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**NEWSPAPERS FRAMING AND EXPERTS' PERCEPTIONS ON
ISSUES OF CORRUPTION IN SUDAN**



**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA
2019**



Awang Had Salleh
Graduate School
of Arts And Sciences

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Abstrak

Di sebalik cabaran politik yang dihadapi sejak berdekad lamanya, sangat kurang data berhubung pumbingkaian berita mengenai keadaan rasuah di Sudan. Pada masa yang sama, berleluasa keadaan tersebut menjejaskan proses perdamaian di Sudan. Justeru, satu kajian mendalam diperlukan untuk meneliti peranan yang dimainkan oleh akhbar serta persepsi wartawan terhadap rasuah. Objektif kajian ini adalah untuk meninjau liputan akhbar mengenai rasuah berdasarkan tahap keutamaan pemberitaan, pumbingkaian dominan, corak pemilikan serta cabaran yang dihadapi oleh wartawan. Kajian ini meneliti isu tersebut berasaskan andaian dalam kerangka penetapan agenda dan teori pumbingkaian berita. Dengan menggunakan kaedah gabungan penyelidikan, kaedah ini menawarkan satu pendekatan baharu secara sistematik serta mampu menyediakan kefahaman yang mendalam mengenai cara bagaimana akhbar di Sudan dapat menangani isu-isu rasuah kewangan. Bagi tujuan pengumpulan data, analisis kandungan dilakukan terhadap empat akhbar utama di Sudan, manakala temu bual mendalam melibatkan 20 wartawan dan editor akhbar kepunyaan kerajaan serta swasta terpilih. Data telah dianalisis secara deskriptif dan tematik menggunakan perisian SPSS serta NVivo 8. Dapatan mendapati bahawa akhbar Sudan menghadapi banyak kekangan yang menjejaskan prestasi kewartawannya. Namun demikian, keutamaan terhadap isu ini diberi perhatian yang tinggi manakala pumbingkaian kebertanggungjawaban adalah yang dominan. Dapatan juga menunjukkan bahawa tahap pengaruh pemilikan terhadap kebebasan akhbar adalah tinggi. Antara cabaran-cabaran utama yang dihadapi ialah penyembunyian maklumat, kurangnya latihan penyiasatan serta cukai yang dikenakan dan kelemahan perundangan yang mengawal hak pemilikan pelbagai media. Sehubungan itu, kajian ini telah menyumbang secara signifikan terhadap perspektif menyeluruh mengenai cara bagaimana pumbingkaian akhbar meninggalkan kesan ke atas orang awam tentang kesedaran mengenai rasuah dan cara-cara yang mungkin dilakukan untuk mengatasinya di Sudan. Kajian ini seterusnya mencadangkan supaya akhbar Sudan perlu diperkukuh lagi, manakala undang-undang pemilikan perlu diperbaiki untuk melindungi wartawan yang menyiasat kes rasuah di Sudan

Kata kunci: Kerangka akhbar, Peranan jagawan, Akhbar Sudan, Hak milik akhbar, Penetapan agenda.

Abstract

In spite of decades of political challenges, there is little data available on the state of corruption and newspapers framing in Sudan. Consequently, its widespread has been seriously undermining the fragile Sudanese peacebuilding process. Therefore, the need for a critical examination of the role newspapers played and the perceptions of journalists have become imperative. Hence, the motivation for this study's objective on the Sudanese newspapers' coverage in relation to level of prominence, dominant frames, ownership pattern, challenges facing journalists, extent of the effect and the solutions to problems faced by journalists. The study explored the issue through the propositions of agenda setting and news framing theories within a mixed methods design in order to systematically provide a new approach and provide a deep understanding of how the press in Sudan can address the issues of financial corruption. For collection of data, content analysis of four major newspapers in Sudan were applied, while in-depth interviews with 20 Sudanese journalists selected across both government and private newspapers were descriptively and thematically analyzed with SPSS and NVivo 8 software. The analysis was carried out in stages of coding. The findings discovered that the Sudanese press faced many obstacles that prevent its journalistic performance. Notwithstanding these, prominence was given high attention while responsibility frame was dominant. The findings showed that there is high level of ownership influence which restricted freedom of the media. Also, there are variations in the four newspapers in terms of the five frames. The major challenges are information concealment, lack of investigative training and imposition of taxes and the weak regulations that govern the ownership of various media. Therefore, the study has significantly contributed to the overall perspectives of how newspapers framing affects public awareness about corruption and possible remedies in Sudan. Also, how the external factor, such as ownership, access to the government's information, censorship and restrictive laws, influence the content of the newspaper. Consequently, this study is suggesting that Sudanese newspapers be reinforced, while the Law of proprietorship need to improve on the protection of journalists who investigate corruption in Sudan.

Keyword: Newspaper framing, Watchdog role, Sudanese newspaper, Newspaper ownership, Agenda setting.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to **the almighty Allah**, the most beneficent, the most merciful
for His benevolence and mercies towards me and my family,

and to

My parents, for their sacrifices, support, love and prayers.



Acknowledgement

First praise is to Allah, the Almighty, on whom finally, we all depend for sustenance and guidance, for endowing me with good health, endurance, and knowledge to complete this programme.

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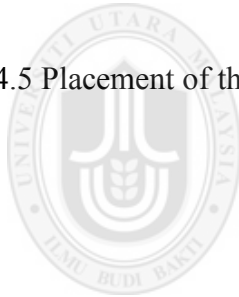
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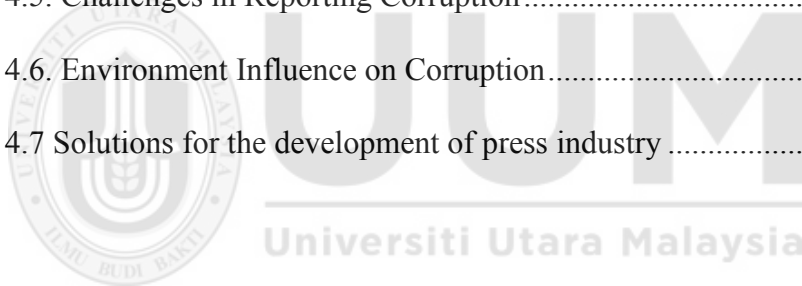
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List of Abbreviations

PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
USA	United States of America
NCP	National Council for Press & Journalistic publications



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 An Overview

Corruption lies at the core of poor governance and accountability (Arya & Sharma, 2014). It hinders budget balance, efficient governance of expenditure and management of the budgetary functions as well as overall delivery of public goods and services (Lawal, 2007). In addition, corruption undermines social values as individuals become more at ease with corrupt practices since they see such as easier means of survival and more lucrative means of wealth acquisition compared with the legitimate means (Lawal, 2007). Corruption has become one of the major problems facing the third world countries (Abu & Karim, 2015), including but not limited to Sudan. Despite the presence of oil and other mineral resources in many African countries such as Angola, Chad, the democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria and Sudan, the economic situations in these countries are catastrophic suggesting that, these mineral resources do not have any significant impact on peoples' lives (Khan, 2007).

A typical case of where corruption is prevailing is Sudan. In spite of the rapid growth of oil sector among several other sources of national wealth, Sudan is still classified amongst the world's top most corrupted countries (El-Nafabi, 2010; Fombad & Fombad, 2015; IndexEconomicFreedom, 2016; TransparencyInternational, 2016; WorldBank, 2016). Meanwhile, the Sudanese media and journalists have had little or no impact in abating the issues of corruption in Sudan. It was reported by the Media in Cooperation and Transition (2012) that the Sudanese journalism functions within a complex web of party politics and government insubordination. More often than not,

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APPENDIXES



Appendix A

Coding Book

Introduction

This coding book is specifically designed for content analysis method part of the research titled: Newspaper Framing of Issues of Corruption in Sudan. The research is conducted by YASSIN Bashir YASSIN HAMID supervise by Associate Professor Dr. Rosli Mohammed and Dr. Mohd. Khirie Ahmad at the Department of Communication, School of Multimedia Technology and Communication, University Utara Malaysia. This study aims at identifying the level of prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers. In addition, this study also seeks to identify the dominant frames used to cover the issues of corruption in Sudanese newspapers. Therefore, a quantitative content analysis of Sudanese newspaper namely, Aldar, Al-Intibaha, Assayha and Sudan Vision is conducted.

The instructions for coding in this study are as follow:

1. All coders must study and understand this coding book very well before coding the newspapers content pertaining issues of corruption in Sudan.
2. All coders must strictly follow the operationalized concepts and meaning of variables contained in this book.
3. All coders are advised to always refer to this book for clarification and general guidance.
4. After picking a story, the coder is expected to read through it carefully to identify the unit of the story that answers the category then record it by ticking the appropriate box in the coding sheet.
5. The word (article) in this coding book or coding sheet include (News story, opinion, editorial and others)
6. Please use one code sheet for each article.
7. The selection of news articles must be based on the following criteria:
 - a) The article must be longer than two inches in length. (The article must be in a standard-sized column which can be measured with a ruler).
 - b) The article must be written in complete sentences with a central theme. The article must not be part of a paid advertisement.
 - c) The article must be a complete story, not a promotional reference for a full story contained elsewhere.
 - d) If a story starts on the front page and continues inside, it's still considered as front page.

Variables / Categories Operationalization

V. ID	Variables	Coding
1.	Item ID	
2.	Coder ID	Write your ID as applicable. The Coder One (1) is () The Coder Two (2) is () The Coder Three (3) is ()
3.	Source ID/Newspaper ID	Record newspaper ID as applicable. The first newspaper ID is DA (Aldar) The second newspaper ID is IN (Al Intibaha) The third newspaper ID is AS (Assayha) The fourth newspaper ID is SV (Sudan Vision)
4.	Article No.	The article number is determined in order of analysis within the coding sheet assigned to each coder.
5.	Date	Record the date of publication for each of the article being coded thus Day/ Month/ Year.
	Types of the article of issues of corruption (unit of analysis)	Record (Yes) if mentioned or (No) if not: 1. News story 2. opinion 3. Editorial 4. Others
6	News story	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).
7	opinion	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).

8	Editorial	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).
9	Others	If this type of the article of issues of corruption mentioned, record (Yes) and if not, record (No).
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Placement of the Report)	Placement means the pages where the stories / materials on issues of corruption appear in the newspapers. Record (Yes) if mentioned or (No) if not: 1. Article of corruption issues on the front page (PR10) 2. Article of corruption issues on the back page (PR11) 3. Article of corruption issues on the inside page (PR12)
PR10	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the front page	If the newspaper reports issues of corruption record (Yes), or (No) if not
PR11	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the back page	If the newspaper reports issues of corruption on the back page record (Yes), or (No) if not
PR12	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the inside pages	If the newspaper reports issues of corruption on the inside page record (Yes), or (No) if not
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Space Allotted to the Report)	Code (Yes) if mentioned or (No) if not: 7. 1 – 9 Columns (SR14) 8. More than 9 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page (SR15) 9. half a page

		<p>10. More than half but less than one page (SR16)</p> <p>11. Full Page (SR17)</p> <p>12. More than one page (SR18)</p>
SR13	13. 1 – 9 Columns	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is between 1 to 9 columns record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR14	14. More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is more than 9 columns but less than half page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR15	15. half a page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is half a page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR16	16. More than half but less than one page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is more than 9 columns but less than half page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR17	17. Full Page	If the this space allocated to the article of issues of corruption is full page record (Yes), or (No) if not
SR18	18. More than one page	If the space allocated to the article of issues of corruption more than one page record (Yes), or (No) if not.
	Identification of Dominant Newspaper Frames	
	Attribution of Responsibility	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
RF19.	The story suggests that corruption is increasing in Sudan	Does the story suggest that corruption is increasing in Sudan?

		If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No)
RF20.	The story portray that some of the government officials are responsible for the corruption in Sudan	Does the story portray that some of the government officials are responsible for the corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No)
RF21.	The story suggest solution(s) to the problem of corruption in Sudan	Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No)
RF22.	The story suggest that an individual, party or group of people in society is responsible for the corruption in Sudan.	Does the story suggest that an individual, party or group of people in society is responsible for the corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No):
RF23.	Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action	Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Human Interest Frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF24.	The story provides a human example for the repercussion of corruption in Sudan	Does the story provide a human example for the repercussion of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).

HF25.	The story shows or discuss how individual and group are affected by corruption in Sudan	Does the story shows or discuss how individual and group are affected by corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF26.	The story go into the personal or private lives of those accused of corruption	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of those accused of corruption? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF27.	The story goes into the personal or private lives of the officials	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the officials? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
HF28.	The story employs adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings or outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion for those involve in corruption in Sudan	Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings or outrage, empathy- caring, sympathy or compassion for those involve in corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Conflict frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
CF29.	The story reflects disagreement between public and government on issues of corruption in Sudan	Does the story reflect disagreement between public and government on issues of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).

CF30.	One party, individual or group , country criticize another about issues of corruption in Sudan	Does one party, individual or group, country criticize another about issues of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
CF31.	The story refer to two sides or to more than two sides that are involved in corruption	Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides that are involved in corruption? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Economic consequences Frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
EF32.	A mention of financial losses or gains on the increasing rate of corruption in Sudan	Is there a mention of financial losses or gains on the increasing rate of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
EF33.	The degree of corruption involvement in Sudan	Is there a mention of the degree of corruption involvement in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
EF34.	A reference to economic consequences of pursuing and punishing those involved in corruption in Sudan	Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing and punishing those involved in corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
	Morality Frame	If one of the following indicators are mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).

MF35.	The story mentions customs or tradition supporting corruption in Sudan	Does the story mention customs or tradition supporting corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).
MF36.	The story suggest some social norms that contribute to increase of corruption in Sudan	Does the story suggest some social norms that contribute to increase of corruption in Sudan? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No):
MF37.	The story offer specific social perceptions about how to behave to fight corruption	Does the story offer specific social perceptions about how to behave to fight corruption? If this indicator is mentioned in the article please record (Yes), if not please record (No).



UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

Appendix B

Coding Sheet

V. ID	Variables	Coding
1.	Item ID	
2.	Coder ID	
3.	Source ID/Newspaper ID	
4.	Article No.	
5.	Date	
	Types of the news article of issues of corruption (unit of analysis)	
6.	News story	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
7.	Opinion	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
8.	Editorial	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Other	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Placement of the Report)	
PR10.	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the front page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
PR11.	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the back page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
PR12.	Sudanese newspaper reported corruption issues on the inside pages	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	Prominence given to issues of corruption in Sudan: (Space Allotted to the Report)	
SR13.	1 – 9 Columns	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>

SR14.	More than 10 columns but less than half (1/2) of a page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR15.	half a page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR16.	More than half but less than one page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR17.	Full Page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
SR18.	More than one page	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	Identification of Dominant Newspaper Frames	
	<i>Attribution of Responsibility</i>	
RF19.	Does the story suggest that corruption is increasing in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF20.	Does the story portray that some of the government officials are responsible for the corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF21.	Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF22.	Does the story suggest that an individual, party or group of people in society is responsible for the corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
RF23.	Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
	<i>Human Interest Frame</i>	
HF24.	Does the story provide a human example for the repercussion of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
HF25.	Does the story shows or discuss how individual and group are affected by corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
HF26.	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of those accused of corruption?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
HF27.	Does the story go into the personal or private lives of the officials?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>

HF28.	Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings or outrage, empathy- caring, sympathy or compassion for those involve in corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Conflict frame</i>		
CF29.	Does the story reflect disagreement between public and government on issues of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
CF30.	Does one party, individual or group , country criticize another about issues of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
CF31.	Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides that are involved in corruption?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Economic consequences Frame</i>		
EF32.	Is there a mention of financial losses or gains on the increasing rate of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
EF33.	Is there a mention of the degree of corruption involvement in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
EF34.	Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing and punishing those involved in corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
<i>Morality Frame</i>		
MF35.	Does the story mention customs or tradition supporting corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
MF36.	Does the story suggest some social norms that contribute to increase of corruption in Sudan?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>
MF37.	Does the story offer specific social perceptions about how to behave to fight corruption?	Y <input type="checkbox"/> N <input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C

Informed Consent for Participation



School of Multimedia Technology and Communication

Informed Consent for Participation in Research Activities:

NEWSPAPERS FRAMING OF ISSUES OF CORRUPTION IN SUDAN

I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to meet with you today.

My name is **YASSIN BASHIR YASSIN HAMID** and I would like to talk with you about your experiences as a journalist.

The interview should take about an hour or less. I will be taping the session because I don't want to miss any of your comments.

Although I will be taking some notes during the session, I can't possibly write fast enough to get it all down. Because we're on tape, please be sure to speak up so that we don't miss your comments.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be used for this study only and I will ensure that any information included in the report does not identify you as the interviewee. Remember, you don't have to talk about anything you don't want to and you may end the interview at any time.

Are there any questions about what I have just explained?

Are you willing to participate in this interview?

Interviewee Witness Date

Appendix D
Interview Guide

Interview Question
1- What do you think about the corruption issues?
2- How often the issues of corruption are covered in your respect full newspaper?
3- Do think the pattern of ownership influence the coverage of corruption?
4- In what way will you describe the influence of the ownership on the coverage of issues of corruption?
5- Do you think the access to the government information affect the coverage of the issues of corruption?
6- How the access to the government information affect the coverage of the issues of corruption?
7- Do you think working environment affect the newspaper reported the issues of corruption?
8- How the working environment affect the newspaper when they report the issues of corruption?
9- How it affects the coverage of issues of corruption?
10- What about the economic dimension?
11. Can you propose some solutions for the development of the press industry in Sudan?