EVALUATION OF NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION NEWS IN SOUTH SUDAN

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

To my dearest sister Dr Farha

You were my helper and the motivator who encouraged me to continue my educational journey, you left us for the supreme companion I dedicate this work to your soul, we pray one day will meet.

To Parent father was a guiding light show me the way to knowledge

Mother and father your unwavering support , Prayers and love to me through this period has been humbling and you left me to leave my country Sudan I am eternally grateful

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I thank god for his unending mercies: by own strength and will it would have never been possible this thesis in good health in sound mind

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights
AFRICAW	Africa and the World
AU	African Union
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
GII	Global Integrity Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFIs	International Financial Institutions
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSACC	South Sudan Anti-Corruption Commission
SSAD	South Sudan Aid and Development
SSRC	Southern Sudan Referendum Commission
UN	United Nations

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Corruption The inducement by means of an improper consideration to violate some duty for the advantage and benefit of self and the other, portends the lack of integrity or honesty, the use of position of trust for dishonest gains in public or private domain (AFRICAW, 2012).

Coverage The extent or degree to which something is observed, analyzed, and reported: complete news coverage of the election (Fardigh *et al.,* 2011).

Curbing To control or reduce something especially if it is done to cause harm.

Journalism A report of things as they appear at the moment of writing not a definitive study of a situation. It is also the event of the day detailed into pictures, a few words or sound, processed by the mechanic of communication to satisfy the human curiosity of a world that is eager to know what is new.

Journalist Reporters, writers, editors and columnists who work for newspapers, press associates, syndicates, news magazines, TVs, Radio and other magazines devoted to public affairs

News An account of an event meant for the audience and that affects a reasonable number of people vicariously.

Reporting Giving account of some happening

Stakeholders People who are connected with corruption and are to be held responsible for its success or failure

ABSTRACT

The media is regarded as the fourth pillar in democracy and that free and independent press has an important role in fighting corruption. Many studies have shown a strong correlation between freedom of the press and political corruption and emphasize the importance of media plurality and media freedom. The general objective of the study was to determine the effect of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. The specific objectives of the study were to establish the effect of frequency on coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan; to examine the prominence of coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan; to analyze the depth of treatment of coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan; to determine the type of news on political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan and finally, to establish the moderating relationship between media policies and regulation on the political corruption in South Sudan. The study was anchored on the Theories of Crisis of Governance, Spiral of Silence and Agenda Setting. The study employed descriptive survey research design. The target population of the study was 315 respondents drawn from the following sources: Sudan Tribune, Juba Monitor, and The Dawn, Peace Day, and Sudanese Online newspapers, international and local NGOs, Academic staff and students from mass communication and political science departments at Juba University. Primary data was collected through face to face interviews conducted on chief editors of the five newspapers, directors of local NGOs, academic staff and students from Juba University. The respondents were randomly selected. Secondary data was gathered using a content analysis tool from the five selected newspapers. A total of 180 sample newspapers were used for content analysis. Data was analyzed using Statistical Software for Social Sciences (SPSS) and presented in form of graphs, figures and tables. The study found out that most media houses did not cover political corruption news, with most of the newspapers shying away from publishing such information. The content for the newspapers which covered political corruption news was approximately a quarter a page and that they would present such in cartoons and editorials rather than straight news. Corruption news ranged from bribery, embezzlement of funds, misuse of office, nepotism, illegal appointments to even transfer of civil property to selfish individuals. Policies regulating media existed, but were not effectively implemented. The study therefore recommended implementation of media regulatory policies; enactment of laws that protected media houses and journalists; pursuance and prosecution of individuals who infringed on the rights of journalists; collaborative efforts between the government and private sector in ensuring that the freedom of the press was adhered to; independence of media houses; and refresher courses to journalists on emerging trends in journalism. The study recommended further investigation into the measures of improving coverage of political corruption news by newspapers; situational analysis in the realization of freedom of the press in South Sudan; situational analysis of the milestones in the fight against political corruption in South Sudan; and the effectiveness of the media regulatory board in the protection of media houses.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The media, which is often regarded as the fourth pillar in democracy, has an important role in fighting corruption. Many studies have shown a strong correlation between freedom of the press and political corruption and emphasize the importance of media plurality and media freedom (Mathias, Färdigh Xicheng, Beijing & China, 2013). There is a broad consensus that a free press helps curb corruption by improving 'citizens' accessibility to information which in turn makes it more difficult for politicians and public servants to get away with corrupt behavior. In particular, the media plays a key role in exposing corruption and raising general awareness of its detrimental effect upon society, as well as in promoting integrity and accountability norms, values and practices in society.

Corruption is a global phenomenon that is attracting global reactions. Africa and the World group, (2012) asserted that corruption is perhaps the most important factor that is impeding the accelerated socioeconomic transformation of developing or less developing countries (LDCs) of the world, and that it is in fact, recognized by development scholars that the level of reduction in corruption has a very direct link to the level of economic development of nations in the world). To curb the negative effects of corruption on economic and sustainable development requires conscious efforts and attention. The word corruption means the deviation from what is right, ideal or correct. Corruption is the act of changing or of being changed for the worse. Moreover, Lipset and Lenz (2000) in their definition opined corruption as efforts to secure wealth or power through illegal means, private gain at public expense or a misuse of public power for private benefit. According to Sen (1999), corruption or corrupt behavior is that which involves the violation of established rules for personal gain and profit.

Africa is widely considered among the world's most corrupt places, a factor seen as contributing to the stunted development and impoverishment of many African states.

Of the ten countries considered most corrupt in the world, six are in sub-Saharan Africa, according to Transparency International, a leading global watchdog on corruption. A 2002 African Union study estimated that corruption cost the continent roughly $150 billion a year. To compare, developed countries gave $22.5 billion in aid to sub-Saharan Africa in 2008 (OECD, 2008). Some economists argue that African governments need to fight corruption instead of relying on foreign aid. But anti-corruption efforts on the continent have shown mixed results in recent years, and analysts fear that major international partners are unwilling to exert leverage over African governments. An initiative for transparency in the extractive industries shows promise, but is mostly untested. Some experts suggest African interest in attracting foreign investment will serve to spur more substantive efforts to fight corruption.

1.1.1 The Concept of Coverage

Journalism is a report of things as they appear at the moment of writing not a definitive study of a situation. Journalism is the process of gathering writing, editing or disseminating News through newspaper, magazines or by radio or television or through other media. It also means the event of the day detailed into pictures, a few words or sound, processed by the mechanic of communication to satisfy the human curiosity of a world that is eager to know what is new.

Research has also shown that accountability and transparency tend to improve as the access to information increases (Fardigh *et al.,* 2011). There are various ways in which the media can help combat and prevent corruption. A news story can have a direct and "tangible" effect, such as resulting in the launch of an investigation, impeachment, forced resignation of corrupt political leaders (Nogara, 2009). Media coverage of corruption can also have longer term, more indirect effects. The media can help mobilize the public against corruption and build pressure for reforms. They can raise standards of public accountability by monitoring and investigating the actions of those who were granted public trust, exposing corruption cases, and increasing the costs and risks associated with corrupt behaviors. Informing the public and presenting different points of views can also encourage public participation as

well as support political competition by putting politicians under pressure to take a stand against corruption (Nogara 2009).

The media can be hampered to fulfill its role as a watchdog by obstacles such as restrictions on press freedom, market failures, lack of professional standards, weak civil society, and limitations in media literacy and public access to the media (Norris & Odugbemi 2010). In developing countries, where the media often faces major challenges in the form of lack of training and technical skills, low professional standards, limited financial resources, inadequate legal frameworks and an undemocratic political system, corruption in the media is likely to further undermine the role that the media can play in fighting corruption and promoting public accountability. This is reflected by Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer findings, which indicate that corruption in the media is an area of concern in many developing countries such as Lebanon, Yemen, Pakistan, Bolivia, Zimbabwe, Ukraine, Malawi, Senegal, Peru, Afghanistan, Thailand, Palestine, Zambia, South Sudan, and Malaysia (Transparency International 2010/2011). Various factors such as media regulations, media ownership, as well as resources and capacity can put the media's integrity and autonomy at risk and make them vulnerable to corruption.

1.1.2 The African Union

The Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was born out of the struggle for independence of the 1950s and the early 1960s. Its short-term goals included abolishing apartheid and assisting African countries in gaining full independence from their colonial rulers. Under the spur of the pan-Africanists, the OAU also sought to realise the dream of a united Africa. In the post-World War II atmosphere of ideological bipolarisation between East and West, some African leaders took sides while others opted for non-alignment. As African countries were wooed by the superpowers, issues such as human rights, the rule of law and public participation in decision-making were downgraded on the political agenda. The leaders who had been a strong force in the struggle for independence (Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere), the powerful trade unions and the successful multiparty

systems were gradually replaced with one-party states and dictatorships. These regimes were mostly tolerated by cold war superpowers that regularly fought wars by proxy throughout the continent, and in southern Africa in particular. Mobutu Sese Seko was one such dictator who plundered the resource-rich Zaire (now Democratic Republic of Congo) for more than 30 years with the tacit approval of some of his backers in Western capitals. Anti-corruption initiatives were on no one's agenda. Moreover, the word 'corruption' was taboo, even within the International Financial Institutions (IFIs). With the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the leadership vacuum in many countries became exposed to populations that increasingly demanded democracy, human rights and public participation.

Convention against Corruption (OAU)

African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCPCC) was adopted in Maputo on 11 July 2003 to fight rampant political corruption on the African continent. It represents regional consensus on what African states should do in the areas of prevention, criminalization, international cooperation and asset recovery. Going beyond other similar conventions, the AUCPCC calls for the eradication of corruption in the private and public sector. The Convention covers a wide range of offences including bribery (domestic or foreign), diversion of property by public officials, trading in influence, illicit enrichment, money laundering and concealment of property and primarily consists of mandatory provisions. It also obliges the signatories to introduce open and converted investigations against corruption Those measures attracted criticism in the Journal of African Law, where Peter Schroth argued that the convention disregards other aspects of the rule of law, like e.g. data protection and the presumption of innocence

July 2011, the world's newest nation was born. The Republic of Sudan had been in conflict for the majority of its independence since 1956. According to The Southern Sudan Referendum Commission (SSRC), South Sudan gained its autonomy from the North following a referendum that saw 98.83% of its population vote for secession (SSRC, 2011). Only one year after this landmark event however, South Sudan finds itself at odds with the growing number of challenges it is facing.

Alongside the challenge of providing security to its citizens, the government of the Republic of South Sudan is now attempting to establish effective governance structures across a large, very poor and very diverse territory with scant infrastructure. To do so, it needs to ensure that it provides a common governance framework within which all citizens can participate.

The era of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was distinguished by a high degree of political accommodation and unity in the south across different parties and interest groups. However, the existence of patronage along tribal lines threatens to undermine this already fragile accord (Schumann 2010). Complicating the situation, South Sudan's nascent institutions of law and order must contend with a significant capacity gap within

In 2007, it was reported that the following nine countries had legal gaps relating to this Convention and United Nations Convention against Corruption: (Algeria, Burundi, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Togo, and Uganda.)

Corrupt leaders could no longer hide behind the coat-tails of their foreign sponsors, for whom most of the African continent had become less strategically important. The fact that corruption hinders the realisation of the rights enshrined in all of the other principles lends more, not less, weight to the claim that an explicit principle on transparency is needed. The Global Compact is already working on substantive projects related to corruption and transparency. The working group on transparency and corruption has been tackling bribery, antitrust, publishing data and related public policies, issues that are all addressed in the UN Convention against Corruption. A policy dialogue in 2001 on the 'The role of the private sector in zones of conflict', for instance, produced a set of guidelines with detailed recommendations for civil society, governments, businesses and multilateral institutions, aimed at eliminating corruption in the arms trade. By centring the issue of transparency and corruption as the focus of a 10th principle, these and similar important efforts can only be strengthened.

Jermyn Brooks (Transparency International), governance and democratisation, African states recognised the need to strike a balance between the state, private

sector, civil society and the media. Together with local pressure groups, international organisations like Amnesty International mounted a continuous campaign against human right violations, but the OAU only reacted in the early 1980s. Indeed, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) came into force in 1986. The 1990s saw a return to the multiparty system. Pressure from civil society, the media and political parties quickly pushed corruption and governance issues to the fore. The IFIs adopted a good governance agenda as part of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). This trend produced ambiguous results, since it not only entrenched calls for more accountable governance, but also created mistrust of the good governance agenda among those critical of the ravaging effects of SAPs. It was against this backdrop that the OAU, predecessor of the new African Union (AU), was to seek a continental approach to a problem that had taken on a magnitude similar to that of the human rights issue in the 1980s.

1.1.3 African Efforts to Fight Corruption

In Africa corruption ranges from high-level political graft on the scale of millions of dollars to low-level bribes received by police officers or customs officials.

While political graft has the largest direct financial cost on a country, petty bribes have a corrosive effect on basic institutions and undermine public trust in the government. According to the 2009 East African Bribery Index. Compiled by Transparency International, over half of East Africans polled paid bribes to access public services that should have been freely available. At the same time graft also increases the cost of doing business. Academic research has shown that a one-point improvement in a country's Transparency International corruption score is correlated with a productivity increase equal to 4 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). "If you attack corruption, it's the best way to attack poverty," Nuhu Ribadu, the former head of Nigeria's anti-corruption commission, told *Business Week* in June 2009. He added: Unaddressed, endemic corruption can also foster unrest. For example the insurgency in the Niger Delta is fueled by claims that communities in the area do not see tangible benefits from oil extraction on their land; much of the oil revenue meant for the Delta's citizens is siphoned off by government officials**.**

The world's newest nation was born in July 2011. The Republic of Sudan had been in conflict for the majority of its independence since 1956. According to The Southern Sudan Referendum Commission (SSRC), South Sudan gained its autonomy from the North following a referendum that saw 98.83% of its population vote for secession (SSRC, 2011). Unfortunately, one year after this landmark event, South Sudan finds itself at odds with the growing number of challenges facing it. Alongside the challenge of providing security to its citizens, the government of the Republic of South Sudan is now attempting to establish effective governance structures across a large, very poor and very diverse territory with scant infrastructure. To do so, it needs to ensure that it provides a common governance framework within which all citizens can participate.

The era of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was distinguished by a high degree of political accommodation and unity in the south across different parties and interest groups. However, the existence of patronage along tribal lines threatens to undermine this already fragile accord (Schumann, 2010). Complicating the situation, South Sudan's nascent institutions of law and order must contend with a significant capacity gap within their ranks – for example, 80% of the police force is illiterate (Tim Allen *et al.*, 2010). In one of Africa's least developed nations (BBC, 2012), corruption also remains one of the greatest challenges. Studies have found that the negative economic effects of corruption include market uncertainty and excessive regulation, but also whittle away the resources that the government allocates towards development.

Corruption also erodes citizen trust in government and state-society relations (Kaufmann, 2005). The fragility of South Sudan's sovereign infancy has been weakened by corruption, ethnic violence, and a growing humanitarian crisis. Coupled with these features, is the South's dispute with the North over the transportation costs of Southern oil across a pipeline that runs through northern territory, ultimately cutting off 98% of the country's public sector revenue (Reuters, 2012). Together these challenges have created uncertainty and dashed optimism regarding a prosperous future for South Sudan. Internally, these circumstances have pushed the country to the brink of political and economic meltdown. To address

some of these concerns, the President has promoted a policy of 'zero tolerance' of Corruption (Reuters, 2011) and has established an Anti-Corruption Commission. A large-scale anti-corruption campaign has also been launched. The canvass instructs all public officials to declare their assets to the South Sudan Anti-Corruption Commission (SSACC).

In a brave attempt to combat corruption and to maintain Government's credibility, South Sudan's president, Salva Kiir, wrote to 75 current and former Government officials in May 2012 asking them to return around US$ 4 billion that they had stolen from state coffers. To date, only US$ 60 million of the US$ 4 billion has been given back, this through a bank account in Kenya where anyone who has taken Government funds can anonymously return them (Kiir, 2012). The ability of any anti-corruption campaigns to be successful, however, remains in question considering the generally poor state of the country's justice system. According to Joint NGO research on South Sudan Aid and Development (SSAD) Report (2011), South Sudan does not yet have a public financial management act, a procurement act or an audit act. Without this regulation in place, the exact mechanisms by which South Sudan's citizens will be able to hold the government accountable to these commitments is not yet clear. Establishing clear lines of communication between the government and its citizens – in both directions – is crucial. If communities have not been consulted with, and do not understand the reasons for a given decision on how resources are allocated, they are likely to draw their own, potentially unfavorable, conclusions about the process by which the decision was made. The churches, other faith-based groups, and civil society at large should play a key role in holding the government to account, and fostering participation in this process at the community level (Mareike, 2010).

The media – especially radio – also have an important role to play in promoting a culture of transparency and accountability, and its growth has so far been impressive. However, the two main regulatory frameworks intended to set out the terms by which these civil society organizations (with the exception of faith-based groups) and the media operate, the NGO Bill and the Media Bill, are currently stalled in parliament (SSAD, 2011). Restrictions to media freedom, in the form of repressive

defamation legislation, are thought to affect the amount of information about corruption that the media report. Corruption receives significantly less attention in states with a more repressive defamation law. Instrumental variable models corroborate the interpretation of the negative association between regulation and coverage as a causal "chilling effect". The linkage between a healthy media sector and political stability is particularly important because the media can play a critical role as a watchdog, and thus has the potential to hold the government to account to its people and curb extractive rent seeking and exploitative practices. The context is particularly important for the SSA region because of the political dynamics in the region, what has been called the "third wave of democratization" over the last two decades (Huttington, 1991).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The media has been identified as a very important weapon to fight the scourge of corruption worldwide and it is considered the strongest force in shaping public opinion on issues (WSCIJ, 2013). Many studies have shown a strong positive correlation between media freedom and curbing of corruption thus emphasizing the importance of media freedom in controlling corruption (Freille *et al.*, 2007, Fardigh *et al.*, 2011). Further, many researchers have agreed that a free press helps in curbing corruption by improving accessibility of citizens to information and making it more difficult for politicians and public servants to get away with corrupt practices. In particular, the media plays a significant role as it exposing corruption and raising general awareness of its negative effect on the society. And also promotes integrity and accountability norms and values in society. Fardigh *et al*. (2011) noted that accountability and transparency tend to improve as the access to information increases. The World Anti-corruption Watchdog, the Transparency International, in its anti-corruption handbook noted that a free and independent media is one of the principal vehicles for informing the public about corrupt activity (AFRICAW, 2012). The AFRICAW group stated that by investigating and reporting on corruption, the media provides an important counterpoint to the abuse of entrusted power for private gain, shedding light on the wrongdoings of public office holders and corporate executives alike. The media can channel its whistle-blowing function and ability to

influence policies and government action to in turn bring about the much-needed development and good governance (WSCIJ, 2013). According to Anderson (2002), media coverage of corruption in sectors of a nation's economy is indicative of the pervasiveness of the extent of corruption in such sectors and can go a long way in curbing the spread. For example, the extensive media coverage of corruption scandals in Italy and Germany involving high-ranking politicians (Lashmar, 2001) resulted in the very legitimacy of the political parties and the political system as a whole being shaken and the conviction of several high-level politicians on bribery charges respectively.

There are many ways in which the media can help combat and prevent corruption. A news story can have a direct and tangible effect, such as resulting in the launch of an investigation, impeachment and forced resignation of corrupt political leaders. Media coverage of corruption can also have longer term, more indirect effects. The media can help mobilize the public against corruption and build pressure for reforms. They can raise standards of public accountability by monitoring and investigating the actions of those who were granted public trust, exposing corruption cases, and increasing the costs and risks associated with corrupt behaviours. Informing the public and presenting different points of views can also encourage public participation as a study by Martini (2012) in Sudan concluded that corruption permeates all sectors and manifests itself through various forms, including petty and grand corruption, embezzlement of public funds and a system of political patronage well entrenched within the fabrics of society in Sudan. Further, despite the great role the media is expected to play in the fight against corruption in the society, it is observed that there is still a marginal disproportion of coverage and reportage of corruption in developing countries like South Sudan.

The South Sudan media has not been reporting sufficiently the political corruption cases because of the governments' repressive laws which do not guarantee media freedom. For the development partners well-versed in the role of communications and technology in dealing with corruption, there is a feeling that the laws of the press are restrictive thus denying the electronic media the freedoms for elaborate coverage of the vice. Although globally the media is slowly evolving in terms of coverage of

important issues such as political corruption, in the African setting, this is yet to be achieved. This is no exception to Southern Sudan. This research was set to analyze how often the newspapers cover political corruption issues in South Sudan and their level of coverage in terms of frequency, prominence, depth of treatment and the type of news (Nogara, 2009). Therefore, this study was relevant and timely.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by general and specific objectives.

1.3.1 General objective

The general objective of the study was To analyze the effect of coverage on the level of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

(i) To establish the extent of coverage of political corruption news by newspapers in South Sudan.
(ii) To examine the prominence of political corruption news by newspapers in South Sudan.
(iii) To determine the types of news on political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan.
(iv) To establish moderating relationship between media polices and regulation on coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan.

1.4 Research questions

i. To what extent do newspapers cover political corruption in South Sudan?
ii. What is the prominence of political corruption in newspapers in South Sudan?
iii. What is the treatment of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan?

iv. What is the type of news on political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan?
v. What is the moderating relationship between media policies and regulations on the coverage of political corruption in South Sudan?

1.5 Significant of the study

According to the UNDP report (2004), that shown more insidiously, corruption has a far reaching negative effect on the national being which eventually goes back to undermine the whole system of good governance itself. Systemic corruption classes a culture of corruption and skews the people's perception of what is right and wrong. For a number of countries where it has been effectively institutionalized, where wealth and power have become the measure of success, corruption has become socially acceptable, sometimes even aspired to. Energies of a large number of people are channeled towards occupying positions in the government to partake of the fruits of a corrupt system. Around the globe, corruption impacts people's lives in a multitude of ways. In the worst cases, corruption costs life. In countless other cases, it costs their freedom, health, or money. It has dire global consequences, trapping millions in poverty and misery, while breeding social, economic and political unrest. Corruption is both a cause of poverty, and a barrier to overcoming it.

The finding of this study would be beneficial to the following stakeholders:

1.5.1 The National Government

The study findings would be of essence in unveiling how frequent and if at all corruption news are covered in newspapers. This would go further in supporting the fight against corruption in South Sudan. The study findings would also point out loopholes in the coverage of political corruption news, hence offering a chance for the national government to formulate regulations to protect the media.

1.5.2 Researchers and Academics

The study would be beneficial to researchers and in academia, since it provides information on an area that is almost ignored, yet a threat to prosperity in South

Sudan. Moreover, a knowledge gap existed with regards to the effects of newspaper coverage of political news in the country. The study therefore aimed at bridging this gap by improving the knowledge base through research.

1.5.3 Media Professionals

The study investigated a critical aspect of the media, which directly affected media personnel. The study findings would therefore act as a whistleblower to the infringement of media professionals'' rights, some of which were perpetuated by senior political leaders. Findings of this study would offer human rights instruments with the possible gaps with regards to the implementation of the freedom of the press, hence improving media professionals' enjoyment of the freedom of the press.

1.5.4 Policy Makers

Policy makers are involved in the formulation of policies which address cases of discrimination, abuse and stigmatization among other cases. The study therefore offered a possible item for policy formulation, especially addressing the rights and freedoms of the media personnel. This would as well tone down the rate of corruption, hence fueling socioeconomic development.

1. 6 Scope of the Study

1.6.1 Content Scope

This study determined the coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. This was done through investigation of the extent of coverage of political corruption news by newspapers in South Sudan; the prominence of political corruption by newspapers; the treatment of political corruption news in newspapers; the types of news on political corruption by newspapers; and moderating relationship between media policies and regulations on coverage of political corruption by newspapers. Due to time and resource factors, the study could not incorporate other conceptual issues.

1.6.2 Geographical Scope

The study was conducted within the territory of South Sudan. Since most of the newspapers targeted in the study had their offices in Juba, the study was conducted within Juba. Moreover, the proximity of international and local NGOs, journalists who worked for the media stations, lecturers and students from Juba University to Juba town facilitated easier navigation within Juba to reach out to the respondents.

1.6.3 Methodological Scope

The study used primary and secondary data since the nature of the study could entirely be achievable through primary and secondary data sources. The study employed descriptive survey study design. Study sample was drawn from the local and international NGOs, journalists and employees of Sudan Tribune, Juba monitor, The Dawn, Peace Day, Sudanese Online newspapers and from Juba University studying political sciences since all these were concerned with the coverage of political corruption.

1.6.4 Theoretical Scope

The study used the Theory of Crisis of Governance and the Social Responsibility Theory since they bore direct relevance to the issue of political corruption in journalism. The Theory of Crisis of Governance maintained that corruption had significantly contributed to the failure of governance. Social Responsibility theory on the other hand stated that individuals had a fear of isolation, which resulted from the idea that a social group or the society in general could isolate, neglect, or exclude members due to the members' opinions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter begun by examining the various theories that will guide this study for further focus on existing works by different authors on the subject of coverage political corruption. This was followed by conceptual framework for the study and critique of past studies done in this area. There was a review that presented the summary of the literature review followed by research gaps that were addressed as per the study objectives.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework refers to the theories the researcher chooses to explain something which happen or exist or a set of principles on which an activity is based. There were certain mass communication theories which are relevant to this study. These were: Crisis of Governance theory, Spiral of Silence Theory and Agenda setting theory.

2.2.1 Crisis of Governance Theory

This theory attempted to explain corruption in terms of the nature of the state based on personal rule. It asserted that, in such a situation ethnic and or factional relationship tend to replace technical competence in hiring and promotion, and bias and corruption to replace impartiality in the exercise of authority (Sand brook quoted by Wuyts, 1992). With specific reference to Africa, it is assumed, under the crisis of governance theory, that "such factional affiliations and resultant nepotism are inherent characteristics of African Society" (Wuyts *et al.*, 1992). These tendencies are reinforced by the absence of an adequate opposing force coupled with apathetic civil society organizations which cannot exert pressure on the state. The lack of opposing forces makes the leadership complacent and assumes disproportionate power and authority.

Such an environment does not provide favourable conditions for economic, social and cultural development but gives the state unwholesome power and authority. In time, there is a painful failure of state structures to deliver services. The disastrous failure of the state apparatus to deliver services inevitably creates anxiety and provides opportunities for private interests to develop and thrive uninhibited. Corrupt practices replace dysfunctional state machinery to become institutions to deliver services. The use of public office by private interests simply becomes a survival strategy. Corruption then becomes a way of life, which adversely affects availability of social services. This is the scenario that emerges in most African States.

This theory maintains that corruption has significantly contributed to the failure of governance. The political turmoil and instability on the African continent illustrate the crisis of governance. There is growing political intolerance against the opposition, often times leading to bloodshed and the destruction of property. The military coups of Gambia (1994), Sierra Leone (1997) and the attempted coup in Zambia (October 1997), all claim that political corruption is one of the reasons for such action. The anti-government demonstrations, denunciation of mismanagement, public ridicule and loss of confidence have become a regular feature in various states in Africa (Africa Confidential, 1997).

The Crisis of Governance Theory informs the study as it attempted to explain corruption in terms of the nature of the state based on personal rule. It asserted that, in such a situation ethnic and or factional relationship tended to replace technical competence in hiring and promotion, and bias and corruption to replace impartiality in the exercise of authority. This explained why media houses refrained from covering political corruption news. The directors and media personnel hired in some media houses were close allies of the corrupt political leaders and hence had to dance to their tune.

2.2.2 Spiral of Silence Theory

This theory was formulated by Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann in 1974 as an attempt to explain in part how public opinion is formed. She wondered why the Germans supported wrong political positions that led to national defeat, humiliation and ruin in

the 1930s to 1940s. It stipulates that individuals have a fear of isolation, which results from the idea that a social group or the society in general might isolate, neglect, or exclude members due to the members' opinions. This fear of seclusion consequently leads to remaining silent instead of voicing opinions. Media is an important factor that relates to both the dominant idea and people's perception of the dominant idea. The assessment of one's social environment may not always correlate with reality (West *et al*., 2010).

The theory is created on three places that people have a quasi-statistical organ, a sixth-sense, which allows them to know the normal public opinion, even without access to surveys, that people have a fear of loneliness and know what behaviors will increase their likelihood of being socially isolated, and that people are quiet to express their minority views, primarily out of fear of being isolated. The closer a person believes the opinion held is similar to the prevailing public opinion, the more they are willing to openly disclose that opinion in public. Then, if public sentiment changes, the person will recognize that the opinion is less in favor and will be less willing to express that opinion publicly. As the perceived distance between public opinion and a person's personal opinion grows, the more unlikely the person is to express their opinion.

It is related to the mass media, in such a way that mass media influences public opinion. Shifts in public opinion occur commonly and therefore this theory is used to search an explanation for behavior (speak up or stay silent). The theory has also been criticized for ambiguity and methodological weakness, but the idea has persisted. Evidence of the spiral effect is usually small but significant. According to Noelle-Neuman (1993), media is regarded as central formulation of the Spiral of Silence Theory, whereas some scholars argue whether the leading idea in one's social environment overwhelms the dominant idea that media proposes as the perceived social norm (Kennamer, 1990). Some empirical research aligns with this perspective suggesting that the micro-climate of an individual overwhelms the effects of the media. Other articles further suggest that talking with others is the primary way of understanding the opinion climate. Media influence affects the order of presentation in news reports about news events, issues in the public mind. Media Significances It

says what people should think about and how people should think about. Agenda setting theory has two levels; one which is mostly studied by researchers, media uses objects or issues to influence the people what people should think about and the second where media focuses on the characters of issues how people should think about. This theory has been criticized since it indicates that media users are not ideal, people may not pay attention to details, effect is weakened for people who have made up their mind and media can't create problems. They can only alter the awareness and priority (Ho *et al*., 2013).

In the current study, the theory highlighted the essence of making people informed of the prevailing conditions in the country through coverage of political corruption news. The closer a person believes the opinion held is similar to the prevailing public opinion, the more they are willing to openly disclose that opinion in public. The theory further insists on the significance of the freedom of adherence to media regulations and honouring the freedom of the press.

2.2.3 Media Effect Theory

The media effect theory explains the way or role which the media plays in the society. The theory surface as the media relates with different segments of society and plays its role of informing the populace. The media effect theory include (but not limited to), limited effects, powerful effects, agenda setting, gate keeping, and status conferrals, serve as models which describe the power that the media has on behavior, if the media is used in certain manner.

The powerful effect theory was developed by Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann in 1973, with her spiral of silence theory which describes the effect of the media on behaviour. It assumes that, the issues people discuss in the society, often stems from the knowledge they have concerning the issues. She maintained that people participate in discussion only because they have knowledge of such issues as presented to them by the media, and is widely discussed by a large group; while the lesser group fearing reprimands abstain or lapse into silence for fear of breaking norms or rules set down by the media.

Apart from the spiral of silence, other powerful effects theory explains how powerful the media controls and affects attitude. The relevance of the powerful effects theory is that, journalists or the broadcast investigative journalists no doubt have a strong medium with which to influence the pulse of the society but of course only if they recognize this and use it intelligently to achieve results. Already, the powers to operate on the side of society have been given to such journalist but they must put it to use. The press, radio, television and other agencies of the mass media shall at all times be free to uphold the fundamental objectives contained in the chapter and uphold the responsibility and accountability of the government to the people. All the investigative journalists ought to equip themselves with the recognition of this powers as well as exercising the same.

2.2.4 Agenda setting theory

The theory was advanced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shawn in 1972. It defines the relationship between media and public opinion by asserting that the public importance of an issue depends on its salience in the media (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Along with setting the agenda, the media further determines the salient issues through a constant battle with other events attempting to gain place in the agenda (Noelle-Neumann, 1993). The media battles with these news alternatives by creating pseudo-crises and pseudo-novelties (Noelle-Neumann, 1993). Media's characteristics as a communication tool further effect people's perception of their own ideas in regard to the public opinion. According to Noelle-Neumann (1993), the media is a one-sided, indirect, public form of communication, contrasting threefold with the most natural form of human communication, the conversation. The characteristics of the media in particular further overwhelm one's individual ideas.

While some media communication theories assume a passive audience, such as the Hypodermic Needle model, the spiral model assumes an active audience who consumes media products in the context of their personal and social goals (Ball-Rokeach & Cantor, 1986). Knowledge gained from the mass media may offer ammunition for people to express their opinions and offer a rationale for their own stance (Ho *et al*., 2013). They pointed out that among individuals who paid high

amount of media attention, they have a low fear of isolation were significantly more likely to offer a rationale for their own opinion than were those who have a high fear of isolation.

2.2.5 Criticisms of the theory

There are many criticisms of the theory, including:

The function of the agenda and priorities is possible and not certain because the public's agenda differs from one person to another and from one researcher to another. The discrepancy and difference between the forms of arrangement (agenda) such as the agenda of individuals, groups, institutions and parties. Effects that can occur in each case, such as the effect of communication - the personal influence of politicians and decision makers. Not specifying the level of intent or intention or goal in the media.

The theory was relevant to the current study as it defines the relationship between media and the public opinion by asserting that the public importance of an issue depended on its salience in the media. Therefore, media houses that covered critical news especially political corruption news were considered to be loyal to the citizens of any country. Along with setting the agenda, the media further determined the salient issues through a constant battle with other events attempting to gain place in the agenda.

2.3 Conceptual framework

From the theoretical and empirical literature reviewed and the inter-relations among the variables that emerge therefrom, this conceptual framework is presented in Figure 2.1.

Independent Variables

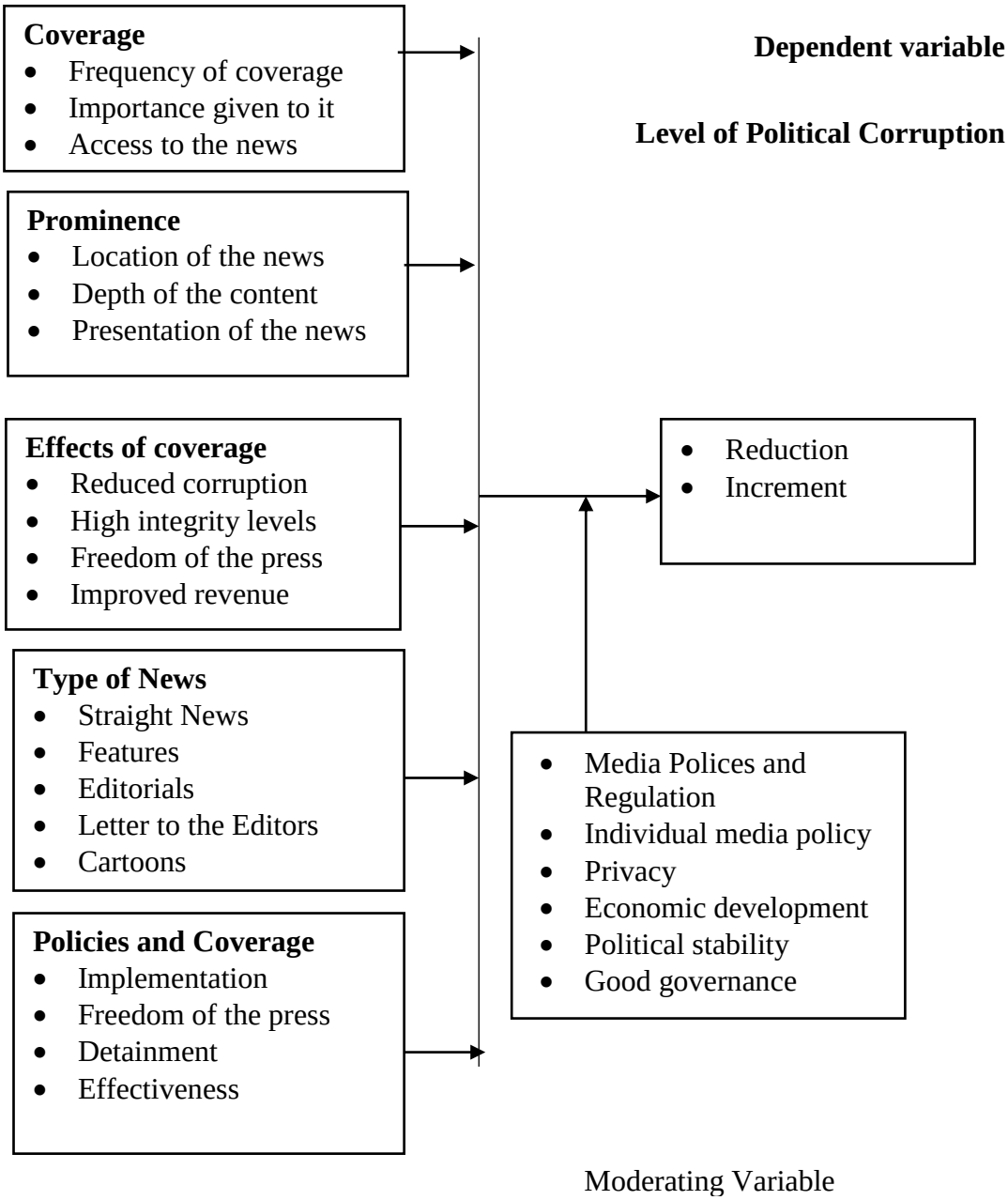

Figure 2.1: Conceptual framework

Source: *Author (2020)*

The purpose of this study was to determine the evaluate coverage of political corruption by the newspapers in Sudan. Specific objectives included to establish the

extent of effect coverage of political corruption by newspapers, to examine the prominence of political corruption in newspapers, to analyze the treatment of political corruption by newspapers, and to determine the type of coverage on political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. This meat that coverage, prominence, depth of treatment, the type of news and the relationship between media policies and coverage formed the independent variables. These were presumed to have some effects on the level of political corruption, which was the dependent variable. The conceptual framework showed a pictorial relationship between the independent variables and dependent variable. This relationship was however mitigated by moderating variable, which were media policies and regulations, liberty of the press, and individual media policy privacy. The moderating variables were viewed in terms economic development and political stability.

The independent variables were measured in terms of what determines them. The coverage of political corruption news was measured through the frequency of coverage of such news, the importance given to it and the ability of both media professionals and citizens to access the news. In this case, frequency was viewed in terms of daily, weekly, or monthly publications. Prominence was measured in terms of where the news feature, including on the front, inside or back page; the depth of the news and how the news are presented in terms of details. The depth was viewed in terms of one quarter page, half page, three quarters page, or full page. On the other hand, the type of news was measured based on straight News, features, editorials, letter to the Editors, and cartoons. The effects of coverage of political corruption news ranged from reduced corruption, high integrity levels, freedom of the press to improved revenue. Measurement of the interlink between policies and the coverage of political corruption news was ascertained through assessment of the implementation of these policies, enjoyment of the freedom of the press by media houses, detainment of those who violate such policies and generally, the effectiveness of these policies.

2.4 Review of variables

2.4.1 Extent of coverage of political corruption news

Since the media seems to have the power to dictate people on what issues should be deemed important, print media shapes their views about the world around the public media and frame their news coverage accordingly (Jan *et al*., 2013). This only means that print media, particularly the journalists themselves, possess the power to decide which issues to be covered and which to be ignored. In addition, Saqib (2008) argued that the way the audience perceives certain news is shaped and refined in the way journalists frame their news stories. For Mhango (2011), objective stories do not really exist; every story is told through the eyes and ears of whoever is covering the story.

Freedoms of association and assembly are enshrined in the interim charter, and the authorities typically uphold them in practice. South Sudan is highly dependent on the assistance of foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which operate freely in the country. Domestic civil society organizations, including unions, however remain at an early stage of development. A Workers' Trade Union Federation was formed in late 2010, and the GOSS pledged to support its work (Freedom House, 2012). In spite of this trend, it remains difficult for civil society organizations to work on corruption and governance issues. For instance, in July 2012, the Chairperson of the South Sudan Civil Society Alliance was kidnapped in Juba. He was reportedly held and beaten for three days by unknown assailants and interrogated about his work on corruption issues in the country (Global Witness, 2012a). At the moment, civil society in South Sudan is very weak and limited. According to experts consulted within the framework of the answer, civil society and international organizations have nevertheless played an important role in the fight against corruption.

A study by Fadairo *et al*., (2014) on coverage of corruption news by major newspapers in Nigeria adopted content analysis to determine the Newspaper coverage of corruption news in the major sectors of the Nigeria economy over a period of 5 years (2006 - 2010). A multi-stage sampling technique was used to select

three newspapers namely Tribune, The Nation and Guardian; and a total of nine hundred and thirteen (913) corruption articles generated from the 540 issues were analyzed. Data were collected on frequency of coverage on corruption. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and means were used to summaries the data collected. Findings revealed that frequency of coverage of corruption articles in year 2010 carried the highest percentage of 23.7% while the Nigerian Tribune ranked first on the coverage of corruption articles with a total number of 381 (41.7%) articles.

A study was carried out by Delfin and Garcia (2013) on the covering corruption: frames of broadsheets on the Philippine government's priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) Scandal. The research focused on covering the months from August to October 2013 because it was the period when PDAF issue was unstoppably circulating through the news media, particularly in newspapers. It was also the time when PDAF was the most talked about topic in the Philippines. Thus, PDAF scam stimulated the attention of the entire Philippines, and it drew much attention from the media. It appeared most of the time in TV news programs, it was the primary topic of social commentaries over the radio, and it stirred public forums over the internet. This study focused on how does the print media, particularly the three major broadsheets in the Philippines (Philippine Star, Philippine Daily Inquirer and Manila Bulletin) viewed the topic about the PDAF scam, and how they projected their news accordingly to the public agenda. The research considered the news presentation, journalistic standards, treatment, frequency of appearances and placement on the newspapers. The study also determined the relationship between these attributes via correlation. The researchers concluded that there is a regular pattern of reportage of the PDAF issue in the broadsheets. However, the observed relationships between the variables revealed some form of disparity between each of them.

2.4.2 Prominence of Political Corruption news

Prominence of elements in the news influences the prominence of those elements among the public (McCombs & Caroll, 2003). Hence, broadsheets discreetly

communicate a host of cues about the prominence of certain issues on their daily agenda - the lead story on page one, front page versus inside page, the size of the headline and even the length of a story all communicate information about the salience of the various objects on the news agenda (McCombs & Caroll, 2003). Once the prominence cues from broadsheets are already established, the readers use these cues in order to decide which issues are of most value to them. News prominence is often misguided by this role played by the media. A study by Cohen and Shoemaker (2006) indicated a disconnect between what people think is newsworthy and how prominently newspapers display news stories. They found a huge difference between what people think are newsworthy and what the media portray as news. Furthermore, Shoemaker (2006) also stated that prominence of a story can be operationalized as its quantity (in increments of space and time) weighted by its placement within the medium.

The positioning of news articles also plays a vital role in measuring news prominence. Outing (2009) found a common pattern in his study with regards to readers' eye movement. He said that the eyes most often fixated first in the upper left of the page, then hovered in that area before going left to right. That is why newspaper organizations employ the inverted S or Z-pattern (Gildersleeve, 2014) in positioning their news, where they put the most important stories at the top left and the least important ones at the bottom right in order to project the level of importance given to a story. A study by Olusheye (2013) stated that the widespread corruption in Nigeria is traceable to the increasing wave of covetousness, greed, inordinate ambition, materialism, the get-rich-quick-syndrome of the post-independence era, nationwide poverty, inadequate social security, corrupt/extravagant political system being operated and the inefficient socio-economic structures and systems put in place by our governments to alleviate the rampant abject poverty and combat the increasing wave of corrupt practices.

A study was conducted by Wantchami and Ngange (2017) on comparative analysis of the Post and Cameroon Tribune Newspapers' coverage of corruption practices in Cameroon. Issues of the newspapers as from July 2014 to December 2014 were content analyzed with the unit of analysis being a news story. Findings revealed that

The Post newspaper covered more stories on corruption (70.6%) than Cameroon Tribune (29.4%). The Post newspaper gave prominence on corruption stories (88.9%), front page placement to Cameroon Tribune (11.1%). The study concluded that the private press is more proactive in the fight against corruption in Cameroon. They recommendation is that the media need to be objective, balanced and fair in the coverage of corruption issues in order to win public concern and support for this course.

A study by Fadairo *et al*., (2014) on coverage of corruption news by major newspapers in Nigeria adopted content analysis to determine the Newspaper coverage of corruption news in the major sectors of the Nigeria economy over a period of 5 years (2006 - 2010). A multi-stage sampling technique was used to select three newspapers namely Tribune, The Nation and Guardian; and a total of nine hundred and thirteen (913) corruption articles generated from the 540 issues were analyzed. Data were collected on prominence of coverage on corruption. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and means were used to summaries the data collected. Findings revealed that prominence was given to inside page articles (87.4%) in all the three newspapers, however, the Guardian newspaper was found to have reported the highest in the front page having 41.7%.

2.4.3 Effect of coverage on level of political corruption.

An assessment of newspaper framing of anti- corruption war of President Muhammadu Buhari was carried out by Igwebuike (2016). The study investigated newspaper coverage of President's Buhari's anti-corruption war. Two newspapers- The Punch and Daily Trust - were selected for the study. The study duration was June1st 2015- January 30th 2016 leading to seven months and 28 weeks. The Holsti's Inter coder reliability was applied to determine the reliability for the study and this yielded 0.84 which was considered high. Content analysis was adopted for the study while result that most (33.8%) of the anti- corruption stories occupied quarter pages. Consequent open the result of this study, the study recommended that newspapers should improve in the area of investigative reports so as to expose corrupt dealings in Nigeria.

A study by Fadairo *et al*., (2014) on coverage of corruption news by major newspapers in Nigeria adopted content analysis to determine the Newspaper coverage of corruption news in the major sectors of the Nigeria economy over a period of 5 years (2006 to 2010). A multi-stage sampling technique was used to select three newspapers namely Tribune, The Nation and Guardian; and a total of nine hundred and thirteen (913) corruption articles generated from the 540 issues were analyzed. Data were collected on depth of treatment of articles on corruption. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and means were used to summaries the data collected. Findings revealed that more than half (56.8%) of space allotted to corruption articles was found to be one-quarter page while the Nigeria Tribune recorded highest (61.4%) space allotment of full page.

2.4.4 Type of News on political corruption

Newspaper comments include the editorial, opinion articles, editorial cartoons and letters to the editor. They are subjective because they are personal judgment of the newspaper organization and individuals. They are one-sided account based on the perspective of the writer. Feature on the other hand is devoid of personal opinion. It is based on facts and thorough analysis of every side of an issue. Instead of making judgment, it bares the anatomy of an event to the readers and allows them to make their own judgment (Oyero, 2006).

A Study by Ngene (2016) investigated the newspaper readers' perception of campaigns for the eradication of corruption in Nigeria. The study did an investigation on how editorial columns were used in the placement of the corruption news in the newspapers. The area of study was six States' Capitals selected from the six geo-political zones of the country and the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), arriving at a population of 3,304,110 (three million, three hundred and four thousand one hundred and ten) from which a sample size of 400 was obtained by calculation using the Taro Yamane formula. Survey design was adopted, where a structured questionnaire was the instrument for data collection. The study showed that Nigerian newspapers use their editorial columns effectively to crusade against corruption in the country. The implication is that the Press, particularly, members of the various Editorial Boards

recognize the danger posed by the widespread prevalence of corruption and the importance of expressing the opinion of their newspapers on the issue. As a consequence, corruption and corruption related-matters is receiving the priority editorial treatment it deserves. In this regard, the various newspaper editors should be given a pat on their backs for living up to societal expectations and the demand of their revered profession. However, he recommended the need to do more, since the rate of corruption in the country seemed not to be abating in spite of the laudable efforts of the Nigerian newspaper press.

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A study by Fadairo *et al.*, (2014) on coverage of corruption news by major newspapers in Nigeria adopted content analysis to determine the Newspaper coverage of corruption news in the major sectors of the Nigeria economy over a period of 5 years (2006 - 2010). A multi-stage sampling technique was used to select three newspapers namely Tribune, The Nation and Guardian; and a total of nine hundred and thirteen (913) corruption articles generated from the 540 issues were analyzed. Data were collected on space allotment of articles on corruption. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and means were used to summaries the data collected. Findings revealed that majority (76.7%) of the corruption articles fell in the news category with the Nigerian Tribune having 42.4%.

2.4.5 Media Policies and Regulations

According to a study by Bandyopadhyay (2009), mass media and information-communication penetration was associated with lower levels of corruption and poverty. Dutta *et al.,* (2011) found that a free and independent media acts as a means of enhancing socio-political stability which in turn leads to higher economic growth via increased domestic investment. A study by Freille *et al.,* (2007) found evidence that both political and economic influences on the media are robustly related to corruption, while detrimental laws and regulations influencing the media are not. A study by Guseva *et al.,* (2008) emphasized the role of a free press in economic development. Moreover, Kaufmann (2006) recognized the key role of media as a part of the good governance, anticorruption and poverty alleviation endeavors of international organizations, especially the World Bank. He also emphasized the need to popularize other measures of media development in mainstream academic literature to expand and improve analysis.

In his study, Norris (2010) emphasized the need to recognize media as an integral part of the core institutional framework that empowers a democracy. She also pointed towards the necessity of undertaking a holistic approach towards media development instead of the present piecemeal short-term efforts. However, Dutta and Roy (2009) established that higher foreign direct investment inflows to a nation contribute to a free press. Based on a study by Besley and Burgess (2001) in India, regions where newspaper circulation was high and the government accountable, calamity relief expenditure and public food distribution was more likely to reach their intended targets. A study by Jensen and Oster (2009) used data from rural households in four Indian states and explored the effect of the introduction of cable television on women's status in rural India. They found that introduction of cable television was associated with greater women's empowerment (in terms of domestic abuse) and with a decrease in fertility. Their study showed that mass media affects informal institutions and paved the way for economic development. Economies with intense government ownership of the media have been shown to suffer from poverty, high infant mortality rates, less access to sanitation, higher corruption and less developed capital markets (Djankov *et al.,* 2003). Furthermore, Coyne and Leeson

(2004) emphasized that with a state-controlled media, politicians get an additional edge in manipulating information, reaching the public, and serving their private interests at the expense of society. Further, Leeson (2008) found that in countries where government had direct or indirect control (by controlling vital infrastructural and distributional facilities) of the media sector and restricted the free flow of information in society, citizens were more politically ignorant and apathetic.

In Asiedu's (2006) study, she analyzed a sample of 22 SSA countries during 1984-2000 and established that political stability is an important factor that determined the inflow of FDI into SSA countries. In other cross-country studies, Roe and Siegel (2011) confirmed a strong linkage between political instability and financial backwardness. A study by Sekkat and Veganzones-Varoudakis (2007) found that openness, sound infrastructure and robust economic and political conditions of countries make them more conducive to FDI inflows. Similarly, Dutta and Roy (2009) found that a developed financial market of a nation worked more efficiently to attract foreign funds in the presence of political stability. Another study by Busse and Hefeker (2007) showed that government stability, absence of internal conflicts and ethnic tensions, democratic accountability, and good law and order played a vital role in attracting foreign direct investment. Moreover, Hess (2004) also confirmed that in terms of its role in attracting FDI, political stability is more important than a good political regime. A positive linkage between political stability and economic growth is confirmed by Alesina, Ozler, Roubini and Swagel (1996) and Feng (1997). Zablotsky (1996) proposed a two-way relationship between political stability and economic growth.

Free media and better media coverage improve the authorities' responsiveness by making the government more transparent and answerable to the public. This in turn, reduces chances of [social, ethnic and religious conflict; all of which are key elements of political stability. In a study on government efficiency, Besley and Burgess (2001) examined data from India on the responsiveness of state governments in situations of food crisis by evaluating the public distribution system and found that states that had higher numbers of newspaper circulation, electoral turnout and literacy also had more local governments that are more effective in mitigating the

food crisis. A study by Besley (2002) suggested that media helped in overcoming the principal-agent problem that typically characterizes the relationship between citizens and their governments. There is usually a considerable amount of asymmetry in the information that the principals (citizens) and agents (the elected officials) possess. Non-captured media, however, sort efficient political agents and disciplined the incumbent. They enabled the incumbents who act in the interest of citizens to stay in power. Better media coverage has been shown to decrease corruption connected to the distribution of educational funds in Uganda by increasing transparency and enabling citizens to hold their government to account for the funds they receive (Reinikka & Svensson, 2005).

2.4.6 Political Corruption

According to University of South Africa Press, corruption is defined as the abuse of power for personal gain (Uys, 2006). It is an inducement to wrong by improper or unlawful means (bribery). Corruption, similar to stress, is a dynamic that has been present in all institutions since an institution is established, but it is undesirable and has a negative effect on the provision of services. Transparency International (TI) defines corruption as the abuse of entrusted power by political leaders or a bureaucracy for personal gain or specific group interest. The UN points out that corruption can take many forms that vary in degree, from the minor use of influence to institutionalized bribery, and that "this can mean not only financial gain but also non-financial advantages" (UN, 2010). Definitions of corruption abound, but the most commonly used one refers to the abuse of a public position for private gain. Corruption is facilitated by bribery, embezzlement and theft but also by nepotism and cronyism. Corruption affects both the private and public sectors and is often subdivided into grand and petty corruption which ranges from the provision of small 'gifts' in the former to the misappropriation of public assets at the highest levels in the latter. Further classifications distinguish between incidental, institutional and systemic corruption and between political and bureaucratic corruption.

The size and incidence of corruption might be attributed to four key factors: the level of public benefits available, the discretionary power of officials, the level of risk

associated with corrupt deals and the relative bargaining power of the corruptor and corrupted (Rose-Ackerman, 1997). In terms of the causes of corruption, experts representing higher and lower income countries are unanimous on the three most important causes of corruption and in general agreement on the importance of a number of other factors. These are norms and values of politicians and public servants lack of control, supervision, auditing and interrelationships. It is argued that corruption is in fact largely self-sustaining as a result of the action and reaction of certain elements within a given society. Key elements include payments to political parties and control over appointments which can increase the number of civil servants on lower salaries.

Defining corruption is one thing, measuring it is a different matter. Being an undercover activity, corruption usually leaves no direct trails in paper or computerized records. Hence, information needs to be collected by other means. One of these is engaging the public: "Responses about corruption based on individuals' actual experiences are sometimes the best available, and the only, information we have" (Kaufmann, Kraay & Mastruzzi, 2006). The CCI is used for annual evaluations as well as being a measure used in research (Kaufmann *et al.,* 2003; Lindstedt, 2005). Compared to the CPI, the CCI draws on more data as it comprises 195 countries and also includes data collected from citizens (Kaufmann *et al*., 2007). Focusing on larger-scale corruption, the Bribe-Payers' Index by TI ranks 30 leading exporting countries according to the propensity of firms headquartered in those countries to bribe when operating abroad. This is an indirect measure of the soil for corruption in a country. More direct measures include the World Bank CPIA (Country Policy and Institutional Assessment) index which measures the quality of policy and institutional environments by a large set of criteria, including the regulatory environment, policy and institutions, rule-based governments and more (UN, 2008; World Bank, 2010b).

The Global Integrity Index (Global Integrity, 2006) measures corruption in terms of its opposite, i.e., factors that contribute to reducing corruption; the existence, effectiveness of and the citizen access to key anti-corruption mechanisms at the national level in a country. Like the CPIA it measures institutions rather than

corruption per se. This brief and certainly not complete review has been pursued to make the point that there are many different indices with different foci; petty as well as large-scale corruption, micro (project) as well as macro (national) level, symptomatic (measuring corruption-related activities) or systemic (measuring the quality of institutions).

A commonly used causal model, first introduced by Robert Klitgaard (1998), proposed that it is a problem of asymmetric information and incentives. He further drew on the commonly used principal-agent-client model; each actor can have different interests and the agent is under some circumstances both empowered and inclined to act for his own purposes rather than those of his principal and his principal's client. Klitgaard claimed that corruption occurs when a public official can operate in a situation of information monopoly, can administer an operation in discretion, and a lack of accountability. The formula reads, Corruption =Monopoly+ Discretion-Accountability. Transparency International (TI) added a community factor, called ethical ambience, to the equation. This refers to "the sense of community, of responsibility for the common good and of ethics" (Moor, 1998). The ensuing extended TI definition reads Corruption= (Monopoly+ Discretion-Accountability) / Ethical ambience (TI, 2004). The obvious, however difficult, ambition then includes to dismantle monopolies, avoid discretion, and increase accountability and the positive ethical ambience. ICT stands out as a useful tool as it can address at least some of these factors. Political corruption is a manipulation of policies, institutions and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth. See animated definitions of many corruption terms in our Anti-corruption Glossary.

2.5 Empirical Review

This section reviews literature from prior scholars regarding the coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan.

The mass media which includes the print media (press) represents a crucial resource as well as a formidable platform for propagating and inculcating the values inherent

in having a corrupt-free nation (Ngene, 2016). In addition, these powerful instruments are credited with the ability of performing a variety of crucial roles in a society. In fact, the mass media can be used to inform and educate the members of a given polity on the activities of the people in authority and as a result sensitizing and emboldening them with the needed courage to ask questions that require open and honest responses, and criticize and point out where those in authority have erred. He further argued that the mass media can be used as an important tool in exposing corruption, framing the issue as a problem of public concern, providing the necessary strategies for solving the problem and empowering citizens to confront the scourge wherever it exists. In this regard, the media as whistle blowers, agenda setters and perennial watchdogs can be very effective in reporting and exposing widespread incidence of corruption and their perpetrators (Ngene, 2016).

The Press is usually mechanisms that aid the production and dissemination of professionally mediated messages to a large identified audience. The press and its ability to carry information are often interchanged with the word mass media while the professionals who often professionally package this information for audience consumption are known as journalists. Further, journalists are constitutionally empowered to serve as the bridge between the governed and government. In other words, it is the statutory responsibility of the journalist to use all means and methods legal to bring the activity of government to the people.

This responsibility is predicated on the thinking that, for government to be seen as transparent and above board, their activities must be made known to the people. A study by Samebe (2005) asserted that in performing its watch dog or surveillance function, the mass media keeps watch over government, its three arms and the entire society, so as to keep their performance up to the expected standard that would encourage the development of the country. This commitment points to the fact that, the media have the capability to carry information with great speed to a very long distance and to a large diverse group of people at the same time. To achieve this, the journalists should approach their duties bearing in mind the societies' expectation. Society expects the journalists to address themselves to their duty doggedly without

fear or favor, but with a true sense of duty, commitment, objectivity and balance, pursuing truth only and bringing forth, all information no matter who is involved.

In Southern Sudan, the media is expected to direct their inquiry on why, one class of citizens escape prosecution for corrupt practices and illegal enrichment while another class faces swift retribution or why for instance why those responsible for the tragic modern of personalities that fall victim to political assertions are not hunted and brought to justice. These are questions that frequently occupy the lips of the people who the media conferment are supposed to exposed. Instead, corruption has been on the increase, government officials loot the treasury and still flowed their wealth and use it to oppress members of society whom the media have accepted responsibility to protect even when different theories of the press print to the enormous powers of the press in exposing actions of different aspects of society and bring to justice.

2.6 Research gaps

Several authors have covered the coverage of political corruption by newspapers. However, there are gaps that this study attempts to bridge. Fadairo et al., (2014) did a study on Coverage of corruption news by major newspapers in Nigeria and established that Majority (76.7%) of the corruption articles fell in the news category with the Nigerian Tribune having 42.4%. the current study shifts the geographical location to South Sudan, apparently where very little studies exist. This is aimed at comparing the findings of the two studies. Wantchami and Ngange (2017) did a study on Comparative analysis of the Post and Cameroon Tribune Newspapers' coverage of corruption practices in Cameroon. The findings revealed that The Post newspaper covered more stories on corruption (70.6%) than Cameroon Tribune (29.4%). The Post newspaper gave prominence on corruption stories (88.9%), front page placement to Cameroon Tribune (11.1%). The current study does not employ a comparative approach, but rather focuses on the effects of newspaper coverage on the level of political corruption in South Sudan. Igwebuike (2016) carried out a study on newspaper framing of anti- corruption war of President Muhammadu Buhari and established that Most (39.3%) of the stories on Buhari's anti-corruption war within the study duration were straight news. Only 14.4% of the stories were found to be

investigative report. But the center of the study was only on the types of news while this study will be an in-depth analysis of the subject of study.

Ngene (2016) conducted a study on Newspaper readers' perception of campaigns for the eradication of corruption in Nigeria and established that Nigerian newspapers use their editorial columns effectively to crusade against corruption in the country. However, the study focuses on the type of news covered by the newspapers in eradication of corruption and the focus is also on the type of news covered by the newspapers. Dutta et al., (2011) did a study on Media Freedom, Socio-Political Stability and Investment. The research revealed that Media freedom may promote socio-political stability by making the government more people-oriented and socio-political stability provides a favorable business climate which in turn promotes investment. However, the Study by Dutta *et al.,* (2011) did not feature Socio-political stability effect on media freedom. The current study sought to address the socio-political stability effects on media freedom. Media policies and regulation on the political corruption in South Sudan.

2.7 Critique of the existing literature relevant to the study

According to Bittner (2005), newspapers are a major force in forming public opinion and affecting national and international efforts toward economic progress and global understanding". He enthused that today, the newspaper industry has become the largest in the world. Buttressing this point, Aliagan (2006) stated that the newspaper carries out several vital functions in the society. These include storing and disseminating information, contributing to social progress through sponsorship of community aspirations, promoting culture, and educating people, providing a forum for cross-fertilization of knowledge and ideas, entertaining and unifying people with common goals.

Newspaper contributes a lot when it comes to distributing political information to the public. As one of the oldest newspapers have become not only one of many sources of everyday information but it also has the power to control the reader on what topic to deal with on a daily basis. Jan, *et al*., (2013) said that today's print media provides people with a wide array of information where thousands of news events happened

simultaneously. With the plethora of news and information, the media reminds people which of these subjects should be the "prime issue" from the dozens of ongoing issues. Corruption cut across all sectors of the economy as it is evidence in every sphere of the nation be it government/public sectors, unions, corporate or non-governmental organizations. Corruption could be political, electoral, bureaucratical, institutional or cultural. Corruption take different forms which include accepting and giving bribes, theft, fraud, embezzlement, extortion, blackmailing, favoritism, nepotism, accepting undue advantage, using influence or paying for it, abusing power, documents forgery, exploitation, conflicting interests and misappropriation of funds even if they were legally obtained. For Oyinola (2011), corruption is found in the award of contracts, promotion of staff, dispensation of justice, and misuse of public offices.

2.8 Summary

From the literature reviewed in this section there emerges a strong link of the mass media viewing which included the print media (press) represents a crucial resource as well as a formidable platform for propagating and inculcating the values inherent in having a corrupt-free nation (Ngene, 2016). In addition, these powerful instruments are credited with the ability of performing a variety of crucial roles in a society. In fact, the mass media can be used to inform and educate the members of a given polity on the activities of the people in authority and as a result sensitizing and emboldening them with the needed courage to ask questions that require open and honest responses, and criticize and point out where those in authority have erred. He further argued that the mass media can be used as an important tool in exposing corruption, framing the issue as a problem of public concern, providing the necessary strategies for solving the problem and empowering citizens to confront the scourge wherever it exists. In this regard, the media as whistle blowers, agenda setters and perennial watchdogs can be very effective in reporting and exposing widespread incidence of corruption and their perpetrators (Ngene, 2016).

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ability to carry information are often interchanged with the word mass media while the professionals who often professionally package this information for audience consumption are known as journalists. Further, journalists are constitutionally empowered to serve as the bridge between the governed and government. In other words, it is the statutory responsibility of the journalist to use all means and methods legal to bring the activity of government to the people. This responsibility is predicated on the thinking that, for government to be seen as transparent and above board, their activities must be made known to the people. This commitment points to the fact that, the media have the capability to carry information with great speed to a very long distance and to a large diverse group of people at the same time. To achieve this, the journalists should approach their duties bearing in mind the societies' expectation. Society expects the journalists to address themselves to their duty doggedly without fear or favor, but with a true sense of duty, commitment, objectivity and balance, pursuing truth only and bringing forth, all information no matter who is involved.

In Southern Sudan, the media is expected to direct their inquiry on why, one class of citizens escape prosecution for corrupt practices and illegal enrichment while another class faces swift retribution or why for instance why those responsible for the tragic modern of personalities that fall victim to political assertions are not hunted and brought to justice. This are questions that frequently occupy the lips of the people who the media conferment are supposed to exposed. Instead, corruption has been on the increase, government officials loot the treasury and still flowed their wealth and use it to oppress members of society whom the media have accepted responsibility to protect even when different theories of the press print to the enormous powers of the press in exposing actions of different aspects of society and bring to justice.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explained the research methodology which was adopted in the study. The chapter contents included: research philosophy, research design, target population, sampling frame, sample size and sampling technique, data collection instruments and data collection procedures, pilot test and data processing and analysis.

3.2 Research Design

The study employed descriptive survey study design. This design gave a comprehensive account of events, circumstances and interactions between people and things (Cooper & Schindler, 2006). The descriptive research design ensured a total explanation of the coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan ensuring that there was least bias in the collection of data. It was concerned not only with the characteristics of individuals but with the characteristics of the whole sample of newspaper. Additionally, it was used to obtain information concerning the current status of the phenomena of political corruption with respect to the extent of coverage, prominence, depth of treatment and type of coverage or conditions in a situation. Moreover, Mugenda and Mugenda (2008) argued that descriptive study design enabled subjects to give more information on the issue of interest to the researcher. Survey could be qualitative or quantitative in verbal or mathematical form of expression; such studies were factual and hence supply practical information. The survey research employed applications of scientific method by critically analyzing and examining the source materials, by analyzing and interpreting data, and by arriving at generalization and prediction. The descriptive design was used in this study because of its appropriateness in establishing relationships between variables and facilitating the collection of information required in the study.

3.3 Target Population

The target population is the population in research to which the researchers can apply their conclusions (Pyrczak, 2010). The target population in this study was Sudan Tribune, Juba Monitor, The Dawn, Peace Day, Sudanese Online newspapers, international and local NGOs, journalists who work for the media station and lecturers and students from Juba University. The newspapers (Sudan Tribune, Juba Monitor, The Dawn, Peace Day, Sudanese Online) used in this study commanded national circulation and readership. The NGOs on the other hand had been so keen on corruption matters and had been the whistle blowers. Lecturers usually interacted with the young minds at Juba University and the students were useful in understanding the views of the youthful minds concerning corruption matters. The population used in the study was critical in providing the information needed as per the objectives since newspapers were the key sources of information to many Sudanese citizens.

3.4 Sampling Frame

A sampling frame has the property that the researcher can identify every single element and include any in the sample (Pyrczak, 2010). The sampling frame was the five newspapers, local and international NGOs, students and lecturers from Juba University.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

A sample as a collection of units chosen from the universe to represent it (Kothari, 2008). According to Levy and Lemeshow (2013), a sample is a subset of the population to be studied. Its main advantages were cost, speed, accuracy and quality of the data. Sampling technique is the strategy used to select study participants or respondents (Kothari, 2008).

For content analysis, all the five newspapers were sampled as a census since the population involved was not large. The census was the best option because it gave the advantages of accuracy of the results and provided extensive study. This was

because the information was collected from each and every unit of the population without ignoring any one (Bulmer, 2004). Data collection focused on news covered in a timespan of four (4) years, that is, between 2013 and 2016. The years 2013 to 2016 were selected because during these four years, there had been a lot of issues encompassing corruption in South Sudan mostly emanating from the oil reserves. Data was gathered from each newspaper randomly selected, from which data collection based on one randomly selected day on monthly basis. This was done continuously for the four years. Each newspaper therefore had 36 samples of the content analyzed. A total of 180 sample newspapers were used for content analysis.

For the key informant interviews, interviews were done through face to face with the chief editors from all the newspapers and directors of the local and international NGOs. Journalists were stratified based on their area of specialization. These were broadcast, communications, foreign correspondent, freelance writing, investigative, newspaper reporter and photojournalism journalists. This study focused on the investigative and newspaper reporter journalists. There were 16 investigative and 47 newspaper reporter journalists in South Sudan all of whom were interviewed. There were 36 lecturers teaching both political science and mass communication and all were interviewed. From the 650 students taking political science and mass communication courses, 10% were randomly selected for the study.

Table 3.1: Sample Population

Target Population	Total Population	Sample Ratio	Sampling Technique	Sample size
Sudan Tribune	1	100%	Census	1
Juba Monitor	1	100%	Census	1
The Dawn	1	100%	Census	1
Peace Day	1	100%	Census	1
Sudanese Online	1	100%	Census	1
International NGOs	85	10%	Systematic Random	9
Local NGOs	61	10%	Systematic Random	6
Journalists	63	10%	Systematic Random	6
Political science lecturers	25	10%	Systematic Random	3
Mass communication lecturers	11	10%	Systematic Random	1
Political science students	400	10%	Systematic Random	40
Mass communication students	250	10%	Systematic Random	25
Total	**900**			**95**

***Source**: Researcher (2019)*

3.6 Instruments

3.6.1 Content Analysis Tool

Secondary data was collected using a content analysis tool (Appendix III). Data was collected from Sudan Tribune, Juba Monitor, The Dawn, Peace Day and Sudanese Online newspapers. These newspapers were selected because of their well distribution and readability by the citizens of South Sudan.

3.6.2 Key Informant Interviews

Primary data was collected using key informant schedule (Appendix IV). According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2008), key informant interviews are qualitative in-depth interviews with people who know what is going on in the community. They further

indicated that the purpose of key informant interviews was to collect information from a wide range of people including community leaders, professionals, or residents who have first-hand knowledge about the community. These community experts, with their particular knowledge and understanding, provided insight on the nature of problems and gave recommendations for solutions.

3.7 Data Collection Procedure

To facilitate field work, a letter of introduction explaining the purpose of the data collection and assuring the respondents confidentiality was attached to the content analysis tool and the interview schedule. It explained that the data being collected was for academic purposes and their contribution as respondents was important. The respondents were also assured that their identity would be kept confidential. The researcher also acquired a license from the National Council of Science, Technology and Innovation to conduct research.

3.7.1 Reliability of Research Instrument

Cronbach Alpha Coefficient (α) value of 0.7 was used to measure the reliability of the interview schedule. Reliability is a measure of degree to which a research instruments yields consistent results (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2008). It is important to establish internal consistency (the measurement of the concept is consistent in all parts of the test) of measurement scales. Internal consistency of the interview schedule will be measured through Cronbach's Coefficient Alpha (Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). The alpha coefficient ranges in value from 0 to 1. A high coefficient implies that the items correlate highly among themselves, that is, there is consistency among items measuring the concept of interest (Nunnaly, 1978). The piloted tools had a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .735, which rendered the tools reliable and hence acceptable.

3.7.2 Validity of Content Analysis Tool and Key Informant Schedule

Validity was measured using face and content validity. Face validity dealt with the researcher's subjective evaluation of the validity of the interview schedule. This

research relied on instruments developed in other related studies, as well as concepts generated from appropriate literature. Content validity measures the extent to which the instrument provides adequate coverage of the questions guiding the study (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). This was done by developing the instrument based on the variables under study. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2008), validity in research is concerned with whether the research instrument is measuring what is intended to measure. The validity of the instrument related to its ability to measure the constructs as purported. It was the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which was based on the research results. Validity was largely determined by the presence or absence of systematic error in the data (non-random error). This study used face and content validity.

3.8 Pilot Test

Piloting of the key informant schedule was conducted before rolling out the main study. Chief Editors from country and Almasir newspapers, Communication officer from NGOs and experts in media law were used for pilot testing.

The pilot study is a feasibility study done in preparation for the main study. This helped in improving and pre-testing of the research instruments. It also gave advance warning about where the main research project could fail, where research protocols could not be followed and whether or not, the proposed methods or instruments were inappropriate or too complicated. Saunders et al. (2007) noted that pilot studies are useful in establishing whether the sampling frame and sampling technique are impassive; estimating variability in outcomes to help in determining sample size; assessing the proposed data analysis techniques to uncover potential problems and providing feedback that would be used in modifying the data collection tools appropriately.

3.9 Data Processing and Analysis

Data was analyzed using Statistical Software for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22 where both descriptive statistics (frequency distributions, means, and standard deviations) and inferential statistics (Correlation analysis and analysis of variance

(ANOVA) were done. Descriptive analysis was conducted to present main characteristics of the collected data. Inferential statistics was used to test a number of hypothesized relations as to allow generalization of the findings to a larger population. Data was presented using percentages, frequencies, tables, figures and graphs.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focused on the analysis, presentation and interpretation of the collected primary data to enable the evaluation of the effectiveness of the coverage on the level of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. Additionally, the chapter featured background information of the respondents. Presentation and interpretation of the data was done based on themes which emanated from the specific objectives of the study. These included: to establish the extent of effect of coverage on the level of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan, to examine the prominence of effect of coverage on the level of political corruption of in newspapers in South Sudan, to analyze the effect of coverage on the level of political corruption treatment of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan, to determine the effect of coverage on the level political corruption in South Sudan, and to establish moderating relationship between media polices and regulation on coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. Tables and notes were used to present data where both qualitative and quantitative data were triangulated to enhance the validity of the results.

4.2 Pilot Study

First and foremost, the researcher undertook a pilot test in order to ascertain the quality and reliability of the survey questionnaire. A total of 15 respondents were selected to respond to the survey questionnaire and this helped to prove the reliability and validity of the survey instrument.

The findings of the pilot study indicated that the coverage of political corruption news was inadequate since 9 (60%) respondents indicated so. Moreover, 12 (80) respondents indicated that the news was covered on monthly basis and would be presented very briefly. A further 8 (53.3%) of the respondents indicated that the news were covered on a quarter of a page. The news ranged from corruption news ranged

from bribery, embezzlement of funds, misuse of office, nepotism, illegal appointments to even transfer of civil property to selfish individuals. Most of the respondents (13 (86.7%)) indicated that there was no relationship between media policies and the coverage of political corruption news.

One of the major limitation of the pilot study was the use of a lean sample, which could not possibly be generalized to the entire population. The consistency of the study findings however rendered the questionnaire reliable for the actual study.

4.3 Questionnaire Return Rate

The study involved a sample of 95 respondents where they were classified under 12 categories so as to enable the researcher access varied viewpoints with regard to the subject of study. For content analysis, as earlier discussed in chapter 3, all the five newspapers were sampled through a census since the population involved was not large. This was the best option since it gave the advantages of accuracy of the results and provided insights into extensive study. The population was therefore collected from each and every unit of the population without ignoring any one (Bulmer, 2004). Data collection focused on news covered in a timespan of four (4) years, that is, between 2013 and 2016. The years 2013 to 2016 were selected because during these four years, there had been a lot of issues encompassing corruption in South Sudan mostly emanating from the oil reserves. Data was gathered from each newspaper randomly selected, from which data collection based on one randomly selected day on monthly basis. For the key informant interviews, interviews were done through face to face with the chief editors from all the newspapers and directors of the local and international NGOs. Journalists were stratified based on their area of specialization. These included broadcast, communications, foreign correspondent, freelance writing, investigative, newspaper reporter and photojournalists.

Besides the 5 newspapers which were involved in the study through census, there were 85 international NGOs, 61 local NGOs, 63 journalists, 25 political science lecturers, 11 mass communication lecturers, 400 political science students, and 250 mass communication students. All these made a target population of 900 respondents. The final sample for the study was selected using census (where all the

5 newspapers were involved) and systematic random sampling where the Kathuri and Pals (1993) sampling formula of 10-30% were applied to select a sample of 95 respondents. As illustrated in table 4.2, these were distributed as follows: 5 newspapers which were involved in the study through census, and 9 international NGOs, 6 local NGOs, 6 journalists, 3 political science lecturers, 1 mass communication lecturer, 40 political science students, and 25 mass communication students which were arrived at through Kathuri and Pals (1993) sampling theory of 10-30% where the lower limit of 10% was used. All these made a sample size of 95 respondents. Out of the sample size of 95 respondents, 75 of them managed to successfully complete the survey questionnaires, which accounted for 79% response rate.

The failure by the researcher to access the entire intended sample was informed by various factors during data collection exercise. This was particularly due to unavailability of some of the respondents as a result of their busy work schedules. Regardless, the researcher made enough efforts to achieve a response rate of 79%, which, according to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) was excellent for an objective analysis. As illustrated in table 4.1, the respondents were categorized based on their role they played in the general pool of respondents.

Table 4.1: Questionnaire Return Rate

Category	Sample Size		Response Rate	
	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Sudan Tribune	1	1	1	100
Juba Monitor	1	1	1	100
The Dawn	1	1	1	100
Peace Day	1	1	1	100
Sudanese Online	1	1	0	0
International NGOs	9	9	6	67
Local NGOs	6	6	5	83
Journalists	6	6	4	67
Political science lecturers	3	3	2	67
Mass communication lecturers	1	1	1	100
Political science students	40	42	34	85
Mass communication students	25	26	19	76
Total	**95**	**100**	**75**	**79**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

4.4 Background Information of the Respondents

The respondents' background information was categorized based on gender, age, highest level of education, favourite newspaper, and the length of operation of respective newspapers. Details on each of these characteristics are discussed in subsequent subsections.

4.4.1 Distribution of Respondents by Gender

The respondents were asked about their gender, and these results are presented in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Gender	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Male	57	76
Female	18	24
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on findings in table 4.3, there were 57 male and 18 female respondents, which accounted for 76% and 24% respectively. The gender disparity between male and female respondents was informed by the social and cultural construct of Elgon region where most of the people who were selected to represent the homes were men. As heads of the families or households therefore, men were the spokespersons for their households (Kitui, 2007). Even with the few women who managed to respond to the interviews, majority were busy on their farms planting since it was a rainy season plus doing small business for survival. Therefore majority of the women did not get time to respond to the questionnaires. From the above findings, men in this region have more access to information on issues of corruption as compared to women because the women are very busy trying to make ends meet for the families. Furthermore, based on the fact more men than women were naturally interested in politics, this made it easier for the men to be better placed to respond to the questions raised by the study.

4.4.2 Distribution of Respondents by Age

The respondents were asked to state their age brackets so as to give the researcher an opportunity to understand the respondents' views based on their age demographics. The responses are illustrated in table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Age Bracket	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Below – 25 years	18	24
26– 35 years	30	40
36 – 45 years	20	27
46-55 years	4	5
Above 56 Years	3	4
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on the findings in table 4.3 above, the highest number of survey respondents constituted young people who were between 26-35 years, which was 40% of the total respondents. Those aged 36-45 years were 20 (27%), those below 25 were (24%), 46-55 years were 4 (5%) and the least number represented respondents who were aged above 56 years, which were 3 (4%). The age group has an impact on readership of print media since most young people prefer social media as compared to print media (Malik *et al*, 2011). This has a negative effect on access to crisis information through the print media as an avenue. Moreover, majority of the young people are struggling with unemployment in south Sudan; which made affordability of a newspaper or print media difficult. It is ironical that most of the information about corruption is communicated through the print in Uganda and yet very few people have the ability to access or even read a newspaper.

4.4.3 Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

As it is observed in the table 4.4 below, the education levels of the participants were varied. The respondents with university education made the highest number of those who were interviewed for the study, which constituted 65 or 87% of the total. Those with college education were 9, which made 12% of the total. Only one respondent (1%) had secondary level of education; this being the least educated respondent among all those who were interviewed. Based on this analysis, majority of the respondents were highly educated and therefore understood the relationship between newspaper coverage and political corruption in South Sudan. This further

indicated that the respondents gave credible information regarding the subject of study. Hence, the researcher was able to effectively address the research question. Additionally, the statistics on the respondents' level of education meant that there was likely to be high readership ability of the survey respondents which made the ability to access crisis communication messages/information through newspapers possible (Alowo, 2010).

Table 4.4: Distribution of Respondents by Level of Education

Education Status	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Secondary	1	1
College	9	12
University	65	87
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

4.4.4 Operational Period for Newspaper

The respondents were asked to state the period for the operation of their respective newspapers, and the information is presented in table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Operational Period for Newspaper

No. of Years	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Below 5 years	16	21
5-10 years	33	44
11-15 years	18	24
Above 15 years	8	11
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

From the statistics in table 4.5, most of the respondents indicated that their newspapers had existed for 5-10 years, accounting for 33 (44%) of the total of those interviewed for the study. In addition, there were newspapers which had been in operation for 11-15 years, with 18 (24%) of the respondents saying so. A sizeable number of the newspapers had also operated for below 5 years, with 16 (21%) of the respondents saying so. The least number of respondents (8; 11%) said that their

newspapers had operated for more than 5 years. Overall, 59 (79%) of the newspapers had been operational for more than 5 years. This further meant that a greater percentage of the newspapers had operated long enough to understand all the dynamics related to the coverage of political corruption as the subject of study for this research.

4.5 Scope of Newspaper Coverage of Political Corruption

The respondents were asked if the coverage of political corruption in the newspaper was sufficient to inform the audience. The responses are presented in table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6: Newspaper Coverage of Political Corruption

Newspaper Coverage	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Yes	14	19
No	61	81
Total	**75**	**100**

Based on the analysis on table 4.6 above, 61 (81%) of the respondents refuted that the coverage was not adequate while 14 (19%) agreed with this account. Based on this statistical distribution, it is clear that coverage of newspapers of political corruption in South Sudan was below the general public expectations. Essentially, this may call for enhanced efforts by the various newspaper houses in the country to properly cover political corruption within their country. Some of the reasons for this state of affairs included the fact that there was lack of freedom to access information, censorship and intimidation of journalists which made it difficult to report on corruption. Some of the newspapers also were also censured by parliament and cabinet ministers hence making them limited in their coverage.

In spite of the censorship by the government operatives, the respondents expressed their desire for the media houses to push for a more liberal press where issues were overtly addressed without fear of being indicted by the government. As an editor of one of the respected papers in South Sudan said:

"The press in South Sudan is generally under pressure from the public and the government. While the public wants the media to be bolder and report things as they are, the government on the other hand wants the media to tone down, especially when it comes to reporting on sensitive things as corruption touching on senior government officers. If we don't do it the way the public wants, we get a backlash. The same happens when we seem to boldly report about corruption issues as they happen within government circles. The worst part is that we are almost always on the radar of government security agents, ready to come for us whenever they feel that we are overreaching ourselves. So we are left in dilemma. In short, newspapers don't adequately cover political corruption in South Sudan due to the reasons I have mentioned."

Respondent 023

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Furthermore, media houses were limited in their coverage of political corruption due to widespread of intimidation of journalists which limited their freedom of speech. Several journalists had been arrested and radio stations and newspapers closed so as to send a clear signal that they should toe the government's line. There were also other limiting factors such as lack of enough finances, lack of relevant journalistic skills, and high level of illiteracy level among majority of the citizens which makes people reluctant to raise issues that touch on their freedom and their rights. These sentiments were aptly captured by one NGO chief executive officer who had the following to say:

"The country's high illiteracy level makes it hard for citizens to come out openly to question the government and demand for more accountability by important institutions such as the media and the central government. Lack of freedom to access information, censorship and intimidation of journalists make it difficult to report on corruption. The government would always want to dictate the kind of news to be aired to the public, and so this makes it very hard to report on corruption issues without expecting to be thrown into jail

by the government. The worst that has happened is for some newspapers to be banned for allegedly disrespecting the government by reporting on things which were perceived as being too critical of the establishment."

Respondent 043

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

It was also common for the national government to put restrictions on the kind of news to be reported by the media. Arbitrary arrests of journalists was a common phenomenon in South Sudan hence making it hard for the public to be informed on sensitive issues regarding the government's deeds. The almost 75% illiteracy level in the country made it hard for fighting of the freedom of expression in the country. Regardless of the suppression of freedom of expression in South Sudan, the respondents strongly felt that there was need for the political corruption to be fought from all angles, including through the media which had a significant role to play when it comes to fighting societal ills. Financial constraints by the media houses were also a drawback when it came to reporting on political corruption. Small media houses lacked the capacity to defend their journalists in court whenever they were arrested on framed charges of such things as sedition. Hence, in order to avoid the possibility of going through such accusations, they played it low especially on matters which appeared a bit controversial to the government. Essentially, this means that they avoid being objective due to the fear of the government and the fact that they can easily lose their operating licenses if they do not toe the government's line.

Investigative journalism was mostly affected by restrictions by the national government since journalists have ended up losing their lives while on duty. This rendered some media houses too scared to venture into some areas which appeared too sensitive to be reported on. Some journalists had been hurt or killed on mere suspicion that they were about to report on certain information the government was not comfortable to get to the public knowledge. In any case, some media housed had been closed down to send a signal to others which had the intention of boldly reporting on corruption. Generally, lack of freedom to access information, censorship and intimidation of journalists make it difficult to report on political corruption.

Hence, news is insufficient to inform the audience on what they need to know regarding political corruption.

These findings concur with the reviewed literature, as Jan *et al* (2013) observed that the media seems to have the power to dictate people on what issues should be deemed important, print media shapes their views about the world around the public media and frame their news coverage accordingly (Jan *et al*., 2013). This only means that print media, particularly the journalists themselves, possess the power to decide which issues to be covered and which to be ignored. In addition, Saqib (2008) argued that the way the audience perceives certain news is shaped and refined in the way journalists frame their news stories. For Mhango (2011) objective stories do not really exist; every story is told through the eyes and ears of whoever is covering the story.

According to Freedoms House (2012), freedom of association and assembly are enshrined in the interim charter, and the authorities typically uphold them in practice. South Sudan is highly dependent on the assistance of foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), which operate freely in the country. Domestic civil society organizations, including unions, however remain at an early stage of development. A Workers' Trade Union Federation was formed in late 2010, and the GOSS pledged to support its work (Freedom House, 2012). In spite of this trend, it remains difficult for civil society organizations to work on corruption and governance issues.

4.6 Frequency of Coverage of Political Corruption by Newspapers

The respondents were asked about the frequency of coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan, in terms of daily, weekly, and monthly. The responses are summarized in table 4.7 below.

Table 4.7: Frequency of Newspapers' Coverage of Political Corruption

Newspaper Coverage Frequency	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Daily	19	25
Weekly	25	33
Monthly	31	41
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on the analysis on table 4.8 above, newspapers' coverage of political corruption mostly happened monthly, with 31 (41%) of the respondents saying so. This was followed by weekly coverage where 25 (33%) of the respondents said so. On the other hand, 19 (25%) of the respondents said that the coverage happened daily. From these revelations, it implies that the public was not able to access information on corruption on daily basis hence likely to miss out on a lot of issues. It however emerged that there were serious impediments to coverage of political corruption on daily basis. Lack of access to information, limited freedom of expression of the press, intimidation of journalists, and censorship among other challenges made it difficult for sensitive information to be reported on daily basis. Furthermore, lack of expert journalists, and ownership of media houses by politicians made it difficult to freely report on certain sensitive matters such as political corruption. Lack of freedom of press and minimal funding also limited the frequency of publication. Furthermore, due to fear of close down by the government, some media houses were forced to extend their frequency of publication.

Fear of frequent reprisal from the government which was likely to be very costly forced some media houses to choose to publish monthly rather than daily or weekly so that they could spread the risks and the likely high costs associated with publication of information which the government was not very happy about. Furthermore, due to high illiteracy level which affected readership of newspapers, it made economic sense for most media houses to produce certain publications monthly rather than daily or weekly. It was also logistically untenable for some media houses to prepare and produce publications daily thus forcing them to do this monthly or weekly. The fact that some of them also had inexperienced journalists made it

cumbersome for the media houses to produce daily or weekly publications hence forcing them to opt for monthly publications.

The respondents indicated that journalists and media houses dint have adequate freedom to access and report information on corruption. They highlighted that they were intimidated, and that the news to be aired to the public went through thorough censorship. In most cases this was done by senior government officials, which implied that for any information to be aired, the government was indirectly involved in determining the content. The respondents further pointed out that violation of certain regulations by media houses led to the arrest of journalists and closure of various media houses that exercised their freedom of speech and expression. It was further pointed out that the military was involved in moderating the content that was aired in various media houses. The respondents therefore felt that the political corruption news that were provided were inadequate to inform South Sudan citizens and other target audience. This was adopted from the following responses:

> *"Lack of freedom to access information, censorship and intimidation of journalists make it difficult to report on corruption. Newspaper don't cover much about political corruption in South Sudan. Our newspaper interview is sorted, especially when presenting news about corruption by government officials. Coverage political corruption is not easy because of inadequate freedom of speech and expression. To date, there are a lot of arrests of journalists, and closing of radio stations and media houses. The government, through national security officers has put restriction on the type of news to be provided in the newspapers in South Sudan. Threat to the journalists by politicians are attached to the military. Political corruption news is insufficient to inform the intended audience. I believe there is no freedom of expression in the country. Journalists are too scared cover corruption articles to their fullest because of the fear of being intimidated by the government"*
>
> Respondent KI07

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Persistent political crisis in South Sudan hampered free operations of most institutions including the press hence affecting the vibrancy of businesses. This forced certain media houses to operate on on-and-off mode where they were occasionally out of business due to unfavourable business environment. As a survival tactic, this meant that they were comfortable doing monthly publications as opposed to daily ones, which they were uncertain they would sell. Concealing of information by the government also meant that some newspapers lacked important news to make their headlines on daily basis hence the reason to do publications monthly as this would give them time to gather information deemed of great public interest. Censorship of media also forced some of the newspapers to fear frequently carrying stories which were likely to force the government to close their operations. This meant that doing publications monthly was a strategy to tread on safer grounds in terms business strategy. Furthermore, harassment of journalists who appeared to the government publicize sensitive information derailed most newspapers' efforts to file stories as frequently as possible. There were also cases of corruption in the media where senior editors were bribed by powerful politicians to kill certain stories or delay in publication of the same for political expedience. That means there was lack of consistence of getting ready sensitive information to be publicized daily. Some of the policies were also unfavourable for the print media or the press in general hence derailing daily publications.

What factors therefore prevented the coverage of political corruption in the newspapers? The respondents came up with a number of factors including inadequate access to information, inadequate freedom of expression of the press, intimidation of journalists by security agencies, inadequately skilled journalists, unwillingness of the politicians and the government to disclose information to media houses; some newspapers were costly and would only cover specific localities, especially the urban areas, censorship of the information before it was channeled to the media whereby sensitive but important information was plucked out; closure of newspapers and radio stations, arrest of journalists and lack of clear channel of reporting political corruption information to the media. Sometimes resources were inadequate, especially the financial and human resources. This made it difficult to cover political corruption. The sources of information were unwilling to be disclosed due to the fear

of victimization, intimidation and even execution; and hence it was difficult to prove the authenticity of the information shared. Journalists feared for their lives, as from the respondents, some journalists had been executed after covering various corruption cases. The perpetrators aimed at hiding evidence of their dirty deals. Lack of readers, newspaper policy and pay insecurity were as well emergent as some of the key factors that hampered the coverage of political corruption in newspapers. This was evident from the following verbatim:

> *"No access to information, no freedom of expression of press….security restrictions, power shortage….lack of expert journalists, politicians and government are not open media houses are belonging politicians....intimidated by security agency fear of close down….buying newspaper is costly…some newspaper are not available to other regions….Censorship.. Closing down newspapers & radio stations, arresting journalists .....The ban by media authorities fear for the newspaper being closed down, threats by national security of arrest…no clear channel of reporting to the media…. the resources sometime are not available…lack of transparency…No cooperation from source of information…. strong influence by certain public figures, death threats or killing of journalists reporting corruption in media houses by authorities…lack of enough readers….newspapers policy, security….pay insecurity."*
>
> Respondent KI01

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

A study by Olusheye (2013) stated that the widespread corruption in Nigeria is traceable to the increasing wave of covetousness, greed, inordinate ambition, materialism, the get-rich-quick-syndrome of the post-independence era, nationwide poverty, inadequate social security, corrupt/extravagant political system being operated and the inefficient socio-economic structures and systems put in place by our governments to alleviate the rampant abject poverty and combat the increasing wave of corrupt practices.

The findings are in agreement with findings from Wantchami and Ngange (2017) study on comparative analysis of the Post and Cameroon Tribune Newspapers' coverage of corruption practices in Cameroon. Issues of the newspapers as from July 2014 to December 2014 were content analyzed with the unit of analysis being a news story. Findings revealed that The Post newspaper covered more stories on corruption (70.6%) than Cameroon Tribune (29.4%). The Post newspaper gave prominence on corruption stories (88.9%), front page placement to Cameroon Tribune (11.1%). The study concluded that the private press is more proactive in the fight against corruption in Cameroon. They recommendation is that the media need to be objective, balanced and fair in the coverage of corruption issues in order to win public concern and support for this course.

4.7 Prominence of Coverage of Political Corruption by Newspapers in South Sudan

The respondents were asked about the prominence of coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. The responses are summarized in table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8: Prominence of Coverage of Political Corruption by Newspapers

Prominence by Page	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Front page	20	27
Inside page	28	37
Back page	17	23
Front & Inside pg	6	8
inside & back pg	4	5
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on the analysis on table 4.8 above, most political corruption appeared in the inside page, with 28 (33%) of the respondents saying so. On the other hand, 20 (27%) of the respondents said that the news appeared on the front page. Furthermore, 17 (23%) of those interviewed indicated that news on political corruption appeared on the back page. Only 6 (8%) and 4 (5%) of the respondents indicated that political corruption was published on both the front and inside page, and inside and back pages respectively. These statistics where majority of the news was published on the

inside pages rather than on the front or back pages may further reinforce the repressive nature of the media in South Sudan. This means that most of the newspapers were likely afraid to put sensitive news on their cover pages in order to avoid easy attention of the government security agencies which could use the excuse to shut their business or arrest their journalists.

From the reviewed literature, a study by Fadairo *et al*., (2014) on coverage of corruption news by major newspapers in Nigeria adopted content analysis to determine the Newspaper coverage of corruption news in the major sectors of the Nigeria economy over a period of 5 years (2006 to 2010). A multi-stage sampling technique was used to select three newspapers namely Tribune, The Nation and Guardian; and a total of nine hundred and thirteen (913) corruption articles generated from the 540 issues were analyzed. Data were collected on depth of treatment of articles on corruption. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies, percentages and means were used to summaries the data collected. Findings revealed that more than half (56.8%) of space allotted to corruption articles was found to be one-quarter page while the Nigeria Tribune recorded highest (61.4%) space allotment of full page

4.8 Depth of Treatment of Coverage of Political Corruption by Newspapers

The respondents were asked about the depth of treatment of coverage of political corruption by newspapers. The statistics are captured in table 4.9 below.

Table 4.9: Depth of Treatment of Coverage of Political Corruption by Newspapers

Newspaper Coverage of Political Corruption	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
One quarter page	34	45
Half page	15	20
Three quarter page	11	15
Full page	11	15
one quarter & Half pg	4	5
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on the analysis on table 4.9 above, 34 (45%) of the respondents said that coverage of political corruption news by the newspapers was captured on one quarter page while only 4 (5%) of them said that the news was captured on one quarter and half page. Those who said that the news was captured on half page amounted to 15 (20%) of the total respondents. On the other hand, 11 (15%) of the respondents each said that the news was covered on three quarter page, and full page respectively. Like it has been demonstrated through other variables of this study, the coverage of political corruption news was not very satisfactory hence confirming the fact that the public in South Sudan was denied the opportunity by the print media to question the government on corruption in the country. With majority of the respondents saying that the news were covered on quarter of a page means that such news were shallowly presented hence denying the readers the opportunity to effectively interrogate corruption issues in their country.

According to the reviewed literature, Ngene (2016) did a study on the newspaper readers' perception of campaigns for the eradication of corruption in Nigeria. The study did an investigation on how editorial columns were used in the placement of the corruption news in the newspapers. The area of study was six States' Capitals selected from the six geo-political zones of the country and the Federal Capital Territory (Abuja), arriving at a population of 3,304,110 (three million, three hundred and four thousand one hundred and ten) from which a sample size of 400 was obtained by calculation using the Taro Yamane formula. Survey design was adopted, where a structured questionnaire was the instrument for data collection. The study showed that Nigerian newspapers use their editorial columns effectively to crusade against corruption in the country. The implication is that the Press, particularly, members of the various Editorial Boards recognize the danger posed by the widespread prevalence of corruption and the importance of expressing the opinion of their newspapers on the issue. As a consequence, corruption and corruption related-matters is receiving the priority editorial treatment it deserves. In this regard, the various newspaper editors should be given a pat on their backs for living up to societal expectations and the demand of their revered profession. However, he recommended the need to do more, since the rate of corruption in the country seemed not to be abating in spite of the laudable efforts of the Nigerian newspaper press.

4.9 Type of News on Political Corruption by Newspapers in South Sudan

The respondents were asked about the type of news on political corruption was covered by newspapers in South Sudan. The responses are captured in table 4.10 below.

Table 4.10: Type of News on Political Corruption by Newspapers in South Sudan

Type of news on political corruption	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Straight news	3	4
straight news, features, editorials, cartoons	2	3
straight news, editorials, cartoons	6	8
straight news, editorials	3	4
straight news, cartoons	9	12
straight news, letter to the editor, cartoons	3	4
Features, editorials, cartoons	1	1
Features & cartoons	2	3
Editorials & cartoons	13	17
Letters to the editor & cartoons	4	5
Cartoons	29	39
Total	**75**	**100**

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on table 4.10 above, most news on political corruption were presented in form of cartoons, where 29 (39%) of the respondents shared this opinion. Furthermore, 13 (17%) of the respondents indicated that the news were presented in form of editorials and cartoons while 9 (12%) said that the news was in mostly in form of straight news and cartoons. Other types were presented in different combinations, with least as 1 (1%), representing a combination of features, editorials and cartoons. From this data where most newspapers presented political news in form of cartoons, it may imply that the news did not reach very many people especially given the high illiteracy levels in South Sudan. This is because very few people ordinarily are able to interpret the meaning of cartoons in terms of the message they convey, especially where they are presented as standalone items without words to help in explaining further what the cartoons imply.

This limitation is further reinforced by the fact that 13 (17%) other respondents, who were the second in terms of their numbers, also indicated that the newspapers presented political corruption news in form of a combination of editorials and cartoons. This further meant that such news were limited to readers who may have high level of education to read condensed messages and be able to interpret and understand them well. It is true that most people with little or moderate education levels may be more inclined to reading elaborate news where they are able to decipher the message easily than going for things such as cartoons or editorials which may need some high level of intellect to analyze and understand.

The study further examined the sources of corruption news from the respondents. The findings indicated that corruption news had varied sources. These included leaked information from government official, social media, civil societies and NGOs, newspapers, national TVs, social media, opposition groups inside the country, university and academic information, law enforcement agencies, political figures, parliament, eye witnesses and anti-corruption commission reports. Various unpublished reports from individuals, researchers or even institutions as well contained important information on corruption. Some corruption cases were reported and pursued in courts of law, and therefore information about corruption could be acquired from the court proceedings. Officers who once worked in the government and were fired at times exposed the corruption incidences in their offices, especially if the firing was not well received by the officers.

Human rights activists acted as whistle blowers, exposing scandals that would otherwise never have been unveiled. Some information was sought from online newspapers and websites for instance the Juba monitor graph, Sudan tribune and Alrakoba online newspapers among others. Some essential documents containing classified corruption deals leaked in the hands of media houses, hence helping unveil corruption incidences. Friends of corrupt individuals would at times secretly leak information about their dirty business in office, especially if their friends had taken the lions share and denied them their own. Other sources included banks, audit reports, money laundering scandals and mismanagement of public offices. This was according to the following responses:

"Leaked information from government official, social media, civil societies and NGOs, newspapers, national TVs, social media, opposition groups inside the country, university and academic information, law enforcement agencies , political figures , parliament, eye witnesses and anti-corruption commission reports… Anti - corruption commission, national revenue authority, unpublished reports, auditor general. Reported cases in the court, Banks, fired officers, auditor reports…human right activists, radio and website like Juba monitor graph , Sudan tribune, Alrakoba online newspaper and Nymal peddra….Sudan tribune , website…leaked documents…friends working at the government, money laundering scandals , mismanagement of public offices."

Respondent 39

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

The study further probed on the type of corruption news covered in newspapers. From the findings, it emerged that corruption was of varied kinds, and it ranged from simple to sophisticated corruption deals. The respondents indicated to cover embezzlement of funds meant to benefit the general public; hiring of relatives and clansmen into office by government officials, some of whom were incompetent to the tasks they were assigned; violation of democracy and illegally appointing people into office, not elected by the people they represent; and unequitable distribution of state resources and wealth, whereby some individuals channeled state resources for their own selfish and personal gains. Tribalism emerged to be a nuisance whereby some tribes were seen to be superior to others; some ranks especially in the army, police and public service were awarded on merit of *who do you know*. The misuse of power was evident whereby the elected leaders did not obey the rule of law.

Nepotism was perpetuated in allocation of government contracts including road constructions, supply of government assets and foodstuffs to the vulnerable; whereby the contractors were close relatives of senior government officials. Media houses also covered cases of unpaid salaries, money laundering, land grabbing and illegal transfer of civil resources to government officials. Other corruption cases covered in newspapers included economic corruption, whereby taxes were not duly paid,

corruption in the procurement of healthcare supplies and administration of healthcare to the citizens of South Sudan and traffic officers demanding for bribery even when the offenders had violated the traffic rules. Media houses therefore represented these cases through editorial cartoons, poems and freelance articles.

> *"Embezzlement of funds, nepotism, abuse of power for instance appointments instead of elections, inequitable distribution of wealth and state resources…Tribalism, influence, rank in army or police or public service whether a person was in Service (SRS) concentrated more on the peaceful coexistence of South Sudanese, and the SRS organized it's programs…misuse of power/ authority private persons not respecting the rule of law constitution and local rules…bribery…cartoons, poems and freelancer articles….government contracts are awarded to close relation / family members of government officials...Money stolen in the government offices….unpaid salaries , exporter laundering of money , land grabbing, ownership of government assets by its staff…economic related corruption , corruption in the area health…contacts for reads construction , army contracts and food supply...traffic officers asking for bribe."*
>
> Respondent KI011

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Similar findings were observed from Burgess (2001) in India, who observed that in regions where newspaper circulation was high and the government accountable, calamity relief expenditure and public food distribution was more likely to reach their intended targets. A study by Jensen and Oster (2009) used data from rural households in four Indian states and explored the effect of the introduction of cable television on women's status in rural India. They found that introduction of cable television was associated with greater women's empowerment (in terms of domestic abuse) and with a decrease in fertility. Their study showed that mass media affects informal institutions and paved the way for economic development. Economies with intense government ownership of the media have been shown to suffer from poverty, high infant mortality rates, less access to sanitation, higher corruption and less

developed capital markets (Djankov *et al.,* 2003). Moreover, Coyne and Leeson (2004) emphasized that with a state-controlled media, politicians get an additional edge in manipulating information, reaching the public, and serving their private interests at the expense of society. Further, Leeson (2008) found that in countries where government had direct or indirect control (by controlling vital infrastructural and distributional facilities) of the media sector and restricted the free flow of information in society, citizens were more politically ignorant and apathetic.

4.10 Relationship between media policies and coverage of political corruption news

The study investigated from the respondents on whether or not media policies and regulations had any relationship with the coverage of news by newspapers. From the study findings, it emerged that there was no relationship, since some of the policies were never implemented. This thereby translated to the inability of media houses to covering corruption cases despite the massive corruption cases in the country. The truth about corruption would not be openly and freely aired since content was monitored by government security agencies before being released for the masses. The respondents further pointed out that corruption news were affected by the ministry of information and communication in South Sudan. Despite the freedom of media being clearly stipulated in article 24 (2) of the Laws in South Sudan, journalists would be victimized and even executed for airing content that implicated government officials. They were seen as criminals and would be hunted even at a gun-point. Furthermore, media policies allowed for free press and freedom of expression, but journalist feared publishing as they were harassed and restricted in terms of the content to be shared.

> *"Policies in the country are good on paper but implementers don't allow media to cover corruption cases yet the country is politically corrupt. The relation is restrictive in nature…some talk the truth back in the corner while the corrupt side needs them to stop telling the truth about corruption…no clear relationship between media coverage and regulation…The government ministry of information affects government related corruption*

news …article 24 (2) of the Laws in South Sudan states that, "all the levels of the government shall guarantee the freedom of the press and the other media shall be regulated by the law in democratic society." This is only exiting paper as journalists are hunted and are seen as people who committed crime.

In fact, journalists are seen as criminals in south Sudan...There is poor relation since newspapers are restricted from getting information form the agencies…the relation between the two is in such a way that it limits the media in exposing corruption practices…media policies allow for free press and freedom of expression, but journalist fear publishing due to harassment and restriction of press freedom."

Respondent KI021

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

The opinion of the respondents was sought on what could be done to enhance the coverage of political news by newspapers in South Sudan. The respondents highlighted the need to guarantee journalists the freedom to access information, freedom expression, and an end to information censorship; an end to intimidation, torture and killing of journalists who covered corruption news and appointing qualified personnel to lead media regulatory bodies. There was need to enact laws that protected media houses and journalists, especially in the cases where they covered sensitive but important information. The respondents further pointed out on the need to remove restrictions on the ownership and what news were to be covered by media houses; and that political leaders were to respect fundamental human rights of journalists. Some journalists feared covering corruption news even when they threatened the state and the civil community.

Assuring them of their safety would enable them to publish corruption deals by politicians. Moreover, those who arrested journalists on grounds that they covered corruption cases were to be prosecuted and punitive actions taken against them. The respondents highlighted on the need for collaborative efforts between the

government and NGO sector in ensuring that the freedom of press, freedoms of expression and access to information were protected and adhered to. The respondents further pointed out that media houses were to be independent of the government, and that they were to be allowed to cover corruption news freely.

> *"In my opinion there is need for the enactment of laws to protect media houses and journalists' freedom in accessing information and freedom of speech in order to avoid arable arrest…End censorship, stop intimidation of journalists, torture and killing, and put the right person to lead regulatory body…free ownership of media houses, remove any restriction on ours freedom of expression and open access of the journalists to politicians, respect human right freedom of expression…journalist shall be given the freedom of speech so that they can be have the daily chance of publishing embezzling activates of positions…Accountability mechanism put in the places and people include those who arrested journalists are arrested investigated and punished as per the law of the country journalist will have breathing space to without fear…Bring together formal and informal processes which means working with government as well as non-governmental groups (NGOs) to change behavior and mental progress…to enable the coverage of political issues, media houses must be independent from the government."*
>
> Respondent 40

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

From the reviewed literature, Asiedu (2006) analyzed a sample of 22 SSA countries during 1984-2000 and established that political stability is an important factor that determined the inflow of FDI into SSA countries. In other cross-country studies, Roe and Siegel (2011) confirmed a strong linkage between political instability and financial backwardness. Sekkat and Veganzones-Varoudakis (2007) found that openness, sound infrastructure and robust economic and political conditions of countries make them more conducive to FDI inflows. Similarly, Dutta and Roy (2009) found that a developed financial market of a nation worked more efficiently

to attract foreign funds in the presence of political stability. Furthermore, Busse and Hefeker (2007) showed that government stability, absence of internal conflicts and ethnic tensions, democratic accountability, and good law and order played a vital role in attracting foreign direct investment. A study by Hess (2004) also confirmed that in terms of its role in attracting FDI, political stability is more important than a good political regime. A positive linkage between political stability and economic growth is confirmed by Alesina, Ozler, Roubini and Swagel (1996) and Feng (1997). Zablotsky (1996) proposed a two-way relationship between political stability and economic growth.

4.11 Inferential Analysis of Independent Variables

In addition to descriptive analysis, inferential analysis was done in order to establish the correlation between the independent or predictor variables and the dependent variable or outcome of the study.

4.11.1 Test for Assumptions of Parametric Tests

The first step was to conduct tests for assumptions of parametric test, including normality, homogeneity of variance, tests for outliers, and multicollinearity.

4.11.1.1 Test for Normality

So as to properly carry put linear regression, the error term (residual) must be assumed to be normally distributed. Hence, a residual plot was carried out to verify this assumption as demonstrated in figure 4.1.

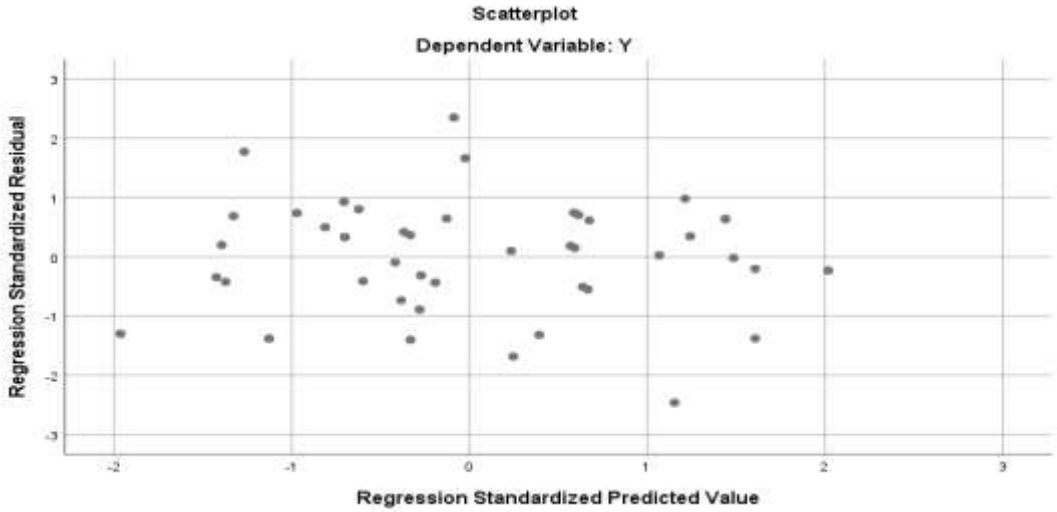

Figure 4.1: Residual Plot for Normality Test

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on the distribution of the findings in figure 4.1 and as demonstrated by the points lying on the straight line, the error terms were normally distributed. Therefore, the study did not violate the normality tests.

4.11.1.2 Test for Multicollinearity

The parametric tests presume that there should not exist multicollinearity; meaning that the independent variables should not be significantly correlated. Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) was used to test for multicollinearity as summarized in table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Multicollinearity Test

Model	Collinearity Statistics	
	Tolerance	VIF
Coverage of political corruption news	0.458	2.181
Prominence of political corruption news	0.478	2.093
Effect of coverage on the level of political corruption	0.637	1.571
Types of news on political corruption	0.561	1.782
Relationship between media polices and regulation	0.534	1.753

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

As indicated on table 4.11, there was no multicollinearity between the independent variables since none of the independent variables had a VIF value that exceeded 10 or tolerance level of less than 0.2. Sasa-Escudero et al (2009) observe that when there is multicollinearity between the variables, the model tends to project a VIF value of more than 10 or a tolerance level of less than 0.2. It was therefore safe to conclude that the independent variables did not have any effect on each other, hence dispelling any fear of multicollinearity in the dataset. Generally therefore, the data was appropriate for regression modeling.

4.11.1.3 Test for Homoscedasticity

Homoscedasticity is a measure of constancy of variance. That implies that for any linear regression analysis, the error terms are assumed to be the same across all values of the independent variables. Test for homoscedasticity was obtained through plotting a residual scatter plot for predicted scores and standardized residual values also known as errors of prediction. Figure 4.2 presents findings of homoscedasticity test.

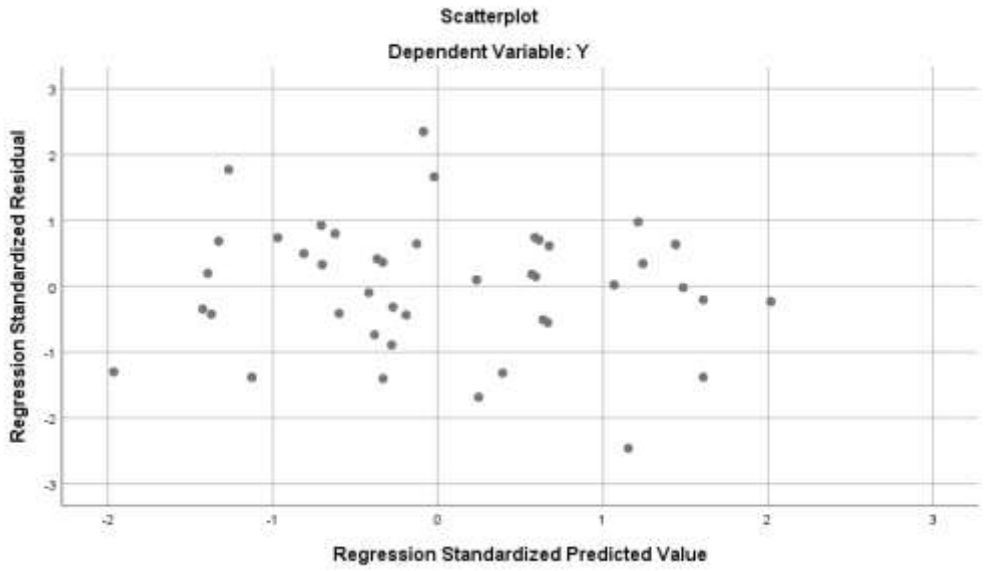

Figure 4.2: Scatterplot of Standardized Predicted Values against Standardized Residuals

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

The assumption of homoscedasticity is met if the scores are randomly scattered about a horizontal line. Based on the distribution of the findings in figure 4.2, the scores appeared to be randomly scattered, hence indicating that the homoscedasticity assumption was not violated.

4.11.2 Analysis of Independent Variables

Pearson correlation analysis was applied to establish the strength of the relationship between newspaper coverage and the level of political corruption in South Sudan. Additionally, regression analysis was carried out to understand the nature of the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. A level of significance of 5% was used in the analysis which, according to Oso and Onen (2009), gives the researcher 95% probability of making a correct conclusion regarding the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

4.11.2.1 Pearson Correlation Coefficient of Dependent and Independent Variables

The study aimed to determine the effect of newspaper coverage on the level of political corruption in South Sudan. The independent variables included the extent of coverage of political corruption news by newspapers, the prominence of political corruption news by newspapers, the effect of coverage on the level of political corruption by newspapers, the types of news on political corruption by newspapers, and the moderating relationship between media polices and regulation on coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. In order to understand the relationship between the two sets of variables, since both the independent and dependent variables are in a ratio scale, Pearson's correlation coefficient was carried out, and the findings presented in table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Correlation Analysis

		extent of coverage of political corruption news	prominence of political corruption news	effect of coverage	types of news	moderating relationship between media polices and regulation
level of political corruption	Pearson Correlation	1				
extent of coverage of political corruption news	Pearson Correlation	.631**	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000				
prominence of political corruption news	Pearson Correlation	.525**	.633**	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000			
effect of coverage	Pearson Correlation	.591**	.132	.428**	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.203	.000		
types of news	Pearson Correlation	.645**	.121	.423**	.433**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	
moderating relationship between media polices and regulation	Pearson Correlation	.683**	.533**	.459**	.460**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on the statistics in table 4.12, there was a positive and a significant relationship between the dependent variable, level of political corruption, and the independent variables.

4.11.2.2 Multivariate Analysis

In order to understand the strength of the influence of the independent (predictor) variables on the dependent variable, a multivariate analysis was performed. Table 4.13 presents a summary of regression coefficients with P-values of individual variables in the study.

Table 4.13: Multiple Regression Analysis

Predictor	**Unstandardized Coefficients**	**Standardized Coefficients**		**t**	**Sig.**
	β	Std. Error	Beta		
Constant	4.121	0.041		1.531	0.000
X_1 Extent of coverage of political corruption news	0. 532	0. 109	0. 4121	3.312	0.001
X_2 Prominence of political corruption news	0.321	0.037	0.301	1.510	0.000
X_3 Effect of coverage	0.351	0.047	0.209	2.231	0.004
X_4 Types of news	0.291	0.064	0.411	2.233	0.003
X_5 Moderating relationship between media polices and regulation	-0.423	0.103	0.515	1.918	0.062

a. level of political corruption

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

Based on findings in table 4.13, the following model was established: **$Y=4.121+0.532X_1+0.321X_2+0.351X_3+0.291X_4+(-0.423X_5)$**, where Y stands for level of political corruption, which is the dependent variable or outcome of the study, and X_1 represents extent of coverage of political corruption news, X_2 prominence of political

corruption news, X_3 effect of coverage, X_4 types of news, and X_5 moderating relationship between media polices and regulation.

The statistics further indicated that, taking all factors to be at zero, the constant was 4.121, signifying the level of political corruption. However, a unit positive variation in the extent of coverage of political corruption news when all other factors were held to be constant would lead to a 0.532 increase in level of political corruption. In addition, at the level of significance of 5%, this implied that P=001<0.05, the extent of coverage of political corruption news had a strong influence on level of political corruption.

The findings further indicated that with all other factors remaining at zero, a positive unit variation in prominence of political corruption news would lead to a 0.321 positive performance of level of political corruption. Furthermore, at 5% level of significance where P=000<0.05, this implied that prominence of political corruption news positively influenced level of political corruption in South Sudan. Statistics further showed that a unit increase in the effect of coverage when all other factors remained at zero would result into a 0.531 performance of level of political corruption. At 5% level of significance where P=004<0.05, it meant that effect of coverage also had a positive influence on level of political corruption.

It further emerged that a unit increase in types of news when all other factors remained at nil would lead to increased level of political corruption by 0.291. Moreover, at 5% level of significance where P=003<0.05, this meant that types of news by newspapers positively influenced level of political corruption in South Sudan. At the same time, the coefficient for the moderating relationship between media polices and regulation on coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan was -0.423. This implied that a unit increase in moderating relationship between media polices and regulation would reduce the level of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan by a factor of 0.423. At 5% level of significance and a P-value of p=0.062>0.05, moderating relationship between media polices and regulation on coverage of political corruption by newspapers would significantly reduce level of political corruption in South Sudan.

4.11.3 Model Summary

The findings of the coefficient of correlation R and the coefficient of determination R square (R^2) are presented in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std Error of the Estimate
1	.801[a]	.676	.671	.73456

a. Predictors: extent of coverage of political corruption news, prominence of political corruption news, effect of coverage, types of news, moderating relationship between media polices and regulation

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

From the model in table 4.14 above, the coefficient of correlation R is .801, implying that there is a strong relationship between the independent (predictor) variables and the dependent variable (level of political corruption), which is also the outcome of the study. The coefficient of determination R square (R^2) was 0.676, and this meant that 67.6% change in level of political corruption was explained by the independent variables. Based on this outcome, this further meant that apart from the predictor variables which were studied in this research, there were other factors accounting for 32.4% which were also responsible for the level of political corruption in South Sudan. However, since these factors were not within the scope of this study, future research may focus on them.

4.11.4 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

The analysis of variance (ANOVA) of the regression model was performed in order to test significance of the correlation between the independent and dependent variables. Table 4.15 presents the ANOVA findings.

Table 4.15: ANOVA

Model			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
	1	Regression	25.615	1	25.62	27.63	.000[b]
		Residual	68.597	74	0.93		
		Total	94.212	75			

a. Dependent Variable: level of political corruption

b. Predictors: extent of coverage of political corruption news, prominence of political corruption news, effect of coverage, types of news, moderating relationship between media polices and regulation

***Source**: Field Data (2019)*

From the ANOVA in table 4.15, the P-value was 0.000. The statistics further revealed that the *F* statistic (1, 74) at 95% level of significance (0.93) was less than *F* calculated (27.63). Therefore, this meant that the regression model was significant in predicting the effect of independent variables (newspaper coverage) on level of political corruption (dependent variable), or the outcome of the study.

4.12 Chapter summary

In summary, most media houses did not cover political corruption news, with most of the newspapers shying away from publishing such information. This was attributed to the intimidation that the journalists who attempted to cover such news had been subjected to, with some even losing their lives. Those who did, covered on monthly basis and such news was not given much prominence. The respondents indicated that such were covered in approximately a quarter a page and that they would present such in cartoons and editorials rather than straight news. This therefore indicated that political corruption news were treated with utmost care, for a slight sway could even claim a life or more. Corruption news ranged from bribery, embezzlement of funds, misuse of office, nepotism, illegal appointments to even transfer of civil property to selfish individuals. Policies existed, but were not effectively implemented.

Journalists continued to be deprived of the freedom of expression and access to information, despite the rule of law having clearly stipulated such.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of the general objective of this study was the effects of newspaper coverage on the level of political corruption in South Sudan. The chapter is therefore organized into chapter summary, conclusions based on the findings, recommendations for action and recommendations on areas for further investigation.

5.1 Summary of key findings Related to the specific Objectives

This section covers summary of the study findings thematically presented into the extent of coverage of political corruption news; the prominence, treatment and types of political news; and the relationship between media policies and coverage of political corruption news.

5.1.1 Extent of coverage of political corruption news by newspapers in South Sudan

Based on the findings, it was clear that coverage of newspapers of political corruption in South Sudan was below the general public expectations. This emerged from 61 (81%) of the respondents, who refuted that the coverage was not adequate. This was attributed to the lack of freedom to access information, censorship and intimidation of journalists which made it difficult to report on corruption. Media houses were as well limited in their coverage of political corruption due to widespread of intimidation of journalists which limited their freedom of speech. Several journalists had been arrested and radio stations and newspapers closed so as to send a clear signal that they should toe the government's line. Small media houses lacked the capacity to defend their journalists in court whenever they were arrested on framed charges of such things as seduction.

Coverage of political corruption news mostly happened on monthly basis, as indicated by 31 (41%) of the respondents involved in the study. It therefore emerged that there were serious impediments to coverage of political corruption on daily

basis. Concealing of information by the government also meant that some newspapers lacked important news to make their headlines on daily basis hence the reason to do publications monthly as this would give them time to gather information deemed of great public interest.

5.1.2 Prominence of political corruption news by newspapers in South Sudan

Most political corruption appeared in the inside page. This was evident from 28 (33%) of the respondents involved in the study. This further reinforced the repressive nature of the media in South Sudan. This meant that most of the newspapers were likely afraid to put sensitive news on their cover pages in order to avoid easy attention of the government security agencies which could use the excuse to shut their business or arrest their journalists.

5.1.3 Treatment of political corruption news by newspapers in South Sudan

From the study findings, majority of the respondents (34 (45%) of the respondents involved in the study) indicated that coverage of political corruption news by the newspapers was captured on one quarter page. This implied that the coverage of political corruption news was not very satisfactory hence confirming the fact that the public in South Sudan was denied the opportunity by the print media to question the government on corruption in the country. Furthermore, such news were shallowly presented hence the readers were denied the opportunity to effectively interrogate corruption issues in their country.

5.1.4 Types of news on political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan

Most news on political corruption were presented in form of cartoons. This was indicated by 29 (39%) of the respondents involved in the study. This implied that the news did not reach very many people especially given the high illiteracy levels in South Sudan. Very few had the ability to interpret the cartoons in terms of the message they conveyed.

The sources of political corruption news included leaked information from government official, social media, civil societies and NGOs, newspapers, national

TVs, social media, opposition groups inside the country, university and academic information, law enforcement agencies, political figures, parliament, eye witnesses and anti-corruption commission reports; unpublished reports from individuals, researchers or even institutions as well contained important information on corruption. Some corruption cases were reported and pursued in courts of law, and therefore information about corruption could be acquired from the court proceedings; Friends of corrupt individuals, banks, audit reports, money laundering scandals and mismanagement of public offices among others.

The corruption news covered included embezzlement of funds meant to benefit the general public; nepotism; unequitable distribution of state resources and wealth, The misuse of power unpaid salaries, money laundering, land grabbing and illegal transfer of civil resources to government officials; economic corruption, corruption in the procurement of healthcare supplies and administration of healthcare to the citizens among others.

5.1.5 Relationship between media policies and coverage of political corruption news

There was no relationship, since some of the policies were never implemented. This emerged from over 52 (70%) of the respondents involved in the study. Despite the freedom of media being clearly stipulated in the rule of law, journalists would be victimized and even executed for airing content that implicated government officials. They were seen as criminals and would be hunted even at a gun-point.

The respondents suggested the need to guarantee journalists the freedom to access information, freedom expression, and an end to information censorship; an end to intimidation, torture and killing of journalists who covered corruption news and appointing qualified personnel to lead media regulatory bodies. Some journalists feared covering corruption news even when they threatened the state and the civil community.

5.2 Conclusion

This section presented study conclusions as well presented thematically into the extent of coverage of political corruption news; the prominence, treatment and types of political news; and the relationship between media policies and coverage of political corruption news.

5.2.1 Extent of coverage of political corruption news

In conclusion, the coverage of newspapers of political corruption in South Sudan was below the general public expectations due to the lack of freedom to access information, censorship and intimidation of journalists which made it difficult to report on corruption. Furthermore, political corruption news were covered on monthly basis, hence inadequate for informing the general public.

5.2.2 Prominence of political corruption news

Media houses shied away from giving priority to political corruption news for the fear of their lives, intimidation and torture. This further saw the coverage of political corruption news on a quarter of a page, hence confirming the fact that the public in South Sudan was denied the opportunity by the print media to question the government on corruption in the country.

5.2.3 Treatment of political corruption news

The presentation of these types of news was done in such a way that it would not easily be understood by a layman. Very few had the ability to interpret the cartoons in terms of the message they conveyed. Newsrooms relied on leaked information from government official, social media, civil societies and NGOs, newspapers, national TVs, opposition groups inside the country, university and academic information, law enforcement agencies, political figures, parliament, eye witnesses and anti-corruption commission reports; and unpublished reports among other sources for political corruption news, sources which were inadequate. The government needed to offer such news directly to the newsrooms. These sources were as well as hearsay, with very little possibilities of verification.

5.2.4 Types of political corruption news

Corruption news covered included embezzlement of funds, nepotism, unequitable distribution of state resources and wealth, misuse of power, unpaid salaries, money laundering, land grabbing and illegal transfer of civil resources to government officials among others.

5.2.5 Media policies and the coverage of political corruption news

From the study, there was no relationship, since some of the policies were never implemented. Despite the freedom of media being clearly stipulated in the rule of law, journalists would be victimized and even executed for airing content that implicated government officials. These findings indicate that political corruption is exacerbated by the inadequate coverage of corruption cases in newspapers, which is heightened by lack of the freedom of the press.

5.3 Recommendations

Informed by the findings, the study had the following recommendations:

The various media regulatory policies and the constitutional rights should be implemented by the instruments of power including the police, the government and the judiciary. This would assure journalists and media houses of their freedom to access information and freedom of expression, while shielding them from intimidation, torture and killing.

The legislature, in collaboration with the media regulatory bodies in South Sudan should enact laws that protected media houses and journalists, especially in the cases where they covered sensitive but important information.

Those who infringed on the rights of journalists and media houses should be pursued and arraigned in the court of law, where punitive action would be taken against them. This would further reaffirm journalists of their safety.

The government and the private sector, including international agencies should work collaboratively in ensuring that the freedom of press, freedoms of expression and access to information were protected and adhered to.

The media houses were to be independent of the government, and that they should be allowed to cover corruption news freely. The government sometimes altered the content aired to the public, thereby allowing corrupt deals to remain concealed.

Journalists should be given literacy by learning institutions and refresher courses on their rights and the actions they would take in case of abuse and intimidation; emerging trends in news broadcasting; and cover up during risky recording operations.

5.4 recommendation Areas for further study

The study therefore suggested further investigation into:

(a) The measures of improving coverage of political corruption news by newspapers.
(b) Situational analysis in the realization of freedom of the press in South Sudan.
(c) Situational analysis of the milestones in the fight against political corruption in South Sudan.
(d) Effectiveness of the media regulatory board in the protection of media houses.

Challenges faced researcher

- language
- Taking risks
- Poor services and lack of expertise in media
- Study Expenses

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Letter of Introduction

Huda Abdelrahman Elseddige

Jomo Kenyatta University of Science and Technology,

P.O. Box 62,000 – 00200

NAIROBI, KENYA

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a doctoral student undertaking a PhD at the School of mass communication, at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology. I am currently developing a research project whose theme is to determine the coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan. To this end, I kindly request you to provide the requested information by filling out the attached questionnaire. The information required is purely for academic research purposes only and in no way will your name or that of the newspaper be implicated in the research findings. Your co-operation and quick response shall be highly appreciated.

Yours Faithfully,

Huda Abdelrahman Elseddige

JKUAT STUDENT

Appendix II: Key Informant Questionnaire Schedule

Section A: Respondent Bio-data

1. Gender of the respondent
   i. Male [ ]
   ii. Female [ ]
2. Age of the respondent
   i. Below – 25 years [ ]
   ii. 26– 35 years [ ]
   iii. 36 – 45 years [ ]
   iv. 46-55 years [ ]
   v. Above 56 Years [ ]
3. Highest level of education
   i. Secondary [ ]
   ii. College [ ]
   iii. University [ ]
4. How long has the newspaper been in operation
   i. Below 5 years [ ]
   ii. 5-10 years [ ]
   iii. 11-15 years [ ]
   iv. Above 15 years [ ]

Section B: Frequency of coverage

5. Do you think that the coverage of political corruption in the newspaper is sufficient to inform the audience?

   Yes [ ] No [ ]

   Kindly explain

……
……

……
……

6. What are the factors preventing coverage of political corruption in the newspapers?

   i. ……media policy …….
   ii. ……regulation ……..
   iii. …self-monitoring ……
   iv. ……brown involve ……

7. What is the frequency of coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan?

   Daily [ ]
   Weekly [ ]
   Monthly [ ]

8. What is the prominence of coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan?

   Front page [ ]
   Inside page [ ]
   Back page [ ]

9. What is the depth of treatment of coverage of political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan?

   One quarter page [ ]
   Half page [ ]
   Three quarter page [ ]
   Full page [ ]

10. What is the type of news on political corruption by newspapers in South Sudan?

    Straight news [ ]

Features	[ ]
Editorials	[ ]
Letters to the editor	[ ]
Cartoons	[ ]

11. What is the relationship between the media policies and regulation and coverage of corruption news by the newspapers?

    ……
    ……
    ……
    ……

12. What are your sources of corruption news?

    i. Newspaper s……..
    ii. TVs …….
    iii. Radios ……
    iv. Network …….

13. What are the type of corruption news do you get in the newspapers?

    i. Investigating journalism
    ii. Article
    iii. Interview
    iv. Story …

14. In your opinion, what do you think can be done to enhance coverage of political news by the newspapers in South Sudan?

    ……
    ……
    ……

Appendix III: Coding Sheet for Content Analysis

Coverage of Political News by Newspapers

1. Name of Newspaper.....

Sudan Tribute	1
Juba monitor	2
The Dawn	3
Peace Day	4

2. Frequency of coverage of Political News by Newspapers

Daily	1
Weekly	2
Monthly	3

3. Prominence of coverage of Political News by Newspapers

Front page	1
Inside page	2
Back page	3

4. Depth of treatment of Political News by Newspapers

One quarter page	1
Half page	2
Three quarter pages	3
Full page	4

5. Type of news of Political corruption by Newspapers

Straight News	1
Features	2
Editorials	3

Letters to editors	4
Cartoons	

Appendix IV: List of International NGOs

1. Action Against Hunger USA

2. MAGNA Children at Risk

3. Action for Development

4. Medair Medair

5. Adventist Development and Relief Agency

6. Médecins Sans Frontières

7. Advocates Coalition for Rights and Development

8. Mercy Corps

9. Afro-Canadian Evangelical Mission

10. Mine Advisory Group

11. Agency for Technical Cooperation and Development

12. Mine Tech International

13. AHA

14. MSF-Belgium

15. Aid Relief Agency for Reintegration and Development

16. MSF-Holland

17. American Refugee Committee

18. MSF-Spain

19. ART

20. MSF-Switzerland MSF

21. Association of Christian Resource Organizations Serving Sudan

22. Nonviolent Peaceforce

23. Association of Volunteers for International Service

24. Norwegian Church Aid

25. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee

26. Norwegian Peoples Aid

27. CAFOD

28. Norwegian Refugee Council

29. CARE International

30. Organismo di Volontariato per la Cooperazione Internazionale

31. Caritas

32. Oxfam GB Oxfam

33. Catholic Organization for Relief and Development Aid

34. Oxfam Intermon

35. Catholic Relief Service

36. Oxfam International

37. Christian Mission Aid

38. PACT

39. Comitato Collaborazione Medica

40. People in Need

41. Concern Worldwide

42. Plan International

43. Coordinamento delle Organizzazioni per il Servizio Volontario

44. Polish Humanitarian Action

45. Crisis Management Initiative

46. Populations Services International

47. Danish Church Aid

48. Relief International

49. Danish Demining Group

50. Safer World

51. Danish Refugee Council

52. Samaritan's Purse

53. Doctors with Africa

54. Save the Children

55. Finn Church Aid

56. Solidarites International

57. G4S

58. Street Children Aid

59. German Agro Action

60. Tearfund

61. Global Street Samaritans

62. Terre des Hommes

63. GOAL

64. Tetra Tech ARD

65. Handicap International

66. The Development Initiative TDI IO IBIS International

67. Impact Health Organization

68. United Nations International Aid Services

69. International Medical Corps

70. International Rescue Committee

71. Internews

72. INTERSOS

73. Vétérinaires sans Frontières - Switzerland

74. Islamic Relief Worldwide

75. War Child Canada

76. Israel Aid

77. War Child Holland

78. Johanniter International Assistance

79. Windle Trust International

80. John Dau Foundation

81. Joint Aid Management International

82. World Relief

83. Kissito Healthcare International

84. World Vision International

85. Lutheran World Federation

Appendix V: List of Local NGOs

1. ACM

2. AFOD

3. ALARM

4. AMA

5. ANISONO

6. ASHI

7. Basic Education and Development Network Organization

8. Care for Children and Old Age in South Sudan

9. CHIDDO

10. CHORM

11. Christian Mission for Development

12. Christian Recovery and Development Agency

13. Church and Development

14. Community Agriculture Skills Initiative

15. Community Aid for Development

16. Community Empowerment for Progress Organization

17. Community in Need Aid

18. Confident Children out of Conflict

19. CPBPA

20. Disabled Agency for Rehabilitation and Development

21. Fashoda Youth Forum

22. FIA

23. FLDA

24. HCRA

25. Health Link South Sudan

26. Hold the Child Organization

27. HTC

28. Human Development Council

29. JYDA

30. Lacha Community and Economic Development

31. Malaria Consortium

32. MCDA

33. Mothers and Children Development Aid

34. MRDA

35. MT

36. Nile Hope

37. NWB

38. Panda Kondial Community Development Organization

39. Peace Corps Organization

40. RUDI

41. SCPD

42. SFCG

43. SMC

44. Smile Again Africa Development Organization

45. South Sudan Action Network on Small Arms

46. South Sudan Grassroot Initiatives for Development

47. South Sudan Law Society

48. South Sudan Older People's Organization

49. South Sudan Women Lawyers Association

50. Standard Action Liason Focus

51. Sudan Peace and Education Development Program

52. The Rescue Initiative South Sudan

53. The Health Support Organization

54. TOCH

55. Universal Network for Knowledge and Empowerment Agency

56. UNYDA

57. UNYMPDA

58. Women Development Group

59. WUNDA

60. YAASO

61. South Sudan Widows and Orphans Organization

ANNEX 2. Articles on freedom of expression in most relevant international Conventions

United Nations Convention against Corruption

Article 13. Participation of society

1. Each State Party shall take appropriate measures, within its means and in accordance with fundamental principles of its domestic law, to promote the active participation of individuals and groups outside the public sector, such as civil society, non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations, in the prevention of and the fight against corruption and to raise public awareness regarding the existence, causes and gravity of and the threat posed by corruption. This participation should be strengthened by such measures as:

(d) Enhancing the transparency of and promoting the contribution of the public to decision-making processes;

(e) Ensuring that the public has effective access to information;

(f) Undertaking public information activities that contribute to no tolerance of corruption, as well as public education programmers, including school and university curricula;

(g) Respecting, promoting and protecting the freedom to seek, receive, publish and disseminate information concerning corruption. That freedom may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided for by law and are necessary:

I. For respect of the rights or reputations of others;

Ii. For the protection of national security or ordure public or of public health or morals.

2. Each State Party shall take appropriate measures to ensure that the relevant anti-corruption bodies referred to in this Convention are known to the public and shall provide access to such bodies, where appropriate, for the reporting, including

Anonymously, of any incidents that may be considered to constitute an offence

Established in accordance with this Convention.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights **Article 19**

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas

Through any media and regardless of frontiers. Reporting on Corruption: A Resource Tool for Governments and Journalists

115 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Article 19

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.

2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.

3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

(a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others;

(b) For the protection of national security or of public order (ordre public), or of public health or morals.

African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

Article 9

1. Every individual shall have the right to receive information.

2. Every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law.

American Convention on Human Rights

Article 13. Freedom of Thought and Expression

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought and expression. This right includes freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing, in print, in the form of art, or through any other medium of one's choice.

2. The exercise of the right provided for in the foregoing paragraph shall not be subject to prior censorship but shall be subject to subsequent imposition of liability, which shall be expressly established by law to the extent necessary to ensure:.

#. Respect for the rights or reputations of others; or the protection of national security, public order, or public health or morals.

3. The right of expression may not be restricted by indirect methods or means, such as

The abuse of government or private controls over newsprint, radio broadcasting

Frequencies, or equipment used in the dissemination of information, or by any other

Means tending to impede the communication and circulation of ideas and opinions.

4. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 2 above, public entertainments may besubject by law to prior censorship for the sole purpose of regulating access to them for the moral protection of childhood and adolescence.

5. Any propaganda for war and any advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitute incitements to lawless violence or to any other similar action against any person or group of persons on any grounds including those of race, color, religion, language, or national origin shall be considered as offenses punishable by law.

The European Convention on Human Rights

Article 10

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. This article shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises.

2. The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or the rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary.

Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union

Article 11. Freedom of expression and information

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.
2. The freedom and pluralism of the media shall be respected