War Reporting In Africa: A Quantitative Content Analysis Of Kenya's Nation
Newspaper Reporting Of Sudan's War In The Nuba Mountains

by

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<div align="center">WAR REPORTING IN AFRICA: A QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
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DECLARATION

WAR REPORTING IN AFRICA: A QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
KENYA'S NATION NEWSPAPER REPORTING OF SUDAN'S WAR IN THE
NUBA MOUNTAINS

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any
other college or university for academic credit.

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DEDICATION

I humbly dedicate this work to my late father, Agostino Ogata, a dedicated teacher who lived for nothing but the best (*nihil praeter optimum*). His efforts to see me and other siblings reach to heights of excellence are what propelled me through Masters class and even through the research process. I also dedicate it to my Mum Jane, whose continuous motivation and financial support was endless. To you Brothers Eric, Ken & Sister Angela and the rest God bless you abundantly.

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ABSTRACT

A continued struggle to achieve successful democracy in Africa has changed the way stories are being told; from and about Africa in both local and international news media. Reporters have realized their obligation to the public equally to the press. Compared to western media, the way media in Africa reports war creates a knowledge gap about the wars in the continent. The problem of this study therefore was to find out the knowledge gap created by the African media in reporting war. The major objectives of this study were to find out the frames used by the Nation newspapers to report war in Sudan between the years of 2014, 2015 and 2016; the story placement in the newspapers and the frequency and uniformity of reporting the war. This study used content analysis research design in which stories from the newspapers were analyzed. The methodology was quantitative content analysis that employed filling data in code sheets obtained from the code book. The data collected was later presented, analyzed and interpreted from the coding sheets. The key findings showed that the Daily Nation reported the highest number of stories at 82%, followed by the Sunday Nation at 11% while lowest was Saturday Nation at 7%. Another key finding showed that there was no story at the prime pages of the newspapers, therefore there were not given prominence. The study found out three major frames that were used. These were frames of authority that included the president, the rebel leader, the AU chief, the UN Sec general. The frames of location covered places which included; Khartoum, Nuba Mountains and Darfur. The frames of 'war' checked on the frequency of the mention of the word war. The study recommends more study on effects of Sudan war on the economies of neighbouring countries considering how refugees fleeing Sudan war have impacted economies of host countries.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

The media today remain the major source of news and information about conflicts and war. People in distant lands rely on the media to help them better understand war and why it is being waged (Somerville, 2016). The role of newspapers in society remains crucial, especially in the reporting of war. Newspapers are very relevant as they provide a comprehensive coverage of the news with a deep elaboration of day two events.

Events with bigger and negative impacts get more prominence and attention in the media than little or routine events. "Although, the press is criticized for its negative reporting of the events concerning death, destruction and riots, yet there is no doubt that the people are generally fascinated by such news. People want more news about disasters, crime and violence than the news concerning happy events." (Syed, 2006, p.51). War and conflict form part of interesting stories covered by journalists because of their characterization of chaos and violence. Barash and Webel (2009, p. 16) define war as "a state of hostile and armed conflict between such political units as states, countries, and nations." The authors' further, state that the consequences of war are strong and detrimental. "In addition to direct casualties, war kills indirectly, particularly by disease among armed forces personnel as well as by starvation as a result of disrupted food production and distribution of services." In reference to the outcomes of World War II, Gordon (1982), remarks that war is marked with mass murder that affects both men and women equally. Consequently, Gordon (1982), remarks that, the world we know cannot afford a third world war because of the detrimental outcomes as observed from World War II. McGoldrick and Lynch (2000),

also note that, war has an effect of violence which directly or indirectly leads to shooting, killing, raping, bombing and displacement.

Hiebert and Gibbons (2000, p. 142), define newspapers as "regularly published periodicals produced for a particular town, city, or region, reporting on matters of current interest to those residents." Hiebert and Gibbons (2000) further indicate that some newspapers serve a larger region, sometimes with special zoned editions for local areas. Newspaper reporting on Africa, date back to the years before the struggle for independence in the continent (Bourgault, 1995, p. 154). According to Bourgault, the oldest newspapers in Africa were the *Royal Gazette* and the *Sierra Leone Advertiser*. In 1822, the *Royal Gold Coast Gazette* was published in Cape Coast, Ghana (Gold Coast). Bourgault (1995), further noted that, whereas the earliest publications were used to educate and entertain, later newspapers were used to raise political consciousness. "The dominant aim was political protest, targeted at colonial officials" (p. 154). As the struggle towards the independence of Africa drew near in the 1950s, several weeklies, dailies and more newspapers flourished in Africa, with some having sections of international news. According to Ikechukwu (1987), it was a period of political awareness among Africans, a period of rising expectations, black African leaders making radical demands and a period that witnessed the emergence of a good number of indigenous African newspapers dedicated to the flight for political, cultural and economic freedom in Africa. However, these indigenous nationalist newspapers faced significant challenge of the pre-independence era which was the widespread attack against colonial shortcomings in Africa and their often radical demands for independence.

During the pre-independence times most of the newspapers were dominantly speaking the interests of nationalists' rebellion against colonial rule. In Kenya, *the*

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Standard, established as a weekly paper in Mombasa in 1902, by A. M Jevanjee, wrote of white settlers' agenda and helped defend their interests (Brittanica, 1998). Later in the 1970s, the *Standard*, developed a more balanced approach to news reporting and had built a reputation for fine writing and technical excellence.

The post-independence newspapers continued facing serious challenges, among them government censorship and political interference. (Ikechukwu, 1987, p. 2) The colonialists had used newspapers as a tool to carry out their agenda of continuing to colonize Africa. The newspaper editors and reporters had to choose between covering the interests of the state, politicians or the citizenry. *The Standard*, for example, after independence had the freedom to publish, but was not allowed to criticize neither the government which was single part system, nor, its leaders (Brittanica, 1998). With growing democracy in Africa, a total shift appeared in the 1990s extending to the modern times. Bourgault (1995, p. 206) "In the 1990s, reporters moved from defending the compromised press of their countries to disavowing it." The reporters realized they had an obligation to the public just as they had to the press. Another challenge that faced newspapers of the time was poor photographic production. Early photographic images lacked desired quality and the time between taking and producing photos for print was longer.

The newspapers huge role of informing people and shaping public opinion was addressed in a classical letter by the third president of the United States of America, Thomas Jefferson, to Edward Carrington in 1787. Jefferson indicated that "…were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter" (Brown, Brown & Rivers, 1978, p. 1). Brown et al. (1978) points out that in every society, from the most primitive to the most complex, the

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communication system performs broad tasks of surveillance, transmission and social heritage. Miller (2005), the major role of any form of media is to keep the people informed, and consequently help them make wise decisions. As a medium of record in society, the newspapers reflect social, commercial and political events of any given community and the local reporters are usually the backbone of a newspaper.

In writing news stories on newspapers, just like in other forms of media, the news values are taken into consideration. These news values are news proximity, news magnitude and news significance (Syed, 2006). An event taking place more close to home is given more preference than the same event taking place in a distant region. According to Syed (2006, p.51) the news values of magnitude, proximity and significance closely overlap in determining news: the magnitude of news is magnified by its proximity and its significance.

Bryant and Zillmann (2002), indicate that news editors, reporters, and directors have an ability to influence perceptions of the audience on what are the most important issues to focus upon. This, in most cases, can be done through agenda setting or through framing of news. The local reporters have the responsibility to make news judgment, to weigh the importance of their stories, getting details from all sources involved and community, and verifying the facts right before they go for publishing. This study focused on how Nation newspapers had covered Sudan's war in the Nuba Mountains, between the years of 2014 and 2016. The time setting of war fell in the recent conflict that started in 2011.

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Background to the Study

The background of this study looked into how war has been reported globally narrowing it to the specific case of war reporting in the Sudan. The history of newspapers and conflict reporting in Africa is quite long but a brief of that was captured in this study. Whereas, war has been reported globally, in newspapers such as the *Guardian*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times;* in Kenya, war has been reported in dailies such as *the Nation* and *the Standard*. The history of wars and conflicts in the world is as old as human existence.

This study, focused on wars of later times starting with World War I (1914 – 1918). In reference to the roots of conflicts and world wars I and II, Nye (2007, p. 210) points out that, wars and conflicts of nations go a long way to interests among world nations and is majorly on resources and efforts to overpower and overrule others. "Struggles to overpower are going on even in a world of interdependence and the coalitions are more complex and different forms of power are used." This section looks at three main aspects of how war has been reported globally, in Africa and in the Sudan.

Global Picture on War Reporting: World Wars I and II

The destructive violence and outcomes of World War I were historically immense and outrageous. Nye (2007) recorded that, "the World War I killed more than 15 million people with the United States losing about 55,000 troops in both Korea and Vietnam destroying three European Empires: German, Austro-Hungarian and Russian." (p.70). In terms of technology and use of media to publish this war, it was down and of low competence as compared to World War II. Gordon (1982, p. 226) pointed out that 25 years before the World War II, the United States government had

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set up a committee called, the First World War's creel committee. Gordon (1982), that committee was to act as a government censor of all news in print about hostilities that circulated in the U.S. The function of the creel committee was to guard military secrets, but also played a role in building home front morale, and in a way therefore, serving as instrument of psychological warfare, in which case, the media was used as a propaganda tool. The Germans used media to broadcast propaganda to the USA (Gordon, 1982). In the meantime, technology between the two wars was growing steadily. The media, however, did not have all the freedom to report what they wanted. Military censorship existed among the media that disseminated war news. Sections of words or paragraphs that might leak strategic information were cut or inked out.

Gordon (1982, p. 205), "World War II, was probably the first nearly global in history, involving, in one way or another almost every inhabitant of our planet." This war extended to those in remote corners of the earth whose isolation was broken by modern technology. Gordon further points out that this war was fought with an unusual objective and unconditional surrender rather than a negotiated peace. It was a total war, involving not only military forces of the combatants but also the civilian populations of the nations, mostly victims of rampaging, conquering or retreating armies, objects of merciless, continuous air attacks and other kinds of unbelievable devastation.

World War II, became the first, major war to employ the use of technologies of mass communications as instruments of combat. The press, radio and films around the world served major functions of persuasion (propaganda instrument), instruction and home front morale for those nations involved in hostilities. The author further states that, the news men and women were primarily interested and therefore engaged in the

hostiles themselves. In nations captured by both German and Japan, propaganda broadcasts and local newspapers were responsible for much demoralization among the occupied populations.

In France, Holland and Denmark, underground newspapers (and broadcasters) mushroomed among resistance fighters. Poets and philosophers like Albert Camus and Jean Paul Satre spoke and wrote eloquently for the resistance forced, fighting in effect, and a propaganda war in tandem with their underground guerrilla actions (Gordon 1982). The media played a major surveillance role during the World War II, giving an up to date coverage of news especially to the Americans on the progress of the war. The American media played a major role of reporting giving both sides of the story that helped the citizens understanding more of what was happening. In this context the American media played the role of agenda setting to the masses.

On the contrary, due to higher censorship in German, the people were told too little except 'good news'. The media framed (Entman, 2007, Goffman, 1974) the news in favour of the government. Objectivity of reporting news at this time was at stake. The news were framed to favour the government. Gordon (1982), however, the truth came out when hordes of Germans died of the Russian side which was contrary to what newspapers reported

In 1991, the Persian Gulf War took centre stage of conflict in the world, with various forms of media covering the conflict. Nye (2007) observes that every morning and evening updates on the crisis filled television, radio and newspapers. This war was extensively covered because of its impact on the global economy. Aljazeera (2011) reported that during the Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1991, media covered uncritically the atrocities of the military. Aljazeera (2011), indicated that, the journalism of the time left little to be admired. The Pentagon, headquarters of the United States

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Department of Defense (DoD), had huge control on what went to the newspapers (CIA, 2007). This was after the military had learnt that the press was not reporting (framing stories) in their favour and thus before the newspapers reported their stories they had to be occasionally censored by the Pentagon. The Pentagon censorship later led the media to crumble except the Cable Network News (CNN).

After over two decades of Gulf war, objectivity in covering war by the media still raises questions especially on framing basis. The concern being; how the media in Africa cover war and conflict? Does the media in Africa report war with specific frames that either favor the government of the day, or the rebel side? Do both parties involved in the war, get a balanced coverage?

Adichie (2009), warned on the dangers of telling a story from a single perspective. She noted that whereas, the western media will dwell on a war story giving its two sides, and follow up contexts; the media in Africa had been seen to be shallow in its reporting of events in the continent. During the 1991, Iraq invasion, Bernard Shaw, a CNN reporter based in Baghdad, reported that he had managed to do the stories because he relied on both sides of the story, the military report and also more from the citizens, Aljazeera (2011).

McGoldrick and Lynch (2000), noted that, reporting of war and conflict is a global concern not only to the combatants involved, but to the general public as well as to the media professionals. The media through its reporters have a key obligation to keep their audiences informed. War is primarily characterized by violent deaths and material losses. Buller (2011), notes that war journalism focuses on advancements and capitulations, and is rooted in "us-versus-them" system and it is victory oriented. Conflict, negativity and impact are elements in news that draw war reporting close to other forms of reporting (Syed, 2006). According to Patterson and Wilkins (2008),

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during the U.S. invasion on Iraq in 2003, the killings of the U.S. troops was reported across Iraq extending far and wide. The impact and significance of the attack was felt not only by the U.S. government but by the families of the troops. The families sought day by day to know the fate of their captured relatives. Patterson and Wilkins (2008), due to the great significance and magnitude of this war, to the U. S. government, a number of newspapers were in a dilemma of whether to publish the stories and which images to use or not. A *Star Telegram* editor, noted; "We believe it is important our readers to know their condition after capture, so we have chosen to run photos of their faces." (Patterson & Wilkins, 2008, p. 198).

An important aspect of news reporting that underlie all stories including, war journalism is objectivity. Objectivity implies giving a fair balance of facts on either side of the parties to any given story. Patterson and Wilkins (2008, p. 22), "journalists define objectivity as a process of information collection that refuses them to allow individual biases to influence what they report or how they cover it." Gordon (1982), biased reporting of war was evidenced in World war II, when German opted to exercise extreme censorship on news stories and the eventual outcome was that crowds of Germans had been killed in Russia during the war. Patterson and Wilkins (2008, p. 22), note that, in journalism all facts and people are regarded as equal and equally worthy of coverage.

Peace journalism advocate, Johan Galtung, reinforces objectivity in journalism by pointing out that "journalists should be able to cover all sides of the conflict." Even though, Lynch and Galtung in (Buller, 2011) argue that objectivity does not require journalists giving equal coverage to violent responses, Siraj (2008) points out that during World War II, Americans enjoyed objectivity in journalism as

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the media did a balanced reporting giving both sides of the story that helped the citizens understanding more of what was happening.

<div align="center">The African Perspective</div>

As the Western press is steadily improving in using up to date communication technologies that help reporters do their work with ease, the press in Africa, unfortunately, is faced with a number of challenges. Nyamnjoh (2005, p.10) notes that "In Africa the basic equipment is either lacking or defective and where information is largely in the hands of the government. In some places in Africa they have no access to information of what is happening outside there, and that also lack means to tell their stories to the world. Africa thus finds itself left behind, being more of an observer than a participant." However, irrespective of these many challenges within the African continent, in terms of technology, accessibility and political interferences, print journalism has been able to respond rapidly to these challenges of the time, to provide its respective audience with information (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

According to Allen and Seaton (2000) there are many challenges that pose a difficulty in getting the story in Africa. There is much risk involved in covering the news and the cost implications are high. Much more is the narrow casting of news by both local and international reporters – no in-depth or follow-up done closely. "In the case of Africa, media interest seems to correspond closely with conflict and crisis…of all the world's regions, Africa receives the least attention. Reporters both domestic and international must contend with sources reluctant to speak for fear of their own safety, difficult travel conditions, censorship and inadequate communication facilities that make transmitting story, at times nearly impossible" (Allen & Seaton, 2000, p. 178).

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According to Lynch and Galtung, as cited by (Buller, 2011, p. 253), they note that amidst the challenges posed to African reporters, objectivity of reporting war stories must be maintained by all means. "They must take in more of reality." Lynch and Galtung, thereby argue that war reporting must go beyond routine mention of deaths and casualties to provide a richer approach and alternative options including proposed plans, and ask tough questions about methodology and a long term process toward lasting peace. For, Peyi and Edozie (2010) the most important contribution of the media in Africa is to make deliberate presentations of frameworks to validate and render visible the key issues. However, the approach to these key issues affecting Africa like war and conflict, famine and diseases depends on the choices, values and priorities the media gives to them.

General war reporting in the world is as old as human wars and conflicts. Hughes (2017) reports that, Africa has had its own share of wars and conflicts that include; the Somalia Inter-clan Conflict of 2011, the Rwandan clan wars of 1994, Mali's war of 2012 and the South Sudan war of 2013. The causes of these wars could be varied from country to country and from time to time. But, according to Nye (2007), the underlying threat causing civil wars in most countries is the power of one group to control the other. On war reporting in Africa, Bourgault (1995) and Nye (2007), indicate that the present day reporting of war in Africa cannot be discussed without reference to the roots and struggles of media in Africa in the past centuries of colonial and pre-colonial times. In each part of Africa and especially the Sub-Saharan Africa a lot of struggles have been made (Bourgault, 1995). However, Nye (2007), notes that the development and growth of media in Africa and reporting of news can be traced to colonial and post-colonial period of the 1970s and 1980s.

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Reporting of Sudan's Nuba war, in Kenya's Nation newspaper is of great significance not only to Sudanese people but also to Kenyans, due to the economic and political interests shared by the two countries. The proximity of the two nations to each other creates an interest to be concerned by both (Syed, 2006). The magnitude of this war is evidenced, by a continued inflow of refugees from Sudan to Kenya and neighbouring countries. The two countries are geographically, close to each other, bringing in the factor of proximity in news. A number of Kenyan expatriates, aid workers and peace keeping missions are involved in working in the Sudan. Significantly, the families of these peace mission workers, the aid workers in Kenya are greatly interested to know about the welfare of their family members working in Sudan. Therefore, just like in any major newspaper stories, a number of factors that comprise news values are taken into consideration, including frequency, audience identification and impact, (Spencer-Thomas, 2018).

This study focused on the place of war reporting as an area under news coverage that requires the attention of news values of which objectivity is primary, packed up with major elements of significance, proximity and impact. The study, sought to find out, how the *Nation* newspaper had reported the war in Sudan as part of its routine news stories. The focus on Sudan war was prompted by Kenyan government's previous interventions in the Sudan peace process and the influx of refugees to Kenya. Most of these refugees residing in Kenya, have an interest to know the fate of their families that remained back home. According to Jawitz (1996, p. 427), "Newspapers provide the most in-depth reporting, while radio and television go into comparatively little detail." Newspapers act as a medium of record in society, reflecting social, commercial and political events of any given community (Hiebert &

Gibbons, 2000). The *Nation* newspaper is preferred in this research because it is a most widespread newspaper, with special pages for international news coverage.

Statement of the Problem

According to Bunce, Franks, and Paterson, (2016), "Africa is rising and its narrative is evolving rapidly." With a fast growing democracy in Africa, the way stories are being told from and about Africa have also changed over time. Bourgault (1995, p. 206), there is a total shift in reporting, indicating a move from defending the compromised press of their countries to disavowing it. The reporters have realized an obligation to the public just as they have to the press. In the context of an evolving African narrative, literature on reporting of previous wars, including World War II (Gordon, 1982), Persian Gulf War (Nye, 2007) and the USA invasion of Iraq in 2003 (Patterson & Wilkins, 2008) showed prioritized war reporting by western media. The problem of this study was to find out the knowledge gap created by the African media in reporting war.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to find out how the *Nation* Newspaper had reported the Sudan war Nuba Mountains region to their readers between 2014 and 2016.

Objectives of the Study

1. To find out the frames the *Nation* newspaper had used to report Sudan war between 2014 and 2016.

2. To investigate the story placement in the *Nation* Newspaper.

3. To examine the frequency and uniformity in reporting of the war between 2014 and 2016.

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Research Questions

1. What frames did reporters use in reporting their stories on the war?

2. Where were the stories positioned in the *Nation* Newspaper?

3. How frequent were the stories about the war reported in the *Nation* newspaper between 2014 and 2016?

Rationale of the Study

The main rationale of this study was to find out how the Nation Newspaper had reported the Nuba Mountains war in Sudan to their readers. The study looked into the stories of the war from the Sudan, by various reporters of the Nation and analysed them using a coding sheet to obtain the frames used. The choice of the Nation newspaper, a Kenyan newspaper, was based on Sudan's close proximity to Kenya, an element in news stories. The Nation newspaper was also the most widely read newspaper with a huge daily circulation extending to East and Central Africa (Nation, 2008). Kenya had also been frequently involved in brokering peace in Sudan since 2005, during the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Kenya (NR, 2011).

Significance of the Study

This study was significant at a time, when there was a call to peace journalism, which is, transformative as opposed to war journalism, that uses a language of battles (Buller, 2011). It is not enough to report on violence (the number of material loses, deaths, causalities, rape cases, poverty and displacement) as inflicted by the war, but on paying particular attention to the invisible effects, such as psychological damage and trauma. Lynch and Galtung (2010), the proponents of peace journalism, advocate

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the use of a broader lens of understanding what caused the conflict, and how it might be resolved. They further proposed the need to address, consequences of war for political discourses like the receptiveness to narratives of victimhood and revenge, and the wish for more glory. The findings of this study will be significant to Nation reporters and other newspaper reporters who may want to improve their scope and skills on war reporting from mere war reporting to peace journalism. The findings will also be significant in exposing the amount of human affliction that had been caused by the war.

Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that the war in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan was intense and worthy of continuous media attention. The study also assumed that the war in Sudan region needed more attention to the rest of the world due to the human harm it had created to innocent citizens of the country.

Scope of the Study

The study was based on the Nation Newspaper stories on war, covering the Nuba Mountains between 2014 and 2016. The choice of these years came after a moment of relative peace, which followed the signing of a peace accord in Kenya in 2005 and the creation of new state, South Sudan, from the larger Sudan, in 2011. The study focussed on Nation Newspapers because of their detailed reporting on Eastern Africa matters. The researcher found the area appropriate also because of the effects of war, which were evident in the region as found out in previous literature. According to Dowden and Achebe (2009), " like most African conflicts, Sudan's war leaves relatively few direct military casualties from sporadic fighting, but creates mass civilian death through displacement, hunger and disease." (p. 158).

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Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This study was limited only to the Nuba Mountains region in Sudan; this might not have given a full picture of war in other regions within the country. To overcome this limitation, reports from other regions of Darfur and Blue Nile were included to find out how the war was covered in those areas.

Chapter Summary

Reporting of war is part and parcel of media because it answers the questions of what, where, who and how in storytelling and this is central to reporters of any news event. From the brief background to this research, it was evident that reports from the first world war, to the U.S Somali war and lately to Sudan war, had been hitting the media at various times, with varied priority on the print media's front pages or depending on the magnitude of the war. As opposed to war reporting in the western media, it was evident that there are flaws in reporting of war reporting in Africa. As (Aljazeera, 2011), reported, "21 years after the gulf war, the media are still struggling to get it right in reporting war." It was this knowledge gap of war reporting in Africa that motivated this study. Among the flaws of war reporting in Africa, Nyamnjoh (2005) mentions lack of basic equipment or defectiveness and the preservation of information to the government.

Definitions of Key Terms

War: a state of hostile and armed conflict between political units such as states and countries.

War reporting: media coverage of war events.

Nuba war: an armed conflict fighting between Sudanese army and rebels in Nuba Mountains.

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Prime page: key pages of newspapers that is the front, page 3 and back page.

Mug shot: an official photo of a person's face for specific purposes, with more emphasis.

Centre spread story: – story written in the middle part of the newspaper covering the two pages.

Laudatory: story giving praise, congratulation and admiration.

Favourable: story that was giving support to one side as opposed to the other.

Abrasive: an unfriendly, rough and coarse situation between warring parties.

World/International news: news beyond the local coverage of events, going beyond Kenya.

Day two story: a reporting on the previous day episode of an event that occurred.

Propaganda war: a war aimed at disseminating information on publicity.

'*Good news':* stories that only reported what the government wanted people to hear.

Wire agencies: organization that gathers news reports and sells them to others that have subscribed like newspapers.

Active state: the state of life or deaths in the victims of the war.

Frame: an aspect of reality that received more attention than others.

Normal business: a neutral state that doesn't indicate conflict.

Crusading: a story that is campaigning for a particular side, especially the government side

Descriptive: a story giving a bare account of events.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter contains two important parts. First a theoretical framework in which this study was built and, secondly, an empirical literature review of previously published works on war reporting and about the war in the Nuba Mountains region of the Sudan. The study started by looking at the media framing theory and its place within the study. The purpose of this literature review was to explore what had already been done, and to build on those studies for a better understanding of war reporting. This literature review also helped to give new interpretation of old material combining new with old interpretations (Hill, 2010).

Theoretical Framework

This study was mainly informed by the framing theory of the media. The study explored the frames that had been used in reporting war. Through a framing theory perspective, the researcher looked into values assessment (Chandran, 2004) by looking into what happened, where, how, what was in the news, who was involved and how this affected the turnout of events?

Framing Theory

The history and foundations of framing theory in media is attributed to Canadian-American sociologist and writer, Erving Goffman. According to Goffman, (1974), the basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Goffman, further indicates that frames render what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something meaningful. The use of frames overemphasizes certain aspects of reality

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over others. To reinforce Goffman's definition, Entman (2007), defines framing as, "selection of some aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." According to Entman (2007), frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgements and suggest remedies. McQuail (2010, p. 380), reinforces the framing aspect by indicating that a large number of textual devices can be used to perform these activities. They include using certain words or phrases, making certain contextual references, choosing certain pictures or film, giving examples as typical, referring to certain sources. In the general communication process, Goffman (1974) indicates that framing is the way a communication source defines and constructs any piece of communicated information. He adds that framing is unavoidable part of human communication, for we all bring our own frames to our communications.

Unintended bias maybe introduced in reporting of news and this means a departure from objectivity. Entman (2007), points out that, it is almost unavoidable for journalists to introduce (unintended) bias and in so doing to depart from pure 'objectivity'. When information is supplied to news media by sources (as much often is), then it arrives in with a built in frame that suits the purpose of the source and is unlikely to be purely objective. According to McQuail, (2010), "the manner of reporting, in words, tone and problematizing, constitute frames. There are many cues to draw on including; visuals, language usage, labels, similes and metaphors, familiar narrative structures." p. 381

In 1972, Gregory Bateson, mentioned in Arowolo (2017), described, framing as the practice of thinking about news items and story content within familiar context. Bateson, related framing to agenda-setting theory (telling the audience what to think

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about), but expanded his research on agenda setting theory, to include how to think about that issue. Thus according to Bateson, framing became a second level agenda setting. In this perspective, the nature of framing theory is not just to set the agenda, but to focus on the essence of the issues at hand. Miller (2005, p. 275) framing can be accomplished through consideration of particular subtopics, through the size and placement of a news item, through narrative form and tone of presentation, and through particular details included in the media coverage. Severin and Tankard (2014, p. 277) indicate, that in some cases the framing of news stories is suggested by particular devices that are accessed early in the processing of the stories. These devices may include; headlines, the leads, the pull quotes and nut graphs. Vreese (2005, p. 54), notes that, "frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events." Frames in the news can be examined and identified by 'the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.' Arowolo (2017), indicates that, frames can be designed to enhance understanding or used as cognitive shortcuts to link stories to the bigger picture.

Baran and Davis (2009, p.320), the major reason of using frames, is to protect the status quo of the governing elite against consumers of news. But when the status quo is severally challenged, the relationship between reporters and consumers is likely to be more. Fourie (2007, p. 245) framing emphasizes on the media's representation, treatment and production of issues. Fourie (2007) sees framing as a media effect which describes the influence on the public of the news angles used by the journalists, the interpretative and ideological frameworks from which journalists report an issue and the contextualization of news reports within a specific ideological framework.

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These perspectives can be either positive or negative, depending on how they have been 'ideologically colored' by journalists. Some people who have access to the media can use such opportunities to influence how the media advocates for an issue. This study looked out into the frames that had been used to report the war. The frames will be looked in the newspaper stories headlines, the leads, the pull quotes and nut graphs. The frames were also looked at the presence or absence on the newspaper headlines, who are the sources of the information (government, civilians or religious leaders), how the story had been contextualized, what authorities were involved in the story, what considerations were given in terms of story size to give it full significance, what text was used in the pull quotes or in the leads, where was the story placed in the prime page, front page, facing pages or at the back page.

Empirical Literature Review

A short history of the Sudan traces it to 19th century in the times of the Mahdi. According to Dowden and Achebe (2009), Sudan, a majorly Arabic speaking country of Eastern Africa was indirectly ruled by British colonialists who used Egypt to colonize it. Just slightly before its independence in 1956, the British allowed Christian missionaries into the South, while, no Muslim could be allowed to the South. According to, Hammond (1995), differences in religion and administration became stronger in 1885 when Khartoum was captured, and a strong and courageous British General, Charles Gordon, killed during an attempt to defend Khartoum from the Mahdis' forces. In 1898, Mahdi's forces were defeated by the British army and state of unrests continued in Sudan and succession of powers was mainly through coups. One power used military means to overthrow the other. In 1956, a major civil war between the Muslim North and Black South broke out, while independence was

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declared, Hammond (1995). The current leadership of President Omar Hassan al-Bashir, came into power, through a military coup that overthrew Al-Mahdi. Even as the British left Sudan after independence, the war did not completely cease. When Omar Bashir, militantly took power in 1989, he instituted an extremely, militant Islamicist regime under the National Islamic Front and war still intensified (Hammond, 1995).

As the war intensified in Sudan over the preceding years of 2000 and beyond, African Union peace keepers were allowed into Sudan as opposed to United Nations peace keepers. Dowden and Achebe (2009, p. 196) indicate that "Bashir claiming national sovereignty, did not want a United Nations peace keeping force because he knew that the UN, unlike the AU, would bring reporters, and their reports would reveal that his government was supporting Arab militias. Dowden, further indicates that even as AU troops came in, only the rate of destruction was reduced but the killing and burning of villages continued (Dowden & Achebe, 2009, p. 196).

Due to inaccessibility challenges posed by the Sudanese government, little has been reported to the outside world. The ruling elite of Sudan knows much about the outside world than the outside world knows about them and for that reason they are determined to block any information going out about the Khartoum regime (Dowden & Achebe, 2009). Between 2005 and 2010 Sudan enjoyed moments of relative peace after a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that was signed in Kenya in 2005. At the end of the CPA in 2010, the South involved itself in a referendum exercise a year later. This referendum eventually set the South free from the Northern regime, thereby becoming an independent Country in 2011 (NR, 2011). Due to its large geographical diversity Sudan remained largely unexplored but authorities in the North created a huge control on resources, extending to the South.

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The war that ravaged the Sudan for many years left many communities within it marginalized. The effects of war in the Sudan became detrimental leading to destruction of lives, property and infrastructure. The consequences of marginalization, lack of schools leading to low literacy levels, poverty, diseases, lack of access to health services, hunger and starvation. Macram Max, a Catholic Church authority to El Obeid Diocese in Sudan (Hammond, 1995, p. 115) says "We are hungry, persecuted, and naked, with no schools."

In this challenge of continued war in the Sudan, the media found itself at crossroads. This was primarily due to government censorship and secondly inability by the reporters to access remote areas to report actual events in the ground. One of the regions affected by the Sudan war was the Nuba Mountains (NR, 2011). Thompson (2007), indicates that "in utilitarian genocides, largely motivated by the desire to create, expand and preserve formal states and empires, the perpetrator calls directly on the professional armed forces of the state to facilitate acquisition of wealth, eliminate a perceived threat or spread terror."

Nielsen (2003) Technological advancements have allowed war reporters to update citizens with news. "Journalists have always relied on the latest technology to get closest to the story and relay it out to the public as quickly as possible". (Nielsen 2003, p.2) Therefore, alongside the framing of stories technology is a factor in modern war reporting. The use of new communication technologies was evident in the Gulf war, the aerial war over Serbia and Kosovo, and in the Afghan and Iraq wars. In reference to use of technology in war reporting, Hachten and Scotton (2007) refer to CNN that turned much of the world into a global community witnessing a televised real-time war. The war became the biggest global news story in years and telling it utilized the full resources of the U.S and European news media as well as much of the

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international news system. More than 1600 reporters of print and broadcast were on land to report it.

Nuba Mountains, Sudan

According to Watkins and Alley (2017) "The Republic of Sudan is the largest country in Africa, covering approximately 967.5 thousand square miles." in addition, that much of the Sudan is largely marked with mountainous and plateaus landscape. Dowden and Achebe (2009, p. 158) highlights that, "the vastness of the Sudan is a major challenge in providing proper administration and resources to the people outside Khartoum, where the current regime is based." On the other hand, Jok (2007), notes, "continued marginalization of black population groups within the Sudan by Arab elite from Khartoum is in itself a cause of civil war in the Sudan." From late 1990s, regions like Darfur and Nuba Mountains, have been in war with its government at the North. Atrocities subjected to the Sudanese black population in the Nuba Mountains (commonly referred as South Kordofan) have come to be known through little documentation and reporting by various media outlets. Dowden and Achebe (2009, p. 158) assert that, "like most African conflicts, Sudan's war leaves relatively few direct military causalities from sporadic fighting, but creates mass civilian death through displacement, hunger and disease."

The Nuba Mountains is a large mountainous landscape region in the Sudan. When South Sudan broke away from Sudan in January 2011, at the end of the provision of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Nuba Mountains region populated by Nubians, remained in Sudanese territory, despite most of the regions' people having fought with the south (NR, 2011). This in many ways could disadvantage the Nubians due to continued marginalization. Having fought together with the south Sudanese people, the Nuba did not want to be excluded during the

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referendum. They wanted to go south; unfortunately, they were left at the territory with the Sudan (NR, 2011).

According to the Nuba Reports, (2011), the recent war in the Nuba Mountains broke out in 2011, between the government forces and the Sudan People's Liberation Army - North (SPLA-N), after Sudan authorities defaulted on a popular consultation designed to provide the two states greater political autonomy and insisted on what the rebels considered a premature disarmament of their forces, fighting resumed after experiencing less than a decade of peace since the previous conflict.

According to Nyamnjoh (2005), poor connectivity to the means of communication is the major challenge of reporters carrying out their stories in Africa. "Connectivity in Africa is lower than elsewhere in the world. Due to devastating war that has been in places like Darfur and Nuba Mountains in Sudan, and Karamoja in Uganda, for long there has been no network connectivity, leave alone telephone network" (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 16). During the six years of recent war in the Nuba Mountains, between 2011 and 2017, the Nuba Reports, has been the major news outlet based in the war front of the Sudan. The *Nuba Reports*, with a team of local reporters, who collect information from a war incidence, passes it to an international team, within Sudan, that creates stories and publishes them online. These stories are later shared with global media, Sudanese media partners, who publish and share their stories inside the Sudan, and also the readers share them with their communities (NR, 2011). Due to such challenges in Africa and precisely the Nuba Mountains, Nyamnjoh (2005), Finnegan (1988) and Allen and Seaton (2000), have highlighted that, war reporting in Africa, may not have been effectively done. Gathara (2014) reports that, "at times the story that is covered of Africa is in the perspective of a 'foreign eye,' that may not necessarily interpret it in the local's perspective." Jok (2007), enforces

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Gathara (2014), indicating that, "there has been a misrepresentation of basic issues in Sudan between 1980s and 2000s.

Alongside the humanitarian tragedies sparked by prolonged conflicts, journalism on its side sets itself up to be pandered by the warring factions as each side vies for the sympathy of the audience. The stories seek to capture the suffering from a perspective that looks for shock effect and entertainment aspects over informative ones. The result is that the depth of the story is often missed in favor of a spectacle, and the potential for misrepresentation is frequently present. (Jok, 2007, p. 28). Jok, further points out that, "the state has become increasingly a monopoly of a few who have entrenched themselves by increasingly promoting and strengthening the political and military position of their narrow but well-funded base." In an approach to give a new picture of reporting the Sudanese conflict of years, Bishop, Macram Max Garsiss (Hammond, 1995, p. 115), points out to the media that "rather than printing scandals of famous people on your front pages, print the suffering and dignity of the Sudanese people."

The Framing of Sudan War

War reporting and coverage remain still a most challenging part of journalism, partly because of the technicalities involved but also due to government censorship always invoking the security of the country. Mwaura (1985), points out that, reporters never have the unfettered freedom to write what they want, and rarely do they have the opportunity to the perfect news story. Thus, in most cases, it has always not been easy to get to accurate data of casualties and destruction and therefore in some cases the stories that go to newspapers have inconsistencies.   On   the   other   hand, governments also have had to protect their image in the fight against terror and any forms of rebellion. Mwaura (1985, p. 22), points out that, "political considerations

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form an important part of the limitations in African journalism" The restraints from the ruling political elite, like in the case of Sudan's Omar Bashir, have had a strong control on the media activities in the Nuba Mountains region of Sudan. Adichie (2009), points out that news dominated by a single frame may have a negative aspect on the audience as opposed to news with diverse frames. If a single frame favours the ruling elite, the most likely outcome is rebellion from the opposition. Dowden and Achebe (2009) note that the resistance and fight against the status quo of the ruling elite is what has always sparked war in the Sudan - the governing authority based in Khartoum is the controller of all resources for the Sudanese population living south of the capital.

The war in Sudan has received further condemnation from religious authorities. Bishop Macram Max (Hammond, 1995, p. 115) points to the ruling regime in the Sudan as the cause of the War in the Sudan. "You cannot expect us to live in peace if you allow arms to the government. Stop arms coming to the regime in Khartoum." However, on the other hand, other religious authorities in the Sudan have had a different approach to the war in the Sudan. Paride Taban (Hammond 1995), warns that, "An Arab minority in the Sudan wants to assimilate the Africans to destroy African traditions, beliefs and way of life; and to do this by force." (p. 116). Kenneth Baringwa (Hammond, 1995) on the contrary indicates that, the war is neither a civil nor a political war; it is a religious war between Christians and Muslims. Christians are resisting what, in effect is, genocide, *Arabization* and *Islamization*. The Muslims are determined to impose the Islamic religion upon the Christians and to turn Sudan into an Arabic state."Great news events, including war, have impact in accelerating social and political changes by shaping the opinions of the people on what to think about and how to think about it (framing) - much more is the role-

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played by the media in shaping the opinions of the public. Hachten and Scotton (2007, p. 63) point out that "great news events of our times have given us insights into the role that global news play in assisting and accelerating political and social change." In most cases, such wars like the Gulf War of 1991, the Rwandan Genocide of 1994, have had strong social, political and economic impact on the peoples. There is destruction of infrastructure, loss of lives, degradation of humanity and security issues. The news values in the war stories are primary to any media story. These values address the number of people affected by the occurrence and how they are affected.

According to Hachten and Scotton (2007), "the report of the event can be as important as the event itself." The impact that an event creates is primary to news (how many people affected, and how they are affected). Reporting of crucial happenings like war, destruction of property and any type of calamity or disaster that endangers the lives of people is as mandatory as the rescue of the people involved. In such cases, like the Gulf War, the Somali inter-clan war, the Nuba war, and Rwanda genocide reporters had obligations and responsibilities to place the suffering and loss of millions of people before the eyes of the developed world, thereby influencing a demonstration of human solidarity across national, religious and cultural divides that previously seemed beyond reach. By placing these atrocities in the eyes of the world, more demand for action is called for.

To narrow down the knowledge gap and any flaws of reporting war in Africa, and especially in countries that have been in constant conflict like Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan, African reporters have an obligation to frame these stories credibly in the way that they affect the people involved. Odindo (2010), says "Africans must insist on telling their own story because in a conflict situation, nothing beats local

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knowledge, the distortions brought to African conflicts by the slanted or inaccurate reporting of ignorant foreign correspondents must be countered by African reporters themselves." The reporters, in a way, are part of the story to be reported and cannot afford to run away from the conflict. In Sierra Leone's civil war, termed 'Blood diamonds,' of early 2000, a number of local and foreign reporters freed due to the atrocities and danger on the reporters, whereas those who had no option of escape remained. "The media both local and international 'took off' from the war zone in Freetown and little of the war of blood diamonds was told to the world" (Samora, 2002). If a new picture of Africa and its warring countries has to improve and change to a better one, it will all depend on the reporting that African reporters shall do to the continent. McKenzie (2010), a CNN International correspondent based in Nairobi, acknowledges that the way Africa was portrayed to the international community was previously wrong, and it's now changing. In this, Gaouad (2010) poses challenge that, "we (Africa) need a media organisation that will report Africa in a fair way, the way Al Jazeera does for the Arab World." The need for an African media fully packed with African reporters would help tell African stories and give much (Mckenzie, 2010).

Jok (2007) refutes the framing of Sudan in international circles as a failed or weak state. He instead argues that it's not necessarily a weak state, but one where the ruling elite have religiously and racially capitalized on its fragmentation, thereby becoming a monopoly of a few, who have entrenched themselves by increasingly promoting and strengthening the political and military position of their narrow but well-funded support base. Jok (2007) further argues that the reporting of Sudan hasn't been adequately done to give a wider picture of the State that is fighting to regain a lost glory. Jok thereby raises the question of framing and objectivity in journalism

today, as pointed out by Baran and Davis (2009). In an environment largely dominated by violence and social injustice with institutions having the power to influence decisions and to gag the media, with an upper hand going to the ruling elite, a focus of framing on media reporting is a necessary condition. Baran and Davis (2009) note that "these institutions are able to promote frames that serve to reinforce or consolidate an existing social order and to marginalize frames that raise questions about or challenges the way things are." (p. 320). Amidst the challenges of framing stories to attune to a particular group, objectivity of reporting should be maintained to ensure both parties involved in the news drama are catered for.

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2006, p. 11) illustrate that framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. At a greater level within media and communication ''framing'' refers to modes of presentation that reporters and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2006, p. 12). Using a code sheet (see appendix II), this study looked into how the stories of war from Sudan had been reported on the Nation Newspaper. Some of the aspects in the coding sheet, included, the placement of the story, the size, the use of photographs, the authorities cited and the number of deaths. By looking at the framing of the stories, the study investigated if they favoured the ruling/political elite, the marginalized minority or they are balanced to both sides of the affected groups (Baran & Davis, 2009). Primarily, framing is underscored in the package and use of information: its concern is on message construction rather than media effects.

Summary

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Whereas, the primary role of the media is to inform the people, theorists like Walter Lippmann have designated through their findings the role of the media as agenda setting. Through the agenda setting role, the media helps in telling the public on what to think about, and not necessarily what to think. With continued crisis and conflicts happening in Africa, especially in war torn countries like Somalia and Sudan, the media remains a key player in setting the public agenda on the same. With a major revolution taking place today in the world of communication and media a lot of information sharing across various media networks is also rapidly on the increase.

The revolution of online communication has been made possible by improved technologies and the umbrella of the internet. Radelet (2010), indicates that the use of internet has rapidly grown especially in the emerging countries and it's reaching 50 million users in the continent. However, despite that increase in internet usage several other villages of the world remain locked from internet services. This brought about by poor connectivity, low literacy levels and high prices of internet access. Use of digital video cameras, with satellite connections has always brought action live to the homes of people across the world. In developing countries or emerging countries in Africa, the new media has facilitated stories that have been later used in mainstream media. Unfortunately, in war zones satellites and communication boosters have been targets of destruction. Whereas, these technologies were not a major contribution to political and economic turnabout of Africa, but they have essentially created an impact in sustaining development in Africa (Radelet, 2010). The media's role is primary to inform the people on what is happening such that they can make informed judgements. The media through balanced framing and priming of their stories will be of benefit to the larger society especially in matters that are of critical concern.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study used content analysis method to collect data. According to Stemle (2001, p. 1) content analysis is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding. Stemle (2001), further notes that content analysis enables researchers to sift through large volumes of data with relative ease in a systematic fashion. Gunter (2000) content analysis dates back to World War II, when allied intelligence units monitored the number and types of popular songs played on European radio stations. By comparing the music played on German stations with that on other stations in occupied Europe the allies were able to measure, with some degree of success, the changes in troop concentration on the continent. Gunter (2000) points out that the central thrust of content analysis is to provide descriptive account of what a media text (film, advertisement, newspaper report, magazine feature) contains, and do so in a fashion that can be reproduced by others.

This study collected data from Nation Newspapers that had reported the war in Sudan. The researcher used content analysis because it was systematic and objective. The analysis was quantitative because it focused on numerical values or frequencies with which the various defined types of text/content occur. The study was objective with constructed categories and units of analysis related to studies done before and can be applied by any other study and give the result needed by the researcher. It was systematic because; the content selected followed a natural order of happening (followed through the months Jan – Dec, 1st to 30th of every month, 2014, 2015 to 2016. Categories were the most important elements in this content analysis study. The

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categories were important because they helped to classify the content of messages published in the newspapers. Each category dealt with a different aspect. The various aspects of frames used were defined in the code sheet attached at the appendix II of this study.

According to Stempel II and Westley (1989), units of analysis are words, statements, sentences, paragraphs or entire articles or stories – the units of analysis depend primarily on the information required for the purpose of study. This study included use of statements, phrases, paragraphs, photographs and cartoons in analysis. The photographs and cartoons were also considered because they added significant information to the story and they could easily catch the attention of the reader. The cartoons are humorous and they speak with a hidden meaning. The cartoons can also be used to frame the authority in question.

Research Design

A research design "is the plan or strategy for conducting a research; a means of ensuring that a research process is sufficiently systematic and scientific and that the results obtained are applicable in real life." (Oso 2016, p. 203)

The study employed content analysis as a design for collecting data. According to Stemle (2001, p. 2) before a content analysis is undertaken, some key considerations need be looked into: these include: the data to be analyzed, how is the data defined, the population from which the data will be drawn, the boundaries of the analysis, and the context relative to which the data are analyzed. A quantitative content analysis was done to collect data on the war stories reported in the *Nation Newspaper*s. Rohilla (2010, p. 92) points out that "using quantitative methods, it is possible to give precise and testable expression to qualitative ideas." The Nation

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newspapers were preferred in this study because of their wide circulation in Eastern Africa, and also because of its scope of stories that extend beyond local news (Nation, 2008). The Nation newspaper is part of the Nation Media group outlets with a slogan '*Media of Africa, for Africa.*' The data collected focused on years of 2014, 2015 and 2016. The choice of these years was based on the recent war that broke out in 2011, the same year that the South Sudan seceded from the historical Republic of Sudan in 2011. The study employed a uniform coding and analysis procedure to obtain required data from the newspapers, focusing on objectivity and maintaining a systematic order. These newspapers were accessed within the Daystar University library, Valley Road campus, Nairobi.

The unit of analysis for this study was newspapers. This study used a code sheet to fill in the data required to facilitate the process of analysis. The code sheet included the following; the newspaper, the case number, the date of happening given in full, page in which the article appeared, the date of the story given in full, the location or placement of the story among other stories, the section; if it is main news, world news, local or business. It also included the number of accompanying pictures, the size in column centimeters (cm), the color and the human subjects in the story; individual or group.

<center>Population</center>

Population is, "the theoretically specified aggregation of the elements in a study in which a sample is selected". Babie (2011, p. 211) . The population of the study comprised of the *Nation* Newspapers that run daily from Monday to Sunday. The choice of these papers was prompted by the world news segment that was found in every daily publication. The newspaper stories covered the three years of between 2014 and 2016. These years fall within the recent war times that started in 2011 to

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2017 (NR, 2011). The population comprised all the news stories on war in the Sudan appearing in the nation newspapers in the years of 2014, 2015, and 2016.

A quantitative examination of these stories was done by recording the number of stories reported from each newspaper, the size of the story, the photographs used (size/color), the cartoons, authorities (frame aspect of the issues mentioned) governance issues, economic issues, health, placement, neutrality, negative or positive. The choice of the nation newspapers was based on its wider circulation in the region of East Africa and more readership in comparison with other competitor newspapers.

Target Population

(Kothari, 2004), a target population is the entire assembly a study is interested in, from which a sample is gotten in order to draw conclusions. The study's target population was the stories on the *Nation Newspaper*s from 2014 to 2016. The rationale behind the target population was to help the researcher to cater for the timeline of research and other logistical challenges. These newspapers will be accessed in the Daystar University Library.

Sampling and Sample Size

Oso (2016, p. 122) "sampling is the process of selecting a few cases from the target population in order to provide information that can be used to make judgments about a much larger number of cases." The study employed systematic sampling to get data. Chandran, (2004, p. 97) systematic sampling is used where there are populations in which individuals or units follow a natural ordering or where a natural ordering can be created. In a span of three years, there were a total of 1,095 newspapers. These newspapers are arranged systematically in the library from Jan – Dec 2014, Jan – Dec 2015, Jan – Dec 2016. Using a research assistant, the stories

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about Sudan war were sifted and recorded down using a coding sheet. Chandran (2004), the rationale behind sampling was efficiency in terms of the number of personnel used in data collection, time and cost, without compromising on the quality of the data. A coding sheet was used to collect data from each newspaper. This was later classified according to date, month, year and the categories were used to get the required data.

Data Collection

The study collected data on stories reported by the Nation newspapers between 2014 and 2016. The information about these stories of war in the Nuba Mountains was filled using a code sheet. The data include, date of the story, placement of the story, number of accompanying pictures, the size (in cm), picture color and the human subjects in the story; individual or group. A research assistant was trained on coding to help and helped in the data collection exercise. Quantitative data was collected showing the reporting and the framing of the war.

Types of Data

The study employed a quantitative component of collecting primary data of war stories from the Nation Newspapers covering the period between 2014 and 2016. The data collected was quantitative.

Data Collection Procedures

This study embarked on collecting data by filling a code sheet from the samples picked the findings were recorded and analyzed. A code sheet was used to collect quantitative data.

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Data Analysis

According to (Kumar, 2011) data analysis refers to a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling data with the goal of highlighting useful information, suggesting conclusions, and supporting decision-making. Upon successful collection of data, it was subjected to analysis. The first step involved cleaning the data from any inconsistencies or incompleteness (Dale, 2000). The data was later organized according to subsections, and then translated into meaningful messages.

Ethical Considerations

According to Obeng-Quaidoo (2009), ethics in academics, is a branch of moral philosophy that concerns itself about the study of conduct as pertain to integrity. Areas of dishonesty to constitute unethical issues include: plagiarism, fabrication and falsification, faulty data-gathering procedures, poor data storage and retention, misleading authorship, sneaky publication practices, involuntary participation, uninformed consent, anonymity and confidentiality. To avoid plagiarism a major academic crime, the researcher acknowledged the sources acquired and works from other authors to give them credit to their academic contributions. The researcher also avoided copy pasting other researcher's works. The study involved a good sample population of half the target population to increase the reliability of the result system.

The study findings will published to enhance wide sharing of knowledge with the many interested parties so as to help improve media training in the country and the world at large. Upon approval of consent from the university's Ethics and Review Board (ERB), a license from the National Commission of Science & Technology (NACOSTI) was obtained to undertake the research and collect data.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This chapter presents a report on the findings of the study based on the data that was collected and analyzed from the newspapers of the three years. This chapter therefore presents the findings in tables and figures. It also expresses the findings in percentages for clear and easy interpretation and understanding. The findings of the present study focused attention on the framing aspect of the war by looking into what frames were used in the reporting of the war. The findings finally in this chapter expressed the evaluative dimension of telling the stories and the journalistic dimensional approach to reporting the stories.

Presentation, Interpretation and Analysis

The data was collected through content analysis on *Nation* newspapers for three consecutive years of 2014, 2015 and 2016. During the analysis a population sample of 1018 newspapers out of the total 1095 were inspected for war related stories from the Sudan. The data for this study were collected by keying in information in a coding sheet. The researcher chose a sample big enough to enable make adequate inferences. The stories were corded down consistently between January 2014 and December 2016, and from a sample of 1018 newspapers a total of 165 war related stories were established, forming the basis of analysis. The findings from this study were used to address the research questions, namely; to establish the frames used in reporting the war, the location of the stories in the *Nation* newspaper, and the frequency of reporting these stories. These findings focused on the frequency and consistency of reporting the war within the three years, the location and page label of the stories as either on prime page or inside pages, the format of the stories

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which investigated full page stories, multiple columns or as briefs and commentaries of single columns.

The Frequency of War Stories

From a total population of three years comprising 1095 newspapers, out of these, 1018 newspapers, were analyzed carrying 165 stories. The stories were further categorized as on *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation* or *Sunday Nation.* In the three years, the *Daily Nation* recorded the highest number of stories at 135, (82%) followed by the *Sunday Nation* with 19 (11%) stories, while the *Saturday Nation*, recorded the least of stories at 11 (7%). Across the three years, 2015 recorded the highest number of stories at 59, (36%) followed by 2016 with 55 (33%) stories and 2014 with 51 (31%) stories. The table below shows the number of news stories that were analyzed in the three years.

Table 4. 1: Number Stories on Daily, Saturday and Sunday Nation

Newspaper	2014	2015	2016	Total
Daily Nation	39	50	46	135
Saturday Nation	4	4	3	11
Sunday Nation	8	5	6	19
Total	*51*	*59*	*55*	*165*

The findings from the data showed that the months of June 2015 and 2016 recorded the highest number of news at 20% and the month of July in all the three years recorded the lowest stories of 2 (4%) items in each of the months. These findings were recorded as shown in the table below.

Table 4. 2: Number of Stories Recorded Across the Three Years

Month	2014	2015	2016
Jan	4	6	5
Feb	8	6	3
March	7	3	6
April	7	7	7
May	4	3	-
June	3	15	12
July	2	2	2
August	3	2	4
September	2	6	5
October	-	2	3
Nov	5	4	6
Dec	6	3	2
Total	51	59	55

Location and Page Label of the Stories

On location of the stories, the findings from the study indicated that all the 165 stories analyzed were found in the inside pages of the newspapers. There was no story that placed in the prime pages of the newspapers. The prime pages of the newspaper, in this study meant the front and the back pages of the newspaper. The findings displayed that only 2% story articles were placed in the local news segment, whereas all the other 98%, were positioned at the international pages, which was also titled world news and in other instances as Africa news. These findings on the frequency of the positioning of local and international news segment were filled in the table as shown in this table.

Table 4. 3: *Position of Local Stories against the International position*

Page label	2014	2015	2016	Total
Local	0	3	0	3
International/World	48	60	54	162

Format of Stories

The format of the stories was single column, multiple columns, ¾ page, ½ pages or full page. The study further categorized these into two: single column (news briefs) and multiple columns (½ page, ¾ page and full page). From the study, it was found out that 44% of the stories were of detailed news reported in multiple columns, while 55% were reported as news briefs and a 1% of stories were from commentary as shown here below in the table.

Table 4. 4: *The Format of Stories between 2014, 2015 and 2016*

Format	2014	2015	2016	Total
News	26	32	15	73
News in brief	24	30	37	91
Commentary	0	1	0	1
Total	50	63	52	165

Framing of the Stories

This study picked out three outstanding aspects of reality (frames) for retrospection. These aspects were *'war'*, *domestic area* of report, and the *authority* mentioned in the war report. These three aspects of perceived reality had a great interrelatedness and were used to address, the *what* (war), *where* (domestic area) and *who* (authority) of news reporting. The researcher had divided the frames of authority involved into two categories for easy coding and they were analysed as discussed below.

a) The Authority Frame

The data of this study showed that, Sudanese President Omar Bashir, was the underlying authority of emphasis. President Omar Bashir, was mentioned in 63 (61%) stories out of the total 165. The rebel leader from SPLA-N was the lowest at 4%. Other government agencies were used to reinforce the president agenda or voice.

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These included the government ministers, 12%, the government spokesman 5%, and the army chief 5%. The opposition and rebel's voice was low at 9% and 4%. The various authority frames were expressed in the table below.

Table 4. 5: *The Framing Aspect of the Authorities in the Stories*

Domestic Frames	2014	2015	2016	Total	Int. Frames	2014	2015	2016	Total
President Bashir	13	34	16	63	AU Chief	8	4	1	13
Rebel leader	2	1	1	4	UN Sec	1	1	0	2
Government Min.	6	4	3	13	Regional leader	2	1	3	6
Opposition leader	7	0	2	9	Ambas.	0	1	2	3
Army Chief	5	2	2	9	Foreign envoy	3	2	2	7
Govt. spokesman	4	1	0	5	NGO spokesman	1	1	1	3

These authority frames were later presented graphically for clear understanding as shown in the following figures here below.

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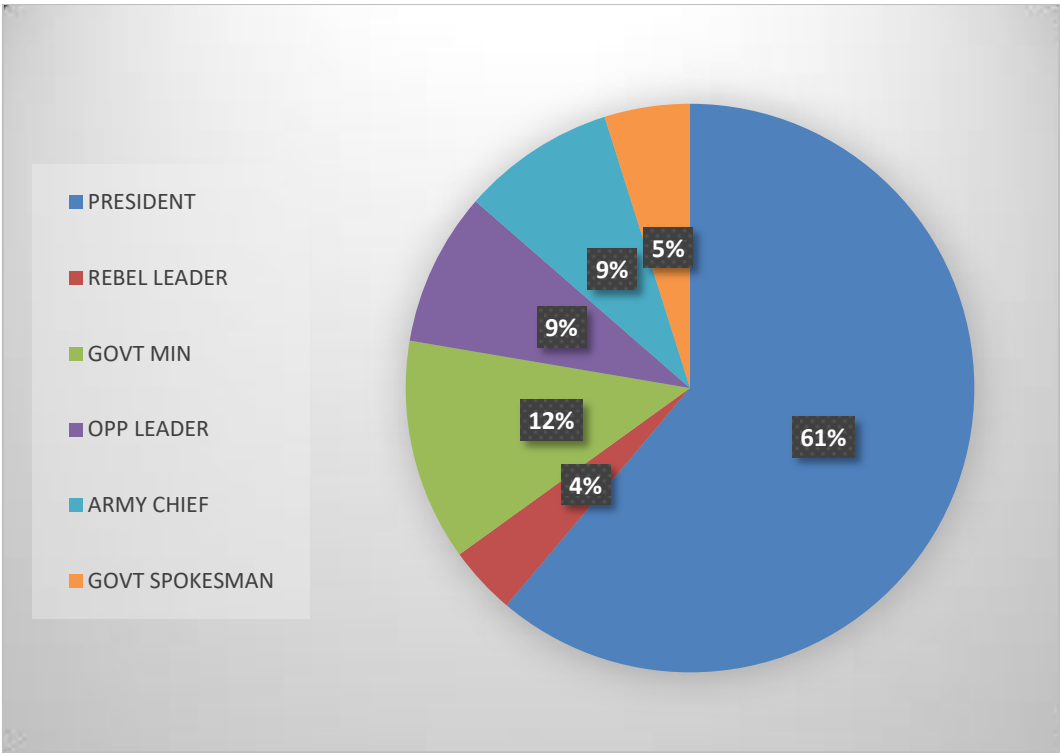
Figure 4. 1: Percentage Presentation of Domestic Frames of Authority

The international frames included the authorities that were at the centre of the efforts to end the war in Sudan. These were mainly from African Union (AU) in Addis Ababa, the International Criminal Court (ICC), the United Nations Secretary General, foreign envoys or from regional leaders and international NGOs. The major intervening authority in this war was the AU chief at 38%, the foreign envoys 20%, the regional leaders 18%, the ambassadors 9%, the NGOs 9% and the UN 6%.

43
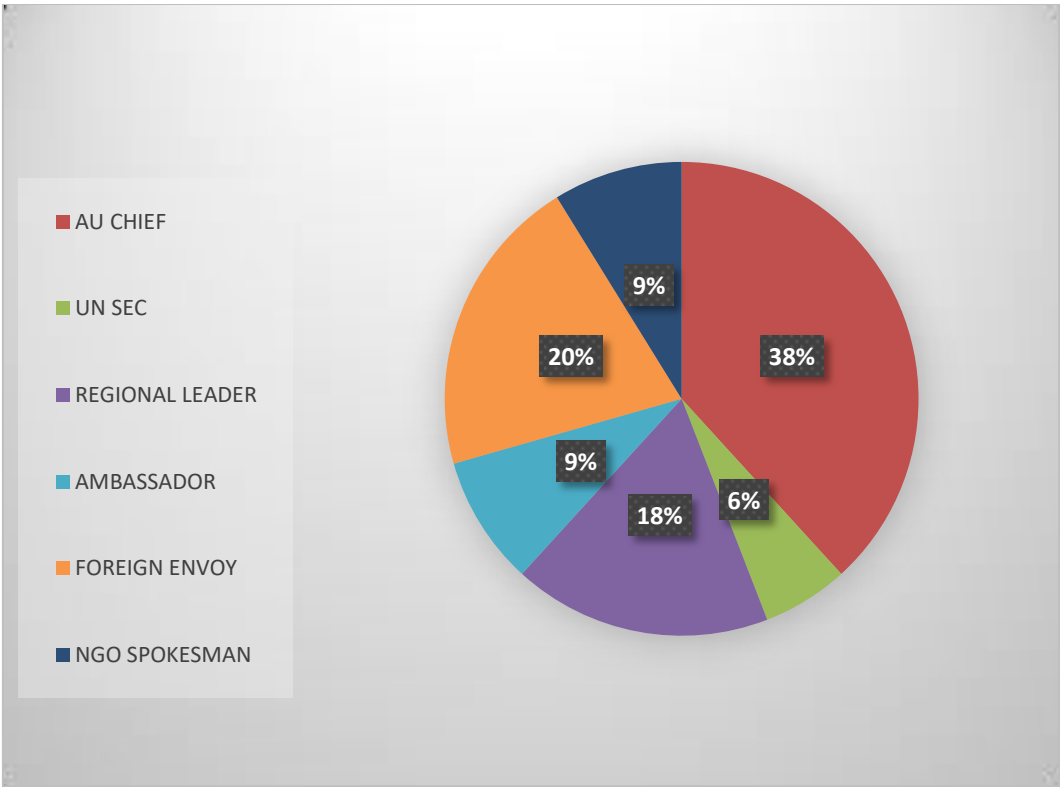
Figure 4. 2: Percentage Presentation of International Frames of Authority

b) The Location Frame of the Story

The findings from the present study indicated that 63% of the stories were covered from Khartoum, which is the capital city of Sudan. The other 25% of the stories were reported from South Kordofan (Nuba Mountains), 7% from Darfur and 5% from Blue Nile. These stories were principally told through News agencies and others through Nation Newspaper correspondent. The following figures show the distribution of area frames. The following figure shows the distribution of area frames.

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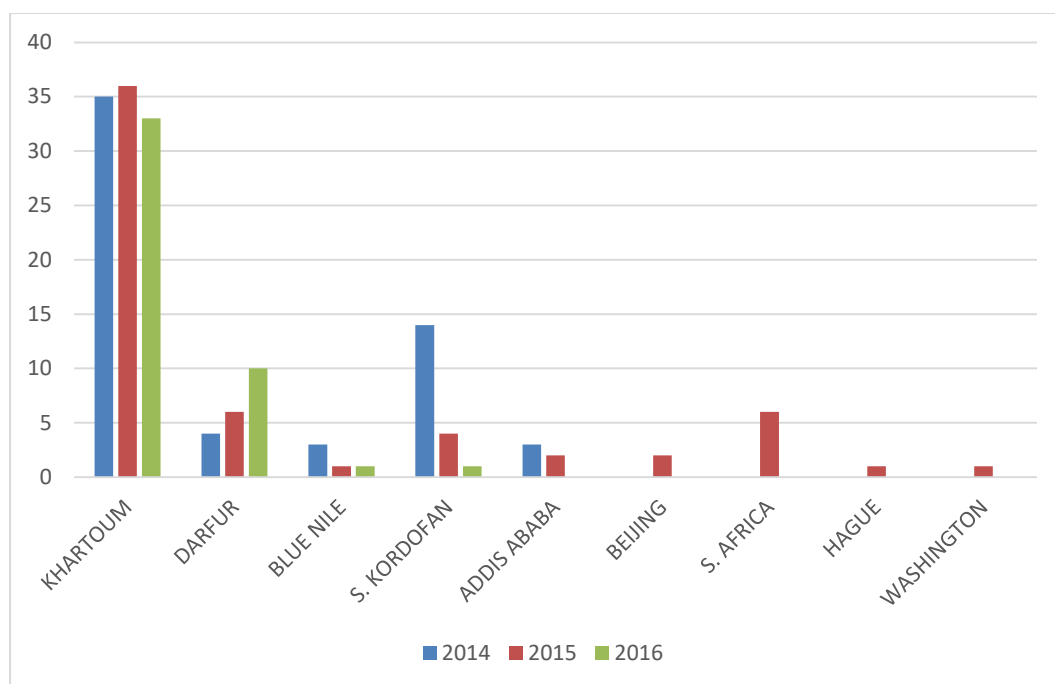
Figure 4. 3: *The Distribution of Area Frames*

c)   The use of the word 'war'

The study findings showed that the word 'war' was contained in 90 (55%) reports out of the total 165 stories coded while 75 (45%) of the stories were without the word war. The highest occurrence of the word 'war' was in 2014 representing 37% followed by 2016 at 32% and lowest occurrence in 2015 at 31%. This table shows the use of the word war.

Table 4. 6: *The use of the word 'war'*

Use of word 'war'	2014	2015	2016	Total
Yes	33	28	29	90
No	15	35	25	75

The word 'war' was largely used in the body of the story, 84% with other uses in the headline, 5%, intro 7%, and photo caption 4%. The following figure shows the distribution of the word war in the stories.

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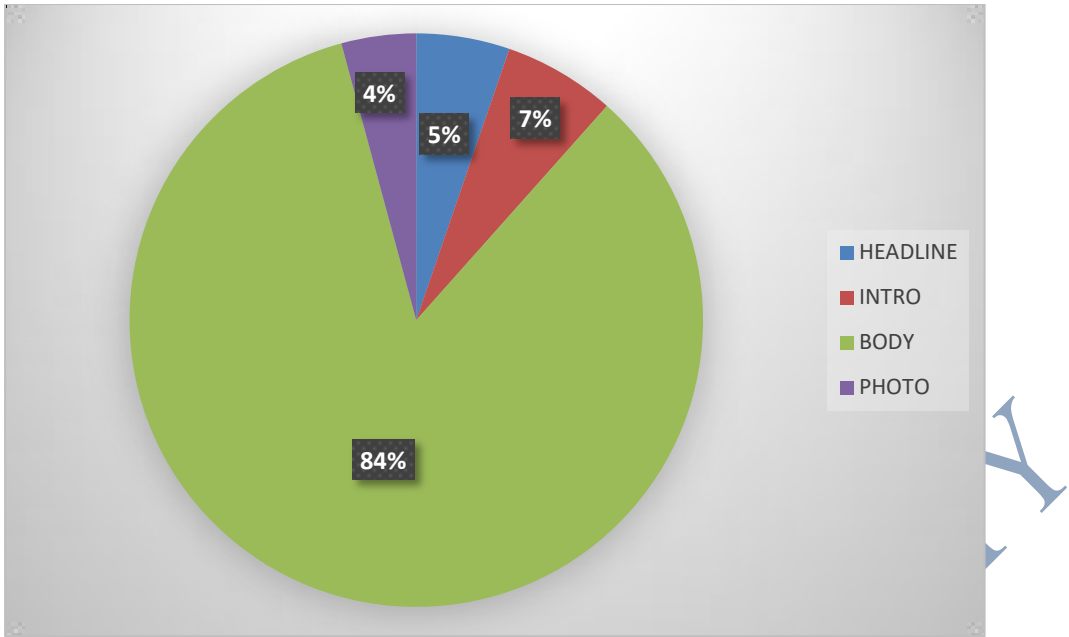
Figure 4. 4: *Percentage Distribution of the Position of Word 'war' in the Stories*

The findings showed that the war was more politically framed as indicated by more political stories than human feature stories or business stories. A total of 137 political stories featured against 18 feature stories and 7 business stories. The politically framed stories represented 84%, the features 11% and the business stories 5%. The data was presented in a bar graph as shown in next page.
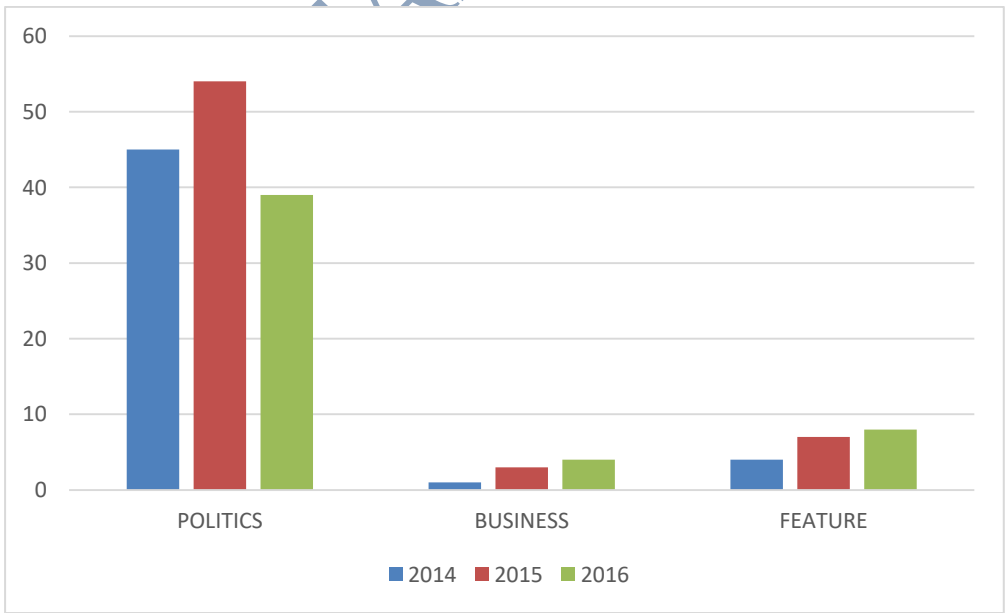
Figure 4. 5: *Section Placement of Political, Business and Feature Stories*

Use of Photos

The findings showed that 53% of the stories were stand-alone stories, whereas, 47% were accompanied by photos. The fewer use of photos may have been attributed to lack of enough photojournalists in the domestic area of report. The findings showed that, 79% of photos used were colored while 21% black and white. The data didn't record any use of cartoons. This table below shows how photos were used in the newspapers.

Table 4. 7: Use of Photos in the Stories

Use of Photo	2014	2015	2016	TOTAL
Yes	24	35	19	78
No	24	28	35	87
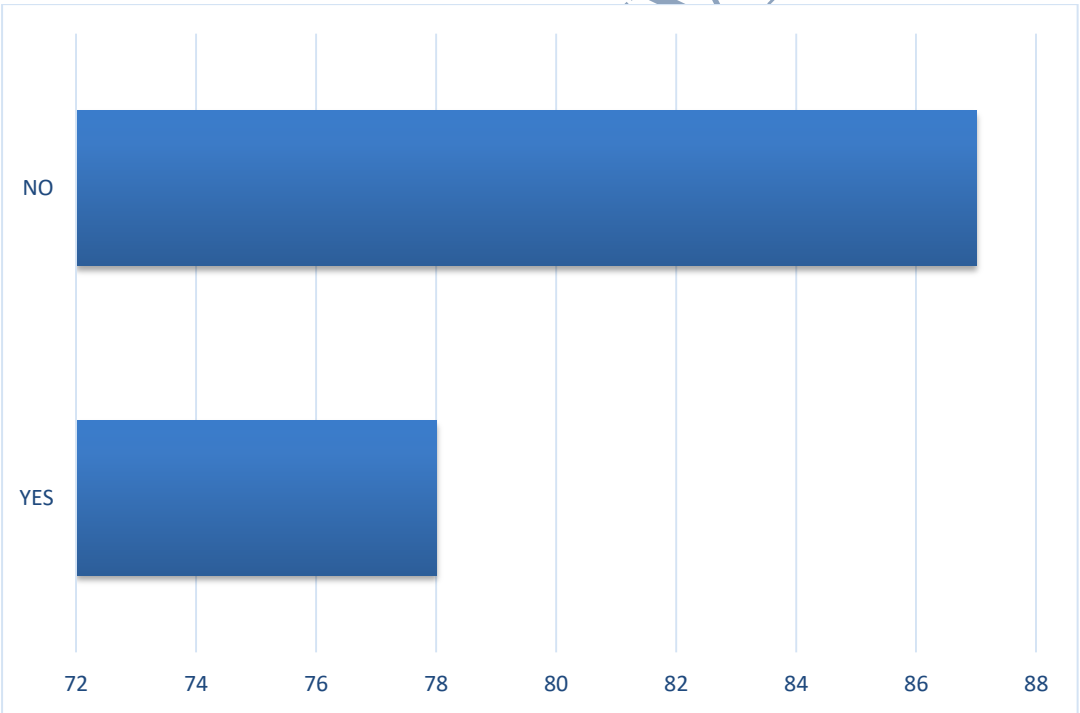
Figure 4. 6: Graphical Presentation of the use of Photos Accompanying Stories

Active State

The findings showed a 48% of normal business that meant a neutral report that didn't indicate injuries or any death. The findings further indicated a 35% sad state of affairs, while 11% indicated those killed in the war and a 6% of those injured. These findings of active state were presented in the figure below.
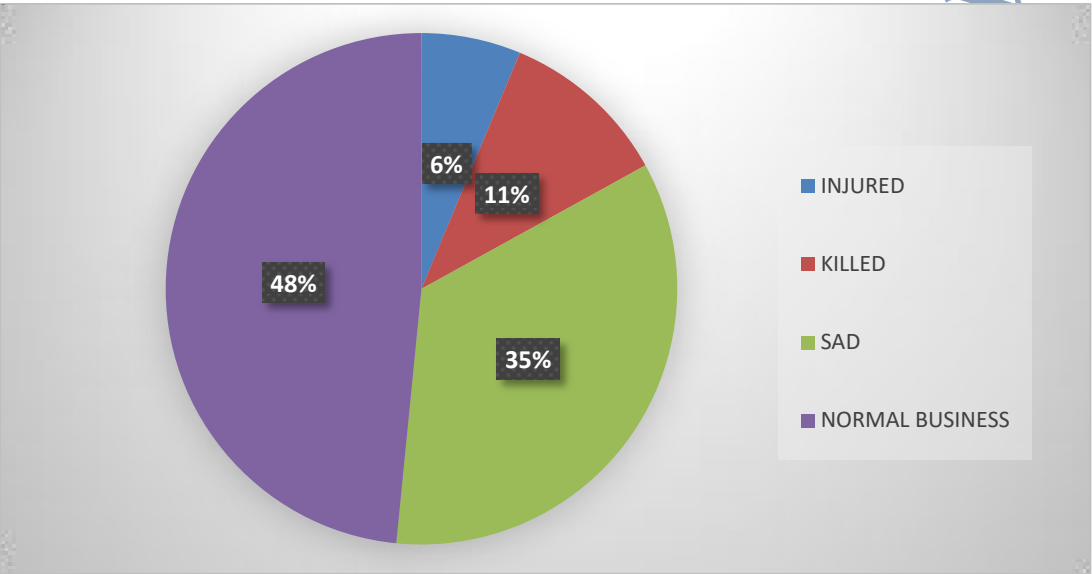
Figure 4. 7: *The Active State in the Stories*

Theme of Report

The theme of report featured as follows across the three years. 39% was violence, national dialogue 18%, peace talks 17%, future threat 14%, election issue at 7%, conflict at 5% and sexual arrassment was ranked at 0%. Irrespective of the peace talks that were ranked at 17%, the future threat was still high at 14% indicating a potentiality to continued conflict and war in the region. The figure below shows the findings on the theme of the report.
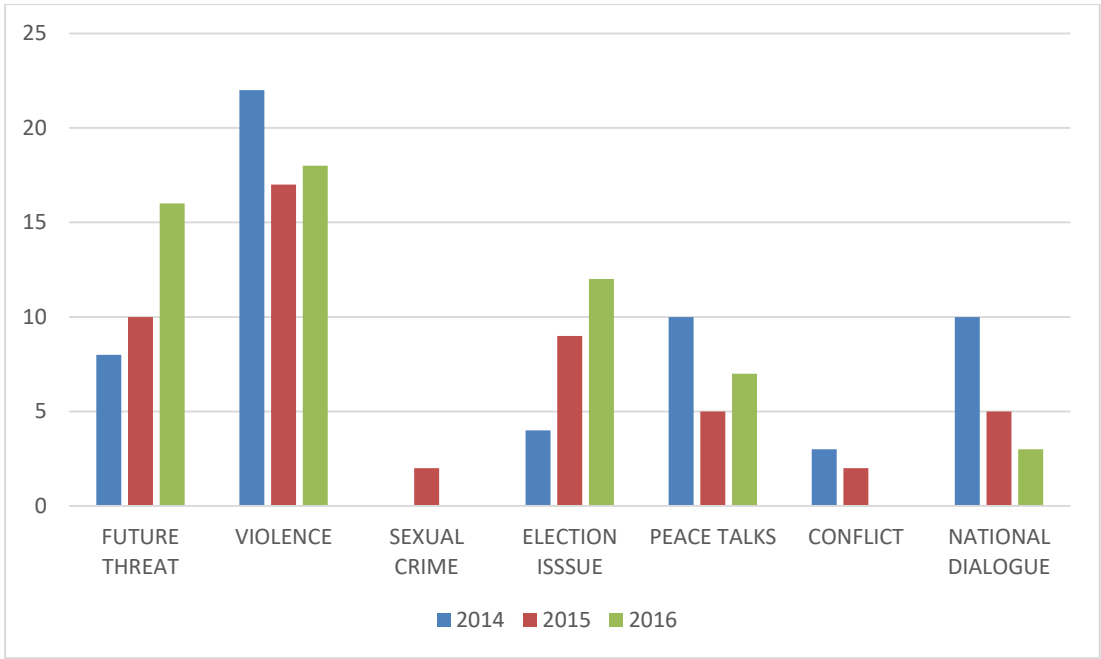
Figure 4. 8: Theme of Report

Evaluative Dimension of the Stories

The researcher categorized the evaluative dimension in five categories and the data findings indicated as follows. Critical reports were highest at 47%, followed by favorable reports at 19%, laudatory reports were at 14%, while the neutral and abrasive reports were all at 10% respectively. This figure illustrates the evaluative dimension of the stories.

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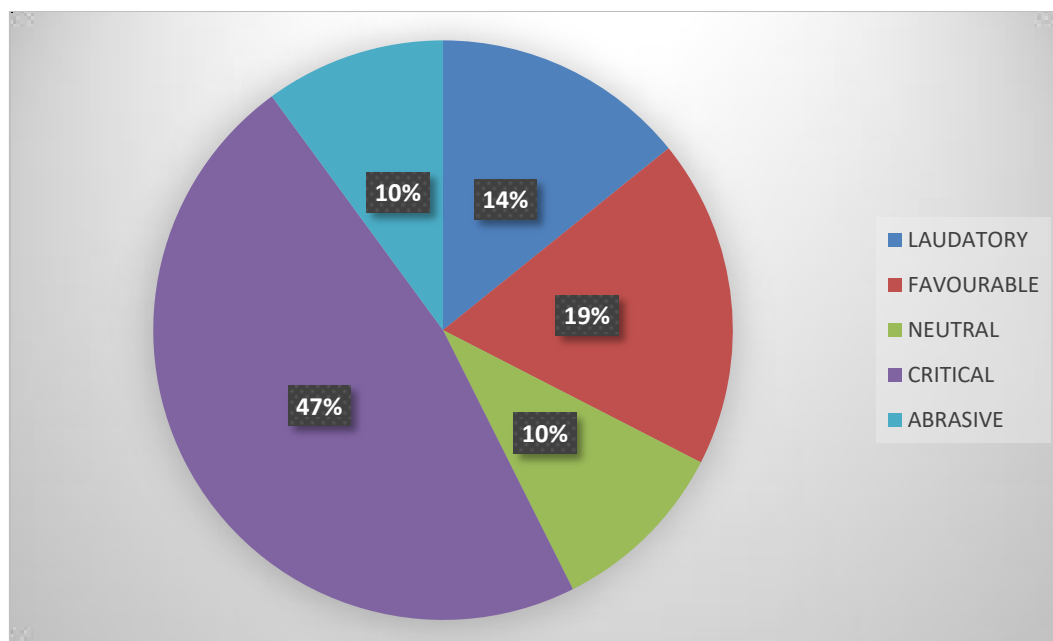
Figure 4. 9: *Percentage of Evaluative Dimension of Stories*

Journalistic Dimension of Telling Stories

The data indicated that 45% of the stories were descriptive, 15% were crusading, 14% were argumentative, 12% were warning, 11% were helpful, while 3% were cynical. This table shows the journalistic dimension of telling stories.

Table 4. 8: *The Journalistic Dimension of the Stories*

Journalistic Dimension	2014	2015	2016	Total
Crusading	6	9	9	24
Argumentative	5	16	2	23
Descriptive	21	24	27	72
Cynical	1	3	1	5
Warning	10	4	5	19
Helpful	10	3	4	17

Sources of the Stories

From the findings, the main source of the stories was the international news agencies that included AFP, Xinhua and BBC. The wire agencies provided 65% of the stories out of the total 165. The Nation correspondent based in Khartoum was the

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second source of stories at 34%, and 1% was provided by a public member. This table

shows the sources cited in the stories across the three years.

: Sources of stories cited

Source of stories	2014	2015	2016	Total
Nation Correspondent	14	24	19	57
Wire agencies	34	33	40	107
Public member	0	1	0	1
Total				165

Summary of Key Findings

The findings from this study presented a variety of facts about the war.

Whereas, there were other facts about this war, violence was at center stage of the

stories and sexual crime was lowest only reported twice in 2015.

The findings showed that from the 47% of photos used most of them were

extreme close-ups or mug shots of President Omar Bashir. The use of extreme close

up photos of President Bashir, was very common and these were to draw the attention

of the dominant frame, who was the president himself and had been framed by the

International Criminal Court (ICC) as the one behind the war crimes in the country.

Thus the use of his repeated images was to draw the attention of the readers as a

prime focus of the war. Due to the emphasis laid to President Bashir, his photo was

commonly repeated overshadowing, non-human subjects in the photos. However the

findings indicated appearance of non-human subjects in the background of some

photos.   The findings also indicated that the president used largely government

ministers (13%), the army spokesman (9%) and government spokesperson (5%) to

drive home his agenda.

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The study revealed two channels that were mainly used to relay the stories. These were the use of wire agencies like (AFP, Xinhua and BBC) and the Nation Correspondent who was mainly based in Khartoum. The stories from the correspondent mainly provided a report based in Khartoum. The United Nations (UN) intervention in this war was found out to be too low at 6% as compared to African Union's intervention which was at 38%, however, the AU's intervention was also found out to be insufficient, below 50%. Alongside, the UN, there were other intervening efforts to combat the war, which included foreign envoys, regional leaders, ambassadors to the Sudan and international NGOs activism.

Summary

This chapter presented the research findings based on the objectives of this study and the methodology that was to be used. The objectives of this study were to find out the frames the Nation newspaper had used to report Sudan war, to investigate the story placement in the Nation Newspaper and to examine the frequency and uniformity in reporting of the war. By use of a content analysis these objectives were met in analyzing war related stories in the Nation newspapers of 2014, 2015 and 2016. In this chapter the findings have been reported and analyzed according to the data obtained through coding process.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The present study on the reporting of Sudan's War in the Nuba Mountains, was conducted with the main purpose of finding out how the Nation Newspapers reported the Sudan war in South Kordofan (Nuba Mountains) to their readers in the years of 2014, 2015 and 2016. The objectives of the study were; to find the frames used, story placement and the frequency and uniformity of reporting the war. The researcher picked on the Nation newspapers to do a content analysis on the war related stories reported in the three years of 2014, 2015 and 2016. The study had assumed that the war in the Nuba Mountains, Sudan was intense and was least told beyond the boundaries of Sudan, as such it required continuous media attention. The study therefore premeditated the major frames used in reporting the war in Sudan and the uniformity (frequency) of reporting the war. This chapter discusses those findings and recommendations for further research.

Discussions of Key Findings

The theoretical basis of this study was on framing theory, by Erving Goffman (Goffman, 1974), which focusses on the media's attention on certain events and placing them within a field of meaning. Goffman, further indicated that frames render what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something meaningful. In the light of Goffman's definition, the aspect of framing in this study was achieved by looking at the overemphasis that was laid on certain aspects of reality over others. Laying ground on framing theory perspective, the researcher looked into values assessment (Chandran, 2004; Porter 2010) by looking into what

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happened, where, how, what was in the news, who was involved and how this affected the turnout of events?

According to an early report by (NR, 2011), the most recent war in the Nuba Mountains broke out in 2011 and this has been going on as the findings of the study indicated. The government army continues to gain entry to the rebel territory killing and injuring several people and many others getting displaced. The report on several killings was reported in some months (see appendix III). The war continues between the government forces and the Sudan People's Liberation Army - North (SPLA-N). Several efforts by the African Union to broker a peace deal have not been bearing enough fruits due to disagreements from both the government side and the rebel side backed by the opposition. The study found out that there is lack of a good will from the dominant frame, President Omar Bashir, to address the war in the Sudan.

The repeated mention of the president in most of the war related stories indicated his involvement in the war and his inability to bring it to an end. Efforts of the international community to enter into Sudan and intervene in the peace process were seen to be thwarted as either the envoys were denied entry or expelled from the region. That is why the data indicated a low response from the UN and the foreign envoys. This aspect was highlighted earlier as pointed out by Dowden and Achebe (2009, p. 196), who warns that, president Omar Bashir claiming national sovereignty, doesn't want a United Nations peace keeping force because UN, unlike the AU, would bring reporters, and their reports would reveal that his government was supporting Arab militias.

As far as a consistency of stories that was displayed every month of the three years, a larger emphasis was however, laid on the violence that erupted and future threats emanating from the conflict than the efforts to bring peace. This aspect

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therefore exalts the dominant frames of war, the perpetrator of the war, president Bashir and his army plus the previously affected region, namely Darfur. Because of an initial focus that mainly highlighted the Darfur conflict, continued attacks in the Nuba Mountains have received little attention as indicated by the findings. The data indicated that most of the stories were focusing on Khartoum, followed by the conflict in Darfur with little attention on the war in South Kordofan. Thompson (2007) indicates that "in utilitarian genocides, largely motivated by the desire to create, expand and preserve formal states and empires, the perpetrator calls directly on the professional armed forces of the state to facilitate acquisition of wealth, eliminate a perceived threat or spread terror."

The emphasis of war frame alludes that little has been done to end the conflict in the region under study. The reports indicated a repeated use of the word war and an emphasis of Omar Bashir as the major perpetrator of the war and wanted by the ICC for war crimes in the country. Even though 'unintended bias' is unavoidable, (Entman, 2007) the findings of this research showed out that most of the stories were purely descriptive of the war. The manner of reporting, in words, tone and pictures that constitute frames (McQuail, 2010), was purely descriptive expressing the happenings and turn out of events without much of taking side.

Conclusion

A violation of an early peace deal signed in Kenya in 2005, by Sudan president Omar Bashir and the rebels is a reality depicted by a continued war in the Sudan. An authoritative regime based in Khartoum controlling the army, with more voice over the opposition and the rebels is a major reality also in the Sudan. This reality continues to hit hard on the rebel side which is constantly being fought by the government army. The government army has unrelentingly launched attacks on the

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rebel villages in the Nuba Mountains maiming and injuring several others. The report on the war has received not much of coverage to the outside world due to limited journalism to the area of the real conflict in Nuba Mountains and by extension the Blue Nile – the region not adequately covered by the media.

As government soldiers continued military offensive to the rebel side, the rebels also used possible means to overcome the government army. The efforts by the AU to broker for peace has been met with great of the challenges from either side due to the demands of the parties involved. The inability to attend to these demands continues to worsen the situation and thereby tore the two regions of government and rebels further. This war still leaves South Kordofan, commonly known as the Nuba Mountains, a largely marginalized region with black population groups. The Sudan Arab elite from Khartoum is in itself a cause of civil war in the Sudan (Jok, 2007)

Recommendations

The findings from the present study indicated that there was much emphasis on the dominant authority frame, Omar Bashir, who has been mentioned several times by the International criminal court as the one behind the war crimes in the Sudan. The study notes that the African Union could do well to collaborate with the ICC to foster the peace process in Sudan and afford justice to the people. In an instance reported from Johannesburg, S Africa, were efforts to arrest Omar Bashir in one of the meetings, but the efforts proved futile as he was sneaked out of the country before the meeting was over.

Several failed peace negotiations in Addis Ababa, the headquarters of AU, shows a lack of goodwill to settle out the conflict. The African Union mission into the Sudan, should investigate and know who is benefiting much from the conflict and therefore not making proper sacrifices to end the atrocities that are subjected to

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innocent humanity. The media both print and electronic can pursue the agenda further to help in not only reporting (war journalism) but also in facilitating the conflict resolution process (peace journalism) (Buller, 2011).

<div align="center">Recommendations for Further Research</div>

This study was done with the significance of improving the skills of war reporting among Kenyan newspaper reporters and a further knowledge on human affliction that has been caused by the Sudan war. More studies can be done to access the effects on the Sudan war on the neighbouring growing economies. This can look into how the refugees fleeing the Sudan war have impacted the economies of host countries.

A further study can also be done on how war reporting can improve the peace in the continent with case studies of specific countries and regions that have been affected by the war. This could extend far and wide to include the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria and the Al Shabaab terror group of Somalia. The latter can involve a content analysis of Kenyan media's report on the Somalia war on Al Shabaab.

<div align="center">57</div>

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Code Book

Codebook for Newspaper Content Analysis

Case Number …..

Paper: 1 = Daily Nation 2 = Saturday Nation 3= Sunday Nation

Date: …….

Page: …….

Location 1= Prime page 2=Inside page 3= Middle Pages

Section: 1= Politics, 2= Business, 3= Feature

Page Label: 1= international news, 2= Local

Format: 1= News, 2= News in Brief, 3= editorial, 4= commentary

Size of Article: (In Column Centimetres)

Treatment of article: brief, single column, multiple columns, half page, full page, centre spread

Number of accompanying photos 1, 2, 3, more than 3

Use of Cartoon Yes, No

Size of picture in cm squared

Value of picture 1= black/white 2 = coloured 3= cartoon

Human Subjects in picture. 1 = individual 2= Group 3 = Machinery

Active state: 1= injured 2= killed, 3= being treated, 4= laughing, 5= sad

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Non-Human Subjects in picture. 1=Multiple building, 2= Physical features 3= Machinery

Source cited: 1= Nation reporter, 2= Wire agencies

Domestic Area mentioned: ………

Theme of the report: 1= future threat, 2= violence, 3= sexual crime, 4= election issue.

(a) Sources in Commentary

Domestic Political Sources: 1= Opposition leader, 2= Prime Minister; 3= Government Minister 4= other …specify

International Political Sources: 1= AU chief. 2= UN Sec Gen 3 Regional chair. 4 Envoy…

In which part of the article are they quoted? 1 Headline; 2= Intro; 3= Body; 4= Photo caption

Evaluative Dimension of Commentary: 1= Laudatory; 2= Favourable; 3= Neutral; 4= Critical; 5= Abrasive;

Primary Journalistic/Stylistic Dimension of Commentary: 1= crusading; 2= argumentative; 3= descriptive; 4= summary; 5= cynical; 6= 'humorous'; 7= 'warning' 8= Helpful

Use of the word 'war' (or synonym) in..: 1= headline; 2= Intro; 3= Body; 4= photo caption

Appendix II: Code Sheet

Case No….   Date ……………   Page……..

1. Newspaper	Daily Nation	Response
	Saturday Nation	
	Sunday Nation	
2. Location	Prime Page	
	Inside Pages	
	Centre Page	
3. Section	Politics	
	Business	
	Feature	
4. Page label	International	
	Local	
5. Format	News in brief	
	News	
	Editorial	
	Commentary	
6. Size of Article	(in column centimetres)	
7. Treatment of Article	Brief /column	
	Multiple columns	
	Half page	
	Full Page	
	Centre spread	
8. Use of photo	Yes	

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	No	
9. Value of picture	Colored	
	Black/White	
	Cartoons	
10. Human subjects in picture	Individual	
	Group	
11. Active state	Injured	
	Killed	
	Sad	
	Normal business	
12. Non-human subjects in picture	Multiple building	
	Physical features	
	Machinery	
13. Is source cited	Yes	
	No	
14. Domestic area mentioned		
15. Theme of report	Future threat	
	Violence	
	Sexual crime	
	Election issue	
	Peace talks	
	Conflict	
	National Dialogue	
16. (a) Domestic Frames	President	

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		Rebel leader	
		Government Minister	
		Opp. Leader	
		Army chief	
		Govt. spokesman	
	(b) International Frames	AU Chief	
		UN Sec Gen	
		Foreign Envoy	
		Ambassador to Sudan	
		Regional Leader	
		NGO spokesman	
17. Which part are they quoted		Headline	
		Intro	
		Body	
		Photo caption	
18. Evaluative dimension of Commentary		Laudatory	
		Favourable	
		Neutral	
		Critical	
		Abrasive	
19. Journalistic/Stylistic Dimension in Commentary		Crusading	
		Argumentative	
		Descriptive	
		Cynical	

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	Warning	
	Helpful	
20. Use of word 'War.' Or synonym:	Yes	
	No	
21. Use of word 'War.' Or synonym in:	Headline	
	Intro	
	Body	
	Photo caption	
23. Source Cited	Nation Reporter	
	Wire Agencies	
	Public member	

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Appendix III: Sample Newspaper Stories

Sudan army says 110 rebels killed in Kordofan

KHARTOUM, Tuesday

The Sudanese army has killed 110 rebels of Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM)/ northern sector in Al-Atmoor area in South Kordofan State, the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) said.

"The SAF on Monday repulsed an attack by the rebels of the SPLM/ northern sector against Al-Atmoor area, South Kordofan State, which was recently liberated by the army.

"The SAF killed 110 rebels and injured many others," a SAF spokesman said in a statement.

The battle continued for three hours, as the rebels were trying to enter the area which represents a base for them, the spokesman said, noting that four army soldiers were also killed and some others injured.

Earlier on Friday the Sudanese army announced to have recaptured Al-Atmoor area, the capital of South Kordofan State, from the rebels.

The SPLM/northern sector has been fighting the Sudanese army in Blue Nile and South Kordofan areas since 2011.

Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir vowed earlier to end all armed clashes and conflicts in all parts of Sudan by the end of 2014.

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TROUBLE |

Social media pose threat to Sudan, says minister

WhatsApp and Facebook cited as the main source of country's woes

BY MOHAMMED AMIN
NATION Correspondent
KHARTOUM, Wednesday

Social media is a big threat to Sudanese national security, a minister has said.

Sudanese minister of science and telecommunication Tahani Abdulllah told the Sudanese national assembly in Khartoum on Tuesday that Facebook, WhatsApp and Viber were creating much security, political and economic problems for the country.

"We couldn't control these social media means, but we will do our best to overcome its bad effects on our new generations" the minister stressed.

"We are coordinating with the telecommunication companies working in the country to improve the Internet services in Sudan" she said. "We are also working in coordination with telecommunication companies to register all mobile SIM cards."

Sudan blocked Internet services during the mass pro-tests sparked in the country last September.

Sudanese political activists were influenced by Arab Spring revolutions which mainly depended on the social media in organising the demonstrators.

The Sudanese government has faced unrest fuelled by economic crisis and civil wars in South Kordofan, Blue Nile and Darfur.

Meanwhile, the husband of a Sudanese woman sentenced to hang for 'apostasy,' has been prevented by prison authorities from visiting her and her new-born child. She gave birth in prison on Tuesday.

MORE INFO

Economic woes after separation

Juba loss: Sudan lost three quarters of its oil revenues after the cessation of South Sudan in July 2011.

Inflation: Khartoum has been plagued by inflation, a weakened currency and a severe shortage of dollars to pay for its imports.

Her lawyer Mohamed Abdu Nabi told the *Nation* yesterday that he was also prevented from visiting his client on Tuesday.

"Her Husband was not allowed to visit his wife who gave birth in the early hours of Tuesday, a month before her due date" MR Abddu Nabi confirmed.

Global outrage

The case of Ms Mariam Ibrahim, 27 has sparked global outrage since a Khartoum-area court sentenced her to death on May 15.

Ms Ibrahim was jailed after a Sudanese court declared her marriage to Mr Wani invalid on the grounds that she was Muslim and had married a Christian man.

The court also sentenced her to hang for apostasy.

Ms Ibrahim denied the charges, telling the court she had been brought up as a Christian after her father left when she was six, refusing to renounce her faith.

According to the sentence passed on Ms Ibrahim by Judge Abbas Mohammed Khalifa, the ruling can be appealed.

State television stations have stressed that Judge Khalifa's ruling was only a first stage in the judicial process.

Sudan army claims killing 100 rebels

BY MOHAMMED AMIN
KHARTOUM, Tuesday

Sudan's national army announced on Monday the recapture of four areas in the warring region and the killing of at least 100 rebels in the battles.

Sudanese armed forces spokesman colonel Alswarmy Khalid told the Press in Khartoum that forces had captured the areas of "Abulja" and "Abugamra" in Darfur besides the areas of "Giniang" and "Angarto" in south Kordofan state.

He further declared that the operation comes in the second part of the strategy dubbed the "decisive summer" to eradicate the rebellion in Sudan.

"We defeated the rebellion the Sudan Liberation Movement Minawi faction, SLM/Minawi

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Sudan expels UN population agency representative

BY MOHAMED AMIN
NATION Correspondent

Sudan government has expelled the head of a United Nations agency, an official told the *Nation* today.

Sudanese foreign affairs ministry spokesman Abubakr Alsidig confirmed that the Sudanese authorities asked the head of the UN population fund agency (UNFPA) to leave the country within 72 hours. The UNFPA representative Pamela DeLargy who has American nationality has headed the agency's mission for the past three years.

"The Sudanese authorities have ordered her to leave the country because she has interfered in domestic and internal Sudanese affairs" the spokesman accused. "Because she was not abiding by the country's laws, and also because she was interfering in the country's domestic affairs in a manner that is inconsistent with her status as a UN official" he further explained.

Has nothing to do

However Mr Alsisig said that the decision has nothing to do with the UNFPA's mission in the country.

UNFPA didn't officially react to the move, but sources from the agency confirmed that the head of mission has received a notification by the security organs to leave the country.

The sources who asked not to be named because they are not authorised to talk, have told *The Nation* that so far they are continue their work normally without any obstacles. Last March Sudan expelled a French aid organization operating in Darfur.
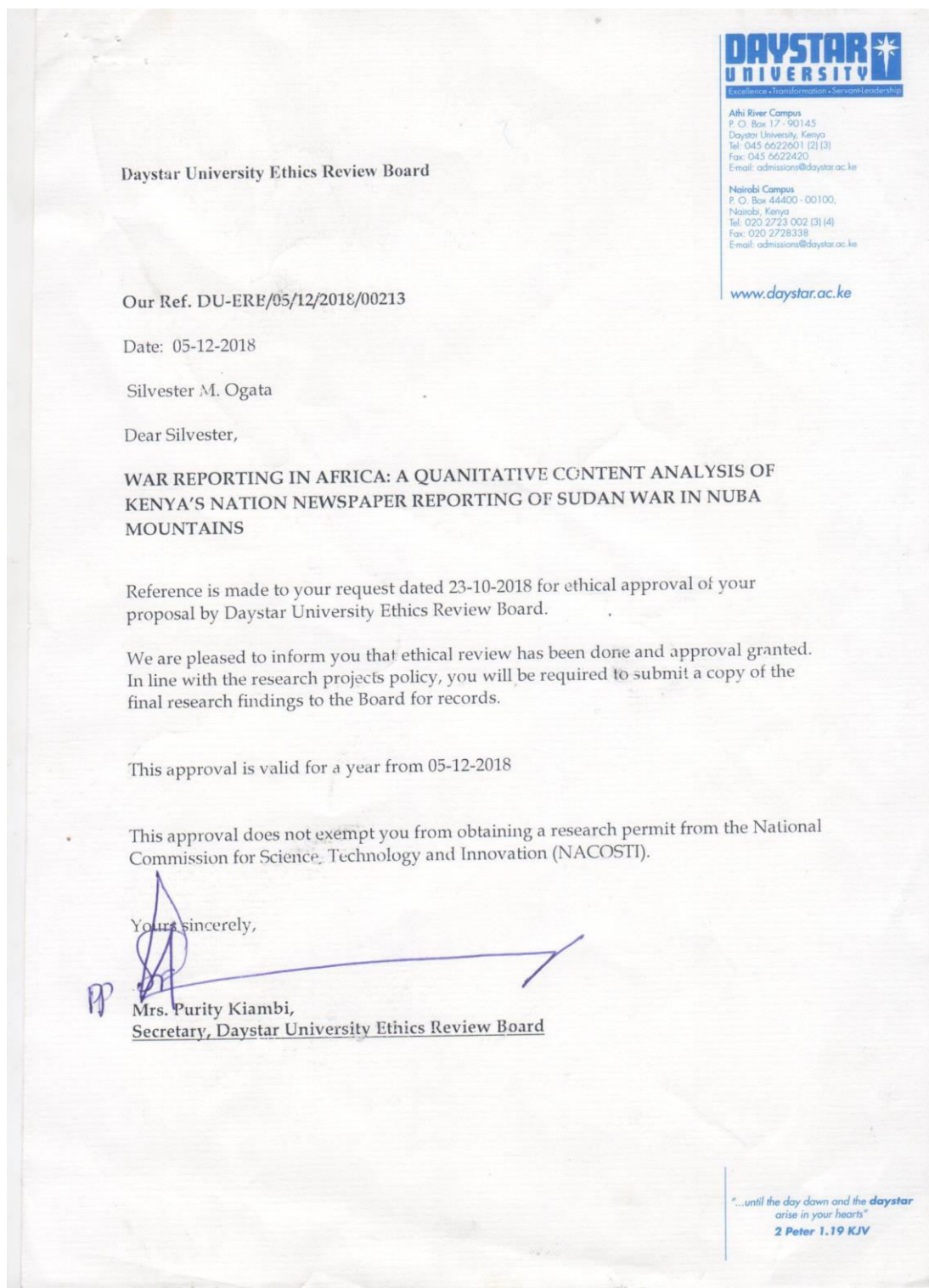
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Appendix IV: Location Maps

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Appendix V: Ethical Approval

Daystar University Ethics Review Board

Our Ref. DU-ERE/05/12/2018/00213

Date: 05-12-2018

Silvester M. Ogata

Dear Silvester,

WAR REPORTING IN AFRICA: A QUANITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF KENYA'S NATION NEWSPAPER REPORTING OF SUDAN WAR IN NUBA MOUNTAINS

Reference is made to your request dated 23-10-2018 for ethical approval of your proposal by Daystar University Ethics Review Board.

We are pleased to inform you that ethical review has been done and approval granted. In line with the research projects policy, you will be required to submit a copy of the final research findings to the Board for records.

This approval is valid for a year from 05-12-2018

This approval does not exempt you from obtaining a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI).

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Purity Kiambi,
Secretary, Daystar University Ethics Review Board

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Appendix VI: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. SILVESTER MOGANDA OGATA
of DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY, 149-40502
Nairobi,has been permitted to conduct
research in *Nairobi County*

on the topic: *WAR REPORTING IN
AFRICA A QUANTITATIVE CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF KENYA'S NATION
NEWSPAPER REPORTING OF SUDAN'S
WAR IN THE NUBA MOUNTAINS*

for the period ending:
20th February,2020

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/30252/28300
Date Of Issue : 21st February,2019
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

....
Applicant's
Signature

....
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

Appendix VII: Research Authorization

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

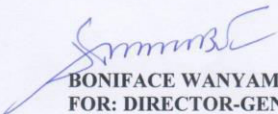Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/19/30252/28300**

Date: **21st February, 2019**

Silvester Moganda Ogata
Daystar University
P.O Box 44400-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"War reporting in Africa, a quantitative content analysis of Kenya's nation newspaper reporting of Sudan's war in the Nuba Mountains"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **20th February, 2020.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO9001:2008 Certified

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Appendix VIII: Anti-Plagiarism Report

proposal

ORIGINALITY REPORT

11%	8%	2%	6%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	www.oneworld-publications.com Internet Source	1%
2	Submitted to Higher Education Commission Pakistan Student Paper	1%
3	etd.aau.edu.et Internet Source	1%
4	lra.le.ac.uk Internet Source	<1%
5	Submitted to University of Nottingham Student Paper	<1%
6	edt.missouri.edu Internet Source	<1%
7	Submitted to Monash South Africa Student Paper	<1%
8	Submitted to De Montfort University Student Paper	<1%
9	Submitted to Callaghan Campus	