	Northern Uganda Media Club
PRDP	Peace Recovery and Development Plan
RTLM	Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-based Violence
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my Grandmother Aduma Samali, who always intercedes for me and from whom I draw inspiration. Equally, to Aunty, Aarakit Jacqueline Ikara and Uncle Jean Sam Ikara, who have raised me as their own son, supporting me morally, financially and spiritually.

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Abstract

Taking the case of the *Facing Justice* radio programme, this research aims to analyse the relationships of power that exist between different actors involved in making the programme. In particular, the study analyses the various meanings of ‘justice’ produced in the programme, using the analytical tools of framing and focalisation. Justice on the radio is an account of meanings created through narratives, and placed within the context of geopolitical relationships of power and ‘donor’ partnerships. This study found that Western-based media agencies can be grounded in specific – often legal and hegemonic - ideologies and definitions of justice. And the study finds that such, strongly legal and retributive definitions, can be at odds with more critical understanding of justice, whether academic or advocacy-based. The gap with local meanings of justice can be even greater, given that justice in a context of the complex relationships of post-war recovery needs to deal with the inequalities and injustices of everyday life, of livelihoods and well-being of the majority. In conclusion, the study finds that whilst definitions of justice in *Facing Justice* are widely dispersed and multiple, some meanings have become hegemonic, and others are contested, or even ignored. In all the frames, including gender justice, contested terrain remains between dominant legal justice approaches and more locally-based restorative definitions of justice which propose various forms of resistance to hegemonic meanings of justice.

Relevance to Development Studies

The role of radio as a form of media in conflict analysis and peacebuilding cannot be overlooked in fragile communities such as Northern Uganda. Particularly in remote areas where the majority of people are less education or are illiterate. Media is a vital means for post-war transition including realising post-war justice. Often, trials of people accused of war crimes takes place in areas like the Netherlands, far away from the former conflict zones. This makes it difficult for local communities to follow, understand the complex proceedings, and engage with the processes and outcomes of such trials, and perhaps judgements. With growing theoretical, professional, and public concern over media involvement in debating post-war justice, it is imperative, to understand the role that media plays in representation of justice perspectives.

Keywords

Post-war transition, representation, media, radio, donor/partnership relationships, meanings of justice, legal justice, restorative justice, gender justice.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0. The Research Problem: Debating Justice

Instead of war and humanitarianism, development in Northern Uganda now occurs within the perspective of peace and justice (Branch 2014:1) guided by the Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP). Justice debate in Northern Uganda relates to competing sovereignties of the victims, the state, and international institutions (Armstrong 2014:3). The Media is one of the strategic actors contributing to post-war recovery in Northern Uganda. Betz describes radio as a strategic medium that is most readily available of all media for social development (Betz 2004:38). As such, radio is engaged in debating justice and sustainable peacebuilding in Northern Uganda.

According to Muchtar and Ritchey (2014:15), both mainstream and new media offer cutting-edge platforms in reaching a wider audience. Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR), an international donor and training media organization concerned with reporting on post-war justice and International Criminal Court (ICC), combines both mainstream and new media to amplify local voices and provide information for change including securing human rights. As part of IWPR's International Justice Initiatives, *Facing Justice* was a specialised justice reporting radio programme organised by IWPR in partnership with Northern Uganda Media Club (NUMEC) between 2011 and 2013. It offered a platform for discussing and raising awareness on issues of justice and human rights. *Facing Justice* was a fortnightly radio feature that focused on issues of justice, and human rights in Northern Uganda. This twenty-five minute radio feature was aired on various radio stations across Acholi, Teso, and West Nile sub-regions.

In post-war Northern Uganda, especially since 2004, popular debates over justice have often been reduced to discussion on international criminal justice versus traditional justice. Controversy has raged since then among various stakeholders and justice experts, including trading accusations regarding "tolerance of impunity and imposing of Western ideas of justice" notes Branch (2014:10). Thus, how western ideas enter the local debate on justice became important question of geo-political relationships. While these debates occurred in various forums, Kimberley (2014:3) argues that; "the news media was particularly important in framing the debate...media focused on the apparent dilemma between peace and justice". Consequently, this paper establishes how ideas and perspectives on justice are transmitted from Western donor organization to Uganda, with a keen interest in the relationships of power between them.

Within a framework constructed out of theories on the politics of media representation, this study has twofold objective: first, to analyses the relationship between three actors involved in the production and broadcast of the radio programme *Facing Justice*: the IWPR, the NUMEC, and the local radio station 102 Mega FM. In addition; and second, to analysis of the content of the (selected) episodes of the *Facing Justice* radio programme and the politics of representing justice in these programmes

1.1. What comes after war?

Uganda, is an East African country with promising future development prospects and a historically violent past. Since country's independence in 1962 from Britain, there were over twenty armed conflicts in Uganda (Rogers et al. 2008: 134) with the longest and most gruesome of all being the Northern Uganda armed conflict. This violent conflict between the Government of Uganda (GoU) and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) erupted in 1986. However, "it is never easy to know when a war truly began" (Azar as cited in Dolan 2013: 39).

The conflict, popularly known as the 'LRA war', has been framed and described in multiple narratives; focused on actors, concepts or the region in which it occurred. Common in these narratives is the assertion that it has been "exceptionally protracted and brutal in its impact on the civilian population" (Dolan 2013:4-10). The result of this conflict was the displacement of about 1.8 million people (representing 80% of Northern Uganda's population) into Internally Displaced Persons' (IDPs) camps in search of protection (Murungu and Biegon 2011:202). This displacement created a catastrophic situation and fragility of communities and a total dependence on donor aid.

On August 26, 2006, the signing of a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between the GoU and the LRA in Juba (Sudan) reduced direct hostilities. The subsequent signing of protocols on comprehensive solutions as well as accountability and reconciliation provided hope for peace and perhaps justice; argues Dolan (2009: 57). However, "Joseph Kony's failure to sign the final agreement in April 2008 inevitably created doubts about whether any of the potential of the protocols would be realised" (Dolan 2009: 57). The LRA has since moved out of Northern Uganda but continues to commit atrocities in DR Congo and Central Africa Republic (Darehshori and Evenson 2010:5).

Currently, Northern Uganda is relatively calm but the consequences of armed conflict and prolonged displacement continue to manifest in the region. Frustrations related to inadequate justice processes are gradually translating into community violence and organised crimes, notably, widespread land conflicts and gender-based violence. According to Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis Report (2013)¹, "perceptions of neglect cannot be resolved in the absence of post-conflict truth, reconciliation, and transitional justice processes".

War crimes have been committed during the war, and among the perpetrators the International Criminal Court has indicted Joseph Kony and his top commanders. This indictment has generated more debates about post-war justice in Uganda, showing that realising justice is often a challenging and risky task and achieving justice is complicated when it comes to war crimes. One of the dilemmas often is whether to prosecute crimes under international justice system mechanisms or rather to use traditional forms of reconciliation, reintegration, and pardon of the perpetrators. This research is an effort to understand how media engage in this process of debating post-war justice, and more specifically, what meanings of justice they produce and uphold.

¹<http://www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/762-northern-uganda-conflict-analysis>

1.2. Institute for War and Peace Reporting

The Institute for War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) is an international media development charity set up in 1991 during the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, purposely to contribute to peace and human rights in the region. IWPR has since, emerged as a global media actor on international justice issues. Initially, IWPR was known as ‘Yugofax’. As the conflict there transformed into an all-out war, ‘Yugofax’ newsletter transformed into ‘Balkan War Report’, and following the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord in December 1995 it expanded its area of focus to war-affected areas worldwide. By 1998, IWPR became a registered non-governmental organization under its current name, and extended its programming to about two dozen countries, including Uganda.

According to organisational website, IWPR is composed of three partner not-for-profit organisations governed by Boards of Trustees of senior journalists, peace building and human rights experts, regional specialists, and business and NGO professionals. The Institute is registered in the United Kingdom, in the United States and the Netherlands.

IWPR describes itself as giving voice to people at the frontlines of conflict and crisis. It claims to provide “balanced and responsible reporting that helps people in the world’s most challenging environments access information they need to drive positive change—holding government to account, demanding constructive solutions, strengthening civil society, and securing human rights” (IWPR. 2014).

A flagship of IWPR programming, and one of its longest continuing initiatives, is the International Justice programme, through which IWPR closely follows developments at the ICC as well as accountability mechanisms at the local levels. It also provides extensive multimedia coverage of the experiences of victims of atrocities in places like Northern Uganda, Darfur, and the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. At the same time, IWPR targets specific local and international audiences involved in research, policy/law making, and advocacy around human rights and justice issues. Through networks of local journalists, IWPR’s justice programme serves as a catalyst for advancing accountability mechanisms globally in connection to local developments.

The overall aim of IWPR’s work on justice in Africa is to enable vulnerable populations in the DRC, Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda to formulate opinions and make informed decisions (IWPR. 2014). To achieve this aim, IWPR’s justice project was designed to increase the capacity of local reporters’ networks to promote vigilant scrutiny of the rule of law. IWPR assumes that access to accurate, balanced information helps empower local populations to drive and shape change for themselves (IWPR. 2014).

By anchoring its justice programme in The Hague, and supporting local journalists and a range of media organisations in Uganda, IWPR has built up the capacity of local media to report on international and post-conflict justice issues. Thus, IWPR’s ability to gather and publish information from the countries in war or post-war transition, many of which restrict media freedom, allows it to analyse complex issues and create a platform for possible solutions on a local and international scale.

1.3. Northern Uganda Media Club

The Northern Uganda Media Club (NUMEC) is formed in 2007, by journalists and media professionals working in conflict-affected Northern Uganda. NUMEC was conceived to revitalise the media terrain within the region and to help catalyse recovery efforts in Northern Uganda. To date, NUMEC has over 80 members spread across the region with their offices located in Gulu district.

According to organisational website, NUMEC strives to “integrate the critical role of media and communication into the strategic objectives of actors and stakeholders in Northern Uganda and other parts of Uganda”². NUMEC attempts to provide information on development initiatives, enhancing peace, justice, accountability, and good governance.

Furthermore, NUMEC runs a well-equipped media resource centre that comprises of a radio production studio, audio recorders, audio editing software, computers and internet through which they have been able to produce the *Facing Justice* radio programme.

Information I obtained through the interviews with local staff established that three full time local reporters (based in NUMEC) and several other freelance reporters received training and mentoring from IWPR in order to produce the *Facing Justice* radio programme. According to IWPR organisational documents that I reviewed, forty-nine episodes of the *Facing Justice* radio show were produced in English and three local languages: Ateso, Lugbara and Luo, and broadcast on a bi-weekly basis via select radio stations including 102 Mega FM (See Appendix 1)

1.4. 102 Mega FM in Northern Uganda

In August 2002, 102 Mega FM hit the airwaves in Northern Uganda and up-to-date, continues to be one of the most vibrant radio station located in Gulu district. “Mega” is a Luo word meaning “mine”, implying that it is a community radio station. It was set up with full funding from the British government (Ibrahim 2009: 613). Although it is owned by Ugandan government and managed with the assistance of a UBC Board appointed by government, 102 Mega FM claims a community based ownership. Its day-to-day running costs are met by revenue generated by the station itself (Interview at 102 Mega FM August 11, 2014).

The radio was established to bridge the information and communication gap with the view to enhance the peace process and spur development in the region. In terms of coverage, 102 Mega FM broadcasts about 200km beyond Gulu town, covering a large number of districts including South Sudan. Approximately more than five million people of all social ages is reached by this radio station. The station has a workforce of about forty staff (Interview at 102 Mega FM August 11, 2014).

Programming is focused on the Luo speaking communities affected by armed conflict in Northern Uganda. 80% of the radio programmes are in Luo, while English, Kiswahili, and Madi languages constitute the remaining 20%.

² <http://www.numec.ug/about.php>

Various peace messages and appeals in different formats targeting different audience (such as LRA ex-combatants, local authorities, government, politicians, religious leaders, general public) are transmitted through radio.

1.5. Research Questions

This paper answers two main research questions:

- 1) What relationships of power exist between different actors involved in production of the *Facing Justice* radio programme?
- 2) What meanings of justice does *Facing Justice* radio programme, produce or uphold in the context of post-war justice in Uganda?

Sub-questions:

- a) How does IWPR work on justice issues in Uganda with NUMEC and local radio station?
- b) How is justice framed and whose perspectives are focalized in the relationship between the three main actors?
- c) Who are *Facing Justice* target audiences for whom the journalists frame and select, interpret and broadcast justice issues?
- d) How is justice interpreted in *Facing Justice* radio programme?

1.6. Methods of data collection

This study triangulated written documents (such as organizational documents, reports, manuals and other documents from IWPR and NUMEC), analysis of specific episodes of the radio programme, and interviews with the staff of IWPR, NUMEC and FJ reporters.

A literature review of secondary data was utilised for an in-depth theoretical and conceptual analysis of the relationships between media, war, and justice.

Secondly, the study used forty-nine episodes from the *Facing Justice* radio programme produced by IWPR and NUMEC, available on the IWPR website. Each podcast presents a combination of different perspectives, representing various stakeholders such as local community, government officials, and experts relevant to the theme of justice under discussion.

Thirdly, the study also used semi-structured, individual interviews with nine key informants to gain a more comprehensive picture of the relationships between the actors and *Facing Justice* production process. They include: managers and editors based in IWPR Hague office; local journalists, reporters and a producer based in NUMEC, Gulu Office; and a manager and two radio presenters at 102 Mega FM.

1.7. Research Techniques and Data Analysis

This research begins with analysis of existing literature on media and justice in the post-war context. Parallel with this, I analysed organizational documents of the IWPR and NUMEC.

For the analysis of the contents of the radio programme, I applied framing and focalisation as the main research techniques and analytical tools. Framing is a process in which media select, organise, emphasize or ignore certain aspects of a perceived reality (Entman in Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira 2008:53, Schwalbe 2006:269). Frames facilitate specific interpretation of a particular phenomenon and give meaning to experiences, ideas, and issues (De Boer et al. 2010:502, Meijer 1993:371). Thus, framing in this study addresses questions relating to the selection and emphasis on central ideas, themes, and context through which specific meanings of justice are produced. Meijer (1993:375) defines focalisation as a “connection between the subject of vision and that which is seen”. She argues that, “the distribution of focalisation determines the distribution of power in a story” (Meijer 1993:375-376). Relevance of focalisation in this research is to establish what aspects (if any) of hegemonic impositions of specific meanings of justice are present, or not, in the radio programmes, and thus to answer the question: whose perspective and position is privileged by *Facing Justice* programme. A combination of these techniques aided this study to identify a system of exclusions and oppositions, vital in understanding what topics, people and voices are included or excluded from definitions and meanings of justice, what contested viewpoints have been given space, both in the radio programme and in the relationships between relevant actors.

1.8. Ethical and political choices

The *Facing Justice* programme, despite being a new initiative in media practice, particularly in relation to influencing justice outcomes in Northern Uganda, had ended by June 2013 barely four years after its launch in September 2009. Being aware of the closure of the project helped me to explain to my informants from the onset that I was not conducting an evaluation on the performance of the programme but rather an academic analysis. However, some respondents still asked me to inform them about my findings. In other words, they saw my study beyond academic relevance.

Furthermore, I was sceptical about adhering to a very tight and predefined set of legal definitions of justice, as this would tend to block unsuspected issues and angles emerging from the study analysis. Therefore, flexibility was built into the methodology in order to accommodate changing social circumstances and cultural context, as argued by Altheide et al (2008:130), by remaining open to possible varieties of the meaning of justice. I have listened to all forty-nine podcasts and identified, through a preliminary analysis, a number of different issues that were addressed in the podcasts, be it from the perspective of the local population, specific social groups (such as women and youth), political elites etc. After that, I selected five podcasts that address specific set of justice issues for deeper analysis using framing, and focalization.

1.9. Organisation of the paper

This paper is organised in six chapters. Chapter 1 has provided general introduction, research objectives, and methodology. A discussion of theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the study is presented in Chapter 2. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 look at data analysis and specific findings related to relationships, and meanings of justice. First, Chapter 3 deals with partnerships and networks among

actors producing FJ radio programme, and analysis in terms of power relations. The issue of how justice is framed and produced is discussed in Chapter 4, which presents four diverse 'frames' of justice. These frames facilitate the interpretation of meanings of justice in Chapter 5, which analyses radio content in more detail. Finally, Chapter 6 summarises the study and offers potential areas of further research.

Chapter 2: Conceptual and theoretical perspectives

2.0. Introduction

This chapter explores relevant concepts and theories on power, hegemony, and politics of representation, media, war, and justice that provided the basis for analysing *Facing Justice* programme. First, I consider philosophical foundations relating to meanings of truth and power as well as debates on media and journalism and global processes linked to hegemonic relationships and media development.

2.1. Philosophical meanings of truth and power

Positivism, realism, and relativism are the three schools of thought upon which most theoretical and conceptual perspectives evolve. The ontological, epistemological, and methodological underpinnings of these different philosophical foundations may have fundamental distinctions in their approaches but arguably, they are actually interrelated.

Relativism searches for meanings rather than the singular truth and asserts that there are multiple constructions of reality, which are influenced by experiences and social interactions (Sale et al. 2002). In other words 'truths' are subjective, dynamic, and contextual, thereby rejecting the notion advanced by realists over the existence of a stable and context-free reality (Killam 2013:45).

Feminist epistemologies have developed through feminist theorising and struggles with gendered lenses on knowledge production, arguing that biases and social relations of power influence knowledge production; likewise, power relations and social structures affect research. Thus, the concept 'power' in all its dimensions remains critical for this study (Foucault 1982, Townley 1993). First, power and knowledge are mutually constitutive, thus, power relations and the dynamic historical context which is fluid and always changing, influence knowledge production. Equally, the production of knowledge is not restricted to specific domains, such as academia or the media. Therefore, knowledge is not neutral and objective. The argument that there is no one 'truth' but rather multiple claims for truths is largely attributed to Michael Foucault. He argues that, power is a crucial element in relation to production of knowledge and the moulding of what is and can be considered as truth (Hartsock 1990:109) even though, power and truth may sometimes be viewed as opposites.

IWPR *Facing Justice* radio programme seems to be established on some aspects of Standpoint Epistemology since it strives to counter hegemonic relationships between a Western donor and local actors, and give local media a voice and a platform to drive change. This means that local media, often marginalised in larger geo-political relations have a chance to communicate and generate knowledge related to the local communities. The issue of objectivity of local media, when posed, can be resolved with the concept of strong objectivity, if balanced reporting is realised by addressing different social locations of the local actors. The scepticism about objectivity not only questions foundational beliefs

of universal truth but also acknowledges ambiguity of social phenomena (Haraway 1988:575-599). Similarly, critical realism as the underpinning ontology of post-positivism that combines realist ontology and relativist epistemology would consider social context as a 'layered' reality, dependent on our perception of it. Additionally, gender justice is one of the crucial issues in relation to post-war reconstruction, thus, feminist epistemologies emphasize on questioning our taken-for-granted assumptions about post-war communities and provides an appropriate framework for analysing power relations implicit in media reporting.

2.2. From War to Justice?

The understanding of the meaning of war is constantly changing as it is about the practice of war. Today, it seems that states are not so much engaged in violent wars with each other, but appear to cooperate and engage as partners under the premise of globalisation. Liberal Peace thesis attributes this cooperation to economic interdependence and ideational factors, as in Democratic Peace thesis, arguing that democracies do not go to war with each other (Wenger and Mason 2008:838). After the end of the Cold War, wars between democratic states are significantly reduced with a corresponding shift to intra-state armed conflicts, civil wars, violent protests and political uprisings, arguably in the global south and the Middle East (World Bank 2011).

While geo-political relations are largely driven by neoliberal interests in natural resources and prospective geostrategic interests, the approach to justice and development in fragile states is influenced by viewpoints on good/bad governance and ethnicity, rather than contextual analysis of social realities. Wenger and Mason (2008:842), argue that most contemporary conflicts relate to "disagreements over wealth and power-sharing, bad governance, human rights violations and poor human security conditions" as well as colonial past. In fact, colonizers amalgamated an estimated 10,000 African ethnic nations to create the 53 states that exist today, including Uganda. "Thus while wars between states are still conceivable, they occur primarily in the form of territorial conflicts among regional opponents, or as interventions by great powers or loose coalitions that seek to change the status quo in badly governed states" (Wenger and Mason 2008:838). This implies that, just as the resolution of such wars may require a combination of national, regional, and global approaches, realising justice after war may necessitate similar combination of approaches.

Kaldor (1999) states that majority of 'new wars' are today financed by the government, diaspora, and neighbouring states in pretext for peace and justice. Moreover, economic and political interests, and not necessarily ethnicity, appear to be behind many of the armed conflicts in Africa. Yet, in today's society that is so conscious of realising human rights, we need to question whether wars can be ethically justified under any circumstances. Uganda for example, has variously been affected by numerous armed conflicts, with the 'LRA war' as the longest. The LRA opposition to the ruling NRM government may have been founded on legitimate grounds but its catastrophic effects on civilians nullifies its legitimacy. Consequently, the LRA has been solely accused of committing multiple war crimes in Northern Uganda and beyond.

Genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity constitute the worst acts of war. The dominant notion of justice in this case tends to be legal and punitive.

Ideally, justice is to be delivered through criminal prosecution (Opotow 2001). Various legal instruments and institutions including the International Humanitarian Law and the Statute of ICC support the prosecution of war criminals (Cassese et al. 2002). Transitional justice scholarship, by contrast, tends to support restorative approaches as opposed to punitive.

The ICC came into force in 2002 to prosecute international crimes, established on a premise that prosecution of war crimes could bring about justice as well as deter acts of impunity. In December 2003, Uganda became the first country in the world to refer a case to the ICC. This led to the indictment of LRA leader Joseph Kony and his four top commanders in July 2005. The five were indicted in the same case with a list of 33 crimes: 21 counts of war crimes and 12 counts of crimes against humanity³. Until now, the LRA leadership eludes capture and continues to fight in parts of the Great Lakes region. Most analysts suggest that the LRA has a low probability of resuming war in Northern Uganda. However, recent studies indicate that justice is yet to be delivered for many victims who suffered the terror of LRA war (Armstrong 2014, Branch 2014).

While the ICC is yet to investigate, prosecute, and try Kony and his top commanders, the potential of this international court to delivering justice in Northern Uganda depends on a clear understanding of what justice means. Often, “when victims of a transgression say they want justice done, this is commonly understood as meaning that they want to see the offender punished” (Okimoto et al. 2009:156). Sarah Nouwen in her analysis of ICC as an instrument of peace and justice points to three categories of justice: legal, distributive, and restorative (Adebajo et al. 2012:171-172). Furthermore, Nouwen describes the ICC-style justice as “individual rather than communal, criminal rather than distributive, and punitive rather than restorative” (Adebajo et al. 2012:172). This understanding of justice pursued by the ICC seemed disconnected from the local aspirations and expectations of justice right from the start of ICC’s operations in Uganda as the findings in this study will reveal.

The ICC has also come under enormous scrutiny relating to its capacity to prosecute crimes, including a tendency to polarise society, as in the case of Kenya and Uganda (Adebajo et al. 2012). Additionally, the future of this global crimes court remains uncertain especially with the fluid political landscape in most African countries in which the criminal justice system continues to be politicised. This is made worse with a perception that national and international justice systems do not bring about appropriate redress to war crimes or deliver timely justice, as critics of ICC suggest.

In the absence of a Truth Commission, radio has become an alternative platform for discussing issues of justice in Uganda. *Te-yat* programme sponsored by Refugee Law Project, *Voices of Peace*, supported by USAID, and *Facing Justice* programme supported by IWPR are a few of the many radio initiatives dedicated to debating the issue of truth and justice in post war Northern Uganda.

³ <http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/sikenyi-great-lakes>

2.3. Geo-political relationships of power: globalization and hegemony

Once a radio station is set up, its mission is not necessarily aligned with the objectives of the supporting donors or funders. Literally, this means that journalists are influenced by their values, objectives and mission, which also influences the way they frame and broadcast justice issues.

News and media agencies such as Associated Press, Reuters, and IWPR are all western based, and some have a strong monopoly and are grounded in western ideologies and definitions of war, peace, and justice, often based on hegemonic, normative, legal perspectives. This can be linked to Gramsci's "conception of ideological hegemony" that reinforces power relations and dominance as described by (Fontana 2006: 91). Moreover, such perspectives seem to be at odds with the critical academic and activist understanding of war, peace, and justice, as well as local meanings of those concepts (Mégret 2002: 195-196).

Powerful actors such as the UN and its legal institutions like the ICC could impose international/legal definitions of justice on local populations (Mani 2005: 28-31). This usually attracts resentments and resistance in post-war communities such as Northern Uganda, or politically motivated citizenry as in the case of Kenya. IWPR, however, although being a western-based institution does not adhere to these hegemonic perspectives, but argues for acknowledgement and respect for local perceptions and meanings of justice (Mégret 2002: 224-225).

This research investigates how principles translate into practice when working with local Ugandan media. There is little evidence whether definitions of justice from hegemonic countries and institutions such as the ICC destroy, co-opt, replace, and/or modify local perspectives. By conducting trials in The Hague, and not at the national courts in respective countries, the ICC may be seen as part of the Western Hegemony, even though some authors argue that conducting trials in a presumably neutral location may yield better outcomes.

In this research I will analyse the production of meanings of justice in a context of those complex relationships where some meanings of justice become hegemonic through the establishment of international legal systems and discourses, and at the same time become contested, or even ignored, by the nationally and locally produced meanings and practices. At the same time, I will argue that globalization also offer spaces for resistance to hegemonic meanings of justice, as evident in the case of cooperation between IWPR and NUMEC.

2.4. Politics of Representation in Media

Representation, as argued by Stuart Hall (1997: 15), refers to the use of language to convey meanings. In the context of this study, representation is defined as the use of selected themes, topics, and language by media to construct and convey meanings to their audience.

Stuart Hall subscribes to the constructionist approach to representation, in which the material world is mediated through language systems embedded in

social relations of power that convey meanings. This implies that meanings depend on discourse as a system of representation that combines language and practice (Hall 1997: 44).

Daily politics and webs of cultural practices influence the media, and vice versa. Power relations shape the media's representational practices and meanings of war, peace, and justice it produces. According to Žarkov, “competing and conflicting meanings are produced through dominance, subordination, exclusion and marginalisation; the shifts and ambiguities in meanings reflect changing domains of power” (Žarkov 2007:8). Žarkov's reasoning is particularly important in understanding why some perspectives dominate while others are excluded in media reporting during and after war. This also relates to issues of framing and focalisation (Meijer 1993)

During Northern Uganda armed conflict, Dolan suggests that daily media created ambiguities about wars, rather than drawing a careful analysis (Dolan 2013:103). The misrepresentation and disinformation meant that government, NGOs, LRA fighters, as well as media, framed the conflict on their own terms. In the beginning, the war was defined as an ‘ethnic conflict’ targeting the Acholi people. Later, the perceived ethnic slaughter of Acholi people began to spread to the neighbouring Lango, Teso, West Nile, and partly Karamoja sub-regions. The media covered the events of the violence including killings, rape, torture, and abductions as it unfolded into a large-scale war. Nonetheless, until now, no detailed and systematic analysis of the media's representational practice of this war has been undertaken, let alone a study of framing of justice debates—a gap this study attempts to bridge.

In relation to gender justice, media has reported that there have been high levels of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in Northern Uganda, but accurate data about sexual and other kinds of gendered violence during the war in Northern Uganda are yet to be established, even though revelations of the systematic and deliberate nature of such crimes continue to emerge.

2.5. Radio development and broadcast culture

Since 1919, radio has been one of the most popular medium of mass communication globally. This is because radio is “relatively cheap, efficient, immediate, and undemanding as a technology” (Fardon and Furniss 2000:16). Historically, 1920s are considered as the boom of radio broadcasting. According to Anderson (2005:26), “universities began to offer radio-based courses; churches began broadcasting their services; newspapers created tie-ins with radio broadcasts”. Subsequently, “entertainment came to rule the radio waves much more than governmental or educational content” (Anderson 2005:26). This suggests that radio has three important functions: to entertain, inform and educate.

According, Fardon and Furniss (2000:4), the “primary function of radio is to provide entertainment and pleasure”. They further suggest that, “in situations of crisis, radio comes to the fore as an informational medium” (Fardon and Furniss 2000:2). During the World War II, “radio was a key lifeline of information for the masses. Listeners around the world sat transfixed before their radio sets as vivid reports of battles, victories, and defeats were broadcast by reporters” (Anderson 2005:26). Since then, radio has variously been used as a powerful medium of war propaganda and for influencing public opinion.

During 1994 Rwandan genocide, Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) was involved in generating genocidal violence. RTLM broadcasted programmes that contributed to ethnic and political tensions, reinforced stigma, social divisions, and stereotypes that eventually propagated violence (Rothbart and Bartlett 2008, McCordic 2012). Straus questions the above claim in that “despite the central role regularly attributed to radio, there has been little sustained social scientific analysis of radio media effects in the Rwandan genocide” (Straus 2007:610). However, one cannot easily dismiss the influence of RTLM in informing the Rwandan public about the political events of the time, simply because “radio, long established as the voice of government, defined the enemy as the Tutsis, and inspired an obligation by Hutus to protect themselves and their families” (Kellow and Steeves 1998:123).

Rwandan case brings to the fore the fact that radio can be an influential representational tool that touches on people’s emotions. As such, “if radio can be used so effectively to promote hate, can it not then also be used at least as effectively to promote peace?” (Betz 2004: 43-44). Betz perspective seems to have inspired the spread of donor-supported peace radio in fragile and post-war communities. Radio Okapi and 102 Mega FM in the DRC and Northern Uganda respectively are some of the many radio stations that have been set up in Africa by the United Nations, donor agencies, churches, and NGOs to help communities overcome the challenge of rebuilding after war. One such challenge is realising justice.

While radio broadcast in Uganda began as far as 1952, it experienced more rapid growth from 1993, following liberalization of broadcast media, in which, more commercial and community broadcasting stations have emerged as competitors to traditionally state-funded radio broadcasters (Ibrahim 2009:613). Apparently, there are over 200 radio stations operating in Uganda with about nine broadcasting daily in Gulu district alone. However, the first radio station in Northern Uganda was *Radio Freedom*, set up in 1989, and with support from the British government through its agency, Department for International Development (DfID). 102 Mega FM was later established to replace *Radio Freedom* (Ibrahim 2009: 613, Brisset-Foucault 2011). Today, most radio stations in Northern Uganda focus on ‘infotainment’ with a recent adaptation to ‘edutainment’. Community radio broadcasts information about conflict, development, health, and education, many of those being geared towards conflict transformation, justice, peacebuilding, and reconciliation.

Community radio has been and remains an active player in post-war development in Northern Ugandan conflict. Meanwhile, community radio continues to receive support from donors and collaborates with various development partners in what is often described as collaborative partnership.

This research investigates collaboration between partners in the production of *Facing Justice*, in order to find out what meanings of justice this collaboration produced, and which meanings were relatively neglected.

Chapter 3: Analysing relationships and networks

3.0. Introduction

This chapter analyses the relationship between three media actors involved in the production and broadcast of *Facing Justice* radio programme: IWPR, NUMEC, and a radio station 102 Mega FM. Conclusions of my research point to a partnership based on mutual respect, understanding, and agreement in which IWPR is the sponsor and mentor. I present here different areas of cooperation and partnerships, processes of radio programming, established networks, and their embeddedness in power relations.

3.1. Background to Reporting on Justice Partnership

Driven by the goal to build peace and democracy through free and fair media, IWPR established a partnership for broadcast and monitoring of the *Facing Justice* programme with local media organisations in Uganda. This included support for local partners in capacity development for reporting on justice and human rights.

A field survey conducted in 2009 by IWPR in Northern Uganda observed that, “90% of the population of Northern Uganda listens to radio, but local stations and journalists remain weak in terms of strong analytical issue and theme reporting and technical capacity”⁴. Based on this survey, IWPR established partnerships with NUMEC and ten other radio stations in Northern Uganda.

Between September 2009 and June 2013, IWPR signed Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) with all its local partners. The signing of MoUs can be interpreted as a start of a formal relationship where consenting parties are obliged to cooperate under specified terms and conditions. The cooperation between IWPR, NUMEC, and partner radio stations in Northern Uganda led to mentoring and training of radio journalists, and together, they started the production and broadcast of *Facing Justice* radio programme.

The *Facing Justice* is a radio magazine featuring news, interviews, and analysis, with a focus on justice and human rights issues in post-conflict Northern Uganda. According to IWPR (2012) Annual Progress Report⁵, *Facing Justice* programme had three main objectives: to empower small reporters’ networks with reporting skills on the rule of law and human rights; to develop media and outreach capacities of local partnering organizations and to provide beneficiaries with access to critical information on the rule of law and justice.

The established networks refer to a team of local journalists who required training and empowerment to be able to professionally engage in key media functions of infotainment and edutainment linked to justice and human rights. This study focuses on several aspects of the cooperation between IWPR and its partners: financing, training, mentorship, and radio programming.

⁴Report of IWPR’s Northern Uganda Journalist Training and Mentoring Programme in Justice and Human Rights Reporting September 27-October 20, 2010

⁵Reporting on Human Rights and Promoting Vigilance towards the Rule of Law in northern Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan, Kenya and DRC; Annual Progress Report Submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, September 10, 2012

3.2. Aspect of Financing

The *Facing Justice* (FJ) programme was made possible by funding from the Dutch government that approved and financed a project proposal by IWPR for enhancing human rights and justice reporting, focusing broadly at the Great Lakes Region. A respondent stated that, “the terms and conditions of funding were flexible and not limiting in the approach to Human Rights reporting” (Interview with IWPR, 17 July 2014). This implied that, how the FJ programme was implemented, very much depended on the creativity of IWPR and its local partners.

While IWPR is actually a grant holder on the side of the Dutch government that is the actual donor, NUMEC and other radio stations view IWPR as a funder. This is because IWPR provided logistical support both financially and in kind.

To begin with, IWPR financed the training of reporters. It met the costs of hiring media consultants as trainers, alongside other logistics needed for the training. Equally, IWPR facilitated its own staff and project recruits to be able to oversee and implement the FJ programme. It also paid for airtime on partner radio stations that regularly broadcast the FJ radio show.

Another important assistance was in kind: the broadcasting equipment supplied to NUMEC and partner radio stations, such as computers and audio and recording/editing software.

The position of IWPR as a sponsor and an experienced media organisation, certainly gives it an edge over its local partners in Uganda. This could make IWPR a hegemonic organization in the decision making process. However, my interviews did not provide obvious data to support such an assumption. The IWPR, though originated and situated in the Western hegemonic structures, did not adopt hegemonic relations of power towards the partners —at least not explicitly. The power imbalance is seen by the interviewees more within the professional expertise than in direct dictate of the donor about the issues or topics to be broadcast:

“IWPR is a more experienced media organisation with a global reach and NUMEC also being a media organisation has similar interests like IWPR. In the FJ programme, IWPR mainly played an oversight role while NUMEC journalists were more like foot soldiers; we shared ideas, discussed, and ensured that those ideas were investigated, analysed and packaged for radio broadcast....”(Interview at NUMEC in Uganda, 05 August 2014)

The same view - that IWPR, NUMEC, and the radio station managers held regular meetings to discuss and decide together optimal modalities for the production and broadcast of the programme in Northern Uganda - featured strongly throughout the interviews and reviews of organisational reports.

3.3. Training of Facing Justice Reporters

In September 2009, ahead of the launch of FJ radio show, IWPR in collaboration with NUMEC conducted two days training for reporters in Northern Uganda. Training of reporters was done given their role in advancing the FJ programme (Interview with IWPR, 17 July 2014). The rationale for the training was that reporters needed a deeper understanding of justice and human rights issues, in order to adequately report on them while ensuring good journalist practices like

objectivity, neutrality and professionalism. This appears to be an attempt to ensure objectivity and good quality programming.

The group of journalists, who were trained as FJ reporters, were employees of radio stations that later aired FJ show, thus became part of a network of contributors to FJ programme. IWPR and NUMEC staff, and other hired media consultants including the staff of Uganda Media Women's Association (UMWA) trained about twenty (20) FJ reporters. It is obvious here that trainers included both local and international staff, thus the training was not following the hegemonic assumption of 'international knowers' and 'locals' who know nothing and need to learn from 'internationals'.

Training of FJ reporters in Gulu town covered the basics of professional journalism, balanced reporting, and investigating human rights and justice issues related to Northern Uganda. A review of IWPR training reports (See Appendix 4 for details) revealed that script writing, interviewing, recording techniques, and general radio production skills were some of the key areas of training.

A comprehensive course in technical production was also given with focus on the use of digital recorders, recording interviews, gathering relevant sound effects, and the use of editing software to create radio packages. The training included classroom instruction, field exercises, experimentation, and role-plays.

In a nutshell, training and mentorship are part of the global processes linked to media development. The kind of relationships, and partnerships different media organizations establish, represent their relationships of power. Understanding the balances of such power relations becomes important when actors claim to be in a collaborative partnership, as was the case between IWPR and its local partners.

3.4. Mentorship of Facing Justice Reporters

The report on IWPR journalist training and mentoring⁶ observed that local journalists lacked strong practical skills in broadcast journalism for instance in sound recording, editorial balance, and interview technique, thus underscoring a need for continuous mentoring of the journalists. Another possible reason that sustained the idea of mentorship emerged from observations during training drills and exercises in which, reporters abilities were put to test by trainers. Subsequently, IWPR trainers often undertook mentoring of FJ reporters at their field locations (Gulu, Pader, Kitgum, Arua, Lira, and Soroti districts).

Mentoring relationships in a traditional perspective is "one in which a senior person working in the protégé's organization assists with the protégé's personal and professional development" (Higgins and Kram 2001:265). The impression here is that, mentoring is a single dyadic relationship, which is organizational and hierarchical in nature. In an attempt to broaden such a simplified understanding of mentoring, Higgins and Kram (2001:266-269) proposed a new approach called "developmental network perspective" which considers mentoring as a "multiple relationship phenomenon": intra and extra-organisational, multilevel, and networked relationship enhanced by provision of developmental assistance.

⁶Report of IWPR's Northern Uganda Journalist Training and Mentoring Programme in Justice and Human Rights Reporting September 27-October 20, 2010

The nature of relationship between IWPR and its partners is largely a developmental relationship. It is a multilevel and networked relationship, but with the IWPR as the sponsor still located at the top of the FJ project hierarchy, especially during (financial) decision making, as well as central actor in the FJ network in terms of training, mentorship, and radio programming.

Mentoring of journalists was a continuous process undertaken by the FJ Africa Editor (based in IWPR, The Hague) and FJ coordinator (based in NUMEC, Gulu) throughout the period of the FJ radio programme. It involved a practical follow-up on how reporters were applying skills from the training as well as working with reporters on feature packages for upcoming FJ programmes. This implies that the approach to mentoring was two-fold: (a) putting into practice what the journalists had learnt during the training, and (b) providing material for the FJ episodes. This is consistent with the developmental network perspective given that mentoring was both intra (within NUMEC) and extra-organisational (involving IWPR) and occurred at various levels of radio programming. The collaborative aspect of the relationship is evident in production of the radio programmes.

3.5. Radio Programming in Partnership?

Radio programming is sophisticated and can involve a diverse array of production and broadcast processes. In terms of content, music is the “most significant component of broadcast material on radio” (Fardon and Furniss 2000:4). Nonetheless, the rise of community radio has motivated the use of radio for development. Therefore, the content of the radio broadcast has been broadened to include development issues that are well thought-out for commercial and public broadcasting. For instance, the FJ radio programme was produced in a *Magazine format*. This is a format where one or two specific issues are identified, selected, and focused on, thereby, building an in-depth and logical story around it.

However, for radio to be seen as a more objective and neutral medium for addressing developmental issues such as justice, its programming should allow for the separation of the message from the producer of that message. This separation often tends to occur in the production process, where the message is framed, produced, and packaged allegedly to reflect a given reality. To understand the relationships of power (if any) I now examine the production process of FJ radio programme including decision making and issues of hierarchy.

IWPR offered guidance to the reporter(s) and other substantial feedback at each stage of the production cycle. Though one may interpret this as control and exercise of power by IWPR, local partners perceive it as part of the collaboration and mentoring process. Moreover, IWPR is said to have been able to work closely with the reporter(s) from the planning phase all through to technical production, in a participatory decision making mode. A FJ reporter noted that; “there was always constant brainstorming and weekly meetings in which we proposed ideas for the FJ radio programme. These ideas were also shared with IWPR and together we agreed on what to focus on” (Interview at NUMEC, 06 August 2014). As my analysis of the podcasts will show later, the issues that have been addressed in the FJ programme reflect local concerns, adding substantially to the production of meaning of justice according to local realities.

This type of collaborative working relationships involved identifying local sources of information, interviewing local stakeholders and government officials and editing audio material. According to IWPR staff, “reporters set up interviews according to their field visit schedule, enabling us to advise them, and address some of the points that had arisen during the training to be further addressed in a practical sphere” (Interview at IWPR, 21 July 2014).

As the next section describes in more detail, the production cycle of FJ radio programme involved about four stages; (1) Planning Phase; (2) Field Visits; (3) Technical Production and; (4) Broadcast and publishing (See Figure 1 in Appendix 2).

3.6 Production Cycle of Facing Justice

The analysis of the production cycle of FJ programme gives in-depth insight into the power relations between different partners, at every stage of the cycle.

1) Planning Phase and Field Visits

This is the initial stage of the production cycle. It involves training and coaching, identification of issues and selection of the topic. Once a specific topic was agreed upon, possible information sources would be mapped, background assessment conducted, and all other logistical needs identified.

NUMEC assigned producer often led a team of FJ reporters to produce two FJ episodes per month. The producer made final decisions on programme topics and story angles, commissioned interviews, script, recording and editing of the programme. The producer in this case was one of the key persons in the entire programming. Even though each reporter was free to suggest possible themes and topics for the FJ radio feature, the entire production group was involved in refining proposed idea(s) through debriefing. Thus, regular debriefs between IWPR, editors and reporters were a common practice (Interview at NUMEC, 4 August 2014). Besides, even when a specific topic was agreed upon, a FJ reporter had to generate a script, which would set the parameters of the feature as well as guide the overall production process. The script included definition of the topic, sources of information, interview questions, locations, time, and date(s). Likewise, the script determined what was included and excluded from FJ programme.

Radio stations were not so much involved during this stage, as they had to wait to receive a fully packaged radio feature ready for broadcast. Key actors involved at this stage were IWPR and FJ reporters and producer based in NUMEC.

Each reporter was provided with a checklist to support his or her interview preparation process. As noted in an interview, the “checklist included key pointers and tips” emerging from the training, and was to be reviewed on a regular basis and certainly before journalists would set out to record interviews (Interview at NUMEC, 04 August 2014).

2) Field Visits

The essential characteristic of this stage is gathering broadcast material. FJ broadcast material was typically collected through field interviews.

Reporters set out to an identified location and using their script carried out on-site interviews. They often reached out to various stakeholders identified as contributors or sources of information in their localities. Most reporters noted that fieldwork enabled them to filter information provided by respondents using observation. In fact, in some podcasts reporters described places they visited in an attempt to create a perspective of a certain reality in the minds of the listeners.

Sometimes, phone interviews were conducted in situations where reporters were unable to physically reach the identified informants whose perspectives were considered valuable by the FJ team.

Equally, field visits were a part of tracking and keeping up-to-date with developments around human rights, rule of law, gender issues, and the rebuilding of post-conflict Northern Uganda.

3) Technical Production

This phase was largely concerned with editorial aspects of the FJ programme. Quality of sound and editorial balance were central at this point. The editorial team composed of the producer(s) and reporters had to make delicate decisions relating to editorial choices. Such choices determine what goes into the programme and what is left out. First, reporters have to transcribe interviews in accordance with IWPR guidelines and share this with the producer(s) and editorial team. Second, they edit sound clips from interviews and other audio broadcast materials, such as voiceovers, while ensuring good sound quality.

Selectivity does not necessarily preclude objectivity. It is a necessary aspect in an editorial process. Certainly, one has to be selective if editorial balance and quality programming is to be realised. For instance, one has to use his/her instinct and knowledge to privilege one interview to the other, determine what good quality sound is, and what sound bites to use as a reflection of a given reality. Even if the outcome is seen as an integration of various perspectives, therefore balanced, there are always silences and absences of certain perspectives arising from editorial choices. This suggests that the radio production process in itself is neither neutral nor objective. However, once the separation of the message from the producer is achieved – that is, the perspectives of individual journalists on the given issues are clearly separated from, and not allowed to bias, the perspectives expressed in the programme by the interviewed stakeholders - the product can be perceived as objective, balanced, and even neutral. At the same time, the objectivity of any radio programme depends on how has the issue been framed and the consideration of who the target audience are. Thus, the issue of objectivity remains slippery.

FJ radio programme uses ‘thematic frames’ as described by Papacharissi and de Oliveira (2008:65). Thematic frames include, among others, service delivery, access to justice, war crime trials, and gender justice. These four main themes provided the context and background for almost each FJ episode. Similarly, justice issues were selected based on what the producers – IWPR and NUMEC –

perceived as being news worthy for the (mostly) local audiences in Northern Uganda.

How exactly FJ production process deals with the differences between and specificities of the above themes is quite unclear. Simply because there are many overlapping issues raised through the various topics. However, as I will argue later, this overlapping is also an indication that meanings of justice are not fixed or clear-cut, but rather, various issues are perceived as important aspects of justice. Unlike the hegemonic discourses focusing on retributive and legal aspects of justice, FJ podcasts show that issues of post-war livelihoods stand central in the radio programme's understanding of what justice means.

It is apparent that the producers largely prioritised 'local stakeholder's perspectives. Those have mostly been the victims of war crimes and beneficiaries of post-war development, community leaders (such as religious, traditional, political and cultural leaders), and former LRA fighters (ex-combatants). Other perspectives included in the FJ programme were those of government officials (judicial, police and army officials), politicians, civil society and academics, some of whom were referred to as 'experts'. However, in some podcasts the dominant voices were those of 'experts' rather than community members.

I have listened to forty-nine podcasts of FJ programme. Each episode was approximately twenty-five minutes. The English version as well as the Luo language version was produced at the NUMEC newsroom in Gulu district where the fulltime producer and FJ reporters were based. The Ateso and Lugbara language versions were produced on behalf of FJ at *Voice of Teso* and *Radio Pacis* radio stations in Soroti and Arua districts respectively. As an episode was produced by NUMEC, it had to be approved by the IWPR, before it could be delivered to partner radio stations for actual broadcast.

4) Broadcast and Monitoring

This stage deals with the actual transmission of a ready-to-air audio programme by IWPR partner radio stations. The podcasts were made available to a wider range of audiences through IWPR website. However, the primary target audience for the FJ programme were the locals in Northern Uganda, particularly in Acholi, Lango, Teso, and West Nile sub regions. This can explain the translation of the FJ programme into local languages mostly spoken in these sub regions.

The radio stations regularly broadcast the FJ radio show at scheduled times. 102 Mega FM for instance, broadcast the Luo version of FJ radio programme at 8:30 am on Wednesdays. In addition, 102 Mega FM promoted the FJ programme through short announcements and encouraged the audience to participate in the programme through calls-in and letters. In general, most stations aired two versions of the programme – in English and in a local language.

The FJ radio programme was not broadcast free of charge. IWPR provided funding required for the buying of the radio time necessary for the broadcast of the FJ programme at local radio stations throughout the project cycle.

Besides the radio stations that were fully funded to regularly broadcast the show, FJ was also distributed to additional stations, such as *Rainbow FM* (Nebbi district) and *Radio Rupiny* (Gulu district), that aired the programme occasionally, broadcasted some parts of it or used it as a basis for call-in programmes.

What is more, partner stations were asked by IWPR to monitor and gather audience feedback on FJ and share it with IWPR. This was one of the administrative obligations specified in the MoUs.

In summary, this chapter has analysed the relationship between IWPR, NUMEC, and radio stations involved in the production and broadcast of the *Facing Justice* radio programme. The nature of relationship between IWPR and its local partners can be termed as a developmental relationship organised through power sharing. While IWPR is not seen as a hegemonic organization in the decision making process by it is partner organisations, the position of IWPR as a funder, sponsor and/or an experienced media organisation, certainly gives it an edge over its local partners in the decision making process. IWPR had a strong influence in making decisions regarding financing, training, and mentorship, partly because it initiated the entire partnership, and therefore was charged with the burden of providing strategic direction of the project implementation. However, NUMEC and FJ reporters were free to make decisions relating to possible themes, topics, sources of information, interview questions, locations, time, and date(s) throughout the production cycle in a participatory decision making mode, whilst involving IWPR whenever they needed guidance.

The IWPR, though originated and situated in the Western hegemonic structures, did not adopt hegemonic relations of power towards the partners—at least not explicitly. As explained in the following Chapter, IWPR leaves the meanings of justice quite open to local interpretations, even if its own focus was on ICC and legal issues. Accordingly, while they have trained the local journalist to report on legal issues, the broader training they provided has meant that many other issues could be addressed as crucial local concerns.

Chapter 4: Framing and Representations of Justice

4.0. Introduction

This chapter applies framing and focalisation to the content of specific, selected FJ episodes. Different levels at which post-war justice perspectives emerge, and various stakeholders involved are identified, but analysis of meanings is conducted in Chapter 5, which also links findings with scholarly literature. In order to offer a more systematic account of frames and ways of representing justice in FJ radio programme, this chapter separates the content of episodes into four broad themes. These are: a) service delivery, b) access to justice, c) war crime trials, and d) gender justice (see Appendix 3 for more details). This chapter presents one podcast reflecting each of the first three frames, and two podcasts around the theme of gender justice (both dealing with domestic violence).

4.1. Service Delivery Thematic Frame

On 15 December 2011, IWPR published and subsequently broadcast a FJ radio feature with a caption; “New Districts Lag Behind on Services”⁷. A chime rings and a male voice utters; “This is Facing Justice, brought to you by the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, and Northern Uganda Media Club, NUMEC, discussing issues of justice and human rights in Northern Uganda”. This is how FJ radio features often begun. The focus of this episode was delivery of social services to local communities in three newly created districts in Northern Uganda, focusing on health, education, and access to clean drinking water. The commentator, Florence Ogola takes a role of a moderator: she gives interpretation and analysis, introduces the topic of discussion, the main questions, and the perspectives represented in interviews conducted by FJ reporters:

“Pader district was created in 2002. Like all newer districts, the government said it is creation would bring services closer to the people. Pader is now about a decade old, but how do its people perceive the current level of health care? Facing Justice Reporter, Gillian Lamunu, visited two health centres in the district to find out”.

The discussion in this episode was structured into three parts, beginning with health issues, then access to clean water and lastly education issues, taking one district as a case study for each service sector.

In relation to health services in Pader district, FJ reporter, Gillian Lamunu describes what she witnessed at Pader Health Centre III, and suggests that there is poor quality medical care with inadequate medical supplies, infrastructure and health workers:

“Over 50 patients are seated on cemented seats in a large hall, waiting to be attended to by health workers. A look inside one of the rooms where patients are entering one at a time reveals one health worker dressed in a white overcoat. The health centre sits on a bushy compound, about one kilometre, from the busy centre but still within the town council”

⁷ <http://dev.iwpr.info/report-news/new-districts-lag-behind-services>

Individuals interviewed expressed concerns over the availability of medicines in health centres as well as complaints of harsh treatment by medical workers. A female patient identified as Amiro explained that although she had prescription, she had to buy her medicine. A male patient called Ojok confirms that “you sometimes get medicine, sometimes, you do not. You buy drugs sometimes because there aren’t any in the health centre”. A district official FJ spoke to notes that there is only one doctor who is based at the district headquarters doing administrative work, implying that there are not enough doctors attending to patients.

In connection to accessing clean and safe drinking water, locals were sharing water with animals or using unsafe water thus making them vulnerable to water-borne diseases. They also felt that this is abuse of human dignity. One resident in Aboke village stated: “we have water problem here, and if you fail to pay for water at the end of the month, you do not drink clean and safe drinking water. We go and draw the water from the wells and yet those wells we share with animals”. A district official acknowledged the concerns about clean water in Kole. She said; “I will of course conquer with that person that we have shortages of water supply in Kole, safe water of course. But as a district, we are trying our best really to have those three areas which are severely hit by the water shortages...”

Third key service to the people of Northern Uganda addressed in this podcast is education. Of the two schools visited in both Kole and Amuru districts, there are significant challenges relating to teacher capacity, class sizes, pupil accessibility, and other amenities like furniture. To make it more explicit, FJ reporter offers a descriptive account of his visit to one school in Amuru district:

“(Brum-brum-brum-brum; motorcycle engine sounding before switching off). I have just arrived at Kaladima Primary school compound. Pupils are few; because most of them have just completed their final examination...Kaladima Primary School is about 40 Kilometers from Amuru district headquarters. It is a government-aided primary school that was started in the late 80s. It has four classrooms that are fit to be called classrooms. One other block with four rooms has no wall and no seats. The school pit latrine with twenty-five stances for both boys and girls and teaching staff. The staff room is a grass-thatched hut. The school has a total enrolment of 730 pupils and it receives three hundred thousand shillings of UPE funds per term; 35% goes for scholastic materials, 10% for administration, management takes 15%, and the rest goes for contingency. The head teacher of the school declined to talk to the press, saying, they have received a circular barring them from talking to the press”.

Local Council III Chairman highlighted some of the reasons behind the poor quality of education in the region:

“One, the ratio of classrooms to pupils is very poor. Whereby in other schools you find that the school is up to primary seven but classes are only six. Others are even in poorer conditions, whereby pupils even sit under trees. Secondly, also you have ratio of teachers to pupils, which is very poor. In some schools, we have about 200 pupils to one teacher, especially in the lower forms. Then, [there is] the ratio of latrines to pupils. This affects mostly girls; and when there is poor sanitation, girls may fear and even drop from school”.

Similarly, a government official states that there are still large shortcomings in education in the district:

“The creation of the new district is intended to bring services nearer to the people, but looking at education, we realised there are some loopholes. The first instance, when you look at the facilities itself, it is not updated. Where when you move around schools, you realise that, most schools do not have the necessary facilities, which are key in facilitating the necessary teachings. Then secondly, when you look at the enrolment itself, you realise that people who are joining the UPE programme, the number is relevant, but when we look at the pupil-teacher’s ratio, then it is alarming...”

The podcast draws a conclusion that, “social service delivery to the people is still a challenge. While district services are often physically closer to communities, inadequate funding from central government means that the standard of services is often poor. Access to safe and clean drinking water, quality healthcare, and education remain a challenge for communities in the new districts”.

Perspectives represented in this podcast are those of local community considered beneficiaries’ of social services, on one hand. On the other hand, there are reactions from government officials, also from a local level, addressed as the responsible authorities and duty bearers. Absent or silenced voices are from practitioners such as medical staff and teachers, who are said to have been barred from speaking to the media. The perspectives of the FJ reporters and the commentator are also present, enforcing the views of the affected population.

4.2. Access to Justice Thematic Frame

Published on 21 Dec 2010⁸, this podcast focused on the possible formation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Uganda. It presents a wide range of expert opinions on what a truth commission is, the purpose it serves, mechanisms of truth seeking as well as non-expert opinions, mostly on implications of a truth commission. The scope of this debate, as suggested by the commentator’s remarks, conceptualises Truth Commission as an important platform required by Uganda as a whole to recover from years of conflict, including the LRA war. Thus, it was somehow an ambitious debate, reflected in the variety of stakeholders whose opinion was cast in the programme, ranging from victims, former LRA fighters, opinion leaders, politicians, civil society organisations, academicians, legal experts, and government officials.

Professor Joanna Quinn, director of Centre for Transitional Justice and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Canada, interviewed in FJ programme, defined Truth Commissions as an effort through which people seek to understand what actually happened. Truth Commissions are seen as part of restorative justice and an essential component of the justice process that can help restore peace and community cohesion. Quinn argues that truth commissions can begin to repair relationships between people as well as restore a balance within communities. The episode explores further the question of “how a truth commission could help people recover from war and if people are actually ready for an open dialogue about past atrocities”.

⁸ <http://dev.iwpr.info/report-news/high-hopes-uganda-truth-commission>

Justice James Ogola, Chairman of the Transitional Justice Working Group at the government's Justice Law and Order Sector argues that the Truth Commission is one element of the Juba Peace Agreement signed between government and LRA in 2007:

“The Juba Peace Agreements set up three pillars; one was Truth Telling and reconciliation. But the other two were mechanisms, one which is the court, the war crimes court to hear and process and adjudicate issues of the worst atrocities that were committed. And the third pillar of course was the traditional mechanisms, to use what we traditionally use in our communities to address the atrocities of the kind that have come up in this conflict”.

Justice here would then mean a combination of all the three pillars. First, justice as truth-telling that also involves reconstructing narratives of all aspects of the war. Quinn argued that all parties - such as various groups, victims, government, and community members - should be part of, “because ideally, you would like to draw a complete picture as you can possibly build”. Second, justice means prosecution of war crimes, and all the punitive aspects administered through a judicial system, bringing the alleged perpetrators of atrocious crimes to account. Lastly, justice is also seen as a tradition, practice or a ritual embedded in the cultural and social structures of Acholi people. A former combatant noted “a Truth and Reconciliation Commission is a natural way for the Acholi people in Northern Uganda to deal with conflict”.

However, some individuals expressed fears in taking part in the truth commission, especially in relation to public identification of people who committed crimes. They assert that this would lead to tensions between people, tribes, and communities. “Like when I kill your son and then I am now saying it is me who killed this one on such a day, I killed the other one also, of course you will not have mercy on me...” said a former combatant. However, Justice Ogola urged “the legislation should...ensure that witnesses are protected, that victims are given the widest latitude to come forward in the knowledge that they will not be victimised”.

The programme also addressed material compensation, medical care, rehabilitation, and reconciliation. A village elder lamented: “Our women need treatment because most of them were infected. And then rehabilitation, also financial support, these women also need counselling”. In other episodes under this frame, the discussions focused not on whether it was right or wrong to compensate victims of war, but rather on what could be the modalities through which compensation package can be provided.

The complexity of the views presented suggests that compensation is important for justice. For some stakeholders, it may be the most important aspect of justice, while for others recognition, truth-seeking and reliance on culturally approved traditional mechanisms of dealing with war crime are important.

This podcast, thus, demonstrates that when it comes to dealing with war crimes, justice, just like truth, is not singular or one-sided but intertwined, complex and involving multiple mechanisms, concerns, and actors. Speaking in the radio programme, Lino Owora Ogora contends that Truth Commission is not an end in itself but needs to be the starting point for other forms of transitional justice:

“What happens after the Truth seeking process? Are we just going to have a truth seeking process and that is the end of it? Or are we going to have a truth seeking

process that actually betters the lives of victims? If it is truth without action then we had better not have it. But the truth should be accompanied with action; it should be accompanied by accountability against the perpetrators, it should be accompanied by reparations for the victims, it should be accompanied by restitution, it should be accompanied by a host of very many other things that victims desire in order to heal”.

The opinions in this programme seemed to suggest that the idea of truth telling is necessary, but it is difficult to get it translated into practice, let alone to achieve it.

4.3. War Crimes Trials Thematic Frame

This episode focused on witness protection in trials at the high court and was published on September 13, 2011⁹. From the start, the commentator, Florence Ogola, explained that the charging of alleged former LRA commander, Thomas Kwoyelo, with war crimes at the International Crimes Division (ICD) of the Ugandan High Court has drawn attention to the absence of a clear witness and victim protection mechanism in Uganda. Perhaps because Kwoyelo trial is the first war crimes case to be tried in Uganda, applying international laws and procedures used at the international courts and tribunals, such as the ICC in The Hague. He is charged with 65 accounts including murder, rape, and abduction. He denies all the charges. The case stalled in early August of 2011, after the defense filed a challenge over the legality of the trial at the constitutional court in Kampala.

Florence Ogole said: “Lawyers and human rights experts agree that witness and victim protection is key for a free and fair trial at the International Crimes Division”. Psychosocial support was central for witnesses bound to relay their traumatic experiences in Court. Deputy Chief Justice, Laeticia Kikonyogo argued; “a fair trial calls for a balancing of fair trial rights of the accused person and ensuring safety of witnesses”.

FJ Reporters in Gulu, Lira, and Kitgum districts asked war victims if they would testify in court in the absence of a comprehensive protective mechanism. One male victim said “before the witness is brought to the court, the court should have to see the situation if the person will not be affected psychologically or physically during the trial at the court”. Another war victim draws on her personal experience to explain the current situation of victims: “talking as a victim little has been done to a person like me who has been a survivor, not even counselling”.

This radio programme claimed that all legal experts agree that strong witness protection measures are key requirements for war crimes cases in Uganda, and highlighted likely challenges a witness would face in court without adequate witness protection. According to a lawyer based in Lira, a witness can be exposed to social stigma (in case of a rape victim for instance), death threats, as well as psychosocial problems or posttraumatic stress disorders. Victims’ organisations in Northern Uganda echoed similar concerns citing cultural and traditional community structures. Project coordinator of Empowering Hands Uganda, based in Gulu argued: “victims and witness live in the very same communities where the

⁹ <http://dev.iwpr.info/report-news/uganda-witness-protection-under-scrutiny>

perpetrators come from...on a daily basis, they either mix or meet with the family of the perpetrator or friends or relatives of the perpetrators and thus protection needs to be taken seriously”.

For prosecutions to result in outcomes that would eventually be perceived as just, witness protection is vital in ensuring the integrity of the case and securing vital testimony about the crimes alleged in court. This means that witness protection is not only key for welfare of witnesses per se, but is linked to legal meanings of justice. Thus, withdrawal of a witness or a number of witnesses who are to testify in a criminal case, make justice legally unattainable.

Another speaker pointed out the complication of testifying against government or cases already judged by public opinion:

“If you are going to be a witness in the case like of Kwoyelo, in a case against people suspected to have caused terrorism in the bombing of people in Kampala, the public will not like you if you’re going to try and defend a person who has been convicted by public opinion”.

Alluding to how justice systems in Africa have been susceptible to hegemonic impositions from the Western judicial institutions and mechanisms, Komakech Henry Kilama warned:

“...we should avoid this system of cut-and-paste, getting from international standards without necessarily suiting them to our standards here. Because you see, if you are talking about relocating a witness, you might have to do that for the whole extended family, then what is the cost implication? So we must adapt a system which will suit the African context with our kind of families and our lifestyle”.

This specific podcast concludes that, as Uganda undertakes it is first ever war crimes trial of an alleged commander in the LRA, a number of challenges exist on how to handle witnesses.

4.4. Gender Justice Thematic Frame

Two episodes published on 1 February 2011¹⁰ and on 15 January 2012¹¹, both dwelled on domestic violence and gender-based violence. The main issues that they address are the problems of women’s awareness of their rights, knowledge about the law, access to the law officials and courts, preparedness and training of the law officials, and cultural attitudes towards domestic and gender-based violence that condone the violence, blame the woman for marriage failings, and ultimately make the woman withdraw the charge. Participants also discussed the triggers of violence, such as socio-economic situation – especially unemployment of men – and alcoholism.

The first episode explores views by local community members on incidences of domestic abuse as well as expert opinions on attitudes to domestic violence and enforcement of the Domestic Violence Act. Data from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics indicate that, “68% of married women aged between 15 and 49, had experienced some form of violence at the hands of their spouse or partner” which suggests that women suffer more from domestic abuses including wife beating and therefore need protection. Furthermore, discussion revolved

¹⁰ <http://dev.iwpr.info/report-news/opinion-split-domestic-violence-act>

¹¹ <http://dev.iwpr.info/report-news/northern-ugandas-domestic-violence-challenge>

around extension of legal intervention of criminal law into the realm of the family. Human rights lawyer said, “What the act does is to make certain acts of violence in a family criminal”. Marital rape for example is one of the new offences that domestic violence act introduces in addition to wife beating or husband beating or beating of children in a home argues Opiyo.

Susan Kavuma states that, “although violence against women is a national problem in Uganda, it has traditionally been particularly high in the north where law and order fell apart over two decades of brutal conflict”. In reference to the Uganda Law Reform Commission’s study of 2008, domestic violence occurred in 78% of homes in the Northern region. A community educator argued that there was an improvement in the situation of domestic violence. He noted that, unlike in the past where women were unable to engage in trade, women are now involved in doing business. A female community member confirms this shift arguing that “in the past, women used to get permission from their husbands to go to the markets but that has changed now”. However, to some other women who also spoke in the debate, violence against women remains a challenge. A community member lamented: “I can go and spilt stones to get some money, the man will come and demand for the money. He will not care that this woman has struggled to get money to help pay the children in school...He will instead take away the money and drink it”

Whereas the existence of the laws had an effect, as pointed out by some participants in the debate, interviewed experts suggest that gender justice does not only entail the existence of laws, but also the awareness of procedures involved and the actual implementation by the responsible persons. According to a programme coordinator at FIDA, the Uganda’s association of women lawyers, one possible reason why the new law is having a noticeable effect is that some women are “aware of their rights, they are being aware of where exactly to report the matters, and the duty bearers are responding very fast”.

However, few perpetrators have been successfully prosecuted for violence in the home. The commentator, Susan Kavuma explained that only 58 out of 1100 cases of abuse or assault in the home reported to police in the mid-Eastern region since March 2010 resulted in successful prosecution. The police spokesperson for the mid-Eastern region said that one challenge police faces is that victims of domestic abuse who report an offence often reconcile with their partner or the perpetrator and no longer want to pursue the case:

“We have done everything possible to make sure that we take these people to court. Each time a matter is reported to police, we try to make sure that, the matter goes to court. But we also have a challenge, that someone who has beaten a wife, you are processing a file to take the person to court, but these two people will go back. And so the these two families will go back and settle, and then a woman is compensated, the medical bill is maybe cleared by the husband, then at the end of it all, someone turns around and tell you that we have reconciled”

Similarly, public opinion tends to blame women for failed marriages as well as view women as economically dependent on men. The police spokesperson noted: “...women are largely aware of their rights but they are so disadvantaged in such a way that...they think that, even if you are suffering, you are better married than being single...unless a woman has her own source of income”. From this perspective, marriage for women institutionalises and normalises gender-based injustices.

He explained that cultural values impede a woman from reporting a case of domestic violence against her husband. Simply by making domestic violence look like a common challenge that traditionally affects every marriage institution. Thus, a woman's failure to contain domestic chaos means she cannot successfully keep a home. He added: "the culture still make it so hard for a woman to leave her marital home, come back to their father's compound and can have respect and decent live. So that forces them to actually stay in their marital homes even when they are out rightly facing domestic violence"

As noted in the second episode of the FJ on domestic violence:

"Issues of gender-based violence many times happen between people who know each other. It could be a family member; it could be a close friend, so that also has a lot of interplay for a survivor to make decisions; if it is the husband, many times, they withdraw the charges. Secondly, there is fear, that it is a shameful thing, so they cannot be seen to come into public"

For Nicholas Opiyo, a human rights lawyer, it is commonplace for the Domestic Violence Act, the Genital Mutilation Act as well as laws on women's access to property and land not to be accepted, particularly in rural communities. He argues:

"The communities have ignored many of these laws for three reasons. First, because of ignorance. Second, they see the law as being in conflict with their cultures and therefore they choose their cultures first. Thirdly, the enactment of these laws did not involve the views or inputs of these people, so by and large many of these laws remain on paper but do not really have an effect in rural communities such as in Northern Uganda where people are very poor, people are very illiterate"

To counter ignorance and create awareness of the existing legislations, the debate underscored the importance of sensitising communities and particularly the appropriate ways to inform men about issues concerning women's rights, if they are to embrace the fight against domestic violence. Betty Ochan Awol, woman Member of Parliament for Gulu district and General Secretary of the Uganda Women Parliamentary Association said:

"If they are approached with a lot of anger and strength, then our men even resist but if we go gradually with some explanation and let them understand the impact of domestic violence, with some recorded cases, we need to give some testimonies then they get to understand"

However, some opinions pointed to the lack of capacity and inadequate facilitation of police as a critical challenge to enforcement of the domestic violence act. Betty Ochan said that:

"One of the biggest challenge for the police in the case of domestic violence is reaching the spot where domestic violence has taken place. In most cases, they complain that, they do not have fuel; they do not have enough facilitation to reach there, so they ask from the community"

Access to courts is important for the victims of domestic violence, as discussed in the second episode, by Rocky Menya of the American Refugee Committee:

"Definitely, it is more difficult for people who do not have money, people who are in the rural setting down in the communities... Because courts are based in town centres, like in Gulu town, in Kitgum town, in Soroti town, in the major towns...so if you have any court hearing, you [are] travelling from the village to come to town, and that is expensive. And because it is expensive, people usually give up because they do not have the money..."

Another issue strongly discussed in this episode is alcoholism, particularly men's over consumption of alcohol. It is highlighted that women often suffered violence once their men drunk alcohol. A woman said; "the main problem is still alcohol; he demands for sex when he comes back home drunk". While Nicholas Opiyo agrees that those involved in alcoholism are largely causing domestic violence, he argues that alcoholism is in itself a symptom of wider issues that need addressing in the region. He contends:

"...you got to look at the broader reasons why people resort to alcoholism; they are wider issues of poverty, unemployment, and ignorance. If you go to the villages, people have no work to do; young men and women wake up to either brew or take alcohol as a means of livelihood"

The second episode engages with more discussion towards implementation and impact of the law, as well as other forms of gender-based violence. Concerns raised by experts and officials in Northern Uganda such as limited knowledge of the act and limitations of police force dominate the programme. What is more, this episode clearly includes men and children as victims of domestic abuse as opposed to the earlier focus on women as the most common victims of domestic abuse. As such, the purpose of the domestic violence act is to penalise any individual who injures or endangers their partner or family member in the home.

Betty Amongin also notes that the fight against gender-based violence was being frustrated by a wide spread lack of awareness of the law among key actors, such as local councillors, who should be at the forefront of its implementation. Although civil society organisations have grasped the new law, other principal actors such as local governments are yet to do so.

Florence Ogola explained that police investigated 8645 cases of defilement, rape, and other sexual cases, nationally according to a police report. Of these, 4012 were taken to court. The same police report indicated that 4781 cases of child neglect were recorded in 2010. Of these, only 452 went to court. This implies that only a fraction of all cases reported to police result into prosecution. For successful prosecution of cases of rape and defilement, police depend on availability of medical doctors mostly in government health units for medical examination, thus, medical examinations are not done on time, and as first as required. Juma Hassan, police Spokesperson for Eastern Uganda said, "with rape or defilement, as soon as the offence has been committed that person has to go through medical examination so that if someone is found to be HIV positive, there is a way of response before the situation gets out of hand". This suggests that any inefficiencies in a healthcare system may deny victims of gender-based violence access to justice.

While views expressed by both local community, government officials and experts suggest that the passing of the domestic violence act was an important milestone, it is clear that the law alone will not reduce instance of gender-based violence in Northern Uganda. This programme recommends that, for the fight against gender-based violence to succeed, there is need to guide the local councillors and government officials in using their powers to implement the law. The capacity of the police and medical practitioners must also be built up in order to mediate between individuals concerned and enact criminal prosecutions where necessary.

In this chapter, framing and focalisation were applied to the content of five podcasts, which laid the foundation for further analysing the meanings of justice

in *Facing Justice* in Chapter 5, where I revisit some issues raised in earlier chapters around interpretation and significance of such modes of representation in understanding what justice means in a post-war context.

Chapter 5: Analysis of Meanings of Justice

5.0. Introduction

This chapter analyses meanings of justice as represented in FJ radio programme. The analysis here builds on the framing and focalisation analysis in Chapter 4. The chapter returns to the central research question of what different levels and actors mean when they use the term justice, and discuss issues related to justice, on the radio in the post-war setting. A range of meanings of justice emerge, including local meanings linked to rectificatory approach that challenge the dominant legal approach to justice. While the legal interpretations of justice remain important, my analysis shows that livelihoods is one of the central issues of justice presented.

5.1. Theoretical Reflection on Meanings of Justice

The meanings of justice produced from the FJ radio programme reflect a mixture of legal, distributive and rectificatory interpretations of justice.

Legal justice is seen as the enforcement of the rule of law, and involves the aspect of proper administration of the law (Mani 2005: 26). Indicating, that justice can be found in the application of the law in which there is fair and equitable treatment of conflicting claims. Justice then tends to be measured through processes such as arrests, detentions, and trials of suspects by police, courts, and other judicial institutions. It is normative, procedural process. The assumption here is that once the process is just then the outcome is also just, which may not necessarily be the case.

As Nouwen points out, distributive justice refers to the “elimination of structural and systematic injustices such as political and economic discrimination and inequalities of distribution” (in Adebajo et al. 2012:171-172). This may mean that, justice is achieved through proper distribution of wealth and power, for example. Thus, distributive justice focuses more on outcomes. The assumption is that, a solution to war, violence, and impunity would be to redistribute wealth or power, and prevent further violence. This suggests that the process does not matter but rather what matters is the means. Interestingly, both legal and distributive justice have the element of the ‘proper’ as a yardstick for measuring a just outcome. However, what ‘proper’ distribution actually means is equally relative and surprisingly not seen as justice by everybody.

Rectificatory justice, sometimes called corrective justice, is seen as a process of addressing direct consequences in terms of abuses inflicted on individuals (Mani 2005: 25-26). This is further, divided into two forms: restorative justice and punitive justice. Restorative justice implies the restoration of the position of the victim and of the affected relationships. Punitive justice by contrast, refers to inflicting a penalty on the perpetrator. Another form of justice seem to originate from restorative justice: a victim-centred justice. This very specific type of justice sharply contrast legal and distributive justice, because it targets only the victims assumed to have unfairly suffered atrocious harm against their will.

Another form of justice that has risen to prominence in recent years is gender justice. It aims at realising gender equality and therefore targets women (and

more recently, there is acknowledgement that this refers to men too) who are disadvantaged or suffer unfair treatment because of their gender. However, gender justice, like any other form of justice, does not follow a straitjacket approach but may be realised through all other forms of justice mentioned here.

While those different and often distinct forms of justice have been theorized in diverse scholarship, my research shows that FJ framing of justice is more complex and less straight forward, and that different interpretations and meanings of justice are much more intertwined with each other.

5.2. Analytical Reflections on Findings: Partnerships for, and Meanings of, Justice

This research was focused on two main questions: one, regarding the power relationships between a donor and local partners; and two, regarding the meanings of justice in the content of the radio programme.

In Chapter 2, I have noted that, very often, the relationship between donors such as IWPR and local organisations like NUMEC are defined in terms of hegemony. I have argued that the kind of relationships, networks, and partnerships different media organizations establish also represent their relationships of power, which ideally are hegemonic. Thus, understanding the balance of such power relations becomes more difficult when actors claim to be in a collaborative partnership, as was the case between IWPR and its local partners in Uganda.

This study has revealed that the nature of relationship between IWPR and its partners can be seen as a developmental relationship (Higgins and Kram 2001:266-269). It is a multilevel and networked relationship, but with the IWPR as the sponsor still located at the top of the FJ project hierarchy, especially during (financial) decision making, as well as central actor in the FJ network in terms of training, mentorship, and radio programming. Furthermore, findings in Chapter 3 of this study indicate that the relationship between IWPR and local partner organisations in Uganda represents an alternative type of relationship that is organised through alternative power sharing. The relationship then is not perceived as hegemonic, but rather as a partnership based on mutual respect, understanding, and agreement, whereby consenting parties actually share the same political agenda relating to building peace and democracy, even though each of them maybe positioned differently in hierarchies of power. For instance IWPR being a donor had a superior position in decision making regarding financing, training and mentorship over it is local partner who are mostly recipients. However, in terms of solidarity, teamwork, organisation, processes of radio programming and networking, their relations were equally different; decisions were based on consensus even though they may have been embedded in power relations. Therefore, IWPR, though originated and situated in the Western hegemonic structures, did not adopt hegemonic relations of power towards the partners — at least not explicitly. The power imbalance is seen by the interviewees more with-in the professional expertise than in direct dictate of the financial donor about the issues or topics to be broadcast.

Regarding the second research question on meanings of justice in FJ radio programme, four thematic frames: service delivery, access to justice, war crime trials, and gender justice, indicate the complex and multiple interpretations of justice:

Of the forty-nine FJ radio features, twenty-one are linked to service delivery, making it the most dominant frame through which several issues were discussed, including access to water, health and education services, use of public funds and administration of districts, food security, road infrastructure, and corruption. Focus on those issues clearly indicates that meanings of justice produced in FJ radio programmes are not reduced to the legal, punitive issues (as important as those may be) but encompass issues of post-war livelihoods. While the episode I analysed does not explicitly discuss livelihoods as popularly defined as the means of securing the basic necessities of life such as food, medicine, water and shelter, focus on delivery of social services to local communities could be seen as an important step to restoring human dignity and entitlement to a decent living. If justice as suggested by the UN Report on the rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies means “regard for the interests of victims and wellbeing of society” (Secretary-General 2004: 4), then the desire for quality and affordable social services could imply justice. Under this podcast, justice means proper delivery of basic social services such as healthcare, education, water, and road networks. In addition, justice also implies an equitable distribution of resources by central government, as perceived by the local government officials who complain about unequal distribution of resources.

Access to justice frame is directly related to the war violence and its analysis points to a mix of legal and rectificatory types of justice. In relation to legal justice, justice means seeking redress through the application of the law and use of formal justice bodies such as police and the courts. The legal path to justice was crosscutting in all thematic frames, thus making legal the most dominant perspective of justice. However, other opinions indicate that, justice is not (just) about arresting and jailing perpetrators, but rather, it is about reconciliation, healing and offering psychosocial support such as rehabilitation, and reintegration, all of which relate to rectificatory justice with more emphasis on restorative justice. In the episode analysed, justice means a combination of truth-telling, reparations, reconciliation, and punishment of perpetrators of crimes. Although, the podcast analysed focused more on truth-telling and reconciliation; five other podcasts were produced under this frame focusing on material compensation as a form of justice which involves paying victims for damages caused or inflicted on them. Similarly, justice is also seen as a tradition, practice or a ritual embedded in the cultural and social structures of the Acholi people. As such, justice is a common principle and a value, based on collective community responsibility, and can be found in the application of cultural and traditional reconciliatory mechanisms, as opposed to the trials at the ICC. Discussion and analysis in this frame confirms what Armstrong (2014: 3) at the beginning of this paper described as competing sovereignties debating justice.

In war crimes trials thematic frame, legal justice was central. Under this frame, justice essentially means prosecution of war crimes, and all the punitive aspects administered through a judicial system, in which the alleged perpetrators of atrocious crimes are held accountable. In the context of radio podcast reviewed, as in all others relating to thematic frame of war crime trials, justice is linked to ICC Style Justice. That is, punitive justice; where the focus is on punishing perpetrators, often with the use of international legal instruments. Overall, several episodes on war crimes trials suggest prosecution and accountability for atrocious crimes as fundamental to justice, including possibilities of prosecuting

Kony and his top commanders at the ICC in The Hague or any other court that might later be established, like the Ugandan ICD.

Within gender justice thematic frame, justice can be associated to victim-centred justice, thereby targeting mostly victims assumed to have suffered domestic abuse, based on their gender. Two podcasts analysed in relation to gender-based violence, reveal a tension between two main meanings of justice already identified in the previous frames: legal and restorative justice. Proponents of legal justice indicate that, the offender has to be arrested, tried, and convicted in the courts of law, thus implying justice as prosecution and punishment. Preference for restorative justice by contrast is expressed in the view that, the victim and perpetrator of domestic crimes are reconciled using traditional mechanisms and local council one courts. By implication, justice in a domestic and private context such as marriage is a lot more complex with unresolved tension between reconciliation and prosecution. Police seemed frustrated and unable to conclude on cases of domestic and gender-based violence because of withdrawal of cases in the name of reconciliation. Meanwhile there is an attempt to harmonise traditional and legal justice in that, reconciliation as a form of traditional justice was only possible at the level of the local council, using the clan system, and once the case was reported to the police then legal justice is said to set in motion. Despite this harmonisation, police view reconciliation as a cultural value meant for peaceful coexistence but not justice per se. As such, reconciling then becomes a coping mechanism for neutralising socio-economic pressures, whilst creating a tolerated suffering in which women become prisoners of marriage. Besides, marriage becomes a cultural institution through which domestic and gender-based injustices are normalised since women shoulder the blame for any failings in marriage.

Looking at focalisation, particularly dealing with the question: whose perspective and position is privileged by FJ radio programme. The programme focalises three categorises of perspectives: local community, government officials, and experts. Local community perspectives include a variety of contributors: victims, former LRA fighters, traditional/cultural, religious leaders, elders, opinion leaders, and farmers. Government officials as the second category include; civil servants, police officials, district officials, politicians and members of parliament. Third category were the experts linked to civil society organisations, academicians, legal experts such as lawyers and judges. While there appears a diverse representation of perspectives, however, some dominant voices mostly expert standpoints are evident. Perspectives of local communities are mostly used to either authenticate or reinforce arguments advanced by those identified as experts whilst views from government officials' reflected as responses to concerns raised by local communities. Aspects of hegemonic impositions of Western-oriented and legally based interpretations of justice are dominant in discussion on war crimes and gender justice whereas distributive justice and rectificatory meanings of justice feature rather in relation to livelihoods and well-being.

Though FJ radio programme may be seen as integrating various perspectives, and perhaps balanced, however, my analysis suggest some silences and absences of certain perspectives arising from editorial choices. For instance, issues of employment, income generating activities, and other forms of economic livelihoods are among the silences created out of editorial choices. By focusing on accountability issues and reparations, some aspects of post-war livelihoods were

invisibilized despite the fact that large number of podcasts on service delivery and access to justice frames, explicitly and implicitly discuss issues relating to post-war livelihoods. Likewise, despite gender issues being present in many other frames, a few radio programmes address very specifically links between gender and justice, something that may have also been a result of editorial choices.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This research has investigated the politics of representing justice on donor-supported peace radio focusing on one radio programme: *Facing Justice*.

My first research question was about the collaboration between IWPR, NUMEC, and a radio station 102 Mega FM in the production and broadcast of FJ, radio programme, and how these three media actors work on issues of justice. From the onset, this study was interested in understanding how Western ideas enter the local power relationships and debates on justice. My keen interest in the relationships of power between them led me to analyse their relationships through a number of stages of production of FJ radio programme and conclude that the actors are involved in partnership with quite clear distribution of influence. IWPR had crucial say about finances, but NUMEC and local staff were crucial in decision making about thematic programming. Justice issues were selected and framed based on what the producers – IWPR, and NUMEC – perceived as being newsworthy for the (mostly) local audiences in Northern Uganda thus living the question of what is included and excluded to editorial choices. While such choices could have been influenced by public demand, this study does not deal with the analysis of the audience who could have played a part in reinforcing any absences and silences of certain topics.

It is evident that the primary target audience for whom the FJ reporters framed, selected, interpreted and broadcast justice issues were the locals in Northern Uganda, particularly in Acholi, Lango, Teso and West Nile sub regions. This is justified by the production of FJ programme in English and three local languages: Ateso, Lugbara and Luo mostly spoken in these sub regions. Besides the local audiences in Northern Uganda, FJ radio programme also targeted other international audiences involved in research, policy/law making, and advocacy around human rights and justice issues.

The second main question addressed in this paper is that of what meanings of justice does FJ radio programme produce or uphold, in the context of post-war justice in Uganda. As presented in Chapter 5, the meanings of post-war justice produced in the radio programme *Facing Justice* are widely dispersed and emerge from local, regional, national, and international levels and three main categories of stakeholders: local communities, government officials and experts whose opinions define or interpret meanings of justice. The experts which, include local elites, national, and international professionals, have received substantial space in the FJ programme, and their opinions have often shaped the discussions, to the point that voices of ordinary local people sometimes seemed to be used only as a confirmation of expert opinion. Local government officials are often put in the defensive position, to either confirm or explain causes of inadequate official responses to local demands. At the same time, it is important to note that a wide variety of people and voices has been present in almost every episode of the FJ programme.

While the legal interpretations of justice remain important, my analysis shows that FJ has framed local livelihoods and wellbeing as one of the central yet marginalised issues of justice. This conclusion follows from my utilization of the analytical tools of framing and focalisation. While various and often distinct forms of justice have been theorized in diverse scholarship, this research shows

that FJ framing of justice is more complex and less straight forward, and that different interpretations and meanings of justice are much more intertwined with each other.

As a reflection for future research, what is needed perhaps is an approach that recognises the plurality of meanings of justice, on the one hand, and the complexity of achieving justice, on the other. The question of media engagements with these processes remains an important one. I have indicated that, media selectivity can be as 'objective' as possible if the producers can be more upfront about what position they take and whose concerns they are voicing. This is the claim of standpoint theory. Implying that objectivity of any radio programme depends on how issues are framed and the consideration of who the target audience are. As such, more in-depth analysis of how the message produced and broadcast on radio gets separated from the bias of the producer or perspectives of individual journalists remains wanting.

Radio as a form of media, remains an important actor for political and post-war transitions. As the role of media continues to draw more support from donors and collaborations with various development partners, exploring the links between media and transnationalism remains an important field of research. Equally, audience research and measurement of the impact of radio in peace-building is contemporary need.

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- <http://www.beyondintractability.org/casestudy/sikenyi-great-lakes> Accessed on June 15, 2014

Appendices

Appendix 1: IWPR Partner radio Stations

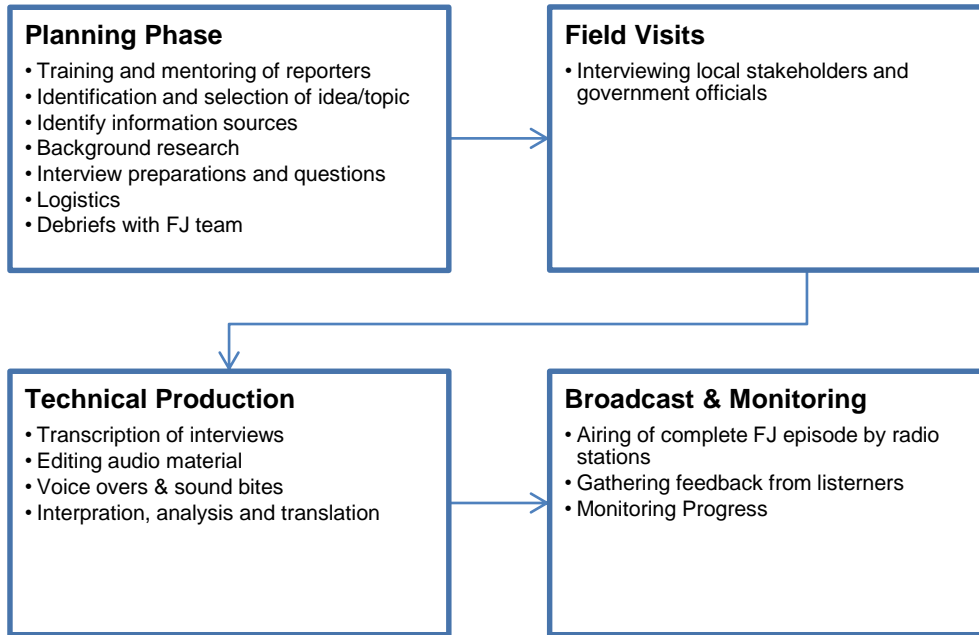
Table 1: Radio stations that regularly aired FJ Programme

No.	Station	District	Languages
1	Radio Pacis	Arua	English, Lugbara, Luo
2	Teso Broadcasting Services	Soroti	English, Ateso
3	Voice of Teso	Soroti	English, Ateso
4	Rhino FM	Lira	English, Luo
5	102 Mega FM	Gulu	English, Luo
6	Choice FM	Gulu	Luo
7	Speak FM	Gulu	English, Luo
8	Radio Palwak	Pader	English, Luo
9	Radio Piwa	Pader	English, Luo
10	Pol FM	Kitgum	English, Luo

(Source: Adaptation from IWPR organisational documents by Researcher)

Appendix 2: Production cycle of FJ radio programme

Figure 1: Production cycle of FJ radio programme



(Source: Researcher)

Appendix 3: Main Thematic Frames

Table 2: Summary of FJ episodes according to key themes

Thematic Frames	FJ Episodes
Service Delivery (21)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • War-Era Guns Blamed for Recent Attacks • Lack of Clean Water Supplies Thwarts IDP Returns • HIV Treatment Out of Reach • Redrawing Boundaries in Northern Uganda • New Districts Lag Behind on Services • Northern Ugandans Facing Food Security Challenge • Trading With South Sudan • Nodding Disease Spreads in Northern Uganda • Battle for Child Welfare in Northern Uganda • Is Uganda Losing Battle Against Nodding Disease? • Northern Uganda Struggling to Cope with Mental Illness • Better Roads Deemed Key to Economic Recovery • Money Squabbles Mar Uganda War Reparations • Development Plan for Northern Uganda Under Scrutiny • Northern Uganda: Concerns Over Development Plans • Medical Referrals Under Scrutiny in Uganda • World Food Programme to Buy from Local Farmers • Local Leaders' Anger at Theft of Development Funds • Northern Uganda's Poor Maternal Care • Growing Up with HIV in Northern Uganda • Education Struggle Continues in Uganda's North
Access to Justice (14)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paying for Justice • High Hopes for Uganda Truth Commission • 5,000 War Victims Still Waiting for Pledged Compensation • Abuse Victims Still Waiting for Damages Pay-outs • Memorials of LRA Conflict Short on Detail • Children's Justice Institutions Deemed Lacking in Uganda's North • Contested Lands in Ugandan North • Compensation Calls as Uganda Renews LRA Amnesty • Uganda's Youth Business Fund Under Scrutiny • Press Freedom Takes a Dive • Northern Uganda Disarmament Scheme Draws Blank • Police Abuse Uncovered in Northern Uganda • Kampala's Compensation Pledge Questioned • Cattle Numbers in Northern Uganda Yet to Recover
War Crimes Trials (10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Uganda Witness Protection Under Scrutiny • Washington's LRA Plan Gets Mixed Reaction • Washington Sends Troops to Support LRA Efforts • Uganda War Crimes Process Shaken • Amnesty Revoked for Uganda's LRA • Lawyers Demand Former Rebel's Release • Former LRA Commander Lobbies African Court Over Release • LRA's Kony Continues to Avoid Capture • Northern Uganda's Prisons Overcrowded • Uganda War Victims' Centre to Close

Gender Justice (4)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Opinion Split on Domestic Violence Act• Widows' Inheritance Struggle• Female Abductees Suffer Reintegration Pain• Northern Uganda's Domestic Violence Challenge
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(Source: Researcher)

Appendix 4: Unpublished Documents/data Sources

IWPR, NUMEC, and I02 Mega FM Organisation documents analysed

1. 102 Mega FM Profile
2. Draft Final Report of the Survey on IWPR's Planned Human Rights and Justice Radio Programme for Uganda (year unavailable)
3. Evaluation of Uganda Human Rights and Radio Training: Gulu September 17-18, 2009
4. Evaluation Report of IWPR's Facing Justice Programme in Northern Uganda, June 2011
5. Facing Justice End of Project Report, August 2013
6. IWPR Training Workshop Concept Note, September (year unavailable)
7. IWPR Uganda Team: Progress Report for Month of January 2012
8. IWPR Uganda Team: Progress Report for Month of November 2011
9. IWPR Uganda Team: Progress Report for Month of October 2011
10. Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between IWPR and 102 Mega FM, October 04, 2011
11. Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between IWPR and Center for Reparation and Rehabilitation (CRR), October 24, 2011
12. Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between IWPR and NUMEC, August 31, 2012
13. Profiles of IWPR Trainees
14. Radio Journalists Workshop 'Facing Justice' IWPR Gulu, Uganda 27-29 September 2010
15. Report of IWPR's Northern Uganda Journalist Training and Mentoring Programme in Justice and Human Rights Reporting September 27-October 20, 2010
16. Report of the IWPR Annual Evaluation Meeting held in Gulu, Uganda, August 4, 2012
17. Report of the IWPR Bi-Annual Evaluation Meeting held in Gulu, Uganda, January 28, 2012
18. Report of the IWPR Uganda Radio Programme Journalists' Training Workshop Held on 17th and 18th September 2009
19. Report on Review Meeting with Radio Managers held on March 03, 2010, Pearl Afrique Hotel, Gulu, Northern Uganda
20. Reporting on Human Rights and Promoting Vigilance towards the Rule of Law in northern Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan, Kenya and DRC; Annual Progress Report Submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, September 10, 2012
21. Reporting on Human Rights and Promoting Vigilance towards the Rule of Law in northern Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan, Kenya and DRC; Final Report Submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, December 16, 2013
22. Terms of Reference, Coordination and Evaluation Uganda FJ radio Programme, 2011
23. Terms of Reference, Reporter: FJ radio Programme, 2011
24. Thoughts on Monitoring the radio programme
25. Training Schedule for IWPR Human Rights and Justice Broadcast Training, Gulu, 27 September-1 October 2010
26. Uganda Monitoring Plan September 2011-August 2012
27. Uganda Quarterly Work Plan July, October 2011
28. Work Plan Northern Uganda

Appendix 5: List of Interviewees

Table 3: Information about interviewees

No.	Position	Organization	Location	Date
1	International Justice programme Director	IWPR	The Hague, Netherlands	July 17, 2014
2	Africa Editor	IWPR	The Hague, Netherlands	July 21, 2014
3	Facing Justice Reporter	NUMEC	Gulu, Uganda	August 04, 2014
4	Facing Justice Editor & Co-ordinator	NUMEC	Gulu, Uganda	August 05, 2014
5	Facing Justice Reporter	NUMEC	Gulu, Uganda	August 06, 2014
6	Facing Justice Reporter	NUMEC	Gulu, Uganda	August 06, 2014
7	Radio Presenter	102 Mega FM	Gulu, Uganda	August 08, 2014
8	Radio Presenter	102 Mega FM	Gulu, Uganda	August 08, 2014
9	Radio programme Manager	102 Mega FM	Gulu, Uganda	August 11, 2014

(Source: Researcher)