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**المراسلات:**

- القاهرة- مدينة نصر - جامعة الأزهر - كلية الإعلام - ت: ٠٢٢٥١٠٨٢٥٦
- الموقع الإلكتروني للمجلة: http://jsb.journals.ekb.eg
- البريد الإلكتروني: mediajournal2020@azhar.edu.eg

- العدد الرابع والستون - الجزء الثاني - جمادى الآخر ١٤٤٤هـ - يناير ٢٠٢٣ م
- رقم الإيداع بدار الكتب المصرية: ٦٥٥٥
- الترقيم الدولي للنسخة الإلكترونية: ٢٦٨٢ - ٢٩٢ x
- الترقيم الدولي للنسخة الورقية: ٩٢٩٧ - ١١١٠

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- **ألا يكون البحث قد سبق نشره في أي مجلة علمية محكمة أو مؤتمرًا علميًا.**
- **لا يقل البحث عن خمسة آلاف كلمة ولا يزيد عن عشرة آلاف كلمة ... وفي حالة الزيادة يتحمل الباحث فروق تكلفة النشر.**
- **يجب ألا يزيد عنوان البحث (الرئيسي والفرعي) عن ٢٠ كلمة.**
- **يرسل مع كل بحث ملخص باللغة العربية وآخر باللغة الانجليزية لا يزيد عن ٢٥٠ كلمة.**
- **يزود الباحث المجلة بثلاث نسخ من البحث مطبوعة بالكمبيوتر .. ونسخة على CD، على أن يكتب اسم الباحث وعنوان بحثه على غلاف مستقل ويشار إلى المراجع والهوامش في المتن بأرقام وترد قائمتها في نهاية البحث لا في أسفل الصفحة.**
- **لا ترد الأبحاث المنشورة إلى أصحابها .... وتحتفظ المجلة بكافة حقوق النشر، ويلزم الحصول على موافقة كتابية قبل إعادة نشر مادة نشرت فيها.**
- **تنشر الأبحاث بأسبقية قبولها للنشر .**
- **ترد الأبحاث التي لا تقبل النشر لأصحابها.**


**جميع الآراء الواردة في المجلة تعبر عن رأي صاحبها ولا تعبر عن رأي المجلة**

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- يتم إعادة تقييم المجلات المحلية المصريه دوريا فى شهر يونيو من كل عام و يكون التقييم الجديد ساريا للسنه التالية للنشر فى هذه المجلات.

# The Journalists' Attitudes towards the Role of Media on Civilian- Military Relations in Sudan

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# اتجاهات الصحفيين نحو دور الإعلام في العلاقات المدنية- العسكرية في السودان

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## Abstract

The tense civilian-military interaction threatens Sudan's political stability and social cohesion. The study focuses on discovering journalists' attitudes toward civil-military relations in Sudan. The aim is to reveal the conditions that make media more effective. The study used online social media platforms to disseminate the survey questions. The target sample for the questionnaire was a composite of males and females representing diverse media institutions. Participants in the selected sample sizes rated at 120. Participants were requested to answer thirty-two questions reflecting the core research problem and objectives. Analysis of the gathered answers demonstrated the realization of certain conditions for identifying impactful media content. Some prerequisites are crucial to make the media able to address the issue of civilian-military rivalry. (1) Media professionals should keep showing initiatives. (2) There must be an insistence on facing potential challenges. (3) Media planning is mandatory to produce viable content. (4) An articulated message is worthwhile to handle issues confronting society and the state. Media applications become indispensable when dealing with the leading issues of society and the state. Hence, conducting further investigative studies are needed. They can apply practical problem-solving techniques and keep civil-military relations neutral and amenable to positive interaction.


**Keywords:** Media, Civil- Military Relations, Journalists, Attitudes


## ملخص الدراسة

توتر العلاقات المدنية العسكرية في السودان يشكل تهديدًا للاستقرار السياسي والتماسك الاجتماعي. تركز الدراسة على قياس اتجاهات الصحفيين تجاه العلاقات المدنية- العسكرية في السودان، كما تهدف إلى التعرف على العوامل التي تجعل الإعلام أكثر فعالية في العاطي مع القضية المطروحة، واستخدمت الدراسة منصَّات التواصل الاجتماعي عبر الإنترنت لنشر أسئلة الاستطلاع. كانت العينة المستهدفة للاستبانة مكوَّنة من ذكور وإناث يمثلون مؤسسات إعلامية متنوعة، وتم تحديد المشاركين في حجم العينة المختارة بـ 120مشاركًا، طُلب منهم الإجابة عن 32 سؤالًا؛ حيث صممت الأسئلة لتعكس مشكلة وأهداف البحث، وقد أظهر تحليل الإجابات التي تم جمعها وجوب تحقق شروط معينة تجعل محتوى الوسائط الإعلامية أكثر تأثيرًا، كما وقفت الدراسة على متطلبات ضرورية تجعل وسائل الإعلام قادرة على التفاعل مع قضية توتر العلاقات المدنية العسكرية تتمثل فيما يلي: (1) يجب على الإعلاميين الاستمرار في إظهار المبادرات. (2) لابد من الإصرار على مواجهة التحديات المحتملة. (3) التخطيط الإعلامي إلزامي لإنتاج محتوى قابل للتطبيق. (4) الرسالة الإعلامية المفسِرة جديرة بمعالجة القضايا التي تواجه المجتمع والدولة. كما أصبحت التطبيقات الإعلامية لا غنى عنها عند التعامل مع القضايا الرئيسة للمجتمع والدولة؛ وبالتالي، هناك حاجة لإجراء مزيد من الدراسات الاستقصائية، كما يمكنهم تطبيق تقنيات عملية لحل المشكلات والحفاظ على العلاقات المدنية العسكرية محايدة وقابلة للتفاعل الإيجابي.


**الكلمات المفتاحية:** الإعلام، العلاقات المدنية العسكرية، الصحفيون، الاتجاهات.

## 1. Introduction

Civil-military tensions have been a long-standing feature of Sudan's political history since its independence in 1956. These tensions manifest themselves in power grabs and direct military involvement in politics. Because military involvement in politics was an anomaly in the political field, theoretical and scholarly contributions marked the issue. An example of military-civilian theory emphasizes the separation between the military and the civilians, asserting that civilian surveillance of the military is an important task that limits domestic military control. (Narli, 2005, p. 232). Notably, the aftermath of military involvement in politics is serious. In this respect, autocratic governments have become a result of military coups. However, the class factor still seems insufficient to justify the decision to take power by force. (Isaacs, 1993, p. 126) .

The theme of civil-military relations is a subject of continuous scientific investigative tasks. To a large extent, media-military contact has been central to civil-military relations theory. Significantly, theorization acts emphasize that civil-military tensions could represent an interplay between media and the military. Seemingly, this representation marks the essence of scientific writings. (Rukavishnikov and Pugh, 2018, p. 127). The valuable task undertaken by media institutions to regulate civil-military relations extensively supports societies in transforming their political legacy for future generations.(Perloff, 2014, p. 96). In the same context, in so-called diverse communities, analysts view these relations from different perspectives, including authority, political actions, economic activities, information mechanisms, knowledge sources, technology, culture, and historical origins. It is worth mentioning here that all these perspectives are involved in complex civil-military relations.(Rukavishnikov and Pugh, 2018, p. 123).

Concerning the particular media's role, constitutions obligate governments to protect the press and media. Their act of protection extends to encompass the fields of free speech, public expression, and the establishment of public communication institutions.(Staniþiü, 2005, p. 122). Bearing in mind that the role of the media on the ground has been affected by the use of appropriate technologies, two main consequences have resulted from the utilization of technological applications. Firstly, the rise in

information supply, just like the massive use of websites and blogs. Secondly, the political utilization of social media platforms. In real terms, the effective use of the media has shaped civil-military relations. Because of technological advancement and the accessibility of dimensional communication processes such as websites and blogs, the provision of detailed information, drafted conceptualizations on political acts, and rapid escalation in providing knowledge has enlarged.(Silva, 2001a, p. 38). Furthermore, the media, on the ground, and other communication implements emphasize challenges and highlight possible solutions. (Pion-Berlin and Dudley, 2020, p. 2).

The media's mission in influencing domestic politics is well connected to the methods we use to identify military obligation. The military's statutory duty is to protect society from external threats. When military officers get involved in politics and become politicians, the system they were supposed to protect collapses. Thus, the withdrawal of troops has several consequences on state and societal levels.(Pion-Berlin and Dudley, 2020, p. 2). If civilians lose their ability to participate, many catastrophic problems can arise. In many cases, the exclusion of political parties and politicians from public administration positions has become pronounced.(Silva, 2001b, p. 98). Based on this, effectual media is necessary to overcome enduring challenges.

Awareness is essential to manipulating Sudan's long-standing hostile relationship between civilians and the military. As a result, information appears to be necessary for achieving social and political stability. From a practical point of view, the mass media is qualified to rectify the inherited state's turmoil. However, using media to create applied solutions represents a genuine opportunity for positive change. The role here goes beyond serving the private interests of a specific group. Due to this, media actors, institutions, and professionals can make a difference on the ground.

**1.1. Research Problem**

Sudan has experienced civil wars as well as panic tribal conflicts. Likewise, it has witnessed a long history of political unrest. In real terms, a long history of political unrest characterizes the country, motivated by strained civilian-military relations. Some notable military coups in the country include those led by Ibrahim Abboud in November 1958, Jaafar Nimeiri in May 1969, and Omar al-Bashir in June 1989. These military periods weighed heavily on the country. They represent the main reasons for the lack of services provided and the absence of development.

Technological developments affect media production. Hence, they cause far-reaching socio-political outcomes. Furthermore, the role of the media extends to influencing prolonged conflicts. As a result, the media can publicize a military mission as merely defensive. More precisely, despite the rapid rise in the using media, its impact on civil-military tensions is still insufficient.(Heinecken, 2020, p. 56). The core question of the study is: What does the media do to affect civil-military relations in Sudan? Consequently, the study stresses four subsidiary questions about the impact of the media on civil-military relations in Sudan:

One/ to what extent does stress in civil-military ties appear to be a necessary topic in media coverage?

Two/ Do journalists and publishers take the initiative to discuss military-civilian relations.

Three/ Are journalists and publishers adamant about confronting the challenges of civilian and military conflicts?

Four/ is the media message presented to the public persuasive?

**1.2. Purpose and Significance of the Study**

The purpose of this research is to identify journalists' attitudes toward the role of the media in Sudanese civilian-military relations. It also emphasizes the complexities that these relationships entail. Regarding the case study, in particular, scientific discussion and assessment of Sudanese media proficiencies are of initial importance and will help pave the way for stability in Sudanese society.

The study examines four determinants that strengthen the effectiveness of media. (1) Importance of the Issue. (2) Initiatives of journalists and publishers. (3) Insistence to face challenges. (4) Persuasive message. The study's leading question is: What effect does media have on normalizing civil-military relations in Sudan? The available literature, data from the questionnaire, and other relevant sources can help analyze the composite details collected. Therefore, the study's argument marks a set of adverse effects following strains in civil-military interaction. It also demonstrates the present/potential media's responsiveness in this regard.

**2. Literature Review**

The literature review follows a semantic order emphasizing categorical elements to show the significant impact of media on civil-military relations in Sudan. Some articles emphasize links between the state, society, and the military. Another material reports power-sharing abuse and force-based power seizure. In addition, explanatory material deals with

paradigms, comparisons, and suggestions to add to the core issue. Another part of the literature review specifies the factors behind military involvement in the state's domestic politics.

**2.1. Mutual Interaction**

State-society interaction is an issue of interest for researchers in human science. Different writings attempt to explain this interaction. The States differ in terms of their ideologies, economic growth, leadership styles, nature of the regime in power, and population size. Hitherto, all share a common patrimonial core to a substantial extent.(Ergas, 1987a, pp. 3–4). Authoritarian tendencies, for example, create internal obstacles and prevent smooth integrative interactions. Therefore, states and societies face diverse threats and challenges. Consequently, organizations and movements oppose state supremacy over society.(Mouzelis, 1989, p. 30).

The military's relationship with society is negotiable. It sometimes becomes ambiguous and problematic. Anyway, the military tendency to political control signifies soulless and rigid perception. It also represents a kind of coercive institution ruled by unthinking, robot-like individuals devoid of social and moral consciousness. Simultaneously, civilian-military-relationships are complex and will fluctuate as the security environment evolves.(Ratuva, 2019, p. 35).

Coups are considered the utmost practical evidence of military involvement in politics. Furthermore, they dominate processes of decision-making. Numerous examples show how military forces have overthrown governments, seizing or transferring power to new authorities.(Pion-Berlin and Dudley, 2020, p. 3). Coups have become incidents that deserve attention and, paradoxically, have also become part of the "legitimate" method to changing elected regimes in several countries.(Assensoh and Alex-Assensoh, 2001, p. 128).

Some arguments emphasize that army is essential to prepare the state and appears to be the basis of the state's existence.(Rizvi, 2000, p. 6). Thus, some articles negotiated the reasons for military intervention in politics. Likewise, understanding the military's interaction with the public is essential to understanding how the military enacts in society.(Pion-Berlin and Dudley, 2020, p. 3). Indeed, the most fundamental task of the army is to protect national interests and borders from external threats.(Dahlberg and Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2020, p. 2). In theory and practice, military intervention in politics has significant implications. The military may use the pretext of border protection to justify involvement in politics. Anyway, a plan is a

prerequisite to evaluate the effectiveness of the military in accomplishing the tasks and duties of national defense.(Croissant and Kuehn, 2017, p. 1). In practice, the most cited clarification for military intervention in politics is the interest of army units' members.(Pion-Berlin and Dudley, 2020, p. 3).

Civil society can play a role in dialogue and negotiation to manage, resolve, and affect conflicts.(Kiyala and Harris, 2022, p. 8). In this regard, the representative government played a pivotal role and paved the way for the stability and resettlement of different societies. Historically, the end of the Cold War appeared to enlarge the chances of consensus spreading globally. Meanwhile, western governments, international organizations, and human rights groups have launched pro-representative initiatives.(Rüland et al., 2012, p. 3). Here we may notice that much of the academic literature on military affairs during transitional periods emphasizes the military's subordination to the influence of elected civilian leaders.(Croissant and Kuehn, 2017, p. 1).

**2.2. Power-Sharing Techniques**

Numerous examples stand as evidence to eliminate military involvement in politics. Traditional Western models of civil-military relations assume apolitical and non-partisan military. Inversely to states where the military is heavily involved in state politics. (Rukavishnikov and Pugh, 2018, p. 129). More essentially, the military is formally under political control, and decisions concerning the use of force, for example, are not made solely by them.(Everts, 2002, p. 78). In a sequence of case studies, it is still too early to assert that the military has accepted its institutional subordination to civilian authorities.(Silva, 2001c, p. 2). Therefore, power-sharing measures generally create reasons for civilians to sound off. (Krtsch and Vüllers, 2019, p. 240).

Several contributions underline the factors, complexities, and consequences following the manifestation of civil-military dealings. Huntington, Finer, and Forster have presented expository models of concern for the study.

American intelligentsia and political scientists have long thought about civil-military relations. A representative example is Samuel Huntington (Soldier and State, 1957). However, his goal was to analyze civilian control of the army. His analysis led him to reconsider the destiny of professional military officers to be apparent within a categorical framework.(Dahlberg and Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2020, p. 3). Huntington proposed two models of civilian control: objective control to maximize the

professional standard of the military. And subjective supervision to maximize civilian power for elected politicians.(Heinecken, 2020, p. 56). The essence of

Huntington's writings principally assert that political leaders can maintain civilian control. Accordingly, the subordination of the military is to legitimate leadership.(Croissant and Kuehn, 2011, p. 132). Samuel Huntington shows civilian and military tasks have to operate independently. In contrast to Huntington's separatist model, Janowitz emphasizes the convergence of military and civilian values as a means of securing civilian control. Therefore, prevent the army from interfering in politics or organizing a military coup.(Heinecken, 2020, p. 57).

**2.3. Explanatory Models**

Finer's model divides states into three categories based on the element of culture, developed, low, and minimal political culture. He concluded that military involvement in politics is inversely proportional to a state's level of political culture.(Cottey et al., 2002, p. 10). Additionally, Finer claimed that military officers' interests affect military-civilian relations. That includes their hope to participate in noteworthy incidents, high wages, and rank advancement.(Pion-Berlin and Dudley, 2020, pp. 3–4).He marked four categories of military participation in government: "military-supportive regimes, intermittently indirect-military regimes, indirect military regimes, and proper military regimes.(Ergas, 1987b, pp. 15–16).

Edmonds and Forster emphasized the peculiarity of society in a transitional stage. For them, this stage is distinguishing and needs unique instruments and conceptions to overcome challenges concerning the daily acts of politics. For them, there are two stages in establishing popular and military relations in transitional societies. The first phase involves initiating formal representative institutions to control defense decision-making and develop military liaisons. Therefore, in a sense, nation-building requires establishing an institutional and symbolic discipline suitable to sustain and protect itself, that is, to fulfill its duties and face challenges efficiently.(Zartman, 1993, p. 240). The second phase focuses on actions aimed at strengthening the representative power of the people to protect the law and institutional governance.(Pion-Berlin and Dudley, 2020, pp. 6–7). In another stage, Anthony Forster outlined three essential challenges facing civil-military relations. They presented a redefinition of how civilians control armed services. Accordingly, Practitioner- and policymaker-led

duties motivate scholars toward a new research agenda.(Pantev, 2005, pp. 4–5).

The colonization-influenced states serve as an explanatory theoretical model or a framework for studying recent chaos. Despite the significant differences, such an analogy operates to conceptualize Sudan's far essential characteristics. In addition, go beyond to look into the consequences of the past on the present. For instance, the administrative framework of Authoritarian African states appeared to be an implicit reflection of colonial History. The colonial authorities then passed it on to the African leaders.(Callaghy, 1987, p. 108). Historically, many African countries were directly or indirectly colonized, except for Ethiopia and Liberia.(Assensoh and Alex-Assensoh, 2001, p. 32). Discussions about the consequences of colonialism and local theories are simple. Researchers can apply them to study issues of public or private sector analysis, assessment of power distribution, colonial repercussions, and ethnic challenges.(Nigusie and Ivkina, 2021, p. 40).

The postcolonial state's inclination toward exclusion is a crucial issue that undermines development efforts. Hence, produce crises, including civil wars.(Kieh, 2018, p. 249). In terms of ethnic relations, the situation in Sub-Saharan Africa is much more complex. In real terms, racial identity building did not take place during the pre-colonial era.(Nowakowska et al., 2020, p. 298). However, African armies often fall apart due to organizational, ethnic, and personal grievances. Therefore, they need more preparation compared to unified and professional national armies.(Morgan, 2018, p. 89). Consequently, some articles mark military intervention in African politics. Since emancipation, coups, and internal conflicts, have emerged due to lawlessness and excessive poverty.(Morgan, 2018, p. 83).

Post-independence African state was born deactivated. Until 1962, academics argued that the challenge of civil sovereignty had not yet become significant among the newly independent Sub-Saharan African nations.(Omara-Otunnu, 1987, p. 5). Nevertheless, these countries, including Sudan, tolerated numerous problems. The military leaders' passion for ruling undermined their willingness to reform the military and began to exhaust civilian-military interactions. The civil-military relations literature highlights cultural factors as an explanation for the slow progress of military reform.(R€ uland and Manea, 2012, p. 10). Others argue that military participation in government is a prerequisite to ensure political stability and

the development of representative government in Africa during the transitional period.(Ergas, 1987c, p. 305).

Sudan is perhaps the most diverse country in Africa, if not the world. It is much more culturally pluralistic and fragmented.(Gurdon, 1989, p. 67). It is worth mentioning here to point out the role played by African elites since independence. Attitudes of elites Change according to ideological, religious, and regional factors. The sophisticated political history of Sudan has witnessed conflicts and turmoil since its independence. The influence of ethnic and religious differences is apparent in the structure of political parties. Since 1965, profound changes have extended to the leadership of the military and civilians.(Morrison et al., 1989, pp. 633–635). Conversely, if pro-conciliation leaders are in power, they may lead to crucial changes.(Powell and Thyne, 2011, p. 258). Elites control Sudan and strengthen the political power discrepancy among the ethnic communities. Some writers argued that Post-independence Sudan has paradoxical and peculiar features as such. Elites in the Nile basin north of Khartoum dominate political acts.(Brosché, 2019, p. 657).

Given the crisis in Sudan, the role of the media seems crucial. Scholars frequently emphasize the internet's importance in accelerating competition among actors. However, internet message has become more diffusible.(Calderaro, 2014, pp. 12–13). Modern television broadcasting and technological advances have consecutively changed the norms of political communication and the political environment.(Ahmad and Popa, 2014, p. 98). Justifications for media operational manner are numerous. An example relevant to the study shows that military intervention in peacekeeping regulations has recently become a core issue of media attention. (Malešič Marjan and Garb Maja, 2018, p. 149). Nevertheless, abuse of the press in Sudan and everywhere can diminish its potential to impact public opinion..(Young and Jesser, 1997, p. 28).

**2.4. Affecting Factors**

Several academic contributions attempt to discover the factors behind military involvement in politics. Some presented a two-fold typology. These are internal and external, respectively. Half a century ago, developing countries negotiated questions about development and political change.(Tsunekawa and Todo, 2019, p. 19). Addressing the rationale of internal factors, military leaders visualize themselves as protectors. They also claim to be patrons of justice and presenters of social and economic

reforming visions in their communities.(Welch, 1987, p. 195). Table 1 below shows decisive factors related to military intervention in politics.

**Table 1. Factors Triggering and Constraining Military Interventions**

| | Factors Conducive to Intervention | Factors Constraining Intervention | Factors Triggering intervention |
|---|---|---|---|
| The Target Country | Deep internal divisions in the target country | Internal stability in the target state and opposition to external intervention | Response to the request of a client in the target state whose survival is at stake |
| The International Community | Regional Instability Ideological divisions among states in the region Asymmetry in the distribution of power | The risk of escalation including superpower involvement and counter intervention by extra-regional powers Legal constraints (international law and UN Charter/ resolutions) | |
| The Intervening State | Unpopular Governments Incapable Governments Military dominance in decision-making | Available military force including logistic capabilities Economic Constraints Other domestic constraints like a lack of public support or opposition to military operations. | The situation poses a serious risk to the interests of the external actor. The emergence of a new opportunity for the furthering of interests of the external actor |

**Source**: (Likoti, 2006, p. 47).

Therefore, military officers claim that armies have an internal role in cultural and social change.(Nunn, 2001, p. 16). Furthermore, they insist that protecting state and national cohesion is among the military priorities.(Koonings, 2001, p. 129). Accordingly, in some cases, until the early 1970s, the incapability of civilian governments to control inflation or respond to severe economic and social crises was sufficient justification for the military to take power. (Silva, 2001c, p. 7). But, most likely, the military's failure to govern is the same in every country. It reflects high public spending on projects with less value..(Philip, 2001, p. 78).

Concerning the external factors, in some cases, military officers coordinate their acts with external regional or global actors and get involvement in mutual organizational talks. Nevertheless, the external agents did not provide sufficient encouragement.(Likoti, 2006, p. 221). Other writers give an inverse argumentation. For them, the influence of international actors on civil-military relations increased with the end of the Cold War. In this sense, the global atmosphere affects internal developmental acts and vice versa.(Aslan, 2018, p. 26).

The literature review presented four key arguments. It emphasized the mutual interaction between the state, society, and the military. Then moved on to demonstrate power-sharing techniques and abuses of power acquisition means. It also investigated leading executive models operating on the ground. The final part of the literature review underlines internal and external factors that encourage military involvement in domestic politics. Accordingly, the present study attempts to add some essence to the previous ones. The emphasis is on the potential role of media tools in reducing tensions in Sudanese civil-military relations and eliminating overlaps in military-mandatory tasks.

**3. Method**

The method's section spotlights issues of interest to conduct the study. It is of high importance to select which data to gather and which to reject. The study emphasized a distinctive sampling design and data collection techniques. One of the method's key issues was the sampling design. It is of paramount importance here to characterize who collected the data. In addition, emphasizing the collection methods used is privileged and adds to the outcome's reliability. The most equivalent and instrumental component of the methodology utilized is the implementation of suitable analytical tools. The likely results were inseparable from the analysis technique.

The methodological section highlighted the whole plan and measures of the study. The researcher used several procedures to collect applicable data. The data collected was qualitative and quantitative. These two types of data are considered primary. They have been used to describe, define, and analyze the key- concepts. The purpose of data collection was to assess the impact of the media on civil-military relations in Sudan. Therefore, a detailed questionnaire was structured. The researcher prepared a survey that poses questions relevant to the essence of the study. The purpose of these questions was to assess the effect of the media on

civil-military relations in Sudan. Survey questions were eligible to gather reliable information that reinforces the scientific testing of hypotheses.

Journalists and media professionals representing newspapers, radio, television, and electronic publishing responded to the questionnaire. The questionnaire was distributed by Email, WhatsApp, and Facebook groups. Email survey responses were inadequate and too few. However, circulating the survey questions on Facebook and WhatsApp improved response rates. The stability of the survey was verified by performing Cronbach's alpha calculations. The reliability statistics show Cronbach's alpha at a value of 0.570, which indicates that the questionnaire is understandable and indicative, as shown in Table 2. The study computed descriptive statistical means and standard deviations to apprehend the attitudes of the participants surveyed.

**Table 2: Reliability**

| **Case Processing Summary** | | | | **Reliability Statistics** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | **Cronbach's alpha** | **N of Items** |
| **Case** | Valid | 120 | 100 | o.570 | 32 |
| | Excluded | 0 | 0 | | |
| | Total | 120 | 100 | | |

The entire population of the study includes 1164 Sudanese journalists. They participated in the Sudanese journalists' syndicate elections launched in Khartoum on August 29–2022.("Sudanese Journalists Syndicate elects first chair in 33 years | Radio Dabanga," n.d.). A considerable number of them are abroad. Therefore, they are not directly involved in writing about civil-military relations. Also, the majority of the rest write only about sports, culture, and other topics. Thus, the number of journalists interested in political affairs, roughly tracked by checking newspapers, websites, radio, and television channels, does not exceed 380.The study used the www.surveyking.com website to calculate the sample size chosen. The sample size scale was 120 respondents with a confidence level of 95% and a margin of error approaching 5% successively. The margin of error is the percentage that describes how closely the answers the sample gave are accurate if you came to ask the entire population. The percentage was appointed equally as 5% because the pre-sample test showed that several journalists were loyal to the military. However, they had their own distinct radio broadcasting channels and newspapers. The answers received were

exactly (120), which was representative. Researchers investigate both large and small populations. However, rather than collecting information about the entire population, which is characteristically irrelative, the study preferred to select merely representative sample.(Busair Ahmed, 2018, p. 196).

The questionnaire consists of thirty-two questions to provide indicative answers to the main four sections. The intention is to demonstrate the theme and objectives of the study. Section 1 asks six questions to reflect on the importance of the issue. Section 2 includes ten questions to highlight the initiatives of journalists and publishers. Section 3 is composed of five questions about the insistence on facing challenges. The eleven questions of the last section deal with the essence of persuasive media messages. In addition, a separate section contains demographic information about the participants, such as their gender, age, level of education, and the institution where they work. Such techniques will give a convenient opportunity to know precisely the viewpoints of participants in the field. Other methods will not serve to meet the objectives stated.

Considerably, each question with one option on a 5-point Likert scale. The approximate figure for the study population was about 1164 journalists. They belong to various media institutions. Moreover, they all seemed suitable to include in the sample survey. The advancement of the study necessitates getting answers to all questions. Likewise, the outcome of such a quantitative study is easy to represent in statistical forms like graphs, charts, and numbers. The time limit for participants to answer the questions anonymously was two weeks. They were fewer than 127 responses because not all participants responded. The analysis included 120 survey results.

The type of analysis chosen was consistent with the set of data collected. The data used in the study was quantitative and numerical. Meanwhile, there were several data sources referred to in the study. The questionnaire was of the utmost priority. Data organization and classification are essential to facilitate analysis. Fortunately, all the data collected was convenient, as there were no duplicate records or elementary errors. Therefore, there was no need to clean it further since it was free of duplicate records and basic errors.

The study selected IBM SPSS Statistics 26 to analyze the data because it is practicable to analyze, interpret, and understand the data. The study then proceeds to clarify the broad and adequate findings. The selected

statistical analysis was descriptive. It worked with complete and aggregated numerical data. It illustrates the frequency distribution, i.e., how often a distinct value occurs in a data set. It also explains the mean, i.e., what most journalists think about the issue of concern. Then go beyond to explain standard deviations for continuous data, percentages, and frequencies for aggregate data on a section basis. The standard deviation is an appropriate statistical measure of how much a data set varies. The study used descriptive statistical techniques to know the attitudes of journalists towards the issue. It seems somehow appropriate to think of media as potentially beneficial in a sociopolitical context.

**4. Results**

This study aimed to identify the influence of the media on civil-military relations in Sudan and to highlight the importance of active media in the local context. Here the study reports the most necessary results concisely, factually, and in a logical pattern. Therefore, performing the scientific method to verify the scientific quality of the result. The study presents the observations related to the questions and themes. Table (3) shows **(The Likert scale, interval, difference, description, and levels)**, derived from the indication of Five- points on the Likert Scale. It helps to describe and measure the achievable mean-based results. It considers low level, moderate level, and high level of average in the following ranges successively. [1-2.59], [2.60-3.39], and [3.40-5].

**Table 3: Five-Point Likert Scale**

| Likert Scale | Interval | Difference | Description | Levels |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1:00-1:79 | o.79 | Strongly Disagree | Lower Level |
| 2 | 1.80-2.59 | o.79 | Disagree | |
| 3 | 2.60-3.39 | o.79 | Neutral | Moderate Level |
| 4 | 3.40-4.19 | o.79 | Agree | High Level |
| 5 | 4.20-5.00 | o.80 | Strongly Agree | |

The results section indicates questions and hypotheses. It ends up with a summary of conclusive outcomes. Each outcome shows the utilization of relevant descriptive statistics like means and standard deviation. These means and standard deviations were used for each question independently. Correspondingly, for the combined questions of each section. The study presented tables, figures, and profound analysis that helped interpret the outcomes.

**Table 4: Descriptive Statistics of Importance of the Issue**

| Sentence | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Mean | Std. Deviation | Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Civil-military issues are of paramount importance to journalists | N | 15 | 67 | 22 | 9 | 7 | 3.6167 | .99734 | 6 |
| | % | 12,5 | 55.8 | 18.3 | 7.5 | 5.8 | | | |
| Sudan's civil-military relations are normal and stable | N | 4 | 3 | 9 | 56 | 48 | 4.1750 | .92275 | 1 |
| | % | 3.3 | 2.5 | 7.5 | 46.7 | 40 | | | |
| Emphasis on civil-military issues gives an exceptional sense of contribution | N | 49 | 47 | 15 | 6 | 3 | 4.1083 | .97701 | 2 |
| | % | 40.8 | 39.2 | 12.5 | 5 | 2.5 | | | |
| Publishing on civil-military issues attracts the masses | N | 42 | 50 | 21 | 3 | 4 | 4.0250 | .96548 | 3 |
| | % | 35 | 41.7 | 17.5 | 2.5 | 3.3 | | | |
| Civil-military conflict is one of the leading causes of political instability. | N | 17 | 74 | 15 | 10 | 4 | 3.7500 | .91899 | 5 |
| | % | 14.2 | 61.7 | 12.5 | 8.3 | 3.3 | | | |
| Civil-military conflicts are simple and easy to resolve | N | 3 | 11 | 8 | 65 | 33 | 3.9500 | .96884 | 4 |
| | % | 2.5 | 9.2 | 6.7 | 54.2 | 27.5 | | | |
| **Weighted Mean** | | | | | | | **3.9375** | | |
| **Std. Deviation** | | | | | | | | **0.958401667** | |

Table (4) shows: (**Descriptive Statistics of the Importance of the Issue**), from which we find that sentence 2: **(Sudan's Civil-Military Relations are Normal and Stable)** awarded the highest average with Mean and Standard Deviation (4.1750) and (.92275) respectively. Then followed by sentence 4: **(Emphasis on civil-military issues gives an exceptional sense of contribution)** with a Mean (of 4.1083), and Standard Deviation (of .97701), followed by sentence 4: **(Publishing on Civil-Military Issues Attracts the Masses)** with a Mean (of 4.0250), and Standard Deviation (of .96548). Followed by sentence 6: **(Civil-Military Conflicts are Simple and Easy to Resolve)** with a Mean (of 3.9500), and Standard Deviation (of .96884), followed by sentence 5: **(Civil-military conflict is one of the leading causes of political instability)** with a Mean (of 3.7500), and Standard Deviation (of .91899). Then sentence 1: **(Civil-military issues are of paramount importance to journalists)** with a Mean (of 3.6167) and a Standard Deviation (of 99734).

The weighted average of Section (1) was (3.9375), with a Standard Deviation of (0.958401667), which indicates that the trend of **(Importance of the Issue)** is (agree), as a general trend according to a 5 – point Likert scale as shown in Table (3), since (3.9375), lies in the interval [3.41-4.20]. Therefore, the average of **(Importance of the Issue)** is (3.9375) that considers a higher level since the intervals of levels hold the following values; lower level: [1-2.59], moderate level: [2.60-3.39], high level: [3.40-5]. Those mentioned results showed clearly in figure 1.

**Fig 1 Importance of the Issue**

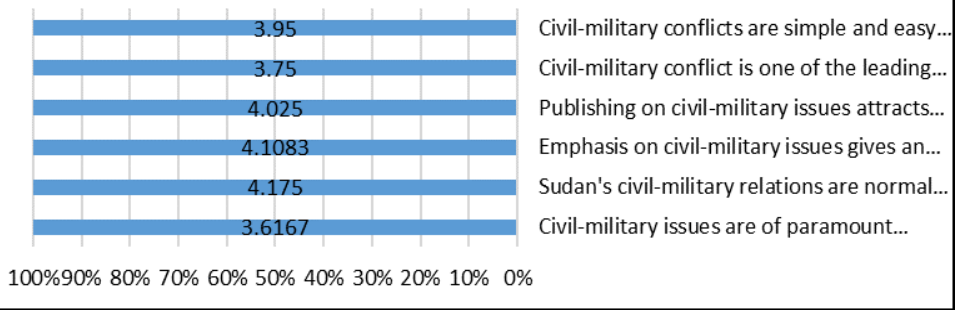


**Table 5: Descriptive Statistics of Initiative Role of Journalists and Publishers**

| Question | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Mean | Std. Deviation | Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Journalists and publishers are fully aware of the political challenges facing Sudan | N | 15 | 63 | 27 | 10 | 5 | 2.3917 | .95527 | 10 |
| | % | 12.5 | 52.5 | 22.5 | 8.3 | 4.2 | | | |
| Journalists and publishers who write about civil-military relations know much about the issue | N | 7 | 48 | 40 | 18 | 7 | 3.2500 | .98091 | 8 |
| | % | 5.8 | 40 | 33.3 | 15 | 5.8 | | | |
| Journalists and publishers in general have enough experience in using high-tech media | N | 9 | 60 | 31 | 14 | 6 | 3.4333 | .96783 | 4 |
| | % | 7.5 | 50 | 25.8 | 11.7 | 5 | | | |
| Regular training in media writing and media reporting is available on demand | N | 6 | 15 | 14 | 75 | 10 | 3.5667 | .98504 | 2 |
| | % | 5 | 12.5 | 11.7 | 62.5 | 8.3 | | | |
| Journalists feel unsatisfied due to a lack of training and development programs | N | 10 | 54 | 24 | 31 | 1 | 3.3417 | .98301 | 6 |
| | % | 8.3 | 45 | 20 | 25.8 | 0.8 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| There is an effective law to protect journalists | **N** | 8 | 45 | 38 | 29 | 0 | 3.2667 | .90501 | 7 |
| | **%** | 6.7 | 37.5 | 31.7 | 24.2 | 0 | | | |
| There is an effective law that regulates the media profession | **N** | 3 | 18 | 38 | 44 | 17 | 3.4500 | .99452 | 3 |
| | **%** | 2.5 | 15 | 31.7 | 36.7 | 14.2 | | | |
| The government encourages journalists and media professionals to perform their duties | **N** | 6 | 7 | 20 | 65 | 22 | 3.7500 | .98944 | 1 |
| | **%** | 5 | 5.8 | 16.7 | 54.2 | 18.3 | | | |
| Media professionals face significant legal barriers | **N** | 5 | 37 | 27 | 49 | 2 | 3.0500 | .97748 | 9 |
| | **%** | 4.2 | 30.8 | 22.5 | 40.8 | 1.7 | | | |
| Media professionals face significant professional barriers | **N** | 8 | 56 | 37 | 10 | 9 | 3.3667 | .99523 | 5 |
| | **%** | 6.7 | 46.7 | 30.8 | 8.3 | 7.5 | | | |
| **Weighted Mean** | | | | | | | **3.28668** | | |
| **Std. Deviation** | | | | | | | | **0.973374** | |

Table (5) shows **(Descriptive Statistics of the Initiative Role of Journalists and Publishers)**, from which we find that the highest average awarded to the sentence8: **(The Government Encourages Journalists and Media Professionals to Perform their Duties)** with Mean (3.7500), and Standard Deviation (.98944), followed by sentence 4: **(Regular Training in Media Writing and Media Reporting is Available on Demand)** with Mean (3.5667), and Standard Deviation (.98504), followed by sentence 7: **(There is an effective law that regulates the media profession)** with Mean (3.4500) and Standard Deviation (.99452), followed by sentence 3: **(Journalists and publishers in general have enough experience in using high-tech media)** with a Mean (3.4333) and Standard Deviation (.96783). The last two sentences, sentence 9: **(Media professionals face significant legal barriers)**

with Mean (3.0500) and Standard Deviation (.97748), followed by sentence 1: **(Journalists and Publishers are Fully Aware of the Political Challenges facing Sudan)** with a Mean (2.3917), and Standard Deviation (.95527).

The weighted average of Section (2) was (3.28668), with a standard deviation of (0.973374), which indicates that the trend of **(Initiative Role of Journalists and Publishers)** is (neutral), as a general trend according to a 5 – point Likert scale as shown in Table (3) since (3.28668), lies in the interval [2.60-3.39].So, the average of **(Initiative Role of Journalists and Publishers)**, is (3.28668) that considers a moderate level since the intervals of levels hold the following values; lower level: [1-2.59], moderate level: [2.60-3.39], higher level: [3.40-5]. Those mentioned results showed clearly in figure 2.

**Fig 2 Initaitive Role of Journalists and Publishers**

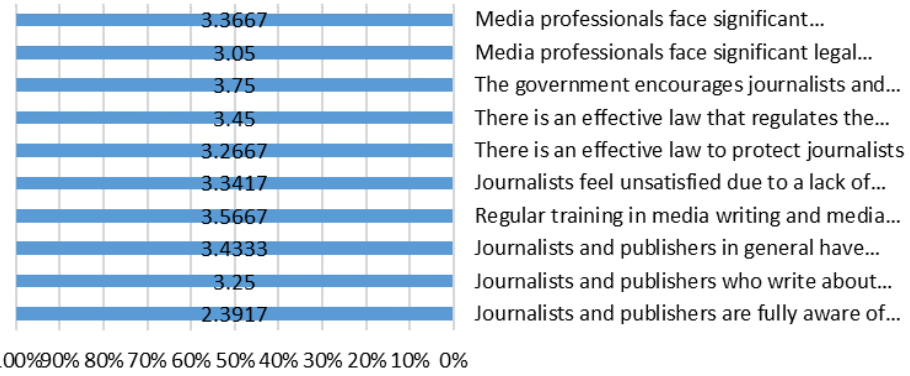


**Table 6 Descriptive Statistics of Insistence to counter Challenges**

| Question | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Mean | Std. Deviation | Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Journalists regularly disseminate information about military-civilian relations in Sudan | N | 8 | 68 | 25 | 11 | 8 | 3.4750 | .98700 | 5 |
| | % | 6.7 | 56.7 | 20.8 | 9.2 | 6.7 | | | |
| Military leaders welcome journalists and reply to their queries | N | 5 | 9 | 22 | 61 | 23 | 3.7333 | .99354 | 2 |
| | % | 4.2 | 7.5 | 18.3 | 50.8 | 19.2 | | | |
| Political activists welcome journalists and reply to their queries | N | 21 | 58 | 25 | 12 | 4 | 3.6667 | .99015 | 3 |
| | % | 17.5 | 48.3 | 20.8 | 10 | 3.3 | | | |
| Civilian activists welcome journalists and reply to their queries | N | 16 | 65 | 21 | 13 | 5 | 3.6167 | .98887 | 4 |
| | % | 13.3 | 54.2 | 17.5 | 10.8 | 4.2 | | | |
| Media experts and trainers are available to assist new journalists | N | 6 | 7 | 21 | 64 | 22 | 3.7417 | .99153 | 1 |
| | % | 5 | 5.8 | 17.5 | 53.3 | 18.3 | | | |
| **Weighted Mean** | | | | | | | 3.64668 | | |
| **Std. Deviation** | | | | | | | | 0.990218 | |

Table (6) shows (Descriptive Statistics of Insistence to counter Challenges), from which we find that the highest average awarded to the sentence5: **(Media Experts and Trainers are Available to Assist New**

**Journalists)** with a Mean (3.7417) and Standard Deviation (of .99153). Then comes sentence 2: **(Military Leaders Welcome Journalists and Reply to their Queries)** with a Mean (of 3.7333) and a Standard Deviation (of .99354). Next comes sentence 3: (**Political activists welcome journalists and reply to their queries)** with a Mean (of 3.6667) and a Standard Deviation (of .99015). Followed by sentence 4: **(Civilian activists welcome journalists and reply to their queries)** with a Mean (of 3.6167), and Standard Deviation (of .98887), followed by sentence 1 :**( Journalists Regularly Disseminate Information about Military-Civilian Relations in Sudan)** with a Mean (of 3.4750), and Standard Deviation (.98700).

The weighted average of Section (3) was (3.64668), with a standard deviation of (0.990218), which indicates that the trend of **(Insistence to Counter Challenges)** is (agree), as a general trend according to a 5 – point Likert scale as shown in Table (3), since (3.64668), lies in the interval [3.41-4.20]. So, the average of the sentence **(Insistence to Counter Challenges)** is (3.64668) that considers a higher level since the intervals of levels hold the following values; lower level: [1-2.59], moderate level: [2.60-3.39], higher level: [3.40-5]. Those mentioned results showed clearly in figure 3.

**Fig 3 Insistence to Counter Challenges**

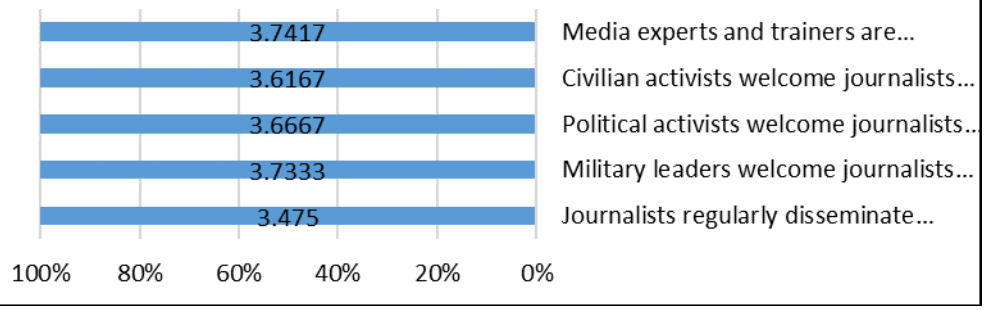


**Table 7 Descriptive Statistics of Convincing Media Message**

| Question | | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | Mean | Std. Deviation | Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Media planning assisted to keep tasks and duties manageable | **N** | 26 | 66 | 15 | 8 | 5 | 2.1667 | .98162 | 11 |
| | **%** | 21.7 | 55 | 12.5 | 6.7 | 4.2 | | | |
| There is a good and effective national media plan | **N** | 5 | 16 | 28 | 60 | 11 | 2.5333 | .97819 | 8 |
| | **%** | 4.2 | 13.3 | 23.3 | 50 | 9.2 | | | |
| Sudanese media applies advanced technology | **N** | 20 | 56 | 28 | 12 | 4 | 3.6333 | .98675 | 6 |
| | **%** | 16.7 | 46.7 | 23.3 | 10 | 3.3 | | | |
| Media institution managers are interested in providing the necessary technology | **N** | 13 | 51 | 33 | 19 | 4 | 3.4167 | .99227 | 10 |
| | **%** | 10.8 | 42.5 | 27.5 | 15.8 | 3.3 | | | |
| Media has a significant impact on Sudan's civil-military relations | **N** | 18 | 67 | 22 | 7 | 6 | 3.7000 | .96667 | 4 |
| | **%** | 15 | 55.8 | 18.3 | 5.8 | 5 | | | |

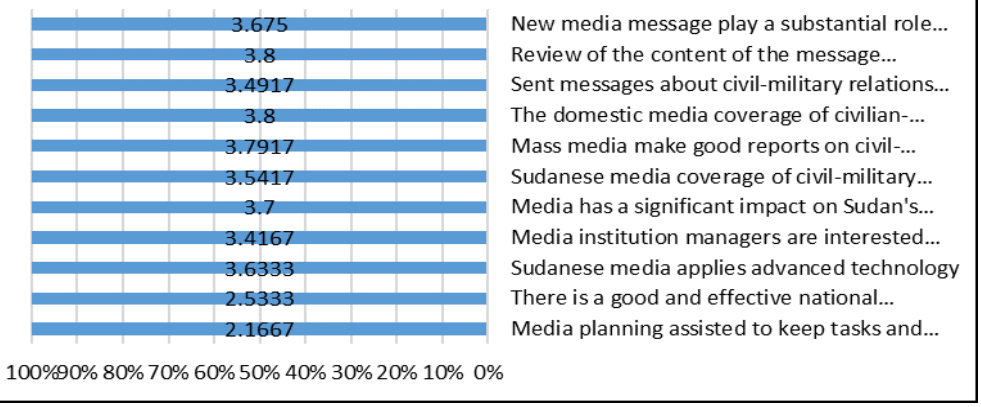
| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sudanese media coverage of civil-military relations is professional | **N** | 10 | 72 | 18 | 13 | 7 | 3.5417 | .99491 | 7 |
| | **%** | 8.3 | 60 | 15 | 10.8 | 5.8 | | | |
| Mass media make good reports on civil-military relations in Sudan | **N** | 20 | 76 | 10 | 7 | 7 | 3.7917 | .98643 | 3 |
| | **%** | 16.74 | 63.3 | 8.3 | 5.8 | 5.8 | | | |
| The domestic media coverage of civilian-military relations is moderate and convincing | **N** | 25 | 65 | 15 | 11 | 4 | 3.8000 | .98390 | 2 |
| | **%** | 20.8 | 54.2 | 12.5 | 9.2 | 3.3 | | | |
| Sent messages about civil-military relations are clear and indicative | **N** | 9 | 68 | 22 | 15 | 6 | 3.4917 | .97873 | 9 |
| | **%** | 7.5 | 56.7 | 18.3 | 12.5 | 5 | | | |
| Review of the content of the message before publishing is essential for professionals | **N** | 21 | 77 | 4 | 13 | 5 | 3.8000 | .99241 | 1 |
| | **%** | 17.5 | 64.2 | 3.3 | 10.8 | 4.2 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| New media message play a substantial role in raising awareness about the issue | **N** | 19 | 64 | 22 | 9 | 6 | 3.6750 | .99716 | 5 |
| | **%** | 15.8 | 53.3 | 18.3 | 7.5 | 5 | | | |
| **Weighted Mean** | | | | | | | 3.413645455 | | |
| **Std. Deviation** | | | | | | | | 0.985367273 | |

Table (7) shows (Descriptive Statistics of Convincing Media Message). From this, we find that the highest average awarded to the sentence10: (Review of the content of the message before publishing is essential for professionals) with Mean (3.8000), and Standard Deviation (.99241), followed by sentence 8: (The domestic media coverage of civilian-military relations is moderate and convincing) with Mean (3.8000), and Standard Deviation (.98390). Then comes sentence 7: (Mass media make good reports on civil-military relations in Sudan) with a Mean (of 3.7917) and a Standard Deviation (of .98643). Followed by sentence 5: (Media has a significant impact on Sudan's civil-military relations) with Mean (3.7000) and Standard Deviation (.96667). The last two sentences, sentence 4: (Media institution managers are interested in providing the necessary technology) with Mean (3.4167) and Standard Deviation (.99227), followed by sentence 1: (Media planning assisted to keep tasks and duties manageable) with Mean (2.1667), and Standard Deviation (.98162).

The weighted average of Section (4) was (3.413645455), with a standard deviation of (0.985367273), which indicates that the trend of (Convincing Media Message) is (agree), as a general trend according to a 5 – point Likert scale as shown in Table (3), since (3.413645455), lies in the interval [3.41-4.20]. So, the average of (Convincing Media Message) is (3.413645455) that considers a higher level since the intervals of levels hold the following values; lower level: [1-2.59], moderate level: [2.60-3.39], higher level: [3.40-5]. Those mentioned results showed clearly in figure 3.

**Fig 4 Convincing Media Message**




## 5. Discussion

As previously stated, the intensive use of media in Sudan has limited significance in civil-military conflict. The military dominance of governance in Sudan has created profound social and political complications. As illustrated, such domination has provoked social and political sophistication. It led to ethnic militarization, internal wars, and tribal conflicts. For instance, the configuration of armed militia organizations has caught the eye. It was highly affected by ethnic nationalism, politicization, the polarization of identities, and ethnic mobilization. In other words, in many civil wars, ethnic pro-government militias have emerged as extra-dyadic or third actors. (Thomson, 2019, p. 560). Thus, examining the impact of media on Sudanese civil-military relations and pointing out its significance is essential.

The study hypothesizes that the composite trends of the importance of civil-military relations, the initiative role of journalists and publishers, the insistence on countering challenges, and persuasive media messages have strongly reinforced media effectiveness. The results indicate that each of these four mentioned trends is of a high degree, as proved by the statistical illustration.

These results are likely meaningful because they represent subsequent and articulated answers to the research questions. The study used descriptive statistics. It has nothing to do with correlation patterns. It was just limited to provide a better understanding of the study population. The emphasis was on exploring the attitudes of journalists, publishers, and media professionals toward addressing civil-military relations. The study used to assess key indicators to understand the study population

(individuals working in media organizations). The investigation did not include any attempt to predict or even explore causal relationships.

The findings confirmed the hypothesis. Most respondents proved the importance of stabilizing civil-military relations in achieving governance stability and long-term peace. Such a case coincides with different patterns that prevailed in Africa. Several military regimes have been "civilianized" to varying degrees, including Sudan, Upper Volta, Mali, Togo, Benin, and Zaire. Ghana, Nigeria, C.A.R., and Sierra Leone, by the end of 1979, had reverted from a military government to an extreme civilian regime not led by a former army officer. Yet, Ghana and C.A.R. fell under military control again.(Morrison et al., 1989, p. 122).

The answers also confirmed the importance of media professionals' initiatives, which can lead to positive media performance. Likewise, the formation of a stable structure will guarantee clear relations and perfect control over the armed forces. It became plain that the designation of a relatively steady civilian-military framework is feasible to ensure equitable implementation of authorities on the state level.(Bellamy, 2002, p. 186).

It seems reasonable to keep an eye on nearby incidents and prepare for potential challenges. Nevertheless, peace realization was not an easy task to perform. However, structural challenges appear in this context. Some of them are time frames and opposing perceptions. Concerning the theme of the study, the environment of civil-military interactions is complex. As a result, macro-level peacebuilding studies have frequently focused on the broad processes of popular political projects and reform plan implementation in post-conflict societies. (Curran, 2017, p. 9).

The effectual persuasive message gives significance to the meaning of the fourth question. Such a message is feasible to raise awareness about the state's domestic challenges. Chabal and Daloz (1999) highlighted the problems of corruption in African states.(Mudhoffir, 2022, p. 244). Similarly, three periods characterize the development of civil-military relations and the establishment of civilian control over the armed forces. These were years of struggle for independence, a transitional period, and an era of stabilization.(Urbelis and Urbonas, 2002, p. 109).

Media across its history has proven to be effective. It affects different aspects related to the state and society. Consequently, the issue of civil-military relations comes as a top priority. Simultaneously, Sudanese journalists can address sociopolitical issues. In theory, planning is a necessary precondition for effective media. In practice, there are some

initial requirements for impactful media. These are the utilization of technology, training programs for journalists, and continuous assessment. In general, the study's findings were predominantly consistent with previous scientific articles. And with the available data on the issue. The results also add some knowledge to the field. The study provided new functional insights to activate human and institutional roles. In addition, it highlights the importance of legal measures and the efficient use of up-to-date technology.

The study faced some limitations. Some respondents did not answer the survey questions. Nevertheless, this did not reduce the significance of the results. The missed answers were only seven. Therefore, the data has been considered valid. The analytical methods used match the results. Explanatory techniques implemented served to answer the key- question. However, utilizing media as an invented problem-solving technique is a topic for future studies.

The current study is considered an initial step in assessing the impact of media on civil-military relations in Sudan. The results covered the four sections prescribed. (1) Civil-military rivalry and tension are top priority issues in media coverage disciplines (2) Initiatives taken by journalists and media professionals are highly appreciated. (3) Attempts to counter challenges concerning the normalization of civil-military relations are permanent and renewable (4) Persuasive media messages are indicative and influential. Accordingly, future research must test the feasibility of applying well-articulated problem-solving techniques. That implies identifying time limits, specific targets, and coverage priorities.

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**Issue 64 January 2023 - part 2**

**Deposit - registration number at Darelkotob almasrya /6555**

**International Standard Book Number "Electronic Edition" 2682- 292X**

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