

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

DYNAMICS OF NEWS FRAMING OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

BY THE MEDIA

(Case study of Southern Sudan)

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ABC-American Broadcasting Corporation

AU -African Union

CNN-Cable News Network

DOP -Declaration of Principles

IGAD -Inter-Government Authority on Development

PSC -Protocol Social Conflict).

SPLA/M-Sudan People Liberation Arm Movement

UK-United Kngdom

US -United States

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Abstract

Southern Sudanese have been embroiled in over a decade of conflict brought about by ethnic religious problems within their own borders, territorial disputes and resources disputes. There has been movement's to establish independent regimes and states which consequently has culminated in protracted civil war.

How crisis situation unfold and how they are represented in print broadcast and web-based media outlets has been a source of heated debates. It has been generally argued that in fast-developing conflict conditions, media tend to take rather sensational and dramatic approaches to issues, often generating inflated and unrealistic representations of conflicts.

An alarming aspect of this trend is media's tendency to perpetuate exaggerated and dramatized images of conflict events that are likely to bear on public opinion in negative ways. This study, sought to determine how the media (print) in Kenya engaged in fighting or fueling conflicts in Southern Sudan, a conflict that is far away from home, distant in geography but perhaps much closer in heart and mind.

In an attempt to fill the gap by comparing the coverage of conflict in Southern Sudan and media reportage in relation to the peace building initiatives in a bid to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of news framing of conflicts by the media; To determine the salient indicators of war journalism vis a vis peace journalism manifest in coverage of conflicts in Southern Sudan by local dailies (Daily Nation and the Standard), the significant differences, if any, between the coverage of war vis a vis peace conflict in

Southern Sudan, the relationship between war/peace journalism and the salient indicators of war journalism vis a vis peace journalism manifest in coverage of conflicts in Southern Sudan by local dailies (Daily Nation and the Standard).

It has further been argued that in their “obsession” with hyperbolic and sensational coverage of conflicts developments, media tend to downplay issues of substance and ignore proper back-grounding of events, thus inhibiting audiences understanding of their moral, political and cultural contexts (Adams, 1986).

This study found out that Kenyan newspaper (Daily Nation and The standard framed of conflicting reporting in southern Sudan is mostly about peace journalism. Among other indicators of the framing were established as the story type, length and source. Local source were more likely to frame the story as pearce journalism uklike foreign sources. The longer the story the more likely it was a peace journalism framing than shorter stories. Peace journalism has emerged more than war journalism in the two local dailies, thus concluding that the media in Kenya is practicing peace journalism in the coverage of conflict in Southern Sudan.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

1.0 Background information

The news coverage of conflicts or war reporting is grounded in the notion of conflict as a news value. As a result, war reporting is often sensationalized and mere device to boost circulations and ratings (Allen and Seaton, 1999; Hatchten. 1999; Toffler, 1994).

According to Knightley (2002), war journalism is characterized by an identification with one or 'home' side of the conflict; military triumphalist language; an action oriented focus; and a superficial narrative with little context, background or historic perspective.

In recent years, some journalism scholars have urged journalists to discard war reporting in favour of peace journalism to promote a culture of peace. For instance, Norwegian Scholar Johan Galtung (2002) observed that traditional war journalism is modeled after sports journalism, with focus on winning in a zone – sum game. In Galtung's vision, peace journalism approximates healthy journalism. A good health reporter describes a patients battle against cancer and yet informs readers about the cancers causes as well as the full range of cures and preventive measures.

Mc Goldrick and Lynch (2002) described peace journalism as a broader fairer and more accurate way of framing stories, drawing on the insight of conflict analysis and transformation.

At first glance, peace journalism runs counter to the time-honoured journalistic principle of objectivity that sees the journalist as detached and unbiased mirror of reality.

According to Iggers (1998:91) although few journalists still defend objectivity, it remains one of the greatest obstacles to their playing a more responsible and constructive role in public life.

Responsible journalism should be about intervention for reconciliation during the time of conflict reporting, as Mc Goldrick and Lynch (2002) argued: 'The choice is about the ethics of that intervention – therefore the question becomes "What can I do with my intervention to enhance the prospects for peace?" by focusing on facts and overt events. Objective reporting devalues ideas and fragments experience, thus making complex social phenomena more difficult to understand and more so where conflict resolutions and peace building is sought (Iggers, 1998: 106-7).

Iggers further argues that it makes a moral case for advocacy journalism the non-objective, self-conscious journalistic intervention premised in the ideas of public journalism, development journalism and peace journalism. That the ingredients of war-patriotism, national interest, anger, censorship and propaganda – often conspire to prevent objective reporting (see Carrulter, 2000, Iggers, 1998; Knightley, 1975; Pedelty, 1995; Van Ginneken, 1998). Pedelty (1995), showing how institutional influences shaped the coverage of the civil war in El Salvador in the 1980s and 1990s, reproduced verbatim two reports about the shooting down of a US military helicopter by El Salvadoran rebels. Written by the same correspondent, the first report, written for a US

paper, validated the anger of US officials to legitimize the release of and to fight the rebels, but the second, written for a European paper, sympathized with the rebels.

According Kellner (1992), in a study of ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN, news media did not report neutrally during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. Stories that were reported during the build-up to and subsequent war against Iraq expressed an US against their attitude as news anchor and reporters rallied support for the American cause.

The study concluded that news coverage of the Gulf War was influenced by ideology, specifically, national interests.

In this study context, the research seek to establish to what extent, such news coverage's as discussion, in analogue indicates the failing role of the local dailies (Daily Nation and the Standard) of conflict resolution and peace building in Southern Sudan.

According to Kellner (1992), "certainly, news is not a simple reflection of a conflict, but is shaped by news, media's construction of the conflict for a society. The media interprets and frames messages within the same cultural context as do naïve actors (Arno, 1984).

For instance, according to Rice (1982), who studied the coverage of US – European relations in The New York Times, The Times (UK), Le Monde and Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung, found considerable similarities in coverage as did Dissanyake (1984), who studied national and international reports on the 1971 Sri Lankan uprising.

The idea that journalist has an active and conscious role in promoting peace as controversial nonetheless. According to Kaid et al (1993), who examined the coverage of the Gulf War by The New York Times, The Times Le Monde, Franfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Asahi Shinbun, did not find a uniformity of themes.

1.2 Problem statement

Studies of several newspapers, (for instance Kellner (1992), in a study of ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN) both local and international have shown that many negative qualifiers are often used in news stories about Africa, thus painting misleading image of African people and their continent.

Today in an age when world politics and media power tend to converge, news coverage of conflict or even military combat operations – how crisis situation unfold and how they are represented in print broadcast and web-based media outlets has been a source of heated debates.

It has been generally argued that in fast-developing conflict conditions, media tend to take rather sensational and dramatic approaches to issues, often generating inflated and unrealistic representations of conflicts.

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An alarming aspect of this trend is media's tendency to perpetuate exaggerated and dramatized images of conflict events that are likely to bear on public opinion in negative ways. For their part media organizations and practitioners argue that the increasingly dramatic and exceptionally sensational nature of conflicts is bound to shape or at least

often media representations as reporters seek to convey real images from the conflict zones or disaster areas (Adams, 1986) it has further been argued that in their “obsession” with hyperbolic and sensational coverage of conflicts developments, media tend to downplay issues of substance and ignore proper back-grounding of events, thus inhibiting audiences understanding of their moral, political and cultural contexts.

In this study, the researcher seeks to determine how the media (print) in Kenya engaged in fighting or fueling conflicts in Southern Sudan, a conflict that is far away from home, distant in geography but perhaps much closer in heart and mind.

Southern Sudanese have been embroiled in over a decade of conflict brought about by ethnic religions problems within their own borders, territorial disputes and resources disputes. There has been movement’s to establish independent regimes and states which consequently has culminated in protracted civil war.

This study examines how Kenyan newspapers (Daily Nation and The standard framed these conflicts).

As Lynch (2001) argued, modern newsgathering is a ‘feedback loop’. New events are created to be reported, but what is reported ultimately wields an influence over the course of events.

1.3 General objective of the study

This study is an attempt to fill the gap by comparing the coverage of conflict in Southern Sudan and media reportage in relation to the peace building initiatives in a bid to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of news framing of conflicts by the media.

1.4 Specific objectives of the study

1. To determine the salient indicators of war journalism vis a vis peace journalism manifest in coverage of conflicts in Southern Sudan by local dailies (Daily Nation and the Standard).
2. To determine the significant differences, if any, between the coverage of war vis a vis peace conflict in Southern Sudan.
3. To determine the relationship between war/peace journalism framing and story specific characteristics such as story type, length and source.

1.4 Justification of the study

Peace journalism has emerged more than three decades ago, but it has not gained wide acceptance among journalists nor attracted adequate attention for researchers.

It has been noted, that its only Gatlung ideas in 1990s that were picked when he founded UK-based conflict and peace forum (CPF), from which he refined his model through a

series of dialogues with journalists. This therefore implies that there is little empirical research on peace journalism, which is all that more relevant today in a world racked by strife and conflict. Few studies (see Lee and Maslog, 2005) have operationalized peace journalism, and therefore peace journalism has only made a leap from theory to practice without the benefit of research.

1.5 Theoretical framework of the study

Theoretically, peace journalism is supported by framing theory. There is no one standard definition of framing (see Entman, 1993; Mc Combs et al; 2000; Schenfeld, 1999) but broadly, news framing refers to the process of organizing a new story thematically, stylistically and factually, to convey a specific story line.

More recently, the concept of framing has been explicated as second-level agenda-setting (Jasperson et al; 1998; Mc Combs, 1994; Mc Combs and Bell, 1996; Mc Combs and Evatt, 1995; Mc Combs et al, 1997).

Mc Combs et al (1997) argued that the concepts of agenda setting and framing represent a convergence, in that framing is an extension of agenda-setting. Object-salience is transmitted in the first level of the agenda setting process. In the second level, framing media tells us how to think about something – a reprisal of Bernard Cohens famous statement that the media tells us what to think about.

New research has quickly followed the expanded theoretical discussions on framing as a second level of agenda – setting. Framing is found to activate specific thoughts and ideas for news audiences, as seen in the vast body of framing effects research (e.g. Lyenger, 1991; Mcleod and Defender, 1999; Miller et al, 1998; Price et al 1997; Sotrovic 2000).

According to Eutman (1993:52) ‘to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral education and or treatment recommendation for the item described’.

Tankard et al (1991:31) described a media frame as “the central organized idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis exclusion and elaboration”. Frames package key ideas, stock phrases and stereotypical images to bolster a particular interpretation. Through repetition placement and reinforcement the texts and images provides a dominant interpretation more readily perceivable, acceptable, and memorable than other interpretations (Entman, 1991).

Several studies have focused on the framing of war or conflict reporting. For instance, Gamson (1992) identified four frames in news coverage of Arab/Israel conflicts. Strategic interests, founding neighbours, intransigence and expansion.

Nolfsfeld (1997) found that the media’s pursuit of drama frames conflicts accorded the extremists from both sides more than their due share of airtime, while drawing voices calling for peace, in his study of the Middle East conflicts.

Carruther (2000) suggested that the media, subjected to state and military censorship employed the same value and priorities in reporting conflicts as in covering other events. As a result, mass media become willing accomplices in war time propoganda and may even play a role in instigating conflict.

Pfan et al (2004) found that the embedded journalist coverage of the 2002 Iraq war was framed more favorably towards the US military than non-embedded reporting.

Although there exists an excellent body of literature and research on war journalism (e.g. Carruthers 2000; Lang and Lang 1994; Hathi 1986. Hathi and Githin 1994; Lyengar and Simon 1994; Knightley, 1975), most of work on peace journalism is normative or prescriptive, outlining its benefits and detailing how it can be implemented (e.g. Galtung, 1986; 1998; Lynch 1998, 2003a, 2003b, McGoldrick and Lynch 2000)

CHAPTER TWO

Literature review

2.1 Conflict management defined

Conflict management refers to the containment of a conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for solutions that would reduce the level of violence and prevent its escalation. This refers to all activities associated with the temporary addressing of the causes of the conflict with the main objective being the creation of space for the long-term resolution of the root causes of the conflict. Principal amongst these is peacemaking which provides a causation of hostilities while more profound means are sought to bring a comprehensive framework to address social, political and economic disputes. For this to happen, an array of peacemaking initiatives must be taken to bring the parties to the conflict to the point where they agree to the temporary “peace”.

Peacemaking in Southern Sudan is taken very seriously as can be testified by the existence of many structures that can be called upon to play such a role. Of the many structures that exist from African Union (AU) to sub regional arrangements, peacemaking is besieged by the inability to translate such initiatives with appropriate further commitment.

An evaluation of resolution of conflict on the continent generally, and specifically Southern Sudan shows that very little success has been achieved with some problems

more prominent than others. Principal amongst these is the dominant trend of outsiders, including from within the region the attempt to influence the process of resolution to their interests sidelining and or worse ignoring local deals. This is done through withholding support for initiative that may result in undesired outcomes but that are supported by a majority of the polity in question.

The dominant and logical thinking around this matter and effective resolution of conflicts of internal, country wide and continental. intellectual capacity to engage in the full activities of the conflict spectrum to reinforce the importance of local values and ideas. This means that for effective resolution to work. Africans must be able to act as peacemakers, peacekeepers, and all other necessary role players guided by affording these activities an informed out look to address the conflicts in the image that would be acceptable to the majority of the locals.

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Conflict management assumes that there is a constituency that can act as an intervening agent in response to conflict.

Debate emanates from discussion of the real or perceived motives of the unit that intervenes.

The believe in structure responses to conflict and undertaking of its management seems to have entrenched itself in the thinking on the continent. It should be borne in mind that most of these structures arrangements emanated from non security backgrounds. This in no way means that there have never been structures to contain and manage conflict in one

way or the other. However, a range of factors have contributed to making conflict management structures less successful and engrossed in struggle far from their mandates.

Delving on the problem that need to be revolved or tackled before conflict is a thing of the past in Africa, it is worthwhile to reflect on the institutional mechanisms both at states level (track one) and non-state level (track two).

A part from the intergovernmental institutions, in recent past, we have witnessed the emergence of non-state structures as actors in conflict resolution. In various conflict spots on the continent, civil society has been involved in mediating initiatives. The problem though and this is one of the things that need to be resolved, is that there is no proper institutionalization of this type involvement.

That is, it is necessary to initiate mechanisms that would ensure that there is visible role of track two diplomacy.

2.2 The Sudan: Overview

The Sudan is the largest country in Africa. It is bordered by Egypt and Libya on the north, Chad and Central African Republic on the West, the Democratic Republic of Congo (former Zaire), Uganda and Kenya to the South, and Ethiopia Eritrea and the Red Sea on the East.

2.2.1 Special Representation for the South

The trilogy of the Sudan Constitutions of 1953, 1956 and 1964, which covered the period of self-government and the first years in the life of the Sudan as an independent state, granted to Southern Sudan a right of special representation in the Council of Ministers or cabinet. In each, a council consisted of not less than 10 nor more than 15 ministers of whom not less than two ministers were to be from South Sudan.² This special representation for the South was an insignificant device for the resolution or management of conflict in the Sudan. First, it could be dispensed with by the Head of State in case of abuse. It is not clear how special representation can be abused by two ministers without the power of veto. Secondly, the ministers did not have special responsibilities for the South. Finally, two ministers could easily be overruled even if there was an area in which they were expected to be exponents of South Sudan opinion in the cabinet; In fact the two Southern ministers in the first self-government cabinet were dismissed for criticizing the Sudanization of the civil service which gave the South six out of 800 senior posts.³ Clearly, as a mechanism for avoiding or resolving national conflicts, special representation alters little or nothing where national groups differ greatly in size and level of socio-economic development.

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There is, a great deal of literature especially by political scientists on power-sharing or, as some prefer to call it, consociation.⁴ In some contexts, they assume a prominent role in the management or resolution of national conflicts. For example, Noel credits this device rather than federalism in the maintenance of Canadian unity. The Canadian approach to power-sharing between the English-speaking and the French-speaking Canadians goes

beyond proportional representation in the federal institutions. The French who are a majority in Quebec only but a minority in the other nine Canadian provinces, are represented in the federal government and in the civil service according to the proportion of Quebec to the nine provinces, that is, 30 per cent. Moreover, and these are instances of parity regardless of population, the offices of the Governor-General, the Speaker of the lower House of Parliament and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court rotate between the French and English. A further unique aspect to power-sharing in Canada can be seen in the political parties which are deliberately designed to appeal to both English and French. The Liberal Party, for example, has a rotating chairman and therefore Prime Minister. It is a fact, though, that in both 1980 and 1992 Quebec showed its dissatisfaction with this power-sharing managements by conducting plebiscites on sovereignty. The political imperative is the great imbalance in the sizes of population groups.

2.2.2 The Regional Structure

In 1972 came the Southern Provinces Regional Self-Government Act. This constitutional statute extended the special representation of the South in the cabinet to regional government in the South with executive and legislative powers. Initially intended by the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 as a solution to the armed conflict which erupted in August 1955 between the North and the South, regional government was extended to the rest of the country under the Regional Government Act 1980, except the National Capital which was administered under the Khartoum Province Administration Act 1980. The Addis Ababa Agreement was concluded between the dissident armed group in the South and the military government which seized power three years earlier. The All Africa

Conference of Churches acted as facilitator.

As a matter of history, regional government was the main recommendation of the Sudan Political Parties Round Table Conference of 16-25 March 1965 and its subsidiary organ, the Twelve-Man Committee.⁶ Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda attended as observers but they probably expressed opinions to the parties privately.

The proposed regional government suffered a set back in the National Draft Constitution Committee of 1967, which went out of its way to draft an Islamic constitution. The Southern members of the Committee, considering the Draft Constitution incompatible with the regional structure as a mechanism for the protection of the rights of persons belonging to ethnic, religious and linguistic communities withdrew from the Committee. This Draft Constitution was not put to a vote in the Constituent Assembly. Any speculation about, how the Assembly might have voted was finally ended when on 25 May 1969 the army once again seized power, and dissolved the Constituent Assembly and political parties. It is this government which adopted regional systems in 1972 and 1980.

The adoption of regional structures in 1972 and 1980 brought the government nearer to the ordinary citizen geographically or psychologically or both. Moreover, it had the potential of enlarging the participation of the citizen in the process of government. But the reality of power under a regional structure depends in large measure on the legal status and powers of regional organs. On both, there -were weaknesses. The central

government controlled regional governments - executive and legislative _ in three ways. The first was planning. Regional organs did not have the power of planning for economic and social development. Also central government planning had to be followed in carrying out matters within the competence of the regions, including town and village planning, land use. Administration of police and prisons, and development of forestry and pastures. And deprived of the power of planning, regional governments could not arguably control the destiny of the people they purportedly ruled. They were mere machineries for carrying out the policies of the central government. In this connection, it is important to recall why the regional government was adopted in the first place. If it was adopted as a suitable system of government in a geographically vast country, there may be room for central government planning since the rationale of decentralization is geographical remoteness. Such was apparently the case with the Regional Government Act 1980. But if, as in the case of the Southern Provinces Regional Self-Government Act 1972, the regional structure was adopted a solution to ethnic armed conflict (i.e. the central government is geographically and psychologically remote to certain territorial groups), central planning has the potential of continuing legitimate grievances apparently settled on paper by the devolution of power to the regions.

Another weakness in the relationship between the central and regional organs concerned revenue. The latter derived their revenue mostly from funds voted each year by the National Assembly in acrimonious debates. Need I say that whoever controls money controls also administration and development.

Finally, regional organs were not autonomous but were subject to dissolution and dismissal by the President of the Sudan, although the 1972 original Act did not embody the former. Nevertheless the President claimed and exercised it in 1980 and 1981 and this was subsequently regularized, by the High Executive and People's Regional Assembly Act 1981. The powers to dissolve the regional Assembly and to dismiss the executive are hierarchical powers. It ranks the organs in terms of superiority and inferiority. The most striking example of the use of these hierarchical powers occurred in 1983 when the President decreed the division of the Southern Region into three regions and transferred its personnel to their areas of origin.

The 1972 Southern Provinces Regional Self-Government Act embodied some power-sharing arrangements between the North and South. Articles 13 and 14 empowered the Regional Assembly to request the President to postpone the coming into force of any law and to withdraw a bill from Parliament where it considered that the law or bill adversely affected the interests of the citizens in the South. In each, the role of the President was especially important, since he had a discretion on whether to accede to the request. On the key question of security, Article 26 made three provisions. The recruitment of Southerners into the armed forces was to be proportionate to their share of population. Also, the use of armed forces in the South was to be on the advice of the head of South Sudan High Executive Council, except in matters of "national defence"; Finally, the composition of the armed forces in the South was to be as agreed. This was a reference to the Addis Ababa Agreement which provided, inter alia, that the 12,000 armed forces stationed in the South should consist of an equal number of Northerners and Southerners.

Apart from the relative weight to be given to men as against their weapons and other logistics, Article 26 failed in its important aspect of achieving proportionality in the armed forces by its omission of any machinery of verification. Not surprisingly, discontent among Southern soldiers appeared as early as 1975 and 1976 when units in Akobo and Aweil respectively mutinied.

Equally, the central government showed some uneasiness with the 1972 Act. Two examples may be referred to. In 1977 the government set up a Committee to Revise the Laws of the Sudan so as to Conform to Sharia Law and Principles. This Committee included the Southern Provinces Regional Self-Government Act of 1972 among the laws it considered contrary to Sharia law. The other example is the Presidential decree of 1983, already mentioned, which divided the South into three, less autonomous regions. Hence the 1972 Act became desuetude. It was finally repealed (together with the Regional Government Act 1980) by the Constitutional Decree No. 4 of 1991, which officially proclaimed the Sudan as a federal country.

2.2.3 The Federal Structure

Proposal for a federal system of government was first made in parliament during the debates on a motion for independence but Parliament deferred the issue and promised in the Resolution of 19 December 1955 that the Constituent Assembly would give it "full consideration"/⁹ The proposal was indeed "considered" by the Constituent Assembly, which became deadlocked on it. It remained on the political agenda until 17 November 1958 when the army seized power, suspended the Constitution of 1956, dissolved

profession (i.e. judges and advocates) are "national", not regional. Lack of real power can also be seen in the power of the President of the Sudan to dismiss regional organs of government and in the constitutional requirement that federal states must carry out their economic and social activities in accordance with the federal government planning. Clearly the 26 states are mere extensions of the centre. Secondly, a proper electoral system is one of the visible ways in which citizens participate in the running of their country. Yet, a person may be a member of a federal or state assembly or state governor (wali) by Presidential appointment. Thirdly, the various types of taxes as well as foreign aid and loans belong to the federal government but excise duties belong to the state. Obviously, the federal government gets the lion's share. Given these shortcomings, federalism does not stand a good chance of solving the conflict in the Sudan.

Since a federal constitution has offered alluring alternative to the centralized system which was inherited from the Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule, I must indicate its basic characteristics. First, the legislature, executive and judicial organs are divided between the government for the whole country (the federal government) and the governments for parts of a country (states governments). A state government is independent within its own spheres. It exercises legislative, executive and judicial powers without control or interference from the federal or another state government. Likewise, the federal government has its own area for exercising legislative, executive and judicial powers without control or interference from any state government. This is known as divided sovereignty. Secondly, the federal legislature must be organized in such a way as to guarantee equality of the component states. For example, the legislature may be bi-

cameral: one representing each state with equal representation regardless of population, and a second one in which the representatives of the states will participate in proportion to their population. Any federal law and any change in the federal constitution can be made only with the agreement of both houses of the legislature. When these features are present, the constitution is federal even though, as in Switzerland, it is officially described as a confederation. Conversely, in the absence of these characteristics, the constitution is not federal even though, as in the Sudan, it is officially described as a federation. There is nothing in the name. The important thing is the division of powers and the coordinate relationship between federal and state organs.

The case for a federal system in the resolution or management of conflicts may be shortly stated.¹³ First, since power is divided between the federal and states governments, federalism avoids concentration of power in the central government and, consequently, the liberty of the individual is enhanced. Secondly, it provides many opportunities for citizens' participation in the process of government. Thirdly, the state governments are geographically nearer to the citizens especially in a vast country. Fourthly, federalism preserves identity since it makes hegemony difficult or impossible. Hence federalism is capable of helping to accommodate the diverse interests of persons belonging to ethnic, religious and linguistic groups who live in separate parts of a country.

For a federal system to help in the management and resolution of national conflicts, certain conditions must exist. The federal states must learn to cooperate with each other. And true cooperation can only be between equals and for common goals. The equal

representation of states in one of the two houses of parliament is an example of equality. But an imbalance may exist in other federal institutions and in a plural society where the component states differ greatly in population and wealth, tensions may occur. Equally, a great divergence in the policies of different states will strain cooperation at the federal and state levels. Again, the relationship of the federal government with the states, by reason of its identification with one of the prevailing cultures or its attempts to reduce or eliminate the cultural identity of a particular federal state, will undermine the basis for which the union was formed. Cooperation can only be for common goals, which are the fundamental or human rights of all persons and in the case of a plural country, the development of different cultures simultaneously. The suppression or neglect of a non-dominant culture is forced assimilation, which is a negation of equality.

Another necessary condition is obedience to law. A federal system will hardly be workable in the absence of democratic institutions, an independent judiciary and the rule of law.

2.2.4 Constitutional Rights

The role of human rights in avoidance and resolution of conflicts is now universally recognized. Earlier examples include the British Magna Carta of the 13th century, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of the 18th century and the American Declaration of Independence of the 18th century. On a global level, the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims in its preamble that "it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law".

From a Sudanese standpoint, constitutional rights first appeared in the Self-Government Statute of 1953 which later became the Transitional Constitution of 1956 - the Independence Constitution. It soon became apparent that the formulation of rights in a document is one thing; their actual application quite another. Many of the deficiencies arising from the equality of rights were debated by the Sudanese political parties during the 1965 Round-Table Conference, already referred to. The conference agreed on equality of employment opportunities; equality of wages without discrimination by reason only of religious beliefs, language or race; freedom of religion, including missionary activity, within the laws of the land; freedom of movement; the right of private persons and bodies to open schools in conformity with the law of the land; establishing a university in the South; opening girls' secondary school and agricultural school in Malakal; appointment of qualified Southerners as heads of Southern schools irrespective of whether or not they speak Arabic; finding jobs for the unemployed; the establishment of a national economic council with a subsidiary agency for economic development in the South; and giving priority and facilities to the local inhabitants of the South to exploit the land. These proposals were not implemented.

Human rights were again dealt with under the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 and its implementing law - the Southern Provinces Regional Self-Government Act 1972. The Regional Government Act 1980 which, unlike the 1972 Act, was not intended to resolve a national conflict, did not embody human rights. For persons belonging to different religions, languages and ethnic community, the most relevant articles are 5 and 32 of the 1972 Act. The former recognized Arabic as the official language of the Sudan and English as "the principal language for the Southern Region without prejudice to the

use of any other language or languages which may serve a practical necessity for the efficient and expeditious discharge of executive and administrative functions of the Region". Thus, within the South English did not exclude other languages and beyond the South its use was not guaranteed. Article 32 guaranteed to all citizens resident in the South the right to equal opportunity in education, employment, commerce and the practice of any lawful profession, without distinction as to race, tribal origin, place of birth or sex. Essentially, this Article merely adopts the non-discrimination principle. Both Articles 5 and 32 are a carry over from the Addis Ababa Agreement. However, the Addis Ababa Agreement but not the 1972 Act embodied the right of parents to control the education for their children, one of the most important rights of persons belonging to different ethnic, religious and linguistic groups.

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Constitutional recognition of the rights of all persons as well as the rights of persons belonging to different religions, languages and ethnic community is one way of avoiding or managing conflicts in pluralistic countries. Its special feature is that it can be used regardless of whether such persons are concentrated in separate territorial subdivisions of the state or they are intermingled with each other. It does not have to be in support of regional or federal structure. Unfortunately the 1972 Act failed to specify these rights in detail, apart from the inadequate provisions on language. It was in the nature of things that since 1983, a process of Islamization of the laws and constitution has been going on: The implications for this development are obvious. In an Islamic state that contains non-Muslims, there can be no equality of rights and stripped of their sense of belonging, many non-Muslims will find themselves outsiders. The result will be the same if the Sudan were a Christian or Jewish state that also contains non-Christians or

non-Jews respectively. This is a development which, given the territorializing of ethnic communities, threatens the continued existence of the Sudan as a single entity. As the International Commission of Jurists stated in their report of 1985: "If the unity of the Sudan is to be preserved ... no one group can hope or expect to regulate the country in accordance with its own exclusive concepts of society and suppress the legitimate aspirations and expectations of others to express their beliefs, customs and ways of life."

2.2.5 Protection against Future Constitutional Change.

Constitutional arrangements are arrived at through delicate negotiations and compromises among political forces. It is therefore essential that they should not be changed easily in the future. This is done by entrenchment, that is, the whole or part of the constitution may only be amended, if at all, by a procedure different from that of passing ordinary laws. Entrenchment is therefore a machinery for avoiding future conflicts. As an illustration, reference may be made to the Southern Provinces

2.2.6 Regional Self-Government Act

1972, which was incorporated into the Constitution of 1973, Article 8. The 1980 Regional Government Act was not made a part of the 1973 Constitution. Article 34 of the 1972 Act required an amendment to the autonomy statute to be made by three-quarters majority of the national Parliament and approved by two-thirds majority of the "citizens of the Southern Region" in a referendum. By embodying a procedure in which all citizens resident in South Sudan (and not merely their representatives in national Parliament) participated, Article 34 attempted to make future constitutional changes difficult. The point about entrenchment is that an amendment to the constitution can change the content

of human or fundamental rights and even the basic structure of state. By adopting a difficult procedure of amendment, as Article 24 did, the rights of individuals and minorities are put beyond the reach of legislative majorities. They do not depend on the outcome of elections.

Entrenchment has inherent limitations, however. The content of rights, especially economic, social and cultural rights, may change not only through an amendment to the constitution but through government's neglect or discriminatory decisions concealed in discretionary powers in the fields of employment, education and the allocation of resources.

The amending procedure in Article 34 had never been used. It was not invoked on the controversial issue of the division of the South into three regions, probably because the issue would have been rejected. Instead, the President of the Sudan, acting under Articles 81 and 82 of the 1973 Constitution which empowered him to protect the constitution and national unity, decreed in 1983 the division of the South into three, less autonomous regions. One of the consequences for this unconstitutional action was the outbreak in 1983 of this ongoing civil war. The constitution the President purportedly defended was abrogated in April 1985 after a successful mass uprising against him. It shows, however that future constitutional changes cannot be guaranteed when they take place unconstitutionally, and as a military coup d'etat.

2.2.7 Self-Determination

The last mechanism for the resolution of national conflicts to be referred to is self-determination. This is the right of peoples to freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural rights. Its distinguishing characteristic is that it is territorial, i.e. it can only be claimed by persons who overwhelmingly inhabit a separate territory. Self-determination raises a number of issues. The first concerns the situations in which self-determination may be claimed. The situations are conveniently summarized in the Saskatoon Recommendation on Self-Determination which was submitted to the World Conference on Human Rights 1993:

2.2.8 Cases of colonialism;

Cases of occupation or domination of the population of a state as a whole by foreign powers; cases where the people of a state concerned agree on self-determination; cases in which the government of a state is unrepresentative of its peoples by virtue of the fact that it excludes a distinct group from equal participation in political life.

Two points should be made about these situations. First, self-determination goes beyond the context of alien occupation or domination. Secondly, central to claims of self-determination of human rights, which is presumed in cases of colonialism and alien occupation or (now virtually obsolete) but has to be proved in case of an independent state unless the parties agreed on self-determination. Since self-determination is a continuing right, it can be used to avoid or remedy abuse of human rights.

Agreement on self-determination may be made in advance in a country's constitution or other basic document. A recent example is the 1994 Ethiopian Constitution, Article 39, quoted above. Also the Sudan Constitution of 1998, Article 139 accepts it in principle. The detailed rules are contained in a different constitutional document - the Constitutional Decree No. 14 (Implementation of the Peace Agreement), the Khartoum Peace Agreement 1997 and the Sudan Peace Charter 1996. These agreements were concluded between the Sudan Government and dissident armed groups which broke away from Sudan Peoples Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/SPLM) - the mainly Southern-based dissident group. The Constitutional Decree No. 14, following the Charter and the Agreement, lays down elastic pre-conditions for the exercise of self-determination, for example, the restoration of peace and stability in South Sudan and the attainment of a reasonable level of economic and social development there. Again, the referendum will be conducted after an interim period of four years starting from the establishment of the Co-ordination Council for the South (i.e. 1998) but this period may be reduced or, as is more likely, extended.

Regretably, negotiations between SPLA/M and the Sudan Government have not made any appreciable advance, despite relentless mediation by the Inter-Government Authority on Development (IGAD) and the acceptance by both parties of IGAD's negotiation options known as the Declaration of Principles (DOP), including the right of people of Southern Sudan to self-determination and the relationship between religion (Islam) and the state. The appearance of new mediators - Egypt and Libya - with different negotiation options (i.e. unity) and the apparent willingness of the disputing parties to involve them is a little confusing to the ordinary person.

Granted that the parties agree on the right to self-determination, there is the question of the forms it may take. Self-determination may mean the group's control over its cultural and spiritual dimensions of existence; regionalism; federalism; confederation (rare nowadays); and independence. A group which does not overwhelmingly inhabit a defined territory within the state may claim only the first-mentioned form of self-determination. But a group inhabiting a separate territory may combine this option with any of the other forms of self-determination. In the Sudan the Southerners like other population groups in Sudan inhabit a definite territory and the two options on self-determination under Article 139 of the 1998 Constitution and DOP are unity of the Sudan or independence of Southern Sudan.

It embraces persons of different religions ethnic communities and languages.

The past, when there was no centralized, administration for the whole of Sudan, religion and ethnically were identification. The establishment of a central government since 1899 seemingly weekend these traditional bond by rendering them applicable to some population groups and replacing them with country bonds of these distinct population groups differ markedly, the search and respect for a countrywide identity becomes especially complex and the alternative of projecting the characteristics of one of the population group onto the rational level tension and conflicts. This conflict may have different dimensions economic disparity denial of religious,

agencies. In short the conflict may raise the question of the nature and future of the state itself. The starting point in the enquiry as to the national appropriate mechanisms for managing conflicts of this kind is awareness that the conflicts of this kind are not particularly new.

2.3 Sudan conflict

“ civil war in Africa is self –inflicted wound. More than one African lives in a country that is fighting a war and nearly 20 countries have experienced civil war since 1960. The continuing conflicts that ravage the African continent represent a heavy social and economic burden .During a war, most of the country's resources tend to be diverted away from development and towards supporting the conflict – war is estimated to cost 1bn per year in Central Africa, without counting the cost of aiding refugee , which is estimated to be \$500m in the region (Bolle, 2000:61).”

The above quote basically summarizes the main theses of this literature review which argues that most African conflicts and related disasters are self-inflicted wounds arising from badly under democratic governance, particularly manifested in inequities in the structures and processes of public governance. The case is often made that conflicts are caused primarily by economic underdevelopment, resource scarcity, widespread poverty and limited access to and participation in the process of political.

Decision making while it is true that poverty generates tensions as people scramble for limited resources such tensions cannot deteriorate into war, if institutions and mechanisms that afford all citizens a conducive and enabling environment to earn a decent livelihood exist. Similarly, whereas tensions are bound to arise in any society in the course of interaction between various competing social identities and beliefs such tensions cannot degenerate into serious conflict unless the country's existing governance institutions, policies and ideologies are not adequately responsive to the diverse social identities and instead tend to encourage social fragmentation rather than social cohesion. In such a situation, beyond creating culture of tolerance of social differences and beliefs, is also likely to be lacking.

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This kind of social context then becomes a fertile ground that can easily be exploited and ignited by the existing political leadership into a civil war, that only serves the hegemonic elite interests, rather than the interest of the country as a whole.

Generally most of the civil wars and conflicts in Sudan have their roots in undemocratic structure and process of governance, unequal power and resource allocation which has been politicized and expressed in socio cultural terms.

In this connection, political leaders in Southern Sudan whip up and politicize citizens ethnic, religious and racial diversifies and in use them as a means to justify and to get mass endorsement and participation in self-serving war. Sometime they may do these

because no love of war as such, but possibly, their love for power, personal wealth which has often degenerated into greed.

Conflict such as that in Southern Sudan is an indication that the Sudanese government and the governance structure and framework lacks democratic mechanism for equitable participation allocation and distribution, allocation and distribution of powers and resources and for the development of multi culturalism, tolerance and accommodation of diverse social-cultural ideological and religious beliefs. Once armed violence is allowed to become a means of addressing such internal problems the result is not only the destruction of the economic and social infrastructure but also the prevailing institutions of governance.

The Sudanese conflict has been traced to undemocratic governance. DPMF OSSREA 2000 highlights this as follows

“ Both during and after colonial rules, Southerners have been underrepresented in terms of parliamentary membership and occupation of strategic government positions. Northerners were given more education opportunities and were made to occupy the lower government ranks during the colonial period. Though the Northerners needed the alliance with the southerner Sudanese in the struggle against British colonialisation, when independence was achieved, the alliance became outdated and the representation of the southerners in the constitutional institutions became merely a decoration. Moreover, the government in Khartoum made it clear that it would suppress any attempts by southerners that would threaten the country's unity” (DMPF/OSSREA, 2000).

In 1997, the secretary-General of the United Nations made a report to this international body about the state of Africa. In his report Mr. Kofi-Annan noted that since 1970, more than 30 wars were erupted in Africa with most of them being intra-state. He went on and noted that in 1996 alone, 14 of the 53 countries of Africa were afflicted by armed conflicts, which accounted for more than half of all war related deaths worldwide and resulted into more than 8 million refugees, returnees and displaced persons (Annan, 1997:2).

When looking at the current state of play in southern Sudan it becomes clear that little has changed since the report was issued considering, in this regard the situation in southern Sudan where there is more than a million internally displaced people. The conflict in southern Sudan is threatening as the Khartoum government tries to settle for peaceful resolutions.

Humanitarian situation is worsening. Recently, the appointed secretary general to United Nations made a visit to Sudan to try and mediate the warring parties.

The war in southern Sudan reflects the nature of contemporary conflicts in Africa and the need to deepen our attempts to understand them.

In order to fully understand southern Sudan contemporary state of affairs and therefore construct proper analysis of peace war journalism by the media reporting it is important to note the context within which such conflicts are taking place.

According to Miall et al, 2000:71) today, within the context of post cod war, war conflicts in Africa, and in this context southern Sudanese could be linked to regional instability, political disunity and weak state structures.

It is important in our study context, and within the above literature context that we would like to focus our attention on southern Sudan conflict reporting analysis tool referred to as the protocol social conflict (PSC). In this study, this approach would enable us to understand the contemporary conflict in southern Sudan from a clearer perspective, thus sethsoning the common trend of defining southern sedan conflict as exclusively ethnic religious or exclusively external (Solomon, 1999:34).

2.4 Protracted Social Conflict in Southern Sudan

The theory of protracted social conflict refers to the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance fair access to political institutions and economic participation (Miall et al., 20071). The common feature of PSC is that societies of political formation residing within similar borders clash against each other.

It is through the PSC that we can understand that complex processes rather than one singular factor has led to conflicts in southern Sudan (Solomon, 1999: 35). For instance, vis- a-vis other groups in society. Therefore, various groups would compete over the control of the state either to secure their political rights or to ensure their access to material resources. In most cases the pursuit of these end result in the aggrieved party

either wanting to assume full control of the state apparatus or separation from the state, as is the case of Khartoum government and the southerners.

Furthermore the fight for control of the state machinery manifests itself in various ways and this prolongs the conflict. That is in one state it can take a group of people organizing themselves, along ethnic lines in another it could be a coalition of various groups against those in control.

The desire to have these needs met is normally pursued collectively and when such needs are not met the end result is a prolonged conflict in this case, the situation is southern Sudan.

Conflicts drag on because either party think that none of their interest or grievances have been thus far, served.

Often intra-state conflicts like is the case in Sudan have also assumed a regional connotation, which further fuel the conflict. That is, most intra-state conflicts have had spillover effects to other neighbouring countries thus making them more complex. The spill over effect of a conflict manifest themselves in varying ways, inter alia, in the form of massive population movement between borders and proliferation of arms. In some cases, the spillover effects of internal conflicts has resulted in some neighbouring states directly supporting any one of the conflicting parties.

2.4.1 Spectrum of Handling Conflicts

2.4.1.1 Conflicts Prevention

Conflict prevention refers to those actions taken in order to pre-empt, deter and contain conflict. From, an operational point of view, the concept refers to planned initiatives to resolve disputes before they arise by using pre-acquired information of the situation and backed up resources to pull through.

The main assumption concerning the undertaking of conflict privation is that political will exists to unleash the necessary resources. Secondly, the more important assumption is that there exists an early warning capability that would give indication of disputes and inform the prevention itself.

It is easy to associate the term with preventive diplomacy that refers to the same kind of activities but with an emphasized statistic approach.

For conflict prevention activities would encompass both track one and track two initiatives which gives a more wider application than preventive diplomacy. For conflict prevention to be fully realized, the assumption would be that there exists a pool of competent resources in the form of active civil society, for instance the media, to initiate and undertake second track initiatives. The main motivation for advocating a multi-pronged approach is coined on the belief, based on experience that the involvement of civil society initiatives can and does reach where statistic initiatives fail.

appraising the prevention of conflict in Africa, and in Sudan particularly, reveal that there have been major advances in the deflection of conflicts with specific mention of the establishment of an early warning capability within the mechanism for conflict prevent

management and resolution (Africa union). Whilst there are issues to be resolved on the full and effective operationalisation of this capacity it is commendable that there is something to build on.

Key issues among others is recognition of civil society initiatives for conflict prevention

2.4.1.2 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution refers to a plethora of activities aimed at addressing root causes of a dispute that led to the conflict. as the causes may vary and be drawn from different sources of sources that operation resolution of conflict call upon a multi-faceted response from different components if not approached. In short this alludes to calling upon different expertise to address the economic, social and political causes of the conflict as they manifest themselves.

Resolution of conflict, as presented above, gives the correct impression that it can only succeed with the intense involvement of the policy in question. This means that the idea of resolutions to the conflict must be conceived or at least agreed upon by the locals. The role of the outsiders must be a benevolent one informed by the willingness to support the process of conceiving of this idea and providing resources to translate them in solutions. Conflict resolution, as any component in the conflict spectrum must be viewed as dynamic and therefore not in isolation from the other activities aimed at continuously containing the conflict and finding solution.

2.5 War vs Peace: Media Practical and Linguistic Orientations

Galtung (1986, 1998) viewed peace journalism and war journalism as two competing frames in the coverage of a conflict. His classification of war journalism and peace journalism is based on four broad practice and linguistic orientations: peace/conflict truth, people and solutions. In contrast, war journalism is oriented in war/violence, propaganda, elites and victory.

Galtung's labeling of peace journalism as both peace and conflict oriented may appear paradoxically but in reality peace-oriented journalists must first accept that a conflict exists, and explore conflict formations by identifying the parties, goals and issues involved. The journalists understand the conflict historically and cultural roots and by giving voice to all parties (not only two opposing sides), create empathy and understanding. Through careful constituent and conscientious application of peace journalism practices the peace journalists hope to create a setting in which the causes of and possible solutions to the conflict become transparent. Other peace journalism approaches include taking a preventive advocacy stance, for example, editorials and columns retaliation and differences, and emphasizing the invisible effects of violence (e.g. emotional trauma and damage to social structure).

In contrast, war journalism plays up conflict as an arena where participants are grouped starkly into two opposing sides ('Item-vs-US') in a zero-sum game, and focuses on the invisible effects of war (casualties, injuries and damage to property).

Galtung (1998) classification of war journalism and peace journalism was expanded by McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) into 17 good practices in peace journalism. Advice to journalists included focusing on solutions, reporting on long-term effects, orientating the news on people and the grassroots reporting on all sides and using precise language.

Maslog (1990) offers a peace journalism manual based on Mindanao conflict that clarifies the differences between Muslims and Christians and more importantly the common grounds that united them. Tips to journalists included avoiding mention of culturally controversial issues like the pork-eating of Christians and the polygamous practice of Muslims. Another important principle is linguistic accuracy. For example, 'rebels' should be identified as dissidents of a particular political grouping, and not simply 'Muslims' rebels.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter overview

Methodology refers to the system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based and against which claims of knowledge are evaluated. The rules in turn enables constructive criticism and scientific progress. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) through its explicit (public and accessible) methodology provides a framework for replication in this study research. Thus by using logic as the foundation of scientific reasoning methodology, enhances the internal consistency findings, hence knowledge.

It is not worthy, that a major function of methodology in this study is to help the blind man 'see' the shared common experience.

The term research design as implied here refers to the total plan of the study Content

The proposed study design adopted an explanatory and descriptive approaches. The design selected was in the view of the researcher, most appropriate for the case study.

3.2 Study design

This study methodology was based on content analysis of stories in Daily Nation and The Standard dailies; which are the leading newspapers in respect to country circulation figure.

The unit of analysis was the individual story a definition that will include 'hard' news stories feature stories, opinion peace and letters to the editor.

The stories about conflict in Southern Sudan were analyzed from issues published during a specific period of conflict, in this case over one-month period. This period represented the most recent peak periods of the Southern Sudan conflicts at the time of the study.

Coding categories for frames, based on Gatlung (1986, 1998) classification, involved indicators for war journalism and of peace journalism.

The indicators were used to elicit from the body text of each story which frame-war or peace language.

The approach – based criteria will include (1) reactivity (2) visibility of effects of war, (3) Elite orientation differences (5) focus of here and now (6) good and bad dictionary (7) partly involved (8) Partisanship (9) winning orientation and (10) continuity of reports.

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The language based criteria will focus on language that is (1) demonizing (2) victimizing (3) emotive

For example, a story is judged if it is reactive (does it wait for war to break out before reporting it?); whether it reports it reports mainly on the visible effects of war (does it focus on casualties, death toll, damage to property?) and whether it is partisan (is it biased for one side in the conflict) etc. indices will be produced to measure war, peace and neutral journalism. Based on the scores, the stories will be classified into war journalism, peace journalism or neutral journalism using the indicators mentioned above.

3.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis is broadly defined as any technique for making inferences by “objectively” and “systematically” identified characteristics of Articles in the newspaper. Objectivity implies that all sessions must be guided by an explicit set of rules that minimize subjectivity. In other words, content analysis is “information processing” technique in which article information (in this case as regards copyright and freedom of expression) is “transformed” through objective and “categorization” rules into data that can be summarized and compared.

This means, as a methodological tool in this study research use of content analysis involved making decisions on what categories to be used; what criteria used to decide the content with (word sentences, theme, topic, reference, story etc) hence divide war from peace journalism Articles.

3.4 Sampling procedure for content Analysis

According to E. Babbie (1989), Random selection, which is a precise scientific procedure with nothing haphazard about it, is the key to the sampling process.

Given the “scientific goal of generalization”, and the inherent variability of units of analysis”, it is unavoidable in research to use this sampling theory which is a foundation of everyday practices. This Random selection process eliminates the bias in selecting cases in a study research and permits the application of mathematical probability for estimating sample accuracy, thus providing a basis for a representative sample.

A sample of size “n” from an infinite population is random it consists of independent random variables having the same distribution. In random selection, each element has an equal chance of selection independent of any other event in the selection process. Probability sampling enhances the likelihood of accomplishing this selection process and also provides methods for estimating degree of probable success.

Ultimately, the purpose of sampling was to select a set of elements from a “population” in such way that “the description of those elements” (statistics) accurately portrayed the “parameters” of the total population from which the elements were selected.

Prior to sampling writes Nachmias and Nachmias (1995) one must select the limits of analysis.

Sampling then begins with the description of the target population – “the collection of units about which one wishes to generalize”. This ensures a complete and correct sampling frame according to singleton and Bruce 1999 who relevantly add.

“Regardless of the direction it takes the statement of a problem boils down to deciding what relationships among what variables, of what units are to be studied. For sampling to be feasible, the target population was defined by objective criteria that clearly were defined by objective criteria that clearly indicated its limits of inclusion. Population in this case refers to the total number of Daily Nation and The Standard Newspapers issues studied .

The population size in this study refers to a subject of the whole population (58) that was actually studied and whose characteristics were generalized to entire population. A sample of 29 issues (both from the Daily Nation and The Standard Newspapers) were picked through interval / systematic sampling, for the study period.

3.3.1 Interval / systematic sampling

Interval / systematic sampling provided a reasonable approximation to simple random sampling and consisted of selecting cases from available newspaper issues at a fixed interval, after a random start.

Since it was based on equal interval starting with a randomly selected element in the population of the newspaper issues, it was started with a determination of the length of the intervals thus:-

Length of interval (K) = $\frac{N}{n}$

n

Where: N = population size

n = sample size

In this case 58 Articles studied.

3.4 Data Collection

The researcher collected both qualitative and quantitative data. The former was used in the descriptive discourse of various variables (highlighted in the Framework).

The qualitative data was collected from secondary data sources, which included News reports, from the Daily Nation and the Standard, of the Sudan Somalia conflict and peace building initiative. The content of the survey will measure the amount of “coverage” the two national dailies (including their respective Sunday editions and the Nation Media Group’s regional publication). The selected print media was chosen because of their geographical coverage, audience and distribution.

Other secondary data included journals and other publications from conferences/ meetings and reports from institutions involved in conflict and peace building issues. The secondary source also comprised reviews of other people’s research in this area. As there were limitations on data that is relevant and up to date, it was necessary to spend more time to investigate what materials exist and was available in this subject area.

The study also examined other sources of data that are not necessarily related to the Sudan conflict, but which would make a useful contribution to the research. The related stories were also useful in providing a wider and more comprehensive view of the dimension of the problem faced in conflict reporting.

Overall, the review of literature highlighted the relevance and importance of previous existing studies related to the Sudan conflict.

The research data collection methodology applied was basically content analysis.

These materials were contributed significance to the research by complimenting the findings from the quantitative data. The quantitative data was collected with the help of a questionnaire (appended).

3.5 Data Analysis

The study data analysed involved analysis of the content of newspaper reports about the Sudan conflict. The researcher then undertook a univariate analysis of each of the variables. This was followed by a bivariate analysis using the Theoretical Framework as a guide of the study variables. An attempt was made to test the levels of statistical significance using the Chi-Square tests. Both qualitative and quantitative data was presented using tables. These tests were developed to test the research hypothesis presented and determine if it can be accepted or rejected.

3.5 Potential Threats to validity

The design selected for the study controlled the effects of the most common threats to the internal validity to which other studies are often susceptible.

3.5 Limitation of the study

There are several limitations to this exploratory study. The stories were analyzed from earlier coverage than it may be as now. As a result, the prominence of a story's display could not be determined. Many of the coding categories used for assessing narrative content were conceived by Gakung (1986, 1998) as a form of pre-publication criteria, posing a challenge for this content analysis of published stories.

CHAPTER FOUR

Finding of the study

4.1 Chapter overview

This chapter presents the findings of this study. The findings are presented in tables of frequency counts of the articles analysis. The analysis involved the application of social science statistical techniques this included use of chi-square, Cronbach's alpha, Cramers V and Scott's pi to interpret the data collected from the content analysis.

4.2 Findings of the content analysis

The war journalism index ranged from 0 to 13 (see table annexure) with a mean of 3.59 and a standard deviation of 2.58 (Cronbach's alpha = .7551). The peace journalism index ranged from 0 to 13 to but with mean of 3.15 and standard deviation of 2.76 (Cronbach's alpha = .7541). Examined, apart from peace (war journalism included the study of the types of story (news features or opinion) the story length in paragraph which formed base for analysis) and source (local or foreign). 58 articles were coded from the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers. Scott's pi of .74 was acceptable.

Table 4.2.1 Range of value coded

	Range	The Standard	Daily Nation	Total
		Frequency	Frequency	
1	Reactivity	2	3	5
2	visibility of effects	3	4	7
3	Elite orientation	3	4	7
4	Focus on differences	3	3	6
5	Focus on here and now	3	4	7
6	Dichotomy of good and bad	3	4	7
7	Party orientation	2	2	4
8	Partisanship	1	2	3
9	Winning orientation	3	1	4
10	Continuity of reforms	4	2	6
11	Victimizing language	1	1	2
12	Demonizing	0	1	1
13	Language emotive language	1	2	3

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4.3 Results discussions

A chi-square analysis reveal that the coverage of conflicts in southern Sudan.

Contains a disproportionately higher number of stories framed as peace journalism and fewer stories framed as war journalism, $\chi^2 (2, N = 58) = 23.274 P < 001$, Cramers V = .146, $P < 001$ see table below.

Of the stories about conflict events in southern Sudan, more than 65% were framed as peace journalism as compare to 15% war journalism and 20% were neutral.

In summary, the peace journalism frame was more dominant in the coverage by the two dailies.

Table 4.3.1 Distribution of frames across conflict coverage in southern Sudan.

Newspaper	Frame			Total
	War journalism	peace journalism	Neutral	
Nation	9	18	2	29
Standard	7	20	2	29
Total	16	38	4	58

$$X^2 (2, N= 58) = 23.2 P<.001$$

The two papers differed in their war /peace journalism neutral, ranking about conflict in southern Sudan, $X^2 (7, N = 29) = .088, P<. 001$ crammers V .269 $P<.001$. For the Standard For the Standard and $X^2 (9,N = 29) = .4442, P<. 001$ Cramer's V .269 $P<.001$ for the Nation respectively.

Ignoring the neutral stories, the distribution of war peace journalism frames among the papers is also statistically different $X^2 (18.N=38) =12.085, P<.001$; Cramer's V= .001, $P<. 001$

The strongest peace journalism framing is shown by the Standard (52.6 %) on stories in Darfur. Chi- square analyses on individual newspaper war peace journalism framing to examine the difference between a paper coverage of conflict in southern Sudan were found statistically different.

4.3.1 Indicators of war journalism and peace journalism

The analysis of war/peace journalism was based on a frequency count of 58 articles.

The three most Salient indicators of war journalism are focus on the here and now, an elite orientation and a dichotomy between good and bad. Through here and now perspective, war journalism confines a conflict to a closed space and time, with little exploration of the causes and long-term effects of the conflict. Reporting a here and now focuses on the battle field and casualties, with very little background.

The stories also focus on the elites political leaders and government officials as actors and sources while ignoring the rebels in this case. the rebels who fight the wars and the civilians who suffer the consequences of the conflict.

Dichotomizing between the bad guys and the good guys involves casting simplistic moral judgment about the furthers involved and assigning blame to party who started the conflict.

The three most salient indicators of peace journalism adapted for its study are based on frequency count appearance of three issues which are, avoidance of emotive language, non-partisanship and multiparty orientation.

In avoiding emotive language, the journalists use neutral terms. By being non-partisan, the journalists show their stories are not biased for any are side. In pursuing a multiparty orientation, stories give a voice to every party involved.

Table 4.3.2: Indicators of war journalism and peace journalism

War journalism approaches		Daily Nation	Standard	Total
		Frequency	Frequency	
1	Reactive	0		
2	Visible effects of war	1	2	4
3	Elite – orientation	2	1	3
4	Differences orientation	1	1	2
5	Focuses on here and now	2	1	3
6	Dichotomizes the good bad	1	1	
7	Two party orientation	1	0	1
8	Partisan	0	0	0
9	Zero sum orientation	1	0	1
10	Stop reporting and leave after conflict	0	0	0
War journalism language uses				
	victimizing language uses	0	0	0
	demonizing language uses	0	0	0
	emotive language	0	1	1
	Total	9	7	16

4.3.2 Story character and war/peace journalism

Of the 58 articles and stories the majority were hard news (cont 53 %) followed by opinion pieces including editorials and commentaries (27%) features (12%) and other (8%) letters to the editor and speech transcript.

4.3.3 The relationship between story type (news, features or opinion) and war peace journalisms

$X^2(2, N=58) = 18.547, P < .001$, cramer's $V =$ of the 58 stories analyzed the peace frame (65.5%) is more dominant than the war journalism framing (34.5%) in hard news stories.

In feature also the peace frame (78.2%) is more dominants than the war journalism.

In opinion pieces, like the first two characteristics of framing similar pattern is found (58.3%).

4.3.3.1 Story length

In this analysis we found out that there is a positive correlation between story length and peace journalism framing ($V = .127, P < .001$). The longer the story, the

More likely the story is framed as a peace journalism story. Conversely there is negative relationships between story length and the war journalism ($r = -.116, P < .001$). Short stories are more likely framed a war journalism.

Table 4.3.3: Indicators of peace journalism and peace journalism

Peace journalism approach		Daily nation	Standards	Total
		frequency	frequency	
1	Proactive	1	2	3
2	Invisible effects of conflicts	1	2	3
3	People – oriented	2	2	4
4	Agreement oriented	2	3	5
5	Causes and consequence of conflict	2	2	4
6	Avoid labeling of good is bad	1	2	3
7	Multiparty oriented	2	1	3
8	Win – win oriented	1	1	2
9	Story on the report after month of conflict	0	0	0
	avoids victimizing language	3	2	5
	avoids demonizing language	1	2	3
	avoids emotive language	2	1	3
	Total	18	20	38

A total of 41 stories (70.6 %) were produced by local sources compared to (29.4%) stories produced by foreign sources such as Reuters. Of the 41 locally produced stories, most were written by the newspapers own correspondent (82.2%) and the rest were

sources from other news agencies (17.8%) and local contributors including academics and members of the public.

4.3.3.2 Sources of the story

There is a significant difference in war (peace journalism framing leased on source. $\chi^2(1, N= 27) = 16.698, P<.001, Cramers V=.171, P<.001$

Locally produced stories about conflict in Southern Sudan are framed more frequently as peace journalism (63.9 %) compared to war journalism.

However, foreign – sources stories about conflict in southern Sudan are framed more often as war journalism.

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It implies that foreign stories contain more war journalism frames and fewer peace journalism frames than locally produced stories.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study found out that Kenyan newspaper (Daily Nation and The standard framed of conflicting reporting in southern Sudan is mostly about peace journalism.

Among other indicators of the framing were established as the story type, length and source. Local source were more likely to frame the story as peace journalism unlike foreign sources. The longer the story the more likely it was a peace journalism framing than shorter stories.

Peace journalism has emerged more than war journalism in the two local dailies, thus concluding that the media in Kenya is practicing peace journalism in the coverage of conflict in Southern Sudan.

According to this analysis on the coverage of conflicts in Southern Sudan, the significance differences in the uses of war/peace journalism frames are useful in explicating the dynamics of the news coverage and conflict management. The dominant peace journalism framing in the southern Sudan what been embroiled in decided of blood shed in conflict that run deep along the acrimonious line of ethnic, religion, economic, social differences.

The stronger peace coverage of peace journalism stance in the coverage of southern Sudan conflict could be attributed to the wide spread objective in the African countries to the protracted desire among African governments; Kenya include to see more peaceful resolution in southern Sudan. There is a large body of literature documenting governmental influence on the work of journalists in conflict (e.g. Bennett, 2003, Carruther, 2000, combs, 1993, Hiebert, 2003, Keeble, 1998, Lynch, 2003a, 2003b, Reese and buckalew (1995:41)

5.2 Conclusion

Based on the higher number of peace journalism stories in the coverage of the Southern Sudan conflict by the two local dailies *Daily nation* and the *Standard* it is tempting to conclude that peace journalism is being practiced.

However, its noteworthy mentioning that peace journalism is a self-conscious attitude in reporting of a controversial engagement of in this context, the rebels, the Khartoum government, Africa union members and both multilateral and lateral parties in Southern Sudan issue to promote peace and find solutions to the situations.

In this study, closer examination of the salient indicators reveals that the peace journalism framing highly dependent on criteria of a less interventionist nature of the media for example an avoidance of good/bad labels, an non-partisan approach, multiparty orientation and avoidance of emotive language. These four indicators although important

in the overall scheme of peace journalism laid out by Galtung (1986, 1998) are mere extension of the objectivity credo: reporting the facts as they are

As such this indicator does not truly exemplify a strong contributory proactive role of journalist to seek to offer creative solutions and to pare ways for peace and conflict resolution.

A closer examination of the salient indicators reveals that the peace journalism framing is highly dependent on criteria of a less interventionist nature, for example, an avoidance of good/bad labels, a non-partisan approach, a multi-party orientation and an avoidance of emotive language. These four indicators, although important in the overall scheme of peace journalism laid out by Galtung (1986, 1998), are mere extensions of the objectivity credo: reporting the facts as they are. These indicators do not truly exemplify a strong contributory, proactive role by journalists to seek and offer creative solutions and to pave a way for peace and conflict resolution..-For example, journalists often simplify storytelling by allowing only a set of villains and victims in their stories about conflict. Thus, the inclusion of a multi-party orientation is a significant step forward in the peace journalism calculus but it does not take the story significantly beyond reporting the facts. The pattern of salient indicators supporting the peace journalism frame falls short of Galtung's characterization of peace journalism as an advocacy and interpretive approach oriented in peace/conflict, people, truth and solution. While there is some demonstration of journalists' understanding of the conflict by mapping out a conflict as consisting of many parties, there is little in terms of a solution-seeking approach, and more disappointingly, not many peace journalism stories are supported by a people-orientation.

With little focus on the ordinary people, and without confirming whether their position as stated by the elites are reflective of the true feelings on the ground, there is little that journalists can do to empower citizens. The work of journalists follows predictable rituals, and reliance on elites is an entrenched ritual. The literature on news sourcing suggests that reporters depend heavily on official definitions and official sources that they perceive to be authoritative, credible, knowledgeable and powerful (e.g. McLeod and Hertog, 1998; Paletz and Entman, 1981; Sigal, 1973; Tuchman, 1978). The peace journalism frame also did not receive adequate support in terms of journalists focusing on a conflict's causes and consequences.

The case of the two newspapers' strong peace journalism framing of the South Sudan conflict issue - a pattern that contradicted the general pattern found among the foreign correspondence strong war journalism framing of local conflicts - can perhaps be explained by the influence of context. Various studies have shown that western foreign news agencies tend to report and emphasize violence and conflict more saliently than any other news stories from developing countries (e.g. Hachten, 1999; Hess, 1996; Riffe et al., 1994; Rosenblum, 1979). It is unsurprising that the war journalism frame prevailed more in foreign wire services copy than in locally produced copy both in the coverage of local conflicts and the Iraq War. The finding also supports to some extent Lynch's (2001) argument about the prevalence of Galtung's war journalism principles in western media coverage of Iraq. The foreign wire stories about the Iraq War may reflect the perspectives of the western countries that are directly involved in the war, for example, the US, although one could argue that published foreign wire stories may reflect to some extent

the Asian newspapers' framing of the Iraq War as some gate-keeping is involved in selecting which foreign wire stories are published and which are not. In general, however, foreign wire copy, according to newsroom routines, is generally used to describe and convey daily situation updates of the war, and does not undergo rigorous editing.

The positive relationships between hard news and war journalism framing, and between features/opinions and peace journalism framing support literature suggesting that the inverted pyramid style of writing and the focus on objectivity and traditional news values (conflict being one) may be an obstacle to peace journalism (Iggers, 1998; McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000). If peace journalism is to succeed, journalists must rethink the notions of hard news, objectivity and traditional news values in conflicts. The relationship between story-length and war/peace journalism framing suggests that longer stories allow journalists more time, room and effort to investigate an issue or event more fully and thoughtfully. Longer stories may also permit journalists to move beyond mere reporting of facts into some in-depth analysis, and exploration of the causes of and alternatives to conflict (as supported by the significant relationships between features/opinion pieces and peace journalism framing). However, the issue of news whole allotment to war reporting is a complex affair, subject to not only editorial judgment but also economic considerations.

5.3 Recommendations

In reality peace-oriented journalists must first accept that a conflict exists, and explore conflict formations by identifying the parties, goals and issues involved. The journalists understand the conflict historically and cultural roots and by giving voice to all parties (not only two opposing sides), create empathy and understanding.

Careful constituent and conscientious application of peace journalism practices to create a setting in which the causes of and possible solutions to the conflict become transparent. Taking a preventive advocacy stance, for example, editorials and columns retaliation and differences, and emphasizing the invisible effects of violence causing emotional trauma and damage to social structure, is vital for conflict management.

Advice to journalists included focusing on solutions, reporting on long-term effects, orientating the news on people and the grassroots reporting on all sides and using precise language.

They should offers news on conflict that clarifies the differences and more importantly the common grounds that united them. Tips to journalists included avoiding mention of culturally controversial issues that might be sensitive. Another important principle is linguistic accuracy.

The media should note Galtung (1986, 1998) view on the dynamics of peace journalism and war journalism as two competing frames in the coverage of a conflict. His classification of war journalism and peace journalism is based on four broad practice and

linguistic orientations: peace/conflict truth, people and solutions. In contrast, war journalism is oriented in war/violence, propaganda, elites and victory

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ANNEXURE

Annex I: Indicators of war journalism and peace journalism code ranking

War journalism approaches		Peace journalism approaches	
1	Reactive	1	Proactive
2	Visible effects of war	2	Invisible effects of conflicts
3	Elite – orientation	3	People – oriented
4	Differences orientation	4	Agreement oriented
5	Focuses on here and now	5	Causes and consequence of conflict
6	Dichotomizes the good bad	6	Avoid labeling of good is bad
7	Two party orientation	7	Multiparty oriented
8	Partisan	8	Win – win oriented
9	Zero sum orientation	9	Story on the report after month of conflict
10	Stop reporting and leave after conflict	Peace journalism language uses	
War journalism language uses		11	avoids victimizing language
11	victimizing language uses	12	avoids demonizing language
12	demonizing language uses	13	avoids emotive language
13	emotive language		

Annex II: Content analysis articles

Sudan : Gunning for peace

1. waiting for the killers to be curbed

The killing continues

In a camp for displaced Darfur's seven-year-old black African girl tells how she was raped by an Arab from a nearby village.....

Sudan: burying the hatchets

Millions of Sudanese and dozens of foreign dignitaries waited all day for Khartoum government.... and SPLM/A ... to sign their latest peace agreement.

enemies everywhere

“We've learnt the lessons of Darfur”.

hopeful wind of change

.. A year ago, Sudan's government and rebels from Dasfur region signed a peace agreement.....

getting a toe in Darfur

Hopes were raised at the end of last week that the United Nations had finally persuaded the government of Sudan accept a large UNforce to intervene in the region of Darfur....

wining the peace

...the success of peace process in Sudan hinges on gaining broad support for it.....

all policemen dies in Darfur

An African union policeman was killed today by unknown gunman....

leading Sudan independent newspaper slunt

....Sudanese authorities closed a leading independent Arabic paper despite a new constitution encoring press freedom...

New UN official in first Darfur visit;Darfur Visit

.... the United Nations new humanitarian chief have made his first trips to Sudan Darfur Region.... standard march, 27.2007.

South Sudan to get direct mail

...authorities in southern Sudan and Khartoum have signed an agreement that will allow the southern capital juba to receive mails directly for the first time

Sudan probes rape charges

...Sudan said it woould investigate UN report that government soldiers raped women in Darfur.

standard, march 25, 2007

SPLA accused of holding Kenyan track drivers

...SPLA is holding five Kenyan drivers.....the standard, Thursday, August 24, 2007

US rejects Sudan plan on Darfur

..... the United States yesterday strongly criticized Sudan plan to send more of its own troops into troubled Darfur region and said a credible and legitimate UN force was needed to stop the carnage.....The Nation April 18, 2007

Sudanese refugee return from Uganda

.... the number of Sudanese refugees to return home from Uganda in the last year passed the 10,000 mark.....

Kiir extend Olive branch to rebels.

..... South Sudan's president has called for rebels from the western Darfur region to meet in capital to build consensus.

Chad attacks Sudan

....Sudan says its armed forces have clashed with Chadian army.... Nation April 12, 2007.

China US urge diplomatic solution to Darfur crisis

.....China and US have discussed promoting continued use of political diplomatic efforts to resolve the Darfur crisis.....

Sudan plane attack Darfur

Darfur rebels said Sudanese planes and troops attacked villages in the western region.

Sudan government reject use troops plan for Darfur

.... Sudan has ignored US pressure to accept UN troops in Darfur standard, Tuesday, august 29, 2007

UN boss hails Sudan for accepting troops

UN secretary – General Ban Ki-moon has described Sudan's decision to allow 3,000 UN troops into Darfur, as a very positive sign..... Nation April, 18, 2007

All pledge to Sudan an empty prom

.....some African leaders flaunt gargantuan impudence Sudan's prison Omar-al-Bas-Lir did last week....

Daily nation, February5, 2007

Rebels to get military training

United States private security firm and defense contractor Dyn Corp international incorporation will begin next year to reshape thousand of former southern Sudanese guerilla fighters into professional army.....Daily Nation Sunday August, 13, 2007

with peace Southern Sudan

Comes death machine

...see a crowd huddled together

by the side of a road changes are its centre is bloodied mangled machine

....another motorcycle accident.

Rebels oppose Sudan's bid for AU top seat, threatens violence

Darfur Rebels said yesterday therefore would refuse peace talks and would fight

Africa union peacekeepers on the ground Sudanese president Omar Hassan Al-Bashir

become chairman of the pan African body...Sunday nation January, 28, 2007

Mbeki meets Barshir Over Darfur

....President Thabo Mbeki arrived.... to join the international push for UN

peacekeepers in Darfur... spillover....Daily Nation April 11, 2007

Ex-Darfur rebels killed in raid

Former Darful rebels yesterday said a senior commander was killed in ambush....

Daily Nation, Tuesday, March 27, 2007.

In Darfur's Jebel Mara region, bombs more likely than aid

...aid workers keep off fearing attacks as soldiers watch over checkpoints to village...

... the sound of aircraft can only mean two thinks for the people of this isolated

Darfur mountain village...

Either its Sudanese government bombers or the rare arrival of helicopter carrying

humanitarian supplies...Daily nation Friday March 30, 2007.