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BREAKING THE SILENCE:
Framing Darfur Crisis In Videoblogs and Sudanese
Newspapers

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ABSTRACT

This study tries to analyze the media coverage of the conflict in Darfur and how it was framed in both the Sudanese newspapers and the videoblogs. Although the armed conflict started only few years ago between rebels demanding social and political changes and the central government in Khartoum, but the consequences of such conflict are horrible, millions were forced to leave their villages, thousands were killed, and many allegations of terrible violations for the basic human rights including torture, rape, and kidnapping.

The content analysis for a purposive sample of Sudanese newspapers and the NGOs and the human rights activists' videos discovered a huge gap between how each of them framed this conflict type, its cause/s, the responsibility, and the suggested solution/s. The Sudanese newspapers tend to frame the issue as rebel movements using foreign aid to achieve the agenda of Sudan's enemies which include dividing Sudan to many small countries, and taking over its natural resources, especially oil. While the dominant frame used in the videoblogs tend to frame the issue as a genocide crime committed by Arab militia "the Janjaweed" against the Black-African tribes in Darfur. There are many reasons for the problem like racism, dictatorship, injustice and inequality. This frame also suggests many solutions like imposing no fly zone on all the sky of Darfur to protect the people there from the air strikes, supporting the role of the UN peace keepers' forces in Darfur, and more economic pressure on Sudan and its major supporter China through the call for boycotting the coming Olympics in China 2008.

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INTRODUCTION

Sudan is an Arabic country and a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It is also one of the biggest Arabic countries in size (2.376 million sq km) and considered the south gate of the Arab world which should preserve the good relations between Arab countries in North Africa and the rest of the African countries. Sudan has a large population estimated in 2007 to be more than 39 million and they belong to different ethnics but the main ethnics are the Black-African Sudanese who belong to African tribes (52%), then those who belong to the Arab tribes constitute (39%) of the population. The people also have different beliefs, Sunni Muslim constitute (70%) of the population and Christians constitute (5%) of the population. (CIA World Fact Book, 2008)

Sudanese economy is booming nowadays as a result of discovering huge reserves of oil which came in parallel with the increase in the prices of oil. This attracted the foreign investment to Sudan specially the Chinese investment in oil industry. Sudan also achieved a GDP growth rate of (10%) in (2006) and (2007) and introduced a new currency "the Sudanese Pound" instead of using the "Dinar" in January (2007) as one of the results of the comprehensive peace agreement between north and south. (CIA World Fact Book, 2008)

Yet Sudanese problems were usually neglected and never got the deserved attention from the Arab media compared to other Arab problems like the Arab-Israeli conflict or the situation in Iraq. Participants at a workshop held in the American University in Cairo in April, 19, 2007 titled "media coverage of the Darfur crisis" concluded that the Arab media did not give sufficient attention to the issue of Darfur compared to the west, and also compared to issues of Iraq,

Palestine and Lebanon. Academics, researchers and journalists participated in the workshop organized by the International Crisis Group and American University in Cairo, said that the Arab media is invited to pay greater attention to the Darfur issue. The workshop also concluded that the Arab media descriptions for the crisis in Darfur are mostly superficial and inaccurate. Others pointed out that the Arab media didn't have sufficient information on the dimensions of the problem and its background. (Oweis, 2007)

The same goes to the international media coverage for Darfur crisis. Studies found that for example that the tragedy in Rwanda got more attention from the international media than the issue of Darfur nowadays (Duncan, 2007)

The armed conflict between the central government in north of Sudan and the "liberation" movement in the south had started since the independence of Sudan from the British occupation in 1956. The first civil war ended in 1972 then in 1983 a second one started. Finally in January 2005 the North and the South could reach the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which gave a period of six years to the South and after them they can decide whether to get independence from Sudan or continue being part of it with an equal share of power and wealth. (Fadl & El-Ebs, 2004)

A separate new armed conflict has started in Darfur West of Sudan also in early 2003. There are no agreements on the numbers but the foreign media and some NGOs say that the conflict forced nearly Two million people to leave their homes and caused death to more than two hundred thousand Sudanese. (The CIA World fact book, 2008)

Sudanese government claims that only 9,000 people were killed (Gollust, 2007; Lebor, 2006) or less. In April 24, 2008 the Sudanese government refused the report of Gohn Holmes Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations for Humanitarian Affairs which was introduced before the UN Security Council. The report said that the number of dead in the conflict in Darfur has risen to three hundred thousand people over the past five years, Sudan Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, Ambassador Abdul Mahmoud Abdel-Halim said that Holmes estimates lacked credibility and misleading and said that the number of dead in the conflict in Darfur does not exceed ten thousand in worst cases. (Al Quds Alaraby, 2008, April 25)

The Existing victims testimonies quoted by the International NGOs have illustrated how the sexual violence was spreading in Darfur during this conflict (Al-Hayat, 2008). In some literature, the terms sexual violence and wartime rape are used interchangeably. Some scholars have argued that using the term sexual violence is more representative of a wide range of violence that women experience during war. Sexual violence includes rape, sexual slavery, forced marriage, and sexual humiliation. (Hubbard, 2007)

These crimes were committed by the different armed groups and there are many voices claims that the Sudan government has supported or ignored the crimes of Arab armed groups "the Janjaweed", while publicly denying that. (Amnesty International, 2008)

NGOs and Human right activists took the risk and sent some representatives to this region. They filmed many videos which described the people's sufferings there and their testimonies concerning this conflict. They used

the videoblogs and the websites that host the videos for free like you tube.com to show the world how the peoples in Darfur villages and in the refugee camps east Chad are living now under very bad conditions and facing the danger of many violations against human rights everyday. (Amnesty International, 2007, May 8; Amnesty International, 2008; Integrated Regional Information Networks, 2006, August 24) They are subject to different types of violence and they are risking their live just to get their basic needs. They struggle in their every day life to get clean water or to find something they could eat. Meanwhile Sudanese media which are owned/ controlled by the government is also covering the situation in Darfur and accused of censoring foreign media coverage to this conflict (Jones, 2006) which raises the question about whether there are similarities or differences between Sudanese media coverage and the civic journalism coverage to this issue.

Media is a key player in any armed conflicts and it can play a vital role during and after the conflict. Corera, G. (1999) explains that:

"Over the last decade, the immediacy of the global media has highlighted to both elites and the public the human costs of conflict. It has also brought home the risks and complexities of intervention, with the result that governments, international institutions and NGOs find themselves subject to massive, but often contradictory, pressures. The media is perceived as a central and highly important actor in conflicts and humanitarian crises due to its role in mobilizing public opinion and governments" (p. 7)

It means that every group in the political equation tries to frame the issue in the way that serves its political goals so we can find by a little effort many different frames for the same issue. But there is often a dominant frame, a dominant interpretation of any political or social or economical issue which decides its type, its causes, its effects, and the suggested solution/s and as a

result, this victorious frame colors all the different media coverage for such issue. And that gives an added value and more importance for the study of the media coverage and media framing for any conflict. The next part is the review of the literature which will give some historical background to the conflict in Darfur and women suffering during armed conflicts then it will also clarify the framing researches and its developments.

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND

The Conflict in Darfur:

The word Darfur can be separated to two words, the word "Dar" which means in Arabic "homeland" and "Fur" which is the name of some of this area population, Therefore "Darfur" means "homeland of the Fur". The tribes in Darfur belong to two cultures, Arabs and Black Africans and they both are Arabic-speaking Muslims. Darfur has a long history and some Islamic kingdoms were established in this part of Sudan. The last one of them was the sultanate of the Fur which has fallen to the British occupation after defeating the Sultan Ali Dinar. (Fadl & El-Ebs, 2004)

Darfur is located in the West of Sudan and it has six million people of the 40 million (Sudan population) and its size is nearly one fifth of the total Sudanese territory (more than 493 thousand squared Km which equal 90% of the size of France). Darfur is one of nine regions of Sudan, it is consisting of three governorates (welayat in Arabic) North Darfur and its capital city is Al Fashir, West Darfur and its capital city is Geneina, and South Darfur and its capital city is Nyala. (Ahmed, 2005)

Tribes in Darfur are divided into stable tribal groups in rural areas such as "Masalit" and "Zaghawa", in addition to the nomadic tribal groups, which moved from one place to another such as "Beni Hussein" and "Rizeigat". In terms of ethnicity, it is difficult to differentiate between Arabs and Africans in Darfur. The Africans from the Fur, Zaghawa and Masalit, who work in agriculture, set up links

over the centuries with Arabs herdsmen who came from the North, which produced big similarities between them nowadays. The majority of African tribes is stable, and speaks local languages in addition to Arabic, While, the Arab tribes are nomadic tribes. They have lived together in Darfur since ancient times, and the relationship between them is organized by the local agreements between tribes. Problems between them were resolved quickly unlike nowadays. The officials in Sudan explain that as a result of international and regional parties' intervention in Sudan national affairs. (Arafa, 2004)

Without going into the details of the historical narrative of events, it is clear that this region has known tribal conflicts on land and water sources throughout its history. Through decades many armed conflicts took place in Darfur between the two major ethnics, because the Arab tribes live in the area of Darfur that lacks water so they always go to the land of the black- African tribes (Brenjo, 2007), these conflicts have been limited, and were settled through frameworks of the tribes laws and local customs. For example:

- The conflict between the Rizeigat and Beni Hellbah, in 1982 (South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between Alberta and Ziyadiyah against Kababich, in 1983 (the governorate of North Darfur)
- The conflict between Al-Flatah and Al-Kamar, in 1983 (South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between Al-Flatah and Almrarit, in 1986 (South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between the Rizeigat and Dinka, in 1986. In South Darfur governorate.
- The immediate conflict between some Arab tribes and al-Fur, in 1987 (all the governorates in Darfur)

- The conflict between the Zaghawa and Al-Kamar in 1988 (in the governorates of North and West Darfur)
- The conflict between the Zaghawa and Al-Madlia, in 1990 (in South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between the Zaghawa and Northern Rizeigat, in 1999 (in South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between Al-Taishah and Al-kamar in 1990 (in South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between the Zaghawa and Alemrarit, in 1991 (in South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between Al-Mima and Zaghawa, in 1991 (in South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between the Zaghawa and Al-barqo, in 1991 (in South Darfur governorate)
- The conflict between Al-tarjm and Al-Fur, in 199 (in the governorate of South Darfur) (Al-Nahas, 2007)

There are many reasons for these continuous conflicts. The lack of water is an important reason for such conflicts, a new study of the conflicts in the Darfur region also found that there is a significant relationship between rainfall and conflicts between tribal, and concluded that the disputes and conflicts increases when the rain rates were below average. (Al-Nahas, 2007)

The problems also exists because of some governmental decisions concerning Darfur for example in January 1981 large demonstrations started in the two major cities of Darfur Nilala and Al-Fasher against the ex-president of Sudan, Gafar Nimiry, protesting the appoint of new governor to Darfur "Al-Tayb Al-Mardi" who belongs to Kourdifan not Darfur and that's why the Darfuris considered him a foreigner. At the same time there was another administrative decision to unite two places in Darfur under the control of the southern region of

Sudan and considering them not belonging to Darfur, it seems at this point that there were many governmental decisions which didn't find any welcome from the people in Darfur. (Ahmad, 2005)

The nature of tribes in Darfur is another reason, there are more than 13 main tribes living together in this part of Sudan, besides that there are more than 50 inter-tribe of Sudan and Chad and nobody can track back their real origins to be Arabs or Black-Africans because they had lived together for many years and mixed through marriage. The second problem is that the same tribe may have had extensions in neighboring countries like for example the Zaghawah tribe which exists mainly in Darfur west Sudan it has extensions inside Chad and when the rebels led by Edris Debbi started their struggle against the ex-president of Chad Habbry they moved to their cousins of Zaghwah in Darfur and used their aid in their fight against Chad government until they take over the power and now Edris Debbi is the president of Chad. (Ahmad, 2005) Before that Chadian Libyan conflict also had a direct impact on the situation in the region as a result of migrations Chadians to the Darfur region during the war. As a result Sudan settled more than three million Chadians in Darfur, mostly in the border areas of South West and East. (Abdelkader, 2007)

Weapons trade in Darfur is also an important reason for these conflicts. The civil war in Chad, Libya's intervention in Chad, the size of Darfur territory, the long open borders between Darfur and Chad, and the weak central government in Khartoum all those reasons made it so easy for the weapons trade to flourish in this region. (Raslan, 2004) The entry of the large quantities of weapons to Darfur (estimated to be more than one million pieces of weapons of the advanced

type from neighboring countries and other nations) made carrying arms in Darfur considered as a social custom and a popular culture. (Akhbaralyoum, 2007)

This situation encouraged the tribes without exception for the preparation of armed militias ahead, as this has led to the emergence of some behaviors alien to the community of Darfur, such as armed robbery which widespread in the eighties of the last century and the emergence of groups called the Janjaweed. This situation also led to the emergence of cross-border crimes, through the smuggling of cattle and camels to neighboring countries. The armed robbery changed into something like organized crime, Peoples from various tribes, various ethnic backgrounds, from outside and inside Sudan participated in these crimes which added new burdens to Sudan government as responsible for security. (Akhbaralyoum, 2007)

Things had changed since 2001 when some of the Arab tribes (Awlad Zaid) attacked Alzeghwa tribe in Kergi and killed 40 people, the local governments in the two governorates north and west Darfur tried to handle the situation but the youth of the tribe Al Zaghawa didn't accept the apology and suspected their leaders intentions. They started a rebel movement in the mountains where they established the first rebel group then others joined them. (Al-Swaify, 2004)

Then some youth who belong to the Fur and Zaghawah tribes (black-African) formed a new political front in August 2001 and called it "Darfur Liberation Movement" They accused the Sudanese government of ignoring the Darfuris sufferings and demanded the right of independence form Sudan.

In the year 2003 three main armed groups were established in Darfur

calling for more equality in the distribution of power and wealth in Sudan:

- 1- Sudan Liberation movement led by a civil lawyer Abdelwahid Noor
- 2- Justice and Equality Movement led by Khalil Ibrahim
- 3- Federal Union party movement. (U. N., 2005, 25 January).

“Sudan Liberation Movement” is the most active organization, which has attributed in most of the military operations by its military wing “Sudan Liberation Army”. It is headed by a Sudanese lawyer, Abdel Wahid Mohamed Nour, who belongs to the Fur tribe, while “Arku Minawi” was the Secretary-General. Most military commanders in the ranks of the movement were former officers in the Chadian and Sudanese armies. Their political statements speak on the marginalization of Darfur region and the exclusion of his sons, lack of basic services, calling for the rebuilding of Sudan on new foundations. The Sudan Liberation Movement in Darfur is similar to the “Sudan People's Liberation Movement” in south Sudan, both in name, the division of roles between the political wing and the military wing, and in the political rhetoric they adopted to achieve their goals . (Raslan, 2004)

Second organization working now in Darfur is “Justice and Equality Movement” led by “Khalil Ibrahim” Interestingly, Khalil Ibrahim, who works as a doctor and belongs to the Zaghawa tribe, was a leading member in the ruling National Congress Party in Sudan, worked as minister for health, however - after several Developments - announced in March 2003 founding of the movement of “justice and equality”. He calls to separate religion from the state and build a new civil and democratic society in Sudan. According to some press reports that Ibrahim Khalil was one of the principal participants in the preparation of “black

book" which aimed to prove dominance of central and northern Sudan and the marginalization of others. (Raslan, 2004)

Third organization in Darfur is "Federal Alliance Party" which is headed by Ahmed Ibrahim, a political Sudanese from the western part of Sudan belongs to the Fur tribe, has played prominent roles in Sudanese politics. (Raslan, 2004)

The three rebel movements in Darfur and international relief agencies accused Sudan government of supporting the Janjaweed who are waging violent attacks on black Africans from the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa. The Sudanese government denies such accusation, and says that they are attacking their forces as well. (Arafa, 2004)

This fighting reached a peak in March 2003 when armed groups from the Sudan Liberation Army movement (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) started attacks on some armed forces that belong to the central government, then they attacked the air base in Al-fasher in 25th of April 2003. They destroyed seven airplanes and killed 75 soldiers. The rebels justified these acts as their final option to draw the national and the international attention to the problem of Darfur. They accused the government of Omar al-Bashir of neglecting all their calls for more equality, ignoring the whole region from all development plans, and favoring Arabs on the Black-Africans. (Al-Jazwli, 2006)

The attacks on Al-Fashir surprised the Sudanese government because it never before faced such a failure (even during the 20 years of armed conflict with the Sudan people's liberation Army SPLA in south Sudan) because all the government military forces and political attention were directed to the conflict in south Sudan. The Sudanese government changed its strategy to put an end to

the rebel's victories in west Sudan depending on air strikes and the Janjaweed armed groups on land. (Amnesty International, 2008)

There is a huge debate now on the definition of the word JanJaweed. Some people say that the origin of this word came from man called Hamed Janjaweed who belonged to some Arab tribe and was using the horse in his attacks to defend his family. Others say that the word "Janjaweed" is composed of three sections: the "Jin" meaning man, "Zhao" or "G" and meant to this man carrying a machine gun, "Loyd" and meaning horse. The meaning of the word therefore is: the man who rides a horse like a ghost and carries a machine gun. (Arafa, 2004) So it describes a behavior not a specific tribe so any body who rides a horse and is armed and attacks the people is a Janjaweed, whatever was his tribe (Al-Swafiy, 2004). The Report of the international commission of inquiry on Dafur to the U.N. Secretary General says that the word is usually used by the people to indicate the Arab tribes' responsibility of the attacks so, it decided to use this word to indicate to the some of the Arab tribes' armed militias which attack the civilians. (U. N., 2005, 25 January)

The Arab Militia "Janjaweed" defeated the rebels quickly while the Sudanese government officially denied any responsibility and denied providing the Janjaweed with any kind of support. (Colum, 2004) The crisis attracted the international public opinion because of the huge numbers of death casualties and refugees and because of the witnesses' testimonies concerning the war crimes that were carried out by the Janjaweed militia. Now there are about 2.5 million were forced to leave their homes or been affected by this conflict (De Montesquieu, 2006)

Usually media in the west described the conflict as both “ethnic cleansing” or “genocide” and U.S. government described it officially as genocide.(Andrew S. Natsios, 2007, April 11; Parameswaran, 2006) while the Report of the international commission of inquiry on Dafur to the U.N. Secretary General released on January 31, 2005 couldn't consider it as a genocide and said that “genocidal intent appears to be missing” (Al-Jzwili, 2006; United Nations, 2005, 25 January, p. 4) (For more details about the U.N., and the A.U. response to the situation in Darfur see the appendices.)

The Sudanese government rejected any international inference in Darfur and has refused U.N Secretary-General Kofi Annan call for bringing multi national peace keepers forces to Darfur to replace the African Union forces (Aljazeera.Net , 2006, May 6; BBC,2006, August 2) while its neighbor Chad agreed on replacing the African Union peacekeepers' forces by another forces from the United Nations (Associated Press, 2006, September 4) Meanwhile the refugees in Darfur said that “ African Union peacekeeping mission has done little to protect them, even as rising violence is driving away crucial humanitarian aid.” (De Montesquieu, 2006, p. 2)

The crimes continued since then and the Sudanese government refusal for international peace keepers' forces led to many attacks on civilians during 2006 especially at Kalma. These crimes included rape and killing of women. The poor equipped African Union forces failed to guarantee safety to all the people in Darfur (Australian, 2007, May 28; Associated Press, 2007, May 27; Ryu, 2006, August 9). Sudan government then accepted a join mission between the U.N. and the A.U. and on December 31, 2007 the task of peacekeeping in Darfur

moved from the African Union formally to the joint mission of the African Union Organization and the United Nations headed by the earlier Foreign Minister of Congo Brazzaville Rodolphe Adada, in ceremonies held in El Fasher, the capital of North Darfur.

In a letter to the ceremonies, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and AU Commission President Alpha Oumar Konare stressed on the determination of the two organizations to deploy strong forces in the troubled Darfur region of western Sudan to implement peacekeeping tasks. They emphasized the necessity of sending troops quickly and urged parties to stop all forms of military action and direct their efforts towards negotiations. The joint mission composed of about 26 thousand soldiers and civilians component, there are ten battalions each from Rwanda, South Africa, Liberia, Senegal, Gambia, as well as police units from Bangladesh and Kenya, in addition to the engineering unit of China, and troops from other countries like Egypt.

But many difficulties encountered the joint operation like the disagreement in the interpretation of the understandings between Khartoum and the United Nations and the African Union, particularly on the human component of the mission, the Sudanese government insists that the majority of the human component must be from African countries while both organizations said that some technical experts are not available in Africa, and they need to get them from outside the continent. So far the dispute wasn't resolved and threatens the future of Sudan.

From another side, the International Criminal Tribunal court at the request of the Prosecutor's Office, still call for the arrest of two Sudanese officials Ahmad

Haron the former State Minister, Ministry of Interior in Sudan, and Ali Koshiba- one of the leaders of the Janjaweed militia – for the so-called fifty one crimes against humanity and war crimes in Darfur. (CIHRS, 2008)

External and Internal Roles in Darfur Crisis

All this raised a lot of questions over the nature of what is happening in Darfur, the nature of external roles, and who are the principal players?

Some Sudanese writers said that the western attention about the crisis in Darfur is only a cover for their plans to take over the natural resources in Darfur specially oil. They also indicated several times to the Israeli role in arming the rebel groups and supplying them with weapons and information, the same goes to the U.S. intelligence and its secret agenda in Africa. They think that the international attention to the issue of Darfur seems to be surprising when compared with silence which continued nearly two decades of the war in southern Sudan. This war has resulted in the deaths of two million people and displaced four million others since in 1983, according to them during this period Sudan was an ally of the United States in the Cold War while, the South wasn't a source of concern to the U.S. Administration. But the importance of Sudan emerged again as a source of oil in recent years, especially after discovering the huge reserves of oil in Sudan and after the establishment of the Sudanese oil pipeline along the 1600-mile which transform the oil from southern Sudan to Port Sudan on the Red sea. (Alswifi, 2004; Esocialsit, 2007)

Some Arab writers think that the role of the European missionary is also another reason for the western concern. One of the Arab political analyst said that there is a trend for Western intervention in the affairs of Sudan under pressure

from the churches, human rights groups and relief organizations but if the western intervention was acceptable regarding the situation in southern Sudan claiming that there is a conflict between Muslims and Christians; It is not acceptable in Darfur; because all the tribes are Muslim, whether Arabs or Africans. (Arafa, 2004, p. 1)

Sudan government is also accusing internal forces like the Popular Congress party led by Hassan Turabi as being responsible for fomenting sedition in Darfur. On his part, Hassan al-Turabi, denied these claims, although he had announced at the same time his support for the demands of Darfur. (Raslan, 2004)

Sudan government also consider Chad as one of the countries that are involved in the conflict, the current president of Chad belongs to the Zaghawa tribe, and the backbone of the Justice and Equality Movement and Sudan Liberation Movement Army depends entirely on the sons of Zaghawa tribe, who worked in the Chadian army. Therefore, President Idriss Deby has sought to mediate between the central government and the Darfur rebels, he succeeded in bringing together the government and rebels in negotiations involving the Justice and Equality Movement, the Peoples Army for Sudan liberation, Apache agreement in September 2003 ended up to a cease-fire between the government and the movement, to control the irregular armed groups in the region, the release of prisoners, compilation SPLA forces in limited areas agreed upon to avoid mixing with other armed groups, and building a comprehensive and lasting peace in order to achieve economic and social development. (Abdelkader, 2007)

Sudanese government accuses Eritrea of supporting the fighters in Darfur and also work as a link between some of these movements and Israel. Asmara denies that. (Raslan, 2004) Meanwhile, in September 6, 2007 Israel granted citizenship to hundreds of refugees from the Darfur region of Sudan, after the debate over how to deal with the problem of Darfuri refugees. Advocacy groups say that up to 1700, refugees from Sudan are now in Israel came through the border between Egypt and Israel while some Israeli officials say that they are about 400 refugees. Israel's decision was met with praise from groups that aid refugees. Israeli officials said that it is a moral obligation for Israel to host the refugees from Darfur who came to it seeking safety because that they suffered a lot from the crime of genocide and they have a moral obligation toward any ethnic group face this danger. (Prusher, 2007) In February 2008 some of the Darfuri refugees in Israel established an office for them and used it to talk to the media and to launch their advocacy campaigns, Sudan government considered this as a solid proof supporting the idea of foreign support for the rebels and their secret agenda, but Abdel Wahid Nur said in an interview on Aljazeera TV satellite channel that "we didn't opened our office in Israel because the issue of Darfur is driven by foreign hands, we opened our office in Israel because we in the Movement and the Sudan Liberation Army interior regulation say that our members in any part of the globe can open offices and assist in the movement according to their ability wherever they are" (Hadad, 2008, March 7).

Sudanese officials say that it was proved to Khartoum from the equipments, weapons and vehicles left over from the Sudan Liberation

Movement in Darfur that the rebel movement in south (SPLM) and Israel stand behind the Darfur rebel movement, they wanted to force Khartoum government toward further concessions in the south negotiations, and to weaken the position of the Sudanese government in general. (Arafa, 2004)

Libya is also interested in Darfur crisis because it represents a strategic depth for Libya, which means that the continuation of the conflict in Darfur is a threat to the national security of Libya. Libya also has a large group of Zaghawa, which means that any military intervention is a form of pressure on Libya. International intervention in the problem also represents another dimension of pressure on Libya, so the Libyans call for actions to solve the problem peacefully under the umbrella of the African Union to avoid any international intervention in the region. (Abdelkader, 2007)

Therefore, Libya held a meeting in Sirte October 17, 2004 and invited regional actors in the crisis, Egypt, Chad, Nigeria, Libya, Sudan, They believed that Darfur crisis is an African issue, and stressed at the same time on supporting the Government of Sudan. The meeting agreed to delegate Libya to bring the parties together in order to resolve the conflict peacefully and reach a lasting solution to the problem, Libya by the Foreign Minister Abdel Rahman Shalqam refused any non-African military presence in Darfur. (Abdelkader, 2007)

Other countries like Egypt, Central Africa, Ethiopia, Uganda, Congo, and Kenya consider Darfur as a strategic depth, and believe it is necessary to become a stable and secure but it did not exert positive efforts to reach a political settlement to the crisis (Abdelkader, 2007)

On the other hand many western writers talk about the Chinese and Russian role in protecting the Sudanese government inside the U.N. (BBC News, 2006, April 18) Goodden (2007) thinks that it is a protection for the main oil suppliers to China:

“Beijing now finds itself compelled to help shield Sudan's government from international outrage over Darfur” (p. 1)

That's why others considered putting pressure on China is the key solution to stop the crimes in Darfur (Coile, 2007) Reeves, E. (April, 16, 2007) States that:

“The only way to change conditions on the ground in Darfur is to break the diplomatic deadlock that emboldens Khartoum. China is the key. But its diplomacy has been governed by the principle of not interfering in a sovereign nation's internal affairs -- even when such affairs include the gravest of crimes” (p.1)

China is not only the biggest foreign investor in the Sudanese oil industry but it is also the major suppliers of weapons to Sudan according to the western media while publicly the Chinese government denies that. (BBC News, 2007, May 8) many testimonies mentioned huge amounts of Chinese weapons were noticed in armed conflict zones inside Sudan, Goodman (2004) explains this relationship between China and Sudan:

“Sudan is China's largest overseas oil project. China is Sudan's largest supplier of arms, according to a former Sudan government minister. Chinese-made tanks, fighter planes, bombers, helicopters, machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades have intensified Sudan's two-decade-old north-south civil war” (p. 2)

The amounts of the Chinese weapons that been transferred to Sudan is huge, this military relations with China isn't new it started during the ex-president of Sudan Gafar Al Nimari from 1969-85 but it reached its peak during 1990s during the civil war between north and south Sudan, Human Rights Watch documented that the Chinese weapons are heavily used in the armed conflicts

zones inside Sudan "in one town alone, Yei, a Human Rights Watch researcher saw eight Chinese 122mm towed howitzers, five Chinese-made T-59 tanks, and one Chinese 37 mm anti-aircraft gun abandoned by the government army." (Human Rights Watch, 2007, December 23). Deen, T. (2006) wrote an article titled "Why China Blocks Sanctions on Iran, Sudan, Burma" and he wrote also about the same fact that China support many political regimes which are accused for violating human rights such as Iran, Sudan , and Burma.

At the same time Sudanese government claims that this relationship is just like any other diplomatic relationship between two countries and the only thing that bother the Western countries is that they aim to take over the oil industry in Sudan. Sudan president "Al Bashir" Said that all this is part of what he called "The Western Conspiracy on Sudan". (Al-Sehafa, 2007)

UN was concerned about the human rights situation in Darfur. The Commission on Human Rights established the mandate of Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Sudan and appointed Ms. Sima Samar as Special Rapporteur and asked them to monitor the human rights situation in Sudan.

The Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Situation of Human Rights in Sudan mentioned that the Sudanese national security and intelligence arrested and detained persons for long periods without charges or providing legal representation, for weeks or months, or for longer periods of times, without offering a judge. There are frequent reports of the practice of torture used in some cases for the purpose of getting confessions used later to implicate detainees in criminal cases before the courts. The report also mentioned using of criminal legislation against the media. And how the representatives of the

Sudanese security and National Intelligence visited printing houses and journal offices and ordered on several occasions to delete or replace the journal articles and columns from the printing plates. (Samar, 2008, April 16)

The western media also accused Sudanese government of suppressing the information by jailing journalists and hiding the evidence. (Australian 2007 May 28; Beeston, 2004; International Press Institute, 2005; Human Rights Watch, 2004-05).

World Press Freedom Review issued in 2005 stated that Sudan is "One of the world's most repressive regimes for the independent media." Saying that:

National security legislation and laws associated with the state of emergency empowered authorities to conduct prepublication censorship, confiscate or ban publications, and detain and fine journalists. Sudanese journalists have been barred from traveling to the troubled Darfur region as part of a state campaign to block access to information and prevent coverage of domestic issues" (p. 1)

One of these examples mentioned in the report is the story of "Brad Clift" an American freelance photographer who was arrested for shooting some pictures of the forced displaced peoples in Nyala city in Darfur and was forced to stay for more than one month in the offices of the USAID and accused him of not having work permits while the main reason was that because he was taking pictures for the suffering of the peoples. (International Press Institute, 2005) The same thing happened with the people working for the Médecins sans frontières (MSF). They were accused of publishing a report on the sexual violence and the mass rape in Darfur which the Sudanese authorities said that it is "false information". The authorities in Sudan also attacked the two newspapers Al Watan and Al Wan and collected 25,000 copies in order to handicapped it from being circulated. (International Press Institute, 2005)

The International press institute report on the freedom of expression and press in Sudan 2005 also mentioned cases of Sudanese journalists who were harassed for publishing their opinions and the World Press Freedom Review in 2006 about Sudan also stated that "The government enacted repressive censorship measures to limit coverage of the troubled Darfur region and to silence voices critical of its handling of the crisis." (p. 1) While, the Country of origin information report about Sudan (27 October, 2007) cited Amnesty International report stating that: "The Sudanese media received a circular instructing them not to comment in favour of the resolution which refers the situation in Sudan to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court. The media coverage has been predominantly of criticism of the resolution." (p.58)

In December 2003 Al-Jazeera filmed a documentary about in Darfur before this tragedy attraction of the world attention. Images showed several villages were completely burned. This resulted in the closure of Al-Jazeera office in Khartoum and the arrest of correspondent in Sudan for several months on charges of broadcasting false information. (Soliman, 2005)

In 2005, Nabil Kassem the documentary film maker was given the job of producing a \$50,000 film for Al Arabiya about the crisis in Darfur his film Jihad on Horseback (Jihad ala Al Jiyad) was supposed to be broadcasted in February 24th but it was postponed for one week on the Sudanese government demand to prepare answers.

Then it never made it across the airwaves. The Filmmaker explained the reasons in an interview with Arab Media and Society journal with Lawrence Pintak in May 2007 said that:

"I did direct it and produce it, and then they didn't air it because of too much pressure we cannot resist. We couldn't resist that much pressure on us." Pintak, 2007, p. 1)

During March 2008, Sudan government decided to form a committee to review the daily newspapers before publishing it, the committee was planned to be responsible for daily newspapers to identify themes and issues which could be covered. The Sudanese News Agency "SUNA" said The Committee is composed of representatives from the ministries of justice, information, Sudanese intelligence and security officials. The news agency quoted the minister as saying "The decision comes within the framework of the state to follow the coverage of the daily newspapers". Journalists and local human rights advocates criticized such action they said that security officers were visiting the evening newspapers every day and delete what they consider sensitive materials. Sudan was eased censorship of newspapers after the commencement of the new constitution at the end of the civil war that lasted twenty years between North and South in 2005, which guarantees freedom of the press. Then in April, 2008 the General Union of Sudanese journalists and the government held meetings, which ended the censorship of newspapers. The General Union of Sudanese journalists had called for the meetings attended by 27 editors and journalists from the media, officials in the security and the agreement was reached to end control and stop the procedure of sending the newspapers to censor before printing it. Sudanese newspapers are about 20 daily political newspapers, including four in English, and more than thirty specialized newspaper, issued by private companies owned by individuals. (Elaph, 2008)

The Darfur armed conflict is now between two sides one of them is the Janjaweed who belong mainly to the Rozikat tribes and/or the government from one side, the other side includes a variety of rebel groups that belong to Al- Fur, Al-Zaghawah, and Al- Msalyat tribes. There are two major movements have turned to eight groups with different leaders. (Kristof, 2006) The danger now that these new groups can be also divided to more groups each of them has its armed militia and separate political leaders and different political views and ideologies which may cause more violence against civilians. Meanwhile the Sudanese media is censored and controlled by the Sudanese authorities. That leads us to raise this question:

Can the Grassroots Media Break the Silence?

A new era in communication started with blogging, Blogs have revolutionized the way information is distributed on the Internet and it gave the authors of the blogs bigger opportunity to interact with their readers. (Albrecht S., et al 2007) "Recently, there has been no escaping the mention of Blogs in the media. Blogging has emerged as a social phenomenon, which has impacted politics, business and communication. Blogging software has enabled people with limited knowledge of the Internet to publish their thoughts online and participate in a global conversation; while the Blogosphere has hyper-accelerated the spread of information." (Torio, 1999, p.9)

A blog is a personal online diary where users' posts are written in chronological order and usually displayed in reverse chronological order. Most blogs are textual; there are also other types of blogs according to the dominant type of posts or entries by the user (the content) photographs (photoblog),

videos (vlog), audio (podcasting). "Blog" can also be used as a verb, so to blog is to write a post on your blog or to blog a TV show is to write your comments on a TV show. The same is to vlog means to add a video to your blog. Pedley (2005) introduces this definition to blogs:

"The Weblog (blog) is a form of online diary or regularly updated journal which can take a number of forms that tend to have a number of characteristics in common, such as: being set up to display blog postings in reverse-chronological order or with their content arranged by subject; being updated regularly with new material; and providing a personal viewpoint. A major attraction of Weblogs is their relative ease of construction/updating and the lack of the need for any special skills in web design or of HTML coding; the Weblog software, such as MSN Spaces (www.msnspaces.com), Movable Type (www.movabletype.org/) or Typepad (www.typepad.com), takes care of these matters in the same way that it organizes the allocation of space on servers" (p.5)

Kaye & Sweetser (2007) define it the same way "Web pages that are frequently updated with posts arranged so the most recent post is at the top of the page" (p. 1255) while, Herring, et al. define it this way "Weblogs (blogs)—frequently modified web pages in which dated entries are listed in reverse chronological sequence—are the latest genre of Internet communication to attain widespread popularity, yet their characteristics have not been systematically described." (p.1)

Westner, M.K. (2004) also defined blogs as being "frequently updated web pages containing information arranged in reverse chronological order. The number of weblogs has grown to several millions in the recent past and they represent a new trend of web publishing that influences the way people and search engines perceive the World Wide Web." (p. 2)

There is no agreement on the exact details concerning the beginning of the blogs, while of course there is agreement on considering around 1996 as the

starting date for posting 'items' in reverse chronological order on a webpage or a weblog. The term "Weblog" was coined by Internet writer Jorn Barger in 1997 then the term was shortened to "blog" in 1999, the blogosphere during that time didn't exceeded few hundreds of blogs.

According to Rebecca Blood, Jesse James Garret was the editor of Infosift, he collected in 1998 list of sites like his and sent them to Cameron Barrett, maintainer of Camworld who had used Jon Barger's term "Weblog" to describe this kind of sites he maintained, then in January 1999 he wrote an essay called "The Anatomy of a Weblog" and he explained in details every part of the blog.

Three important developments happened in 2003; First, Oxford English Dictionary adopted the word blog. Second in the same year Google purchased the company Prya Labs which created the blogger software and that gave the blogging more attention in the internet world. Third, America on Line 2003 release allowed its customers to create their own blogs

In 2004 media and people attention to blogs increased a lot and there were some indications for that first, Merriam-Webster designated "blog" as the most sought-after word of the year at its Web site. Second, Media companies established their blogs to be more in touch with the readers. This includes Christian Science Monitor, the Guardian, and Chicago Tribune. Also the web sites of Fox News, ABC News and MSNBC all host weblogs. Fourth, businesses started to use blogs as a tool for marketing campaigns (Drezner & Farrell, 2004)

In the same year 2004 when the natural disaster of tsunami took place in Southern Asia, bloggers in Thailand, Indonesia, India and other countries started blogging to help the authorities and to drag the world attention to this disaster.

They also helped the media through their coverage and reports (e.g., <http://tsunamihelp.blogspot.com/>).

Blogs challenges the traditional media in different ways. First it makes everybody a publisher in almost minutes just after hitting "publish" and his/her thoughts and ideas become available to the whole world. Blogs is a democratic medium in this sense where everyone can say loudly his/her opinion. It also created from the blogosphere a huge chance for the marginalized groups to declare their demands and to let the world know their sufferings. The opportunity of publishing your thoughts and still being anonymous encouraged the bloggers to blog any issue freely and without any indications about their religion, location, or sex (Huffaker, 2004; Van Doorn, et al, 2007)

One of the special characteristics of the blogs and which may be considered distinction between Blogs and websites is the ability of Blogs to be part of the Blogosphere through two main ways:

First: the "permalink", which means a permanent link to a specific post. Because the blogging software has this automatic feature of remaining the link with the entry even after it has been archived and is no longer on the home page that allows Bloggers to communicate about the same subject. Second: is the RSS which stands for "Really Simple Syndication." Dyrud, Worley, & Schultz (2005) define it as "a summary of information published on other Web sites and blogs, or a way for Web sites to alert you when new and updated information becomes available on their sites." (p. 68). This feature is used by both websites and blogs also and it allows users to select the sites or the blogs they want to get feed from and also the type and the size of this feed and that's why blogs

software is considered "social software". That is so important for journalists as Shane Richmond, a former editor of The Independent on Sunday and editorial director of the Telegraph group, explained to website readers: "It should be part of every journalist's toolkit. All of us should know how to search Technorati, Flickr, YouTube, MySpace etc." (Fletcher, 2007)

Blogs have many classifications. Some classify blogs according to its content to political blogs, social blogs, economical blogs, etc. That's why Blogging had its impact on every aspect in our life and is used now even for marketing or to gain money (Hill, 2005) and like any new mass medium there was a huge debate about the social impact of this new medium on the personal level and the society level (Graves, 2007)

Blogs have an important impact on politics; Bloggers are seen as a "fifth power" that increasingly occupies the control function of the mass media (Gillmor, 2004) In a recent study about political blogging the researcher tries to evaluate the role of the political advocacy blogs during what is so-called the "Tulip revolution in Kyrgyzstan" and among the findings of the study was that the readers of the blog tend to use it in order to find different type of news coverage which is not available through the traditional media (Kulikova & Perlmutter, 2007) Albrecht et al.(2007) studied the role of the political blogs in the election campaigns and found that "The results of the study indicate that weblog communication largely follows the dominant logic of mass media. But weblogs also offer forms of communication that allow political actors to bypass established media practices." (p. 1) Blogs also can play a vital role in even the

democratic countries by promoting the participation of the citizens in the online discussions or what is called "democratize democracy." (Graf, 2006)

Bloggers sometimes do what is so-called citizen journalism or civic journalism which is characterized by decentralization and powered by technological changes. More broadly, it has been suggested that blogs might better be understood as postmodern journalism. (Wall, 2005) Many studies tried to explore this relationship between blogs and journalism. One of them indicated to a complimentary relationship between the online and printed news. The study conducted a survey between the registered users of Northwest Voice which can be described as a pioneer citizen journalism website. The study found that the main reasons for visiting a citizen journalism site is to find information not typically supplied by the traditional mainstream news media. (Meyer, 2006) Wall, M. (2005) wrote about a new form of online journalism which he called the current event blogs. This type of blogs started during 2003 with the U.S. decision of invading Iraq and provided a new type of journalism depending on the interactivity with the readers and the unique approach in analyzing the news that makes the observers call this war the "first true Internet war". Others saw that "Journalism has been slow to develop distinctive forms in response to the new contexts provided by the internet" (Matheson, 2004)

Blogs are beneficial for journalists and for the audience because if the journalist's blogging show him as a human being with opinions, emotions and personal lives, it give journalists a way to express their ideas away from the traditional types of journalism. This way blogs could show that newspapers depend on the team work efforts and change the mental image of the

newspaper in the mind of the audience. Blogging also change the role of the readers and the viewers of the media from the traditional role as passive consumers of news to a new positive role and all these special characteristics for blogging can help in breaking the dictatorial dominance of the media and in the same time the new trend of videoblogging can be considered as a solid proof against all the fake interpretation for any issue.

Why Focusing on Women?

There are many examples throughout the history of the humanity where many violations against human rights were committed by the armed forces during the armed conflicts against the women and civilians. For example Amnesty International documented a case where the Russian army refused to release a Chechnya woman until 10 machine guns were "paid" for her. (Amnesty International, 2002) The same violations including rape and abduction of women happened in Kosovo (Vandenberg, 2000) and Rwanda even that a 39% of a sample of Rwandan women, who were surveyed in 1999, was raped in 1994 genocide and 72% of them said that they know a victim of rape. (Ward & Marsh, 2006) In Burma there was another use for women, the military and the political situation has made women more vulnerable to trafficking for prostitution. (Fact book on Global Sexual Exploitation, 2007)

Women displaced to refugees' camps usually have to go out of the camps to find wood or to bring water and in this case there is the added risk of being injured from land-mines or from being kidnapped (U.N, 1998) A young woman from Liberia living in a refugee camp in her country said that she was raped for the third time in 2003 when she went out of the camp looking for

firewood she said:

"There were three government soldiers with guns. One of them saw me and asked where are you going? I said I was looking for wood. Then he told me, you are assigned to me for the day. I was very afraid. He forced me to go far into the bush, and he undressed me. Then he raped me. When I got dressed afterwards, he took 50 Liberian dollars from me. ... My stomach is very painful, but I don't have any money to go for treatment" (Ward& Marsh, 2006, p. 8)

Some girls may succeed in escaping from sexual slavery but the fact that they escape from one of their captors only to be captured again. One example is the experience of Hawa she was 16 years old and from Sierra Leone, she said:

"There were about 20 men. We ran to the bush, but I got separated from my family. I was with other people from the village, and we were captured by the rebels and taken to Liberia.... At first I refused to be a wife, but I had to agree because there was nobody to speak up for me, and nobody gave me food except the rebels. I was a wife for about eight months. I was not feeling well because I had not even started my periods" (Ward& Marsh, 2006 p.6)

Hawa tried then to escape and she walked for three days in the woods until she reached the town where she found her parents she said that "when I ... met my sisters because I felt I was somehow discriminated against because I had been raped" and two years later, she was captured again she said "It was a different group: This time I was always with them at night as their wife." (Ward& Marsh, 2006 p.6)

In fact this crime (Rape) has a huge effect on the moral of any country; raping women now represent the worst fear of women in Bosnia. A woman expressed to Human Rights Watch that their fear led some women to dress their daughters in dirty clothing to make them unattractive so they wouldn't be raped. One woman said "The girls were afraid of the police and put on scarves. The police took off their scarves and pinched their cheeks and told them not to act

like old women. The girls were screaming" (Vandenberg, 2000).

Women are victims of peace as they are of war. They are immediately forgotten in the post-war settlement and in the future planning that's why it is of a great importance to record different kinds of women's victimization. (Mann, 2002)

Domestic violence also increases by men in the post-conflict period who feel guilt and anger for having failed to protect "their women" (El Jack, 2002) the abduction of 200.000 women as sex slaves who were called "Comfort women" by the Japanese imperial Army during that war (1937-1945) still represents one of the worst crimes against humanity, These women were held in "comfort stations" (Terazawa, 2006)

The Japanese Government apologized officially in 1992 for thousands of Asian women who were used as sex slaves or "comfort women" during the World War II and the Japanese government has written to each one of those who could survive. The UN's Special Reporter on violence against women said that the tales of the "comfort women" are the most horrendous thing ever heard of. She said that those women and girls experienced:

"Multiple rape on an everyday basis in the 'military comfort houses'...Allegedly, soldiers were encouraged by their commanding officers to use the "comfort women" facilities rather than civilian brothels 'for the purpose of stabilizing soldiers' psychology, encouraging their spirit and protecting them from venereal infections', as well as a measure to prevent looting and widespread raping during military attacks on villages" (U.N.1994, Paragraph, 288)

Women in Darfur are also vulnerable for these crimes Report of the international commission of inquiry on Darfur talk about rape and other forms of sexual violence in Darfur saying that:

“Various sources reported widespread rape and other serious forms of violence committed against women and girls in all three states of Darfur. According to these sources, the rape of individual victims was often multiple, carried out by more than one man, and accompanied by other severe forms of violence, including beating and whipping. In some cases, women were reportedly raped in public, and in some incidents, the women were further berated and called “slaves” or “Tora Bora.” (p. 87)

That gives more importance for the media coverage for this conflict. The following section of the literature review will discuss the theoretical approach for the study and the framing research types and its developments.

Chapter 2

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

Framing Theory

The three theories of Agenda-setting, priming and framing try to describe what people know and believe as a result of media consumption. The basic idea behind the agenda-setting and priming is that exposure to media has measurable effects on the audiences. The key word here is "Importance" the Agenda-setting theory says that the issue which is selected for news coverage will become after a while the most important issue in the minds of the audience. While priming theory speaks about providing the audience with standards and frames of reference concerning that issue. (Scheufele, 2000)

On the other hand framing theory is focusing on how media cover various issues, what is included and what is excluded, what is the kind of language, tones, details which are used, and also what are the effects of all these decisions on the readers or the audiences. (Severin & Tankard, 2001)

Sociological and psychological studies used the framing analysis before the mass communication studies, the concept of frames itself can be traced back to 1974 in the work of Goffman who defined the frames as being principles that organize and govern any social event. Then Berger and Lukman in 1967 developed the concept of framing and contribute in the understanding of how do the people tend to categorize things, they also differentiate between the procedure which is the way to do things and the frame which is the way to understand things. Then Tuckman in "Making News" 1978 shed the light on how the journalists chose what to cover and how to cover it. (Akhavan-majid &

Ramaprasad, 2000)

Saleem (2007) says that framing was an analytical technique which was developed from the social psychologists like Goffman 1974 and Gitlin 1980 to explain how the media define issues to the publics (p.131) and cites Entman 1991 definition for frames as "information processing schemata" while, Gitlin (1980) (as cited in Park, 2003) defined frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, presentation, selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. (P, 148)

Snow, et al. (1986) believe that these frames are not only media frames used in news coverage it is more like "schemata of interpretation that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large" (p. 464) That's is also clear in Gamson et al. (1992) definition of the frame in their article "Media images and the social construction of reality" as "a central organizing principle that holds together and gives coherence and meaning to a diverse array of symbols" (p. 384) The Frame work institute paper about" framing public issues" (2002) cites D. Reese (2001) definition to frames "Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (p. 11).

Goffman (1974) also defines the frame as a "schemata of interpretation that provides a Context for understanding information and enables us to locate, perceive, identify and Label" (as cited in Hallahan, 1999, p. 211) While, Gamson and Magdolini cited in Nelson et al (1997) define frames as "A frame is a central

organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue" (p. 222)

Nelson et al (1997) (as cited in Park, 2003) speak about the framing effects he said that:

"The Choices Journalists make about how to cover a story- from the words, phrases, and images they convey to the broader angle they take on a controversy-can result in substantially different portrayals of the very same event and the broader controversy it represents. These frames can exert appreciable influence on people's perception of the issue and ultimately, the opinions they express" (p. 148)

Frames Locations

All of us use the frames in dealing with any issue in our every day life.

Severin & Tankard (2001) gave clear example for framing issues in our every day life like framing the issue of abortion. The debate over abortion, one side can use the life of unborn child as a frame for the issue while the other side can say that the debate is about the women right to choose what happens to their body and their lives. (p. 277)

The same goes to the media coverage to any issue, the events don't have a specific meaning on its own; on contrast media coverage is what gives the event its specific importance. Media put any issue in a frame that gives the issue its identity through what is called the framing process which use both the objective and the effective attribute from one side and also use the include and the exclude mechanism from the other side and that's which decides what to be mentioned as the most important elements about the story while ignoring other details out side the frame (salience). Media use also the other elements

according to each medium like space in the newspapers and time in TV to focus on specific parts of the story.

Entman (1993) says that frames have several locations, it existing in the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. (As cited in De Vreese, 2005, p. 51)

Entman also sees that frames are located within the minds of individuals they are "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information" (in Duncan, 2007, p. 27) that indicates to the internal cognitive process and its interaction with media inside the receivers minds or what is called the psychological conception of frames which indicates many factors that influence these internal frames, including things like media, interpersonal relationships and prior beliefs. Frames also locate it in the media texts. This is what Zhang (2001) calls the sociological conceptualization saying that "Some researchers conceive of framing as more of a sociological process of news production, focusing on the interpretative and rhetorical processes of news media discourse." (As cited in Duncan, 2007, p. 27)

Framing Process and Functions

Tankard et al (1991) described a media frame as " The central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration (cited in Le et al, 2006, p. 502)

Lee et al (2006) wrote that "frames package key ideas, stock phrases and stereotypical images to bolster a particular interpretation. Through repetition, placement and reinforcement, the texts and images provide a dominant

interpretation more readily perceivable, acceptable and memorable than other interpretations" (p. 502)

Scheufele (2000) provides a model of the process of framing which include three steps: frame building, frame setting, and individual-level effects of framing. In the first step "Frame building" we find a process which creates the frame that is going to be used by the media and during this step many different actors try to influence this process and practice some pressure to influence the communicator or the journalist. Second step is "Frame setting" which is the actual chapping or encoding of those frames. Third step is the effects of those frames on the audience (the individual-level framing effects).

De Vreese, 2005 says that Frame-building refers to two important types of factors that influences the journalists news frames the internal factors like journalists values and the external factors on the journalism professions like the interaction between journalists and the elite in the society or the interaction between journalists and the pressure groups. While "Frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions." (p. 52) he also differentiated between two levels where we can find the consequences of framing on the individual level that affects the person attitude toward specific issue and on the societal level like affecting the public opinion or the decision makers.

Both Iyenger (1991) and Entman (1993) agree on the frame function of deciding who is responsible and suggesting solutions for an issue. Entman says that "It is through this process of framing that the media select some aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communicating text, causal

interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (as cited in Busher, 2006, p. 5)

This led us to the four functions to the media frames:

- 1- Frames define problems.
- 2- Frames diagnose causes
- 3- Frames make moral judgments
- 4- Frames suggest remedies (Severin & Tankard, 2001, p.279).

Models of Framing Analysis

According to Entman's definition: "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (as cited in Lee et al. 2006 p.502) and by identifying how these factors in a particular media, together it is possible to provide a rich description of that text's frame. And that is what this study is aiming to describe the frames used in videos and in the news concerning Darfur crisis.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) introduced another model for framing analysis which consists of First, Syntactical structure: and this includes the strategy used by the media (the communicator) in building the frame and the sources that were used in developing such frame. Second, Thematic Structure: That focuses on the process of selection between the details concerning an issue and the salience on specific information while ignoring the others. Third, Rhetorical Structure: that includes the selection of the language used and the paradigmatic selection.

Bostick, (2005) introduces "Ghanem dimensions of framing" which also introduce a model focus on four basic dimensions for frame analysis First, The Topics, Second, The Framing Mechanisms (the presentation of the frames), Third, The cognitive attributes (deals with the affect or public's emotional response to the media), Finally, the Affective Attributes (that include whether the issue was introduced in positive or negative frame in a way like focusing on gains or focusing on losses)

Typology of Framing Researches

Scheufele (1999) introduced a comprehensive typology of framing research in four categories: studying frames either 1- independent variables or 2- dependent variables and studying 3- individual frames opposed to 4- media frames (p.404) he differentiated between two main categories of framing researches: The first category is researches concerning attempt to analyze the content or the discourse of the media in order to figure out which types of frames were used to frame an issue or a problem in this case media frames are the dependent variables. The second category is concerning the individual frames as independent variables and where the researches try to assess the media effects or the framing effects on the audience perceptions.

Framing researches attracted the attention of many media researches and it varied from studying the frames used in the media coverage or framing for a single person like a political candidates to the study of the news framing for a huge natural disasters like hurricane Catharine; from the study of the frames used in a single movie or a documentary film to comparing the different frames used in the coverage of the same issue or problem or person or event by different

media; from studying news articles frames in newspapers to the analysis of TV ads, documentary films, and cinema; and from analyzing the frames itself to evaluating its effects on the audience as mentioned before.

One example of analyzing media frames as dependent variables is the studying of the frames used by the media on its coverage for the natural disaster "Hurricane Katrina" by the Brunken- Brigitte Lynn (2006). This study analyzed the content of the print media coverage of the U.S. government response to this disaster. The study was looking for the common frames which were used by the media and the tone of the news coverage through focusing on four newspapers in the period of five weeks immediately after Hurricane Katrina. The findings indicated that the order of Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) common frames changed in those newspapers coverage on a way that the emphasizing on human interest came first then the Conflict, the attribution of responsibility, the economic consequences, and the morality frames followed it.

One example of the framing researches that try to compare the frames used by different media is Pestalardo, María (2006) study which analyzed the framing of the war in Iraq (2003) the sample of the research consisted of newspapers from U.S., Europe, and Latin America and the researcher used the quantitative content analysis and found that significant differences between the journalistic coverage of this war that " European and Latin American newspapers frames gave bigger and more balanced picture" while the American journals in the sample "covered a narrower range of war perspectives and quoted coalition sources in almost all of their news stories and editorials".(p. 7)

Also researchers use the framing research to approach issues like race and social problems through drawing comparisons between media frames. Like what Dulcan, Emily (2006) in "Content Analysis of News Frames in English and Spanish Language Newspapers" the researcher noticed that the Hispanic population in the United States is more than 40 million people and they rely on the media which use the Spanish language to get the information or for entertainment. The study focused on the issue of immigration and compared the news frames in the English- and Spanish-language newspapers. And this content analysis of 148 articles showed that there are measurable differences between them.

This wasn't the same results of Năstase, Monica (2007) Study. The study analyzed the content of some European and the U.S. newspapers to clarify how they framed racism during the 2006 FIFA World Cup. The study combined quantitative and qualitative methods and found that "the distribution of articles that used a positive frame and the ones that used a negative frame were relatively equal across geographical regions." (p. 2)

An example for a frame research that tries to assess or evaluate (not to compare) the frames used by media to coverage for an issue or a problem is a study conducted by Sulkhanişvili, George (2004) that examined the media's perception of freedom in the Republic of Georgia by analyzing the frame used by the newspapers in its coverage to the Georgian government attempt to shut-down The Independent TV Station.

Political elections also attracted many media researchers. An example is the study of Hobbs (2001). The study focused on media framing of a Mayoral

candidate in East Baton Rouge parish. The study used two research methods: a public opinion survey and analyzing the media content during seven weeks.

Williams, Paul A. (2007) also analyzed the content of 372 prints and televised media stories about the American young voters during the 2004 U.S. presidential campaign. Sometimes the researcher tries to step forward not only to analyze the frames of the whole political elections but the researcher tries to shedlight on the way the media portrayed an element within this event. For example Busher, Amy (2006) studied how did the New York Times news articles framed or portrayed Hillary Clinton during the 2000 senate elections. This study belongs to the studies which concentrate on answering the question of how do media frame public figures. And it used qualitative and quantitative content analyses and used four frames which are: political activity, horserace, gender stereotype and traditional first lady frames. All the results showed that the “political activity” frame was the dominant frame used to cover Hillary Clinton news than any other frame.

Researchers not only analyze the frame used in media coverage for the political elections but also analysis the frames used in the political advertisements like the Bostick, Julie N. (2005)study: “Second- Level Agenda- Setting and Political advertising” The researcher has also analyzed the political parties and their attempt to frame women in televised political advertisements. The researcher was trying to figure out if there is any relationship between the increase of the number of the female voters to president Bush 2004 by (5%) and framing women in his political advertising campaign. The study found that president George W. Bush “was marginally more likely to feature women in his

advertisements" and "more likely to feature women in major roles in his advertisements". (p. 3)

Akhavan-majid and Ramaprasad (2000) tried to approach the relationship between the framing process and the ideology and the role of the dominant ideology in the process of frame building, they studied the American press coverage for the fourth UN conference about women and NGO which took place in China, the study used both the qualitative and the quantitative methods and found that the news framing for that event was influenced by the ideology of criticizing china as a communist country.

Park (2003) tried to differentiate between the coverage of Korea and Japan in the U.S. television networks, and conducted a frame analysis for the news stories which were videotaped and then analyzed concerning four topics: the relations with the U.S, the economics of each country, the demonstrations and protests, and the disasters. The study found that the news stories framed the relation of the two countries with the U.S to be Co-operation, while framed the Japanese economy to be rival and the Korean to be cooperative. Concerning demonstrations in Korea were framed in a chaos frame and in a democracy frame concerning Japan. Finally the disasters frame was showed in a sympathetic frame for both countries.

The impact of the media framing process also attracted many researchers. Valkenburg et al. (1999) studied whether or not the news frames affect the readers opinion and their ability to recall two issues: crimes and the introduction of the Euro , they conducted a framing experiment on 187 participant who were distributed into four groups and they added a control

group, each group get news that reflect one of these four frames: Conflict frame, attribution or responsibility frame, Human interest frame, and economic consequences frame and the results showed that the human interest frame can have negative consequences on the readers ability to recall.

Maheswaran & Meyers-Levy (1990) Studied the message framing and its effects on persuasion and found that "positively framed messages maybe more persuasive when there is little emphasis on detailed processing, but negatively framed messages maybe more persuasive when detailed processing is emphasized" (p. 1)

Donohue and Drake (1996) tried to use frames as a communicative tool and tried to explore the impact of these frames on actual conflict interaction, the study found a positive relationship between the frame convergence and frequency of arguments. While, Nelson & Oxley (1999) focused on the issue framing effects on the belief importance and the data resulted from two lab experiments confirmed the framing significant impact on opinions. Nelson et al (1997) also in their paper "toward a psychology of framing effects" studied the impact of framing on the public opinion, they said that "framing is the process by which a communication source constructs and defines a social or political issue for its audience" they stated that "frames serve as bridges between elite discourse about a problem or issue and popular comprehension of that issue" (p. 221)

Page et al (1987) in a paper titled "who moves public opinion" wrote that "the new information that modifies relevant beliefs can change the expected utility of policies for citizens. This should occur if five conditions are met: if the

information is (1) actually received, (2) understood, (3) clearly relevant to evaluating policies, (4) discrepant with past beliefs, and (5) credible" (p. 24)

While, Druckman (2001) on his paper "on limits of framing effects: who can frame?" reached the result after some experiments that "elites face a clear and systematic constraints to using frames to influence and manipulate public opinion" (p. 1041)

The Arab-Israeli conflict attracted some researchers, Ross (2003) study about framing the Palestinian – Israeli conflict tried to figure out if there are any shifts followed the 9/11 attacks on US. In the way the U.S. newspapers frame the international conflicts. The study used qualitative and quantitative methods and used a sample of 13 months editorial comments in New York Times and found that in general NY Times framed the Palestinians as aggressors rather than victims.

While, Noakes and Wilkins (2002) studied the changes over time in US news media framing for the Palestinian movements through analyzing the content of the New York Times and the Associated press wire service in the period between 1984-1998.

The war in Iraq also get some attention form media researchers, Dimitrova and Stromback (2005) studied the framing of the war on Iraq 2003 in the elite newspapers in Sweden and the U.S. and found that the military conflict frame was more common in the US newspapers coverage while the anti war protests frame was the dominant frame in the Sweden newspaper. While, Lee et al (2006) drew a comparison between media framing for the Asian conflicts and the Iraqi war through analyzing the content of 1558 news story from 8 newspapers from India, Sir lank, Indonesia, and the Philippines. They found that the Asian news

papers used a war frame when dealing with Asian conflicts while using a peace frame when dealing with the issue of war in Iraq. Allen et al. (1994) analyzed the level of support for president Bush during the Gulf War using the spiral of silence hypothesis and the framing hypotheses and wrote that "In both framing and priming, the unconscious or pre-conscious references stimulate conscious judgments that might not have occurred if information had been framed or attitudes had been primed differently" (p. 266)

Atteveldt et al. (2005) proposed a method to measure the associative framing and applied it to the Dutch news coverage for topics like Islam, immigration, and terror through combining Agenda setting and framing said that "'Salience' forms the theoretical premises of agenda setting while attribution is the theoretical premises of framing" "framing influences how audiences think about issues, not by making aspects of the issue more salient, but by invoking interpretive schemas that influence the interpretation of incoming information" (p.6) while, Griffin (2004) discusses the nature of the photo coverage of the war on terrorism and found that photos were used as news frames that reflect the government versions of events.

Hallahan & Busha (2003) selected 3 TV channels, one newspaper, one internet site to analyze in order to figure out how did the Ukrainian media frame the political crisis in Ukraine in 2000-2001 and found a strong influence of ideology in the way that different Ukrainian media framed the issues. The previous studies reflect the importance of media framing especially in the political issues and give more significance for applying this theory on analyzing media coverage for the conflict in Darfur.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Statement of the Problem

Mass communications theories like Agenda-setting and priming say that there is a relationship between media coverage and the audience attention and perception, that the issue which is covered most frequently is what considered the most important to the public's agenda compared to the other topics. Not only that but also and according to the framing theory media don't only tell the audience what to think about but it also tell them how to think about these issues and from which perspectives (Severin & Tankard, 2005)

This study attempts to know whether there are any similarities or differences between the official Sudanese media and the activists' media in their coverage for the conflict in Darfur concerning how each of them framed the problem. That gives the study important significance because the dominant frame will not only affect the perception of the common reader/viewer but it can affect the decision maker, the Arab public opinion, the international public opinion. And as a result will have an impact on the policies toward this issue and the peoples in Darfur in an urgent need for the world attention and for every possible aid.

From the literature review it was clear that the Grassroots media or

whatever it is called (Civic Journalism, Citizen Media, Individual Journalism...etc) are considered a real challenge for the official traditional media. So this study also tries to figure out if this new media can break the official Sudanese media silence toward the people suffering in Darfur.

Significance of the Study

There are very few studies concerning the crisis in Darfur and they are mostly focusing on the legal aspect of this conflict. Some of them focus on the International law and other focus on the legal responsibility of the Sudanese government. This study approaches Darfur crisis from the mass Communication perspective concerning media coverage of the issue and the first to use the framing theory as the theoretical approach to understand how was the problem framed in the official Sudanese newspapers compared to how it was framed in the Grassroots media.

Studying the videoblogs gives more importance to the study and nowadays there is a lot of interest concerning researching the blogging phenomenon. Lenhart, A.B. (2005) explains this increased interest in studying the blogging phenomenon:

“Blogs have become increasingly important in recent months as they are acknowledged to be a site of unfiltered information transfer, most often on the most quotidian, minute level. Major institutions have turned their sights on the blog as an area of interest. The media wants to understand blogs to ensure that they don't destroy the business and news model of that institution, and to figure out how to make blogs a part of that institution. Politics, governments and businesses want to harvest blogs as seemingly word-of-mouth grassroots promotional tools. Citizens and the average internet user, however, generally want to use blogs to tell their own stories” (p. 3)

Also few years ago, exactly late 2005, some bloggers used the video clips

as their main posts on their blogs as a result of the spread of broadband Internet from one hand and from the spread of the websites for uploading clips like YouTube, Google Video, MSN Video and meta café which offered free of charge hosting for video clips from the other hand. And that's how a new type of blogs appeared and was called a vlog which gave every user the opportunity to have his/her own broadcasting channel on the web through which he/she can broadcast all the videos he/she wishes, and that's why YouTube used "Broadcast yourself" in its title. This also has enabled the online videos to step forward into a category more like the mainstream media. Now there are millions of video clips available online and thousands of video bloggers all over the world.

Grassroots journalism and especially Video blogs can play a vital role through its coverage in fighting against the violation of human rights around the world and can help in spreading the awareness concerning this tragedy in Darfur because "seeing is believing". The Sudanese government has also suppressed all the information concerning the humanitarian crisis in Darfur since 2004 (Australian 2007, May 28; Human Rights Watch 2004-05) and that gives more importance to the role of civic journalism or vlogging which visually document the testimonies of the victims in Darfur.

Research Questions

This research tries to figure out how the conflict in Darfur was framed in the Sudanese newspapers and in the videoblogs and to compare the two frames using Entman definition to framing as the operational definition for the study. Entman wrote that: "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality

and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (as cited in Nelson et al, 1997, p. 222)

The researcher set out six basic questions:

Q 1: How did the dominant Frame in each of them define the conflict in Darfur?

Q 2: What were the main reasons for this conflict in the two frames?

Q 3: Who's Responsibility?

Q 4: And what are the suggested remedies or solution/s?

This research also shedlight on women sufferings during armed conflicts, the literature gives us evidences that women experience armed conflict in a different way than men. That's why this thesis also attempts to analysis the sample content to explore:

Q 5: What was the role of the female in the video post or the news story?

Q 6: What were the different types of the crimes against women that were mentioned in the witnesses' testimonies?

Research Methodology

Content Analysis

The research method used in this study is the quantitative content analysis. Kerlinger (2000) defines content analysis as "a method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables". (As cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2006, p. 141)

Pilot study

The researcher conducted a pilot study on 100 video posts on youtube.com and

the same was done to 100 news item from Alsaahafa/ akher lahzah newspaper then made some changes to make sure that all the coding categories are applicable to the sample and are also exhaustive and exclusive.

Content Analysis Sample

Videoblogs Sample

According to Blood, 2002 in the blogosphere traffic is the most important indicator to the importance of the content of the internet and because that framing theory focus on the major role of media frames in shaping the audience opinions and understanding for the issues, the researcher selected the purposive sample of the videos according to Five conditions: First, the video post must be uploaded to the internet during the year 2007. Second, to be mainly about the crisis in Darfur (because the automatic research using the key word Darfur may give results that have nothing to do with the tragedy in Darfur) Third, to select from them reflects the different aspects of the frames that it defines the problem, its reason/s, gives moral judgment about the responsibility, and suggests solution/s. Fourth, to select from them the most watched video posts to be included in the purposive. Fifth, to be unique that means not been selected before from any of the other three websites.

The researcher selected a sample size of 400 posts from the four websites according to the previous criteria and they were:

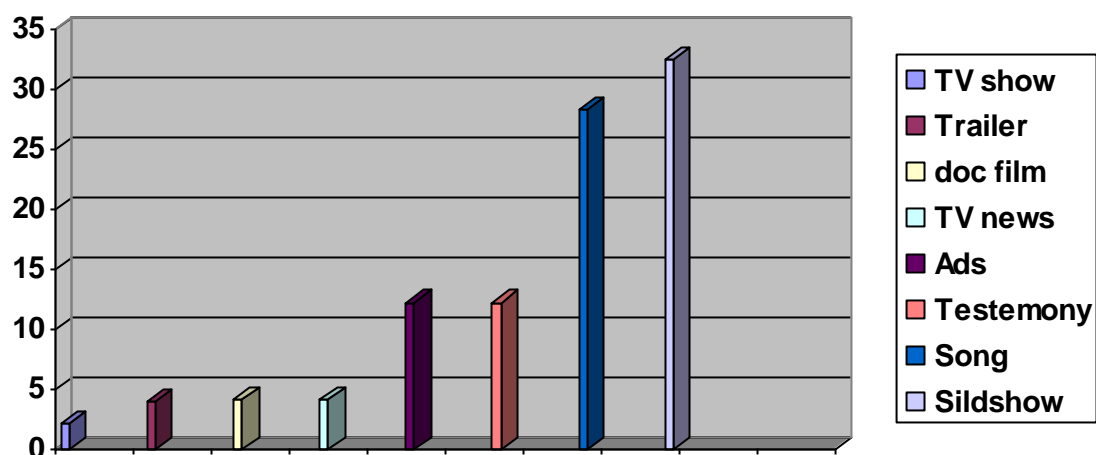
1. You Tube (www.youtube.com) the researcher selected 150 video clips from total number of 3,930 results.

2. Google Video (<http://video.google.com/>) the researcher selected 150 video clips from total number of 4,873 results.
3. MSN Video (<http://video.msn.com>) the researcher selected 50 video clips from total number of 53 results.
4. Yahoo video (<http://video.yahoo.com/>) the researcher selected 50 video clips from total number of 1,801 results.

Table 1.Types of the Posts the Video Sample

Type of the video clip post		Percent
Part of TV show	9	2.25%
Trailer	16	4%
Part of a documentary film	17	4.25%
Part of TV news	17	4.25%
Part of a testimony	49	12.25%
Advertisement	49	12.25%
Song	113	28.25%
Slideshow (footages from Darfur)	130	32.5%

Figure1. Types of the Posts the Video Sample



The majority of the posts were slideshow for footages from Darfur-Sudan (32.5% of the sample). Then songs that were made originally as a supporting tool

for those people's rights or classic songs were used to the same purpose (28.25%). Then the advertisement for websites or NGOs working in Darfur and advocating the refugee rights (12.25%) the same percent was for video posts that gives testimonies concerning what happened their some testimonies from the people "eye-Witness" or experts and foreign visitors for Darfur like the famous actor "George Clooney". A percent of 4.25% of the posts in the sample were parts of documentary films like "on our watch" and "emergency in Darfur", and a percent of 4% of the sample were for movie or a documentary film trailer while 2.25% were for parts of TV shows. Found on many different channels including those below:

1. <http://www.youtube.com/user/theirc>
2. <http://www.youtube.com/user/EmergencyInDarfur>
3. <http://www.youtube.com/user/savedarfurcoalition>
4. <http://www.youtube.com/user/HumanRightsUN>
5. <http://www.youtube.com/user/GenocideInDarfur>
6. <http://www.youtube.com/user/24hoursfordarfur>
7. <http://www.youtube.com/user/ilveggente>
8. <http://www.youtube.com/user/npadvisors>
9. <http://www.youtube.com/user/understandingsudan>
10. <http://www.youtube.com/user/savedarfur>
11. <http://www.youtube.com/user/onelove4all143>
12. <http://www.youtube.com/user/WORLDFOODPROGRAM>
13. <http://www.youtube.com/user/HelpDarfur>
14. <http://www.youtube.com/user/greensborodarfur>

15. <http://www.youtube.com/user/darfurnews>

Newspapers Sample

The newspapers sample of the research consists of a purposive sample from the online archive of the year 2007 of two major daily newspapers in Sudan

1. Al-Sahafa Daily Newspaper (<http://www.alsahafa.info>)
2. Akher Lahzah Daily Newspaper (<http://www.akhirlahza.net>)

The researcher conducted several interviews with experts to determine which newspaper will be selected, the researcher interviewed Sudanese citizens living in Egypt, Egyptian Journalists have a good experience with the Sudanese press, Mr., Khaled Salah the editor of Al-Osboa newspaper version in Sudan, Mr. Abdelmalek AlNoaim the Journalism consultative of the Sudanese embassy in Cairo and with Sudanese and Egyptian Activists in Human Rights who are interested in following the Sudanese media.

They all agreed that the newspapers mentioned above have high readership and circulation rates inside all the Sudanese regions and in the same time they reflect the different schools of journalism in Sudan: Al- Sehafa newspapers is considered one of the oldest newspapers in Sudan which was launched in 1961 while Akher-lahzah is a new newspaper that was launched few years ago and considered to be reflecting the new school of journalism which try to be more professional on its news coverage

The researcher selected in this sample a number of (1000) news story (300) news stories from Alshafa newspaper and (700) news stories from Akher lahzah newspaper, and the selection was based on Three conditions: First, all the news were published during 2007. Second, the news story is directly related to the issue

of Darfur conflict in Darfur. (because through the automatic search of the online archive of the two news papers using the word "Darfur" as a key word of the search resulted many news stories while its main topic is not related to the situation in Darfur.) Third, the main story of the news must be about the conflict in Darfur and/or its reasons and/or its consequences and/or the suggested solution/s.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study for the video blogs is the video post and for the Sudanese newspapers is the news item but with little difference, in the videos sample the same video answers the four basic questions which construct the frame of the case, while in the news sample every news story answers only one of the three questions plus defining the problem. (Like to define the problem and to suggest solution/s or define the problem and indicate to responsibility, or to define the problem and diagnose the reason/s)

Content Analysis Categories

There are many terms that were used in this research that needs to be clarified because the boundaries between terms nowadays are increasingly blurred.

The Definition of the Problem Categories

The study used the exact words that were used inside the videos or the news story to describe the problem in Darfur. So the study operationally considered the video or the news define the problem in Darfur to be Armed conflict, or Rebels

movement, or Ethnic cleansing, or Violation for human rights, or Genocide if the news story or the video clip clearly mention that the type of the conflict is Armed conflict, or Rebels movement, or Ethnic cleansing, or Violation for human rights, or Genocide. These categories were found through the literature review of the problem and then were modified through the pilot study. Also it is necessary to mention the some of the scientific definitions in order to clarify the difference between the terms

Ethnic Cleansing

Petrovic, D., (1994) Defines ethnic cleansing as "A well-defined policy of a particular group of persons to systematically eliminate another group from a given territory, often based on economic principles, or nationalist claims to the land. Such a policy often involves violence and is very often connected with military operations." (p.11)

Genocide

Hubbard, (2007) stated that Genocide is a fairly recent word which was coined termed by Raphael Lemkin in 1933 to mean "the criminal intent to destroy or to cripple permanently a human group." (p. 5)

Lemkin's definition was adopted and expanded by The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in December 1948 and came into effect in January 1951. The Convention (in article 2) defines genocide as:

"Any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to

members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group" (Bhoke, 2005, p. 5)

Armed conflict

There are two basic types of armed conflicts: international armed conflicts that take place between states and national armed conflicts that take place between armed groups such as civil conflicts. War can be described as the extreme form of the international armed conflict. The Red Cross definition of armed conflict is "any difference between two states leading to the intervention of the members of the armed forces is an armed conflict" (p.1) While the Colombia Encyclopedia definition for the term "War" states that "In modern times warfare has usually been conducted by the armed forces (e.g., army, navy, and air force) of a nation or other politically organized group" (The Columbia Encyclopedia online, 2001)

The Diagnoses of the Reasons Categories

The same operational definition was used also in the suggested reasons categories, the researcher found through the pilot study six categories were used in the video clips or the news to diagnose the reasons of the conflict in Darfur, the researcher directly counted the videos or the news which clearly state the reason/s of the conflict to be on of the Five categories which include the category "Didn't specify" and the main categories were:

1-Racism 2- Dictatorship 3- Unequal distribution of resources by the government
4- Marginalization to non-Arab tribes 5- The lack of natural resources 6- Didn't specify.

The Responsibility categories

The same operational definition was used also in the responsibility categories, the researcher found through the pilot study 11 categories were used in the video clips or the news to diagnose the reason/s of the conflict in Darfur, the researcher directly counted the videos or the news which clearly state who is considered to be responsible for the problem and the main categories were:

1-The Sudanese government responsibility 2- The Rebel movement/s responsibility
3- The Janjaweed responsibility (as mentioned before the Arab tribes' militia)
4- The whole world responsibility 5-China responsibility 6- Didn't specify
7-The U.N responsibility 8- The neighbor countries responsibility (used often to refer to Chad/ Eritrea and others) 9-U.S and Israel Responsibility 10- The West Responsibility (Used alone some times or to refer to England or France) 11- NGOs responsibility

The Suggested Remedies

The same operational definition was used also in the Suggested solution/s categories, the researcher found through the pilot study 12 categories were used in the video clips or the news to suggest solution/s for the conflict in Darfur, the researcher directly counted the video clips or the news which clearly suggest one of the categories to be a solution for the problem and the main categories were:

1- Peace talks and negotiations 2-UN peace keepers' forces 3-No fly zone 4- Donation for NGOs 5-Visiting advocacy campaign site 6-Economic pressure on Sudan 7-Boycotting the coming Olympics in china 8-Others 9-more co-operation with china 10- Development process 12- Rebuilding efforts and the return of

refugees.

The Role of Women Categories

In analyzing the content of the videos and the news the researcher used these operational definitions to evaluate the women role on the news or the video post:

- ☐ Principal means at least one woman is the main character in the news story or the video.
- ☐ supporting character is at least one woman who has an active impact in the story like being the wife of the main character or the mother or the sister or the school teacher who influence the story main character
- ☐ Minor character is one who has no active impact on the story or wasn't mentioned.

Types of Crimes Categories

The study used the exact word that were used inside the videos or the news story and didn't make any interpretation or guessing or conclusions. And found that the main categories for the crimes which were mentioned in the videos were: Rape, Murder, Kidnap, Helicopter attacks, Burning villages, killing children, and Torture.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

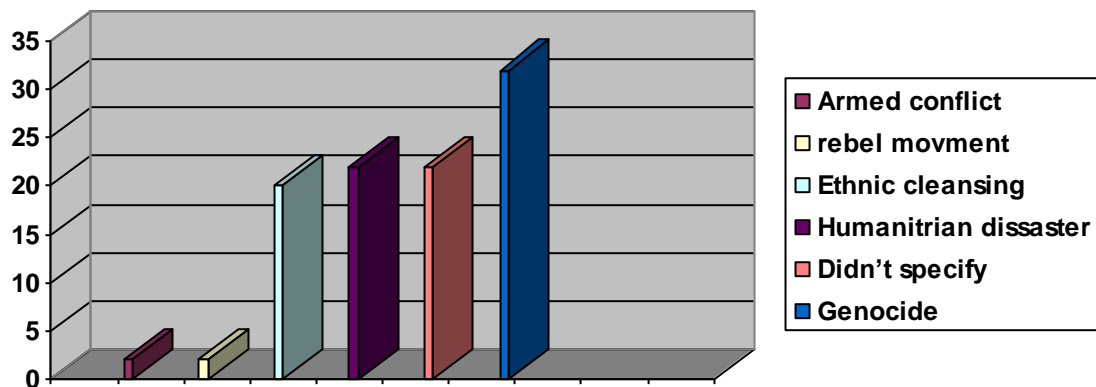
1- Findings of the Videoblogs sample

Q 1: How did the dominant frame define Darfur crisis?

Table 2.The Definition of the Problem in the video Sample

The definition of the problem:		Percent
Armed conflict	8	2%
Rebels movement	8	2%
Ethnic cleansing	80	20%
Violation of human rights	88	22%
Didn't specify	88	22%
Genocide	128	32%

Figure 2.The Definition of the Problem in the video Sample



The study found that (22%) of the posts in the sample didn't specify a definition for what is happening in Darfur-Sudan. It also found that none of the posts in the sample claims that this conflict is independence war. Minority of the posts (2%) consider the Darfur issue to be "armed conflict" or to be "Rebel movement" (Also 2%) while (20%) of the posts in the sample describe the Darfur issue as an "Ethnic Cleansing" and (22%) describer it as a " violation of human rights". The study found also that (32%) of the posts defines what is going on in

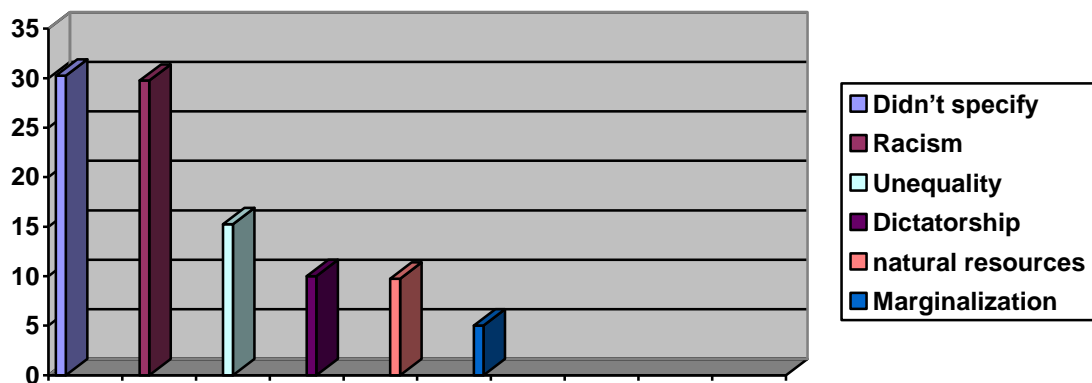
Darfur as being a new “Genocide”.

Q2: What were the main reasons?

Table 3.The Reasons of the problem in the Video Sample

The diagnoses of the reasons:		Percent
Didn't specify	121	30.25%
Racism	119	29.75%
Unequal distribution of recourses by the government	61	15.25%
Dictatorship	40	10%
Lack of natural resources	39	9.75%
Marginalization	20	5%

Figure 3.The Reasons of the problem in the Video Sample



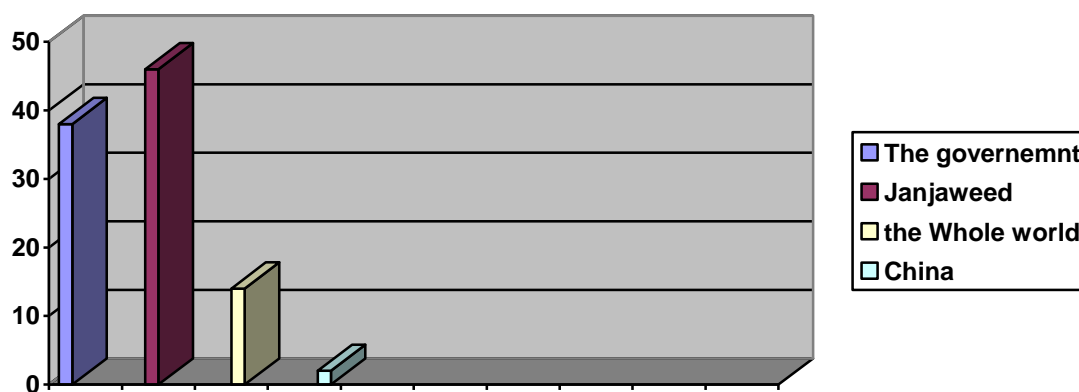
The study found that (30.25%) of the posts didn't specify exact reasons for Darfur crisis, while (29.75%) of them specified racism to be the main reason for what is happening in Darfur. Also (15.25%) of the posts in the sample mentioned the inequality in distribution of recourses as the main reason, while (10%) specified dictatorship as the basic reason for the conflict (9.75%) of the sample also mentioned the rare natural resources to be the reason for the conflict that triggered all the violence, while (5%) says that marginalization of the peoples in Darfur (Arabs and none-Arabs) is the reason.

Q 3: Who's Responsibility?

Table 4. Whose Responsibility in the video Sample

The Janjaweed responsibly	184	46%
The government responsibility	152	38%
Our responsibility " the whole world"	56	14%
China	8	2%
Rebels responsibility	0	0

Table 4. Whose Responsibility in the video Sample



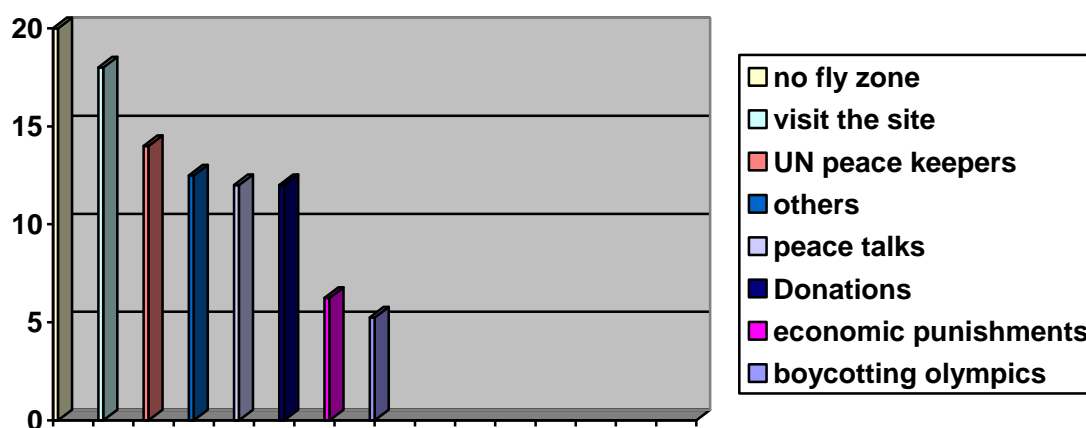
The most common videos (46%) of the sample say that it is the responsibility of the Arab- Militia "Janjaweed", while (38%) of the sample says that it is the government responsibility. About 14% of the posts blame the whole world for this disaster and only (2%) think that China is the responsible because of its continuous supports for the Sudan.

Q 4: What are the Suggested Solutions?

Table 5.The Suggested Remedies in the Video Sample

The Suggested Remedies:		Percent
No fly zone	80	20%
Visit the site	72	18%
UN peace keepers' forces	56	14%
Other.	50	12.5
Peace talks and negotiations	48	12%
Donation for NGOs	48	12%
Economic pressure on Sudan	25	6.25
Boycotting the coming Olympics in china	21	5.25

Table 5.The Suggested Remedies in the Video Sample



The study found that highest percent of the sample (20%) tend to suggest the implication of announcing all Darfur as the “no fly zone” for the Sudanese government Air Forces as the most important and urgent solution for this crisis, while (18%) of the posts asks the audience to visit its website and give links to other websites through which the audience can discuss more the issue and reach agreement on the suggested solutions. 14% of the sample believe that UN peace keepers' forces can solve this conflict and put an end to the humanitarian disaster while equal percent of the posts suggest “Peace talks” and negotiations(12%) or suggest “Donation” for NGOs (12%).

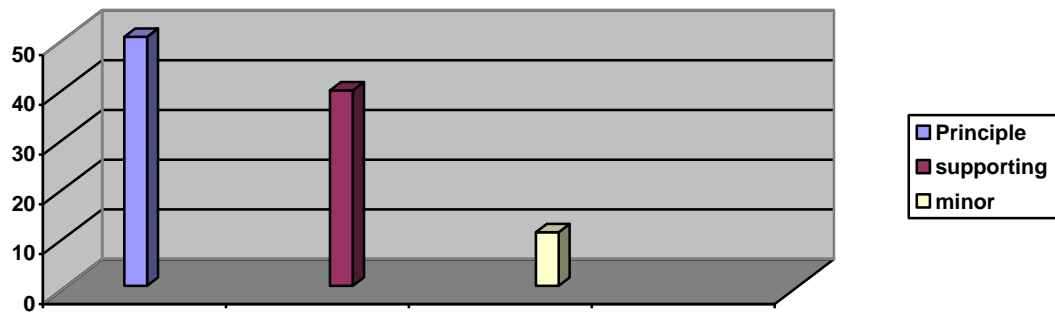
The minority of the posts (6.25%) suggest more economic pressure on Sudan
And (5.25%) suggest Boycotting the coming Olympics in china.

Q 5: What was the Role of the Females in the Video Post?

Table 6.Role of the Females in the Video Sample

Role of the female in the video post:		Percent
Principal	200	50%
Supporting	157	39.25%
Minor	43	10.75%

Figure 6.Role of the Females in the Video Sample



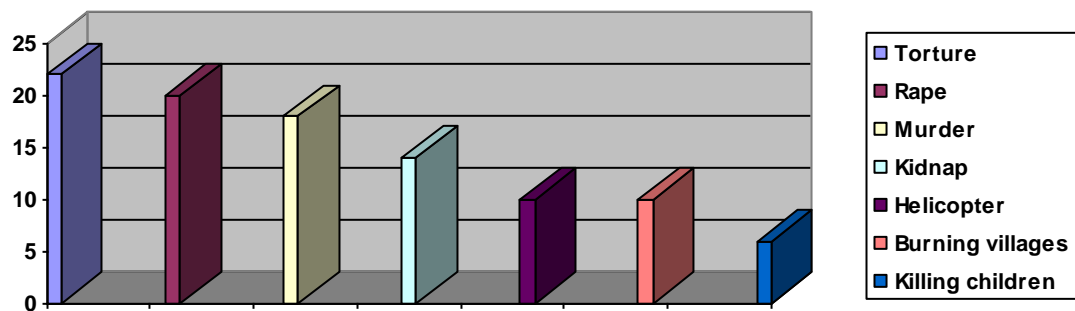
The study found also that women role in the video clip post was principle in the majority of the posts in the sample (50%), supporting in (39.25%) of the posts and minor in (10.75%)

Q 6: What are the crimes that were mentioned in the witnesses' testimonies?

Table 7.The Crime mentioned in Witnesses Testimonies

Types of crimes mentioned:		Percent
Torture	88	22%
Rape	80	20%
Murder	72	18%
Kidnap	56	14%
Helicopter attacks	40	10%
Burning villages	40	10%
Killing children	24	6%

Figure 7.The Crime mentioned in Witnesses Testimonies



The study found also that the female eye witnesses of the attacks (22%) mentioned Torture while (20%) mentioned rape, (18%) mentioned murder, (14%) mentioned kidnapping, (10%) mentioned Helicopter attacks on their villages, and (6%) mentioned killing young children.

2 Findings of the Newspapers Sample:

Q 1: How did the dominant frame define Darfur crisis?

In all of the news in the sample the Darfur issue was defined as the problem of "the rebels in the west" or "the rebel movements in Darfur".

Q2: What were the main reasons for this conflict in this frame?

The study didn't find any real diagnose or clear statement for the reasons of the conflict in the news sample.

Q 3: Who's Responsibility?

The news stories which were reflecting answers for this question represent 50.3% of the sample.

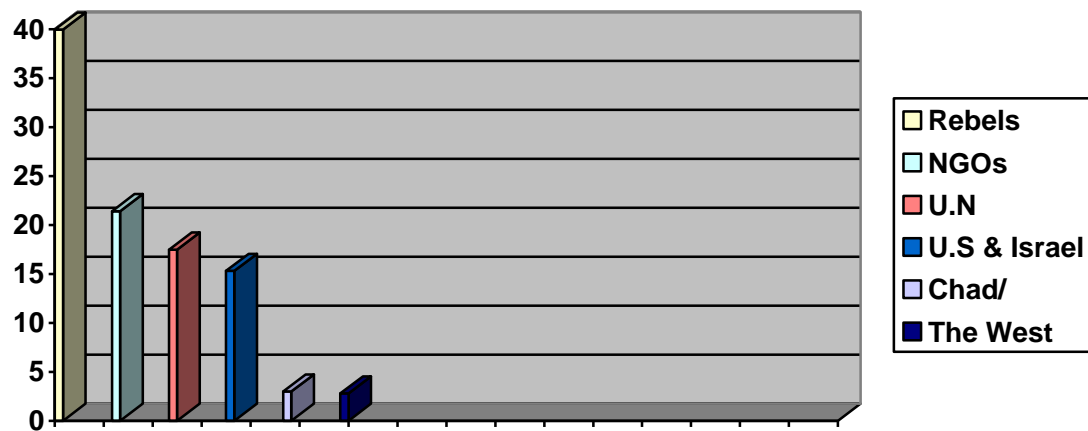
A- More than Two hundred (201) news items consider rebels responsible for such conflict which represent (20.1%) from the whole sample.

B- More than three hundred news story (302 news story 101 of the 300 news item from Al-Sahafa newspaper and (201) of the (700) news item from the Akher Lahzah newspaper) considered the national or international conspiracy or conspiracies that aim to destroy the unity of Sudan or to take over its natural resources especially after the discovery of the oil responsible for such conflict. The only difference the researcher found between the news items that it varies in the way they define "the Enemy" the one who run this conspiracy or the weight of his responsibility which equal (30.2%) of the news in the sample.

Table 8. Whose Responsibility in the news papers Sample

The diagnoses of the reasons:		
The rebel movements	201	39.96%
The International NGOs	108	21.4%
The U.N.	88	17.49%
The United States and/or Israel	77	15.3%
The neighbor countries (Chad, Eritrea, and others)	15	2.98%
The West (Europe, France, and England)	14	2.78%

Figure 8. Whose Responsibility in the news papers Sample.



The most common news (39.96%) accused the movements in Darfur of being responsible for the situation in Darfur. The study found that (21.4%) of the (503) news stories referred to the NGOs working on Darfur or the International NGOs that focus on the situation of human rights in Darfur to be responsible for the crisis. The study found that (17.49%) of the (503) news item reflects the U.N. be responsible for the situation. More than the quarter of the (503) news item (15.3%) also indicated to U.S. and Israel as being responsible for that situation in Darfur and/or handicapping the peace process conflict and/or supporting the rebel's movements. The Study found that (2.98%) of the (503) news reflect some responsibilities on the neighbors countries specially Chad and Eritrea and also the movements in South of Sudan. Also found that (2.7%) of the (503) news story consider the western interference in Sudan and the conflict of Darfur as being responsible for the situation in Darfur.

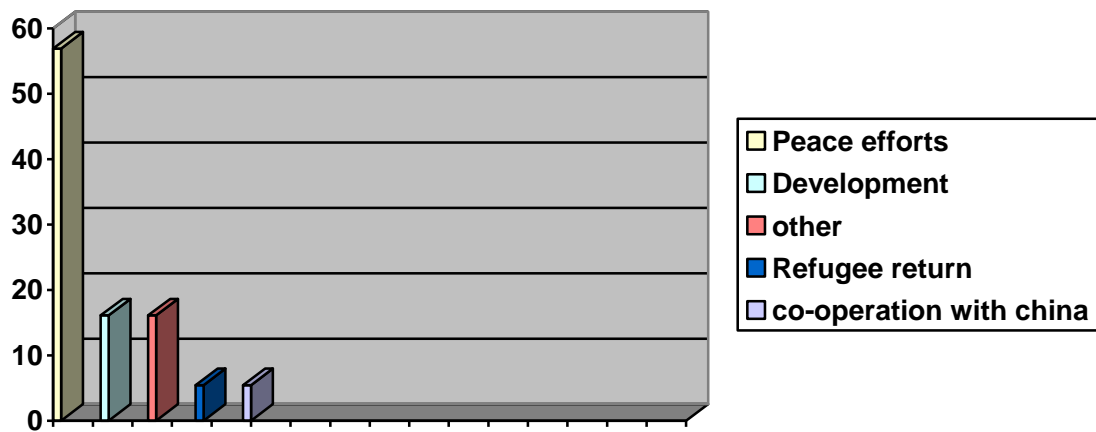
Q 4: What are the Suggested Remedies?

The suggested solution varied in (497) news item and limited in categories reflects the Sudanese government approach for the solution:

Table 9.The Suggested remedies in the newspapers Sample

The Suggested Remedies:		Percent
Peace efforts	283	56.94%
Government development plans	80	16.1%
Others	80	16.1%
Rebuilding efforts and the refugees return	27	5.43%
More co-operation with china	27	5.43%

Figure 9.The Suggested remedies in the newspapers Sample



The Majority (56.94%) of the (497) news item indicates to the governmental efforts toward establishing peace in Darfur as the solution for this crisis and to get rid of the reasons for any future conflicts. The study found that (16.1%) of the (497) news item speaks about the governmental efforts to develop Darfur as a way for achieving peace and equality. The study found that (5.43%) of the news speaks about the government efforts in the processes of returning the refugees to their homes and rebuilding their villages. The study found that (5.43%) of the news refers to the positive role of China in Sudan and its efforts to solve the problem.

Q 5: What was the Role of the Females in the News Sample?

The study didn't find any news in the sample concerning the females in Darfur and/or their suffering.

Q 6: What are the crimes that were mentioned in the witnesses' testimonies?

The study didn't find any news in the sample concerning witnesses' testimonies.

Discussion of the Results

These results showed a huge gap between the dominant frame used in the videoblogs and the dominant frame in the Sudanese news papers. The dominant frame in the video blogs is "the conflict frame" which defines this conflict in Darfur to be genocide. This frame considers the alliance between the Janjaweed and the government responsible for many crimes against humanity like rape, murder of civilians, kidnapping, torture and many other crimes. This frame also diagnose many reasons for such conflict like racism which is clear through the accusations for the central government of favoring Arabs on the Black Africans, Dictatorship and corruption, the absence of the fair distribution of power and wealth between the people in Sudan. The frame also suggest many solutions to end this tragedy like imposing the no fly zone on all the sky of Darfur in a way that protect the people there from the Air strikes and also supporting the role of the UN peace keepers' forces through peace talks and negotiations or through more economic pressure on Sudan and its major supporter China through the call for boycotting the coming Olympics in China 2008.

While the dominant frame in the Sudanese Newspapers is the "Responsibility" frame that concern more about seeking for blaming others to be responsible for the situation in Darfur more than seeking for the main reasons of the conflict and working on solving it. This was clear when the study didn't find any news in the sample concerning diagnosing the reasons of the conflict while introduced many to be responsible for this armed conflict: the rebel movements in Darfur which took the opportunity of the peace process between the central

government in Khartoum and the south liberation movement and asked for the same rights like what the peace process gave to the southern peoples. the national and international enemies starting from the neighbor countries like Chad to U.S., France, Israel, U.N., and Some of the NGOs working in Sudan. All of them were considered also to be responsible for the situation in Darfur. specially that during (2007) a major event happened when the Chad officials declared that they could stop a huge attempt of kidnapping the children from Darfur and east Chad refugees camps by a non governmental organization working inside Darfur, the Sudanese Official newspapers put a lot of focus on this issue and used it as a hard evidence that proof their conspiracy theory. Some examples of the news listed below:

1- The rebel movement's responsibility

- Killing and kidnapping 8 governmental employers and South Kirdafan ask Khartoum to stop the Justice and Equality Movement (Al-Sahafa. August 27, 2007, No. 5101)
- Ki Mon: "Qazafy" will convince the rebels' leaders to participate in the peace talks in Tarabols (Al-Sahafa. 2007, September 9, No. 5114)
- Khalil refuses any stop for fire and al Noor will not participate in Tarabols (Al-Sahafa. 2007, September 8, No. 5113)
- Said that the cars used in the attacks had the letters of "Justice and Equality", Ki Mon: the attacks on the African forces in Haskiniah done by the rebels (Al-Sahafa. 2007, November 20, No. 5182)
- Minawi Movement is responsible of 5000 homeless in North Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, January 1, No. 164)

- Militia killed and kidnapped seven in west Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, February 6, No. 190)
- Minawi Movement arrest an officer and the minister of health in south of Darfur control the situation (Akher Lahzah. 2007, February 15, No. 199)
- Justice and Equality steal the electricity equipments in south Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, August 14, No. 378)
- Seven of the leaders of the Justice and Equality did the attacks (Akher Lahzah. 2007, October 2, No. 427)

2-International NGOs responsibility

- A warning for the rescue agencies activities (Akher lahzah. 2007, November 30, No. 482)
- The ministry of the humanitarian affairs gives the governorates the right of censoring the activities of national and international organizations (Akher lahzah. 2007, November 9, No. 461)
- Two foreign NGOs send large amounts of condoms in Darfur (Akher lahzah, 2007, April 1, No. 244)
- Islamic Rescue asks for solid laws to fight against the corruption of the NGOs (Akher lahzah, 2007, February 18, No. 202)
- Angry Demonstrations in Khartoum and the kidnapped children tell their story (Akher lahzah, 2007, October 31, No. 452)
- "Al awn Al Insani" the Humanitarian Aid speaks about missing 10 thousands children from Darfur (Akher lahzah, 2007, November 29, No. 481)
- Suspicious and accusations for some NGOs (Akher lahzah, 2007,

December 3, No. 485)

- The ministry of interior confirm following the case of Darfur children (Akher lahzah, 2007, December 4, No. 486)

3-U.N. Responsibility

- Adada: The World turned his back to the multinational forces" Al Hagin" (AL- Sahafa. 2007, December 2, No.5194)
- Khartoum: the U.N. tries to cover its failure in the fulfillment its responsibilities (Akher lahzah, 2007, November 16, No. 5178)

4- The United States and/or Israel

- U.S threaten that it will apply new punishments and the foreign affairs ask U.S. to change and control its Media discourse (Akher lahzah. 2007, December, 15, No. 496)
- The U.S Government will be responsible for "Fitna" in Darfur (Akher lahzah, 2007, July 7, No. 360)
- Mustafa Anan Ismael accusing U.S and Israel of elaborating the problem of Darfur (Akher lahzah, 2007, May, 12, No. 285)
- The U.S. Congress agree on a new law prohibiting the investments in Sudan (Al-Sahafa, 2007, December 15, No. 5207)
- Washington excludes the South of Sudan from the punishments and the Sudanese government considers this as an American step toward separating the south (Al-Sahafa, 2007, November 2, No. 5164)
- Suspicious about Silva kare visit to Washington and refusal for any European forces in Darfur: Al Bashir: Western Countries work from Sudan for the Israeli Intelligence (Al-Sahafa. 2007, November 11, No. 5174)

- Israel gives the temporary visas for 51 of the applicants (Al-Sahafa, 2007, October 9, No. 5150)
- Documents confirm the Israeli political role in Sudan (Al-Sahafa. 2007, September 4, No. 5109)
- Olmert is considering giving the Darfurians refugees in Israel the Israeli nationality (Al-Sahafa, 2007, September 6, No. 5111)
- Israel Teaches the Darfurians refugees Hebrew language (Al-Sahafa, 2007, September 13, No. 5118)
- Israel uses some Sudanese refugees for spying on Arab countries (Al-Sahafa. 2007, August 26, No. 5100)
- Alzindani accused Israel and the U.S. for its responsibility of elaborating the crisis in Darfur (Al-Sahafa, 2007, January 12, No. 4877)

5-Nieghbours responsibility

- Chad submit Sarkozy seven of the accused persons in the Darfur children case (Akher lahzah. 2007, November 5, No. 457)
- The Minister of Justice indicates for France and Chad involvement in the case of kidnapped children (Al-Sahafa. 2007, October 30, No. 5161)
- Chad is accusing the Sudanese government of preparing for attacking it (Akher lahzah, 2007, December 28, No. 506)
- Sudan complain officially Chad in the African Union (Al-Shafa, 2007, December 31, No. 5219)

6- The West (Europe: France and England)

- One of the news headlines in Al-Sahafa mentioned that The Government

Accused France to be behind the attempt of kidnapping the Sudanese children and it discovered that other 13 children from Darfur were kidnapped and sent to franc before the last attempt. (Al-Sahafa. 2007, November 4, No. 5166)

- President Al Bashir Say: The Western Conspiracy on Sudan is "Old-and New" (Al-Sahafa. 2007, November 14, No. 5176)
- Al-Taher: European Countries are behind handicapping the peace process in Darfur (Al-Sahafa. 2007, January 4, No. 4869)
- Official in the ministry of the Foreign Affairs warning from a western plan for dividing Sudan (Al-Sahafa. 2007, October 2, No. 5137)
- Increase of the suspicions about the task of the European forces in Darfur (Akher Lahzah 2007, November 23, No. 475)
- Libya confirm its support for Sudan against the foreign conspiracy (Akher Lahzah 2007, November 22, No. 474)
- Al-Qazafi: Super Powers are using the issue of Darfur to take over the oil resources (Akher Lahzah. 2007, October 24, No. 445)
- Al-Qzafi: The problem of Darfur is "a struggle between the players" on the oil resources (Akher Lahzah. 2007, November 23, No. 475)
- Al-Taher: The Arrogant countries are focusing on re-occupation of Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, February 16, No. 200)

This Frame suggested also solutions for the problems like more development plans, more efforts in peace process, and more co-operations with china which achieve the rational demands of the rebels and in the same time preserve the unity of Sudan.

1-Peace efforts:

- Dr. Lam Okol: Achieving peace in Darfur is the first priority to the government (Akher Lahzah. 2007, June 8, No. 312)
- Germany promise to give 32 million US Dollars for the peace keeping force in Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, August 5, No. 369)
- Senegal doubles its forces in the peace keepers' mission in Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, August 11, No. 375)
- Al-Bashir: we are ready for negotiating in any time and any place (Akher Lahzah. 2007, August 29, No. 393)
- Dr. Nafi: The government is determined to apply all the peace agreement that were signed (Akher Lahzah. 2007, October 2, No. 427)
- The president of the international Security Council: Khartoum isn't responsible for the delay of the distribution of the "Hagin" (Al-Sahafa, 2007, December 7, No. 5199)

2-Development:

- The ministry of health agreed on the increase of the medicine support for west Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, April 19, No. 262)
- The Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs: the Strategic reserve for Darfur is enough till the end of 2007 (Akher Lahzah, 2007, April 26, No. 269)
- Emphasize that the problem of Darfur is a development problem (Akher Lahzah, 2007, September 4, No. 399)
- The "Charity Box" for helping the youth to marriage support Darfur with 350 bag of Supplies (Akher Lahzah. 2007, September 18, No. 413)

- 180 car of food and petroleum supplies to South of Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, September 26, No. 421)
- 19 million US dollars for Darfur from the Arab conference for support Darfur in October (Akher Lahzah, 2007, September 28, No. 423)
- North Darfur opens new health centers in Milit and Koma (Akher Lahzah. 2007, October 5, No. 436)
- 20 Billion From the co operational bank for agricultural projects in south Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, October 20, No. 441)
- North Darfur declare anew plan for services in the governorate (Akher Lahzah. 2007, December 3, No. 485)
- Half A billion US dollars for health and education projects in Darfur (Al-sahafa 2007, October 23, No. 5154)
- The Higher education agree on the enrollment of 1952 student from Darfur (Al-Sahafa. 2007, November 11, No. 5173)
- UN: Increase in the percent of the enrolled student in South Darfur (Al-Sahafa 2007, November 5, No. 5167)

3-Refugees return efforts:

- 15 thousands refugee return to their villages in South Darfur (Akher lahzah, 2007, April 22, No. 265)
- The return of more than 20 thousands refugee to their homes in south of Darfur (Akher lahzah. 2007, April 30, No. 273)
- The governorate of south Darfur: the forced migration percent doesn't exceed 5% (Akher lahzah. 2007, November 11, No. 463)
- Al-Bashir form a committee for reestablishing Darfur (Al-Sahafa. 2007,

October 3, No 5138)

- Six Islamic relief agencies rebuild a village in Darfur (Al-Sahafa. 2007, November 19, No. 4884)

4-Co-operatopn with china:

- China cancels 70 millions US Dollars of its debts on Sudan (Akher Lahzah. 2007, February 3, No. 187)
- The representative of China to Darfur arrives today (Akher Lahzah. 2007, May 20, No. 293)
- 10 million US Dollars from China to Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, May 20, No. 297)
- Begin is ready for a positive role in Darfur (Akher Lahzah. 2007, May 25, No. 298)
- China refuses the attempts to link its role in Darfur with the Olympics (Akher Lahzah. 2007, July 6, No. 339)
- China gives more humanitarian aid for Darfur (Akher Lahzah, 2007, September 24, No. 419)
- 70 Million US Dollars from China for rebuilding Darfur and the east (Al-Sahafa 2007, September 23, No. 5128)
- China send 300 soldiers for Darfur next month and determine to give 10 million US Dollars as humanitarian Aid for Darfur (Al-Sahafa. 2007, September 8, No.5113)
- Khartoum government agree on getting the financial aid for the two bridges of Soba and Bahari from China (Al-Sahafa. 2007, October 10, No. 5149)

The researcher found that the video clips tend to reflect the humanitarian crisis in Darfur much more than the newspapers. The issue of women sufferings in war and armed conflict zones took a lot of attention from the videoblogs which had a huge added credibility through the testimonies of the victims or the eye witnesses and which were videotaped and uploaded to the internet and one of those best videoblogs are the video blogs of the famous actor George Clooney visit to Darfur and Also many other documentaries and short videos.

The study found also that women role in the video clip posts was principle in the majority of the posts in the sample (50%), supporting in (39.25%) of the posts and minor in (10.75%) of the videos in the sample. The study found also that the majority of the female eye witnesses of the attacks mentioned Torture, rape, Murder, and kidnapping in a way a heart breaking way, while the newspapers didn't mention anything concerning this tragedy. And away from the conspiracy theory all the testimonies of the living eye witnesses or the living victims of the attacks mentioned horrible stories which need real objective investigation that can led to the real criminals and their punishment.

The violence against women during armed conflict is a real serious crime and can't be ignored and that's why many of the world agreements and Human Rights declarations paid it special attention. And there are certain articles that focus on protecting women from sexual violence during armed conflicts:

Geneva Convention IV Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons; Article 27:

"Women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault."(p. 1)

Additional Protocol I of 1977; Article 76(1): "Women shall be the object of special respect and shall be protected in particular against rape, forced prostitution and any other form of indecent assault." (p. 1)

Additional Protocol II of 1977; Article 4(2)(e) prohibits: "Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault." (p. 1)

The Vienna Declaration and Program of Action, 1993 Article 38:

"Violations of the human rights of women in situations of armed conflict are violations of the fundamental principles of international human rights and humanitarian law. All violations of this kind, including in particular murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery, and forced pregnancy, require a particularly effective response" (p. 13)

Beijing Platform for Action, 1995 Paragraph 135:

"While entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex. Parties to the conflict often rape women with impunity sometimes using systematic rape as a tactic of war and terrorism. The impact of violence against women and violations of the human rights of women in such situations is experienced by women of all ages, who suffer displacement, loss of home and property, loss or involuntary disappearance of close relatives, poverty and family separation and disintegration, and who are victims of acts of murder, terrorism, torture, involuntary disappearance, sexual slavery, rape, sexual abuse and forced pregnancy in situations of armed conflict, especially as a result of policies of ethnic cleansing and other new and emerging forms of violence. This is compounded by the life-long social, economic and psychologically traumatic consequences of armed conflict and foreign occupation and alien domination" (p.53)

The U.N Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict says in paragraphs 5 that

"All forms of repression and cruel and inhuman treatment of women and children, including imprisonment, torture, shooting, mass arrests, collective punishment, destruction of dwellings and forcible eviction, committed by belligerents in the course of military operations or in occupied territories shall be considered criminal" (p. 1)

Although all the above the finding showed that Sudanese newspapers in the sample didn't give any attention to cover the stories of the female victims of rape. Even if it was true that the number of those victims is as small as the officials in Sudan said many times and even if this rape is not organized and not considered mass rape, and even if these crimes are committed by the rebels not the official Sudanese soldiers or the Janjaweed militia it is still so important to publish their testimonies to the public in order to increase their awareness so that they can protect their wives and daughters and also to enlighten the officials about these accusation so that they can investigate it and declare the results to the world public opinion .

The study found that the activists' videos could really break the official Sudanese press silence through its introduction for many photos and witnesses testimonies which can't be ignored. This study call for more attention from the Arab media to the conflict in Darfur, and emphasis on the importance of giving this conflict and giving the people there the deserved attention and not less than the focus of the Arab media (especially TV news satellite channels like Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabia) on the news coverage for the war in Iraq or the Arab-Israeli conflict. The study also emphasizes the importance of the individual journalism role in fighting against the violations of the human rights. The findings of the study reflect their role and call for more researches concerning the internet activism and human rights. The same goes with the framing theory, the finding showed how the media can frame the same issue in totally different ways and that could have a huge impact on the media audience understanding for the whole issue, Professor De Reese (Personal communication, November, 28, 2007) and Professor

Entman (Personal communication, November 18, 2007) supported the researcher on this point and expected that in the future there will be more studies comparing the traditional media and the new media frames to the same event and this study is the one step in this direction.

Limitations of the Study:

This study didn't aim to achieve any generalizations concerning how did the media cover the conflict in Darfur, this issue needs many studies to achieve any generalization. The study had an exploratory type since there were very few studies concerning this topic. The purposive sample limits the results of the research. The study didn't include different broadcasted material form the Sudanese official TV which may be different form the newspaper coverage. The study focus on the year 2007 limited also the results of the study.

Hardships Faced During the Study:

The lack of the official Sudanese information concerning the conflict specially the numbers of the victims from one side and the information concerning the press industry and journals circulations in Sudan from the other side both represented a huge obstacle.

The Sudanese embassy in Egypt doesn't have any archives for the Sudanese media whether it is printed journals or magazines or Broadcasted materials. There was no other way to get the archive of the printed Sudanese newspapers but to analyze the online archive and the process of downloading and analyzing the online archive was time consuming. Also the online version of the two

newspapers didn't mention anything on the website concerning their online editing policy.

Suggestion for Future Research:

This study suggests more in-depth discourse analysis for the tone of the news published in the Sudanese newspapers and also to the videos uploaded on the websites. That may give more in depth details about the different frames used. The study of different Sudanese media is also important to differentiate between the frames used for example in Sudan satellite TV Channel vs. the newspapers and the same goes to the western media. Future research also can focus on using more representative samples in order to achieve more representative results led to generalizations. Future research can go one step forward concerning evaluating the impact of those frames on the audience perception to the conflict in Darfur.

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APPENDIX A

THE VIDEO BLOGS CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET –

Name/ID # of the Video post:

Number of times the video was viewed:

Viewers rating of the video:

Video was produced by:

Number of times the video was selected as a favorite video:

Type of the Video Clip Post:

- 01-Part of a witness testimony
- 02-Part of TV show
- 03-Part of a documentary film
- 04-Part of TV news
- 05-Advertisement
- 06-Song
- 07-Trailer
- 08-Slideshow (footages from Darfur)

The Definition of the Problem:

- 01- Ethnic cleansing
- 02- Genocide
- 03- Armed conflict
- 04- Rebels movement
- 05-Humanitarian disaster
- 06- Didn't specify.

The Diagnoses of the Reasons:

- 01-Racism
- 02- Dictatorship
- 03- Unequal distribution of resources by the government
- 04- Marginalization to non-Arab tribes
- 05- Need for natural resources
- 06- Didn't specify.

The Moral Judgments: (Who's Responsibility?)

- 01-The government responsibility
- 02- The Rebel movement responsibility
- 03- The Janjaweed responsibility

- 04- The whole world responsibility
- 05-China responsibility
- 07- Didn't specify

The Suggested Remedies:

- 01- Peace talks and negotiations
- 02-UN peace keepers' forces
- 03-No fly zone
- 04-Donation for NGOs
- 05-Visit the site
- 06-Economic pressure on Sudan
- 07-Boycotting the coming Olympics in china
- 08-Other

Role of the Female in the Video post:

- 01- Principal
- 02-Supporting
- 03-Minor

Types of Crimes Mentioned:

- 01- Kidnap
- 02- Murder
- 03- Rape
- 04- Helicopter attacks
- 05- Torture
- 06- Burning villages
- 07-Killing Children

APPENDIX B

NEWSPAPERS ANALYSIS CODING SHEET

NEWSPAPER CODE:

CODER INITIALS:

Name/ID # of the newspaper:

Date of publication:

The definition of the problem:

01- Ethnic cleansing

02- Genocide

03- Armed conflict

04- Rebels movement

05- Humanitarian disaster

06- Didn't specify.

The Diagnoses of the Reasons:

01- Racism

02- Dictatorship

03- Unequal distribution of resources by the government

04- Marginalization to non-Arab tribes

05- Need for natural resources

06- Didn't specify.

The Moral Judgments (Who's Responsibility)

01- The U.N responsibility

02- The Rebel movement responsibility

03- The neighbor countries responsibility

04- United Nation Responsibility

05- U.S and/or Israel Responsibility

06- The West Responsibility

07- NGOs responsibility

The Suggested Remedies:

01- more co-operation with china

02- Development process

03- Peace process

04- Rebuilding efforts and the return of refugees

Role of the female in the News Story:

01- Principal

02- Supporting

03- Minor

Types of Crimes Mentioned:

01- Kidnap
02- Murder
03- Rape
04- Helicopter attacks
05- Torture
06- Burning villages
07-Killing Children

APPENDIX C

THE AFRICAN UNION DECISION ON DARFUR

ASSEMBLY OF THE AFRICAN UNION

Third Ordinary Session

6-8 July 2004

Addis Ababa, ETHIOPIA

DECISION ON DARFUR

The Assembly:

1. REITERATES its serious concern over the prevailing situation in the Darfur Region of The Sudan, particularly the Humanitarian crisis and the continued reports of violations of human rights, including attacks against civilians committed by the Janjaweed militia and other non regular armed groups, and reiterates the need to bring to justice all those responsible for human rights violations in Darfur;

2. NOTES THAT, even though the humanitarian situation in Darfur is serious, it can not be defined as a genocide. The Assembly further notes that the crisis should be addressed with utmost urgency to avoid further escalation;

3. WELCOMES the measures taken by the GOS to protect the civilian populations, facilitate the work of the humanitarian agencies and NGOs and provide them with unrestricted access to the affected populations. The Assembly welcomes the commitment by the GOS to disarm and neutralize the janjaweed militia and other armed groups and urges the GOS to follow through these commitments;

4. STRESSES that the African Union should continue to lead these efforts to address the crisis in Darfur and that the International Community should continue to support this efforts;

5. COMMENDS President Deby of Chad for his mediation efforts, undertaken with the support of the AU Commission and other partners. The Assembly calls on all concerned to vigorously pursue their efforts;

6. WELCOMES the establishment of the cease-fire commission in El Fashir as of 9 June 2004 and the partial deployment of the AU military observers in the Darfur Region and urges the Commission to expedite the process, including the deployment of the protection force.

7. DECIDES to increase the number of AU Observers to a minimum of 80 and decides that the protection force should be deployed immediately. In this regard, the Assembly welcomes the willingness of the GOS to cooperate with the AU Protection Force and its commitment to provide overall protection to the Mission. The Assembly urges the Member States concerned to contribute Observers and troops for the AU Mission as a matter of urgency;

8. AGREES that the rebel forces should be cantoned at mutually agreed sites and that the militia and all other outlaw groups should be disarmed by the GOS, and that these two operations shall be carried out simultaneously and monitored by the AU Mission;

9. UNDERLINES the centrality of a political solution and agrees that the political dialogue should resume on the scheduled date of 15 July 2004, at the AU Headquarters in Addis Ababa, with the view to reaching a political agreement. Such an Agreement would create conditions for the convening of the all party conference provided for in the N'Djamena Humanitarian Cease-Fire Agreement. The Assembly urges all parties to the meeting to participate at the highest level, to ensure that decision will be reached. In this respect, the Assembly urges the Commission with the assistance of Member States and other partners, to ensure that the rebel movements participate in the meeting at the highest level, to avoid delays;

10. URGES the parties to strictly respect the provisions of the Cease-fire agreement and create conditions for the speedy and urgent return of refugees and IDPs. The Assembly urgently appeals to the International Community and Member States to extend full support to this process by providing the much needed humanitarian assistance;

11. ACKNOWLEDGES the Agreement signed between the Government of The Sudan and the United Nations which is consistent with the AU Peace efforts;

12. REQUESTS the Chairperson of the Commission to follow this matter as a matter of a priority and report to the Peace and Security Council regularly.

APPENDIX D

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON DARFUR TO THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY-GENERAL

Pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1564 of 18 September 2004
(25 January 2005) Available on

http://www.un.org/News/dh/sudan/com_inq_darfur.pdf

(Accessed April 30, 2008)