

A Framing Analysis of Coverage of the Darfur Conflict in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto*

Star, 2003-2008

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Introduction and rationale for study

Since 2003, Sudan's Western region of Darfur has been locked in a simmering armed conflict pitting rebels said to be "African" in origin against the Sudanese government, aided by a paramilitary force comprised of so-called "Arab" tribesmen. To quell the rebellion, the government of Sudan launched a counter-insurgency policy through which the paramilitary group, known as *Janjaweed*, would together with the Sudanese army engage in a scorched-earth campaign that did not distinguish between rebel fighters and the black African civilian population deemed to be in support of the rebellion (Daly 263 and Tubiana 69).

Before April 2003, Darfur was little-known beyond the boundaries of Sudan. Largely arid, remote, and far from the centre of power in Khartoum, Darfur was a region that remained on the fringes even within the Sudanese state (Prunier 42-47). The perennial spats over grazing land and water resources between the region's Arab and African tribes were feuds that were usually contained through traditional conflict-solving mechanisms, which few thought would add fuel to the simmering political tensions in the western province and result in open warfare in 2003 (Burr and Collins 244).

Two incidents helped propel the region into the international limelight in April 2003. The first incident was an exodus of thousands of refugees from Darfur into eastern Chad. The second incident was an attack by two hitherto unknown Darfur-based rebel groups on Sudanese military bases in the towns of Nyala and El-Fashir (Flint and de Waal 99 and Totten and Markusen 11). The attacks by a combined force of the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) marked the start of a conflict that had—until 2003—been quietly going on unnoticed by the rest of the world (Prunier vii).

Subsequently, the story that filtered from aid workers to the media was one of an “Arab” proxy army carrying out an ethnic-cleansing campaign against a “black African” population in Darfur. In Canada, the conflict generated some considerable media attention. If anything, tales of ethnic-cleansing brought back eerie memories of the Rwanda genocide, where a hamstrung UN peacekeeping force led by Roméo Dallaire, a Canadian general, watched helplessly as murder was carried out with impunity. Additionally, the genocide and ethnic-cleansing labels in Darfur also reminded Canadians of the ethnic strife that tore apart the former Yugoslavia and conjured up images of Canada’s role in the NATO air campaign in 1999. As well, the Darfur conflict generated intense debate about whether or not Canada should send troops to the region.

The debate took a dramatic turn in 2005, when Paul Martin’s Liberal minority government, facing a confidence motion in the House of Commons, sought the support of David Kilgour. The Calgary area MP, who sat as an independent in the House, said he would vote for Martin’s government only if Canada increased aid funding for Darfur. Martin promised \$170 million, but Kilgour still voted with the opposition, arguing the amount fell short of expectations (Adeba 3). Martin’s government narrowly survived the confidence motion when Speaker Peter Milliken was forced to cast his vote to break the tie.

Occurring on the heels of genocidal conflicts in the 1990s, the Darfur conflict was largely viewed through the prism of Rwanda and the failure by the world community to intervene. Subsequently, the Darfur conflict generated world-wide attention as activists, humanitarian organizations, governments, and concerned individuals around the world pushed for intervention.

In September 2004, then U.S secretary of state, Colin Powell told the United Nations Security Council that the atrocities in Darfur amounted to genocide (Gedda A.15). The United

Nations, as well as many countries, including Canada, did not formally endorse this view. However by 2006, it was evident that the world community was under pressure to create mechanisms to prevent genocide. As a result, in April 2006 the Security Council embraced a Canadian proposal that gives clout to the international community to intervene in a sovereign nation's jurisdiction to stop or prevent genocide and mass atrocities (Evans 50). The adoption of Resolution 1647, also known as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), raised the prospects of whether the West should intervene in Darfur.

The labelling of the Darfur conflict as genocide generated intense debate and wide media attention. Subsequently, this aroused the interest of media researchers who used a variety of theoretical frameworks to investigate whether the conflict had parallels with ethnic wars in Bosnia and Rwanda in the 1990s. One particular theory that has been used is framing—an examination of the lens through which a particular situation is viewed by the news media.

Research in North America about framing of the Darfur conflict has largely focused on news media in the United States and how they framed the conflict. A search of academic journal databases reveals that there are virtually no framing studies on Canadian media coverage of the Darfur conflict. Where they exist, these studies tend to simply compare Canadian media to American media coverage of Darfur. This study seeks to add to the literature on framing of the Darfur conflict by Canadian news media.

Research Question

The thesis examines news representation or coverage of the Darfur conflict in two large circulation dailies: The *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. There are several established ways of studying news representation but this thesis focuses on framing theory to examine coverage of the Darfur conflict in the two newspapers. The general purpose of the thesis is to determine the kind of framing embedded in the news narrative of both newspapers in order to draw conclusions. Entman has observed that because narrative consists of “nothing more than words and pictures, frames can be detected by probing for particular words and visual images that consistently appear in a narrative and convey thematically consonant meanings across media and time” (7).

Likewise, Entman also posits that comparing media narratives in two different newspapers reporting the same events is important because it facilitates understanding of the “critical textual” choices used in framing the story. Lastly, Entman notes that “unless narratives are compared, frames are difficult to detect fully and reliably, because many of the framing devices can appear to be “natural, unremarkable choices of words or images” (6).

Specifically, this study seeks to address the following research questions:

- 1-*What are the themes used by the Globe and the Star in framing the Darfur conflict?*
- 2-*Who are the social actors who dominate in the coverage that framed the conflict?*
- 3-*What are the implications of these themes for the public and for policy-makers?*

The media and conflict

Because it occurred in the age of the Internet, the Darfur conflict was accessible to more people around the world than other horrific cases of mass atrocities of the past—Rwanda and Bosnia in particular—which were labelled as genocide. Through the Internet, Darfur activists were able to galvanize public opinion in the West against the perpetrators of the conflict (Musa 134). One organization, such as the Save Darfur Coalition, has managed to rally about 170 faith-based organizations to its cause, claiming to represent millions of people (135). Because the Internet has cut down the cost of lobbying, the rallying of public opinion for or against a cause has been made easier (Cairncross 160).

The media and conflict are inherently linked, a connection that has increasingly become important in a world where the outbreak of war is still a reality, despite evidence that the number and frequency of wars has reduced globally. According to the Center for Systemic Peace, a U.S.-based organization which monitors armed conflict across the globe, there has been a 60 per cent decrease in the number of armed conflicts globally and the number of states at war has reduced by half since 1992. (“Measuring systemic peace”).

The importance of the media is increasingly evident in industrialized countries like Canada where citizens tend to rely on the mass media for information about global conflicts. This media function of informing the masses is important because the public can not be expected to rely solely on word-of-mouth and personal experience for their information.

The importance of the role of the media in the public sphere has fueled several viewpoints in mass communication research. Herman and McChesney argue that the media are instruments of communication which allow the public to participate in the political process (3-4).

Similarly, in analyzing the role of the media in society, Bagdikian has established the following:

1) National news has a significant impact on the national political agenda. 2) What the media highlight is likely to be attended to by policy-makers. 3) That which is ignored and not given emphasis by the media is more likely to be forgotten (xxvii).

Additionally, Kawamoto has observed that even though the media are primarily profit-making entities, their primary function is public service, manifested in the work of journalists and editors whose role is collecting, analyzing and communicating news of interest to their respective audiences. Through this role, the media generate public awareness about issues, injustices and other problems in society, and therefore wield tremendous influence akin to that of society's most powerful institutions (95). As far back as 1922, Walter Lippmann recognized this characteristic when he wrote, "the way in which the world is imagined, determines at any particular moment what men will do"(16).

Researchers have also identified that the mass media impact policy (agenda setting), both among the public and decision makers. This is especially evident in the levels of cooperation between the establishment and foreign affairs correspondents, where the former impact the process of the news, through conveyance to reporters (news tips), with a level of significance that is vital to all citizens (Pollock 14).

In regards to far-flung conflicts such as Darfur, where journalists are unable to get full access to the source of news, the few reporters that make it to the war-fronts can wield tremendous influence on the public and decision makers.

In the initial phases of a "critical event," when happenings are ambiguous, opinions unformed, and policy amorphous, the personal attitudes of a handful of correspondents

may exert influence of global proportions on the shaping of public and official responses (Pollock xiii).

Cohen has noted that the writings of influential columnists can influence policy among politicians and the public (143). One such columnist who was influential in covering the Darfur conflict, was Nicholas Kristof of the *New York Times*. Described as an “indefatigable crusader on Darfur,” Kristof wrote dozens of columns about the conflict and was among the first journalists to label it a genocide, after he made six highly publicized visits to the region. For his reporting on Darfur, Kristof eventually won a Pulitzer Prize (Mamdani 29).

Eric Reeves, a literature professor at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, was another prolific writer on the Darfur conflict. At the onset of hostilities, Reeves kept a weekly tally on the death toll in Darfur on his website <http://www.sudanreeves.org>. In columns in influential newspapers in North America, Reeves did not shy from calling the atrocities in Darfur a genocide.

This media influence can be seen in how audiences react to the news stories through concrete actions. In the case of the Darfur conflict, news stories about genocide pricked the moral indignation of many in North America, resulting in activists forming organizations such as Students Taking Action Now: Darfur (STAND) and The Save Darfur Coalition, to press governments to intervene in the conflict.

The mass media therefore play an important role in the formation of understanding of a particular event in the minds of the audience. News is not just an assembling of facts glued together in a narrative form (Fair 110). News forms the basis through which the audience

synthesizes and interprets a particular issue. The framing of news—as in the Darfur scenario—has ramifications for the audience’s perception of the issues under discussion.

As well, news representation does not emanate from a vacuum. Coverage or media attention devoted to a particular event is determined by socio-political and economic factors, manifested in editorial positions of media and their leanings in the political sphere.

In essence, this means news media systems may have short-comings in the way they present the news to the public. News representation is unlikely to get a holistic picture of an event—fact-wise, and angle-wise. Like most systems, news systems are imperfect, managed by organizations and humans with points of view arising from a variety of factors. Reporters’ individual perspectives, and socio-economic and political factors, determine the viewpoint that is presented. Inevitably, this means news will be biased in one way or another. To be succinct, news will be framed in a manner that projects a dominant view as the reporters and the organizations they work for view it. This view of reality may or may not be contested by the actors in the news.

For instance, the Darfur conflict has been described as a war between “Arabs” and “Africans” (Prunier 4). However, this view has been contested by leading Darfur researchers who argue that the label is misleading because ethnic identities in Darfur are fluid, and that the muddying of the identity of the protagonists obscures a fulsome understanding of the root causes of the conflict, mainly political, social, and historical factors (de Waal 185-187 and Prunier 4). Similarly, the government of Sudan argues that the war in Darfur is not based on ethnicity, but is rather a squabble over resources.

Because this thesis aims to review how media frame conflicts, at this juncture, it is pertinent to take a step back and review the presence of armed conflict in human society as an activity that has spurred interest and documentation by several generations.

Armed conflict: A historical and contemporary perspective

Armed conflict, as Leo Tolstoy notes in *War and Peace*, has been a central theme that has defined human relations throughout the course of history. Conflict has been defined as “the incompatible needs, differing demands, contradictory wishes, opposing beliefs, or diverging interests which produce interpersonal antagonism and, at times, hostile encounters” (Bonta 405).

From the time humans established communities in order to attain critical mass to survive against the forces of nature and expand territorial domain, conflict has been a central theme. Some scholars contend that conflict and violence are normal aspects of all human societies (Knauff xx). Furthermore, others suggest that conflict is inherent as well as desirable because it offers an opportunity for creative and constructive change (Augsberger 5-21).

Writing more than 300 years ago, the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, in his theory of state formation, identified four factors that give rise to conflict: Competition, glory, personal survival and security. According to Hobbes, competition is largely driven by the desire for gain. In the process of pursuing gain, humans enter into conflict as they violate the rights of others. Hobbes also observed that conflict arises when humans attack others in search of glory in the name of personal recognition (139-40). Equally, personal survival and security is a source of human conflict that propels people to attack others in the name of self-defence.

More recently, Galtung has argued that conflicts arise from the following seven factors: environment, gender, generation, race, class, nation (ethnicity), and territory (Galtung 25). Other

significant causes of modern conflict that have been added to this list include ideologies and belief systems (Musa 2).

In 1997, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict identified a number of factors that create conflict in societies across the globe. These include corruption, weak or collapsed states, acute discrimination against ethnic or other social groups, repressive regimes, politicized religious differences, historical legacies of colonialism and imperialism, rapid economic and political changes, poverty, easy access to weapons of destruction and manipulation of differences by the elite (“Preventing Deadly Conflict xviii”).

As previously mentioned, conflict itself is as old as humankind. The advent of intensified ethnic and religious conflicts in the wake of the collapse of the East-West divide in the early 1990s is not necessarily a new characteristic. But while conflicts have always been part of human society, the way they are perceived and the motive(s) that give rise to them have always varied (Musa 2). This perception, also known as “framing” in media terms, is important because it affects the way an audience understands an issue. Several studies have shown that the framing of an issue or conflict determines how the public and policy-makers respond to it (see Allen et al., 1994; Norris, 1995; Drake and Donohue 1996).

Frame definition and uses

Entman gives a clear and concise definition of what it means to frame:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1991; 7).

According to Entman, frames are “information processing schemata” that guide individuals’ interpretation and understanding of an event (Entman 1991;7 and 1993;53). Frames can also be defined as “principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters” (Gitlin 6). Gitlin states that frames “largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports” (7).

Frames are also defined as principles of organization that govern social events and are the central organizing idea that enable individuals to make sense of events or issues (Goffman 10, Gamson 157, and Gamson and Modigliani 43).

A common theme that arises from the research is that there are both media frames and individual frames, which are interconnected. Media frames act as a storyline that define events, while individual frames act as a processing scheme for individuals. The linkage is based on the fact that frames can be considered schemes for presenting and comprehending news (Scheufele 106).

According to Gamson and Modigliani, a media frame is “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events...The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue” (143). Similarly, Tuchman observed that if media or news frames are used for discerning meaning from meaningless and nonrecognizable events, then the news frame is a tool for organizing everyday reality and is “an essential feature of the news” (193). Media frames serve as working schedules for journalists and enable them to identify and classify information quickly for efficient conveyance to the audience (Gitlin 7). This concept of media framing presupposes that there is an intent in sending information as well as

establishing that the motives for communication can be unconscious ones (Gamson and Modigliani 7)

While media frames are tools for organizing meaning, individual frames are defined as idea clusters that guide the processing of information by individuals (Entman 1993;53). McLeod et al defined individual frames as cognitive devices that “operate as non-hierarchical categories that serve as forms of major headings into which any future news content can be filed” (10).

Entman further identifies that there are two types of frames used to interpret and process information. These are global and long-term political views and short-term issue related frames of reference (53).

Framing is crucial to studying news because it involves selection and salience (Entman 1993;52). Salience also promotes a definition of a problem, interpretation, evaluation, and treatment. Scholars have also noted that salience itself attributes the importance of an issue in terms of ranking in importance (Soroka 6). Entman noted that salience makes a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to the receiver of a message (53). To summarize, the literature on framing indicates the following functions: 1) Frames play an important role in generating opposition to or support for a particular event, as seen in the example of activists forming organizations to press governments to take action in Darfur; 2) Frames provide a moral judgement and prescribe solutions; 3) Frames represent ideology; 4) Frames determine the type or tone of media coverage.

Framing Theory

This section examines the development of framing theory over the years. It shows how frames are used in news representation and the importance of framing theory in analysing texts and their multiple meanings. The section also explores the shortcomings of framing theory, and relates this to some of the common themes in framing the Darfur conflict.

Framing is important in understanding how news is represented in the media. Research on framing dates back more than 30 years when social psychologists (Goffman, 1974; Gitlin, 1980; Iyengar, 1986; Entman, 1991) pioneered studies to explain how the news media define issues for the public.

Framing is used by humans to interpret ideas and events and recognize issues in everyday life. Over the years, the literature on framing has become vast. As well, the concept of framing itself is now widely accepted and established as a field in mass communication studies (Saleem 130). However, the concept of framing has its short-comings. It has been described as being vague, fractured, and lacking a clear definition in terms of concept and theoretical development (Scheufele 105 and Entman 51).

The lack of a rigorous conceptualization is best exemplified by problems on several fronts. For instance, inattention to frame sponsorship (the strategic cultivation of an identity by individuals and groups that is used to frame their image in the news media), inattention to frame definition, and inability to situate framing contexts within broader political and social contexts, have been identified as shortcomings (Carragee and Roefs 214).

The inability to take into account broader political and social contexts of a situation is evident in the way the Darfur conflict has been covered in Western media. For example, a

common frame in Darfur news coverage labels the war as one pitting “Africans” against “Arabs.” But leading Darfur researchers argue that this characterization is incorrect. Ethnic identity in Darfur is not static but ever evolving. For instance, an African Fur man can acquire the identity of a Baggara Arab by adopting the lifestyle of the latter and vice versa (Mamdani 149). This mischaracterization of the identity of the Darfur adversaries limits a holistic understanding of the social, historical and political causes of the conflict’s root causes (de Waal 185-87 and Prunier 4).

In order to alleviate the shortcomings of framing theory, Carragee and Roefs suggest that framing research should take a holistic approach that encompasses a broader historical, political and cultural context of a situation under the media spotlight (214).

Despite its shortcomings, framing is still an appropriate theory for analyzing texts and their conveyance of multiple meanings brought about by social and cultural factors (Alozie 3). It enables researchers to qualify and quantify decisions behind framing.

Literature review

The purpose of this literature review is three-fold: First, it gives a general overview of the framing of conflicts in Western and global media. Second, because Darfur is an African conflict, this section reviews Western media coverage of armed conflicts in Africa in order to gain an understanding of the context(s) under which the continent is covered. Finally, this section will review framing research literature on the Darfur conflict.

Media framing of global conflict

The literature on the framing of global conflict in the news media, and the subsequent themes that have emerged from this framing, shows a considerable variation.

Following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on New York City, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* were consumed with framing the conflict in military terms (Papacharissi and Oliveira 52). The depiction of events through a military lens meant events and occurrences were viewed through an overall military strategy. For example, the structure of editorials and features revolved around the progress of military policy. Subsequently, this meant that editorials, features and sources, and criticism of the U.S. administration's handling of the September 11 crisis, were all evaluated through the military frame.

In contrast, the *Financial Times of London* and the *Guardian* evaluated the conflict in broader diplomatic frames, where the level of reporting was more international and included reactions and viewpoints from other countries, including the United States (69).

In a similar comparative study of editorials in ten major U.S newspapers following the September 11 attacks, and the subsequent military invasion of Afghanistan, Ryan found that the editorialists depicted the conflict as "a new kind of war" and framed it in military terms (363).

The editorialists suggested that military intervention was inevitable, necessary, and a deterrence against future attacks (367). None suggested alternatives to military intervention, nor argued against it (372).

Inevitably, journalists' coverage of wars in which their countries are involved, places them in a dilemma, which impacts the framing process of these conflicts. On one hand, journalists are faced with the choice of whether to display patriotism or not. On the other hand, there is the question of objective reporting. Ultimately, the choice boils down to "our war" and "their war" in terms of coverage. The former refers to instances in which the journalists' country is at war and he or she is required to cover it. The latter alludes to situations in which journalists cover war in countries other than their own (Libes 44).

In a comparative study of U.S. and Israeli television coverage of the first Palestinian Intifadeh (uprising) in 1987 and the Gulf War of 1991, Liebes established that when journalists cover "our" war, they tend to excise the opposite side. Referring to the events before the Gulf war, Liebes notes that images of fleeing refugees from Kuwait and Iraq, European hostages and food shortages in Baghdad dominated television newscasts in the beginning (47). But shortly after, the human face of the unfolding tragedy disappeared and was replaced with images of burning oil wells and oil-soaked birds. In addition to sanitizing the war, reporters attribute equal strength to both sides of a conflict in "our" war coverage as well as personalizing it.

In contrast, in "their" war coverage, reporters dehumanize the other side and decontextualize its actions by not providing background information and not connecting incidents that are instrumental in causing the conflict (53). In essence, the conflict is defined in episodic frames that lack context, rather than in thematic frames that offer context.

The end of the Cold War precipitated the emergence of a new world order by re-arranging the international body polity. Previously weak political forces were re-energized while others lost their power. Subsequently, an increase in ethnic conflicts ensued (Huntington 29). Such conflicts resulted in the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, the advent of anarchy and failed statehood in Somalia, the occurrence of genocide in Rwanda, large scale massacres in Darfur, and war and carnage in the previously peaceful states of Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Ivory Coast. Similarly, the demise of the Cold War ushered in the advent of a rejuvenated Islamic fundamentalist movement in Arab and Muslim countries (32).

The advent of ethnic wars prompted media researchers to examine how the international media have framed ethnicity and religion in these conflicts.

Focusing on the Sudanese conflict that erupted in the south of the country in 1983, Zerai studied how a respected newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, depicted the conflict between 1989-2005, a period during which an Islamist government reigned. This particular conflict pitted rebels from the south against the Sudanese government. After 21 years, the conflict ended in January 2005 following a peace deal between the government and rebels of the Sudan People's Liberation Army.

Using content analysis, Zerai found that the ethnic/race and religious frames were predominant in the coverage. The conflict was described as happening between a predominately "Arab north" and a "black African south" (16). The narrative focused on depicting the north as an entity bent on imposing an Arab identity on the south, while the south was shown as resisting this attempt.

Likewise, the religious frame painted the conflict as arising from divergent religious identities in which the largely Muslim northerners were trying to impose their religion on the Christian and animist south (18).

According to Zerai, the depiction of the conflict in ethnic and racial terms raises several concerns. Firstly, it assumes that the mainstream readers of the *Monitor* have no ethnicity themselves. Zerai argues that this creates a sense of “otherness,” drawing a line between those who have no ethnicity (*Monitor* readers) and those with ethnicity, in this case the protagonists in the conflict (17). Secondly, the depiction of the conflict in ethnic and racial terms also presumes that those who have no ethnicity engage in conflict on rational and justifiable grounds, while those who have ethnicity engage in conflict because of irreconcilable ethnic differences.

The study surmises that the fixation on ethnicity and religion is erroneous. It assumes that the southern Sudan is a homogenous social unit and legitimizes the actions of its social actors for the largely mainstream Western readers of the *Monitor*. Not only does the ethnic and religious narrative conceal social differences in the south, it also obscures crucial factors related to history and context (25).

The resurgence of ethnic conflicts in the wake of the demise of the Cold War has also fueled research that focuses on the frames through which the media view these conflicts. In a study of news coverage of the Bosnian conflict in major Dutch newspapers of various editorial slants ranging from the right to the extreme left, the following frames were found to be predominant (Ruigrok et al 6-7):

- Armed conflict; focuses on the actions of the protagonists as well as the actions of other parties on external military actors such as the Dutch army and UN troops.

- Civil conflict; focuses on the suffering brought upon civilians by the main protagonists.
- Diplomatic intervention; means and processes to end the war through peaceful means like ceasefires or peace accords.
- Military intervention; focuses on military action to end the conflict.
- Humanitarian intervention; focuses on the delivery of humanitarian aid provided by aid agencies and obstruction by internal forces, the situation in the former Yugoslavia and its civilian population.
- Legal intervention; measures taken by the international community to end the conflict, the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the prosecution of war criminals in the former Yugoslavia.
- Dutch issues; focus on all issues pertaining to Dutch involvement in the conflict.

By its very nature, conflict is fraught with stories of human suffering, displacement, hunger, and death. This violent nature of conflict usually elicits frenzied coverage in the media if and when journalists are able to access the source of the news. But to what extent do the media devote attention to a particular conflict? And what kind of positions do the media take when covering these conflicts?

Auerbach and Bloch-Elkon analyzed patterns of coverage of the Bosnian conflict in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, during the period June 1991 to November 1995. They explored the level of attention devoted by both newspapers to the conflict and their positions on U.S policy during the crisis.

Basing their argument on the viewpoint that the media in the U.S play a crucial role in setting and determining the political agenda of most administrations, a role particularly evident in foreign policy issues, Auerback and Bloch-Elkon suggest that both papers pushed the U.S to take a more proactive stance towards the Bosnian conflict (83-84).

This push for a proactive stance was evident in the way the conflict was framed by both newspapers. While the newspapers adopted divergent positions, the metaframes and frames they employed compelled the Clinton administration to act proactively (85). Both researchers define metaframes as analytic reference tools used for categorizing and analyzing events. An example of a metaframe would be “World order.” In contrast, frames are defined as specific themes connected to a particular issue. (e.g ‘American role,’ ‘Serb aggression’).

The *Washington Post* framed the conflict in humanitarian terms, defined in terms of depicting the U.S as leader of the free world with responsibilities to prevent murder and carnage in Bosnia. On the other hand, the *New York Times* employed frames that dwelt on security and world order, suggesting that the Bosnian war would undermine stability in Europe (88).

The study concludes that both newspapers’ framing of the conflict, contributed to transforming the crisis from a point of hardly being noticed by decision policy makers in Washington, into a crisis that received higher attention and priority (96).

The difference in perception of a particular conflict among its stakeholders, and its subsequent framing, has interested researchers.

Wolfsfeld, in a comparison of the U.S and Israeli newspaper coverage of the Palestinian Intifadeh established the following: The American media framed the conflict in terms of injustice

and defiance, while the Israeli newspapers depicted the uprising as a law and order issue (149-163).

Consequently, news consumers in both countries can be expected to form decidedly different opinions about the reality of the situation on the ground. To some extent, this shows the significance of what framing is all about. It also shows that framing an issue in the media arises, or is dependent on the social orientation of the people who report the news and the news organizations they work for. Such orientation is nurtured by a myriad factors, such as politics, economics, geography, and religion.

Likewise, a study examining online coverage of the 2003 Iraq war in 246 news websites around the globe found stark differences in how the war was perceived and framed (Dimitrova et al 22). This study, which focused mainly on immediate news framing following the onset of the war, found that domestic news sites based in the U.S relied heavily on the military conflict frame, human interest frame, and media self-coverage frame to define the war for audiences. In contrast, foreign news sites framed the war through the attribution of responsibility frame (33).

While there's considerable framing research on conflict, which largely relies on textual analysis of narrative, some researchers have been curious about the visual framing of war and what it represents.

Using content analysis of 526 images on the home pages of 26 mainstream news sites during the first five weeks of the 2003 Iraq war, Schwalbe found that the following lenses were used to depict the war: conflict frame (war among the protagonists, the might of the U.S military machine), conquest frame (conquering march of U.S troops towards Baghdad), rescue frame

(rescue of U.S soldier Jessica Lynch), victory frame (capture of Baghdad), and the control frame, in which U.S soldiers were in charge in Baghdad (264).

A critical evaluation of media coverage of conflict reveals a persistent absence of depth, background information, and perspective. Reviewing how the media cover terrorism, Picard unearthed a pervasive lack of context and interpretation of background issues (87). He concluded that most newspaper space and time in the electronic media is concentrated on describing or showing the event itself, while little attention is devoted to explaining the causes, be they immediate, or remote (85). Likewise, Picard concludes that minimal attention is devoted to explaining the consequences of an incident.

The lack of context and background means that the conflict was depicted in episodic frames—a common theme in how wars are covered—rather than in thematic frames that offer more context and background.

According to Iyengar, episodic frames focus on immediate events or incidents and provide scant information or context about the root issues of the event or incident. On the other hand, thematic frames focus the broader picture and context, offering for instance, expert analysis, statistics or alternative viewpoints that enhance the public's understanding of an event from several perspectives (Iyengar 369).

Media coverage of Africa

To understand how the Darfur conflict is covered in the Western media, it is important to observe this in the context in which Africa is generally covered. Scholars who have analyzed how Africa is depicted in the Western media have identified that the coverage is scant, focuses

on ethnic conflict, humanitarian assistance, political uncertainty, violence, and famines (Hawk, 1992; Fair, 1993; McNulty, 1999; Wall, 1997; Musa, 2007).

In an examination of the *New York Times* coverage of U.S food aid sent to Africa in the 1980s, Fair observed that the continent garners scant coverage. A significant portion of the stories are event-based and crisis-oriented. Furthermore, Africa is conceived in a narrow focus that reveals a continent entangled in a quagmire of military and political uncertainties (Fair 7a). Africans are cast as dependent and helpless, while the U.S was depicted as a benevolent and compassionate aid giver (Fair 114).

Similarly, Hawk notes that commercial and financial constraints in the U.S media and restrictions by African governments have contributed to minimal coverage of Africa. This has resulted in a dearth of contextual information about the continent (Hawk 4). As a result, the coverage is stereotypical and misleading. Most times, stories about Africa are those that are easily packed in brief dispatches, written in simple terms to make it comfortable for Western audiences to understand. These stories are usually about coups, famines, wars, diseases, race, and ethnicity (Hawk 6).

The end of the Cold War in the early 1990s ushered in a new era that redefined international politics. But did the portrayal of issues regarding Africa in the Western media evolve as well to take into account the New World Order?

Schraeder and Endless argue that although there was a peak in positive stories in 1990 as a result of optimism generated by the demise of the Cold War, this expectation was short-lived (32). Studying how the *New York Times* depicted Africa from 1955 to 1995, both researchers assert that African politics and society were consistently portrayed negatively by a large

proportion (33). Race was identified as the defining characteristic of African politics and society, as well as ethnicity and religion. Overall, although the *New York Times* coverage evolved to take stock of new political realities in the wake of the end of the Cold War, some issues regarding the newspaper's coverage of Africa remained constant. In particular, the negative and sensationalist aspects of covering African politics and society did not change much (34).

The advent of a New World order following the end of the Cold War opened the path for the emergence of a revolution in telecommunications (Musa 16). New technological developments resulted in new forms of communication through new media, as Internet usage increased world wide. Communication-wise, it has been posited that these developments will empower individuals and disempower institutions. Ordinary people will be empowered to create and share their own narratives, becoming politically strengthened in the process (Fine xv).

Wall examined how the advent of new media plays out in the depiction of Africa on the popular social-networking site YouTube. In a content analysis of videos about Ghana and Kenya posted between December 2007 and January 2008, Wall found that a majority of the videos were posted by Westerners. Despite the fact that the depiction did not centre on violence and chaos, it was still stereotypical. The dominant themes focused on aid work and religion (Wall 403-404). With regards to aid work, the videos showed international projects that focused on improving education and protecting wildlife in Kenya. The underlying message was one of Westerners trying to protect or save Kenya. On religion, Westerners were the centre of the narrative with the Africans cast in supporting roles (403).

Regarding conflict, the ethnic theme is predominant in media coverage of Africa. In a chapter looking at Western media coverage of war and genocide in Rwanda, McNulty observed

that the conflict was largely portrayed as ethnic or tribal (268). References such as “centuries-old,” “ethnic”, or “tribal conflict,” painted the Hutu and Tutsi protagonists as genetically predisposed to war (McNulty 272).

Additionally, McNulty observed that coverage of conflicts in Africa is determined by the extent to which Western powers are willing to be involved, both from a military and humanitarian perspective. As a result, the promotion of the humanitarian agenda predominates (McNulty 268).

Comparing U.S news magazine coverage of the Bosnian and Rwandan conflicts, Wall found that war was portrayed as an abnormal occurrence in Europe, while the Rwandan crisis was cast as a normal event prevalent in Africa. Combatants in Bosnia were depicted as making logical, albeit evil, decisions to wage violence. However, the violence in Rwanda was cast as an “unavoidable” occurrence and strange to Western understanding. Additionally, the Rwanda protagonists were painted as inferior, primitive, and savage beings when compared to the West (Wall 1997, 411).

In another analysis of coverage of the 1994 Rwanda genocide in *Newsweek*, *Time*, *U.S News and World Report*, Wall established that the humanitarian agenda was predominant with aid workers being quoted frequently. In contrast, ordinary Rwandans were portrayed as passive beings (Wall 1997a 124-125).

As well, conflict in Africa is increasingly seen through the lens of the “new barbarism,” a term meaning that conflict in certain parts of the world break out as a result of irrational and violent reasons perpetuated by uncivilized people (Keen 81-101).

Analysis on research on the Sierra Leone war (1991-2002) in the Western media reveals that the conflict was viewed through the theories of the “new barbarism.” The media coverage focused on suggestive images of civilian massacres and tales of child soldiers. This depiction casts Africa as a hopeless continent, a viewpoint that serves to justify non-intervention by the major powers (Bau 7).

When ethnicity is portrayed as a major cause of war in Africa, it obscures other political, social, historical, and economic factors that contribute to the outbreak of armed conflict and obstructs a broader understanding of conflict, limiting it to the view that war is only rooted in some primordial sentiment of social difference (Zerai 5). For instance, research indicates that the framing of the 1994 Rwanda crisis in ethnic terms masked crucial factors behind the outbreak of hostilities in the Central African nation. Musa has noted that political and economic factors were instrumental in fuelling hostilities, more than ethnicity or tribalism (167).

As well, the depiction of the Darfur conflict, which is framed as a war pitting “Arabs” against “Africans,” has been noted by leading Darfur researchers as misleading. The reality on the ground is much more complex as identity itself is a fluid issue in Darfur (de Waal 185-187 and Prunier 4).

Assessing European media coverage of Africa, some scholars have established that it is similar to the American media depiction, where stereotypical portrayal and pushing the humanitarian agenda are constant themes (Marthoz 225-231).

Additionally, coverage is sparse and tainted by colonial links (Marthoz 226). This means that media from Britain, Italy, Belgium, and France tend to concentrate on covering events in countries that were formerly their colonies. Coverage of the continent is also carried out by few

journalists, some of whom do not speak local languages. This means the reporting relies on information from government sources, the UN and NGOs, and lacks depth and context (Marthoz 227).

The theme of violence, whether brought about as a result of ethnic war or political changes, is hard to miss in Western media coverage of Africa.

Comparing coverage of the Rwandan and the Bosnian genocides in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, Musa has established that Rwanda was depicted as being more violent than Bosnia (165). The fixation with the themes of violence in Rwanda had ramifications for diplomats and other policy makers because it created the perception that the Rwanda conflict was unsolvable.

Framing the Darfur conflict

The genocide tag attached to the Darfur conflict by then U.S secretary of state, Colin Powell in September 2004, generated a considerable amount of media attention. Subsequently, this aroused the interest of media researchers around the world who used a variety of theories to investigate whether the conflict has parallels with ethnic wars in Bosnia and Rwanda in the 1990s.

As previously mentioned, such research in North America has tended to concentrate on how American media framed the Darfur conflict. There is a dearth of framing studies on Canadian media coverage of Darfur, which could be used as a measure to detect gaps in research.

On April 28, 2006, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1647, also known as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) resolution. R2P mandates the international

community to intervene in a sovereign nation's affairs if that nation fails to protect the human rights of its citizens.

The labelling of the Darfur conflict as genocide, and the adoption of R2P, raised the prospects of whether or not the West should intervene. It is worth reiterating that the Darfur conflict was frequently viewed through the lenses of the Rwanda genocide and the subsequent failure by the international community to intervene. Subsequently, Darfur-related research focused on whether or not the media played a role in advocating for intervention.

In a content analysis of major U.S television networks' (ABC, CBS, and NBC) coverage of Darfur on prime time, between January 2003 and April 2007, Soderlund et al established that intervention ranked high on how the news was framed (16).

The push for intervention was generated through "empathy framing," which was geared toward garnering sympathy for the victims of the conflict (15). This was achieved through the use of words and visuals. Regarding the choice of words, the networks used terms such as "ethnic-cleansing," "genocide," and "rape" to generate empathy for the victims. As well, the promotion of the intervention agenda was evident in the choice of words used by politicians, anchors, journalists and aid workers.

In a story dealing with the 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz, Congressman Tom Lantos remarked that "Darfur is a holocaust and the civilized world seems to be standing by," to which reporter Jonathan Karl added, "Remembering is crucial, but not enough" (ABC 2005, Jan. 27). In another story Kofi Annan "called for a larger UN peacekeeping role," and it was reported as well that former African Union observer Brian Steidle's goal was "to force the international community to take action against Sudan," to

which anchor Thalia Assuras added, “Where is the American public” (CBS 2005, May 7)? Finally near the end of 2005, at the conclusion of a long interview focused on childrens’ visual portrayals of the death and destruction they had witnessed, Dr. Annie Sparrow of Human Rights Watch commented that “[I]t’s like a breach of humanity to be able to sit back and not try to provide protection for these people” (as quoted on ABC 2005, Dec. 5). (Soderlund et al 15).

Visuals were also used to generate empathy and promote intervention. Nearly three-quarters of the stories included images of burning or burnt out villages, corpses on the ground, malnourished children and refugees arriving at camps (15).

But in their conclusion, Soderlund et al determined that, despite the empathy-generating newscasts, the coverage failed to give the crisis adequate visibility that would have resulted in swaying opinion in favour of intervention (27). While the research asserts that media coverage was one of several factors instrumental in pushing the Sudanese government to accept a UN peace-keeping force in the spring of 2007, it notes that Khartoum accepted the force after the war had raged on for four years.

This conclusion is consistent with Carragee and Roef’s assertion of the shortcomings of framing research, which is hampered by problems in defining frames, inattention to frame sponsorship (the strategic cultivation of an identity by individuals and groups that is used to frame their image in the news media), and the inability to account for broader political and social contexts (214).

Media coverage or framing of an issue alone is insufficient to prompt an intervention in Darfur, if it does not take into account other factors that might stand in the way of this

intervention. For instance, at the time Colin Powell labelled the conflict as genocide, the U.S and most of its allies were trapped in a war in Iraq that was taking a considerable toll on their troops. With a war that demanded considerable troop numbers, it was obvious that the West wasn't going to intervene in Darfur.

Similarly, Zagorski explores the intervention theme by examining the motivations behind the media's push for intervention. As a conveyor of information to the public, are the media independent in the way they frame conflicts and push for intervention or do they take their cue from policy makers?

Using Bennett's indexing theory, which states that media coverage of a particular issue is determined by the amount of attention policy makers devote to it, Zagorski analyzes coverage of the Rwanda and Darfur crises on American television networks (ABC and CBS) and the *New York Times* with the aim of assessing whether there were any lessons learnt—by both media and public officials—in the way the Rwanda genocide was framed. According to Zagorski, in the U.S, the media are unlikely to cover a political event unless Congress placed it on its policy agenda (2). Additionally, Zagorski states that the actions Washington takes also determine how an issue is covered by the media.

The study concludes that ABC, CBS and the *New York Times* framed the Darfur and Rwanda conflicts in terms similar to the official policy options of the Bush and Clinton administrations. For Darfur, the conflict was described as genocide, which echoed the viewpoint of the Bush administration. Rwanda was framed in terms other than genocide, which officially represented the Clinton administration's non-interventionist policy at the time (19).

Zagorski's study draws from the assertion that media in the U.S are supposed to be independent, and play watchdog and policy advocate roles. On this premise, Zagorski posits that if the media are independent, and learnt lessons from the Rwanda genocide, their coverage would be geared towards ending the atrocities in Darfur, rather than masking genocide. On the other hand, if the media employed indexing, then their description of the term genocide would reflect the policies of the Clinton and Bush administrations respectively (19).

While indexing assumes that media take their cues from the political elite, these cues are not the only factors influencing coverage of events. First, the assumption that the political elite influence coverage does not account for the influence of other competing frames such as those who might be opposed to or support a particular viewpoint. Nor does it account for the individual efforts of reporters, editors, and news organizations who are capable of planting an issue on the public agenda.

Second, indexing does not account for the viewpoint of the grassroots. While the viewpoints of those opposed to the claim that genocide was committed in Darfur attracted minimal attention in the media, grassroots organizations supporting intervention were quite successful in garnering considerable media attention.

For instance, in the case of the Darfur conflict, the Save Darfur Coalition, a grassroots organization with a membership of more than 170 faith-based, advocacy and humanitarian organizations, has been effective in generating considerable media attention for the conflict. Through mass rallies, such as the one held on April 30, 2006, attended by 100,000 people in Washington D.C, and letter-writing campaigns, the Coalition has kept the Darfur issue alive in

the media. It has pressured U.S companies to divest from corporations investing in Sudan, and spurred the Bush administration to impose sanctions on Sudan.

Andrew Natsios, President George W. Bush's special envoy to Sudan, acknowledged the coalition's influence on the media when he was quoted in the *Washington Post* saying, "The Save Darfur Coalition has kept this issue in the news media and before the public and has focused the issue in a way that hasn't happened in foreign relations maybe since the South Africa anti-apartheid movement" (Birnbaum D01).

If policy-makers and grassroots organizations are instrumental in generating media attention for the Darfur conflict, to what extent was media attention devoted to the conflict, and at what point and for what reasons? And how was the conflict framed?

Using Anthony Downs's 1972 issue attention cycle, Wozniak explores media attention for the Darfur conflict to identify specific points that were responsible for generating coverage (4).

The study focuses on coverage in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the *Guardian* newspaper in Britain in the first three years of the conflict—2003-2006. Citing Downs, Wozniak notes that according to the issue attention cycle, a problem has three stages in the media cycle. 1) Pre-problem stage, in which the problem is hardly in the public's attention. 2) Alarmed discovery stage, which occurs when a focusing or triggering event spurs attention that reaches euphoric enthusiasm and then declines in the public's eye after a solution is discovered to the problem. 3) The post-problem stage, described as "a twilight realm of lesser attention or spasmodic recurrences of interest" (5).

The study identifies that two issues sparked media attention for the conflict. 1) The marking of the tenth anniversary of the Rwanda genocide in April 2004. 2) Secretary of State Colin Powell's description of events in Darfur as genocide on September 9, 2004 (19).

As mentioned previously, the Rwanda genocide is an exemplar for the Darfur conflict. This means that it was used as a model for measuring the actions and responses of policy-makers and the media. Viewed through the Rwanda lens, the study concludes that the three newspapers framed the conflict as follows: As a campaign by a dictatorial Arab-led Sudanese government to exterminate Africans; the world community's insufficient response to the conflict; and the need to intervene (22). Similarly, through Colin's Powell's labelling of the conflict as genocide, the study concludes that the scale of atrocities warrants action or *intervention* (italics added).

The relationship between frame construction and the processes that affect reporters' coverage of the Darfur conflict has been of interest to some researchers.

In a study of the *New York Times* coverage of the Darfur between July 1, 2003 and July 1, 2006, Kothari established the existence of the "ethnic conflict frame" and "U.S and West as saviours frame," (69). Stories with a predominantly "ethnic conflict" frame contained Sudanese people as the primary sources. In contrast, stories depicting the U.S and the West as saviours quoted U.S officials and human rights experts as the primary sources.

How do African newspapers cover conflicts in Africa? Alozie has established that such coverage can be similar to Western media depiction of conflict in Africa. In a study of the coverage of the Darfur conflict in South Africa's *Mail and Guardian*, Alozie established that the coverage lacked depth and context, was scant with a predominant characterization of the conflict as a racially motivated squabble (79).

Significance of Study

A search of databases of peer-reviewed journal articles reveals that studies of Canadian newspaper coverage of the Darfur conflict are virtually non-existent. While there are several studies emanating from researchers from Canada and the U.S., the focus has largely been on examining how the conflict has been covered in American media. Moreover, there are no framing studies examining how the conflict has been covered in Canada's largest and most influential newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*.

The aim of this thesis is therefore to examine the Canadian perspective of how the conflict has been covered and framed by the country's two largest and arguably most influential English-language newspapers, so as to draw conclusions relevant to Canada and to further and add knowledge to the body of framing research.

Rationale for choosing the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*

The *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* were selected because of their status as newspapers with the largest circulation in Canada, because of their divergent editorial slants, and their devotion to covering international affairs.

Established in 1843, the *Globe and Mail* has been described as a traditional and conservative newspaper that caters to an upscale audience (Cobb 24 and Desbarats 15). Its readership has been described as "better educated than average, better off than average, more interested in politics, economics and world news than average" (Stewart 112). The *Globe and Mail* draws its strength from in-depth coverage of national and international politics and is respected for its analysis, while its large arts section appeals to the intellectual class (Dutkiewicz 2).

On the other hand, since its launch in 1892 as the *Evening Star: A Paper for the people*, by a group of hard-up printers, the *Star* has always been “a staunchly Liberal organ in opposition to the Conservative *Globe*,” boasting of a reputation as the only paper in Toronto employing union labour at the time it was established (Desbarats 15). According to Desbarats, the *Toronto Star*’s strong points lie in covering local news, crime, sports and politics. In 1899, Joseph E. Atkinson gained ownership of the paper. As publisher, he was determined that the *Star* would be a paper for the public, laying the foundation for firm liberal principals that have been described as “literally sacred” as a result of a will he wrote in 1948, stipulating that the paper should be for the benefit of the public (Cobb 70). More than a century later, this liberal political leaning and reputation as the “people’s paper” continues to direct the *Toronto Star*’s editorial line today.

Because the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* are headquartered in Toronto, Canada’s largest city and most multicultural urban setting, both papers devote a considerable amount of coverage to international affairs, which touch the lives of their primary audience in the city. This is evident in the pursuit of local angles that connect to broader international stories. When it comes to covering Africa, the *Globe and Mail*, for a considerable amount of the time hostilities in Darfur were unfolding, maintained a roving reporter—Stephanie Nolen—to cover the continent. The *Star*, on the other hand, occassionally sent reporters to Africa when major stories were breaking.

Finally, both newspapers were selected for this study because of their large reach. The *Globe and Mail*, for instance, is a national newspaper, with regional editions across the country. The *Toronto Star*, although primarily widely read in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), is the largest circulation daily in the country. According to 2008 data from the Canadian Newspaper

Association, the *Toronto Star's* weekly circulation figures were 2.3 million copies, making it the largest circulation newspaper in Canada. For the same period, the *Globe and Mail's* weekly circulation stood at 1.9 million, earning it a slot as Canada's second largest circulation daily.

Darfur: From Obscurity to Prominence

In Arabic, the term Darfur means the land of the Fur (Daly 5). The region known as Darfur was an independent sultanate ruled by a succession of sultans from the Fur tribe from 1600 to 1916, when the British conquered it and annexed it to the rest of the Sudan (115). Remote, and mostly desert and inhabited by nomadic and pastoralist tribes, Darfur, once it was incorporated into the Sudanese state, remained on the fringes even after Sudan attained independence in 1956 (Prunier 23).

Ethnically diverse, the tribal mosaic in Darfur had mechanisms for solving conflicts based on local customs. While ethnic feuds between Arabs and Africans were common, the conflicts did not attach the “Arab” versus “African” connotations currently in use in the 21st century (Prunier 23).

In addition, the use of the term “Arab” carries a lot of ambiguity in modern Sudan. Part of this ambiguity can be found in the founding myth of the Fur-led sultanate, which, although African in origin, claims Arab descent (Prunier 8). In northern Sudan, Sudanese who claim Arab origin “believe they are racially and culturally Arab, complemented by Islam” (Deng 3).

However, de Waal has observed that while the Arabism of the people in Darfur is derived from an archaic sense of being “Bedouin”, the Nilo-centric Sudanese identity of Arabism in northern Sudan is largely defined on the basis of culture. In response, people from the Southern part of Sudan define themselves as African to distinguish themselves from northern Sudanese, consequently establishing the now familiar Arab versus African discourse in Sudanese society (de Waal 185-87).

The origin of the current conflict can be traced to the 1960s. Darfur was traditionally a stronghold of the Umma party. Umma party members pledged allegiance to descendants of the Mahdi, who in 1885, forced the British out of Sudan by defeating General Charles Gordon in the battle of Khartoum in 1885 (Prunier 39 and Daly 196). Prior to marching to Khartoum, the Mahdi recruited most of his soldiers from Darfur. Long neglected by the colonials and the new post-colonial government in Khartoum, under-development was a theme that was used to accentuate racial differences in the province.

By the 1960s, the Umma party was undergoing a crisis, as a result of a power struggle between Sadiq Al Mahdi and his uncle Imam Al Hadi Mahdi, the leader of the party. Darfur became the focal point for a pre-election jockeying as the two leaders tried to win the support of the electorate (Daly 197). By the time elections were called in 1968, the party had split into two factions, one led by Sadiq and the other by Al Hadi. Darfur became a battle ground as the two leaders sought to exert their influence in the region. The numerical superiority of the Fur became a point of contention. Sadiq, seeing that the “demography will favour the Fur and other ‘African tribes,’ struck an alliance with a Fur leader named Ahmed Ibrahim Diraige” (Prunier 41). This in turn forced Imam Al Hadi to court the support of the “Arab tribes.”

Subsequently, the “African” tribes were told that Darfur was under-developed because “it was the fault of the Arabs.” Prunier observes that the Fur, the Masalit and the Zaghawa were only too ready to believe this statement since their tribes were “largely absent from the Khartoum power structure” (41). However, Prunier notes that while the Arabs in the centre who ruled Sudan didn’t care about the African tribes in Darfur, they equally did not care about their

Arab brethren in the region (41). In other words, the social and economic marginalization of Darfur within the Sudanese state was regional and not racial or cultural (42).

Other external factors that contributed to ethnic animosity in Darfur arose from political developments in neighbouring countries. In the mid 1960s, Chad, which neighbours Darfur to the West, was going through a civil war pitting Muslim rebels against a Christian-led government in the south of the country. Khartoum provided logistical support to the rebels—Front du Liberation Nationale du Tchad or Frolinat—and gave them training bases in Darfur (43). By 1969, Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi developed a significant interest in the ongoing civil war in Chad resulting in the provision of rear bases for Frolinat inside Libya. A strident Pan-Arabist and a cultural Arab supremacist (although he has now become a Pan-African), Gaddafi embarked on a plan to create an “Arab belt” in the Sahara (45). In 1971, the Libyan leader proposed a plan that would unify Libya and Sudan, but Jafaar Nimeiri, who was then president of Sudan, rejected the idea. Undeterred, Gaddafi embarked on a plan to create an Islamic Legion that would be instrumental in carrying out his revolutionary plan for the Arabization of the region. When Darfur’s Arab tribes created a militant and racist Pan-Arabist organisation called the *Tajamu al Arabi* (Arab Union) to promote the Arab character of the province, Gaddafi supported them (45-47).

The injection of external factors changed the dynamics of how Darfurian tribes perceived themselves, as they were forced to declare themselves either as “Arab” or “African.” Age-old social and economic grievances were interpreted in increasingly ethnic and racial terms (57). As de Waal notes, the transfer of the term “African” from Southern Sudan to Darfur injected a radical and traumatic simplification of the complex identity structure in the province. Darfurian

tribes had no difficulties with the different identities in the province and the distinction between “Arab” and “African” did not arise, but the labels have now acquired a powerful resonance, now widely used by journalists and diplomats (187).

The New World Order and increase in ethnic conflicts

The ethnic dimensions of the Darfur conflict must be viewed in the context of changes on the global international scene after the demise of the Cold War. After the end of World War II, the world witnessed the rise of many conflicts, mainly proxy wars arising from ideological differences between the Soviet Bloc and the West. But the end of the Cold War precipitated the emergence of a new world order, which realigned the international political sphere, resulting in some political forces being strengthened and others weakened (Musa 3-5).

As a result, an increase in intra-group and international conflicts ensued (Huntington 29 and Musa 27-137). In regards to ethnic conflicts, the realignment “unleashed the centrifugal ethnic and tribal forces within nation-states” (Tehrani 193). This is best exemplified by the outbreak of ethnic fighting in the former Yugoslav Republic, Somalia, Rwanda, Liberia, Ivory Coast, and Darfur.

The rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the New World Order

The new world order and the end of bi-polar power politics, best illustrated by the era of nuclear brinkmanship, also paved the way for the rise of a rejuvenated Islamic fundamentalist political movement in the Arab and Muslim World (Huntington 32). Huntington observed that the fall of the Berlin Wall would give rise to a Western-style democracy in Muslim countries, sparking a “clash of civilizations” and thereby increasing Muslim animosity towards the West (32-35). Bernard Lewis has also observed that Islamic fundamentalism will rise and pose a threat

as a result of Muslim rejection of the tenets of Western civilization (26). Islamic fundamentalism is distinguishable from traditional Islam in the sense that the former seeks to create a “new order”, while the latter is more concerned with teaching adherents how to live according to God’s will (Pipes 10).

Bassam Tibi has also observed that tenets of this fundamentalist threat lie in the fact that the core doctrine of Islamic fundamentalism aims to eradicate secularism and replace it with a divine order or *hakimmiyat Allah*. The replacement of secularism, however, is not only limited to the home countries of the Islamic fundamentalists but is envisaged as a basis for a new world order (xi). In addition, Tibi notes that in contrast to other religions, for instance Hinduism, Islamic viewpoints are not restricted by regional or national boundaries. In other words, the universalism of Islam—a tenet which is found in Western civilization—is where the basis of the threat lies, in that Islam becomes similar, in outlook and claims, to Western civilization. These disparate but competing outlooks ultimately lead to a “War of Civilizations” between the West and Islam (15-16).

While fundamentalist Islamic movements existed in many Muslim countries during the Cold War era, several factors ensured that the political activities of these groups were not as pronounced as they were after the fall of the Berlin Wall. In particular the lack of democratic space in a majority of the Muslim countries, served to curtail the political activities of the fundamentalists (Spencer 93-107, Azzam 109-147, Milton-Edwards 123-142). Like all political organisations, the activities of the Islamist movements were directly linked to local political stakes in their respective countries (Roy 129). As a result, in some countries, political expediency ensured that some of these movements, which mainly operated outside the realm of

mainstream politics, remained supportive of the autocratic regimes in their home countries, because of a shared interest in combating Communism and its scourge of secularism.

In the Sudan scenario, the Islamists operated under the aegis of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Brotherhood was essentially a puritanical movement that was opposed to sufism and sectarianism, two factors that are intertwined into the religious and political spheres of the country, where the dominant political parties—the Umma and the Democratic Unionist Party—derive their support from (Burr and Collins xv). But the Muslim Brotherhood’s involvement in politics meant that it had to adjust its rhetoric to accommodate itself to a Sudanese society in which traditions of popular Islam and sufism are overwhelmingly dominant, in order to establish a foothold and acceptance (Sidahmed 213). Sidahmed observes that “by the same token, they watered down their anti-sectarianist rhetoric and allied themselves with the mainstream parties the Umma and the DUP; first to combat Communism and then to build a coalition for the enforcement of an ‘Islamic constitution,’”(213).

Islamism in Sudan and its impact on ethnic tensions in Darfur

On 30 June 1989, a group of Sudanese army officers with Islamist leanings led by Brigadier Omar Ahmad Hassan Al-Beshir, seized power from the democratically elected government of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi (Burr and Collins 1). The Muslim Brotherhood’s ascendance to power radically altered the political dynamics in Darfur by exacerbating the existing ethnic cleavages in the province and undermining traditional authorities. Sworn to building a new Sudan that would be governed by Islamic principles and the Quran, the new government embarked on a zealous program of defining a new identity based on the pillars of

Arabic culture, language and Islam, despite the fact that less than half of Sudan's population claims Arab descent and a third are non-Muslims (Burr and Collins 286).

The Brotherhood viewed its mission as one of "civilizing" the Sudanese people in the Islamic way. Through this lens, the new Islamist state stripped Sudanese of their rights as worthy citizens endowed with civil and human rights. Consequently, Sudanese citizens were seen as properties of the state who must tow to the demands of the civilizing mission of the Islamists in order to construct a "righteous society." As a result, an elaborate policy of coercion, political and religious indoctrination and the use of force by a paramilitary Islamic army called the People's Defence Forces (PDF) was instituted to transform the country into the ideal Islamic state (Gallab 11).

In line with its imposition of an Arabo-centric identity on the country, the Islamic government continued arming Baggara tribesmen—a process that was started in the 1980s by Al-Mahdi—in the hope that the tribe will be integrated into the PDF (286). Better armed than the Fur, Masalit and the Zaghawa, the Baggara gained the upper hand in settling tribal scores, although in the current ensuing war in Darfur, they have remained neutral.

But perhaps the most crucial decision that spiralled Darfur towards war was taken by Ali Alhaj, minister of federal affairs. In February 1994, Alhaj divided Darfur into three separate states (Daly 262). The division rendered the traditional ethnic authorities in the province powerless. The Fur tribe, previously a majority in Darfur, found itself split into three and rendered a minority in each of the new states. To add insult to injury, the Islamists appointed new "Arab" governors who did not hail from the traditional Arab families in Darfur. Further undermining of traditional authorities occurred when the hereditary sultan of the Masalit was

replaced and the tribe's chiefs were stripped of their powers. When the Masalit protested, their sultanate was placed under military rule, a move which forced them to launch a guerilla war (Burr and Collins 287).

The new world order and the communications revolution

Most technological advances in the field of communication have often been called a revolution. The "revolution" label attached to these advances has a long history (Slack 77). The revolutionary status, however, often means that technological advances lead to a new form of communication through new media.

The Darfur conflict occurred in the era of the Internet, which is characterized by new forms of communication that link voice, video and data, carried through fiber-optic networks that have cut down the cost of sending information. Global access to the Internet has risen dramatically over the past few years standing at 385 million users today.

A key aspect of the upsurge in Internet usage is the fact that information has become ubiquitous (Cairncross 80). In addition, the Internet revolution and the rise in wireless connectivity have contributed to what Cairncross calls the "death of distance" which is "killing location, putting the world in our pockets" (2). This essentially means that the horrors of a far-flung conflict can be directly delivered to individuals on their computers, wireless phones and other mobile devices like BlackBerry, iPhones or iPods.

Research Methodology

This study aims to assess how the Darfur conflict was covered in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, two of Canada's most influential and widely read English-language newspapers. Specifically, the study aims to address the following research questions:

1-*What are the themes used by the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star in framing the Darfur conflict?*

2-*Who are the social actors that framed the conflict?*

3-*What are the implications of these themes for the public and for policy-makers?*

A random keyword search of the word "Darfur" in the *Canadian Newsstand* database was employed in retrieving the newspaper articles. The use of a random keyword search has been established in previous framing research on the Darfur conflict (Alozie 66 and Kothari 34).

The articles retrieved for study include news, features, opinions, and editorials from March 1, 2003 to March 1, 2008. Within this five-year span, the study focuses on specific phases of the conflict that triggered media coverage and generated public interest, domestically and globally.

After a meticulous reading of the articles from both newspapers, the phases were grouped in the following years: 2003-2004; 2005-2006; and 2007-2008. The first phase (2003-2004) represents the pre-problem stage, when opinions and information about the war was scant. The second phase (2005-2006) represents the awareness stage, during which information about the conflict was available and opinions about it had been formed. The last phase (2007-2008) is the resolution stage, where opinions about the conflict were in a mature stage, with known remedies to end it.

In 2003, Darfur garnered little media attention in the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star*. At this point, it is important to note that although the conflict erupted in early 2003, it wasn't until December 8th of the same year that the *Globe and Mail* first carried a Darfur story. The *Toronto Star* on the other hand took almost a year before it published a story on the conflict on April 17, 2004. This dearth in coverage of the Darfur conflict is a well-documented phenomenon in other major newspapers in the Western world. For instance, the *Washington Post* first covered a story about Darfur in October 2003, devoting only five sentences to the killing of nine Sudanese aid workers. The first stories about Darfur in the *New York Times* and the *Guardian* in Britain appeared in January 2004 (Wozniak 6).

But a slow build-up of media coverage began in March 2004 when Mukesh Kapila, the UN Resident Coordinator for Sudan described the conflict in terms that evoked memories of the Rwandan and Balkan conflicts, when he said attacks on Darfur tribes were “close to the definition of ethnic-cleansing” (Associated Press A.22). A month later in April, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, on the tenth anniversary of the Rwanda genocide, described events in Darfur as a “Rwanda-style” genocide and said the international community could not afford to be neutral as the atrocities unfolded (Saleh A16). Another major headline-grabbing event occurred in September, when U.S secretary of state Colin Powell officially established his government's position on the conflict by labelling it genocide.

These three announcements served to firmly establish Darfur on the media radar around the world and in Canada in the pre-problem phase. Domestically, as the conflict began to gain prominence, editorials and opinion pieces penned by leading diplomats, politicians, academics, aid workers and activists began to appear frequently in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*.

Following Annan's declaration that a Rwanda-style genocide may be unfolding in Darfur, the *Globe and Mail* dispatched its Africa correspondent, Stephanie Nolen, to the region in June 2004, where she rendered a human face to the conflict in feature-length articles that offered depth and context. Through her stories, Nolen explored the human suffering of internally displaced people, focusing on the plight of women and children, overcrowding, sky-rocketing commodity prices in the centres hosting the displaced, and the stereotypes behind the conflict.

For instance, in the town of Mornay, which she described as "a small pleasant town" with a population of 5,000, conditions worsened when hundreds of displaced Darfuris fleeing Janjaweed attacks arrived in the, increasing the population to 90,000. As a result, food prices sky-rocketed up and resources in Mornay were stretched to the limit (Nolen A.8). "Human waste litters the street because there are hardly any latrines," Nolen observed. Focusing on the plight of women and children because of poor nutrition, Nolen wrote that "conditions in town are so stressful that some women's breast milk has dried up and their small babies are wasting before their eyes."

A constant refrain in the ongoing war in Darfur is the claim that nomadic Arab tribes, aided by the Sudanese government, were forcing African tribes to vacate land for the former. Nolen and a group of reporters from the BBC visited an area previously settled by the African Zaghawa ethnic group to explore this claim. She was able to interview an Arab tribe living in the area. Asked where the Zaghawa inhabitants of the area were, the leader of the Arab tribe simply said that the Zaghawa had moved to the cities and abandoned the area (Nolen A.8). Through this story, Nolen was able to explain to the *Globe and Mail's* readers, tangible proof that African

farmers were being forced off their land in Darfur as well as shed light on some of stereotypes that have contributed to the outbreak of conflict in Darfur, as shown in the excerpt below.

Nomads see Africans as inferior: only a poor man who cannot afford cows or camels must grow his food. And the Africans in turn tend to view the nomads as savages. In recent decades, the nomads' view has been bolstered by an Arab-supremacist ideology spread through the region by Libya's Moammar Gadhafi to the north and echoed in the pro-Arab ideology of Khartoum.

Similarly, Levon Sevunts, a freelancer working for the *Toronto Star*, accomplished the same task two months later in August, when he was sent to Darfur. While Nolen's coverage was carried out in UN safe havens for refugees and areas controlled by the government, Sevunts ventured into rebel-controlled territory and gave *Toronto Star* readers an entirely different perspective of the conflict in areas under rebel control.

In particular, Sevunts was able to interview rebel soldiers and get their viewpoint on why they were fighting. But perhaps most importantly, Sevunts was able to speak to ordinary Darfuris behind rebel lines and present their problems to the world.

For instance, in several stories in August 2004, Sevunts was able to capture the daily fear that people behind rebel lines have to live with as a result of bombing raids by the Sudan air force. These are the kind of stories that the wire services and reporters in government-held areas are unable to access. In the village of Shegek Kan in northern Darfur, Sevunts wrote that high-altitude planes allegedly belonging to the Sudanese air force, released a "white powder" that killed two people and injured 50 others (Sevunts A.8). Villagers interviewed were adamant that this was not the usual "hard metal" dropped in previous air raids, leading to hints that the Sudan

government could be using chemical weapons in its fight against the Darfur rebels. Needless to say, this claim remains an under-reported issue by the wire services and other reporters.

Nolen and Sevunts reporting was candid and offered a contextual understanding of the conflict. However, reviewing both reporters' coverage, Nolen's was more personal, up-close and candid, perhaps more evident in her use of the first pronoun to tell her stories. Nolen's contextual reporting, her desire to tell the personal stories of ordinary Darfuris affected by the war, were feats that which won her an Amnesty International award for humanitarian coverage (Oziewicz A.2).

The awareness phase in 2005-2006 was marked by media interest in the proactive stance taken by leaders at the UN and Canadian politicians, who exerted diplomatic pressure on Sudan and pushed for humanitarian action. In January 2005, for the first time, Kofi Annan called for sanctions to be imposed on the Sudanese government for its unwillingness to reign in its militia in Darfur ("Annan calls for sanctions" A.09). In May 2005, Prime Minister Paul Martin's offer of \$170 million in increased aid to Darfur, and his naming of an advisory council on Darfur, consisting of prominent individuals such as Ambassador Robert Fowler, and Senators Mobina Jaffer and Roméo Dallaire, served to increase media coverage domestically (Fraser A06).

Similarly, Martin's increased aid offer, seen in some quarters as an attempt to woo independent MP David Kilgour's vote to shore up his minority Liberal government in a confidence vote, generated intense media attention domestically. The tabling of a radical Canadian initiative, the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) resolution, before the UN Security Council in April 2006, was another factor that generated intense media scrutiny both domestically and internationally (Mozersky and Rock A20). The R2P initiative was designed to

address failures by the international community to prevent war crimes, ethnic-cleansing, genocide and crimes against humanity. It was considered radical because it mandates the international community to intervene in a sovereign nation's affairs if that nation is unwilling or unable to take measures to stop crimes against humanity within its borders. As well, a Security Council resolution authorizing the deployment of as many as 22,600 UN blue berets to Darfur served to generate media interest (Oziewicz A12).

Domestically, the urging of a more proactive stance on Darfur by politicians was reflected in the media when politicians like NDP leader Jack Layton started calling on Canada to take a lead role in Darfur (Mertl A7). Subsequently, the question of whether or not Canada should get involved in the conflict reached the corridors of Parliament. In January 2006, a new government, led by the Conservatives was elected to office. In May 2006, a special House of Commons committee quizzed the new Foreign Affairs Minister, Peter MacKay, on what Canada was doing in terms of helping Darfur (Galloway A11). Later in the same month, Prime Minister Stephen Harper told the media that Canada would not send troops to Darfur, although it was willing to offer technical assistance to the UN peacekeeping force deployed to the region (Sallot A4).

In the resolution phase in 2007-2008, media attention was driven by the announcement that the International Criminal Court (ICC) had named Ahmad Muhammad Harun, a Sudanese government minister, and Ali Kushayb, a militia commander, in February 2007 as the first suspects wanted for crimes against humanity in Darfur (Oziewicz A15). The naming of these suspects was significant because it marked the first time the ICC exercised its mandate since its creation in 2002. The deployment of a combined United Nations and African Union peace-

keeping force of 26,000 soldiers to Darfur in June 2007 was another factor that generated media attention both domestically and globally (Tadesse AA4). This move became possible after a lot of diplomatic pressure was exerted on Sudan at the UN.

While the dates selected for this study correspond with the duration of the conflict, which started in April 2003, the search starts from March of the same year to establish any pre-conflict reporting before the outbreak of hostilities in April. It is important to mention that the news articles, features, and editorials selected for examination represent a sample of the total number of articles published about Darfur in both newspapers.

The insertion of the word “Darfur” in the *Canadian Newsstand* database turned up 741 articles from the *Globe and Mail*. For the *Toronto Star*, the search yielded 762 articles. This large number of articles in both newspapers, however, contained some stories that did not relate directly to the Darfur conflict, even though they contained the keyword. For example, in some articles, Darfur was only mentioned in passing, in direct or indirect quotes, or in comparison to other war situations elsewhere.

Additionally, some were duplicates, or letters to the editor. The articles were subsequently screened individually to discard those in which Darfur was not the main theme. Determining the main theme was based on whether or not Darfur is mentioned in the headline, or the first few paragraphs of the lead, or in paragraphs in the main body of the article. A total of 290 articles; 141 from the *Globe and Mail* and 149 from the *Toronto Star* were established to have Darfur as their main thrust. In essence, this means the stories were about the conflict or referred to aspects of the conflict.

Upon retrieval and identification of the relevant articles, qualitative and quantitative methods were used to classify them.

Qualitatively, content analysis was used to determine the themes and the social actors who framed the conflict. First, each individual article was read separately in order to understand its contents. Each article was then read a second time, along with detailed note-taking, to determine themes and categories such as news, features, editorials, and opinion. Finally, once categories were established, the articles were coded accordingly, as news, features, editorials, and opinion. Similarly, the articles were also coded according to themes.

Quantitatively, the study uses figures to discern sample size, prevalence, and proportion from the textual analysis to draw conclusions. The significance of using quantitative analysis lies in the fact that it deconstructs that which appears as common sense in the news by picking out what is relevant, to establish sequences, or patterns, or tendencies (Ericson et al 55).

The combined use of qualitative and quantitative methodologies minimizes the potential of overlooking critical aspects of news coverage such as patterns, sequences, and tendencies, to ensure that the analysis is thorough. Berg offers support for this method:

“By combining several lines of sight, researchers obtain a better, more substantive picture of reality; a richer, more complex array of symbols and theoretical concepts; and a means of verifying many of these elements” (4).

Significance of content analysis

Cappella and Jamieson have identified content analysis as important in analyzing journalistic patterns in processes that study how the news media frame issues and events (49). Content analysis has many definitions. It is described as a “research technique for making

replicable and valid references from data to their context” (Krippendorff 21). Similarly, Kerlinger defines content analysis as a means of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic way for the purpose of measuring variables (554).

Although content analysis is important because of the assumption that it offers insights into the communication messages in the text, it has limitations in as far as defining terms is concerned. Various researchers may have varying definitions for a particular operational term (Wimmer and Dominick 154). To counter this shortcoming, researchers suggest that it is appropriate to offer operational definitions of key concepts or subjects under investigation. Such definitions describe how a particular concept can be measured or counted (Berger 27). It is further suggested that to support findings, it is important to ensure a systematic process during content analysis. This requires consistency during content evaluation and the development of categories (Kassarjian 1997).

Coding

Coding can be thought of as a range of approaches that aid the organization, retrieval, and interpretation of data. Miles and Huberman suggest that coding constitutes the “stuff of analysis,” allowing one to “differentiate and combine the data you have retrieved and the reflections you make about this information.” They conclude that coding essentially allows researchers to identify meaningful data and set a platform for interpreting and drawing conclusions (56).

Operationalization of terms

Before the coding process ensued, a definition of terms or “operationalization of terms,” a process by which particular words or concepts can be measured, was undertaken to ensure

consistency during the evaluation process. Berge contends that content characteristics under examination should be specified and explicit rules should be determined for identifying and recording (314). Subsequently, a coding manual to categorize articles, their contents and themes, as well as the creation of mutually exclusive terms, was developed to ensure a consistent coding process. Since the research questions centre on establishing themes used in framing the Darfur conflict and the social actors who framed it, the manual was therefore designed in such a way to measure and determine these characteristics. (See Appendix 1 for a full listing).

Operationalization of articles

In the first stage, the articles examined were categorized as news, features, editorials, and opinion. Although the *Canada Newsstand* database identifies categories such as news and editorials, it does not identify features. In general, features are classified as news, which is misleading. To filter and identify the correct category, the articles were each read separately. The following coding process was used in identifying the articles:

- If the article contains the elements of a news story, it is identified as “news.” (News in this case is defined as an item that highlights a new event, is short and precise)
- If the article contains the elements of a feature story, it is identified as “feature.” (A feature is defined here as a prominent, long, analytical, contextual and in-depth article that focuses on one individual or situation)
- If the article contains the elements of an opinion piece, it is identified as “opinion.” (An opinion piece is defined as an article that reflects the author’s opinion on a particular subject matter, written by a guest writer or an in-house columnist)

-If the article contains the elements of an editorial it is identified as “editorial.” (Editorial is defined as an unsigned article reflecting the views of the newspaper’s editorial board on a particular subject and published on an editorial page)

Determination of themes and social actors

After the above process, the articles were categorized as news, features, opinion, and editorials, and grouped according to the years they were published. For instance, all the articles published in 2004 were grouped together. These articles were then read to determine their themes. The following was used to broadly deconstruct the discourse in the articles:

-Articles that talk about war (rebels fighting government forces and vice versa, attacks on peacekeepers, bandit attacks on civilians, militia attacks on civilians, etc).

-Articles that talk about peace (international efforts to get the warring parties to negotiate, peace overtures from government and rebels, diplomatic pressure to end war, etc).

-Articles about helping the victims of Darfur (Military intervention to end war, delivery of food aid, shelter provision, etc).

Prior research on the framing of African conflicts and the Darfur conflict in particular, has established the predominance of themes such as humanitarian action, ethnicity, violence, war, and ambivalence (Alozie 2007; Kothari 2007; McNulty 1999).

Using the above as a guideline, the articles were read to determine the existence of these themes. Subsequently, upon careful consideration of the Canadian context depicted in the articles in both newspapers, the following predominant themes were identified for the purpose of this study: 1) Humanitarian action; 2) Military intervention; 3) Diplomatic intervention; 4) Violence; 5) International ambivalence; 6) Canadian inaction.

The determination of the social actors started from a broad perspective in which they were listed individually. These actors were then grouped according to their similarities under the following categories: 1) Local political sources; 2) International political sources; 3) Other sources. (See Appendix 1 for a description).

Both categories (themes and social actors) were then tabulated. To determine themes, the articles were read and the themes that emerged were noted in the table. Each theme is only noted once throughout an article. Each category (news, features, opinion, and editorials) is analyzed separately and the themes noted. On the completion of this process, the number of times a particular theme is mentioned in all the articles is recorded and percentages are then calculated.

The same process was also replicated for determining the social actors. However, unlike when themes are only recorded once in an article, social actors were noted on the basis of how many times they were mentioned. Furthermore, strict adherence to their mention by name was employed. The number of times a particular social actor is mentioned by name is recorded and the sum is added up in all categories: news, features, editorials, and opinion; and percentages were then calculated.

Validity and reliability

For a qualitative study that utilizes content analysis, the concept of reliability is crucial. Wimmer and Dominick assert that if a qualitative study is to be objective, its measure and procedures must be reliable (165). Various techniques exist to ensure validity and reliability in qualitative research, depending on the field of specialization. The use of external coders and pilot studies to determine reliability are some of the means researchers use to ensure reliability.

However, this study utilizes face validity to ensure reliability. Face validity is a technique that ensures reliability on the basis of a rigid and satisfactory definition of categories as well as a proper conduct of the procedures of the analysis in a research project (154).

Limitations of Study

Content analysis is generally understood to be a straightforward and unobtrusive way of conducting research. However it has limitations. In this study, the researcher's bias may interfere with the data coding. Specifically, defining operational terms may be a subjective endeavour. In the research process, a researcher's background may influence the way the subject matter is viewed. In my case, my background as an immigrant from Sudan and a Canadian of African descent may be a factor which influenced the research process through the cultural assumptions that may have been made about the sources and the themes under investigation.

Results and analysis

This study employed content analysis of articles consisting of news, features, editorials, and opinion in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* to establish how the two publications framed the Darfur conflict in the period March 1, 2003 to March 1, 2008.

In terms of themes, the analysis shows that the military intervention frame was the dominant theme in the *Globe and Mail*, while the violence theme was dominant in the *Toronto Star*. In both newspapers, the dominant category of sources was the international political sources category.

The results are presented in three parts. The first part addresses the quantitative nature of the research by establishing the number of articles published in both newspapers for the duration of the study period. It also ascertains the dominance of the article categories in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*.

The second part focuses on the qualitative nature of the research. Specifically, it addresses the research question: 1-*What were the themes employed in framing the Darfur conflict in the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star?* This section attempts to answer the research question by determining the prevalence of the themes in both newspapers, and scrutinizes the time frame, and article categories in which these themes were dominant.

As outlined in the introductory chapters, coverage of the Darfur conflict has been described as lacking depth and context. It often falls into the category of other stereotypical coverage of African conflicts: it is episodic rather than thematic, focuses on violence, and lacks depth and context. The second part of this chapter also examines patterns in the coverage of the

conflict in the *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* to establish similarities in prior research on the Darfur conflict.

The last section of the chapter focuses on the research question: *2-Who were the social actors who framed the Darfur conflict?* The analysis determines the presence of these social actors by newspaper; by year, and by article category.

Articles and article categories in coverage of the Darfur conflict

Overall, a total of 290 articles were retrieved for study. Of these, 141 were from the *Globe and Mail*, and 149 were from the *Toronto Star*. These articles included news, features, editorials and opinion from March 1, 2003 to March 1, 2008. In April 2003, hostilities broke out in Darfur. But despite the fact that the conflict started in April, the *Globe and Mail* first published a Darfur story on December 8, 2003. Similarly, the *Toronto Star* was quite late, publishing its first Darfur story a year later on April 17, 2004.

The fact that Canada's largest circulation newspaper could take a year before it printed a story on Darfur demonstrates the lack of depth and context that was later to emerge from the *Toronto Star's* coverage of the conflict. Although the *Globe and Mail* fared better, in that it at least devoted some attention to the conflict in 2003, a search of the *Canadian Newsstand* database reveals that the December 8th story was the only one that the paper published on Darfur that year.

The delayed coverage in both newspapers meant reporters missed an opportunity to learn about the various dimensions of the conflict that would have enabled contextual reporting. Among the articles selected for study, news by far outnumbered features, editorials and opinion in both newspapers. For the duration of the study period, a total of 100 news articles were among

those retrieved from the *Globe and Mail*, and 90 from the *Toronto Star*. Comparatively, news comprised 71 per cent of all articles retrieved from the *Globe and Mail*, and 60 per cent of all articles from the *Toronto Star*. The dominance of the news category is consistent with the fact that newspapers primarily rely on conventional news presentation as a vehicle for conveying information to readers.

Features ranked as the second largest category of articles collected from both newspapers. From the *Globe and Mail*, this constituted 21 articles (15 per cent), while from the *Toronto Star*, the figure was 19 (or 13 per cent). Features offer depth and an analytical perspective to the news. The dominance of the features category is therefore not surprising. The third dominant category was the opinion category, where about 14 articles (10 per cent) were from the *Globe and Mail*. In the same category 26 articles (17 per cent) were from the *Toronto Star*. The least dominant category was the editorial category. Fourteen articles (9 per cent) were published in the *Globe and Mail* and 6 (4 per cent) were retrieved from the *Toronto Star*, as illustrated below. (see Figures 1-4).

Figure 1: Chart showing articles retrieved from the *Globe and Mail*. (March 1st 2003 to March 1st 2008)

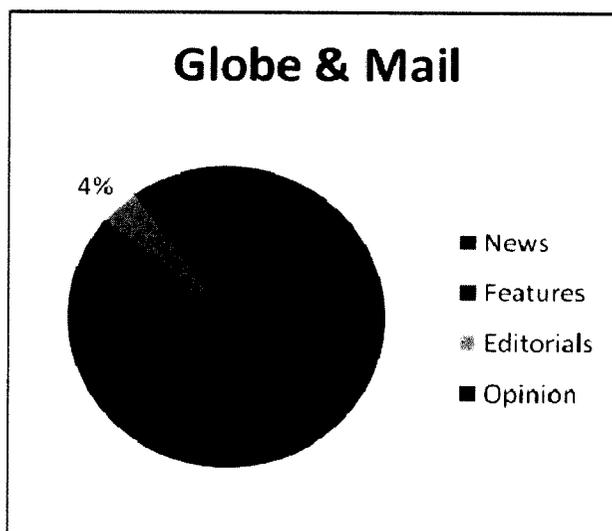


Figure 2: Chart showing articles retrieved from the Toronto Star (March 1st 2003 to March 1st 2008)

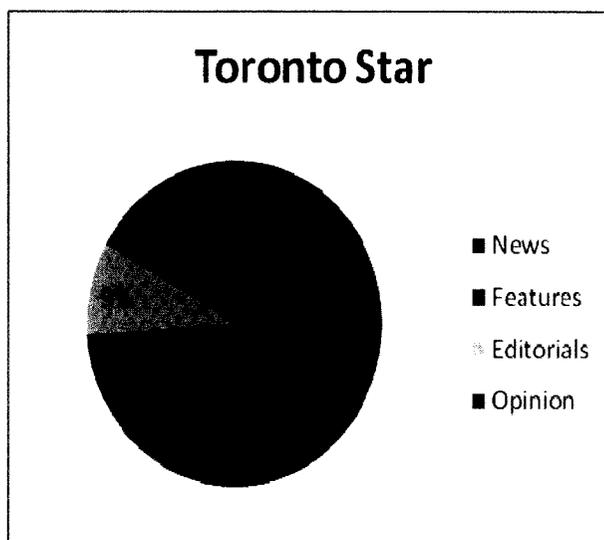


Figure 3: Graph showing the breakdown of the number of articles published in the *Globe and Mail* by year.

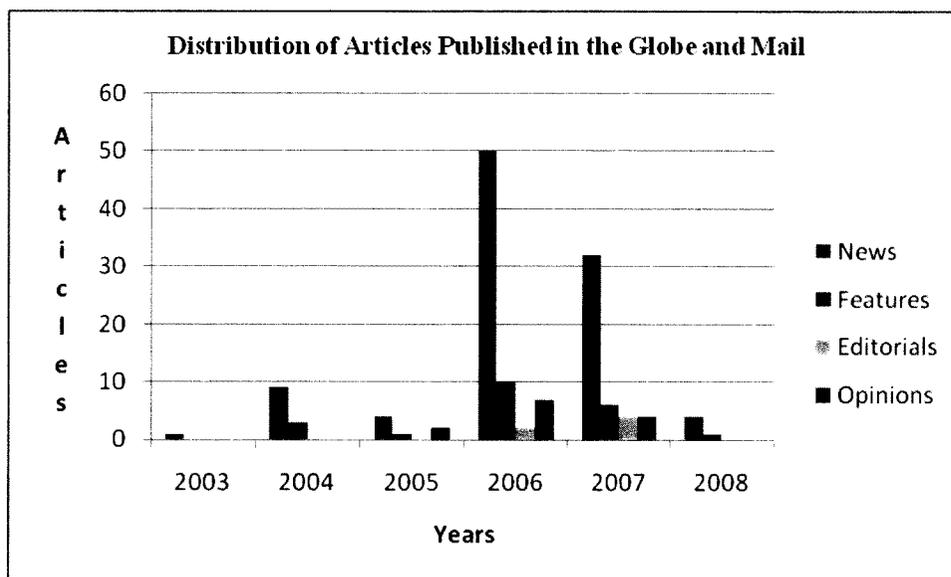
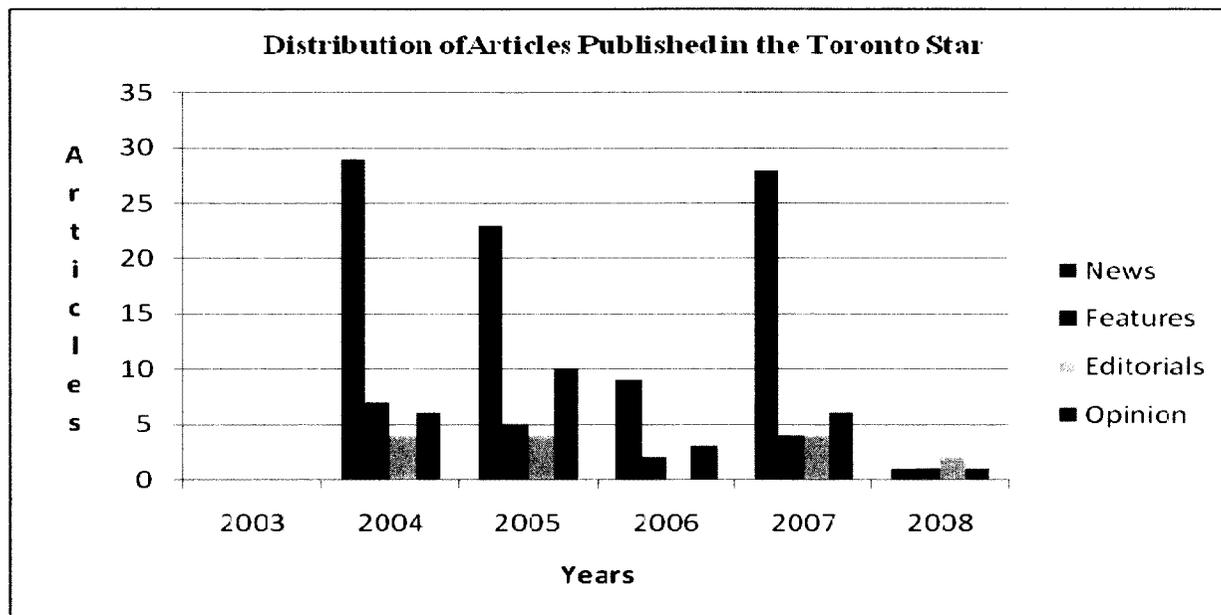


Figure 4:-The dominance of the news category is also replicated in the *Toronto Star* as illustrated below.



Of the articles retrieved for study in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, over 50 per cent consisted of news. In reviewing the dominance of the news category in each individual year within the time frame chosen for study, the figures show a steady increase. (See Figure 2 and Figure 3). In the *Globe and Mail*, the number of news articles retrieved increases in the first two years (2003 and 2004), drops slightly in 2005, but increases dramatically in 2006 and 2007 and finally decreases in 2008. In the *Toronto Star*, in the first three years (2003, 2004, and 2005) the number of news articles increases. This was followed by a reduction in 2006, followed by an increase in 2007 and a decrease in 2008.

Pre-problem phase and the dearth of coverage

A plausible explanation for the increase in coverage, as the conflict progressed, can be found in the fact that the conflict was escalating during the period of heightened interest and

information about it was beginning to register on the media radar. For instance, in 2003, when the war broke out, there was very little attention devoted to covering it in both newspapers. This was the pre-problem stage, where although there was an increase in fighting and displacement of thousands, and a UN description of the conflict on December 5th 2003 as the “worst humanitarian crisis,” the media were still largely oblivious to the humanitarian cost of the conflict (UN News Centre). The *Globe and Mail*, for instance, did not cover the December 5th announcement made by Jan Egeland, the UN Under-Secretary General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, but instead chose to focus on a story three days later, about rebels claiming they killed 700 Sudanese government soldiers.

The *Globe and Mail's* first look at the Darfur conflict was a brief 76-word story that put emphasis on the number of government troops killed by the rebels, but failed to mention whether any civilians had been displaced by the fighting. The single-sourced story, which quoted rebel figures, did not say whether the rebels knew of the effects of the fighting on the civilian population.

A Western Sudanese rebel group asserted yesterday that it had ambushed and killed 700 government troops and pro-government militiamen pushing into rebel areas in the arid Darfur region, forcing a retreat.

Government officials were not immediately available to comment on the attack, which rebels said took place Friday at the Abu Gamra dam, 45 kilometres north of government-held Kebkabiya. But officials have previously said there were military operations in the area (“Government troops slain, Sudanese rebels say”).

The *Toronto Star* first covered Darfur in April 2004, a year after the conflict started (Green A.12). The first *Toronto Star* story, which appeared on page A.12, ran to 277 words under the headline “Bloody parallels visible in Sudan’s fight with rebels” (Green A.12). The story was authored by a wire service reporter, typical of most of the *Toronto Star* stories to follow. It described the conflict as a fight between “Arab militias on horseback” carrying out a “scorched earth policy against villagers,” and drew parallels between Darfur and the Rwanda genocide.

Subsequently, both newspapers published a small number of news stories on Darfur in the first phase of coverage examined. Within this period (2003-2004), the analysis shows that the *Globe and Mail* published ten stories, while the *Toronto Star* published 29 stories. The *Globe and Mail* stories were mostly short news clips, supplemented by longer feature articles, which was an attempt to explain the significance of the conflict. In contrast, the *Toronto Star* news stories were longer, backed up by in-depth features, as well as editorials and opinion pieces that focused on the mass atrocities in Darfur.

However, during the following 12 months, there was a significant increase in the number of news articles about the conflict in both newspapers. According to Gamson and Modigliani, when journalists cover continuing stories, they look for “pegs,” described as “topical events that present opportunities for broader, more timeless coverage and commentary” (151). These “pegs” were manifested when leaders from humanitarian bodies started raising awareness about the human cost of the war. In March 2004, Mukesh Kapila, the UN resident coordinator for Sudan, described the conflict as “close to ethnic-cleansing” (“Close to ethnic-cleansing in Western Sudan” A.22). A month later in April, the world marked the tenth anniversary of the Rwanda

genocide. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan used the occasion to warn of a “Rwanda-style” genocide unfolding in Darfur and urged the world to take measures to curb it (Saleh A.16).

In addition to being a region that was unfamiliar to the Canadian public, in the early stages of the conflict, Darfur lacked a context through which the public could evaluate it. As Cook contends, Darfur on its own could not stand as a strong news story because reporters tend to be attracted to continuing sagas that contain larger and broader storylines that have higher, more developed and transcending back bones (100). But the use of the term “ethnic-cleansing” and Annan’s comparison of the conflict to Rwanda, evoked memories of the Bosnian conflict and Rwanda, two wars in which Canada was involved in peacekeeping. Furthermore, “ethnic-cleansing” and the comparison to Rwanda bestowed much needed significance to the conflict and contextualized it for the Canadian public. In other words, Rwanda served as a peg and a useful framing device through which both newspapers conveyed news about the conflict to the Canadian public. As a peg, Rwanda offered an opportunity for continuous assessment of the conflict. As a framing device it served the purpose of being an organizing storyline or central idea that offered meaning to an unfolding series of events, contributing to an individual’s understanding and interpretation of an event (Gamson and Modigliani 143).

A qualitative reading of the news articles published in 2004 in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, reveals that the Darfur conflict was being viewed through the Rwanda lens.

For example, the excerpt below, from a story published on page 16 on April 8, 2004 in the *Globe and Mail* showed how Darfur was being seen through the Rwanda prism:

Sudan began direct talks with rebels fighting a year-long insurgency, as UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan warned that a Rwanda-style genocide may be in the making in western Sudan, and said international force may be needed (Saleh A.16).

Similarly, on April 7, 2004, the following page 12 excerpt from the *Toronto Star* clearly showed that the Rwanda genocide had become a framing device for explaining the conflict in Darfur:

As Rwanda remembers the 10th anniversary of its genocide this week, aid workers are drawing parallels with a conflict gripping Sudan's remote western Darfur region today. Though the scale of bloodshed is smaller than the 1994 Rwandan genocide when some 800,000 people were massacred in 100 days, Mukesh Kapila, the U.N. humanitarian coordinator for Sudan who was in Rwanda in 1994, said last month that human rights violations in Darfur were on a comparable scale. (Green A.12).

Awareness phase and increase in coverage

In 2005-2006, the conflict had moved from the pre-problem stage to the awareness stage. The analysis shows that there was an increase in the number of news articles published in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* in this period. In the *Globe and Mail*, the articles numbered 54, compared to ten news articles published in 2003-2004.

In addition to news coverage picking up in this phase because of news pegs that offered context for evaluating the conflict, it is the contention of this thesis that increased coverage was also due to Darfur being indexed to the interests of the political establishment. As Alexseev and Bennett contend, media are unlikely to devote time, attention, and resources to an issue unless the issue becomes a priority for the political establishment (409). Similarly, Holder has noted

that there is a high co-relation between government interests and increased news coverage in so much as the coverage serves the establishment's interests (3).

Focusing on news pegs, first, there was UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's call in January 2005 for sanctions to be imposed on Sudan. The imposition of sanctions is a familiar tool used by Western governments to pressure countries in the developing world on a variety of issues including human rights and non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The call for sanctions on Sudan fit into a previous and familiar frame that Canadian news reporters would be conversant with. For instance, the *Toronto Star*, when reporting Annan's declaration, alludes to the familiarity of the sanctions news peg by announcing that a previous sanctions resolution on Sudan was thwarted by Sudan's allies at the UN.

Western powers argued for imposing sanctions on Khartoum last year, but opposition by China, which has oil interests in Sudan, and Russia, which supplies arms, blocked the motion ("Annan calls for sanctions on Sudan").

As noted previously, increased coverage in the awareness phase is connected to the political establishment's interest on Darfur as the examples below show.

On May 13, 2005, Prime Minister Paul Martin formed a high-profile advisory council on Darfur (Fraser A.06). This council was comprised of retired General Roméo Dallaire, the Canadian who led the UN peacekeeping force during the genocide in Rwanda, Liberal Senator Mobina Jaffer, and Ambassador Robert Fowler, former Africa advisor to Prime Minister Jean Chretien and a longtime foreign affairs mover and shaker. Given his past role as commander of the UN force during the Rwandan genocide, General Dallaire's presence provided a familiar news peg through which Canadian reporters were able to contextualize the scenario in Darfur.

On the same day, Martin announced the formation of the advisory council, he also announced \$170 million in increased aid to Darfur. This particular announcement was made a month after a previous announcement in which Martin had promised up to \$90 million in aid for Darfur (Fraser A.08). This in essence meant the \$170 million was a familiar prism to reporters and offered another context through which to view situations pertaining to Darfur. As a news peg, Martin's formation of the high-powered council and additional aid to Darfur, served as a means for a continuous evaluation and interpretation of the conflict domestically, because, as Cook has noted, reporters prefer stories with what he calls "transcending backbones" that offer long-term and continuous coverage (100).

For instance, the story on the formation of the advisory council was first broken by the *Toronto Star* on May 13, 2005 (Fraser A.06). This particular story was written by Graham Fraser, national affairs correspondent for the *Toronto Star*. The fact that the story was written in Ottawa, by a staff reporter, demonstrates the point that the Canadian political establishment had began driving coverage in this phase by generating stories that could be covered locally, where journalistic resources were plenty, as opposed to Africa, where they were thin on the ground.

But on May 14, the *Globe and Mail* published a story that built on these two announcements. The story was written by Jeff Sallot, a staff reporter, again illustrating the point that politicians were driving domestic coverage of the Darfur conflict. The story also speculates as to whether, in light of the \$170 million aid announcement, Sudan would agree to allow Canadian peacekeepers into Darfur:

The Sudanese ambassador says her country will not allow Canadian troops into Darfur despite an assistance package from the minority liberal government that includes up to

100 military advisors to help the African Union maintain peace in that war-ravaged region of western Sudan.

Ambassador Faiza Hassan Taha said Prime Minister Paul Martin rushed to make the announcement Thursday before anyone from the Canadian government asked the Sudanese whether they agreed.

...Mr. Martin said Thursday that Canada is providing a \$170-million assistance package for Darfur that includes an “initial” deployment of 100 Canadian military intelligence officers, strategic planners and logistics experts to assist the African Union peacekeeping operation in the region with military planning, intelligence and transport (Sallot A.5).

Martin’s aid offer was partly an attempt to woo support from independent MP David Kilgour who had threatened to vote with the opposition in a confidence motion. The fact that Kilgour’s demand provided fodder for a previous story connected to Darfur is proof of the transcending nature of this story, which the *Globe and Mail* builds on in the excerpt below, when it quoted the Sudanese ambassador objecting to Kilgour’s demand:

...Sudan is very concerned about the political atmosphere on Parliament Hill, with independent MP David Kilgour demanding that Mr. Martin send 500 Canadian combat troops to Darfur in exchange for his support on a confidence vote next week, Ms. Taha said (Sallot A.5).

Kilgour’s demand for combat troops to be sent to Darfur continued to be a peg on which both newspapers could build, months after he made the call. The story below published in the *Toronto Star* on July 3, 2005, illustrates the point:

A leading critic of Canada's role in Sudan says the West must not shy away from military force in ending what many call "genocide" in the Darfur region.

"Sometimes, there has to be an exception to the peaceful solutions and this one seems to be one of them," said independent Edmonton MP David Kilgour, a former secretary of state for Africa who left the Liberal party in April.

"To me, this is one where we have to stop the killing before we get involved in humanitarian aid."

Kilgour has repeatedly called on Ottawa to muster a stronger military presence in western Sudan's Darfur region, where the Khartoum government and Janjaweed Arab militias have been attacking African farmers in a combat that erupted in March 2003.

More than 180,000 people are dead and 2 million Darfuris have fled to refugee camps in what U.N Secretary-General Kofi Annan has called "the world's greatest humanitarian disaster."

Said Kilgour, "A regime in Khartoum that sends janjaweed into the camps...to drag women out and rape them...is impervious, in my view, to appeals for humanity or appeals for reasonableness or non-violence."

"The only thing that particular regime will answer to is either violence or the threat of violence."

In May, Canada announced it would send up to 100 military advisors to support the African Union (AU) peacekeepers in the Darfur region. It also pledged \$170 million in aid specifically for the peacekeeping mission.

Canada's offer met with strong opposition from Khartoum, which opposes Western intervention in the AU-led Darfur peacekeeping mission (La Rose A.14).

In April 2006, a Canadian initiative called the Responsibility to Protect was tabled before the UN, and served to attract media attention domestically. The Responsibility to Protect doctrine was the brainchild of a Canadian-funded international commission established to review the world's response to such crises as Rwanda and to provide recommendations on how such internal conflicts could be dealt with in future. The so-called R2P resolution mandates foreign intervention in an independent nation state's affairs if the state fails to curb crimes against humanity. Similarly, an authorization from the Security Council giving the green light to deploy 22, 600 peacekeepers to Darfur, served to generate media interest.

Also on the Canadian domestic scene, there were calls by some prominent opposition politicians, such as NDP leader Jack Layton, for Canada to intervene (Mertl A.7). Amidst increasing concern about what Canada should do, the House of Commons—now home to a minority Conservative government led by Stephen Harper—convened a session to question Foreign Affairs Minister Peter MacKay on the government's action plan (Galloway A.11). Another event that attracted media attention in 2005 was Prime Minister Stephen Harper's announcement that Canada was willing to offer technical support to peacekeepers deployed to Darfur but would not be sending troops (Sallot A.4).

This interest in issues tied to the Darfur conflict during the 2005-2006 "awareness" phase illustrates the point that the Darfur conflict was no longer being viewed primarily through the humanitarian perspective but also from the a domestic political policy perspective, increasing its newsworthiness for reporters.

Resolution phase and familiar news pegs

By 2007-2008, the Darfur conflict had moved to the resolution stage marked by several newsworthy events that still revolved around familiar news pegs. These events were: the International Criminal Court's (ICC) naming of its first suspects wanted for crimes against humanity in Darfur in February 2007; and the deployment of 26,000 United Nations and African Union troops to Darfur in June 2007. Both events were well-covered by the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*.

Additionally, both events were supported by familiar news pegs. The ICC's naming of the suspects would remind Canadian reporters of similar war crimes prosecutions at the Hague-based International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. The sending of 26,000 troops to Darfur was also a familiar peg because of previous and similar troop commitments for peacekeeping by Canada in Rwanda and the Balkans.

Both events also served as parameters for evaluation and continuous coverage. The *Globe and Mail* reported on the naming of the suspects in February 2007. And several months later, the ICC's action continued to be a reference point for stories on the two suspects as shown in the story below from the *Toronto Star*:

Sudan yesterday refused to hand over two suspects accused by the International Criminal Court of war crimes in the Darfur region.

A three-judge panel is seeking to try a Sudanese government minister and a Janjaweed militia leader on 51 charges of mass slayings, rape and torture in four towns and villages in West Darfur between August 2003 and March 2004. The court's warrants against humanitarian affairs minister, Ahmed Harun, and the Janjaweed militia's "colonel of

colonels,” Ali Kushyb, could be a crucial step toward bringing atrocities in the Sudanese province to international justice.

Richard Dicker of Human Rights Watch said it signaled “the days of absolute impunity...for horrible crimes in Darfur are winding down.”

ICC chief prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo said yesterday Sudan was legally bound to arrest the men, but Sudan remained defiant.

“Our position is very, very clear—the ICC cannot assume any jurisdiction to judge any Sudanese outside the country,” said Justice Minister Mohamed Ali al-Mardi.

“We do not recognize the International Criminal Court...and we will not hand over any Sudanese even from the rebel groups who take up weapons against the government,” he said.

Asked whether Sudan would continue its past sporadic co-operation with the court, al-Mardi answered, “What co-operation? It’s over.”

Prosecutors named the men in February as the first suspects in their investigations into the conflict, in which 200,000 people have been killed and another 2.5 million displaced since fighting began in the region in 2003.

Harun is currently in the Sudanese capital, Khartoum. Sudan says it has arrested Kushyb, but several witnesses said he was moving freely in Darfur under police protection.

The world’s first permanent war crimes court started work in 2002 and is now supported by 104 countries (Corder A.16).

Similarly, the deployment of a joint UN and African Union peacekeeping force of 26,000 troops offered a context for continuous coverage. Sudan agreed to allow the troops in June 2007,

but over the following months, this particular news peg continued to be used for further contextual coverage in both newspapers. For instance on August 1, 2007, the *Globe and Mail* published a story that explored the cost of sending troops to Darfur (Leopold A.11). Similarly, on the same day, the *Toronto Star* published a story saying the “hybrid” force was the world’s largest and that it was the first time that a joint African Union and United Nations peacekeeping force had ever been established (Ward AA.1). On August 2, the *Toronto Star* published another story that said Sudan had effectively avoided sanctions by agreeing to the deployment of the force (“Sudan accepts UN peace force...”). A month later, the *Toronto Star* published another story that concluded that the troop offer was “sufficient” but raised concern about the efficiency of the African component of the force (Olson AA.3).

Differences in coverage in the three phases

During 2003-2004, the analysis of coverage in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* shows that minimal attention was devoted to the Darfur conflict. A meticulous search of the *Canadian Newsstand* database reveals that the *Globe and Mail* reported on the conflict for the first time in December 2003, at least eight months after the outbreak of hostilities. The *Toronto Star*, on the other hand, reported on the conflict only in April 2004, almost a year after the onset of the war.

However, during the awareness phase in 2005-2006, and in the resolution phase in 2007-2008, there is a comparatively marked increase in coverage in both newspapers compared to the pre-problem phase in 2003-2004. (Refer to Figure 2 and Figure 3). The increase in media attention can be attributed to the presence of news pegs that offered context for framing the conflict in both newspapers. In the 2003-2004 phase, there was a dearth of familiar pegs for

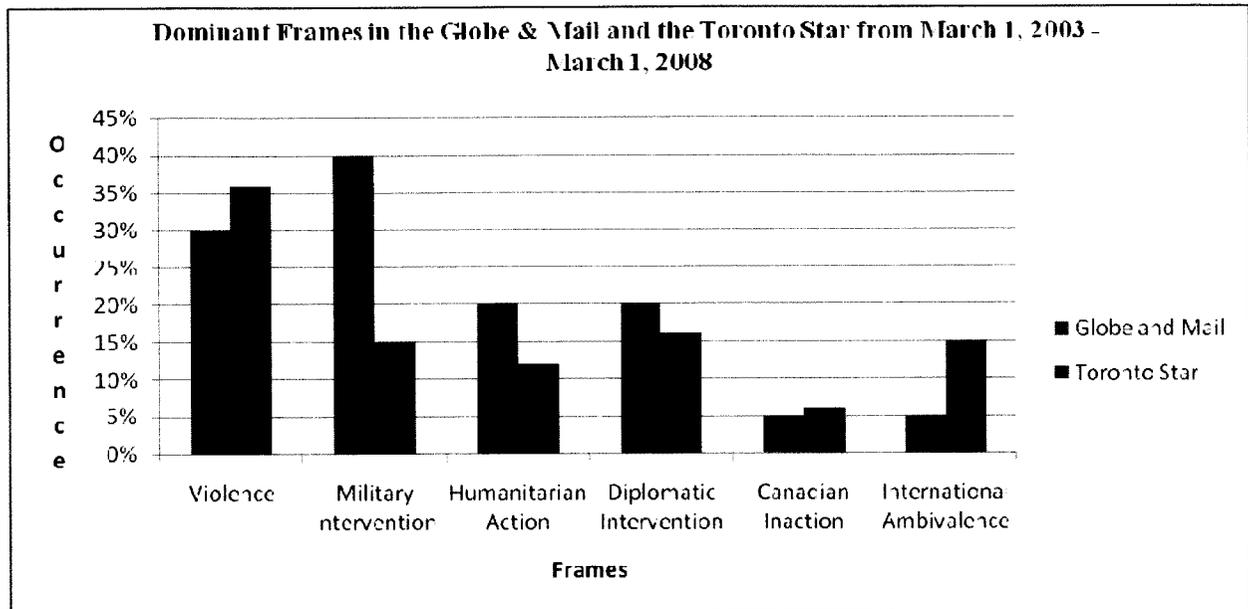
contextualizing and interpreting the conflict. A qualitative examination of the contents of both newspapers shows that familiar pegs became manifest in the latter phases of 2005-2006 and 2007-2008. These news pegs were: the tagging of the Darfur conflict as genocide; the call for imposition of sanctions on the Sudan government; the deployment of peacekeepers; promises of aid money; the prosecution of war criminals; and Canadian politicians pushing for action to save lives in Darfur.

In summary, the presence of news pegs that offered a context for evaluating the Darfur conflict, and the embrace by Canadian politicians of the Darfur issue, were significant factors that fueled and contributed to increased coverage of the conflict.

Dominant frames from 2003-2008

In the *Globe and Mail*, the Darfur conflict was portrayed largely through the military intervention frame, which constituted 40 per cent of the coverage. Overall, although the military intervention, violence, humanitarian action, and diplomatic intervention frames were dominant, the analysis reveals that the framing of the conflict shifted considerably year over year, especially in the *Globe*.

Figure 5: Dominant frames in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* March 1st 2003 to March 1st 2008



For example, military intervention was the dominant frame in 2005, but not in 2006, 2007, 2008, 2004 and 2003. In these years, the following frames dominated: Violence (2006, 2007, 2004, and 2003); humanitarian action (2008). But overall, throughout the entire period, the sum total of the times the military intervention frame appears, was more than that of all the other frames, hence its dominance.

Violence constituted the next dominant frame, reflected in 30 per cent of the media coverage in the *Globe and Mail*. The humanitarian action and diplomatic intervention frames were the third dominant frames, each garnering 20 per cent of the media coverage. Lastly, the international ambivalence and Canadian inaction frames garnered the least coverage, each constituting 5 per cent only.

In the *Toronto Star*, violence was the dominant frame, garnering about 36 per cent of media coverage. The overall dominance of the violence frame was replicated in 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007. In 2008, the diplomatic intervention frame was dominant. Records for 2003 are unavailable because the *Star* did not publish a story on the Darfur conflict that year.

This was followed by the diplomatic intervention frame, constituting about 16 per cent. While the military intervention frame was predominant in the *Globe and Mail*, in the *Toronto Star* it was the third dominant frame, which was 15 per cent of overall coverage. Similarly, the international ambivalence frame garnered 15 per cent in the *Toronto Star*. The humanitarian action and Canadian inaction frames garnered the least attention. The former constituted 12 per cent and the latter 6 per cent.

Figure 6: Distribution of frames by year in the *Globe and Mail*

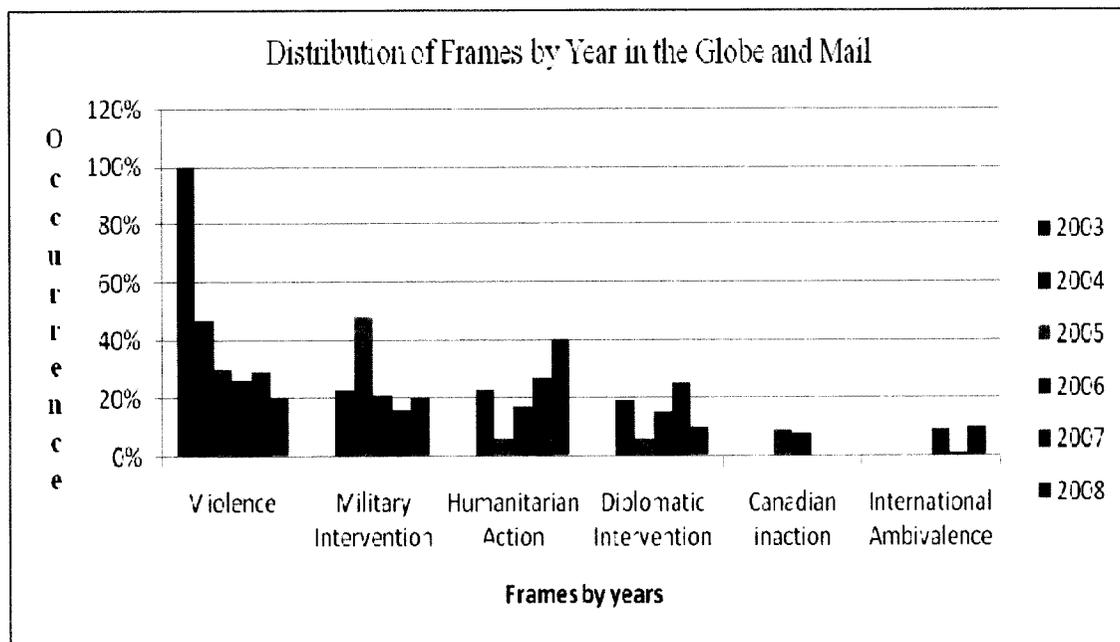
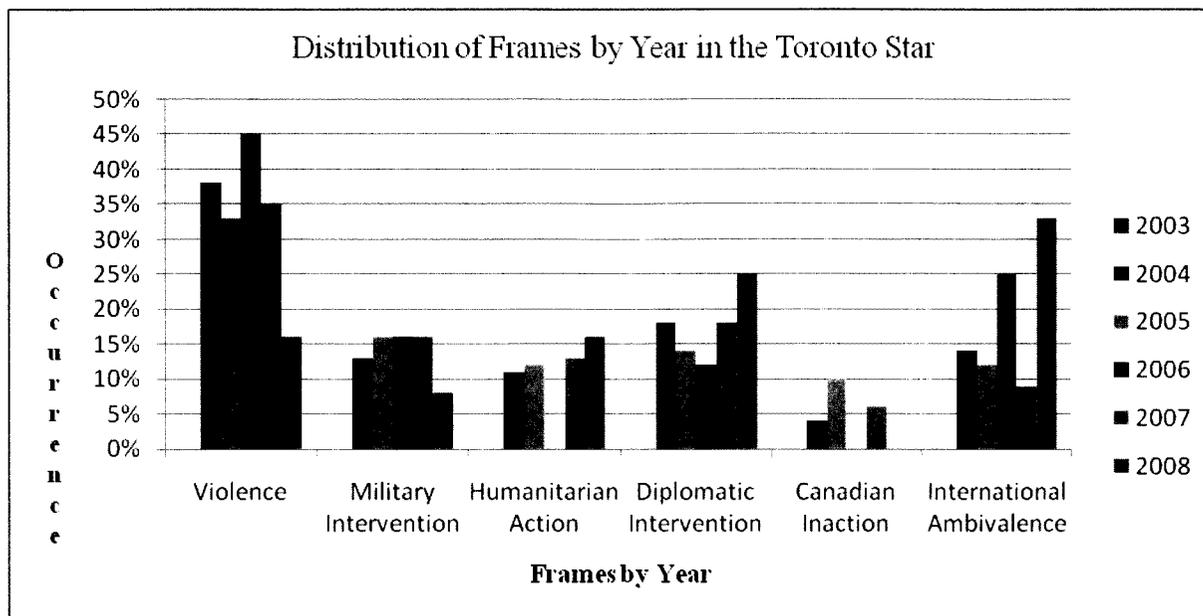


Figure 7: Distribution of frames by year in the Toronto Star

Explaining differences in frame dominance

There were marked differences in the patterns of the dominant frames in both newspapers. The *Globe and Mail* viewed the conflict primarily through the military intervention frame, while the *Toronto Star* covered the conflict largely through the violence frame. A quantitative and qualitative analysis of these differences offers few clues on differences in the dominance of the frames.

A possible explanation lies in the sources quoted by both newspapers in the course of covering the conflict. Interestingly, the analysis shows that international political sources were the dominant category of sources quoted in both newspapers. (Refer to Appendix 1 for definition of international political sources). In the *Globe and Mail*, international political sources were visible in 49 per cent of overall media coverage. In the *Toronto Star*, international political

sources dominated, with 52 per cent of quotes attributed to them. But although these sources dominated coverage in both newspapers, they framed the conflict in divergent terms.

The presence of these divergent frames may rest in the institutional policy directions of the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. The data analyzed for this study cannot entirely explain these policy motivations.

Dominant frames by article category

The preceding analysis looked at the prevalence of the particular frames across the board and found an overall dominance of the ‘military intervention’ frame in all of the *Globe and Mail* coverage and a dominance of the ‘violence’ frame in the *Toronto Star* coverage. But there were interesting shifts in the predominance of frame depending on the type of story, with marked differences among news, features, editorial and opinion coverage.

I-News: For the duration of the study period, the analysis shows that the violence frame was the most dominant compared to other frames in the news category for both newspapers. In the *Globe* it was 27% and in the *Star*, it stood at 59%.

II-Features: In this category, in the *Globe* and the *Star*, the dominant frame was the violence frame. In the *Globe* it constituted 50% when compared to the other frames. In the *Star*, the figure was 45%.

III-Editorials: The military intervention frame (57%) ranked top in the *Globe*. In the *Star*, military intervention and violence were the dominant frames, each garnering 22% compared to the other frames.

IV-Opinion: The military intervention frame was dominant in the *Globe* (34%). In the *Star*, the violence frame ranked top (30%).

Figure 8: Frames as distributed in article categories in *the Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* (March 1

2003-March 1 2008)

Article	Globe and Mail (Frame)	Toronto Star (Frame)
News	1-Violence 27% 2-Military intervention 23% 3-Diplomatic intervention 18% 4-Humanitarian action 16% 5-Inter. ambivalence 9% 6-Canadian inaction 3%	1-Violence 34% 2-Military intervention 17% 3-Diplomatic intervention 17% 4-Inter. ambivalence 14% 5-Canadian inaction 5% 6-Humanitarian action 10%
Features	1-Violence 50% 2-Humanitarian action 34% 3-Military intervention 26% 4-Diplomatic intervention 26% 5-Inter. Ambivalence 10% 6-Canadian inaction 0%	1-Violence 45% 2-Humanitarian action 18% 3-Military intervention 16% 4-Inter. Ambivalence 8% 5-Canadian inaction 5% 6-Diplomatic intervention 5%
Editorials	1-Military intervention 57% 2-Diplomatic intervention 21% 3-Inter. ambivalence 21% 4-Humanitarian action 0% 5-Canadian inaction 0% 6-Violence 0%	1-Violence 22% 2-Military intervention 22% 3-Inter. ambivalence 20% 4-Diplomatic intervention 17% 5-Humanitarian action 10% 6-Canadian inaction 7%
Opinion	1-Military intervention 34% 2-Canadian inaction 21% 3-Humanitarian action 15% 4-Diplomatic intervention 15% 5-Violence 9% 6-Inter. ambivalence 1%	1-Violence 30% 2-Diplomatic intervention 17% 3-Inter. ambivalence 17% 4-Humanitarian action 14% 5-Military intervention 10% 6-Canadian inaction 10%

Dominant social actors in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*

Three groups of social actors have been identified for this study. They are: local political sources; international political sources; and other sources. (See Appendix 1 for definitions). For the study period, the analysis reveals that international political sources were predominant in framing the Darfur conflict in both the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*.

In the *Globe and Mail*, international political sources were visible in 49 per cent of overall media coverage for the duration of the study. Although Darfur was essentially a Sudanese conflict, the major movers and shakers who influenced decisions on sanctions, peace negotiations, peacekeeping, and humanitarian assistance were mostly government figures from countries such as the U.S., Britain, France, China, Egypt, Nigeria, Chad, and Libya.

Similarly in the *Toronto Star*, international political sources dominated, with 52 per cent of quotes attributed to them. For the *Toronto Star*, 149 stories were analyzed for this study, while in the *Globe and Mail*, the number of articles was 141.

Local political sources formed the second dominant category in both newspapers, generating 26 per cent in the *Globe and Mail* and 28 per cent in the *Toronto Star*. The last category in both newspapers was made up of other sources. In the *Globe and Mail*, these sources constituted 24 per cent of newsmakers, while in the *Toronto Star*, they generated 18 per cent of media attention.

The dominance of the international political sources category can in some measure can be attributed to the following factors:

First, Darfur was primarily an overseas conflict that was mainly conveyed to the Canadian public through news. The analysis of the articles in both newspapers shows that 73 per cent of these stories originated from international wire services such as the Associated Press,

Reuters, and Bloomberg. In particular, the major stories, including those that marked a milestone in the Darfur conflict, mostly originated from the wire services. For example, the first story that the *Globe and Mail* published on the Darfur conflict on December 8, 2003, was distributed by Reuter's news agency from Cairo, Egypt.

A western Sudanese rebel group asserted yesterday that it had ambushed and killed 700 government troops and pro-government militiamen pushing into rebel areas in the arid Darfur region, forcing a retreat.

Government officials were not immediately available to comment on the attack, which rebels said took place Friday at the Abu Gamra dam, 45 kilometres north of government-held Kebkabiya. But officials have previously said there were military operations in the area ("Government troops slain, Sudanese rebels say").

Following UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's comparison of the Darfur conflict to Rwanda in April 2004, the U.S. became the first country to label the conflict as genocide. On September 10, 2004, the *Toronto Star* alerted its readership to this event through a story written by the Associated Press.

The Bush administration has for the first time branded as "genocide" the attacks on black Africans by government-backed militias in Sudan's Darfur region.

The designation by U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell came as an American proposal in the U.N. Security Council to impose sanctions against Sudan encountered opposition.

Powell told Congress that Sudan's government is to blame for the killing of tens of thousands and uprooting of 1.2 million people.

In recent interviews with 1,136 refugees in neighboring Chad, the U.S. State Department found a “consistent and widespread pattern of atrocities committed against non-Arab villagers,” according to a department report. It added that about a third of the refugees interviewed heard racial epithets while under attack.

Powell said that as a member of the 1948 international genocide convention, Sudan is obliged to prevent and punish acts of genocide.

“To us, at this time, it appears that Sudan has failed to do so,” he said.... (Gedda A.15).

Similarly, stories about major events pertaining to the Darfur conflict originated from wire services. For example stories about the likening of the Darfur conflict to the Rwanda genocide by UN secretary general Kofi Annan, the deployment of 26,000 peacekeepers to Darfur, and the International Criminal Court’s naming of Sudanese officials as war crimes suspects, all originated from wire services, or had foreign datelines.

The use of wire stories may be explained by the fact that financial shortfalls in recent years have forced newspapers to cut back considerably on foreign bureaus in order to save money. The *Globe and Mail*, for instance, had only one reporter, Stephanie Nolen, to cover the whole of Africa. The *Toronto Star* mostly relied on freelancers, and only occasionally sent staff reporters to Darfur. The *Toronto Star* closed its Africa bureau shortly after the end of apartheid in 1994.

Second, most of the wire stories were written from outside Canada. The news production process entails several factors such as collecting, analyzing, and writing to deadlines. It is therefore expected that wire agency reporters would quote sources with close proximity to them, hence the dominance of international political sources.

Figure 9: Distribution of social actors across the years in the Globe and Mail

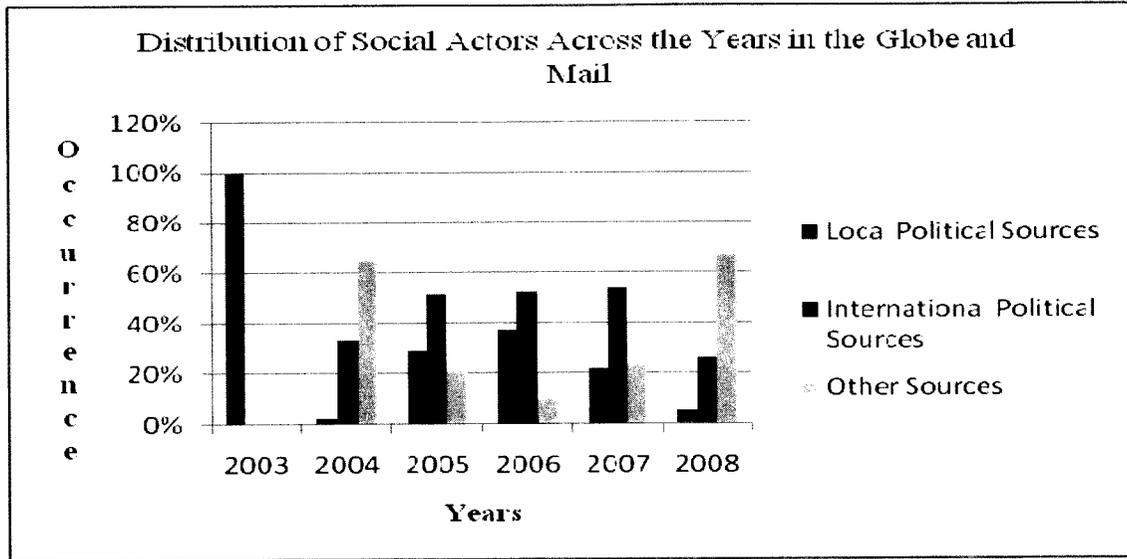


Figure 10: Distribution of social actors across the years in the Toronto Star

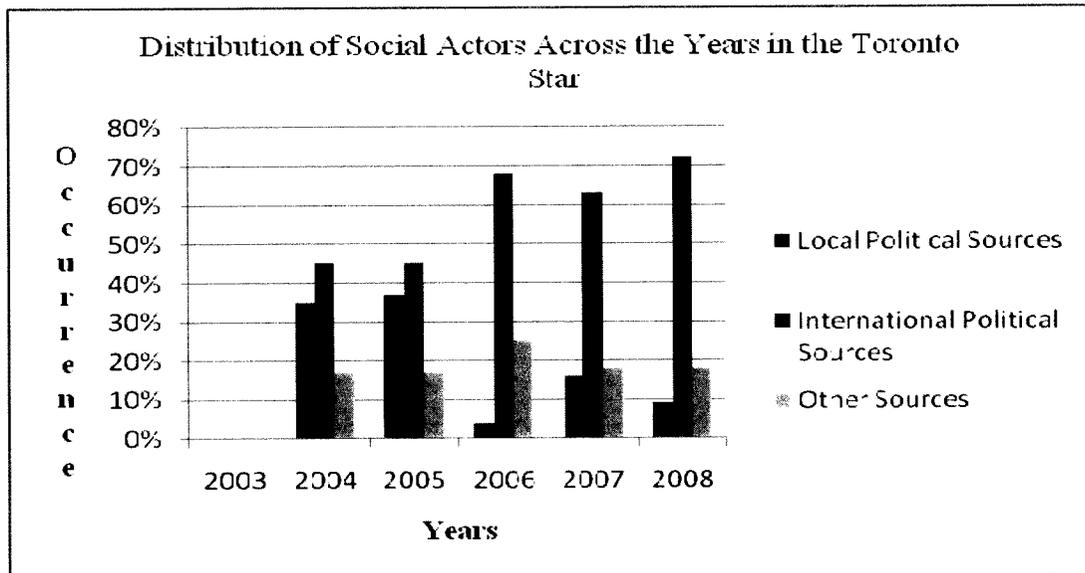
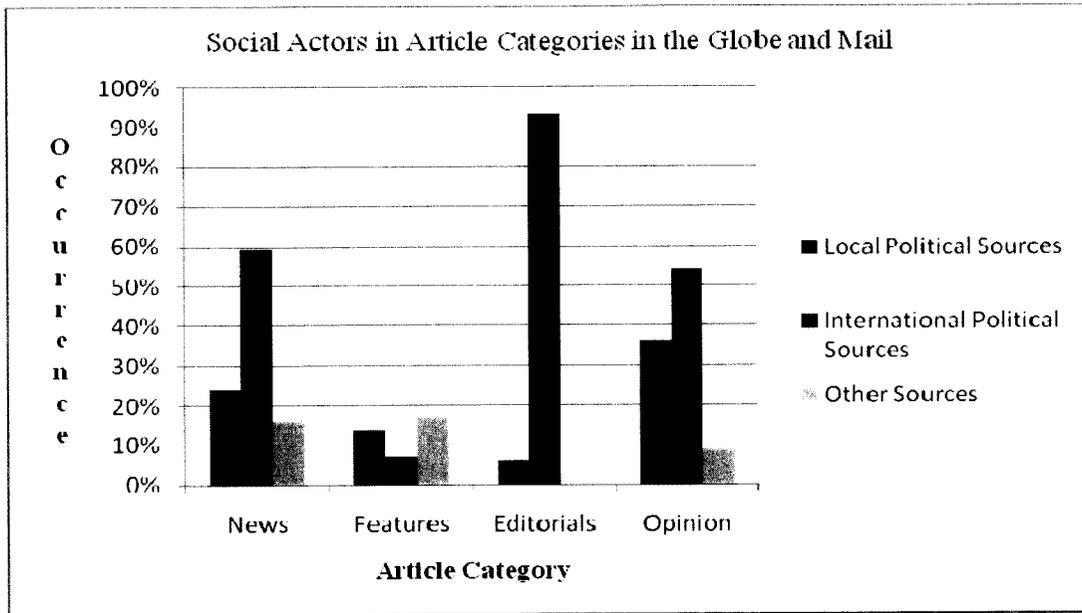
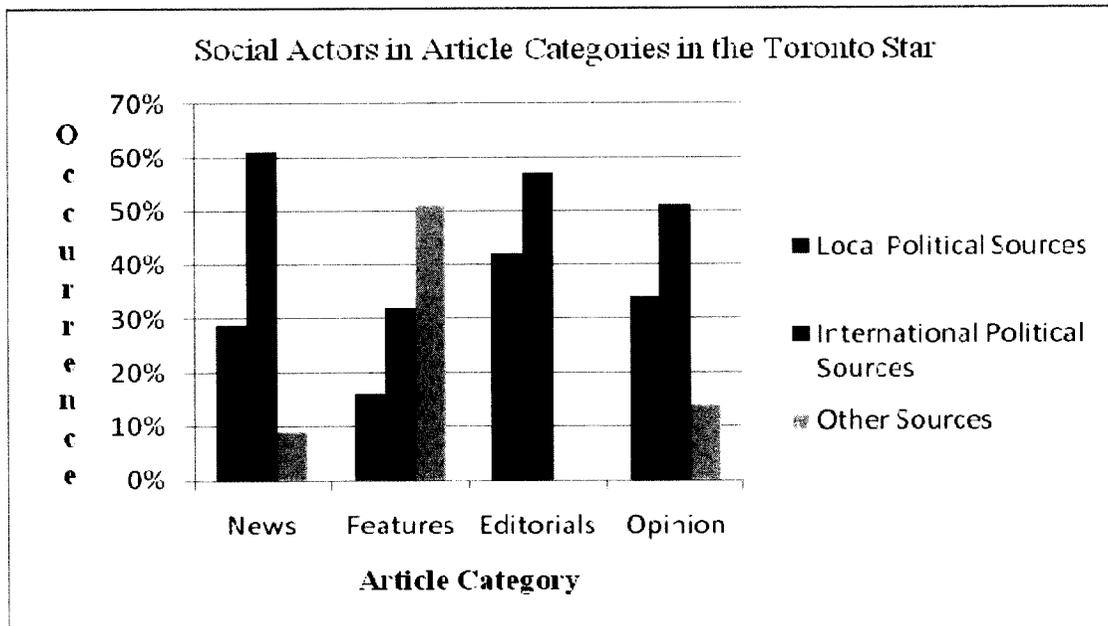


Figure 12: Social actors in article categories in the Globe and Mail**Figure 13:** Social actors in article categories in the Toronto Star

Evaluation of coverage of the Darfur conflict

The qualitative reading of the articles used for this study, reveals that the coverage of the Darfur conflict in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, lacked context, focused on violence, and relied on official sources.

In December 2004, after more than a year of hostilities in Darfur, the *Globe and Mail* still published stories that offered little background about the conflict, as shown in the example below:

Sudan said yesterday it would immediately and unconditionally cease hostilities in its remote Darfur region, and asked the United Nations and African Union to request that rebels do the same.

Foreign Minister Mustafa Osman Ismail, speaking after an emergency meeting with Western diplomats, UN and African Union officials, told reporters they did not discuss withdrawing troops from towns the government has captured from rebels. The AU had given Sudan a 24-hour deadline, which expired Saturday evening, to stop hostilities or it would refer the matter to the Security Council (“Sudan agrees to stop fighting in Darfur”).

The story above, while offering information about the presence of war in Darfur, failed to allude, even briefly, to some of the key reasons behind the war. Nor does the story offer any context for Ismail’s meeting with the UN and African Union officials. The story also does not shed light on the context in which the Sudan government announced a ceasefire in Darfur. Was the Sudan government seeking a breather from a rebel offensive or was it responding to an African Union ultimatum?

The dearth of context, especially in stories in the beginning stages of the conflict, was frequently displayed in the *Globe and Mail* as reflected in the story below, published in May 2004. While it concentrates on explaining that a war was being waged in western Sudan, it does not mention the reasons for this war.

Sudan is waging a bloody campaign of ethnic cleansing in the western region of Darfur, killing thousands of people and driving more than a million more from their homes by bombing villages, shooting men and raping women, according to a prominent human-rights group.

New York-based Human Rights Watch called for the United Nations Security Council, which is scheduled to discuss the issue today, to step in to help stop the bloodshed and look for evidence of crimes against humanity. The organization likened the situation to the beginning of the 1994 Rwanda genocide (“Rights group calls killings…”).

The lack of context in stories was also visible in the *Toronto Star’s* coverage as shown in this excerpt from an editorial. In this instance, the religious affiliation of the Darfur protagonists was wrongly identified. The Christian and animist label is usually attached to southern Sudan but not to Darfur, whose population is entirely Muslim.

President Omar al-Bashir’s Arab-dominated regime and its Janjaweed allies have been battling Christian and animist African groups in Darfur who want regional autonomy and control over resources. Horrible crimes have been committed (“Darfur’s long agony”).

In a story examining the flood of small arms into Darfur, the *Globe and Mail* printed a story on Dec. 18, 2004, titled “Peace monitors worry as arms flow into Darfur.” The story said the region was bound to experience more violence as a result of the arms flow.

Weapons flooding into Sudan's Darfur region have turned the already bloodied area into a "time bomb waiting to explode," African Union ceasefire monitors said yesterday (Saleh A.21).

However, the story did not explain where these small arms were coming from and why. Instead, it delved into expounding on fresh rebel attacks, and a rebel boycott of peace talks in Abuja. By failing to explain where the arms originated from, the story failed to offer a contextual background to the regional dimensions of the Darfur conflict. Countries such as Chad and Eritrea have been fingered by analysts as being behind some of the Darfur rebel factions. The story therefore created the inaccurate impression that the Darfur war was an entirely Sudanese conflict.

The Darfur conflict was also projected in violence terms, in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. The headlines of the news stories often painted a graphic depiction of the war, creating the impression that violence is inherent to Darfur. The following excerpt is from the *Globe and Mail*.

...Ten African Union soldiers were killed and dozens were missing after armed men launched a weekend assault on an AU base in Darfur, the worst attack on AU troops since they deployed in Sudan's violent west in 2004 (McDoom A.15).

Examining random news articles in the *Globe and Mail* published in the fall of 2007, the evidence suggests that violence was emphasized consistently. The story headlines read as follows:

- Darfur rebel factions battling each other (September 3, 2007).
- Darfur attack kills 10 soldiers (October 1, 2007)
- Darfur town razed after attack on AU troops (October 8, 2007)

-Sudanese army assault leaves at least 45 dead (October 10, 2007)

A similar projection of violence was also portrayed in the *Globe and Mail*, as elaborated in the lead of the story below, written by Stephanie Nolen, the *Globe and Mail's* Africa correspondent.

A campaign of atrocities is creating millions of refugees in the western part of this war-ravaged nation, and the world doesn't seem to care (Nolen F.1).

As well, a random examination of *Toronto Star* headlines in the fall of 2004 reveals the predominance of the violence theme:

-Massacre looming in Darfur. Dallaire; Sudan may ignite like Rwanda, says ex-peacekeeper (September 21, 2004).

-Darfur death toll 10,000 a month (September 14, 2004).

-Arbour reports Darfur horrors (October 1, 2004).

-Darfur town torched as Sudanese troops enter after deadly raid (October 8, 2007).

Coverage of the Darfur conflict also relied heavily on official sources, which in this study are identified as international political sources. (See Appendix 1 for definition) The following excerpts from the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* illustrates the reliance on official sources:

We are perilously close," a Western diplomat involved in the talks said. "It's boiling down here to the last act."

The peace plan was prepared by mediators from the African Union and amended after the rebel groups balked at an early draft.

...We are going to study them, but the improvements give us the sign that we can agree, that we do not need to renegotiate and that there will be no further delay in the final agreement,” Jaffer Monro, a spokesman for the Sudanese Liberation Movement, told the Associated Press (McCarthy A.19).

The reliance on official sources means minimal attention was devoted to the viewpoints of ordinary Darfuris, except in feature articles that examined conditions on the ground in camps for the internally displaced or in refugee camps in neighbouring Chad. The excerpts below are from the *Toronto Star*.

Sudanese president Omar Hassan al-Bashir dismissed criticism by the UN secretary-general yesterday, saying the world body was making unreasonable demands and turning a blind eye to the activities of Darfur rebels.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said Thursday the Sudanese government might have to answer “individually and collectively” for failing to protect the people of the troubled western region from killings, rape and destruction (Shahine A.18).

The Darfur conflict has often been characterized as a war between “Arabs” and “Africans.”

The UN has warned of a humanitarian disaster in the region, where Arab militias have been driving African villagers off their land in what international groups have described as ethnic cleansing (“Sudan, two rebel groups agree to 45-day ceasefire”).

This characterization has been challenged by some of the leading researchers on Darfur, who argue that pegging the conflict on a racial squabble undermines the socio-political and

economic reasons behind the war and ignores the fluidity of race in the region (de Waal 185-87 and Prunier 4).

To establish whether an “Arab” versus “African” characterization in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* existed, a meticulous reading of the news articles was undertaken for this study. The reading sought to establish whether the characterization was mentioned, suggested or implied in the news stories.

In the *Globe and Mail*, the “Arab” versus “African” characterization occurred in 23 per cent of the news stories. In the *Toronto Star*, it was prevalent in 30 per cent of the stories. The higher figure in the latter is due to the fact that the number of news stories in the *Toronto Star* was higher (149) than the number of articles in the *Globe and Mail*, which was 141.

Overall, in both newspapers, 30 per cent of the coverage alluded to the “Arab” versus “African” depiction, a characterization which is contested by many Darfur scholars.

Conclusion

This study examined the framing of the Darfur conflict in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*, two of Canada's most influential and largest circulation daily newspapers. Specifically, the study sought to establish the dominant themes in the coverage of the conflict and the social actors who dominated this coverage. As well, the study sought to establish the implications of the dominance of the themes and social actors for the public and for policy-makers.

The results show that in the *Globe and Mail*, the Darfur conflict was framed in military interventionist terms, while in the *Toronto Star*, the war was depicted in violence terms. While the study doesn't concretely establish the differences in both newspapers' framing of the conflict, it posits that internal institutional editorial policy directions may be responsible for these framing differences.

The study also established that international political sources were dominant in framing the Darfur conflict in both newspapers. However, the *Toronto Star* quoted more international political sources in its stories than the *Globe and Mail*. The dominance of international political sources in both newspapers is due to the fact that, although the Darfur conflict was primarily an internal Sudanese affair, its major decision makers were mostly government dignitaries from countries such as the U.S., Britain, France, China, Egypt, Nigeria, Chad, and Libya.

The study also contends that the dominance of international political sources in both newspapers' coverage of the Darfur conflict can be attributed to the fact that 73 per cent of the news stories were sourced from international wire services. In essence, the reporters who wrote

these stories tended to quote sources in close proximity to them. This is the reason why local sources from Canada were not dominant.

The dominance of the military interventionist frame, the violence frame, and international political sources has implications. These dominant factors obscure a deeper and contextual understanding of the Darfur conflict. Military intervention and violence paint a picture of a situation that is inherently tied to war. These factors dim focus on other urgent issues that require attention, such as the plight of children, women, the elderly, and the conditions of displaced Darfuris in camps both inside and outside Sudan.

Similarly, the dominance of official sources means the viewpoints of the victims of the war have been for the most part, excluded. In the classic, *The First Casualty: From the Crimea to Vietnam, the war correspondent as hero, propagandist, and myth maker*, Phillip Knightley observed that truth is often the first casualty of war. But the art of mainstream journalism, especially in reporting war, can also obfuscate the truth (Boyd-Barrett 25). Boyd-Barrett suggests that truth is rendered a “casualty” when reporters frame war through a narrative that serves establishment’s interests. The absence of viewpoints of ordinary Darfuris, who have to bear the brunt of the war on a daily basis, means policy-makers are likely to prescribe solutions that have a top-down approach, that lack input from the grassroots.

In an overall evaluation of both newspapers’ depiction of the Darfur conflict, this study surmises that the coverage lacked context, focused on violence, and relied heavily on official sources (international political sources).

Too often, the Darfur conflict has been depicted as a racial squabble between pastoralist Arab tribes against African tribes who are farmers. This study examined this characterization and

concludes that although the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* used the “Arab” versus “African” depiction, this characterization only prevailed in 30 per cent of the coverage. In other words, it was not a dominant depiction.

In the post-Cold War era, ethnic conflicts have resurged and are today considered among the world’s top security concerns (Brown xi). Yet the reporting of these wars continues to be reduced to stereotyped short-hand media clichés that lack depth and context. Newspapers’ reliance on wire services and spot news coverage rather than staff-written stories and features that provide depth and context, epitomizes the coverage in the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star*. The short-comings that emerge from this reporting, influences the understanding of the conflict among Canadians. As a result, the mere mention of Darfur conjures up images of a barbaric tribal bloodletting somewhere in the bowels of Africa. As *New York Times* journalist Nicholas Kristof has noted “journalism has never done a great job in covering genocide, and in that respect Darfur is typical rather than an unfortunate exception” (111).

Ironically, despite the fact that Rwanda—and to some extent the Balkan conflicts—served as news pegs for much of the Canadian media coverage of Darfur, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Star* seemed to have drawn little from the Rwanda catastrophe, which was typified by scant media coverage that obfuscated the complex dynamics of the genocide. The reliance on episodic coverage that barely scratches above the surface has been established as an obstacle to understanding the root causes of a problem. Darfur is certainly not the first or last war to have lacked context in the way it was reported. News reporters and media organizations need to strive to offer thematic and contextual reporting when they cover conflict around the globe.

Appendix 1

Newspaper coding manual

A) Name of Newspaper

1) Globe and Mail

2) Toronto Star

B) Date of publishing

Date/Month/Year

C) Article type

News: [Article contains the elements of a news story. E.g. News in this case is defined as an item that highlights a new event, is short and precise].

Feature: [Article contains the elements of a feature story. E.g. A feature is a prominent, long, analytical, laid-back, contextual and in-depth article that focuses on one individual or situation].

Opinion: [Article with a by-line written by an in-house columnist or a guest columnist, who could be an individual or organization; an article that reflects the author's opinion on a particular subject matter].

Editorial: [An editorial is defined as an unsigned article reflecting the views of the newspaper's editorial board on a particular subject].

D) Main theme of article

Humanitarian action: 1=Delivery of food aid, tents, medicine; 2=Campaigns by individuals or organizations for humanitarian action; 3=Creation of safe havens; 4=Financial aid from the West; 5=Sanctuary for Darfur refugees; 6=allowing aid workers into Darfur

Military intervention: 1=Deployment of Western troops; 2=Deployment of UN blue berets; 3=Deployment of UN and AU troops; 4=Deployment of AU troops; 5=Delivery of military hardware; 6=Provision of military training

Diplomatic intervention: 1= Diplomatic pressure by West on China; 2= Prosecution of war criminals to deter war; 3= Diplomatic pressure on Sudan to stop war; 4= Diplomatic pressure on Sudan and rebels to stop war; 5= Divestment from Chinese companies; 6= Ceasing hostilities between government army and rebels; 6=Diplomatic pressure on rebels to stop war; 7=Peace talks; 8=Prosecution of war criminals; 9=Travel restrictions on Sudan officials; 10=Sanctions

Violence: 1=Arab militias attack Africans; 2=Rebels attack Arabs; 3=African and Arab militias attack each other; 4= Government army and bandits attack peacekeepers and aid workers; 5=Attacks on Chad by Sudan; 6=Chad attacks Sudan; 6=Rebels attack government positions; 7=Rebels attack aid workers; 8=Rebels attack peacekeepers

International ambivalence: 1=Sudan government reluctance to take decisive action to stop violence; 2=International community's reluctance to take decisive action to stop violence; 7=Darfur rebels' reluctance to take decisive action to stop violence

Canadian inaction: 1=Failure/reluctance of Canadian government to commit troops or aid to Darfur; 2=Canadian government's failure/reluctance to use its influence in world bodies to press for military intervention in Darfur; 4=Inability to send troops because of Afghan mission

E) **Word Count for articles**

1=50-200; 2=200-400; 3=400-600; 4=600-1000; 5=Other

F) **Placement of articles in the newspaper**

1=A section + page number; 2=B section + page number; 3=C section + page number; 4=D section + page number; 5=E section + page number; 6=F section + page number; 7=G Section + page number; 8=other

G) **Source analysis**

Canadian political sources: 1=Prime Minister; 2=Government minister, MP, spokesperson or department; 10=Opposition party leader or MP

International political sources: 1=International government leader; 2=International government member; 3=International opposition leader; 4=International opposition party member; 5=Rebel representative; 6=UN sec. gen.; 7=UN spokesperson; 8=NATO; 9=European Community/Parliament/Politician; 10=Terrorist organization; 11=African Union representative;

Other sources: 1=Public sector research institute/centre rep; 3=NGOs, human rights organizations/Advocacy groups/ reps; 4=Members of the public; 7=Police; 8=Media organizations; 9=Private business sector; 10=Darfur people 11=International Criminal Court (ICC); 12=International Monetary Fund

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