NEWS FLOW TO, FROM AND WITHIN AFRICA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The end of the Cold War in the 1980s, the continued democratisation process in Africa (not the least in South Africa) during the 1990s, the calls in the 2000s for an African renaissance, as well as appeals for 'African news for Africa' within a developmental context, offered new opportunities for researchers in the field of news flow studies. This demanded not only new cartographic maps as was the case of the former USSR, but also new conceptual and news media maps, especially of Africa - of which relatively little is known as far as news flow studies are concerned. It also required new answers to some old questions asked about the process of international news flow to, from and within the developing world. This research project will address some of these news flow issues with reference to Africa, South Africa, and three Western countries, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States. In this research project a broad question is posed and answered: How does a selection of South African and Western media portray South Africa and Africa at the beginning of the new millennium through the process of international news coverage?

The aim of the research is to identify possible changes in attitude towards Africa in the past couple of years and to establish if new patterns of reporting have developed, both in South African media reporting on Africa, and international media's coverage of Africa.

It was found that although international media's coverage of Africa is still based on traditional patterns such as the 'bad-news syndrome', South African media are moving away from following their international counterparts and are now distinguishing between the coverage of individual countries and Africa as a continent – the latter with increasingly positive results.

Keywords: Africa, content analysis, developing countries, international news flow, news agencies, South Africa.

Abstrak

Die einde van die Koue-oorlog in die 1980s, die groeiende demokratiseringsproses van Afrika (nie die minste dié van Suid-Afrika nie) gedurende die 1990s, die beroep om 'n Afrika-Renaissance in die 2000s, asook die behoefte om 'Afrika-nuus vir Afrika' binne 'n ontwikkelingskonteks, het aan navorsers binne die veld van nuusvloei nuwe geleenthede gebied. Nie net het die behoefte vir die kartering van nuwe kartografiese landkaarte soos in die geval van die USSR ontstaan nie, maar ook die vraag na nuwe konsepsuele nuus- en mediakaarte, veral in die geval van Afrika waar daar relatief min studies oor nuusvloei bestaan. Nuwe antwoorde op ou vrae oor die nuusvloeiproses, van binne sowel as van buite die ontwikkelende wêreld, moes gevind word. Hierdie navorsingstudie poog om sommige van die aspekte met betrekking tot nuusvloei te beantwoord, met spesifieke verwysing na Suid-Afrika, Afrika, asook drie Westerse lande: Duitsland; die Verenigde Koninkryk en die Verenigde State van Amerika. In hierdie navorsingsprojek word die volgende algemene vraagstuk voorgehou: Op watter wyse verteenwoordig 'n seleksie van Suid-Afrikaanse en Westerse media Suid-Afrika en Afrika, aan die begin van die nuwe millennium deur die proses van internasionale nuusdekking?

Die studie stel dit ten doel om moontlike veranderinge in houdinge teenoor Afrika in die laaste paar jaar te identifiseer, asook om te bepaal of daar nuwe patrone van beriggewing in sowel die Suid-Afrikaanse mediaverslaggewing oor Afrika, as in die internasionale media se dekking van Afrika ontwikkel. Daar is bevind dat hoewel internasionale media-dekking oor Afrika steeds gebaseer is op tradisionele patrone soos die *"bad news syndrome"*, het die Suid-Afrikaanse media begin wegbeweeg van die gewoonte om hul internasionale eweknieë na te volg en meer begin onderskeid tref tussen individuele lande en Afrika as kontinent, laasgenoemde met toenemende klem op positiewe nuus.

Sleutelwoorde: Afrika, inhoudsanalise, ontwikkelende lande, internasionale nuusvloei. Nuusagtenskappe, Suid-Afrika.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The end of the Cold War in the 1980s, the continued democratisation process in Africa (not the least in South Africa) during the 1990s, the calls in the 2000s for an African renaissance, as well as appeals for 'African news for Africa' within a developmental context, offered new opportunities for researchers in the field of news flow studies. This demanded not only new cartographic maps as was the case of the former USSR, but also new conceptual and news media maps (Hjarvard, 1995; Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995), especially of Africa of which relatively little is known as far as news flow studies are concerned. It also required new answers to some old questions asked about the process of international news flow to, from and within the developing world. This research project aims to address some of these news flow issues with reference to Africa, South Africa, and three Western countries, Germany, the United States and the United Kingdom.

Various researchers analysed international news flow from the 1950s to the 1990s (e.g. Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977; Atwood, 1984; Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996) and concluded that the Third World, and especially Africa, was largely being portrayed in a *bad-news-syndrome* fashion (see Glasgow University Media Group, 1976; Cohen, Adoni & Banz, 1990; De Beer & Steyn, 1996).

Stevenson (1997) and his colleagues conducted perhaps the largest ever news flow study involving researchers from more than 40 countries. Stevenson's co-project leader, Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996), argues that the international geography of newsgathering before 1989 showed a clear news pattern structured around Cold War rivalry and tension. Most studies

show a remarkably similar pattern of global news coverage (Hamelink, 1994; Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1995; Mowlana, 1997):

- News about the West is dominant in international news flow,

- Western news agencies dominate international news flow,

- News topics are defined in terms of Western news values,

- International news flow is dominated by 'negative' news.

According to Galtung and Vincent (1992:7) a number of criteria must be met for news to become part of the international flow process: if it concerns elite countries and people, if it can be seen in personal terms, and if it can be perceived as having negative consequences. The more these criteria are met, the more likely the event will become international news.

Cho and Lacy (1999) conclude in an overview of news flow studies that cultural similarities, shared history and geographic proximity are related to international news coverage, as are ideological affinity, economic relationships, societal values, the nature of the gatekeepers, and organisational factors. The authors also find that coverage emphasises conflict and disasters; that the bulk of international coverage focuses on political news; that the news tends to be hard news, and that the international news agencies are the main source of international news.

1.1 Problem statement

Very little research on news flow in Africa has recently been undertaken. In the 1990s only very few researchers in Africa focused on comparative studies of international news

reporting of African media on other African countries, on the way international media report on Africa, and more specifically South Africa (see Annas, 1997; De Beer, Serfontein & Naudé, 1996; Winterstein, Dolliver, De Beer & Giffard, 1997); or the way African media (Pratt & Mannheim, 1988; Eribo, 1997) and specifically South African media report on the rest of the world and the continent of Africa (e.g. De Beer & Steyn, 1996).

From a research point one would expect that the end of apartheid and the democratisation process in South Africa would have had some bearing on the way the media portrayed news issues, newsmakers and news images in Africa. Pre-2000 research, however, shows that the pattern mentioned above, was still very much in place, at least as far as Africa was concerned (De Beer, Serfontein, Naudé & Steyn, 1996; De Beer, Fourie & Mbennah, 1997). The need to find out whether this was still the case in the early 2000s, was underscored by South African president Thabo Mbeki's call for an African renaissance, also with regard to the role of the media, and South African vice-president Jacob Zuma's request for a special African news agency dealing with African news within a developmental context because of 'slanted' Western news coverage (see Lange, 1984; Taylor; 1993; Giffard, 1993 and Hamelink, 1994, as well as Jakubowicz, 1985 for a discussion on developmental news and the needs of Africa). The need for more diversified media also within South Africa, was expressed by various media institutions and formed the baseline for the formation of the Media Development and Diversity Agency, constituted by Parliament in September 2002.

Unfortunately, a relative stagnation has crept in recent international news-flow research (see Pasedos, 1998). The impact of globalisation (Huntington, 2000; Stevenson, 1997) and developments in cyberspace (Kang & Choi, 1998 a & b) also require attention, and this project hopes to contribute to a renewed research discussion on international news flow, especially as it relates to Africa and South Africa.

Also, a broad question is posed: How does a selection of South African and Western media portray South Africa and Africa at the beginning of the new millennium through the process of international news coverage?

1.2 Research goals

The purpose of the analysis will be to establish whether:

1) News about the West is still dominant in international news flow to and within Africa (see also research question A in section 2.4.1, C in 2.7.1),

2) News flow to and within Africa is still defined in terms of Western news values (see also research question c in section 2.7.1),

3) International news flow to and within Africa is still dominated by 'negative' news (see also research question B in section 2.6.1),

4) International news are Western-centric (see also research question D in section 2.9.1),

5) Third World coverage that does exist focuses on negative or 'bad' news rather than 'developmental news' or educational information. This negative news reporting is not only dominant in Western media, but even in African media reporting on themselves (see also research question B in section 2.6.1., D in section 2.9.1),

6) International news trends tend to be shallow and oversimplified in that it concentrates on political leanings of governments rather than accurate and comprehensive coverage of conflicts affecting nations and people (see also research question B in section 2.6.1),

7) International news focuses on issues close to home or of cultural proximity (see also research question A in section 2.4.1,

8) International news focuses on events rather than on factors leading to and causing these events (see also research question A in section 2.4.1).

The research will depart from a theoretical point of view based on three models, mainly the 'multiple gatekeeping model of news flow' (McNelly, 1959) - the revised version of White's Gatekeeper Model (White, 1950), the 'model of selected gatekeeping' (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, see also Galtung, 1971) as well as 'The agenda-setting function of mass media' by McCombs & Shaw (1972 and 1976; see also McCleod, Becker & Byrnes, 1974; Shaw, 1979). Given the theoretical departure point, the research question will then be contextualised within the framework of globalisation, the call for an African renaissance, and the appeals for an 'African view of African news'. While dealing with these issues, cognisance will be taken of the main traditional trends in international Western news coverage (such as news coverage topics according to the bad news syndrome, international sources of news, the balance in news flow and developmental news).

The research project will consist of two parts: a theoretical overview of news flow research and an empirical study.

The *theoretical section* will be utilised to contextualise the research problem and question within the parameters set by the chosen research models. Apart from the sources mentioned above, other relevant sources in the form of monographs, journal and web articles have been used to explicate the research topic. Data base (for example the South African Journal Index; AEJMC MA and PhD, as well as AEJMC, ICA and IAMCR conference paper abstracts), journal indexes (e.g. *Ecquid Novi, Communicatio, Journal of Communication* and so forth) and

Internet searches on the topic of news flow research have shown that sufficient research output is available for the literature overview.

In the *empirical section* a content analysis will be executed in order to furnish results, which would facilitate the formulation of answers to the research question.

1.3 Short overview of methodology

The computerised content analysis methodology to be applied, is that of the international Media Tenor Institute for Media Analysis (2002), which is based on the classic definition supplied by Berelson (1952:18): 'Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (see also Stempel, 1989:124-136; Tan, 1982:51-53).

- *Methods, selection of media, sampling of content and universe:* The data utilised for the empirical part of the research will be based on a comprehensive day-by-day analysis of all the news reports in five major South African dailies (*Beeld, Business Day, Sowetan, The Citizen* and *The Star*), the main SABC and e-tv news broadcasts, five major weekly newspapers (*City Press, Rapport, The Sunday Independent, The Sunday Times, Mail & Guardian*), as well as 4 British (BBC's Six and Nine o'clock news, ITN's Early Evening News and ITV's News at Ten) and 7 German (ARD Tagesschau, ARD Tagesthemen, ZDF heute, ZDF heute journal, RTL Nachrichten, SAT 1 Nachrichten, PRO 7 Abendnachrichten) TV news channels plus the three main US news programmes on *ABC, CBS,* and *NBC* for the period 1 July 2001 until 30 June 2002. Media in the UK and Germany will be used, *inter alia*, because of the UK's long standing historical ties with South Africa, Germany's position as

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South Africa's most important export/import partner; the importance of both countries' in the international news flow context; and both countries extensive and historical ties with Africa. The United States as 'global media player' is added for its global importance. These three countries are also chosen since comparable data sets will be made available to complement the South African data sets. The ten South African daily and weekly newspapers are included because they present a comparable group of papers within the range of South African daily newspapers (general English, Afrikaans, Black, and business) situated in the same news region (the Gauteng province) of South Africa. The two television news channels (SABC and e.tv) are the only national South African ones available. The time frame is chosen on the basis of having access to the particular media over a one year period leading up to this proposal. The universe will consists of all news reports in the news and business sections of the South African newspapers and all the news reports on the TV news channels for the particular time frame.

- *Selection of the unit of analysis, category construction, reliability of coding:* These issues will be dealt with in terms of standard content analysis procedure (e.g. Berelson, 1952; Budd, Thorp & Donohew, 1971). The coders in South Africa, Germany, the United States and England were equally trained on the criteria of coding and passed bi-monthly validation tests, establishing an intercoder-reliability of at least 80% (see Hughes & Garrett. 1990 on the methodology). The results will be shown in frequency and percentage tables.

The exact framework of the methodology will be explained in chapter 3, showing further the object of analysis, units, as well as the logistical and operational set up of the research.

1.4 Overview of thesis

Chapter 2 of this thesis deals with a literary overview and previous research conducted on international news flow. After the establishment of a definition for news flow, the debate around news flow up to the 1990's will be discussed, as well as the first research questions, based on the discussion, highlighted. Further, the importance of globalisation from the 1990's onward led to a different approach to news research. This inevitably cause further research questions to surface, which this paper will attempt to answer. In this regard, existing news flow studies as well as an overview of existing research on Africa and by Africans will complement the discussion around problems arising from existing research in Africa, after which an overview of the media industry in South Africa

will be presented. The chapter concludes with ethical issues that surround media coverage. These play a crucial role in the analysis of international news flow.

Chapter 3 will explain the methodology used for this research project as well as explain the operational set up of the research team and the role of the supervisor and assistants. It will further deal with issues of intercoder-reliability and quality control.

Chapter 4 will present the empirical results of the study, divided by the countries analysed: United States, Britain, Germany and South Africa. The results will be explained and graphically supported.

Chapter 5 will deal with the discussion of the results and will try to answer the research questions as posed in chapter 2. Based on the results, suggestions for future research will be made which might complement the research results and will lead to further answers on the posed research questions.

Chapter 6 contains the bibliography used, followed by the Appendix, indicating the list of criteria and issues used in this analysis.

Chapter 2: Literary overview

2.1 What is news?

'For something to be considered news by the mass media, it has to be close to their audience, it has to involve conflict and it usually revolves around someone famous' (Renato Kizito Sesana from *Africa News*, Nairobi Kenia, in: Allen Jr, John L, 2000: 15). This exclamation by a participant of a conference in Rome in 2000, focusing on the image of Africa in international media, is not too far removed from the truth, even though it has all the elements that define news in general. According to Roshco (1975) efforts to define news tend to usually dissolve into lists of 'news making' events, but should include both 'negative' and 'positive' news. He also underlines that news is 'one of the earliest and most elementary forms of knowledge [and] any division of labor requires individuals to inform themselves about the activities of others, making news an inherent part of organized social life' (Roshco, 1975:9). Time, nevertheless, is fundamental to news, since it determines whether an item of news shall be published or not. News therefore, must be recent, immediate and current. Currency however, should, according to Roscho (1975), not be mistaken with significance. News is eventually related to an audience by a medium and this news then travels – generating the news flow.

Although there is no uncontested definition of what news actually is, most researchers agree that it is based on values and ethics (as discussed in section 2.10). As to the origins of news, only very little is known.

The work of Tobias Peucer (see de Beer, van Ryneveld, Schreiner, 1999), a student at the University of Leipzig in the year 1690, includes one of the earliest accounts of an overview of news history. Peucer traces the origins of news back to the monasteries and defines history as a 'definite chain of events,' styled 'universal, particular, singular,' or 'disconnected'. According to Peucer, news should be equal to narratives; although this assumption is nowadays frequently debated (see Schulman, 1990: 4) since most of modern-day news (as the case was with news during Peucer's time) does not follow narrative structure. Naming his work *De relationibus novellis*, Peucer defines news indirectly as being in written form, neglecting the oral transmission of facts, or rather disapproving of it, since these 'satisfy the curiosity of people for news ...by unimportant and downright worthless material' (Peucer, 1690, XIX). He also defines news as 'notification a variety of matters which occurred recently in various places in the world' (Peucer, 1690: IV) especially in relation to time (as occurring in *daily life* and of importance, which is in basic agreement to Gans (1979), Hachten (1987) and Tuchman (1978). But Peucer's work clearly lacks academic insight, since he ignores many antique historians such as Cicero, Caesar, Euripides and instead mentions less familiar antiquated writers such as Lactanius, Laertius, and Siculus (see also Luykx, 1978).

According to Peucer, the first news was probably a summary of mercantile events, brought to the public through the early developments of a postal system. With the increased efficiency of this postal system, more and more information from different parts of the world were transmitted, and 'unfortunately' most 'stories or falsehoods', achieved 'the agreeableness of unusual novelty [...] generally gain[ing] credence among the multitudes' (Peucer, 1690: VII). This can be seen as the first description of news flow ('news from various places in the world'; Peucer, 1690: IV; see also Desmond, 1937 and 1978; Fascell,

1979, Hachten, 1987; Stevenson & Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1996: 148; Annas, 1997; Boyd-Barret & Thussu, 1992). The following section will highlight research conducted on news flow until the 1990's, or the beginning of globalisation and the decade of increased importance of information technology.

2.2 News flow until the 1990's

Since World War II, international news flow has been one of the main topics examined and debated in international communication. As early as 1953, the International Press Institute described the *imbalanced* news exchanges between developed and developing nations (see Kim & Barnett, 1996). Since that time the inequality within news flow has dominated literature on international news. Many scholars see this problem as caused by the unevenness between developed and developing countries. For example Schramm (1964) suggests that news flow among nations is determined by the ownership of exchange agencies, long-distance telecommunication facilities and the concentration of wealth, technology and power in a few highly developed nations. Galtung (1971) also argues that the inequality of international information exchange is due to power relationships between the central and peripheral countries.

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990's, the debate around international news flow was very much bound to the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Originally called the *New International Information Order* at the 1973 conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers, Algeria, the NWICO was seen as complementary to Third World calls for a New International Economic Order (NIEO). It referred to the

restructuring of the worldwide communication and information system to benefit especially countries in the Southern Hemisphere, previously ignored by an all Northern Hemispheric circulated news flow. Scholars such as Boyd-Barrett (1980), McPhail (1981) and Masmoudi (1979) argue that the flow of information between the Western industrialised and developing Third World countries should be more balanced in volume, direction, and content. A number of empirical studies reveal evidence of this imbalance (Charles, Shore & Todd, 1979; Hester 1971; Larson 1979; Marta 1979, Weaver & Wilhoit, 1981; Wilhoit & Weaver, 1983; see also later in the chapter). Hachten (1987) argues that the expanded international news system before the collapse of the Soviet Union, is largely an outgrowth of Western news media, especially those of Britain, America, and France. From a slightly Western-centric point of view he says that 'a world news system exists today because the peoples of the Western democracies wanted and needed world news, and the great independent newspapers and news agencies […] have co-operated and competed to satisfy those wants and needs. Editors and correspondents, working for independent (that is to say, nongovernmental) news organisations, have developed the traditions and patterns of […] world news' (Hachten, 1987: 37). Although admitting that some transnational and so-called independent media have close ties to varying kinds of controls (such as government or the corporate world), he nevertheless concludes that 'the news media of a handful of Western nations have more freedom to report world news, and hence more credibility, than media of other nations' (Hachten, 1987: 38). The domination of international news by agencies such as AP, AFP, DPA or Reuters is sometimes resented by Third World and Socialist nations, but, as Hachten (1987) puts it, these countries are 'particularly dependent on the Western agencies and media, to find out about themselves and their neighbors' (Hachten, 1987: 41). The old charges of 'news bias', largely introduced by the NWICO debate, were indeed based on a

global news gathering structure that was influenced by the global flow of economic and political power. Reporters were stationed in New York, Tokyo, and Brussels because that was where power primarily lay (and, to a certain extent, still does). Even to this day not much coverage is given to such countries like Bangladesh in Asia or the Cameroon in Africa, because of the fact that they are poverty stricken, powerless and therefore only minor "regional'" players in a global news map dominated by a handful of superpowers. According to Stevenson (2001), to understand the world of news, one must examine the structure of world politics and economics. Stevenson also identifies a second force: values invoked by key gatekeepers. The decision as to which news item makes it onto the world's news agenda is determined by countless gatekeeping measures of more or less a uniform set of values. Stevenson concludes that both forces lead to one common conclusion: the media map is ethnocentric and narrow, because it emphasises neighbouring countries and those with whom Western countries have close economic, political and cultural ties.

These gatekeepers – or those who determine the flow of news and information and what it contains - are seated in relatively few major communication centres. Even though it is nowadays possible to communicate between almost any two points in the world, not all points are equally connected. Hester (1991) observes that the citizens of the less developed nations make up nearly four-fifths of the world's population, yet receive the minority of information about themselves – hence making the majority a 'news minority'.

Hester (1991) states that 'the Western European and US communications powers have prepared a 'feast of news and information' and set it before themselves and the rest of the world. But some critics in the less developed countries say that they had no hand in selecting the menu for this banquet. Is it to their taste and to their needs? And often it is the only

feast available. These critics note, too, that the banquet of news and information does not come free. Because they don't have enough money, they are turned away from the banquet hall'. (Hester, 1991: 47)

African scholars have identified other reasons for the phenomenon of Western dominated news flow. Ankomah (2000) identifies a three-point 'unwritten' code:

- **National interest or governmental leaning**

    In particularly Europe, there is a 'thick layer of complementarity' between the press and the government. Ankomah (2000) refers specifically to the British Press named the 'Tory Press' or 'Labour Press' and specifically mentions the publication *The Sun* running a headline, stating that it would win the elections for John Major in 1991. Ankomah (2000) states that an *adversarial relationship* between media and government in fact only exists in Africa, this being the reason why African journalists repeatedly fall into disrepute with their African governments.

- **Government lead**

    Ankomah (2000) argues that contrary to the 'fiercely independent' image of the Western media they 'usually follow the lead set by their home governments'. During the Iraq-Iran war, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein was the 'good guy' and this image was trumpeted from Western front pages despite the atrocities committed against the Iraqi Kurds. When Saddam's relationship with the West soured to that of animosity, media followed the 'demonisation' initiated by their governments.

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- **Advertisers/readers power**

    Advertisers routinely remove or cancel their advertisements if they are unhappy with a newspaper's reporting on events. Since every medium relies on advertising revenue, editors are careful not to upset advertisers by the choice of their stories. Ankomah (2000) refers specifically to the recent debate around President Thabo Mbeki's position on HIV/Aids and the appointment of the 'dissident' panel. He notes that the British media, in particular, have been downplaying this issue fearing that an intense debate might lower the profits of British and other Western pharmaceutical companies.

The intense debate around the NWICO in the second part of the 20th century, however, caused Western scholars and news producers to become somewhat more sensitive and aware of the needs of the less developed nations. The reason for this change in focus was mainly the realisation that the destinies of the West are inextricably linked with those of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

A further outcome was that the less developed countries came together to sponsor a number of communications ventures during the 1980's, including the launch of own communication satellite systems and several regional news agencies. Examples of new ventures by developing countries into international communication include the launching of Arabsat to form a communications network among many Islamic nations, the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) to promote news for and about Africa, and the establishment of the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) (Hester, 1991: 47). Communication scholars have shown that there has been an improvement in the quantity of news about the less developed countries. But the question still remains whether the quality and the content of international

news best fulfils the needs of the world. And taken even further, how far have globalisation and the increase in communication flow since the beginning of the 90's impacted, either negatively or positively, on the news flow developments in developing countries.

Having addressed news flow up to the 90's, the following section will look at the influence of globalisation on news flow and changes to existing patterns of news communication in the 1990's and beyond thereby concluding the first research question posed in this thesis.

2.3 Globalisation and news flow from the 1990's onward

In less than 15 years, communication and news around the world has dramatically changed in appearance. Historically, the end of the Cold War changed perceptions and the way people related to each other. With the Gulf War and the beginning of CNN, news broadcasts became a daily 24-hour live "event" transmitted around the globe. News developed a new "in your face" character, not delayed by print and, contrary to radio, with visuals. For those researching media, it was transformed by personal computers, email and the World Wide Web. This new age news or 'New News' (Katz, 1992: 33) became a direct, unmediated communication between individuals and the public, a 'many-to-many communication tool' (Hollander, 1994: 144). Because of this, communication between countries grew to be more intense. Robertson (1992) proposes that the world is, as a consequence of globalisation, becoming a more unified or systematic place. According to him, globalisation means that information, as well as material goods, are freely and frequently exchanged between different groups across national and cultural boundaries. Previously the structure of international communications, when studied using the nation-state as a unit of analysis, was unbalanced and unequal. The development of globalisation,

increased independence among 'nation-states' and the rise of multinational corporations and international mergers caused an expanded information flow at a global level. The role of the international organisations and the new global economic system as well as socio-cultural characteristics, are some of the key issues for the understanding of globalisation.

Willet (2000) argues that new technology naturally improves the circulation of information. Referring to Pemartin (1990), who states that an increase in the volume of information is a starting point for new knowledge, Willet (2000) says that better and greater circulation of information do not guarantee greater comprehension among individuals. Although technology lends an appearance of objectivity to information, it may still be mutated. This is even truer where individuals interact essentially through the intermediary of telecommunication systems. The impersonal atmosphere which it creates, demonstrates that objective information cannot replace interpersonal relationships (Willet, 2000: 9). The difficulty experienced with the technology that set globalisation off, has the outcome that inefficient ties are established between individuals, and that the exchange of information is reduced to a purely utilitarian dimension. And with information processes becoming even more complicated, users are obliged to learn and utilise specialised computer skills. Therefore, the New News is out of reach of the majority of the world's population and hence, does not make a large impact on the news flow structures around the world.

According to a UNESCO Study of 1990 (UNESCO, 1990) predicting figures for the new millennium:

- Of the 4 294 million inhabitants aged 15 and over living in the world in 2000, almost 1 billion, or 21.8% will not be able to read or write,

- Between 1970 and 1985 the number of illiterates grew by circa 59 million. Since 1985, the number has remained stable, and there should only be a slight decrease by 2000,

- In 1990, 35% of the population in developing countries were illiterate, but this could have 'decreased' to 28% by 2000.

Taking the least developed countries as a whole (according to the study, the majority are African), the size of the illiteracy rate will not decrease very quickly and it was estimated that in 2000 one of every 2 adults will still be illiterate in these countries.

So besides the fact that technology is acting as a new gatekeeper (see later section on gatekeeper models), the new global news system does not take into account the difference between the accessibility of information and the time needed to understand and process the information. According to Willet (2000), the new technology also does not protect against the invasion of privacy. The new infrastructures needed to access and analyse the new information are becoming 'more and more the new metaphor for power in a context of transformation of human relationships and their foundations' (Willet, 2000: 18). In South Africa, these fears were recently highlighted in the new Telecommunications Amendment Bill, which aims to place the power of the Internet in the hands of the Government by effectively taking over the control of the co.za domain. According to Carey (1990a & b) communication technology seems progressively to appear as the means chosen by the elite

of every society to ensure their own survival, to impose a new model of social order and to maintain their control over it.

The meaning of the new global system for Africa was recently debated between African journalists as part of the Rhodes University New Media Lab's Computer-Assisted Reporting Programme (2001). Raphael Tenthani from Malawi echoed Carey (1990) in that 'the Internet is not one of our priorities because its impact is negligible. In Malawi, of every 20 Internet users, roughly 15 are aid workers and people like them. So although the Internet has come to Africa, it has not necessarily benefited Africans themselves'. However, Carey's (1990) argument that the Internet is a tool of the elite is disputed by journalist Herbert Macha from Zambia. He asserts that economic development can possibly trickle down to the lowest levels of society.

The issue whether globalisation is good or bad has been debated by scholars for some time. According to media critic Douglas Kellner (quoted by Strelitz, 2001) globalisation can be described with the following features:

- the world-side interconnection between societies, cultures, institutions and individuals,

- the compression of time and space,

- the loss of national sovereignty.

According to Strelitz (2001) an 'unprecedented wave of mergers and acquisitions among global media giants' contributed to the new global media market, among these the News

Corporation, Time Warner, Disney, Bertelsmann, Viacom and TCI groups. Based on the model of 'cultural imperialism', which sees media operating within a single world market organised by the global imperatives of the American and the Western European-controlled multinational corporations, is the fear commonly raised that weak receivers of the global message are unable to withstand the cultural-ideological onslaught of the centre, being primarily the United States (see Tunstall, 1977). Strelitz (2001) quotes anthropologist Ulf Hannerz that 'globalisation need not be a matter of only far-reaching or complete homogenisation, the increasing interconnectedness of the world also results in some cultural gain'. To simply stick to a thesis that states that globalisation will obliterate local cultures would ignore the complex and contextually specific ways in which media messages are interpreted by viewers and readers. A study of Dutch viewers of the TV show Dallas according to Strelitz (2001) has for instance shown that contrary to expectations, it was not the 'capitalist values of conspicuous consumption and rugged individualism' that attracted the viewers, but the proof that even super-rich people have their set of problems. However the debate initiated in South Africa early in 2002 on the content of programmes provided by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), and the lack of local versus foreign content, focused on the fact of how much own identity is lost when foreign shows from non-African countries start to dominate the screens. In June 2002, for example, Namibia's President Sam Nujoma banned all foreign content from the nation's public broadcaster, thereby forcing the channels to rebroadcast an endless loop of the same programmes due to a lack of own material. Howell (1989: 179) states that the Middle East Region buys 32% of its television programming from the USA and a further 31% from Europe. In Africa, 4 out of every 10 programmes aired are foreign in origin. Zimbabwe, which imports 61% of its TV programmes from abroad, mostly from the North 'exemplifies the South's woeful

dependency to the North'. Howell further postulates that 'technology is not neutral or value free' (Howell, 1989: 164). Therefore, he sees Western domination of the global media system as 'media imperialism' since one dominant culture imposes its values, beliefs, assumptions, and language upon another (dependent) culture through the process of mass communication. Media imperialism has produced a powerful 'cultural synchronisation' (Howell, 1989: 173), meaning that the receiving cultures take on the shape of, or become synchronous with the outside cultures. McPhail (1987) calls this system 'electronic colonialism' and is echoed by Kamara (1996, 1989), Stevenson (1997), Huntington (2000) Sachs (2000) and others.

While Third World countries are swamped by foreign news, First World countries are at the receiving end of the globalisation scale: lack of international news. Edward Seaton, editor-in-chief of The Manhattan Mercury (Kansas), addressing the International Press Institute in Moscow in 1998, remarked that 'the use of international news by mainstream US media has declined appallingly the last two decades'. Although there were exceptions (such as New York Times, The Washington Post, The Wall Street Journal and others), around 1 550 papers in the USA believe that readers are not interested in international news and apparently do not have a need for it. Seaton states that most US newspapers today 'are driven by the need to keep their ownership' stock prices up', underlining the importance of commerce versus content quality. However, recent studies in Germany and the United States have shown that when those frequently reading newspapers are asked which articles of the previous week they had particularly enjoyed, most referred to some kind of international news item.

Stempel (1994) tries to link coverage of a country and knowledge about that country. He found scant coverage of for instance Canada on US television news programmes, newspapers and magazines. He then conducted a survey to assess American knowledge of Canada and found rampant ignorance. For instance, only 52% knew that French was the predominant language of Quebec and only 37% could identify the Prime Minister from a list of four. A majority, however, wanted more news about Canada, contradicting the many an editor's assumptions about the public's lack of appetite for foreign news. The fact that the amount of international news is declining is also of strapping concern to Western politicians. Mike McCurry, press secretary of former US President Bill Clinton in addressing Georgetown University students in 1999 (see Weinberg, 1999), raised the reality that 'the public lacks thoughtful information on foreign policy in today's information age'. He said that there was a 'vacuum of coverage' occurring now as 'the world is growing more exciting.' Changes in the world today are not just geo-political but also involve technological improvements. Therefore, according to McCurry, 'media and government must work harder than ever to provide an abundance of thoughtful information, not just opinions' (Weinberg, 1999: 12).

A few studies have considered the role of news media not just in the formation of people's knowledge about other countries, but also their opinion. McNelly and Izcaray (1986) find that exposure to international news do not relate to geographical and socioeconomic knowledge of countries, but a significant relationship between news exposure and respondents' perception of the countries' success, as well as their overall liking for the countries are observable. Perry (1990) finds international news consumption to be a primary factor in the development of knowledge about other countries. That knowledge, in turn, serves as a primary factor in attitude development. Perry's (1990) study suggests

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consumption of international news contributes to increased knowledge about countries, and this increased knowledge fosters a more positive attitude. Perry (1990) also finds that people with positive attitudes toward foreign nations consume more news, and that they tend to be more knowledgeable about other nations.

Ironically, according to many scholars, this lack of the traditional newspapers in informing the public about foreign contents is now being challenged by the Internet media. According to Dirk Smillie (1997) of The Christian Science Monitor, international stories on newscasts dropped precipitously over the past decade, but the same stations are now starting to renew the commitment to international news – in cyberspace. He quotes Andy Beers, executive producer for news at *MSNBC On the Internet* who says that 'there is a real thirst on the Internet for international news, something you don't see among television audiences'. Efforts to expand the international news beat are driven largely by news executives who believe in filling a niche they see left abandoned by newspapers and network newscasts. Problem is, that especially in the US, interest in foreign news only expands if it involves the United States. Recently in the United States, the number of international reports dramatically increased due to the September 11th aftermath, but focused only on countries involved in the 'Global War Against Terrorism' such as Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, etc.

The World Wide Web in particular brought a change in news distribution. It offers a varied tableau of information at one's fingertips. Only recently have studies attempted to establish whether cyber explorations actually create an increased understanding of foreign countries. Griffin et al. (1997) researched the possibility of whether a) a person's basic knowledge

about a country tends to increase when that person is exposed to WWW sites pertaining to that country and b) if a person's attitude towards a country also tends to become more favourable as a result of exposure to WWW sites pertaining to that country. The research, conducted in October 1996 among 119 graduate students confirmed only hypothesis a). Students in the group scored significantly higher on the knowledge of the researched country than in the pre-test. Hypothesis b) however, was not proven and the group of researchers came to the conclusion that although the knowledge about a country increases with access to the WWW, it does not necessarily change the overall impression on that country. Yet the fact that the information is available might lead to a long-term change in attitude, according to the researchers. The scholars further argued that with the introduction of the WWW, the access to information about other places is no longer limited to the 'narrow window on the world opened by traditional media' (Griffin et al., 1997: 127).

Studies as to the impact of the WWW and Internet on the traditional media have been various and come to different conclusions. Faure (1998), in an analysis of South African Internet and traditional media says that 'the readers who have access to the Internet are reading both the traditional paper newspaper as well as the electronic version of the same paper. Because the reader realises that the electronic edition contains more or less the same type of information as the traditional newspaper and because frequent editing is possible, this reader is more likely to only read the electronic version. This can cause the traditional paper to scale down, and in certain circumstances even lead to the closure of the traditional paper' (Faure, 1998: 16, loose translation from Afrikaans by author of this thesis). This opinion however, is not shared by Bromley and Bowles (1995), and although limiting itself to the 'start-up period' of the Internet use, they argue that the use of traditional media

remains the same. The impact of the WWW news system, and the interaction with traditional media are currently some of the most popular debates among scholars (Choi & Kang, 1999; Barnett, Danowski, Richards, 1993, Lasica, 1997, Newhagen, & Rafaeli, 1996, and others).

Having briefly analysed the impact of globalisation on news flow, the following section will highlight some of the news flow models that have influenced not only this debate, but also that of news flow among traditional media. The main three models introduced will form the basis of the empirical study as executed in chapter 4.

2.4 News flow models

Many models have tried to analyse the flow of news, globally, nationally, and even the internal flow within a newsroom (Bass, 1969). This thesis is based on three models, mainly the 'multiple gatekeeping model of news flow' (McNelly, 1959) - the revised version of White's Gatekeeper Model (White, 1950), the 'model of selected gatekeeping' (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, see also Galtung, 1971) as well as 'The agenda-setting function of mass media' by McCombs & Shaw (1972 and 1976; see also McCleod, Becker & Byrnes, 1974; Shaw, 1979).

The concept of a 'gatekeeper' has been frequently used in studies especially when a factor, either externally or internally, has determined the actual output of the news. White's 'Gatekeeper Model' (1950), initially based on the study of the telegraph wire editor of an American non-metropolitan paper who decided which stories would make it into the publication and which not, was the first analysis of any 'noise' within the news flow process.

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Although this model has been extended (see McNelly, 1959) and criticised during later studies for its simplicity, it nevertheless forms the basis for most of the gatekeeper models that followed. Criticism around this model is based on three issues:

- in that it ignores internal processes of script writing and copy-editing,

- in that it identifies only one gatekeeping mechanism,

- in that it implies a rather passive news flow activity.

McNelly (1959) specifically addresses the second critical point in White's model. He identifies at least five gatekeeping mechanisms before the original story reaches the reader: a foreign agency correspondent, a regional bureau editor, a central bureau editor or deskman, a national or regional bureau editor and a telegraph/news editor. Finally, after receiving the final product, the reader himself acts as a further gatekeeper by telling the newsworthy events to others and altering the context once again. The last point is of specific importance to Africa, where illiteracy forces the mainstream population to rely on the few literate individuals actually relaying to them events reported on in newspapers, as well as the predominance of a traditional oral culture.

This model emphasises four main issues:

- The fact that the most important gatekeeping may well have been completed before the news reaches the editor of a newspaper, especially when it comes to international news, where regional bureaus often make the first decision before it reaches the hometown,

- Gatekeeping is not that much about rejecting, but more about altering the form or substance of the story as it makes the way through the news flow,

- Gatekeeping does not end with the news medium, since the initial receiver often acts as gatekeeper for others,

- Feedback between the gatekeepers virtually does not exist.

Among the issues criticised in this model is again the relative simplicity, since there might well be different sources contributing to an event, forming the primary story.

Galtung and Ruge's (1965) model of selective gatekeeping deals primarily with the factors that determine the selection and alteration of certain events. The scholars identify nine criteria for selection:

I) *Timespan*. Depending on the format of the medium (daily, weekly etc), certain events are relevant to the publication and others not,

II) *Intensity or threshold value*. Matters of 'national interest' get higher priority than matters of normal level of significance, which in turn can become of larger significance, if the public perception shifts onto them,

III) *Clarity/lack of ambiguity*. The less the meaning of an event is in doubt, the more likely it is to be suitable for news treatment,

IV) *Cultural proximity or relevance*. The closer the event to the culture and interests of the target audience, the more likely the selection,

V)   *Consonance.* An event that confirms to certain expectations is more likely to get a higher attention (wars, conflicts in areas notoriously known for conflicts, as in the case of for instance Africa),

VI)   *Unexpectedness.* The more unusual and unexpected, the more likely a story can make the headlines,

VII)   *Continuity.* Once an event has been declared 'newsworthy', it is more likely to sustain in the media,

VIII) *Composition.* Some events are selected according to the balance of the editorial content of the medium,

IX)   *Socio-cultural values* of the receiving society.

Like all the other models, Galtung and Ruge's model has received its share of criticism, mainly on the grounds that it is too psychological, that it is un-testable due to its complexity and lack of methodology for testing (Rosengren, 1974). It also seems to be based on a system of transparency and democracy without outside influences. Possible censorship as well as the influence of ownership in media houses, have also not been taken into account. Mowlana (1997) acknowledges the existence of individual key factors that determine the selection process, but identifies them as 'ownership, internal and external (perceived and actual) controls, economic resources, disposition of income, bureaucracy and proximity, perceived purpose, technology and type of content' (Mowlana, 1997: 48). These factors seem to fit the modern day society more appropriately, especially after the many changes in media in the 90's. Ahern (1984) classifies the factors determining news flow as *intrinsic* and *extrinsic*, intrinsic factors being those that define the event itself and include such elements as magnitude, uniqueness and negativity. Extrinsic factors 'can be classified under the headings

of gatekeeper, socialisation, media constraints, and event context' (1984: 221, see also Ibelema, 1996).

In 1971, Galtung extended his model to the theory of a 'center-periphery flow'. Here, he divides the world in two parts: the 'center' - or dominant communities, and the 'periphery', or dependent areas. Galtung (1971) relates these theoretical 'constructs' to communication and cultural interaction and points to vertical interaction as the major factor in the inequality of nations, a division reinforced by 'feudal networks of international communication', dominated by nations in the 'center'. Mowlana (1997) summarises Galtung's (1971) extended hypothesis in four statements:

- There is a preponderance of 'center' news events reported in the world press system,

- There is a much larger discrepancy in the news exchange ratios of 'center' and 'periphery' nations than in the exchange ration's of 'center' nations,

- 'center' news occupies a larger proportion of the foreign news content in the media of 'periphery' nations than the 'periphery' news occupies in the 'center' nations,

- There is relatively little or no flow of news among 'periphery' nations, especially across colonial-based bloc borders.

Among many theories about the effect of mass media on populations that have survived for many decades, is the hypothesis that the mass media, simply through paying attention to some news and ignoring others, will have an impact on the population. The best known model was introduced by McCombs and Shaw in 1972. In the 'updated' version of 1976 they argue that 'audiences not only learn about public issues and other matters from the media,

they also learn how much importance to attach to an issue or topic from the emphasis media places upon it. What reaches the public is the result of decisions made by political leaders, reporters and editors. It is this power of the press – the ability to structure the unseen environment of symbols – which has been called the 'agenda-setting function' (McCombs & Shaw, 1976: 18). The model propounds that matters given the most attention in the media will be perceived as the most important.

Recent studies (for instance Brettschneider, 2002) have identified the complexity of this issue and added new categories. Frank Brettschneider (2002) sees Agenda Setting interacting on three levels, the 'Reality' (based on press releases, speeches, etc), 'Media reality' or reality as perceived by the media after applying gatekeeper mechanisms of Agenda Setting or even – Cutting, as well as the 'Public perception', influenced by the 'Media reality'. This 'Priming' factor is also underlined by Cohen (1963: 13) who states that 'the mass media might not have been very successful most of the time in telling people 'what to think', but media are stunningly successful in telling their audience 'what to think about'. Iyengar, Peters and Kinder (1982) even argue that 'by attending to some problems and ignoring others, media [...] also alter the standards by which people evaluate government'. Recent scholars are trying to quantify 'Priming' by establishing how much information in the form of articles is necessary to reach a certain number of people. Brettschneider also observes an 'inter-media Agenda Setting and – Cutting', whereby certain media are leading the opinion and others follow. As soon as those media stop to report on an issue, other smaller media stop as well.

The three models are vital in analysing the extent of news flow and influence on public perception. They also identify some of the reasons for news trends and issue selection, and

form the basis for a number of news flow studies that have tried to establish patterns in both news flow as well as factors determining news flow.

Based on the discussions of this section, the first research question for this thesis can be thus formulated:

2.4.1 Research question A

Galtung and Ruge (1965) identify nine criteria for the selection of news items, namely *timespan, intensity or threshold value, clarity/lack of ambiguity, cultural proximity or relevance, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition* as well as *socio-cultural values*. The analysis of this research will try to confirm or reject the assumption posed forty years ago by looking at a) the length of coverage, specifically in coverage on Africa, closeness or relation to the country printing/broadcasting the report as well as content of the report. It will try to give answers to research goals no 7 and 8 as explained in section 1.2.

The following section will highlight some of the more prominent and frequently referred to news flow studies.

2.5 News flow studies

Research on the international flow of news expanded during the last 20 years with most dramatic growth at the beginning of the 1980's. This has been accompanied by new lines of questioning that deal mainly with the actual flow and content of news and factors determining the flow of news. Many of the early studies of the direction of news flow, mostly by scholars from the United States focused on the flow of news between the East and the West only shifting to the North-South examination after the New World

Information's debate in the late 1970s (see Kayser, 1953; Schramm, 1960; Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977; Hester, 1978 and others).

Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977) identify a third pattern, a triangular flow that divides the North into East and West, connecting each to the South. The researchers conclude in their study that in foreign news, East and West first cover their respective geopolitical areas as well as East – West relations, whereas Third World media in general devote the greatest proportion of foreign news coverage to the North (both East and West). Additionally Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977) find that Western Europe is the most frequently reported region around the globe, and that socialist nations receive little coverage in the Western press. These findings are echoed in Robert Stevenson and Richard Cole's (1980) analysis based on the first major international news flow research, which concludes that 'regional proximity is clearly the dominant characteristic of foreign news' (Stevenson & Cole, 1980: 25).

During the course of this century, three major international news flow research projects dominated the field of news flow research. The first, initiated at the request of UNESCO and carried out by the International Association of Mass Media Communication Research (IAMCR) included 29 countries as well as the four major news agencies. Sreberny-Mohammadi, one of the main scholars in the team, concludes that two main issues shape international news flow:

- dominance of 'hard' news (international and domestic politics)

- regionalism, whereby every national system devote most attention to events happening within, and to protagonists in its geographical area (see Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng & Stevenson (1985).

Stevenson admits that 'by the time the results of the study appeared, the UNESCO debate had largely burned itself out. If anything, the explosion of technology that ushered in globalization made Anglo-American dominance even stronger' (Stevenson, 2001: 2).

The second study in 1995, originated from some of the researchers of the first study (Stevenson, Sreberny-Mohammadi) and focused on similar countries yet extending the research, especially since the first study did not include countries of the Third World. Although the final results have never been published, some countries did publish "national" results of the study (see de Beer, Fourie, Mbennah, 1997). Some of the conclusions of the study (Stevenson, 2001) expound that:

- news is politics and economics – and not filled with 'bad news'. Only one third of the reports were found being 'disruptive',
- trade and regionalism dominated,
- the USA is a news superpower. The increased dominance of the United States is attributed to the political and economic dominance but also to the influence of its culture by screening 'soft stories' including film and music,
- The dominance of global agencies is distorted, because many media no longer cite these as reference or draw their reports from various sources, labelling many of these articles as 'their own',

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- Colonial ties linger. With the exception of Africa (excluding South Africa), where British and French news still dominate the agenda, most former colonies no longer emphasise their previous dependence by focusing on news of the former coloniser.

A third study, in process in 2002 and facilitated by Pamela Schoemaker, is expected to conclude by the end of 2002, with the first results to be published in 2003.

Many scholars base their hypotheses on the works of Wallenstein (1974, 1979) who sees the world as a global system in which countries are interdependently linked within the capitalist system. The global economy combines multiple cultures and politics into a single integrated division of labour. However, the participant countries are in unequal relationships because of economic differences. Furthermore, mobility within the global system is caused by the rise and fall of international economic and military powers. Any change in an individual country is a result of events in the global system. The global system is in itself a changing 'international network' (see Chase-Dunn & Hall, 1993, Chase-Dunn & Grimes, 1995).

Ostgaard (1965) distinguishes two kinds of factors that influence the structure of news flow:

- external factors such as political and economic factors including government censorship and media ownership,
- internal factors that enhance the event's newsworthiness.

Rosengren (1970; 1974; 1977) develops the idea of intramedia and extramedia data to evaluate the performance of a medium or channel with regard to the transmission of foreign news information. He suggests the following concepts in the structure of news events:

importance of foreign events, physical or cultural distance of foreign events, and the predictability of foreign events.

Schoemaker, Chang and Brendlinger (1986) examine the concept of deviance as an indicator of newsworthiness in international news coverage, where the extent to which an event would threaten the status quo or break the social norms is conceptualised as 'deviance'. In US media they find that the potential for social change is an important factor in determining the coverage of international news events. The researchers also establish that four variables contribute to distinguishing between covered and not-covered events in US media:

- Normative deviance of an event,

- Relevance to the United States,

- Potential for social change,

- Geographical distance.

Hester (1973) determines four variables influencing the international news flow:

- the hierarchy of a nation,

- cultural affinities,

- economic association between nations,

- news & information conflicts.

Robinson and Sparks (1976) introduce factors such as 'technical-economic', 'political-historic', 'editorial weighting' and 'marketplace pressure'.

In a network analysis, Kim and Barnett (1996) demonstrate the imbalance in international news flow between the core group and the 'periphery', and find that the Western industrialised countries were at the centre or core and dominated international news flow. Most African, Asian, Latin American, and Pacific countries are grouped at the 'periphery'. Chang (1998) supports this approach with his own study of how the agency Reuters handles international news. He concludes that only very few countries form the core of the world news system and that the chances of these few countries to be in the news are far higher than those of the many countries on the 'periphery'. What peripheral countries 'say' does not matter and they need a 'ride' by the core nations to the 'international marketplace of ideas' (Chang, 1998: 542). 'As far as the world system is concerned, no news may not be good news for the peripheral countries that are being left out in the process of mass communication across national borders' (Chang, 1998: 542).

The majority of news flow research focus on either one or more of the major news agencies as well as major international newspapers (such as New York Times, Washington Post, The Times and others). Hjarvard (1995) provides an interesting overview about studies on TV news flow research. He points out that the majority of research focuses on Western Europe (Ruby, 1965; Varis & Jokelin, 1976; Golding & Elliot, 1979; Melnik, 1981; Gurevitch, 1992, and Hjarvard, 1994 a & b). In the case of the Third World countries, Hjarvard refers to only two: Turkisani (1988) for the Arab World and Lansipuro (1987) for Asia. Although he explicitly mentions no research from Africa, three more recent sources, focus on Africa.

The first was conducted by the Broadcasting Monitoring Project (BMP) in 1993 to monitor the public broadcaster SABC's coverage of the transition period and the first democratic

elections in South Africa (van Zyl & Kantor, 1995). The report, entitled '6 months of the New SABC' establishes that there are 'little substantial change in either radio or television broadcasts', that 'many of the old-style myths and prejudices were still evident in the news bulletins' and that 'a bias towards the government is clearly manifest in much political reporting'. (BMP, 1993: 1).

The second, undertaken by Lyombe Eko (2000) reveals that there are not enough African programmes shown in Africa, despite increasing requests for them. Eko concludes that 'with the new impetus given to Pan-Africanism [...], the task of African political leaders and communicators is to create and enable environment for cultural exchange not only among the regions of Africa but among African peoples from all parts of the world (Eko, 2000: 377).

An unpublished study by Media Tenor SA conducted in 2000, on the programme content structure of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) reveals that approximately 50% of all programmes shown are neither African nor South African in origin. Within the light of the SABC's mandate to increase own-content programmes, the study established that the current quota is not sufficient.

All international TV studies are rather inconclusive in revealing a definite character of TV news flow. The classical approach of a one-way traffic, as discussed previously, seems not to be supported in TV news coverage, according to Hjarvard (1995). The inconclusiveness on these issues is further underlined by the work of White (1995) who argues that in her research of television programme flow (although not necessarily focusing on news) the one-

way traffic still exists, although she does admit that models capturing the complexity of news still (or until the 90's) do not exist. Reasons for this inconclusiveness might lie in the fact that TV has a different character than print media. In essence, it is an entertainment medium with its successes decided by ratings. For television to succeed it has to be interesting, and to be interesting, drama and visual imagery must feature. Since conflicts dominate the media picture (see Bad News, 1972; More Bad News, 1976) every conflict can be explained by an image, an emotion or a sound byte. It is in the very nature of television as a medium that determines its incapability in explaining the complexity of many issues (see Schreiner, 2002).

Based on some of the results from the first and second global research project conducted by Sreberny-Mohammadi, further research questions for this paper are drawn:

2.5.1 Research question B

The research in this thesis will investigate whether

- hard news still dominates international media and if African media follow the same model

- media are regional, and focus on geographically close events

- coverage on 'bad news' has further decreased

- former colonial powers report less on their former colonies.

as posed in research goals 3, 5 and 6 (see section 1.2).

Since the focus of this thesis is on news flow from, to and within Africa, a more in-depth analysis of former and current studies into news flows from and within the 'periphery' will follow in the next section. In order to do this, a short overview of media history in Africa will form the departure point in establishing reasons and patterns of history and news flow in and within Africa. In section 2.7, some of the research conducted on news flow in Africa will be highlighted.

2.6 Short overview of media history and news flow in Africa

To deny the influence of colonialism on African media, as many African nationalists are trying to do, would be erroneous. Even though the origins of mass media in Africa are deeply rooted within the pain suffered under colonialism, it nevertheless impacted in such a way that today's media continue to report in a Western-style manner.

'The genesis of African journalism lay in dry official publications of colonial governments. The press in Africa began with the publications owned and/or operated by officials of the British Government' (Williams, 1963: 243). The colonial press, however, was primarily a vehicle for providing news and information to the European population of businessmen and civil servants, and, as Wilcox (1975) points out, the colonial press was ethno-centric in its conception and content.

'It is obvious that the colonial administrators thought a press of any kind was dangerous in the hands of 'barbaric' Africans, viewing a critical nationalist press as particularly dangerous. Consequently, colonial governors used their power to punish newspapers that practised a watchdog role in relation to government' (Wilcox, 1975: 6). According to Hachten (1970)

daily newspapers were mostly controlled and run by Europeans, and were often subjected to harsh and often arbitrary controls by colonial officials. This strong oppression and pressure to have a one-sided press, lead to many Africans believing that a press reflecting the opinion of Africans was necessary. In most cases, nationalist 'medias' were formed around a few political leaders (Coleman, 1964) such as Nnamdi Azikwe in Nigeria, Johnstone Kamau in Kenya and Julius Nyerere in Tanzania (who later became the country's first president). In fact, other journalists of the national press also became their respective country's first presidents such as Patrice Lumumba in Zaire and Leopold Sedar-Senghor in Senegal. According to Hachten (1971), the indigenous African press, built around European models, evolved 'as a political instrument, and organizational tool for moulding a political organization, and [...] played a role in the struggle for independence (Hachten, 1971: 272).' Despite the aversion felt against the former oppressors, most African countries have continued to leave, especially the content of their newspapers, unopposedly similar to those of the oppressor (Legum, 1971). Yet at the same time there is now also a greater movement to 'Africanise' the social, economic, and cultural institutions inherited from the colonial past and many African leaders are now convinced that European models of development do not fit the unique demands of Africa or take into account its traditional culture (see de Beer, Fourie, Mbennah, 1997: 15). To a large extent scholars believe the reason lies in the development of news in Africa itself, or rather the inability of Africa to develop its own news system.

The following section will deal with some of the problems in African news reporting and will give an overview of African scholar's research results on news flow within Africa.

2.7 News flow in Africa: previous research

The large quantity of international news in African media has long been criticised by African leaders as well as African scholars.

Kamara (1996) argues that the classical North-South news flow, combined with the dominance of the 'big five' global agencies and the technological advances of the Western World are threatening developing nations's cultures and identities. He underlines that the Northern libertarian principles, based on John Locke (see Popkin & Stroll, 1993; Christian, 1973), and the multiparty democracy, free press, oligopolistic ownership of the mass media, supported by a free market advertising revenue, free movement of journalists, news, and entertainment programmes without interference, are not on par with the South believing in the 'concept of development authoritarianism, a benignly-controlled press, and a government monopoly of broadcast ownership'. Howell (1989) adds that Southern nations, 'especially in Africa, adopt political and economic systems that are intrinsically relevant to their social problems' (1989: 21). But Kamara (1996) does not call for a new and unique approach to African news reporting (as are de Beer & Steyn, 1996), but instead asserts that in order to participate in the Information Age, 'the rest of the South must do the following political and economic reforms: genuine democratic governments with free elections […], free market economy, independent judiciary and free press within the development theory' (Kamara, 1996: 52).

These ideas of developmental news stem from the already mentioned NWICO debate in the late 70's that followed the disapproval of the Third World Countries with the European and

Anglo-American-centristic news flow, during which the concept of 'developmental news' was proposed. Nawaz (1984) divides developmental news into two parts

- enhancing the knowledge of the population and educating them,
- adding value to their lives.

The concept was proposed after research showed that African media itself report very little on their own countries' developmental achievements and failures (see Sankaran, 1986). Okigbo (1985) finds that the fact that Third World countries are probably as biased as the West against the developing world in their own news reporting, is often overlooked. Eribo (1997), however, finds that 'generally, the media in Africa and many developing countries tend to report more non-disruptive news than disruptive stories because of their emphasis on development communication' (1997: 274). De Beer & Steyn conclude in their analysis of research conducted on developmental news that:

- despite efforts to promote developmental news and implement principles as called for by the NWICO, still too much emphasis is placed on the progress and process side of conflict,
- the introduction of developmental news to Africa show an improvement of knowledge among the population at large.

The importance of developmental news was already recognised in the late 50's by Daniel Lerner (1958). Central to his view is the concept of empathy determining a person's mobility. With a higher mobility, people would have a 'high capacity for change, [be] future

oriented and rational (Lerner, 1958: 50)'. In the same regard Inkeless and Smith (1974) specifically look at the role mass media play, and the fact that the modern man 'places his trust in mass media rather than in personal media for world news, and prefers national and international news rather than sports, religious or hometown news' (1974:112). According to Servaes (2002) media stimulate in direct or indirect ways this 'mobility' and economic development, they are the 'motivators and movers' behind the change in society, especially in Third World Countries' (Servaes, 2002: 9). Conversely, Okere (1996) gives the advice that 'in covering the development newsbeat, a journalist should critically examine, evaluate, and report the relevance of a development project to national and local needs, the difference between a planned scheme and its actual implementation and the differences its impact on people has, as claimed by government officials and as it actually is' (Okere, 1996: 173).

Despite the existence of many models trying to establish and manifest developmental communication, the concept is still much debated and an agreement is far from being reached. This research project will analyse in its empirical section (see chapter 4) to which extent South African media have followed the call by many African leaders for a more developmental way of reporting, or whether the reporting values are still determined by existing traditional means. Briefly, the research question arising from this section can be summarised as follows:

2.7.1 Research question C

The research will aim to answer the following questions:

- to which extent does the news flow **to** Africa dominate the agenda of news items on African media (in the case of this thesis, South African media), as

raised by Howell (1989, see also section 2.3) and Kamora (1996)? In other words: how much international news is in African news compared to own, domestic issues?

- Following de Beer and Steyn, how much emphasis is placed on the progress and process side of conflict, rather than the promotion of developmental news, both in international media reporting on Africa as well as South African media reporting on Africa, and what kind of developmental news, if any, was encountered?

The research questions will help determine research goals 1 and 2 as posed in section 1.2. This section dealt with the way Africa reports in its own news programmes as well as some of the reasons for the type of information covered; the following section will identify some of the problems that have been encountered before this project by African researchers attempting to uncover a possible solution to this question.

2.8 Problems arising from existing research in Africa

There are several problems arising from research conducted on Africa in international media, as well as from research on African media on international and own reporting.

The reasons for the relatively few research projects available on African media (most of them in South Africa) lie with the following:

- **Unreliability**

Delivery and availability of media in most parts of Africa are unreliable. Hiring of personnel for long-term studies which would reveal true patterns, are cost intensive and normally cannot be carried by even larger departments or institutions (see Ansah, 1994).

- **Technological disadvantages**

Access to the Internet, computers or other facilities are limited and the technical level of skills is only very basic.

- **Political uncertainty**

In many cases, free research cannot be conducted for fear of opposition and even prosecution. Until a few years back, the Zimbabwe Media Monitoring Project, a part of the South African Media Monitoring Project, reported regularly from Zimbabwe on Zimbabwean media content. Political pressure stopped most efforts in this country. The fear of imprisonment for researchers arriving at certain conclusions, further diminished the quality of research. Censorship of many media makes research in many cases obsolete (see Mgbemena & Okigbo, 1994, Onum, 1994)

- **Quality of journalism**

In many circumstances, the quality of the publications or the medium is so poor, lacking even in the most basic skills, that an analysis of media research often leads to a skewed image of the media. Even in South Africa, the recent National Journalistic Skills audit revealed a lack of journalistic quality in South African media in formulating basic news (see de Beer & Steyn, 2002)

With technology and infrastructure improving, more research from Africa on news flow in Africa, can be expected in the near future. Highlighting the results in African media might address the issue of 'reporting negatively on its own continent'. But while ascertaining the nature of news flow within Africa, the type of coverage Africa receives in international media, must be observed.

The following section will try to establish the perception Africa receives internationally, based on the kind of information displayed by international media. Further, reasons for the distorted image of Africa in international media will be highlighted.

2.9 News on Africa

Several studies dealt with news content on Africa, and all of them come to the same conclusion: that the image of Africa is one-sided and skewed.

Annas notes that Africa is not favourably portrayed in Western media and that news out of Africa 'is exceptionally negative and limited to regions of conflict' (Annas, 1997: 198). The author compared articles in the American *Newsweek* and the German *Der Spiegel*. His study finds that both publications cover Africa extensively and also focus on a variety of African countries. Annas observes that the focus of reporting is nonetheless on crises, and that only *Newsweek* indeed reported on economic development, culture, religion and sport. He concludes that:

- there is a steady flow of news out of Africa,
- the majority of news comes from a relatively small number of countries and,

- a large percentage of news can be regarded as conflict or crisis driven news.

In an analysis of *The Sunday Times* and *The Economist* of the United Kingdom, Cameron Duodu (2000) argues that Western media make the mistake in generalising Africa. Quoting a World Bank source as saying 'Africa will take years to climb out of poverty,' he underlines the fact that companies as well as media, have not realised that some African countries were indeed diversifying their exports and others were achieving good value. In the same vein the Third World and Environment Broadcasting Project reported in 1993 that two-thirds of mainstream international news coverage about developing countries concentrated on conflicts and disasters (see Cate, 1999).

Winterstein, Dolliver, de Beer and Giffard find that US network evening news decreased the coverage of violence, and increased coverage of activities on South Africa and determined a 'gulf [...] between the actual situation and how it is portrayed' (Winterstein et al., 1996: 173). They conclude that although the overall situation has changed in South Africa, it has not lead to an increased and diversified reporting on South Africa. The argument of many international media, that Africa only produces negative news, (see Hawk, 1994) is therefore incorrect, since media choose negative issues over utilising available developmental news that might contribute to a more positive image. Giffard and Cohen's study from 1990 which shows that coverage on violence in South Africa in the period of 1982 – 1987 was approximately 53%; and Winterstein et al.'s (1996) study depicting a decline of between 31% and 17% of reports on crime (pre-election and post-election) are prime examples. But the fact that actual crime figures increased did not correspond with the decrease in coverage. This underlines the discrepancy between reality and TV depiction, especially where Third

World countries are concerned (see also Wigston, 2000). The only country that seems to have enjoyed at least some positive coverage during the nineties was South Africa (see Jones, 1998).

Ibelema (1996) concludes in his analysis of coverage of *Time* and *Newsweek* in the 70's and 80's that there is a much larger reporting on African countries if there is a direct connection in terms of content. Economic success was not a reason for coverage, since African countries such as the Ivory Coast, Gabon and Cameroon, which at that time were considered some of the more successful African countries, did not receive larger coverage in the 80's compared to the 70's.

In 2002, Mawugbe presented the hypothesis that coverage on Africa largely depends on political affiliations between countries. In his analysis of *Neues Deutschland* (the largest paper in the former GDR) and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (one of Western-Germany's current leading newspapers) over the period from 1979 – 1989, Mawugbe identified patterns of political reporting on Africa, whereby the former East German paper would highlight socialist countries in Africa such as Angola, Mozambique or Mali, while the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* focused on Kenya, Nigeria and Namibia. Due to the international political attention, both papers, however, had their strongest focus on South Africa.

All studies on the image of Africa have revealed similar patterns:

- International media perceive Africa as a continent of instability, crime and poverty,

- Achievements, albeit elections or democratic processes are benchmarked from a Western perception, including Western accounting and governance practices. Cultural differences between Africa and the Western World have not been taken into account,

- Media tend to focus on events rather than a continuous analysis of progress, and although some researchers witness a slight increase in 'developmental' news, it is still marginal compared to the overall coverage,

- Coverage tends to be without depth and focuses on a few protagonists: governments, major politicians and politics in general (see also Blay-Amihere & Alabi, 1996).

The reason for this is in most cases the lack of insightful information on African countries. As witnessed during the UN World Racism Conference in 2001 and the World Summit on Sustainable Development, journalists use the opportunity of major events to travel to the relevant country and then report from the experiences gained in a very short time back to their respective countries. The information received is incomplete and based on the circumstantial knowledge gained. These results fit into the hypothesis of De Beer (1997, see also Steyn, 1995) that in most Western Countries news are placed within the context of distance and intensity. Distance, according to de Beer can be measured in terms of:

- Timeliness,
- Physical proximity,
- Socio-psychological proximity,

and intensity in terms of

- Status quo,

- The magnitude of the event,

- Unusualness.

For example, in the U.S media ignored the HIV/Aids situation in Africa until it involved US companies (Merck, Pfizer etc). Unusualness (how can an American company be prosecuted in Africa?), combined with socio-psychological proximity (what does it mean for the share price of those companies?) and the intensity of it all (court cases, debates etc) lead to an increase of reports not only on South Africa where the court cases took place, but on the issue of HIV/Aids in Africa in general.

Furthermore, news that flow from the centre to the periphery – as proven by the majority of studies in the past, will naturally create an imbalance of reporting on the countries of the South, since these countries are not feeding the main news flow, and remain 'reported on' and not 'reporting'. Other reasons contributing to a distorted image on Africa are:

- **Global positioning of agencies**

The fact that the majority of global newspapers and agencies have agents in areas of interest to them, and mostly around the same socio-political environment. Although there are correspondents stationed in peripheral countries, they only rarely get the opportunity to report. The number of reporters are increased when certain events take place, underlining de Beer's and Steyn's (1997) assumptions.

- **Economic instability**

Africa has never experienced the same economic stability as the countries of the centre. Western media however, with the increase of importance of business, tend to measure many countries on their economic output, mostly measured in US Dollars. These figures will always sound meagre when compared to the industrialised nations. An image, based on western values of economic success will naturally lead to increased criticism on Africa (see de Beer & Steyn, 1997).

- **Political differences**

Because of a history of political instability, Africa is continuously portrayed in Western media as a hopeless continent. Even success stories, like South Africa, are only briefly focused on and soon press moves to reporting on the possible dangers to democracies. The recent introduction of Nepad (New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development) by South African President Thabo Mbeki drew criticism due to the fear of the inability of Africa to account for proper governance, in line with the assumption that African nations are unable to account for themselves without Western guidance. And if individual countries in South Africa indeed ignore these guidelines (as the case with Zimbabwe), the whole region or even the continent has to share the negative image.

- **Socio-cultural differences**

One of the most complicated factors for news flow from and to Africa is the socio-cultural difference, not only between Africa and the Western World, but even within Africa. Cultural, religious and traditional beliefs differ significantly from region to region and country to country, creating an internal barrier to news flow (see Eribo 1997). Conclusions drawn are

based on Euro- or Anglo centric assumptions and models. Events are not rated on the basis of the reported countries's cultural or social as well as ethical circumstances, but on the basis of the values of the reporting nation (see Moemeka, 1999). Many Islamic countries complain about a mistaken image in Western media based on a different set of values used in evaluating the context of a specific event. Although models on for instance African news values and models exist, traditional research tries to highlight news flow from a European point of view.

- **Proximity and unawareness**

Many events occurring far from home have little relation to the home country. Even if there is a relation, lack of a general knowledge on the reported country causes the coverage on the country to sometimes lose the context. Reasons for a specific event are not understood and hence are to be explained, especially if the reasons are based on values unknown to the Western source. Only few researchers have addressed the issue of educating the Western media on those countries at the periphery (see van Dijk, 1995).

- **Generalisation**

An event occurring in one country is highlighted as relevant for a whole region. A report on Kenya for instance will be referred to in the context of Nigeria, despite the fact that the countries a) are on different sides of the continent and b) to a large extent have different religious, cultural and traditional values. Nevertheless, the event gets marginalised and attributed to the whole continent (see Moemeka, 1998: p146).

- **Racial (un-)awareness**

Some researchers support the opinion that the image of Africa is largely negative due to racial attitudes and opinions of international journalists (see Downing & Husband, 1995). According to them media tend to portray areas more negatively that have certain relevance for them. For example, French media are especially critical in its reporting on Northern and French Africa, because the majority of illegal immigrants in France are from these areas.

- **Political differences**

For many decades many African countries have relied on traditional governance or tribalism, and then exchanged it for colonialism. Although most countries in Africa have officially abolished the system, tribal council still plays a major role even in African role-model democracies like South Africa, where differences around the role of tribal leaders determine the political agenda. Western news agencies however do not associate with these tendencies and portray them as a curiosity and 'un-modern' (see also Eribo, 1997).

- **Availability of technology and infrastructure**

In South Africa, only a small percentage of the population has access to the World Wide Web or is able to transmit information by using new technology. According to the Goldstuck Report of 2002 (Goldstuck, 2003), only 2.9 million people of the total 45 million population (Statistics South Africa, 2003) had access to the Internet in 2001, although this figure is expected to grow to 3.1 million by 2003. In other African countries, the situation is even worse (only 1 in 160 people, according to Jensen, 2002). With globalism becoming increasingly important in the news society, news not transmitted on time and on deadline, is

pushed aside for other news. This puts Africa in a disadvantageous position as a news generator.

- **African media's own negativity**

Ume-Nwagbo (1982) and Schreiner (2000) researched the fact that African media in its reporting on own countries or continent have a bigger share of negative than positive reports. If African media do not report more positively on its own regions, and Western media rely on the information from these media, it is not surprising then, that the image remains negative.

This section touches many concerns raised by African researchers within their limited means (see also following section). Research questions from this section are as follows:

2.9.1 Research question D

From this section, the following research questions will be analysed:

- Is there a steady news flow of news out of Africa (as raised by Annas (1997)?

- Does the majority of news focus on a relatively small number of countries?

- Is the majority of news still conflict or crisis news, or, as mentioned in section 2.7, is this decreasing?

- Is there larger reporting on Africa when there is a direct connection in terms of content (see Ibelema, 1996)?

- Is coverage in international news, especially on Africa, still Western-centric in the sense that it focuses on Western Countries and ignores countries of the periphery (see research goals 4 and 5 in section 1.2)?

and finally,

- are international media still perceiving Africa as continent of instability, crime and poverty?
- is the coverage rather event focused than continuous (Mowlana)?
- is coverage without depth and focuses on a few protagonists (see Blay-Amihere & Alabi)?

This section has highlighted some of the reasons for the negative perception Africa receives in the international media but at the same time established that the root of the problem might lie within African media themselves. Since the definition of news is mainly based on its values, a number of scholars have identified media ethics as a key issue in news flow, especially as it is related to Africa. In this regard, the following section will highlight some of the 'Western' models of media ethics and look at a few definitions of 'African' ethics, in order to establish whether this discrepancy is a contributing factor to a distorted news flow on, to and within Africa.

The empirical study in chapter 4 will try to establish if the existing opinions as highlighted in that section are still applicable.

2.10 Ethics and media coverage

The impact of ethics in journalism is not to be undermined in its relevance to the image of Africa in international media. To answer the question what ethics is, would result in a philosophical debate. For media, many approaches have been established, most of them dealing within the following guidelines:

- personal conduct in establishing what is right or wrong to report on,

- ethics in journalism is about protecting those that are protected by the law (such as reporting on crimes involving minors),

- about making the choice on reporting in such a manner, that all parties receive an equal chance in stating opinions, and that these are depicted in an overall objective manner (see Christians, Rotzoll & Fackler, 1991; Curran et al., Eds, 1986; Christians, Ferre & Fackler, 1993; Steele, 1994) .

Generally speaking, media ethics' scholars define three types of ethics. Absolutism, Antinomianism and Situationism. According to Nel (1994) the absolutist maintains that there is a fixed set of principles or laws from which there must be no deviation. This is called 'duty ethics'. Journalists following this approach would only report if the item were newsworthy, and consider it their duty to report on all the relevant facts. According to Merrill (1989), antinomianism is exactly the opposite of absolutism. A journalist, or as Merril calls him 'a rebel journalist' is 'opposed to standards […], making ethical judgements and decisions intuitively, spontaneously, emotionally and often irrationally' (Merrill, 1989: 173). Situationism is a combined approach. Like the absolutist, the situational journalist makes rational decisions but at the same time believes in relativism. This reporter is likely to change to an antinomianistic reporter if influenced by unethical approaches such as bribery or gifts. On the other hand, he might decide to report objectively withstanding pressure. Among some of the issues that might influence the ethical stability of a reporter are social harmony (will the article cause racial tension?), pressure from owners, managers and shareholders to represent a certain opinion or position and financial gain (in the form of bribery etc). Froneman and de Beer (1998) identify a few possible unethical behaviours for

journalists: use of questionable methods, insider information and protection of sources, breach of privacy and property, payment for stories, 'freebies' or gifts, entertainment of journalists, free travel, sampling of products, alteration of photographs and others (see Campbell, 1998: 391). Campbell (1998) differentiates ethics in journalism between print media and electronic media. He considers the job of a TV journalist far more difficult where ethics are concerned since it deals with both visual and audio, both of which can either be deliberately used to distort the truth or might appear to certain individuals, as unethical.

Away from individual ethical approaches, six normative media theories in ethics have been established (see Siebert et al., 1963; McQuail, 1989; Roelofse, 1996 and others).

According to the **authoritarian media theory,** media should not undermine the government, only report positively on the efforts of the said government and preserve moral and ethical guidelines, as proposed by government. Breaking these regulations might lead to censorship or closure of the publication. This approach is mostly found in countries with a totalitarian regime, or often under the rule of a military junta. The **libertarian theory,** according to Oosthuizen (2002), supports a free press with a censorship-free media, the freedom to publish, to represent the public as a watch-dog in monitoring governmental progress, with no restrictions at all on the media. This approach is found in most democracies, such as the United States, Germany or South Africa. The **social-responsibility** theory emphasises the accountability of media towards society. In terms of the role of the media in society, this theory implores the media to support the democratic process by providing a diversity of opinion. Media are supposed to avoid content that might

cause civil disruption, violence or crime. The main task of the media would not be to inform its citizens, but to support the social progress of the society.

The **Soviet communist theory** has a strong authoritarian character. Media are owned by the state and represent the working class. Media would not contain advertising, since this is seen as capitalistic influence, and would underline working class interests. These interests have to be promoted at all times. Naturally, media would not make any financial profit. Although the theory was developed for the Soviet Union, it is still in use in some predominantly socialist countries - even after the collapse of Eastern Europe, such as China, Cuba and North Korea. The **developmental theory,** as discussed earlier, proposes that media make a positive input to a national developmental process; and that government may apply certain restrictions if it feels this process does not receive enough attention. Media should, according to this model, focus on language, culture and countries of similar developmental concerns. In terms of censorship, this model turns away from a libertarian approach since control can be applied to preserve economic and developmental priorities of society, or at least as defined by the state. A **democratic-participant theory** looks at the way in which libertarian media report about peripheral countries. Based on a growing concern about the commercialisation and monopolisation of media houses, this theory proposes strengthening the role of NGO's in society. It highlights the importance of individual use, and asks for a change in existing media. This model proposes moving away from general mass media to specialised media, and national media to community media, generally emphasising the importance that all people, including minorities and genders, should be able to access media of relevance to them.

These theories form the basis of several journalistic approaches to ethics; however the African situation necessitates a different approach in the area of ethics, as Kasoma (1994) points out. 'The problem in Africa has been journalism devoid of any deontological principles (Kasoma, 1994: 10)'. Journalists do not have a set of guidelines and mainly follow their instinct or for that matter, whatever influential people force upon them. Kasoma (1994) further finds that particularly in Zambia, 'fairness and honesty were not valued among that country's media people (1994: 11)'. However, the many democratic changes taking place in Africa, act as an imperative for media to adopt democratic principles. It is critically important that Africa develops a set of journalistic ethics, if its reports are to be taken seriously by the Western World, and even among fellow Africans. However, Kasoma (1994) argues that in most cases the lack of ethics in African journalism is not the fault of the media, but of society, exactly because the public has done nothing about the media's unethical behaviour – either willingly or because of coercion. Kasoma (1994) proposes 'public media education' (Kasoma, 1994: 13), to enable the general public to draw benefit from the media. By making journalists accountable for their reporting, society can create an ethical environment.

Kasoma (1996) further proposes the formation of African Ethics, or 'Afriethics' (Kasoma, 1996), which he finds essential since 'the tragedy facing African journalism of the 1990's and beyond […] is that the continent's journalists have closely imitated the professional norms of the North […] which they see as the epitome of good journalism (Kasoma, 1996: 95)'. Kasoma (1996) specifically accuses African media, 'liberated' from its colonial ties to have established a 'vendetta journalism' (Kasoma, 1996: 99), using abusive language, refusing all sources involved to comment objectively and freely, selectively choosing facts and using

sarcasm in reporting on people the journalists dislike. He proposes an ethical approach based on African culture.

African culture divides the world into two halves, 'the living' and 'the dead'. Both halves consist of good and bad. The sphere of 'the living' has good people and bad people, similarily good spirits and bad spirits inhabit the sphere of 'the dead'. What the living do, or not do, affects the dead and the other way around. Because of the communal worldview of African society, good and bad people constantly interact, influenced by both good spirits and bad spirits. The aim is to have good acts have a positive influence on bad people, 'converting' them to good people. Kasoma (1996) says that generally the key concern here is, whether people are positively serving the community. If only satisfying the desires of individuals, they are not considered to be good. The more beneficial individuals are to the community, the more ethical they are. Kasoma (1996) says that journalists have the same obligations as ordinary people in an African society, since they would 'hold the basis of morality in journalism' (Kasoma, 1994: 109) by fulfilling the obligations towards society. In true African spirit, they should develop a sense of right and wrong and constantly correct other journalists who are unaware of their journalistic imperative. Kasoma's (1996) approach is similar to the developmental theory, but based on a strong African cultural approach. He, however, does not explain how this approach can be monitored and by whom; and how this theory would work in a continent that is rapidly becoming more and more part of the globalised world. The question however remains, whether or not a single homogeneous African culture actually exist (see Karikari, 1996).

Generally speaking it is very difficult to fit a country's media system into one specific theory. A case in point is South Africa. Since South African media experienced almost all stages through the past decades, from authoritarian, libertarian and democratic-participating with calls for developmental approaches on the increase from the current government; it will be used as an example to underline the various stages of ethics theory.

Under the rule of the National Party until 1990 journalistic ethics in South Africa were mostly authoritarian in nature, with an emphasis on control and the state's exercise of power. The government was able to prohibit organisations and even ban individuals that were not officially permissible or desirable. The Internal Security Act of 1982 included a 'registration fee' for publications of the then substantial amount of R40 000-00, which could be forfeited if the publication contravened the act (as became the case with the *Vrye Weekblad* in the early 1990's). The Minister for Law and Order could, by publishing a notice in the *Government Gazette* prohibit any publication he felt was:

- jeopardising the security of the state,

- promoted Communism,

- incited racial hatred (see Oosthuizen, 2002: 85).

The Internal Security Act was later replaced by the Protection of Information Act of 1982 restricting further reporting on sabotage, terrorism, subversion and rioting. The public broadcaster, SABC for example, though then not deserving of the term 'public' broadcaster, was the mouthpiece of the National Party and was utilised to further entrench racial divisions. According to Oosthuizen (2002), Government also utilised other means of

influencing media, such as commissions of inquiries. In 1950, the Press Commission specifically addressed the global negative publicity that South Africa suffered under, and in 1980, the 'Commission of Inquiry into the Reporting of Security News' was created underlining the importance of 'national interest news'. Media were now required to promote and endorse a positive image of the State's security and defence mechanisms. In 1981, the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into Mass Media detected a deliberate negative and distorted image of South Africa abroad. In some cases, the government directly addressed individual journalists or publications it felt were undermining the ideology of the state. In order to counteract negative publicity, the government founded the publication *The Citizen*, forwarding reports and articles that positively positioned the government. All these instances clearly illustrate the imposed ethical framework for journalists before the transition period, as authoritarian.

When former state president FW de Klerk banned the Internal Security Act in 1991, it almost immediately enhanced the free flow of information. After 1994, media in South Africa became libertarian in their approach with the government exercising no censorship. This move lead to certain publications publicly announcing their role as 'the watchdog of the people' (*Mail & Guardian*).

Since 1998, the ANC lead government experienced a higher than usual amount of critical reports on themselves. This lead to the introduction of commissions of enquiry charged with investigating certain allegations forwarded against the media. In 2000, The Commission into Racism in the Media accused specific media and individual journalists of racism. And even though some of the findings of the commission were generally dismissed by journalists

(see Tomaselli, 2000; van Niekerk, 2000), it was generally accepted that there were certain racial tendencies in the media. Besides fostering an increased dialogue on the issue of racism, the establishment of a governmental agency, which would encourage media diversity was proposed. This agency was finally established in 2002 under the name Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA). Key elements of this agency include the support for community and other non-profit media, as well as small commercial media enterprises, ongoing media research and advocacy around various aspects of media development and diversity.

The 'new' government has also started to address individual journalists, whose direct outspokenness against them was seen as destructive. John Robbie, talk show host of Radio 702, was severely chastised for his scaling interview of Health Minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, with his immediate dismissal openly demanded. The station chose however, not to react on these. When in 2000, the defence force attempted to recruit journalists as informants, a further uproar was heard. In return for more favourable reporting, these journalists would have had preferential access to defence and intelligence information. In 2001, with the relationship between the Government and the media becoming increasingly strained, both government and media agreed to meet at Sun City to discuss their relationship and find a way forward. Although not a major success, media did acknowledge the importance of a more developmental approach (but not 'national interest news' as requested by government) and pledged their support to research into journalistic skills, undertaken by the South African National Editors Forum in 2002 (see de Beer & Steyn, 2002). In 2002, government, by proposing the Broadcasting Amendment Bill, which would force the public broadcaster SABC to discuss its content strategy with the Minister of

Communications, attempted to legalise the limiting of the independence of the broadcaster. The bill was introduced by government supported by claims that the SABC was not able to report objectively on the Zimbabwean elections in March 2000 and not allocating sufficient space to President Mbeki during news broadcasts. These claims were disputed by journalists and scholars (see Schreiner, 2002).

The question whether the current libertarian journalism introduces more developmental criteria, is part of the research of this study. Since one of the main research fields in this project is South African media, and the unique position it plays within an African context, a look at the leading media in South Africa will follow in the next section.

2.11 Leading news media in South Africa

South Africa's media are mainly concentrated around the three largest cities, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. The Independent Newspaper Group is the oldest publishing group in South Africa, originating in 1889. The Independent Group produces the largest daily and weekly newspapers combined, such as *The Star, Pretoria News, DF Advertiser, Daily News, The Mercury, Post, Sunday Independent, Sunday Tribune, The Argus,* and *Cape Times* as well as *Isolezwe* in Zulu). The company Johnnic (former Times Media Limited) publishes amongst others the *Sunday Times* and *PE Herald.* Media24 (former Naspers) is the biggest traditionally Afrikaans press group. Founded in 1915, it now publishes *Beeld, Die Burger, Die Volksblad, Rapport* and *City Press* (the latter in English). In 2002, *Sunday Sun* and *Daily Sun* were added to the market by Media24. Among African language newspapers, *Illanga* produces a twice weekly paper in Zulu. Among other media groups is BDFM, producing

the daily *Business Day* as well as the weekly *Financial Mail*. Caxton publishes the daily *Citizen* and many of the 265 (MEDIA MANAGER, 2002) community newspapers in South Africa.

In television, South Africa has a public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) which offers six television channels broadcasting in all 11 official languages. Four of the six channels are free-to-air (SABC 1, SABC 2, SABC 3, BOP-TV) while Africa2Africa and SABC Africa are pay-tv channels broadcasted via Multichoice's satellite channels (South Africa Yearbook 2001/2002:123).

This short summary of the leading South African news media in 2002 forms the basis of the main part of the empirical study in this project: how does a selection of South African media report on Africa? The summary has established that South Africa has a large number of publications but still caters predominantly for a selected audience, which is, literate, able to read in English and Afrikaans and enjoys a level of education necessary to understand the importance of financial media. It does not cater for the majority of other South Africans, a drawback expected to be addressed by the Media Development and Diversity Agency. With this background, the following empirical study (see chapter 4) will try to identify whether the current distribution pattern, has an influence on the way media report on Africa.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology used in this research combines qualitative and basic statistical methods. Though scholars in the deterministic quantitative tradition could argue that content analysis is only possible by utilising sophisticated statistics, there is of course no universal law requiring such an approach.

A cursory review of research journals in the field of journalism shows that even a journal such as *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, with its heavy emphasis on research in the statistical tradition (utilising quantitative research methods ranging from measures of association, e.g. phi-coefficient, to interval data, e.g. correlation and regression analysis (see Babbie, 1989; Bailey, 1987), also publishes research articles based on what one could call 'simplistic' statistics, such as percentages (see Deuze, 2002).

Obviously by taking the above as a departure point, this does not mean that one can ride slip-shot over the data that one collects, since the researcher will still be held accountable for presenting his or her data in a scientific acceptable way. As Stempel (1981) shows, content analysis (also as applied in this research) will need to comply with the ideal of presenting as objective and systematic research procedures possible. This would entail, *inter alia*, the selection of the unit of analysis; category construction; determining the population; reliability of coding; training of the coders; and the analysis and

computerisation of the data (e.g. by means of a statistical programme such as SPSS, see Hansen, Cottle, Negrine & Newbold, 2001).

Hansen et al. (2001) argue in their work on mass communication research methods, that content analysis is by definition a quantitative method. Though the purpose is to identify and count the occurrence of specified categories of texts, there is no specific answer to the question of how far the statistical analysis should be pursued. Fundamentally, they argue that the question of analysis is tied to the research problem.

As is the case in this research, Hansen et al. (2001) show that content analysis is extremely suited for the purpose of comparison (e.g. the number of reports in different media), comparing types of coverage (e.g. positive, negative or neutral) and comparing news reports in the media of different countries. To this end, Hansen et al. (2001) present a coding schedule that is aimed at obtaining basic comparative data to be presented by means of percentages in the format of graphs and tables.

When one deals with only a small number or reports obtained through sampling, one is almost by definition compelled to utilize sophisticated statistical techniques in order to obtain as reliable and valid results as possible. The present research falls within the ambit described by Hansen et al. (2001) as it presents a total population of a vast number of news reports (South Africa: N=129 246; UK: N=22 222; USA: 19 802; Germany: N=56 334) for analysis.

3.2 Research design

The data utilised are based on a comprehensive day-by-day analysis of all the news reports in five major South African daily newspapers (*Beeld, Business Day, Sowetan, The Citizen* and *The Star*), the main SABC news broadcasts (Afrikaans news, English news, Nguni News, Sotho news) as well as e-tv news and five weekly newspapers (*City Press, Rapport, Sunday Independent, The Sunday Times, Mail & Guardian*). In Britain, four daily news broadcasts were selected (BBC's early and late news, ITN's early and late news), seven German (*ARD Tagesschau, ARD Tagesthemen, ZDF heute, ZDF heute journal, RTL Nachrichten, SAT 1 18.30 Nachrichten, Pro 7 Abendnachrichten*) as well as three stations in the United States (*ABC, CBS, NBC*). Media in the United Kingdom and Germany are used, *inter alia*, because of the UK's long standing historical ties with South Africa, Germany's position as South Africa's most important individual trade partner, as well as the United States as global dominance in news flow and news reporting. All three countries traditionally have extensive and historical ties with South Africa. The three countries were also chosen since comparable data sets are available to complement the South African data sets.

The South African newspapers were included because they represent a comparable group of papers within the range of South African daily and weekly newspapers (general English, Afrikaans, black and business), situated in the same news region (Gauteng province) of South Africa. They also represent a variety of major publishing houses (Independent Group, BDFM, Media24 etc). The two television news channels are the only national South African ones available. The time frame is chosen on the basis of having access to the particular media over a one year period. The writer is aware of the impact that the events around September 11 in the United States have made on international news coverage and the role it

plays within the context of international news flow, but the results also show that the majority of reporting outside of the United States eased its concentration of regions around the War against Terror by February 2002.

Data for the project were compiled over a period of one year (1 July 2001 until 30 June 2002). In terms of methodology, the project is based on standard content analysis procedures (e.g. Berelson, 1952; Budd, Thorp & Donohew, 1971; Stempel, 1989; Tan, 1982). A computerised methodology was applied, namely that of the international Media Tenor Institute for Media Analysis, whose categories will be explained in this chapter.

A total number of 24 coders were used (six in the United Kingdom, four in the United States, seven in Germany and seven in South Africa). All coders were equally trained on the criteria of coding and had to pass bi-monthly validation tests as well as weekly spot-checks to establish intercoder-reliability of at least 80% (see Hughes & Garret, 1990 on methods). As far as validity is concerned, high levels of validity are usually obtained due to the construction of the universe on the nominal level. In terms of analysis on the interval level, the content analysis faces similar problems than those experienced in similar situations. In terms of validity on the interval level, Media Tenor tends to 'sin' by rather emphasising the neutral aspects of a statement than exaggerating positive and negative elements.

The following were the criteria applied for the project:

3.2.1 Object of analysis

In print media, all articles in the political, news, editorial, opinion as well as the business section were included. Excluded were 'advertorials' and other sections of the newspaper clearly indicated as of non-editorial content. Further excluded were letters to the editor.

On TV, all news reports were coded including sport and weather but excluding the re-broadcast of 'highlights' after advertisement breaks.

3.2.2 Unit of analysis

All articles or reports were coded as stated above. An article was defined as an independent graphical unit with separate headlines. Subheadings or bold-faced beginnings of news sentences did not mark new articles, even if they were separately dated or separate locations were named. Articles starting on one page and continuing on another were coded as one and under the first coded article. If, however, an article was referred to by a note (e.g. 'see page 3') at the end of another article, these were considered separate articles. Pictures and graphs were treated as separate articles/report if they did not form part of an existing article/reports but visually separated from other units. On television, every new story was considered a new unit. The introduction to a film report was considered part of the same report, unless the content was different (for instance, presenter reporting on an issue but film report shows the next item). In cases of many film reports followed in a row, every new issue was considered a new item.

3.2.3 Coding Categories

The first point of reference was the capturing of date of publication, page number of article and number of articles on the page, counting from top left to right bottom of a page. On

TV, the page number was referred to as 'zero' and reports counted from 1 upwards as part of the same 'page'. Page numbers were counted continuous, even if certain media are re-listing the page numbers of every section. Page 1 of the economy section might have been coded as 101, page 2 as 102, etc. By applying this, research would be able to show the importance of certain issues and topics according to the position within the newspaper or TV news report. The volume and dates will indicated the intensiveness and length of the coverage. Finally, the name of the publication was captured from a drop-down list. A reference was made as to the section of the article/report within its editorial context (news, political, opinion, business, etc). Pictures, caricatures, graphics not forming part of an article were counted as separate articles. For instance, a photograph of famine in Africa with two paragraphs underneath, were considered as an individual article.

3.2.4 Information on articles/report

First the region on which the presentation focuses, or where the depicted events have (predominantly) taken place are captured. In case the place/event cannot geographically be determined, 'country unknown;' was entered. Other options included 'world-wide' and 'several countries', the latter being only applicable if a counting of individual countries space by lines received did not produce a majority reference. Where international organisations, such as the United Nations or EU were involved, the geographical region was determined as 'international organisation'.

Topics and aspects were chosen from an extensive drop-down list. Instructions to the coders were given to select only the single topic prevailing amongst the others, determined by space (lines, centimetres, seconds) in the article/report. Selecting topics involved clicking through three levels of listed topics available (see Appendix A for list of individual issues and levels).

- **Level one** represented the main categories (23 in total) being: Ethics, politics, crime, domestic issues, foreign affairs, EU affairs, economy, business, associations and unions, media, NGO, social issues, health, women's issues, education, culture, environment and traffic, research and science, history, HIV/Aids, sport, other issues.

- **Level two** are subcategories of level one, 154 in total. The issue of 'ethics' e.g. was further subdivided into 'ethical values', 'democracy', 'justice', 'human rights', 'individual responsibility' and others.

- **Level three** comprised of a total of 1569 individual issues covering the categories on level 2 and 1.

Examples:

Level one: HIV/Aids; Level two: Prevention of HIV/Aids, causes of HIV/Aids, effects of HIV/Aids, level three: use of Nevirapine, blood transfusion.

Level one: Economy; Level two: Economical indicators; Level three: CPIX index, PPI index, Rand value.

Numerical units to the levels were allocated on a six-digit base:

Level one (e.g. Crime): 13

Level two (e.g. non-politically motivated crime): (13)14

Level three (e.g. murder): (1314)25

The final code therefore always represents the two subcategories above and enables regrouping of topics into different issues.

All issues were coded from the point of view of the country concerned. For instance, Gerhard Schröder's campaign to become Germany's chancellor, was coded under 'home affairs' and not 'foreign affairs', irrespective of the country of the newspaper.

The main protagonist or newsmaker of the individual article/report was defined with a similar concept as the topics/issues. An individual, a group of people, an organisation, a company or an institution was selected from a three level list, depending on the prevalence of individual protagonists covered in the article/report.

- **Level one** represented the main category (24 categories) including: country in general, government, president, parliament, semi-governmental organisations, judiciary, police, army, provincial government, political parties, economy, unions, society, foreign country, foreign government, foreign head of government, foreign legislative, foreign authorities, foreign local authorities, foreign politicians and political parties, foreign economy, foreign society, international organisations, other newsmakers.

- **Level two** represented the secondary categories (212) including e.g. (Northern Province provincial government, Free State provincial government etc).

- **Level three** included 2542 international protagonists of sub-categories two and one.

Examples:

Level one: Political parties; Level two: ANC; Level three: ANC Gauteng, ANC Mpumalanga

Level one: Society; Level two: Minorities; Level three: Greek community, German community.

Level one: Government; Level two: National Department of Housing; Level three: Minister of Housing, Deputy Minister.

Numerical units to the levels were again allocated on a six-digit base:

Level one (e.g. South African provincial government): <u>63</u>

Level two (e.g. Northern Province provincial government): <u>(63)</u>01

Level three (e.g. Northern Province: Department of Public Works): <u>(6301)</u>26

If an article or report, in terms of quantity, focused equally on two protagonists, the one which is presented rather than quoted was chosen (e.g. President Bush making statements on the Iraqi Government, the latter would have been chosen).

For the individual category lists, please see Appendix A.

In terms of research results, it was necessary to regroup the individual issues into three categories, since it would be able to highlight first on a wider scale the majority of issues and enable, if questions arose, to look further into individual issue that contributed to a specific image. For instance, in terms of crime coverage (category one) it is necessary to look into the second level (terrorism, crime fighting, murder) etc, to identify the different individual issues contributing to the overall image of 'crime'.

3.2.5 Persons quoted/shown

All individuals, to whom at least five lines of an article or five seconds of a television news story were dedicated or who were named in the headline or shown in a photograph, caricatures were recorded. An extensive drop-down list of names was used (4 384 individual names). In case the individual's name was not included on the list, it was entered according to his/her profession, origin, sex and race. The results will show the importance of foreign

versus national protagonists in terms of coverage received and would also allow the identification of key persona responsible for issues on specific countries.

3.2.6 Rating of issues and protagonists

The rating of an issue or protagonists refers to the bias or tendency contained in the presentation by a journalist, protagonist or his partners as well as independent sources. The tendency can be expressed:

- explicitly, by using terms of clearly positive or negative judgement (for instance 'good', 'promising', 'ominous', 'disappointing'.),

- implicitly, if the presented content is embedded in a positive or negative context.

Example: 'Government has done a great job in combating crime' would be a positive explicit reference. In a positive or negative implicit reference the described circumstances are generally understood to be either positive or negative (e.g. company financial losses or corruption).

Since explicit and implicit tendencies of presentations can differ, both are coded separately. Since many media avoid the responsibility of bias by not 'explicitly' stating something but rather describe a scenario, context reporting is rather powerful as the choice of context still lies in the hand of the editor. Although a TV station might not explicitly state an opinion, continuous negative context reporting is in itself a way of expressing an opinion. Explicit caution was applied when selecting the two different tendencies and only in undoubtedly cases, positive or negative was selected as reference. In case no tendency was assumed,

'neutral' was chosen. Where both positive and negative tendencies applied, the dominating aspects were determined and coded either as 'rather positive' or 'rather negative'. In case positive and negative tendencies were in balance, 'ambivalent' was chosen.

The full scale applied was as following:

Explicit	positive	rather positive	ambivalent	rather negative	negative	neutral
Implicit	positive	rather positive	ambivalent	rather negative	negative	neutral

Examples:

Article reports neutrally and without explicitly mentioning anything on a highjacking attempt, where the police have arrested the perpetrators. The explicit rating would be neutral and the context ambivalent (both a negative aspect – highjacking – as well as a positive aspect – arrest – were addressed).

Same article, but in this case the journalists adds that 'this is only a single incident, in 99% of the cases police do not catch the criminals'. In this case, the implicit rating would remain ambivalent, but the explicit rating would be negative.

Generally speaking, the following chart will indicate the outcome of the rating for both explicit and implicit ratings.

Explicit	positive	negative	neutral
No of statements in article	1	4	7

Explicit	positive	rather positive	ambivalent	rather negative	negative	neutral
Choice of rating				X		

Implicit	positive	negative	neutral
No of statements in article	4	3	1

Implicit	positive	rather positive	ambivalent	rather negative	negative	neutral
Choice of rating		X				

A combination of explicit and implicit ratings established the overall 'rating' of a subject or issue, whereby equal weight was given.

Example:

Explicit	positive	rather positive	ambivalent	**rather negative**	negative	neutral
Implicit	positive	**rather positive**	ambivalent	rather negative	negative	neutral
Overall Rating	positive	rather positive	**ambivalent**	rather negative	negative	neutral

For the purpose of this research, negative overall ratings will be used to show 'bad news', while overall positive ratings will highlight 'good news'.

3.2.7. Implications of methodology for research results

The following is a table indicating how different the different methodological aspects addressed the specific research questions as posed in chapter 2:

Research question	Methodology
Galtung & Ruge (1965). Are *timespan, intensity, clarity, cultural proximity, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition* and *socio-cultural values* as criteria for the selection of news still applicable (see section 2.4.1)?	Capturing of date, area of relevance, number of reports, repeat of reports.(see 3.1.1). The question of *cultural proximity* will be explained using the capturing of area of reference as explained in 3.2.4.
Do hard news still dominate international media and are African media following the example?	See 3.2.4. The results on initially the first level, later, and if necessary on second and third level will show if indeed African media follow a general international trend.
Are media still regional and focus on geographically close events, or, as Ibelema (1996) formulates that there is a larger reporting on Africa if there is a direct connection in terms of content?	See 3.2.4. The capturing of the area of reference will show if only geographically close events or culturally bound issues are reported on.
Has the coverage of 'bad news' decreased, or is the majority of reports on Africa still that of conflict or crisis news (as explained	3.2.6 shows the way the reports will be rated. Based on explicit and implicit analysis of the coverage, the research will try to

in section 2.7)?	answer the question of an increase or decrease in a 'bad news syndrome'.
Do former colonial powers report less on their former colonies?	The analysis of 3.2.4 will show the geographical coverage and will highlight possible colonial bonds. As highlighted in 3.2.5, the analysis of people depicted will further be able to highlight if indeed colonial powers, in form of people, still exist in media reporting.
To which extend does the news flow to Africa dominate the agenda of news item on African media?	The methodology allows a separation of 'national news' and 'international news' since all reports will be analysed. The share of 'national' versus 'international' news items will indicate if indeed the problem of too much international media as raised by Howell (1998) and Kamora (1996) still exists. This will also help to answer the question of news flow to Africa.
How much emphasis is placed on developmental news rather than conflict?	The use of second and third level issues in the analysis of main topics will shed light on the question, if the kind of information (for instance on domestic issues) is conflict bound or not. As developmental news for instance the education on HIV/Aids, voter education, democratic values and rights, human rights, achievement in the fight against poverty, amongst other issues would be considered.
Is there a steady news flow out of Africa as raised by Annas (1997)?	The volume of coverage on Africa in UK, German and US TV media and individual African countries, as explained in 3.2.4. will highlight the amount of news flow out of Africa.
Is there a steady news flow out of Africa as Does the majority of news focus on a relatively small number of countries?	Again, the separation of report by country of reference will show which countries receive coverage and which not.

3.2.8. Coding procedure

The supervisor (and author of this thesis) supervised the physical process of analysis on a daily basis and established an inter-coder reliability by coding selected articles himself and benchmarked this against the local results. The supervisor was trained in the methodology during a four week training period in Germany in 2000 and an inter-coder reliability of 95%

was established and certified by Media Tenor International. In the case of international analysis, tapes of the recorded news items were sent to South Africa, and analysed by the author to establish inter-coder reliability with the international offices. Additionally, international coders were sent South African or British media samples for the purpose of an international validation test.

The coders were personally trained by the author in the methodology. On a daily basis, television news were recorded with backup tapes for every news item. Both newspapers as well as video tapes were captured daily by the analysts. When questions arose, the supervisor was able to answer them before the actual capturing took place. At the end of every coding day, the individual datasheets were collected and added to the general MS Access database. Data were verified every evening and the database entries corrected.

3.2.9. Data analysis

The supervisor transferred the MS Access database into an SPSS datasheet and apply filters based on the different variables addressed in the research. A screenshot of the coding programme as well as screenshot of the database are attached in Appendix A.

3.2.10 Problems experienced

The only problems encountered were of technical nature:

On some days, video machines did not record the items as well as the backup tape malfunctioned. In that case, copies were ordered from the broadcasting stations or borrowed from the clipping agency Monitoring SA. Newspapers were not delivered and had to be ordered, hence the coding of some newspapers did not take place the same day.

3.2.11 Summary

In this chapter, the basic methodology used in the research was explained as well as highlighted, what part of the methodology was used to achieve which research goal. Reasons for choosing this type of methodology were discussed, the coding procedure explained, and problems during the coding addressed. The following chapter will show the empirical results of the research, discussing initially each of the individual countries broadcaster's results, after which, in chapter 5, the conclusions and answers to the research questions as posed in 2.4 will follow.

Chapter 4: The empirical study: Results

4.1 Introduction

This result section will highlight the results of the quantitative analysis for every individual country's broadcaster and media coverage, applying a variety of criteria (including number of issues, rating of issues, rating of countries, etc). After the analysis in general, a more in-depth analysis of the top three mentioned African countries will follow. The relevant charts for every individual country's broadcaster and media coverage will follow after every broadcaster's section. The chapter will conclude with a short comparison of research results or discussion of similarities and differences. For the purpose of this analysis, a spectrum of South African media were selected (see section 4.6), consisting of the leading Gauteng or - to some extent – 'national' papers, weekly media as well as all five main news programmes. Although the author is aware that this selection is by no means a representation of 'all' South African media available, I will use this term for the purpose of this analysis taking into account that the selected media are opinion leading media and therefore do represent a good overall sample of the majority of South African media.

4.2 USA television

The analysis shows that 66.5% (n=13 161) of all reports in US media (N=19 746) were national news with their focus on action taking place in the United States. A total of 33.5% (n= 6 641) reports focused on international news (see graph 1). Africa represented 2.8% (n=187) reports of all international news (N= 6 641), with the bulk of international reports

on the Far East (including Afghanistan) with 45.5% (n=3 023) of reports, followed by the Middle East (including Palestine and Israel crisis) with 25.3% (n=1 682) of reports. Western Europe took 12% (n=802) of reports with all other regions sharing the remaining 17%. Canada, the US' neighbour in North America, only shared 0.5% (n=39) of reports (see graph 2).

In terms of rating, the coverage on the own country is predominantly negative (taking into account the large contextually negative coverage on September 11) with 44% (n=5 830) of the total coverage on the USA (N=13 156) negative, 38% neutral (n=4 982) and 18% (n=2 344) positive. The Far East (including Afghanistan) receives 41% negative (n=1 226) of the total 3 022 reports, 45% neutral (n=1 352) and 15% positive (n=444) reports. The Middle East receives one of the most negative ratings with 59% negative (n=985), 34% neutral (n=584) and only 7% positive coverage (n=113) of the total reports (N=1682) on the region. Also very negative is the coverage on Africa (N=187), with 56% negative, but with 32% (n=60) less neutral coverage, as well as 12% positive (n=23).

The US media were also rather selective in its reporting on individual countries in Africa, with the majority 57% of reports on Africa (N=187) focusing on three countries: South Africa, the DR of Congo (former Zaire) and Zimbabwe. Other countries, such as Mozambique which had one of the worst floods at the beginning of 2000 has, with only two reports, virtually disappeared from US television screens (graph 4).

Most issues on Africa (27%) focused on the respective countries' foreign affairs issues (n=52), followed by 25% general interest (n=48) as well as 13% domestic issues (n=25). Reports on crime were, with 9%, in the fourth place (n=17, see graph 5). Virtually absent

from the coverage were business, economy, culture and even HIV/Aids, which received only 3% (n=6). Among the individual (level three) issues on Africa in US TV, natural catastrophe's like floods, volcanoes and famine were on top (n=25), as was the UN Racism Conference in South Africa in July 2001 (n=25). Next were reports of human interest (n=11), civil war (n=7) and traffic accidents (n=7, see graph 7). Most issues received a rather negative coverage, with sport as the only issue with more positive than negative coverage, however with only three reports in total. Africa's domestic issues receive no positive reports at all, and Africa's foreign affairs dealings only 5 out of 52, with the majority (29) out of the 52 being negative (graph 6).

When focusing on protagonists, US media with 42% (n=78) primarily highlighted the continent's society, followed by international organisations, such as the United Nations, who were in 11% of reports (n=20) as the main protagonist (see graph 8). While neither protagonist received predominantly positive reports, it is to be noted that foreign governments (including the US) as a protagonist in reports on Africa received no positive coverage at all. This image was also shared by international organisations such as the United Nations, whose activities in Africa did not seem to be viewed in a favourable light by US TV media.

Coverage on Africa was also dependent on certain events or activities, 14% of the coverage on Africa was during September of 2001 (n=26) when the UN World Conference against Racism took place in Durban, South Africa. In January 2002, 42 reports dealt with both the civil war in the DRC as well as intimidation of voters in Zimbabwe, with most of the 27

reports in March on Africa also focusing on the latter. Besides these events, coverage was not continuous or increasing (see graph 9).

The three US television stations showed a slightly different perspective towards Africa. Of the total 187 reports, 22.5% (n=42) were on NBC, 25.4% (n=85) on ABC and 32.1% (n=60) on CBS. Africa had 2.2% of NBC's total international news coverage (N=1 948), 3.4% of ABC's (N=2 485) and 2.8% of CBS's (N=2 156) reports. Although all three channels had more or less the same amount of reports over the one-year period, ABC news had the highest share of international news with 36.3% (n=2 485) of the total number (N=6 854), followed by CBS (N=6 499) with 33.1% (n= 2 156) and NBC's (N=6 393) 30.5% (n=1 948 reports). Most reports were located in the middle part of the news (on average, bulletin number 13.5, see graph 12). Africa was the first news item in only three instances (all three times focusing on the UN World Conference against Racism), but in most cases news on Africa featured in the middle of the news broadcast.

4.2.1 Coverage on individual countries: Zimbabwe

When covering Zimbabwe (N=21), US television took the rather narrow stance to depict President Robert Mugabe as main protagonist rather than any other players or society in general. In 50% of the reports (n=10), the country's President was the main focus of attention of the reports. In terms of issues, 81% (n=17) focused on Zimbabwe's domestic issues, especially the elections and its land reform. Zimbabwe received no positive reports in the US media and in fact only two of the 21 reports depicted the country in a neutral rather

than negative context, highlighting the extreme concern of the US broadcaster towards the country.

4.2.2 Coverage on individual countries: the DR Congo

When covering the DR Congo (N=27), US television portrayed the country in 81% of the reports negative (n=22), in three cases neutral and two positive. Both positive reports dealt with the South African government's efforts in negotiating a peace agreement for the country. Besides this, 56% (n=15) focused on the suffering of the society in the country and 19% (n=5) with the situation of refugees. Coverage was concentrated (89%) in and around January 2002 (n=24).

4.2.3 Coverage on individual countries: South Africa

South Africa received the largest number of reports among all African countries in US television with 31% (N=58). However, it must be noted that if it was not for the UN World Conference against Racism in September 2001 (n=24) , South Africa would, with then only 34 reports, have received only slightly more coverage than the DRC. In fact, there was no coverage on the Republic of South Africa in the direct aftermath of the September 11 attacks, with only two reports in December and then again continuously, even in low numbers, from March 2002 onwards (see graph 10). In 29% of the cases (n=17), the United Nations were the main protagonist covered, with participants of the UN World Conference against Racism, or NGOs following. Most (45%) of the coverage focused on South Africa's foreign affairs (n=26), followed by general interest with 22% (n=13) and HIV/Aids (n=4).

Again, culture, business or science played no role in the coverage, despite international attention to Mark Shuttleworth, the first South African travelling into Space (see graph 11).

The most quoted person in reports on Africa (or 'in-focus') were Senator Paul O'Neill, Secretary for Africa, mentioned 13 times in a total of 168 quoted persons, as was President Robert Mugabe. Osama Bin Laden featured 5 times and US President George Bush jnr 3 times. Members of African Governments, presidents and other officials did not feature frequently.

4.2.4 Conclusion

September 11 and the War against Terrorism have shifted the international news coverage of US TV news into a one-sided focus: 73% of the international coverage (N=6 562) was devoted to either the Far East (including Afghanistan) or the Middle East. Other regions (including the rather powerful European Union) had to share the remaining 27%, as were the US neighbours Canada and Mexico. Africa was marginalised to 3%. Most reports were negative and lacked detailed information, focusing on specific events of mostly negative nature. Culture, business, domestic issues were sidelined for visual and audio happenings of a negative nature, underlining the fact that the coverage on Africa has not changed in the past decades and still reports on the continent as a lost region in the world. The coverage is destructive and one-sided. While two years ago Mozambique was on the agenda of all media, including the US, due to the flood catastrophe, it had virtually disappeared from the screens during the analysed period. This despite Mozambique experiencing one of the most promising economic and tourist developments in the region, and intense efforts to clear the

remaining mines and for instance the fact that inflation in Mozambique ibeing less than in the neighbouring South Africa. One of the economic role models in Africa, Botswana, received no coverage in US media at all. Countries touched on were either due to events with US participation or controversy around US participation (such as the UN Conference against Racism), or countries visited by US government officials. Successes and progresses are not reported on. In terms of the proportion of developmental news, US television still largely ignored possible issues, instead focusing on negative events rather than background to the events. Possible developmental news items such as culture, voter education, democracy, improvement of social services were not covered.

Region	Value
USA	13 161
Far East	3023
Middle East	1682
Western Europe	802
Eastern Europe	219
Africa	187
Central America	185
No country	125
South America	122
World-wide	117
Oceania	53
North America	39
Several countries	31

Region	Percentage
USA:	67%
Far East:	15%
Middle East:	9%
Western Europe:	4%
Eastern Europe:	1%
Africa:	1%
All other countries each:	<1%

Region	(negative, neutral, positive)
USA:	(5830ne, 4982n, 2344p)
Far East:	(1226ne, 1352n, 444=p)
Middle East:	(985ne, 584n, 113p)
Western Europe:	(317ne, 312n, 173p)
Eastern Europe:	(85ne, 93n, 41p)
Africa:	(104ne, 60n, 23p)

axis: 0 2000 4000 6000 8000 10000 12000 14000

Graph 1: Countries reported on in US Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002.
N=19 746 (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 1% excluded..

14%

3%

46%

12%

25%

□ all other ■ Africa □ Western Europe ■ Middle East □ Far East
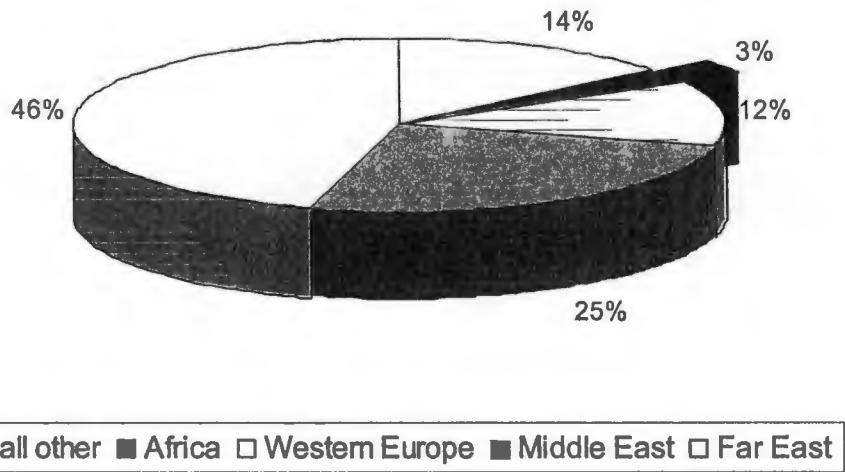
Graph 2: Foreign regions reported on in US Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=6 641.

USA
Far East
Middle East
Western Europe
Eastern Europe
Africa
Central America
no country
South America
World-wide
Oceania
North America
Several countries

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

■ negative ■ neutral □ positive
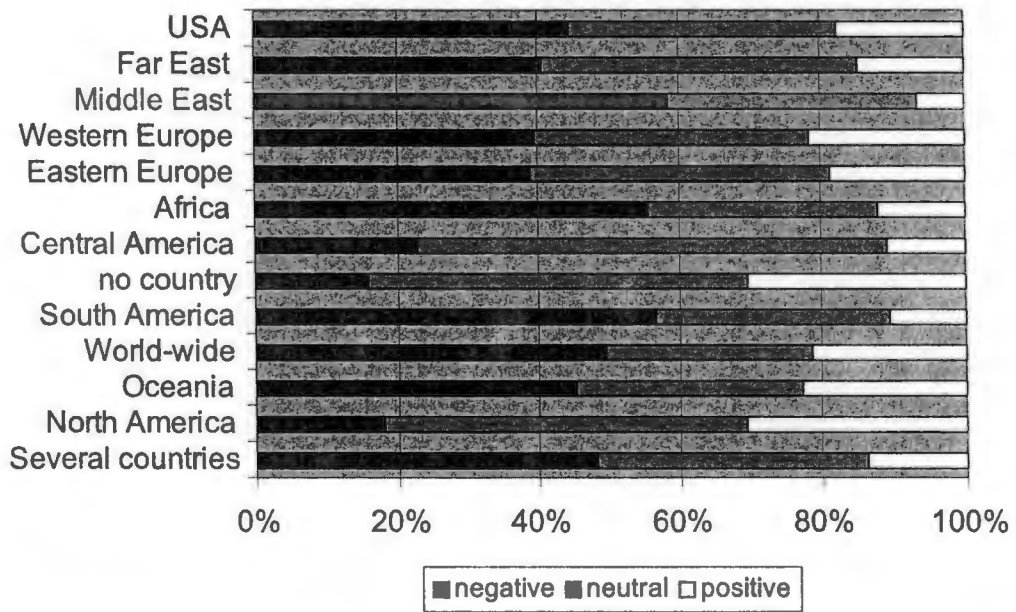
Graph 3: Countries reported on in US Television news and rating by the media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=19 746.
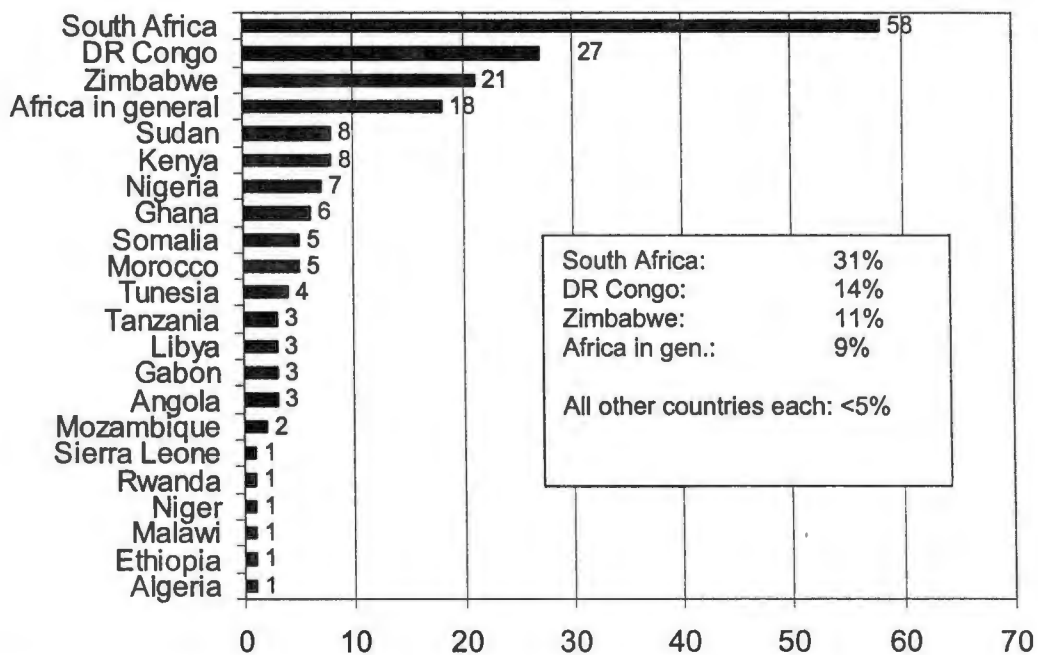
Graph 4: African countries reported on in US Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=187. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 5% excluded..
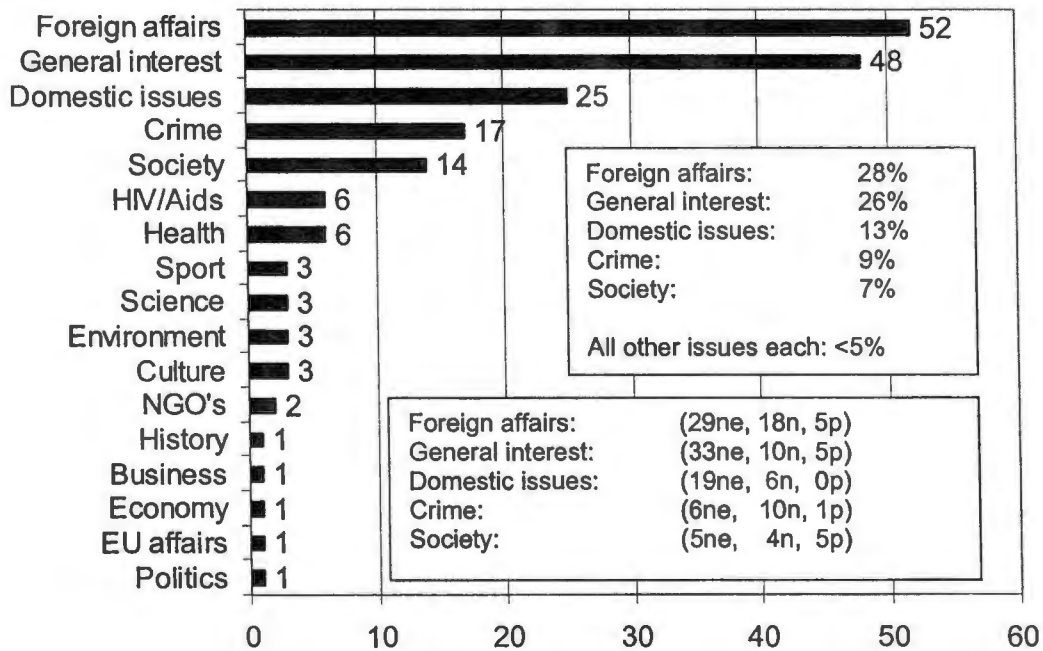
Graph 5: Main issues on African countries reported on in US Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=187. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 5% excluded..
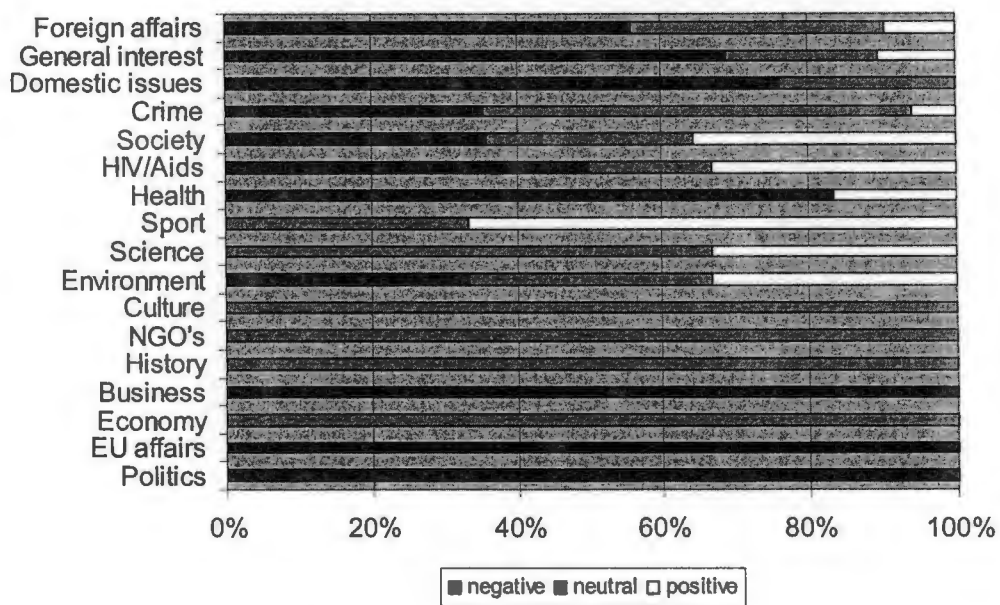
Graph 6: Main issues on African countries reported on in US Television news and their rating by the media, Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=187.
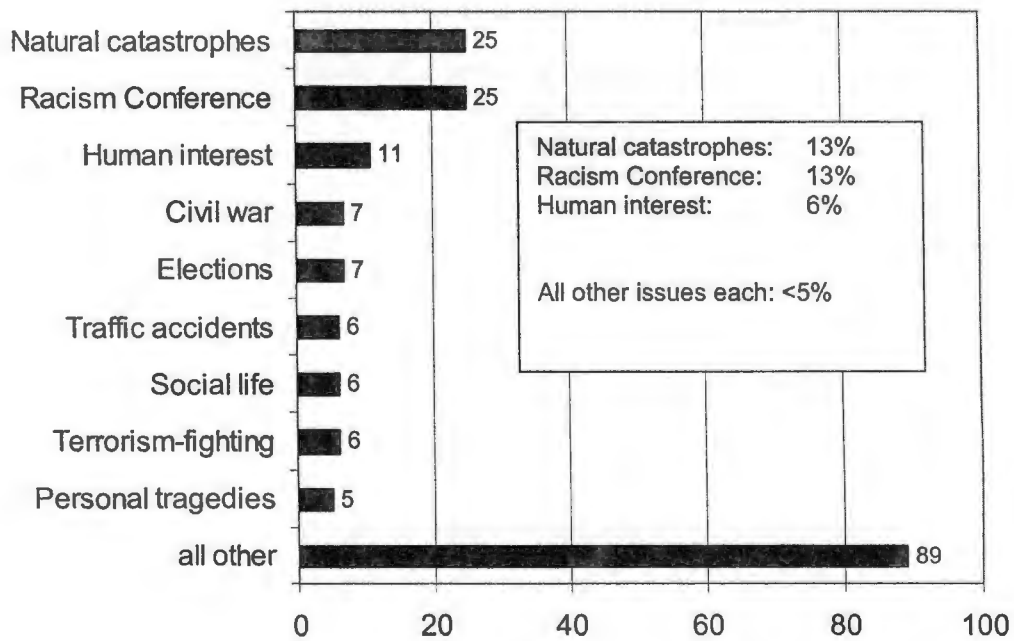
Graph 7: Individual issues (level three) on African countries reported on in US Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=187. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, issues below 5% excluded..
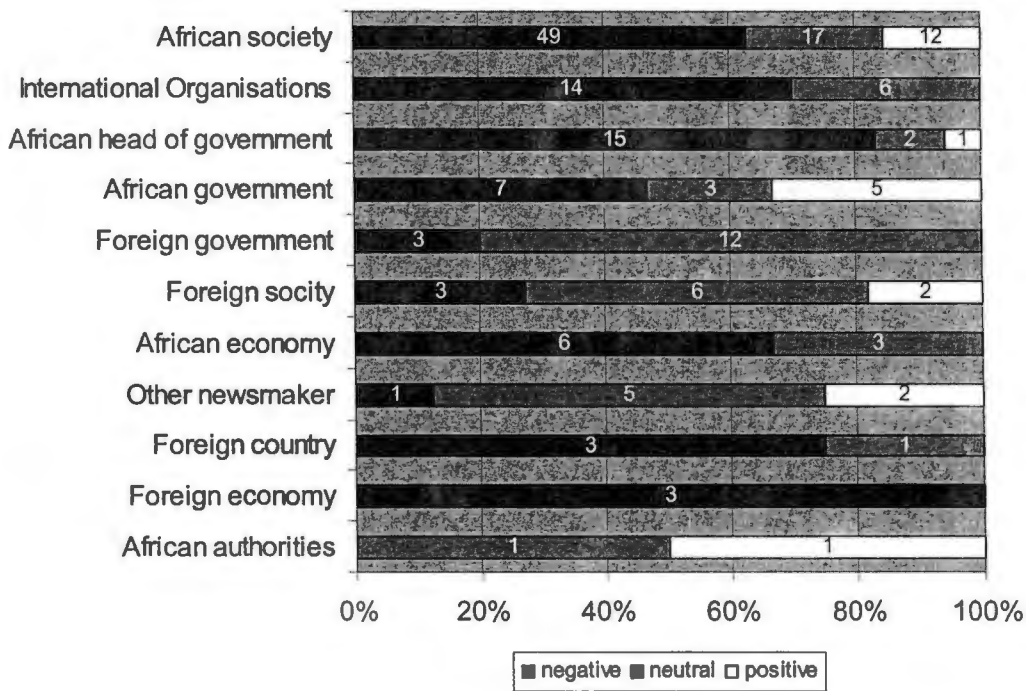
Graph 8: Main protagonists on African countries reported on in US Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=187. Share and individual number of reports.
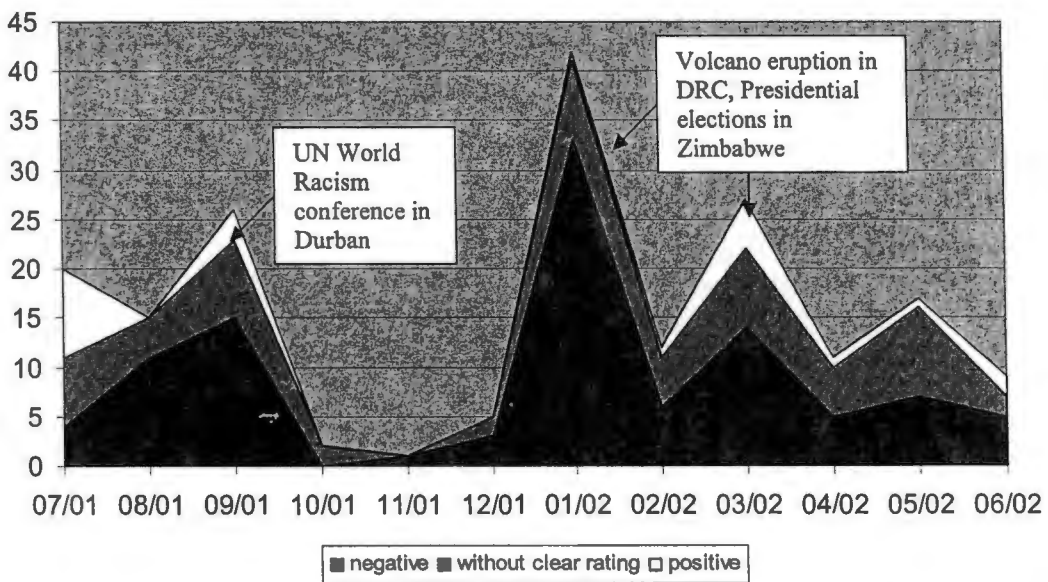
Graph 9: Frequency of reporting on African countries in US Television by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=187. Share of rating and number of reports.
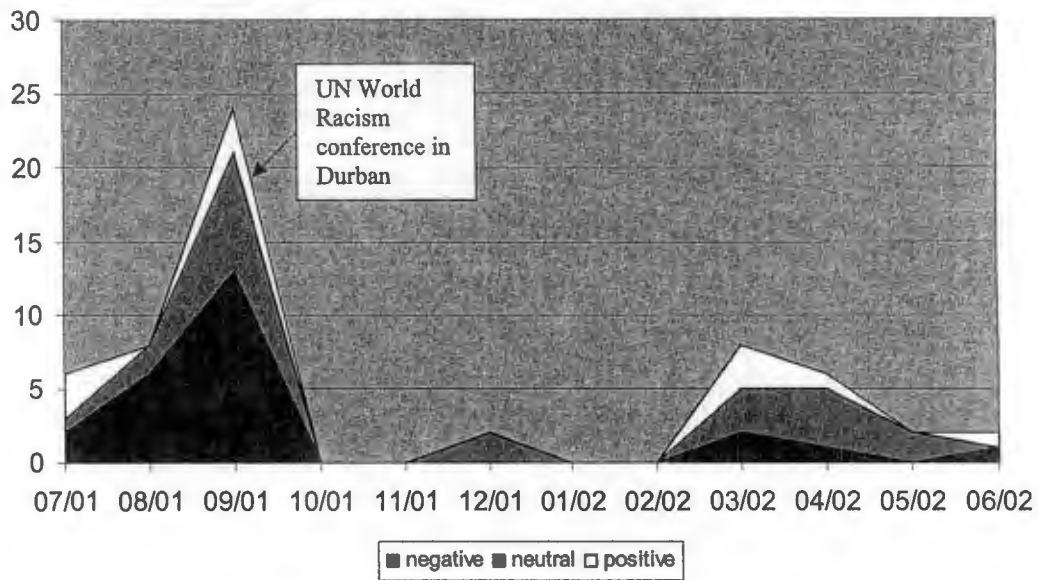
Graph 10: Frequency of reporting on South Africa in US Television by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=58. Share of rating and number of reports.
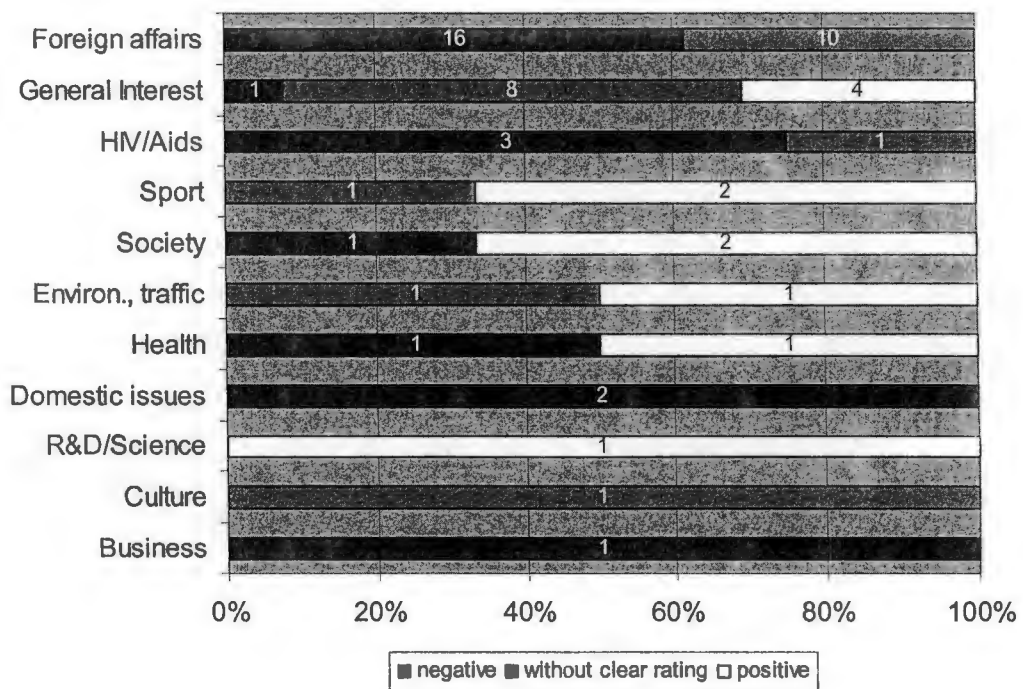
Graph 11: Main issues of reporting on South Africa in US Television . Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=58. Share of rating and number of reports.
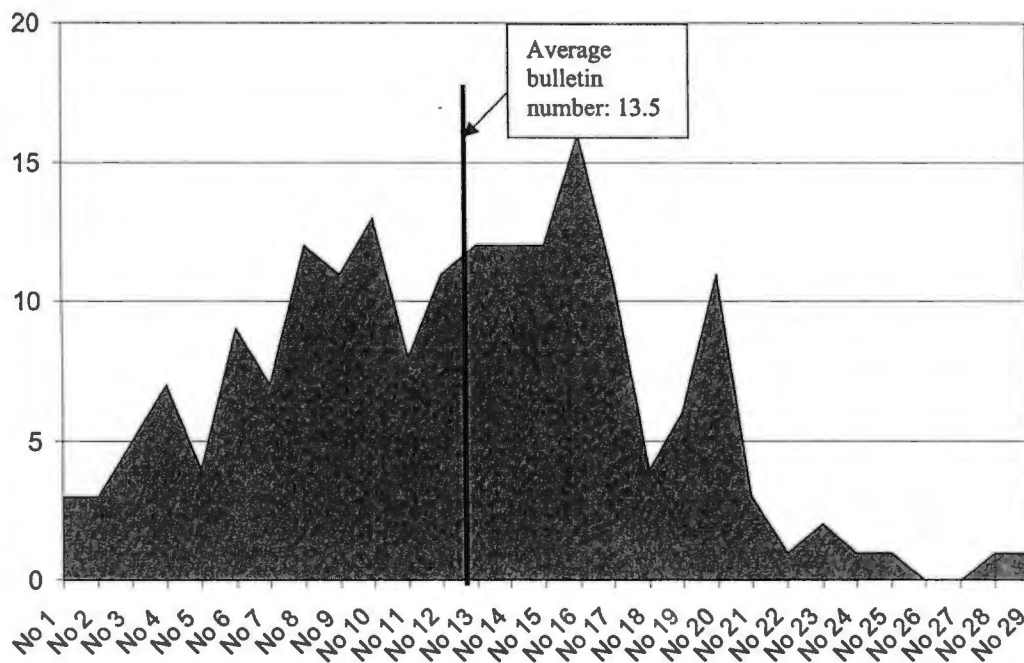
Graph 12: Bulleting numbers and number of reports on Africa in US TV media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=58.

4.3 UK television

The analysis of all UK television news programmes (N=22 222) shows that 59.4% (n=13 195) focused on national news and 40.6% (n=9 027) on international news (see graph 13). Africa represented 4.3% (n=390) of the total coverage of international news. The majority of international coverage, or 27.3%, focused on the Far East (including Afghanistan, n=2 460). This was followed by Western Europe's 18.9% (n=1 708) and North America's 18.7% (n=1 689). The Middle East conflict received a rather limited coverage, compared to US TV, with 'only' 13.1% (n=1 186 reports, see graph 14).

UK television was similarly negative towards foreign countries as US television. It was especially negative towards the Middle East with only 0.8% (n=10) of all reports on the Middle East (N=1 185) being positive. Africa received one of the lowest ratings, with only 3.3% (n=13) of all reports (N=390) being positive, only marginally ahead of the Middle East (see graph 15). The majority of reports (n=202) were neutral. However, it is interesting to note that Africa received far more coverage than the former Eastern European countries, who only received 3% (n=268) reports or 3% of the total international coverage. Of these, 28% (n=75) were negative.

UK television is rather one-sided in its choice of African countries being reported on. Zimbabwe, former colony and for the past twelve months a constant source of conflict against Britain, received 50% (n=191) of reports of the total on Africa (N=381). South Africa with 11% (n=43) and the DR Congo with 10% (n=40) follow next. Similar to the US media, Mozambique, received rather little coverage, only 5 reports in a one-year period (see graph 16).

While US media had predominantly highlighted Africa's foreign affairs efforts, UK television focused on Africa's domestic issues, although the intense focus on Zimbabwe and land re-distribution issues have to be taken into account. Domestic issues feature in 29.5% (n=115), followed by foreign affairs' 28% (n=109) and general interest's 22.8% (n=89). These three main issues were the focus of 80% of all reports combined. African culture and politics feature very little in the UK television news, and economic and health issues (including HIV/Aids) are also rather low on the agenda (graph 17). Only 13 positive reports (on Africa) in total were screened on UK television and predominantly, negative coverage prevailed.

Individual issues focused around the national elections in Zimbabwe and especially the election of its head of state. Violent conflicts in both the DRC and Zimbabwe as well as international political pressure, dominated the agenda of reporting. Natural catastrophes (52 reports) were focused on with drought and famine following on the heels of Robert Mugabe's isolation from food imports (graph 19).

When focusing on a protagonist, UK television media focused rather on newsmakers from Britain than foreign. Of all protagonists (N=381), 89% (n=340) were African, only 12,3% (n=50) were foreign. While US media reported negatively on the activities of international organisations in Africa, UK media, although in low numbers (5% of all protagonists) reported more positive than negative (4 positive reports versus 1 negative). All African protagonists, however, received considerably more negative coverage than positive with only 2.6% (n=9) of a total statements on African protagonists (N=340) positive. The majority of reports (n=174), however, were neutral (see graph 20). Again, similar to US news, the picture of Africans is that of a suffering society and a dictatorial leadership.

The focus of television on events is clearly seen in Africa's coverage by UK television media: 64% of the coverage (or 243 of 381 reports) on Africa took place in the months of January until March 2002, in the run-up to the Zimbabwean presidential elections. A further 16% (n=61) highlighted the UN World Racism Conference in Durban. The remaining 20% were split among the other 7 months. September 11 has had an impact on international coverage in UK television media, with October until December being 'quiet' periods in coverage on Africa. Similarly to the US, the intense coverage of September 11 related international news

only lasted three months – January brought the coverage back to more or less the same levels as pre-September 11 (see graph 21).

4.3.1 Coverage on individual countries: Zimbabwe

When covering Zimbabwe (n=191) , UK television focused with 26% (n=50) of all reports intensively on President Robert Mugabe as protagonist. This was followed by the opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai's 11% coverage (n=22). Only in 5% of all reports did the coverage focus on the position of the British government towards Zimbabwe (n=10). Among the most discussed issues were the elections in general (n=68), international opposition towards Robert Mugabe (n=26), and internal conflicts (n=21). The actual issue of land reform was only discussed thoroughly ten times. Seven reports dealt with the cancelled cricket matches between the British and Zimbabwean teams.

4.3.2 Coverage on individual countries: The DR Congo

The Democratic Republic of Congo featured a mere 40 times in British TV news, with 85% (n=34) in January 2002, similar to the US television. It focused on the suffering of the population under the civil war conditions (n=34) and did not deal with the reasons for the conflict. Eight reports featured the efforts of international relief agencies.

4.3.3 Coverage on individual countries: South Africa

Coverage on South Africa was spread more or less evenly in the year - 43 reports in total with the only 'gaps' in October (possibly due to extensive September 11 coverage) and

January. Part of the relatively little coverage on the UN Racism Conference in Durban was due to its abrupt end. Before media were able to draw a conclusion, September 11 took place (two days after the closing of the conference) and all issues discussed during the conference disappeared from the agenda of the media (graph 22).

General interest and domestic issues were the most debated main issues on South Africa by UK television (see graph 23). HIV/Aids was the focus of 4 reports (all neutral), while culture, business and economy did not feature at all. Crime featured only in two reports as a main issue. In two reports, UK television highlighted South Africa's efforts in supporting UK investigators in solving Britain's first case of muti-murder.

From 560 people quoted or shown with at least 5 seconds in reports on Africa, Robert Mugabe received the greatest share with 131 'in-focus' shots. He was followed by opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai (n=27) and Jack Straw, UK's former Minister for Africa (n=20). Former South African president Nelson Mandela featured more often in UK television (n=15) than the current president Thabo Mbeki (n=11).

The two television stations (although both with two different news programmes) have a different focus on Africa. Of the total reports on Africa (N=381), 65% were broadcasted on the two BBC channels (n=247) and only 35% (n=144) on the private ITV stations. Proportionally to the individual international coverage, Africa has 4.5% (n=247) of the share of BBC's international coverage (N=5 481) and 3.9% (n=144) of ITN's (N=3 548). BBC's news featured almost double the number of international news reports, and it also had with 41.6% (n=5 481) of its total bulletins (N=13 164) a higher share of international news than ITN with 39% (n=3 548) of the total reports (N=9 058). Most reports on Africa however,

contrary to US TV media, were located more to the beginning of the main news broadcasts, on average at bulletin no 8. This highlights the still higher importance of Africa for British TV media, although not quantitatively but qualitatively. If reports are featured, they seem to be of greater priority.

4.3.4 Conclusion

Although UK Television devoted a higher share of coverage on Africa than its US counterpart, Africa's role can still be considered marginal. Coverage was reduced to areas of previously colonial interests: Zimbabwe and South Africa. Like the US TV, British television tended to portray negative reports on Africa, highlighting the suffering of people, corruption and mismanagement. It devoted considerable attention to Zimbabwe, highlighting it especially by placing the news bulletins more to the beginning of the broadcast. Among the top ten countries in Africa, five were previous colonies. Countries with considerable economic development, such as Mozambique and Botswana had mostly been ignored. The fact that Angola was in the process of signing a peace agreement with the rebels, ending decades of fighting, only featured in four reports. The four reports did not highlight positive aspects but merely reflected the problems of the country, underlining further the image created: Africa – a lost and hopeless continent. Issues such as Nepad, the African Union or trade relations to the EU did not receive any coverage, or at least did not feature as main issues in reports. Aspects around culture, business, and economy were virtually ignored, as it was for other possible developmental issues, although one might argue that the focus on land reform and human rights constitutes developmental news. But since these have, in the case of Zimbabwe, negative connotations, the information certainly did not contribute to a

development process. Proportionally to the number of reports, Africa's image was even more negative than that of the Middle East and Afghanistan.

UK:	60%
Far East:	11%
Western Europe:	9%
North America:	8%
Middle East:	5%
Africa:	1.7%
All other countries each: <1.7%	

Far East:	(582ne, 1702n, 173p)
Western Europe:	(466ne, 1088n, 155p)
North America:	(486ne, 1062n,140p)
Middle East:	(556ne, 619n, 10p)
Africa:	(175ne, 202n, 13p)

- UK — 13195
- Far East — 2460
- Western Europe — 1708
- North America — 1689
- Middle East — 1186
- Several countries — 528
- Africa — 390
- Oceania — 358
- Eastern Europe — 268
- Central America — 136
- World wide — 122
- South America — 115
- no country — 67

Graph 13: Countries reported on in UK Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=22 222. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 1.7% excluded..

27%   31%

19%   4%

19%

□ all other ■ Africa □ North America ■ Western Europe □ Far East
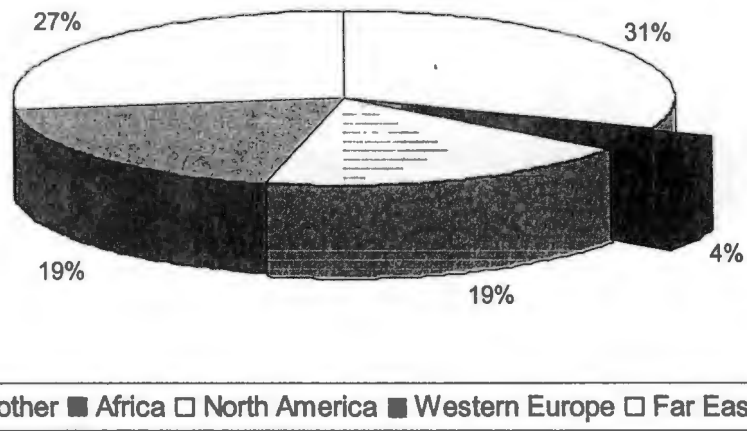
Graph 14: Foreign regions reported on in UK Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=9 027.

Far East
Western Europe
North America
Middle East
Several countries
Africa
Oceania
Eastern Europe
Central America
World wide
South America
no country

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

■ negative ■ neutral □ positive
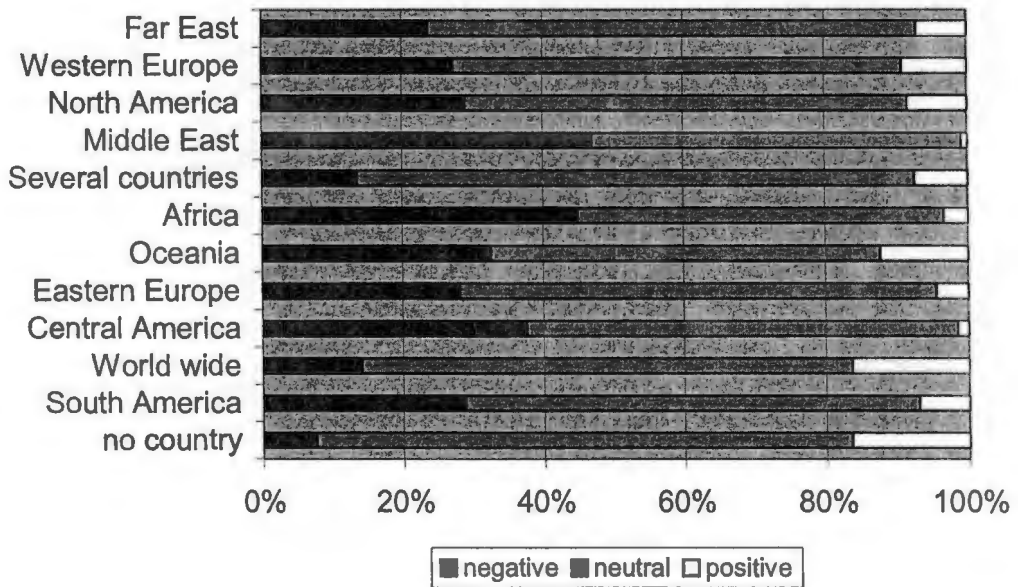
Graph 15: Foreign regions reported on in UK Television news and rating by the media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=9 027.

109

Zimbabwe   191
South Africa   43
DR Congo   40
Africa   26
Congo   20
Nigeria   16
Kenya   7
Morocco   6
Mozambique   5
Malawi   5
Sierra Leone   4
Angola   4
Tanzania   2
Senegal   2
Rwanda   2
Niger   2
Algeria   2
Libya   1
Ghana   1
Botswana   1
Ethiopia   1

Zimbabwe:	50%
South Africa:	24%
DR Congo:	10%
Africa in gen.:	7%
All other countries each: <5%	

0   50   100   150   200
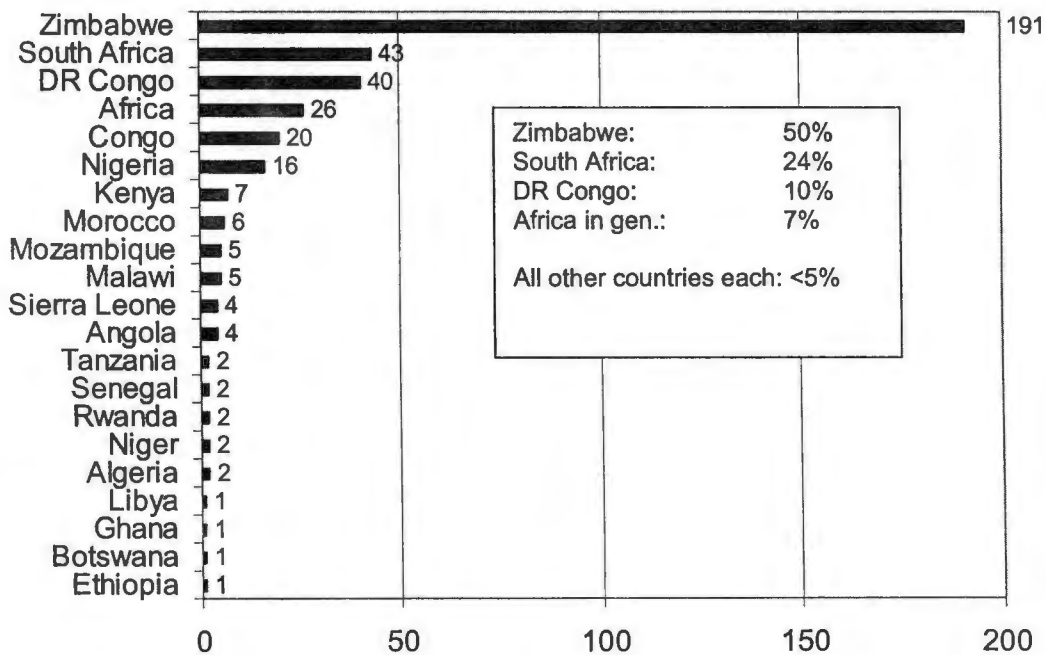
Graph 16: African countries reported on in UK Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=381.
(Percentages rounded to nearest figure)

Domestic issues   115
Foreign affairs   109
General Interest   89
Crime   24
Society   18
Sport   8
Economy   5
HIV/Aids   4
Health   3
Politics   3
History   3
Environment   3
Business   3
Media   3

Domestic issues:	30%
Foreign affairs:	29%
General interest:	23%
Crime:	6%
Society:	5%
All other issues each: <5%	

Domestic issues:	(42ne, 68n, 5p)
Foreign affairs:	(17ne, 87n, 5p)
General interest:	(77ne, 12n, 0p)
Crime:	(18ne, 6n, 0p)
Society:	(11ne, 7n, 0p)

0   20   40   60   80   100   120
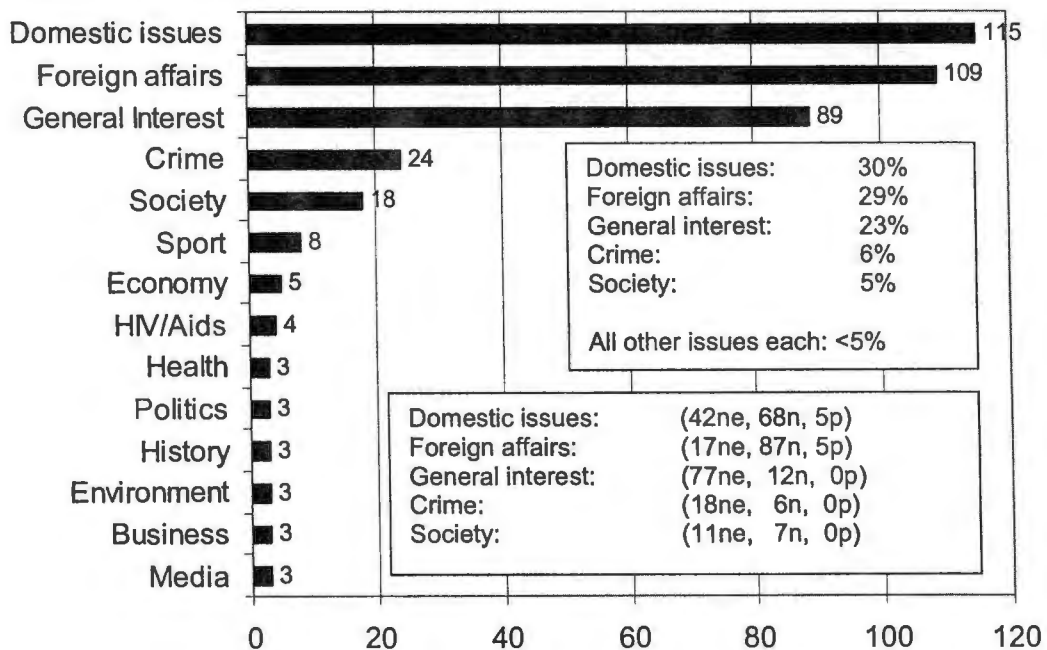
Graph 17: Main issues on African countries reported on in UK Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002.
N=381. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 5% excluded..
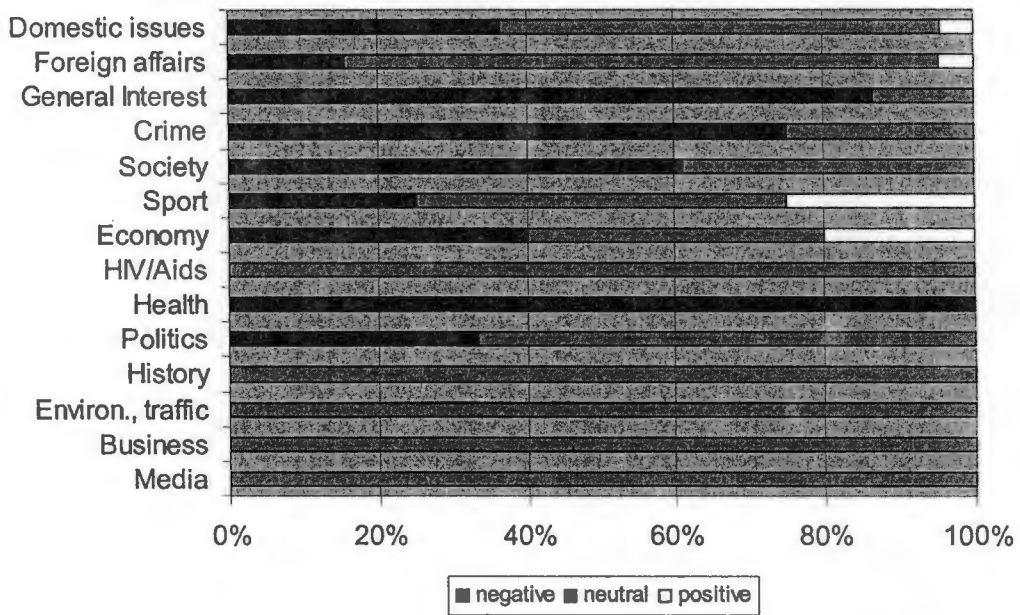
Graph 18: Main issues on African countries reported on in UK Television news and their rating by the media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=381.
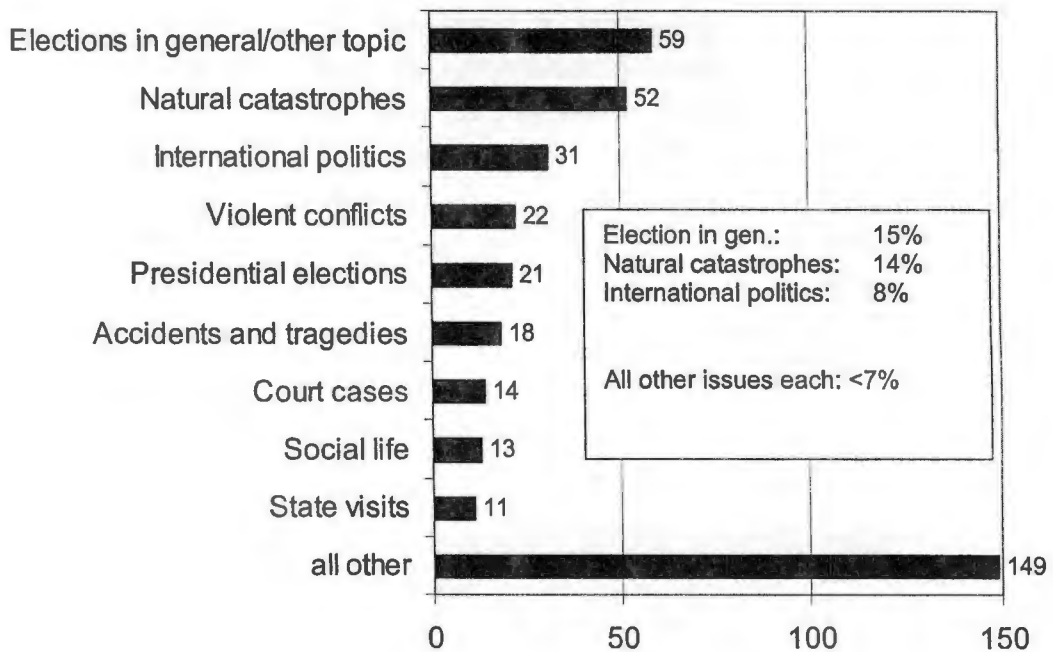
Graph 19: Individual issues on African countries reported on in UK Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=381. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure)
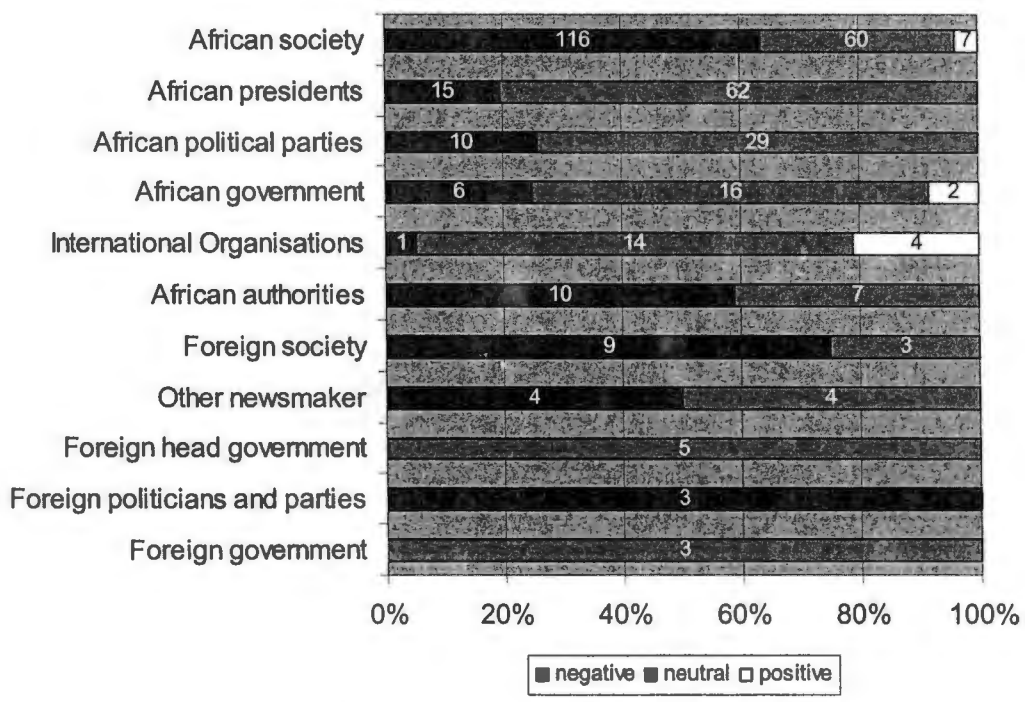
Graph 20: Main protagonists on African countries reported on in UK Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=381. Share and individual number of reports.
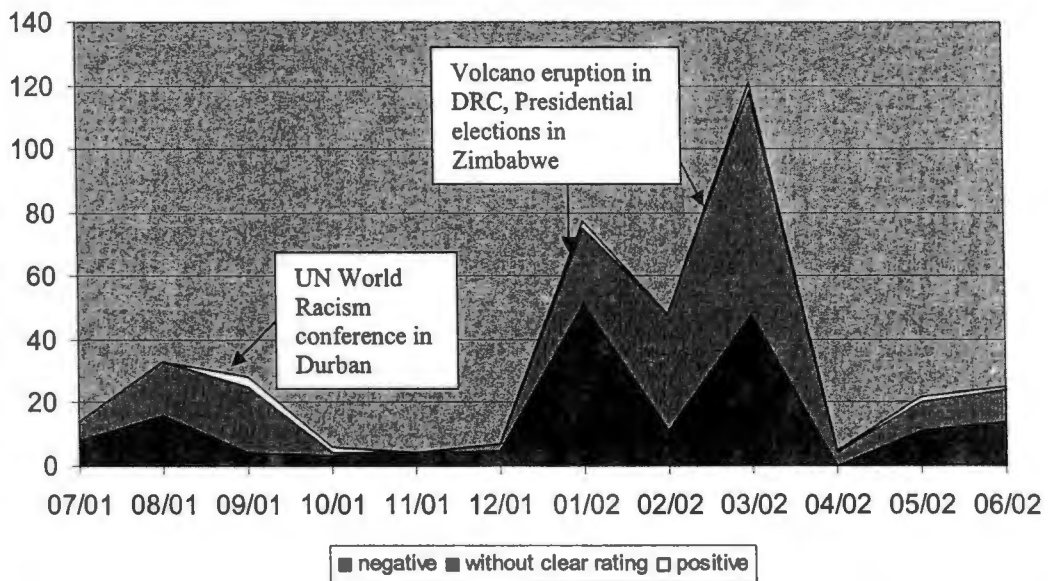
Graph 21: Frequency of reporting on African countries in UK Television by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=381. Share of rating and number of reports.
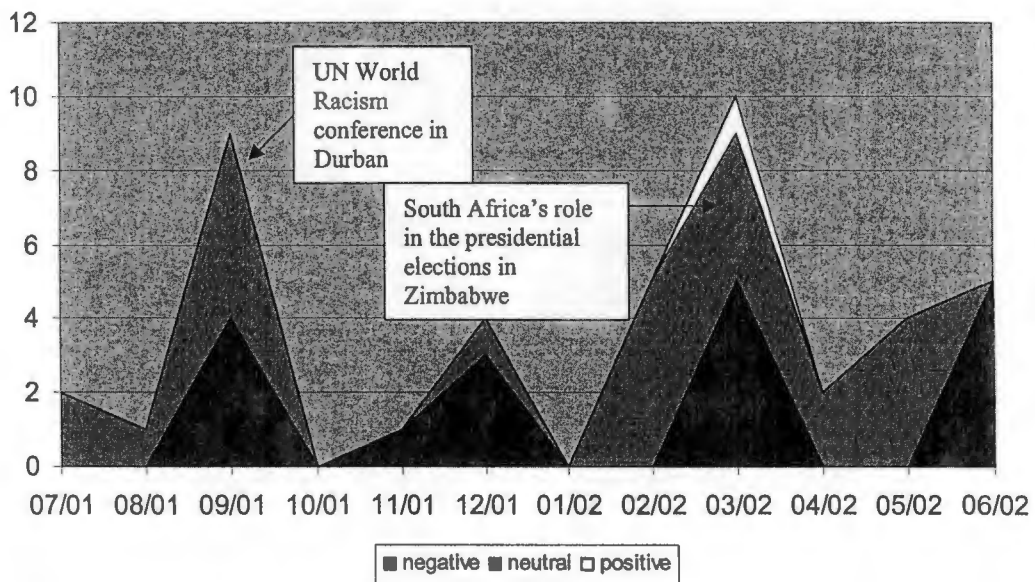
Graph 22: : Frequency of reporting on South Africa in UK Television by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=43. Share of rating and number of reports.
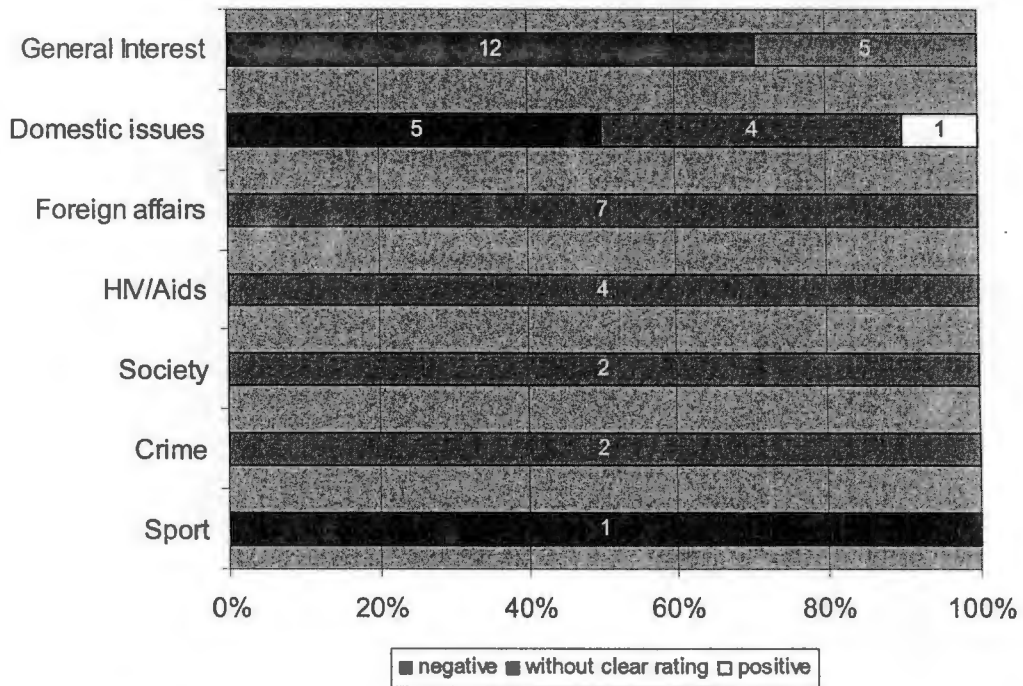
Graph 23: Main issues of reporting on South Africa in UK Television.. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=43. Share of rating and number of reports.
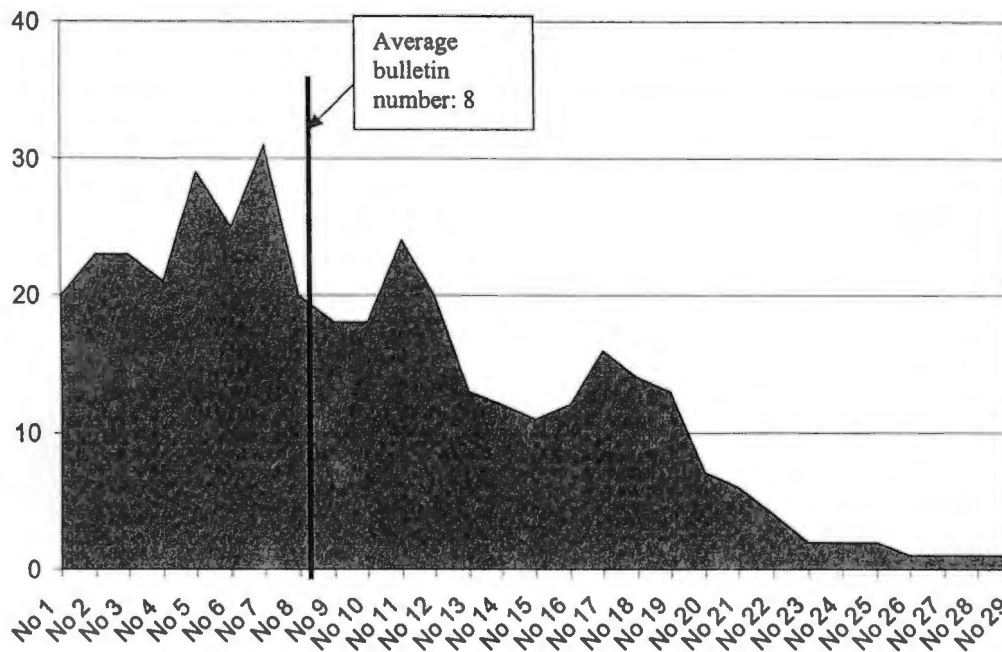
Graph 24: Bulletin numbers and number of reports on Africa in UK TV media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=381.

4.4 German television

The analysis of the seven German news programmes reveals that German television news had, in the period of analysis, the highest share of international news among the three countries. Of all news (N=56 334), 50.6% (n=28 490) were international and 49.4% (n=27 844) were national. Despite the international developments in the United States and Afghanistan, German television devoted more reports to its neighbouring countries in Western Europe (n=7 276). This quarter of all international reports is slightly more than the 22% on the Far East (n=6 381), followed by North America's 17% (n=4 843) and the Middle East's 12.3% (n=3 501). Africa got a mere 2.6% (n=729, see also graphs 25 and 26).

Although German television was considerably critical towards its own country with 24% negative reports (n=6 713) compared to 22% positive (n=6 077), German TV generally displayed proportionally more positive news than its counterparts in the UK or USA. The share of neutral reports was also generally higher, indicating a more objective or carefully balanced approach to reporting. Rather than expressing a specific opinion or displaying a context, German TV seems to portray different sides to a story and therefore created a rather neutral image of many countries. Even in its coverage on the Far East (and Afghanistan) and despite the involvement of the German Army and the resistance met by the population, the coverage (N=6 381) was by far not as negative as one might have expected. Although slightly more negative (n=1 209) than positive (n=1 159), it was not as negative in reporting as the other countries. The exception to this were the Middle East (N=3 501) with 34% negative coverage (n=1 207) – and Africa (N=729). Only 13% of reports on Africa were positive (see graph 27). Instead, 35% (n=249) of reports were negative, which proportionally to the total number of reports on the region was even slightly higher than that of the Middle East (which had 34% negative reports). German television portrayed North America (N=4 843) with 22% in a more positive way (n=1 089) than the 17% negative (n=836) reports.

Contrary to US and UK television, German TV depicted slightly more African countries (26 compared to the US' 21 and the UK's 22). The most intense focus, with 25% (n=182) on African countries (N=729) was on Tunisia, followed by the 12% (n=87) on the DRC, South Africa's 11% (n=78) and Zimbabwe's 7.5% (n=55). German television also highlighted individual countries that had not received any coverage on US' or UK television such as Cameroon (4 reports), Mauritania (8 reports) and Zambia (2 reports). Tunisia received the

largest number of reports because of the Al-Qaeda related bombings of a mosque, in which 11 German tourists were killed and many injured. The German army evacuated wounded tourists and high profile politicians travelled to the country to investigate causes for the terrorist act – directed against Germany on African soil. Of the 182 reports, 158 were in April, the month of the attack and the remaining in May and June 2002, covering the follow-up and update on the investigation (see graph 28).

In most cases, German television dealt with African countries' foreign affairs, followed by general interest and crime. Although culture, health and HIV/Aids did not play a significant role, business featured relatively high in terms of other topics on the agenda with 4% (n=29). With the exception of foreign affairs, which had predominantly neutral coverage, the top four issues however were portrayed predominantly negative. Since the negative reports accounted for 83% (n=605) of the total coverage (N=729), it is significant to note that only 5% (n=34) of the total coverage was positive. Five positive reports are attributed to the Miss World competition held in South Africa in November 2001, and the only issue with a high positive coverage was sport (N=43), with 21 positive statements, attributed to coverage on the African Cup of Nations as well as focus on Cameroon's national soccer squad – with the German Winnie Schäfer as national coach. Additionally, Formula 1's Michael Schumacher and Ferrari's training sessions in South Africa at the beginning of the season contributed to sport being the 'highlight' in African coverage – even though it was combined with German personalities or references. Nonetheless, a definite damper must be the fact that of the 29 reports on business in Africa, 69% (n=20) were negative, possibly indicating a lack of confidence in African business (graph 30). Among individual (level three) issues, the eruption of Mount Nyiragonga (in the DRC), politically motivated crime (Zimbabwe) and

international terrorism (Somalia) are topping the list of issues. The issue of 'production halts' (21 reports) was one of the reasons for the rather negative image of business. While South African business leaders have long been highlighting the effects of strikes and production halts on the African economy, reports on this have seem to have now reached one of the largest investors in Africa – Germany. These 21 reports (mostly at Volkswagen SA's factory in Uitenhage) could have been a factor that leads to a decrease in business confidence in South Africa (graph 31).

When focusing on protagonists, top on the agenda was 'foreign' or, in this case German society and was attributed to German citizens injured or killed in Tunisia. Second in focus was African society. Generally speaking German media highlighted own or Western leaders as main focus of their coverage and not African. President Robert Mugabe ('foreign head of government') received the most negative coverage of all protagonists. Contrary to US news, German media portrayed the work of international organisations, among them the United Nations, slightly more positive than negative. Of the 50 reports on international organisations, 12 were positive and 9 negative.

Coverage on Africa has not been of a continuous nature. Even the UN World Conference against Racism in Durban in September 2001 received only marginally more coverage than before September 2001 – although it added a few positive statements to the overall image of Africa. The two sharpest 'peaks' (graph 33) are attributed to two events. In January 2002 (as also depicted by US and UK television) the volcano eruption in the Democratic Republic of Congo dominated and in April the bombings in Tunisia took place. In between the attention on Africa was kept high by Zimbabwe's presidential elections. November 2001 saw a slight

positive peak due to the coverage of the Miss World competition. After April, the coverage fell to a mere 50 per month, below the average of 61 reports.

4.4.1 Coverage on individual countries: Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe (N=55) was the focus of some attention in March 2002 (n=39) during the presidential elections. Of all (N=55) reports, 50% (n=28) focused on the President and a further 12 on the relations between the British and Zimbabwean governments. It will come as no surprise then that only 2 reports were considered positive (both on the opposition party, the MDC). The most reported individual (level three) issue was the election (26 reports), followed by domestic policies (10 reports) and politically motivated crime (5 reports).

4.4.2 Coverage on individual countries: DR Congo

The DRC receives attention only in January 2002. All reports were within a period of 10 days. Of the total 87 reports, 37 were negative, 45 neutral and only 4 positive, the latter focusing on UN relief efforts. In terms of protagonists, television focused on the plight of individual citizens (60 reports) and the situation of refugees (14).

4.4.3 Coverage on individual countries: South Africa

South Africa with its 78 reports received less coverage than the DRC, but more than Zimbabwe. Of these, 50% (n=39) though are to be found in the month of September 2001 during the UN World Racism conference (graph 34). After the conference, only very little

coverage was received (with the exception of the Miss World contest in November 2001). Other events, besides the Racism conference, were the death of renowned heart surgeon Dr. Christiaan Barnard (five reports), Nelson Mandela's peace negotiations in the Middle East and the role of the South African Government in the Zimbabwe conflict. Visits by high ranking German politicians (President Johannes Rau, Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer and Defence Minister Rudolf Scharping) accounted for a further 8 reports on South Africa. Medical research was topic in 5 reports on South Africa as well as the debate around the provision of Nevirapine for HIV/Aids infected people. Crime was not really an issue, with only four reports highlighting this situation. This surely is a positive development, since South Africa always had the image of a country of crime (graph 35).

Personalities with highest visual depiction were mostly German. Minister of Internal Affairs Otto Schili (featuring 52 times) commenting on the Tunisia bombings, Robert Mugabe (43 times), Defence Minister Rudolf Scharping (17) and Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer (15 times) were among the top four most quoted personalities on German television in reports on Africa.

Of the 729 reports on Africa, 18% (n=130) featured on the second public broadcaster's (ZDF) current affairs programme *heute journal*, also 18% (n=129) on the first public broadcaster's (ARD) current affairs programme *Tagesthemen*, 17% (n=124) on the second public broadcasters main news *heute*, and 14% (n=99) on the first public broadcaster's main news *Tagesschau*. The private broadcasters lacked in volume, with 13% (n=97) of reports on *RTL*, 11% (n=83) on *Sat 1*, and 9% (n=67) on *Pro 7*.

Generally speaking, Germany's public broadcasters combined contributed to 67% (n=488) of the total coverage on Africa (N=729), a similar figure than in the UK. Proportionally, the public broadcaster has with 3.3% (n=130) the highest share of reports on Africa compared to the total international news on *heute journal* (N=3 903), *Tagesthemen* (N=4 311) with 3% (n=129), *heute* (N=4 319) with 2.9% (n=124) and *Tagesschau* (N=3 706) with 2.7% (n=99) of reports. The private broadcasters featured less, with RTL's (N=4 668) 2% (n=97), *Sat 1* (N=4 381) with 2.9% (n=83) as well as the 2.95 (n=67) of *Pro 7* (N=3 579). Again, in total the share of public broadcaster (N=16 239) was with 3% (n=482) higher than the 1.9% (n=247) of the private broadcaster (N=12 628).

4.4.4 Conclusion

Of the three analysed countries, Germany showed the greatest diversity of reports on Africa. Despite low numbers, Germany highlighted more individual countries than any other broadcaster within the sampled group. Contrary to the other countries, the coverage was, although also event orientated, of a more continuous nature. But while the other two countries reported on Africa more from an international perspective, German television reported on countries where there is a clear reference to Germany (as in the case of German politician's participation at the Racism Conference or German victims in the Tunisian bomb blast). It is also clearly visible that German media reported slightly more balanced on Africa (visible in almost 52% neutral reports) including slightly more positive than negative coverage overall, even though mostly on issues of general or human interest or sport. But, similar to UK and US television, developmental news did not play a role. The fact, that

almost 50% of the news in Germany was international but Africa received only 3% of the

total coverage is an indicator of how little Africa is of importance to German TV producers.
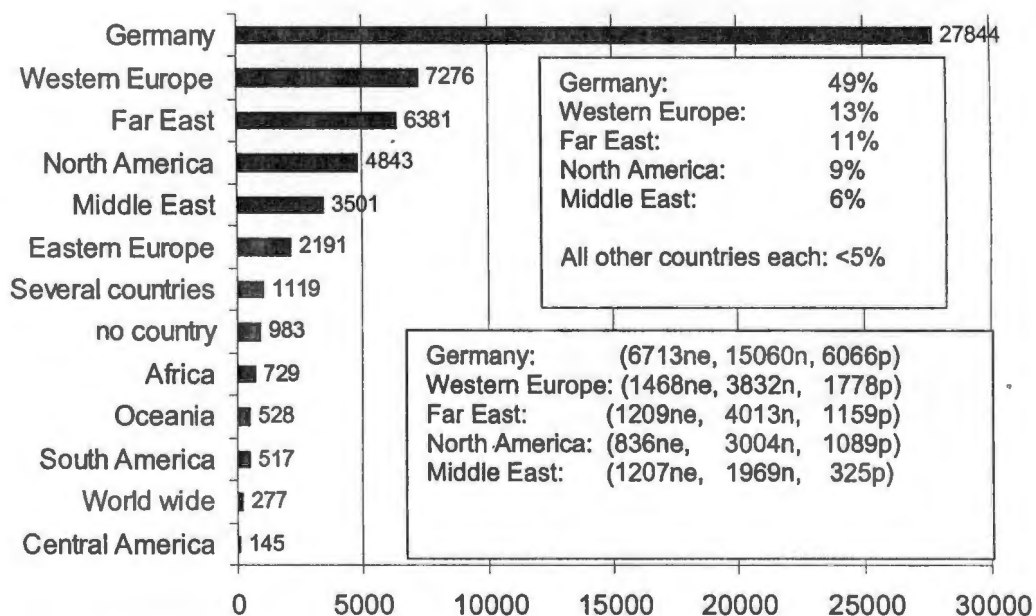
Graph 25: Countries or regions reported on in German Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=56 334. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 5% excluded

26%   32%

22%   3%

17%
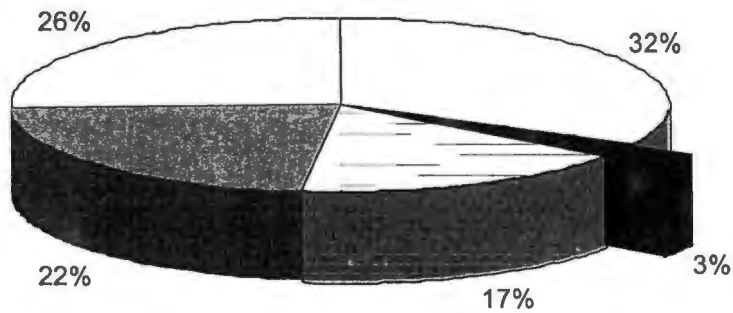
□ all other ■ Africa □ Northern America ■ Far East □ Western Europe

Graph 26: Foreign regions reported on in German Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=28 490.

Germany
Western Europe
Far East
North America
Middle East
Eastern Europe
Several countries
no country
Africa
South America
Oceania
World wide
Central America

0%   20%   40%   60%   80%   100%

■ negative ■ neutral □ positive
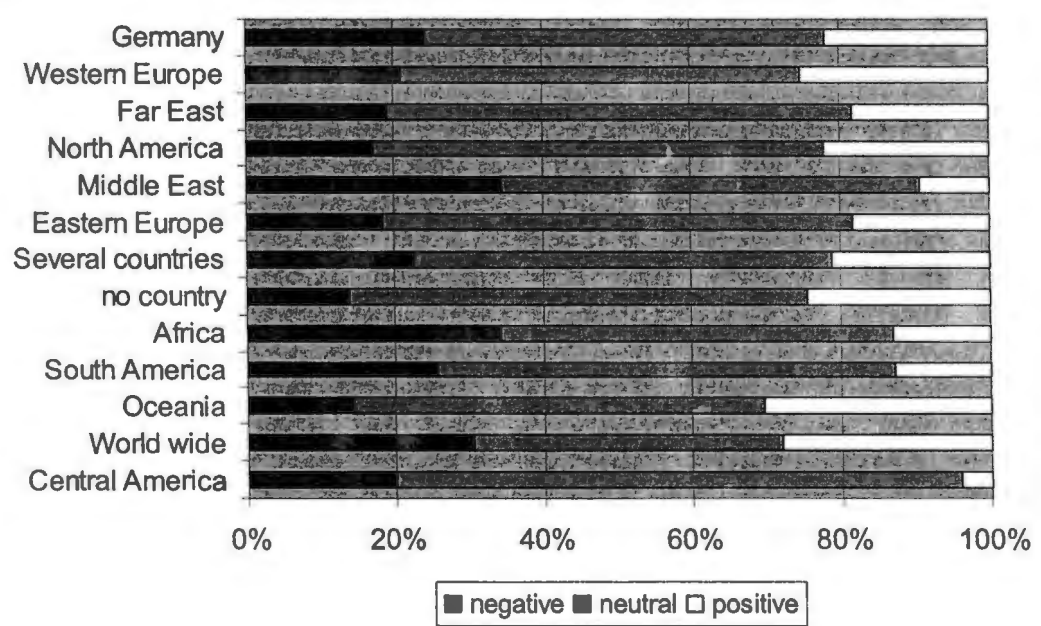
Graph 27: Foreign regions reported on in German Television news and rating by the media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=56 334.

Tunesia:	25%
DR Congo:	12%
South Africa:	11%
Africa in gen.:	9%
Zimbabwe:	8%

All other countries each: <8%
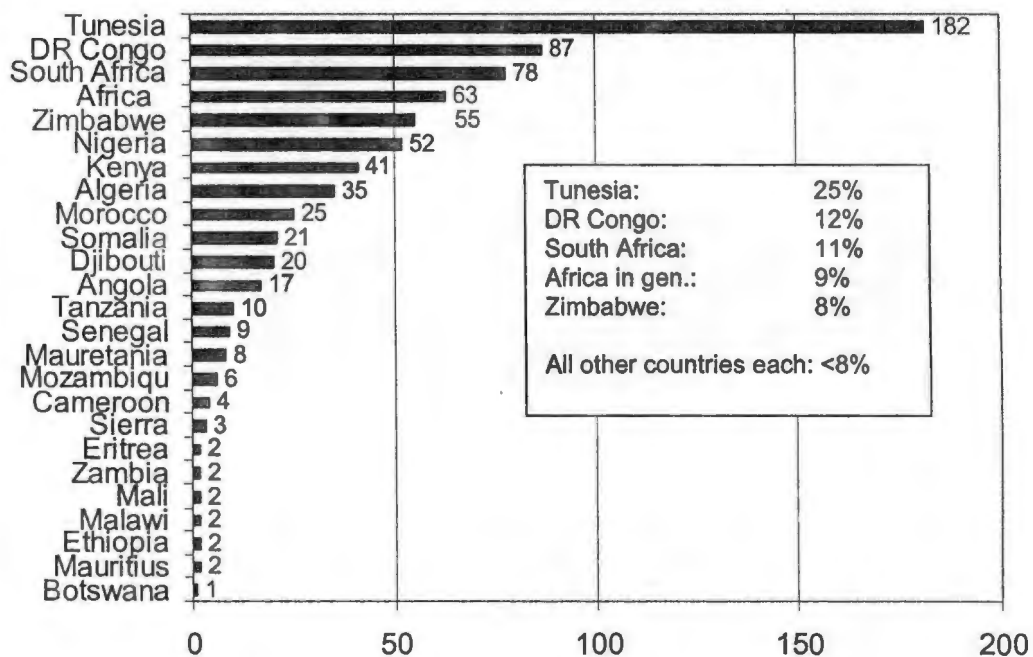
Graph 28: African countries reported on in German Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=729(Percentages rounded to nearest figure).

Foreign affairs:	31%
General interest:	24%
Crime:	15%
Domestic issues:	13%
Sport:	6%

All other issues each: <5%

Foreign affairs:	(42ne, 168n, 17p)
General interest:	(80ne, 89n, 7p)
Crime:	(61ne, 41n, 6p)
Domestic issues:	(34ne, 56n, 4p)
Sport:	(2ne, 20n, 21p)
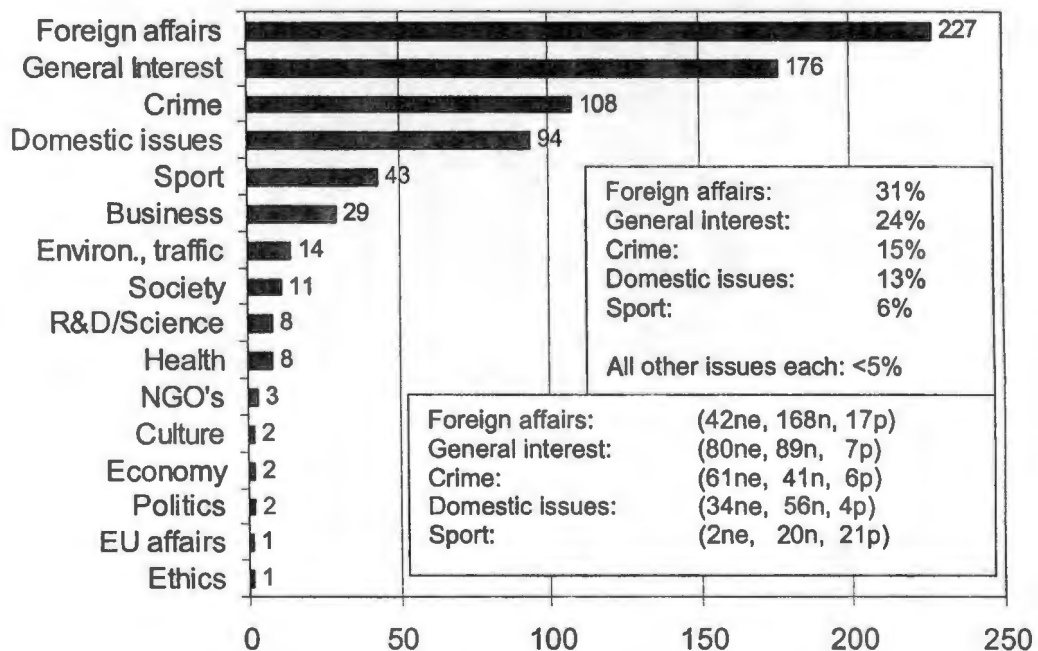
Graph 29: Main issues on African countries reported on in German Television news. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=729. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 5% excluded
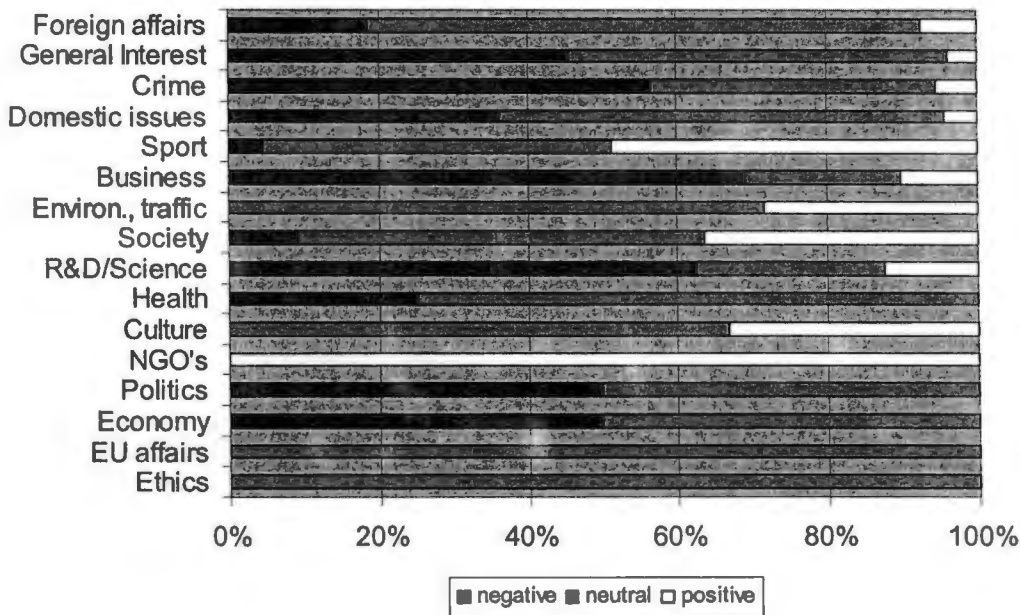
Graph 30: Main issues on African countries reported on in German Television news and their rating by the media Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=729.
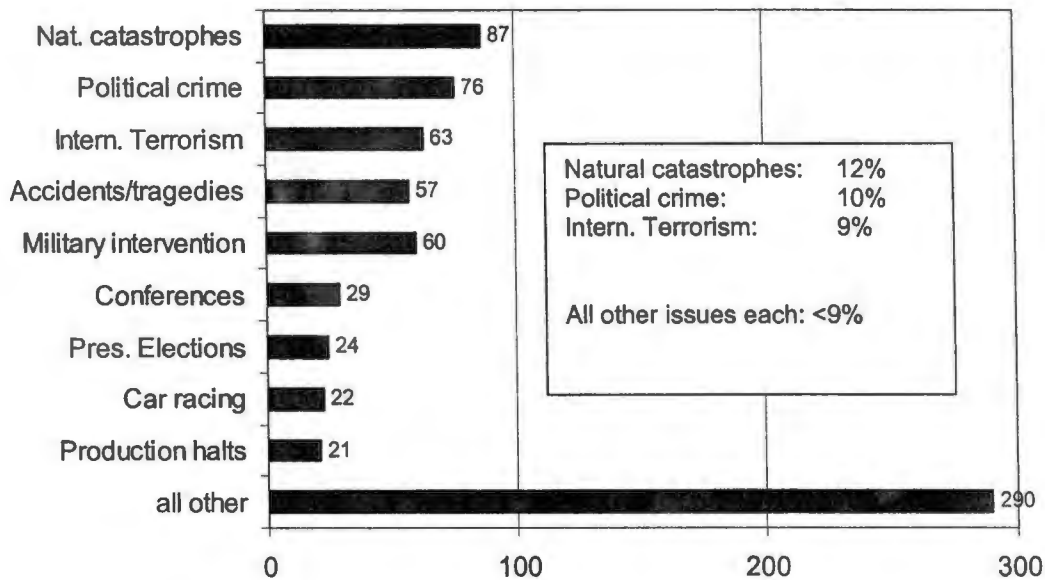
Graph 31: Individual issues on African countries reported on in UK Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=729. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure).
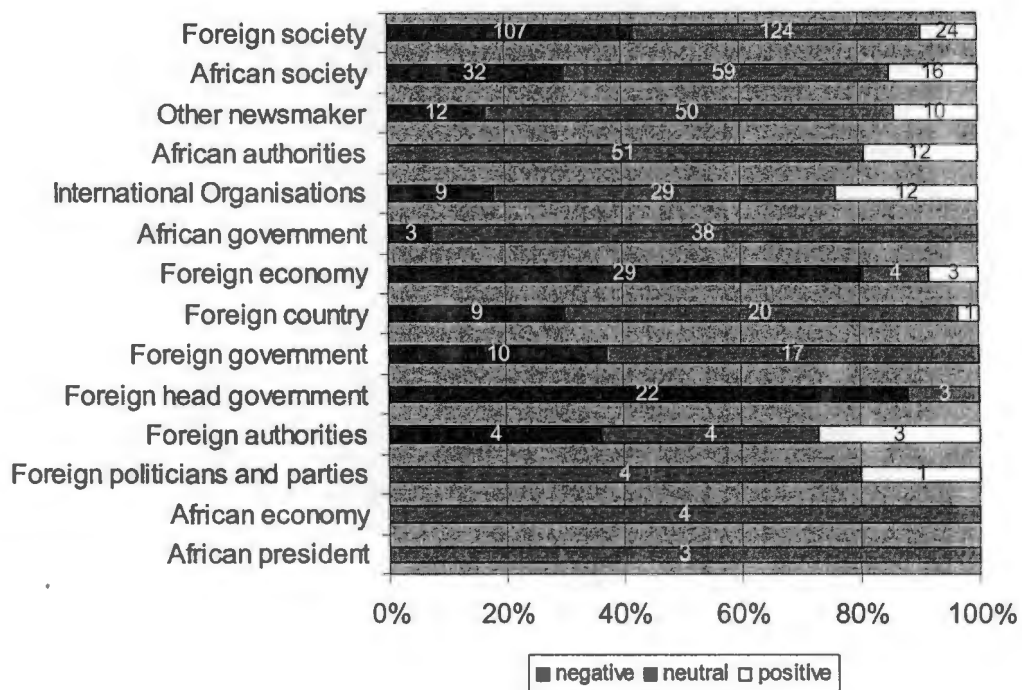
Graph 32: Main protagonists on African countries reported on in German Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=729. Share and individual number of reports.
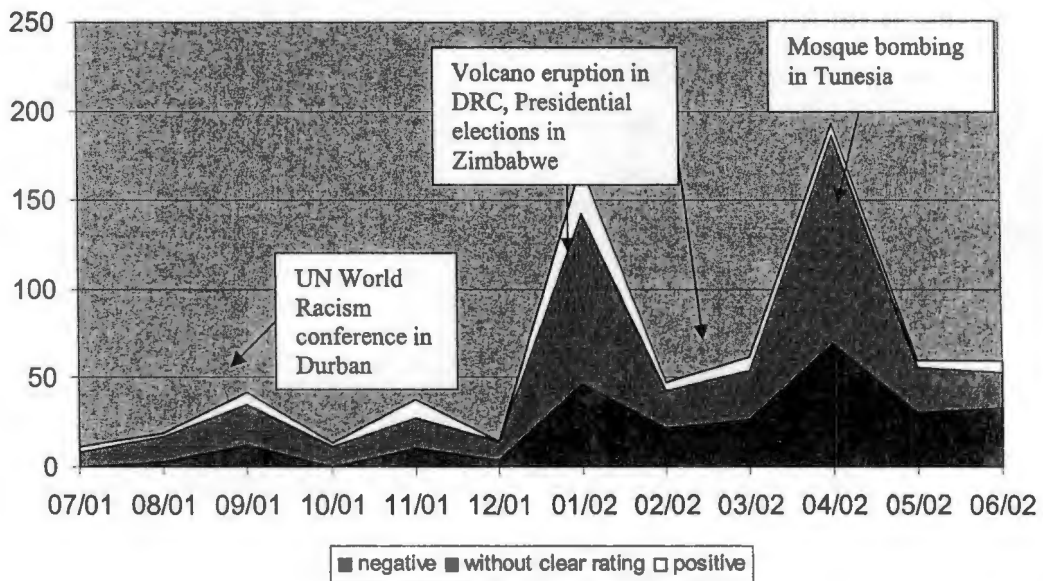
Graph 33: Frequency of reporting on African countries in German Television by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=729. Share of rating and number of reports.
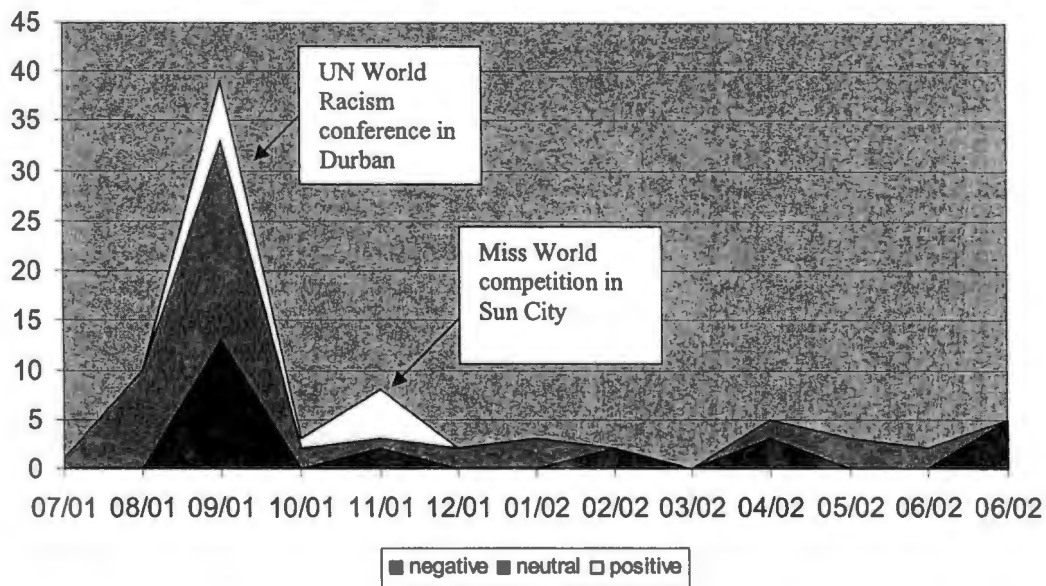
Graph 34: *Frequency of reporting on South Africa in German Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=78. Share of rating and number of reports.*
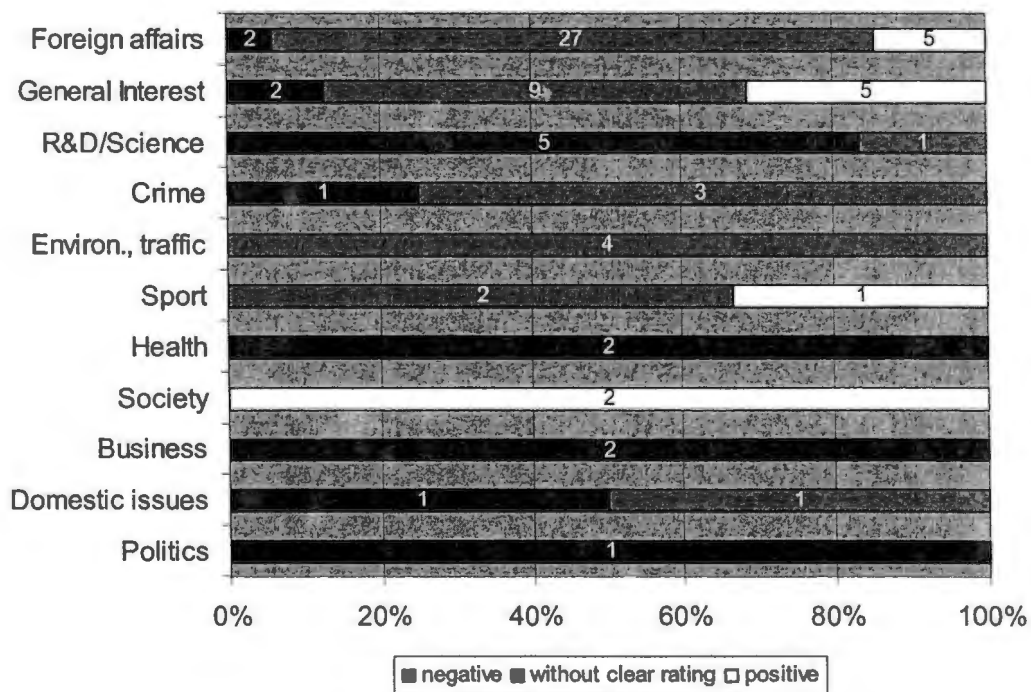
Graph 35: *Main issues of reporting on South Africa in German Television. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=78. Share of rating and number of reports.*
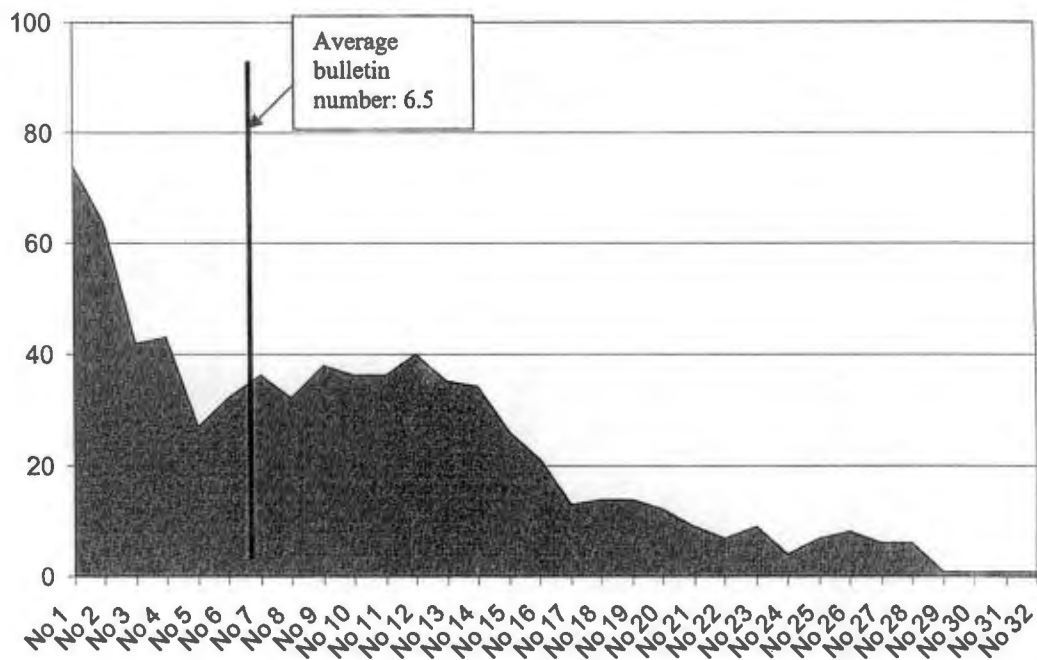
Graph 36: Bulletin numbers and number of reports on Africa in German TV media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=729.

4.5 Summary of international coverage

When comparing all three countries' coverage on Africa, it is clear that predominantly negative news on Africa are shown. Although taking into account the format of TV news and the importance of audience rating, even greater than readership figures for newspapers, one of the problems is surely the non-availability of own footage on Africa. Only if a direct relevance to a country is seen, the country's broadcasters report with their own footage. In recent years, the number of staff in the Johannesburg office of ZDF for instance (already sharing with ARD) has decreased by 75%. But with global developments around the War against Terrorism, TV media's attention and resources are understandably shifted to other places of action. The picture of Africa though still remains of a continent of danger, crime

and violence, and developmental news are largely ignored and only portrayed, if they are in connection with a 'Western' protagonist, such as an NGO or aid organisation. Recently, a US judge decided not to send a child back to its mother in South Africa because of the 'dangerous environment' in South Africa. Despite international protests, the judgement remains. The recent killing of a British tourist in Mpumalanga, making it into British TV news and front pages of British newspapers highlights this image – despite many tourists being killed in for instance the United States, Asia and other countries.

Although many organisations in South Africa have raised their concern at the negative image of Africa in international media and, as the International Marketing Council (IMC) in Johannesburg are trying to correct the image of Africa internationally with large advertising and awareness campaigns, the portrayal of Africa by African media must be taken into account, since a lot of footage in African television forms the basis of coverage in international media.

The next section will focus on a selection of South African media, including weekly, daily and television, highlighting the differences and agendas of individual media and answering the question, if in fact the image of Africa in South African media is much different from those of international media.

4.6 South African media

The analysed 129 246 articles and reports during the time from 1 July 2001 until 31 June 2002 can be divided into 67% (n=86 493) national news and 33% (n=42 753) international news, on par with British and US television but less than in German media in regards to its international content. Africa (see graph 37) was the second most reported region in SA media with 25% (n=10 812) of all non-SA reports (graph 38), followed by North America's

19% (n=7 993), Western Europe's 19% (n=7 984), and the Far East's 16% (n=6 738). However, while South Africa itself received a very balanced coverage (33 222 negative reports versus 32 442 positive reports), the reporting on Africa is considerably more negative than positive. Of the total 10 812 reports, 5 934 were in fact negative and only 2 587 positive. Of the total coverage on Africa (N=10 812), 55% (n=5 934) is of a negative nature, 24% (n=2 587) positive and 21% neutral (n=2 291). To recap the results of the international analysis: in Germany, this ratio was 34% positive, 13% negative, in the US 55% negative and 13% positive and the UK 45% negative and 4% positive. So although the number of positive reports was proportionally much higher than those of the international media, so was the percentage of negative news. In fact, similar to the international coverage, only the Middle East (and South America, though with very low numbers) received more negative coverage (see graph 39).

The greatest focus of South African media was on Zimbabwe, with 39% (n=4 203) of the total 10 812 reports on Africa. This was followed by reports on Africa in general (n=1 276), Nigeria (n=633) and the DRC (n=505). South Africa's direct neighbours can be found in position 10 (Mozambique with 225 reports), 11 (Lesotho, 210), 13 (Swaziland, 168), 15 (Botswana, 155) and Namibia 16th (with 151 reports). In fact, all African countries have received at least one report overall (see graph 40).

The analysis of media's rating of the top ten African countries (graph 41) reveals rather interesting results: With the exception of Africa as a continent and Mozambique, all countries received more negative coverage than positive, with the most negative coverage on Zimbabwe (2 949 negative reports versus only 446 positive), followed by Nigeria and the

Sudan. Mozambique on the other side, received rather positive coverage with 107 positive reports versus 83 negative. Coverage on Mozambique, which had one of the worse floods in January 2000, that dominated world media coverage, seems to have fully recovered its image in South African media, although international media seem to not have picked up on this trend. Recent positive economic development, increase in tourism, repairs to the infrastructure and South Africa's involvement in the destruction of land mines have further contributed to a positive image, this despite a train accident in June 2002, claiming more than 300 lives. The case of Mozambique proves the point that positive coverage is possible despite negative events occurring. Reasons for the rather positive image of Africa as a continent (if explicitly referred by the media) will be dealt with later in the chapter.

While issues in international media on Africa predominantly focused on foreign affairs, crime and general interest, South African media highlighted domestic issues and foreign affairs in almost equal numbers. Foreign affairs issues received 2 616 reports compared to 2 511 reports on domestic affairs. Crime featured third with only half of the reports, 1 230 in total. Contrary to international media, African business is quite important to SA media, highlighted by 739 reports over the period of one year. Politics played a major role in 655 articles or reports. With the introduction of Nepad and the call for more corporate governance, ethical issues are becoming more and more important as a covered issue. Sadly, one must note that education seems not to be an issue for media reporting on Africa: only 28 reports overall featured on this issue, forming the second last issue on the agenda. Health and HIV/Aids, although of major importance in SA media due to President Thabo Mbeki's stance towards it, forms a major discussion point in SA media on South African issues but

not in reports on Africa: only 2% (n=149) of the 10 812 reports focused on HIV/Aids and 1% (n=110) on health in general (graph 42).

As expected, different crime related issues received with 92% (n=1230) the most negative coverage focusing on the actual crime more than crime fighting. Foreign affairs, the most dominant issue, received slightly more negative reports (957) compared to positive (946) reports. Dominating within the negative coverage are domestic issues, with the only visible exception: business issues. SA media have a rather positive outlook on African business (N=736, although not as much economical but more company related) with 48% (n=331) positive and 37% (n=273) negative coverage (graph 43). This is largely attributed to the success of individual South African companies in establishing business links with other African countries such as mining company Gold Fields' investment into the Tarkwa mine in Ghana or cellular company MTN's approval as service provider in Nigeria. All these ventures so far turned out to be successful, reflected in these companies overall financial performance.

Sport and Culture, although low in numbers are also issues generating a more positive coverage than negative, highlighting journalistic potential in writing on these issues.

Among individual (third level) issues, Zimbabwe's presidential election played a major role, followed by peace negotiations (DRC and Burundi, in both cases with South African involvement), court cases (such as the African genocide tribunal in Rwanda) and foreign African co-operations. The fifth issue - in itself negative - is politically motivated crime, and conflicts in general are following. On position seven Nepad, the New Partnership for Africa's Development can be found as an individual issue. The fact that Nepad was only

introduced in March 2002, towards the end of the analysis period highlights the overall impact this issues has made by increased reporting in the second quarter of 2002. Crime fighting can be found as the 8th most reported individual issue with 228 reports. However, 145 reports on crime fighting are negative and only 50 positive, indicating that media have no real confidence in crime-fighting efforts by African authorities (graph 44).

The most focused protagonist in South Africa's media reporting on Africa is African society with 24% (n=2 484). This was followed by African governments' 16% (n=1 665). While African Governments were portrayed predominantly negative (46% negative and 26% positive), South Africa and specifically the role of Southern Africa as a region, received a neutral to positive coverage with the exception of Zimbabwe. Overall, South Africa's involvement in Africa received 34% (n=423) negative and 32% (n=411) positive statements. However, in reports on Zimbabwe with South Africa as main protagonist, these figures are different with 90% negative and 10% positive coverage. The involvement of foreign or non-African newsmakers did not play a major role in South African media's coverage of Africa, instead they were highlighting most issues from an African perspective (graph 45).

Coverage on Africa is continuous with two events dominating: Mount Nyiragonga's eruption and war in the DRC in January and Zimbabwe's presidential elections in March (graph 46). The previously analysed international TV news programmes highlights the same events. While the ratio of positive and negative statements remained proportionally the same until April 2002, the second quarter 2002 saw an increase in positive statements, at a time when Nepad was established and introduced under the leadership of Nigeria's President Obasanjo and South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki.

In its share of reports on Africa, there is only a slight difference between daily, weekly and TV media. Naturally, daily media has the highest coverage with 27 331 non-South African reports, followed by television (10 179) and weekly media (4 891). Amongst the daily newspapers' international coverage (N=27 331), 26% (n=7 017) focused on Africa, similar to TV news. In weekly media (N=4 891), the ratio was 24% (n=1 168) for Africa versus 76% (n=3 723) for other countries (see graph 47).

4.6.1 Coverage on individual countries: Zimbabwe

South Africa's media focus on Zimbabwe is - of all coverage on Africa - the most, with a total of 4 203 reports. Coverage was medium to low until December 2001 when the illegal occupations of farms by so called 'war veterans' began, peaking in coverage with the Presidential elections in June 2002, after which it dropped to even lower figures than before the elections. Over the period of twelve months, only 446 positive reports/articles featured compared to 2 949 negative, and the ratio of negative reports towards positive has increased to a high with 9 negative reports for every positive (graph 48).

The most intense topical issues surrounding Zimbabwe were domestic issues (1 596 reports), of which 65% (n=1 034) were negative and only 10% (n=164) positive (graph 49). Already lacking far behind were Zimbabwe's foreign affairs issues (N=731), such as its involvement in the DRC. The only issue that received more positive support than criticism was coverage on sport, although the volume of coverage is very low (70 reports/articles).

Overall, Zimbabwe dominated the image of African countries in South African media, both in volume as well as in negativity.

4.6.2 Coverage on individual countries: Nigeria

Nigeria received continuous coverage, although far less in numbers with 'only' 628 reports, with a slight dip towards the end of 2001. Although predominantly more positive than negative, the figures are by far less shocking (a ratio of 2 negative reports for one positive) as those of Zimbabwe, where for every positive report there were nine negative. In March 2002, the ratio of reports on Nigeria fell to 0.8, with more positive reports than negative (graph 50). Most reported on were domestic issues (115 reports) but only slightly ahead of crime. While crime was not the top priority of South Africa's media coverage on other African countries, Nigeria received a rather large focus because of the so called '419 scam', so-called after a Nigerian law against a specific kind of fraud. This '419 scam', targeting wealthy Africans and international individuals found new roots in South Africa after successful prosecution of individuals in Nigeria, but it is still run by mostly Nigerian citizens in South Africa. Business issues rated third (104 reports), with 45% mostly positive (n=42) portrayal. With only nine articles, none of which are negative, Nigeria seems to have had a non-existent HIV/Aids problem – according to South African media (graph 51).

4.6.3 Coverage on individual countries: DR Congo

Reports on the DRC dominated in January 2002 (volcano eruption) as well as in April during the peace talks in Sun City. Since the eruption, where negative reports peaked, the rating of the country by the media has not only stabilised but saw in the second quarter of 2002 even more positive than negative reports. May saw three times more positive statements than negative, this mostly can be contributed to the conclusion of the Sun City talks (graph 52).

Violence and the natural disaster were the major contributors to negative reporting on the DRC, but business issues were (although with a low 25 reports) predominantly positive, despite some controversy around the involvement of some South African companies in diamond smuggling and exploitation in the DRC. But the potential of business developments and the importance of this for the African continent after an eventual peace agreement outnumber the criticism (graph 53). Despite being a unknown figure, Joseph Kabila, son of assassinated Laurent Kabila seems to have successfully convinced the South African media of positive developments in his country. This is, as we recall, in total opposition to reporting on the DRC by international television.

4.6.4 Coverage on individual countries: Africa in general

The fact that Africa as a continent and not individual countries featured as the second most reported region in the South African media's coverage on Africa, ahead of other countries, is surely a phenomenon within SA media, one that is, not accounted for similarly in other countries' portrayal. Articles, coded as 'Africa in general' were reports/articles that did not highlight an individual country or a selection of countries, but explicitly referred to as 'Africa' as a whole. The depiction of frequency (graph 54) shows that although this was previously a medium to low issue, the number of articles skyrocketed from April 2000, especially of positive nature (graph 54). At the same time, Thabo Mbeki announced the formation of the African Union as well as Nepad, followed by a conference and international visits to explain the concept to international governments. This sudden focus on Africa, rather than individual countries, benefited the overall image of the continent. While individual countries still receive critical coverage (graph 41) where Africa as a continent is

specifically referred to (N=1 269), it receives more positive coverage than negative – in fact 45% (n=570) were positive and only 26% (n=324) negative. Besides aspects that concern society, all issues are dominantly positive, especially economy and business. This highlights the importance of Nepad for economic growth in Africa. The fact, that social issues are still predominantly negative is indicative of the fact, that the optimism portrayed in the positive business reports has not materialised itself (yet) in social issues. The high importance of ethical issues is related to the pledge of AU members, underwriting the Nepad agreement to follow international rules of governance in return for international financial assistance.

The successful transfer of issues on the continent as a whole, away from the negativity that surrounds individual countries might be the opportunity for Africa to establish itself as a continent, also in a better international light, if it manages to transfer this image to international news groups. However the problem to overcome in this regard remains to attract enough visual material to substantiate the image. While African media might still report on conferences, summits and meetings, the international media will surely ignore them, since they bear no relevance to issues of importance to those countries. One of the challenges might be to highlight the benefits for the international community (peace and stability, business such as oil in Nigeria and Congo, etc).

4.6.5 Profile: Daily newspapers

South Africa's daily newspapers were responsible for the majority of coverage on Africa with 65% (n=7 017) of the total 10 812. Proportionally to other international news, the *Sowetan* covered with 27% (n=963) the highest share of reports on Africa (N=3 096). This is followed by the Citizen (N=8 109) with a share of 24% (n=1 943). Both *The Star* (N=1 246)

and the *Business Day* (N=7 700) have a similar share of 18% (n=224 and 1 287 respectively), while the *Beeld* (N=7 152) has with 17.4% (n=1 246) the lowest overall share of coverage on Africa (graph 56). The daily newspapers combined (N=7 017) focused predominantly with 36% (n=2 503) on Zimbabwe, followed by stories on Africa as a continent (n=880), Nigeria (n=499) and Zambia (n=324), the latter slightly ahead of the DRC (n=311 – graph 57).

Overall, *The Citizen* showed proportionally the greatest share of negative reports on Africa with 61% (n=1 196) of the total 1 935 negative. *Beeld* (N=1 243) followed with 58.6% (n=728) negative reports, the *Business Day* (N=1 445) with 54.7% (n=791), *The Star*'s (N=1 503) 51.8% (n=779) and the lowest negative share in the *Sowetan* (N=862), with 48.7% (n=420). *Sowetan* had at the same time with 32% (n=279) the highest share of positive statements, making it the 'most positive' newspaper in its coverage on Africa (graph 58).

4.6.6 Profile: television

South Africa's television contributed second most to reports on Africa with a total of 2 615 reports over a period of one year. However, with the exception of its Nguni and Sotho news, the share of coverage on Africa among other international news was rather low: SABC's Afrikaans news for instance focused only in 17% (n=415) of all international reports (N=2 428) on Africa. The highest share of coverage proportionally was in the Nguni news (N=3 120) with 25% (n=425). E-TV, despite its overall highest number of international news (N=4 030), focused only in 20% (n=791) of the reports on the continent of Africa (graph 59). Of those, 65% (n=158) are less than 30 seconds.

Similar to daily news, the focus on television was with 46% of all reports on Africa (N=2 615) Zimbabwe (n=1 192). Zimbabwe was followed by reports on the African continent

(n=201), the DRC (n=147) and Lesotho (n=101 – graph 60). E-TV (N=791) were by far the most negatively inclined broadcaster, with 56.5% (n=447) of reports on Africa negative and only 14.8% (n=117) positive (graph 61). The most positive broadcasters were the Nguni news (N=426) on SABC One with 45.2% negative (n=192) and 25.4% positive (n=108) reports and the Sotho news (N=406) on SABC 2 with 43.8% negative (n=178) and 35.2% (n=143) positive reports, the latter was therefore the 'most positive' news broadcast on Africa in South African television media.

4.6.7 Profile: weekly newspapers

Almost exceptional in its focus on Africa is the *City Press*, with 38% (n=214) of its total 577 international reports focusing on Africa. Other weekly media lagged far behind: the *Mail & Guardian*'s (N=945) with 22% (n=214), *The Sunday Times* (N=1 308) and *Sunday Independent* (N=1 902) with 17% (n=223 and 317 respectively) and the *Rapport* (N=1 322) with a mere 14.7% (n=195). The latter's result is rather surprising taking into account that the *Rapport* has in volume the second highest number of international reports (1 322) behind the *Sunday Independent* (1 902) when volume is considered. Contrary, the *City Press* has the lowest share of reports with only 577 international reports (graph 62).

Generally, the greatest focus of all reports on Africa (N=1 168) was on Zimbabwe with 44% (n=508). Zimbabwe is followed by Africa in general, the DRC and Nigeria. The number of reports on SADC as a region is relatively high (n=27), indicating the importance of reports on Nepad, Africa and Southern Africa as a region (graph 63).

The Sunday Times (N=223) and *City Press* (N=214) were the most positive weekly media on Africa with 26.5% (n=59) and 30.4% (n=65) positive and 57% (n=122) and 48% (n=103)

respectively negative reports. The weekly *Mail & Guardian* (N=214) had very little positive to say about Africa, with 66.5% (n=143) of reports negative and only a mere 16.8% (n=36) positive. Although proportionally with 12.6% (n=40) the *Sunday Independent* (N=317) had the least positive comments on Africa, its negative content is slightly less than that of the *Mail & Guardian*. The *Rapport* (N=195) was the weekly newspaper with the lowest proportional share of coverage on Africa and had 20% (n=20) positive and 60% (n=118) negative coverage on Africa (graph 64).

4.6.8 Conclusion

South Africa's media, although it still predominantly focuses on Western countries, has increased its coverage on Africa since March 2002. The high share of reports on non-African countries was largely related to the events around September 11 and covered the United States, Afghanistan and other related countries. The dominance of the previously colonial ties, although still visible, is slipping. However one must note, that since Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe's land reform programme started, the focus on Africa largely shifted to Zimbabwe. Generally speaking, the South African media show a similar trend in its selection of covered countries as its Western counterparts: the DRC with its civil war and the volcano eruption in January 2002, Zimbabwe's land reform unveils other events of a generally negative nature. However, while international media reported predominantly on the events themselves, South African media used the opportunity to highlight a greater palette of issues on these countries – and many of them positive. The introduction of Nepad has surely contributed greatly to a change in reporting and a more intense focus on Africa. Although the majority of reports still focus on Africa as a continent, or Southern Africa - instead of

individual countries - when it reports on Nepad, the coverage that the region receives is getting to be more positive. If journalists will be able to set a link from Nepad as an 'all African' plan to a more 'individual country' plan, the number of reports and diversity of coverage on other countries, especially neighbouring countries should not only increase, but generally contribute to a more positive image of Africa. Although the image of Africa overall is still rather negative, it must be considered that it is highly event driven and that the majority of reports that were not event related were clearly more positive than negative – setting a possible example for a trend. Although the analysed international media were only television, with its naturally more negative coverage, South African television was not as negative on Africa as its international counterparts. Among daily newspapers, those media accused of 'anti national-interest' attitude (such as the *Citizen*) proved to be justifiably criticised, and Afrikaans speaking media, whether daily or weekly still focus very little on Africa, however would surely argue this on the basis of their readership's interests. The *Mail & Guardian*, in the tradition of liberal British media, positions itself as the watchdog of the people and therefore highlights more scandals than achievements, a factor that is visible in its very negative coverage of Africa.

In conclusion one must establish, that certain media in South Africa are still very much driven by Western news values and reports on Africa in a similar vein to Western media: negative and from a 'catastrophe' perspective. On the other hand, the traditionally 'nation building' media such as the *Sowetan* are clearly supportive of Africa and clearly boosts the image of Nepad. The weekly *City Press* follows this trend, as do the SABC's broadcasting channels that target the black population in South Africa. On the contrary, E-TV positions itself in a similar manner as the *Citizen* in the daily newspapers and the *Mail & Guardian* in the weeklies: highlighting rather negative than positive developments. Most other media (*The*

Star, The Sunday Times, the *Sunday Independent, Business Day*, and the English and Afrikaans news on SABC) are rather neutral in its coverage and try to balance both the quantity of its reporting as well as its opinion and one should bear in mind the rather mixed audiences these publications/media have.

What is lacking though in the coverage in South African media are diversity in issues, focus on direct neighbours and an understanding of how complex issues, such as Nepad, might influence individual countries rather than a region. Nepad also offers a substantial number of developmental issues that, based from the research results, have not penetrated enough into South African media. Although media report on progress and changes to society due to Nepad, it is mostly targeting an individual country such as South Africa, but not highlighting the improvements of other African countries, although one might argue that the intense focus on Zimbabwe in South African media did not allow for more reports on developments. The question remains that if events in Zimbabwe will normalise, will the relatively high focus on Zimbabwe by South African media remain or decline, and will this lead to an increase in reporting on other African countries, maybe including developmental news?
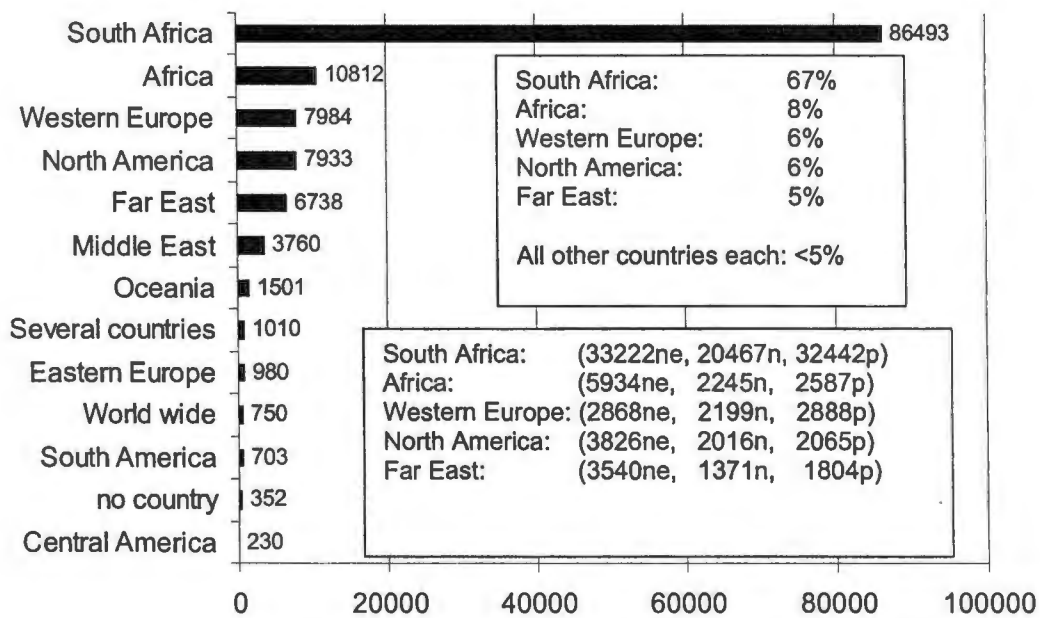
Graph 37: Countries or regions reported on in South African media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=129 246. .
(Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 5% excluded

□ all other ■ Africa □ Far East ■ Northern America □ Western Europe
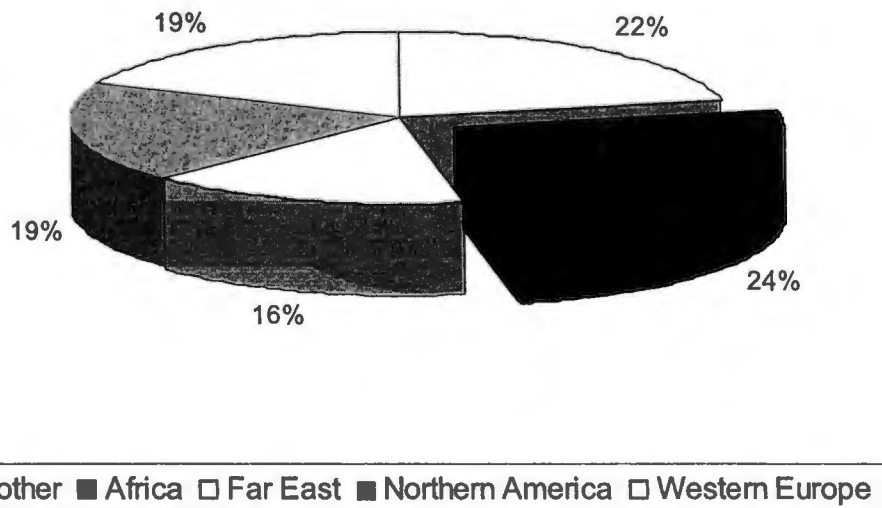
Graph 38: Foreign regions reported on in South African media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=42 753.
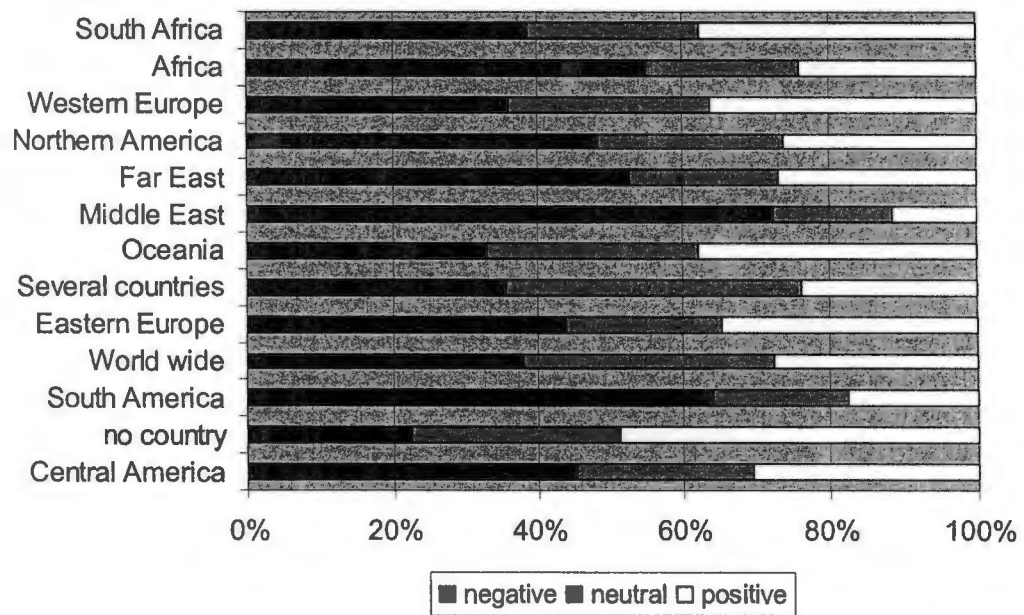
Graph 39: Foreign regions reported on in South African media and rating by the media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=42 753.

Country	Value
Zimbabwe	4203
Africa	1276
Nigeria	633
DR Congo	505
Zambia	417
Angola	339
Kenya	275
Burundi	234
Sudan	231
Mozambique	225
Lesotho	210
Madagascar	189
Swaziland	168
Mali	166
Malawi	158
Botswana	155
Namibia	151
SADC	124
Uganda	118
Sierra Leone	96
Tanzania	96
Rwanda	85
Somalia	77
Algeria	74
Libya	65
Congo	64
Ethiopia	64
Senegal	60
Ivory Coast	52
Ghana	49
Comores	45
Liberia	35
Morocco	29
Mauritius	25
Tunesia	18
Central African	16
Gabon	15
Guinea	11
Cameroon	9
Seychelles	7
Eritrea	6
Benin	6
Niger	6
Burkina Faso	5
Mauretania	5
Gambia	4
Cape Verde	4
St Helena	3
Chad	2
Equatorial	1
Guinea Bissao	1

Zimbabwe:	39%
Africa in gen.:	12%
Nigeria:	6%
DR Congo.:	5%
All other countries each: <5%	

Graph 40: African countries reported on in South African media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=10 812 (Percentages rounded to nearest figure, countries below 5% excluded.
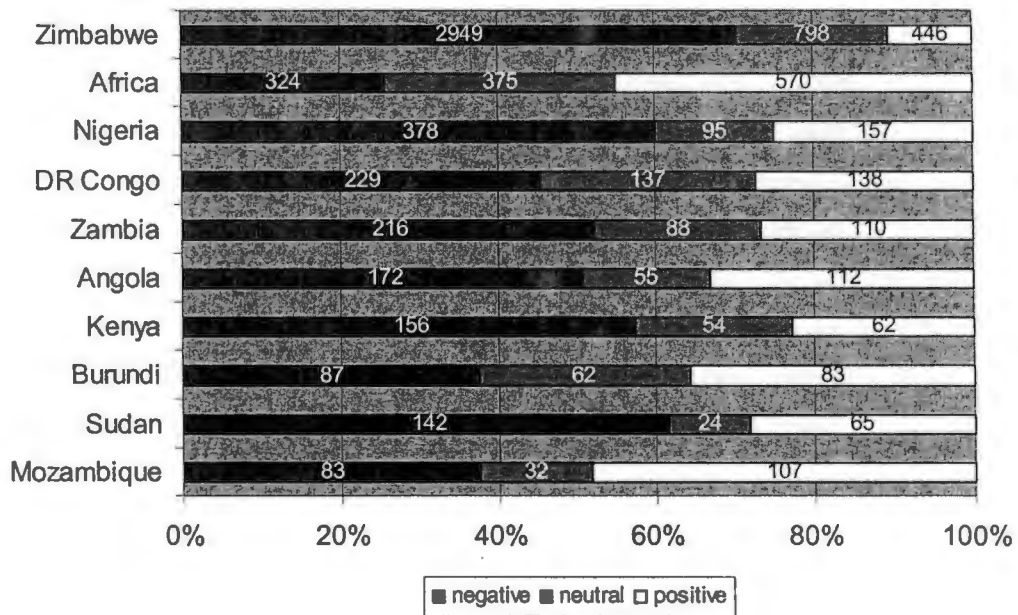
Graph 41: Rating by the SA media on top ten reported African countries Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=8 306.
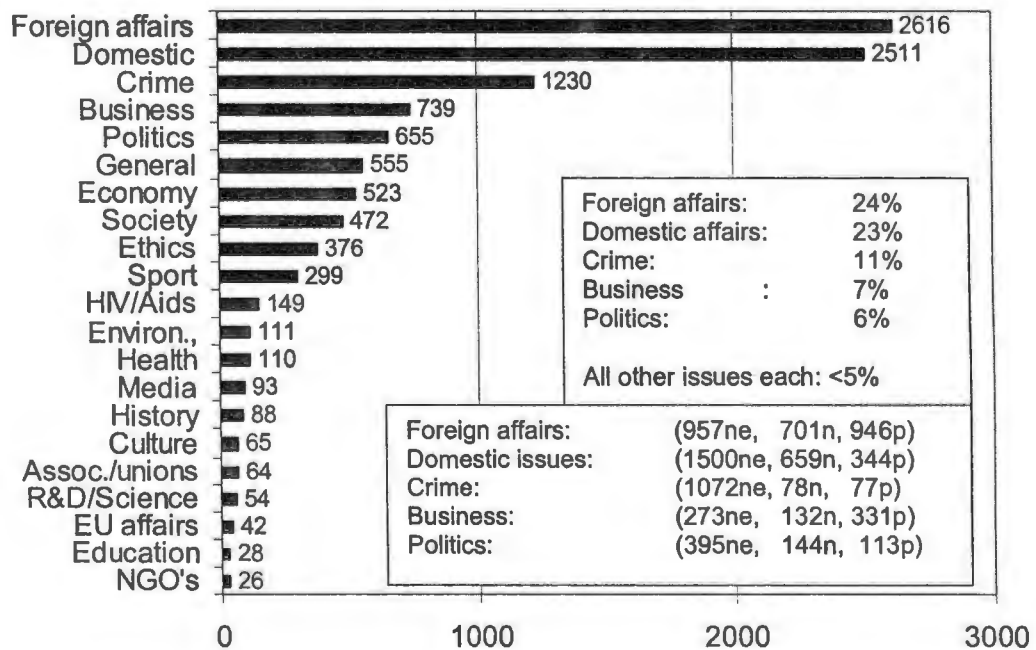
Graph 42: Main issues on African countries reported on in South African media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=10 812. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure) p=positive, n=neutral, ne=negative, countries below 5% excluded
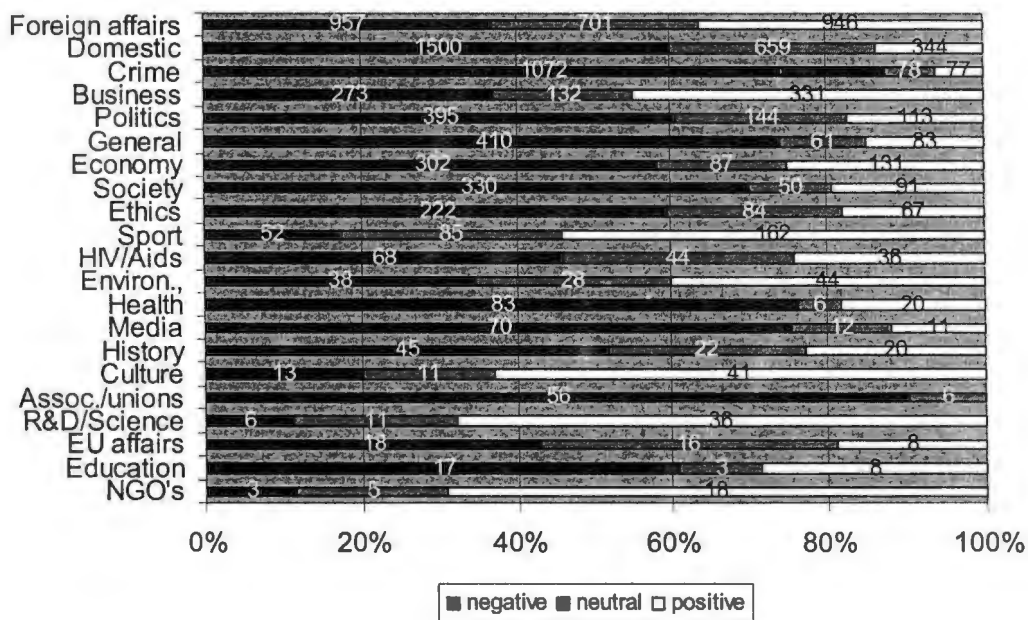
Graph 43: Main issues on African countries reported on in South African media and their rating by the media Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=10 812.
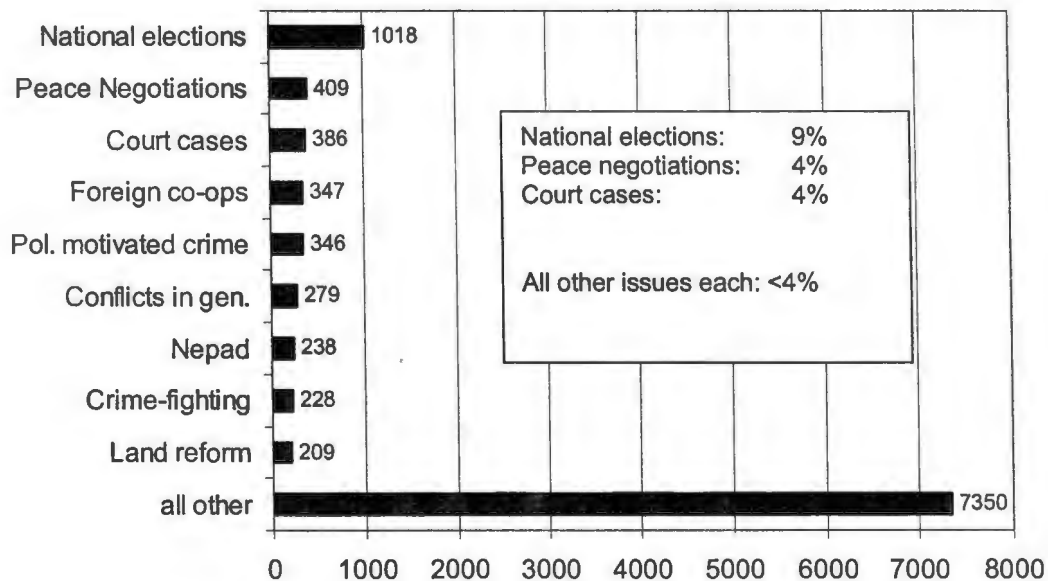
Graph 44: Individual issues on African countries reported on in SA media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=10 812. (Percentages rounded to nearest figure, countries below 4% excluded
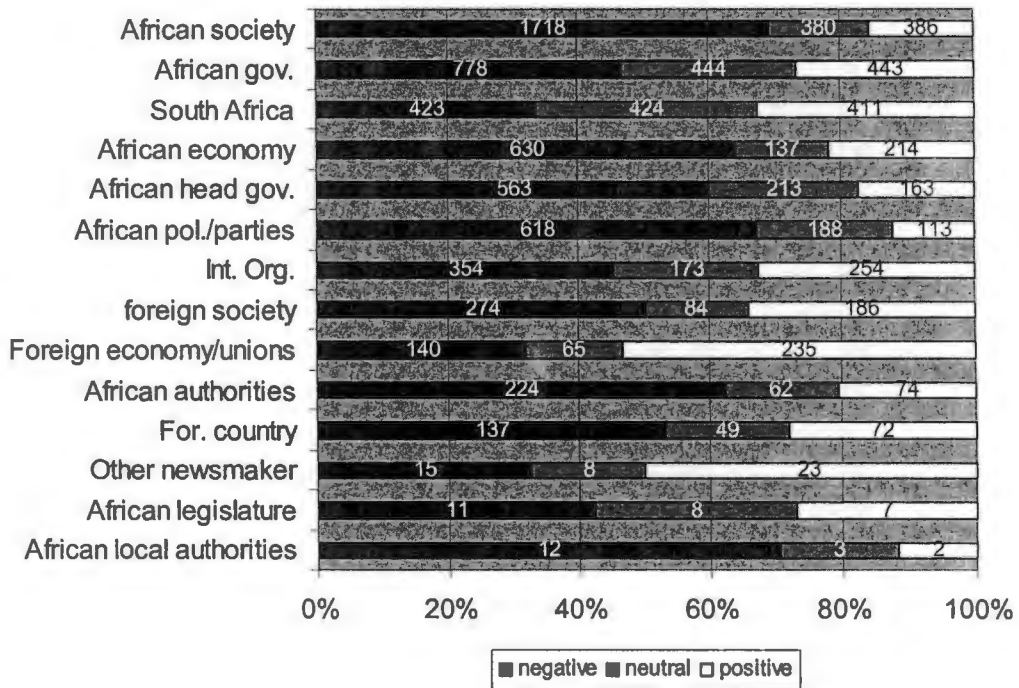
Graph 45: Main protagonists on African countries reported on in SA media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=10 812. Share and individual number of reports.
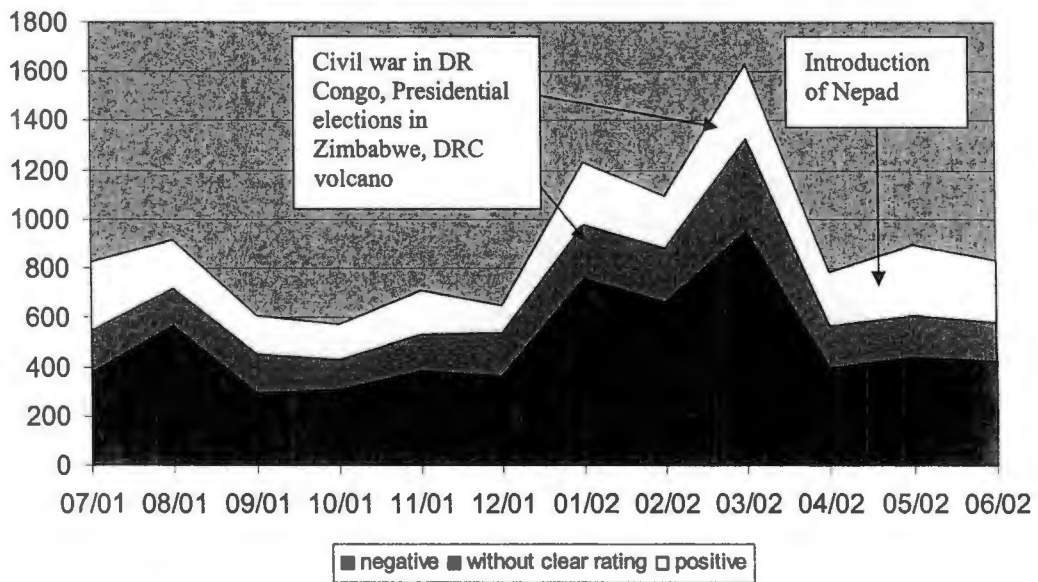
Graph 46: Frequency of reporting on African countries in SA media by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=10 812. Share of rating and number of reports.
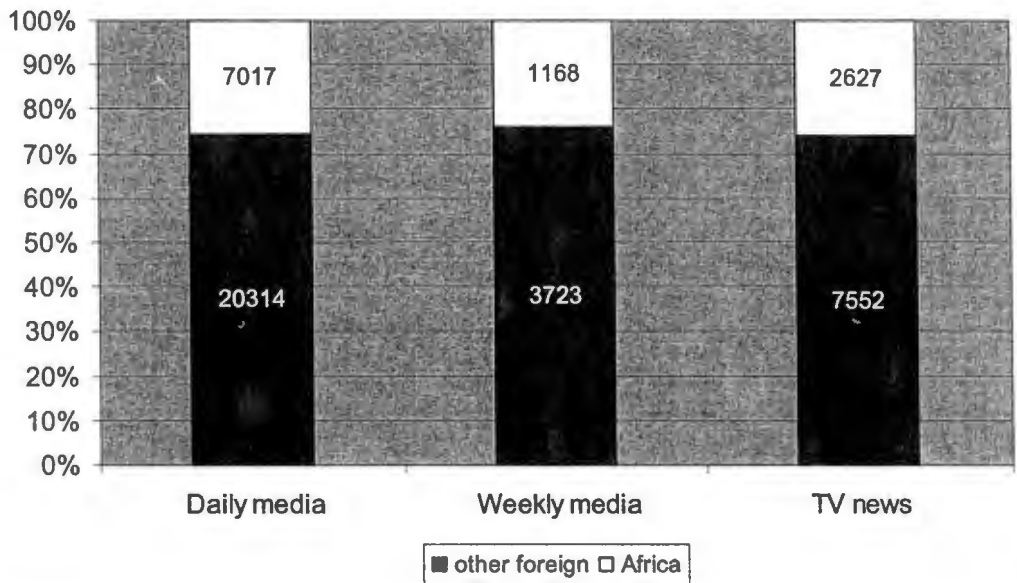
Graph 47: Share of reports on Africa by type of SA media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=10 812. Share of rating and number of reports.
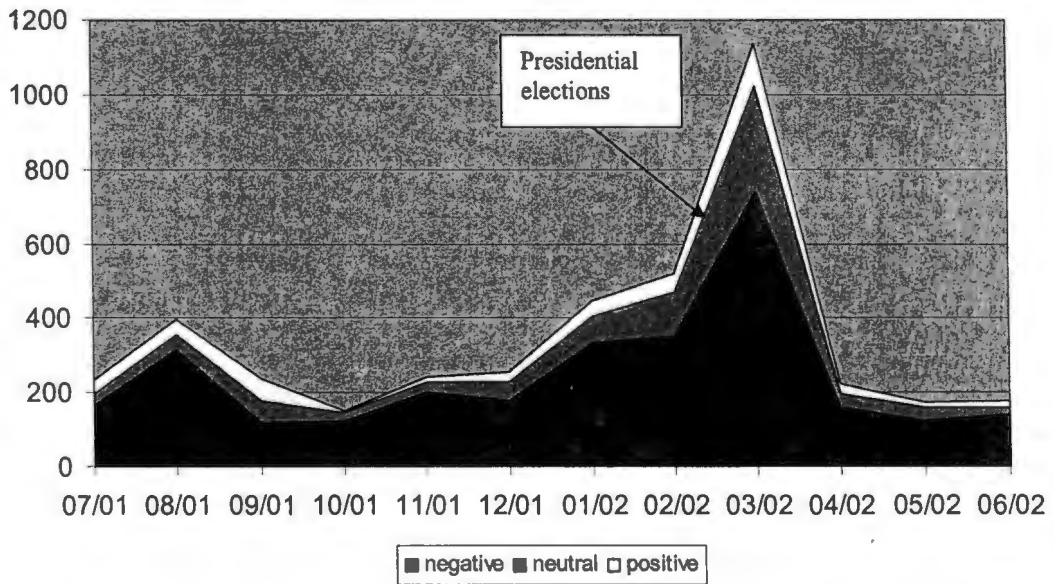
Graph 48: Frequency of reporting on Zimbabwe in SA media by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=4 203. Share of rating and number of reports.
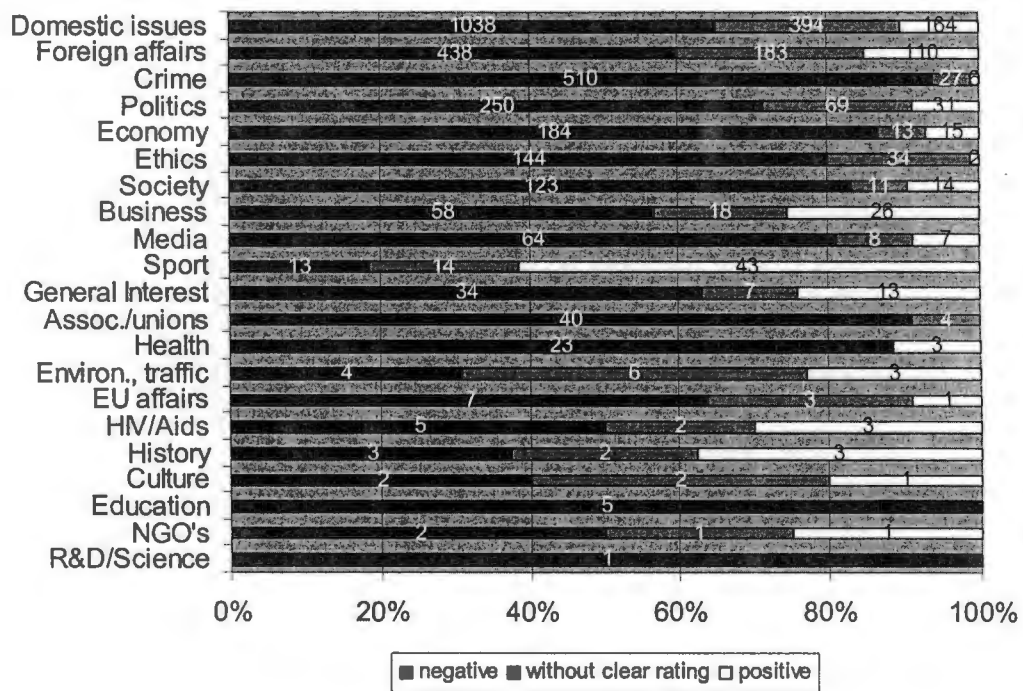
Graph 49: Main issues of reporting on Zimbabwe in SA media by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=4 203. Share of rating and number of reports.
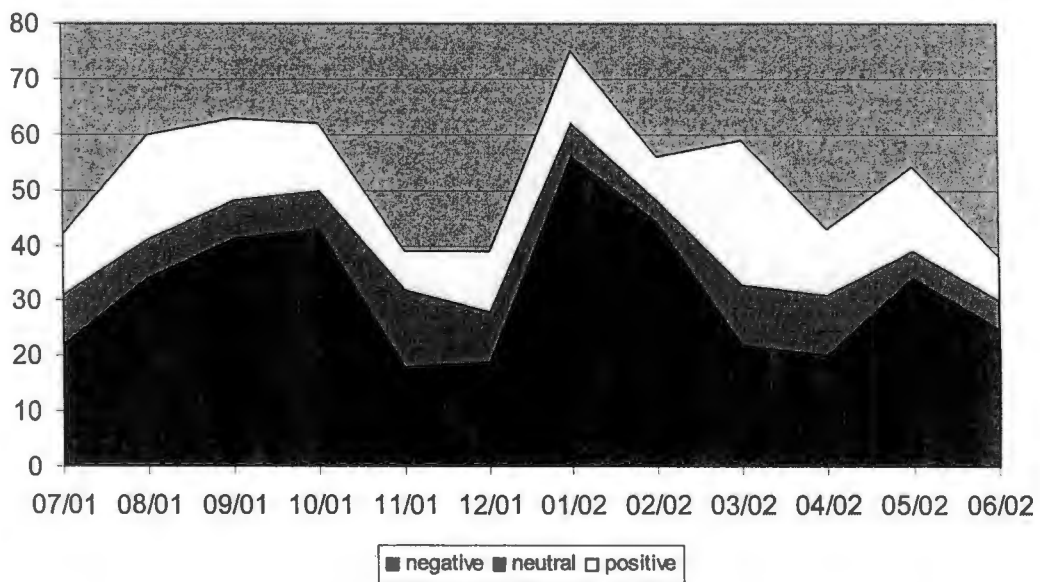
Graph 50: Frequency of reporting on Nigeria in SA media by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=633. Share of rating and number of reports.

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	negative	without clear rating	positive
Domestic issues	60	33	22
Crime	100		5 7
Business	42	15	47
General Interest	78		31 6
Foreign affairs	36	8	36
Politics	12	9	2
Economy	10	6	5
Society	11	2	4
Environ., traffic	5	4	6
HIV/Aids	4		5
Health	5	1	2
Sport	3	1	3
Ethics	4	2	1
History	3	1	2
R&D/Science		6	
Assoc./unions	4		
NGO's	1		2
Education	2		
EU affairs	1		
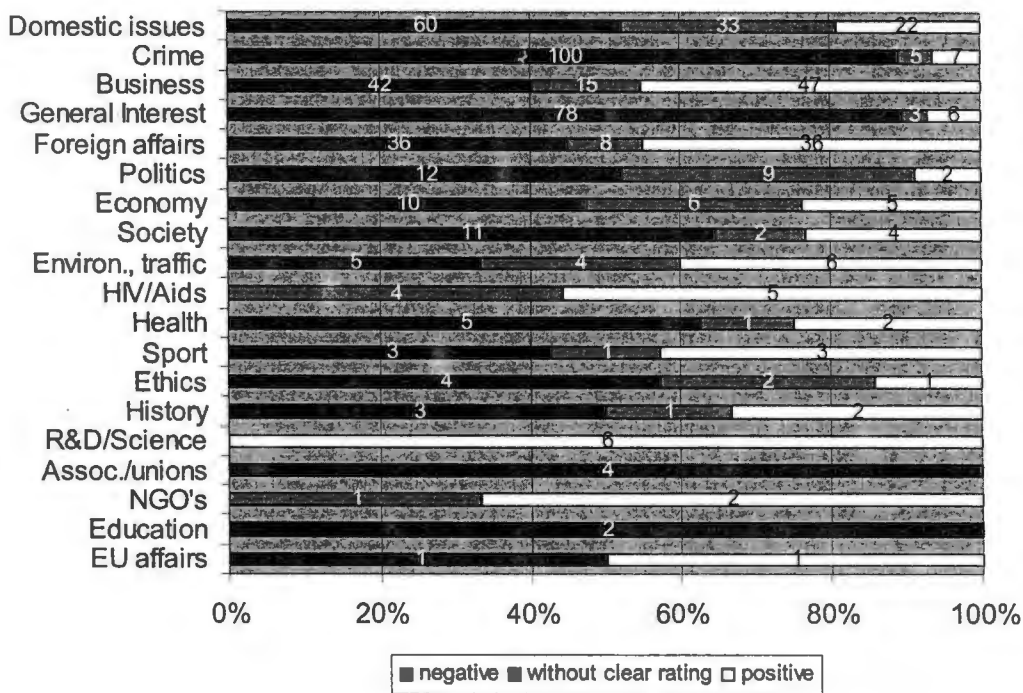
Graph 51: Main issues of reporting on Nigeria in SA media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=633. Share of rating and number of reports.
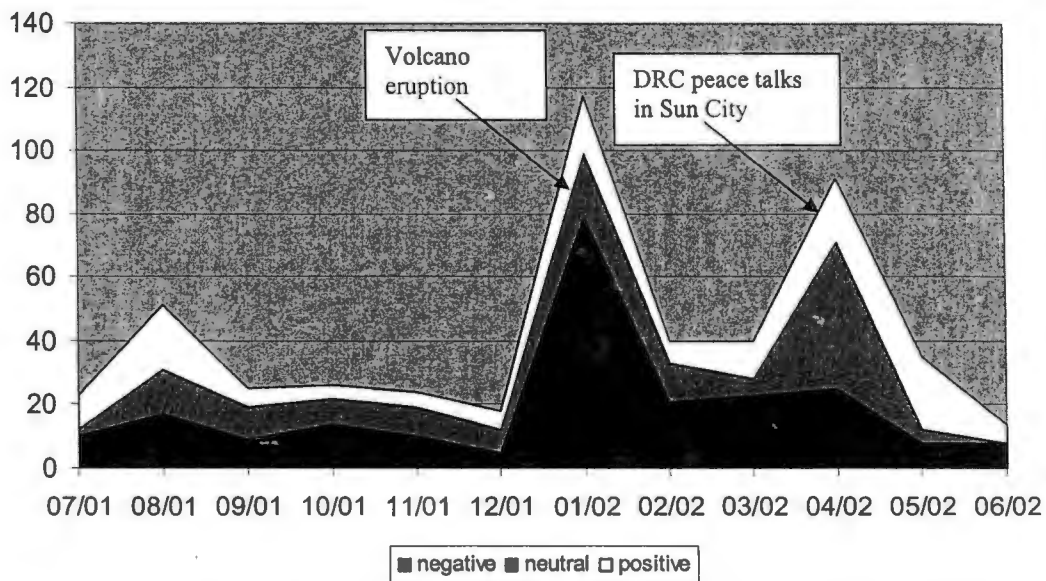
Graph 52: Frequency of reporting on the DRC in SA media by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=505. Share of rating and number of reports.

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Chart showing Main issues of reporting on DRC in SA media. Horizontal stacked bar chart with categories and values:

- Foreign affairs: 94, 103, 93
- General Interest: 65, 8
- Crime: 29, 1
- Business: 3, 2, 20
- Domestic issues: 10, 3, 4
- Society: 8, 4, 3
- Politics: 5, 5, 3
- Economy: 3, 3, 4
- Ethics: 5
- Health: 4, 2
- Environ., traffic: 1, 1
- Media: 3
- Culture: 2
- NGO's: 1
- History: 1
- Sport: 1
- EU affairs: 1

Legend: ■ negative ■ without clear rating □ positive

X-axis: 0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
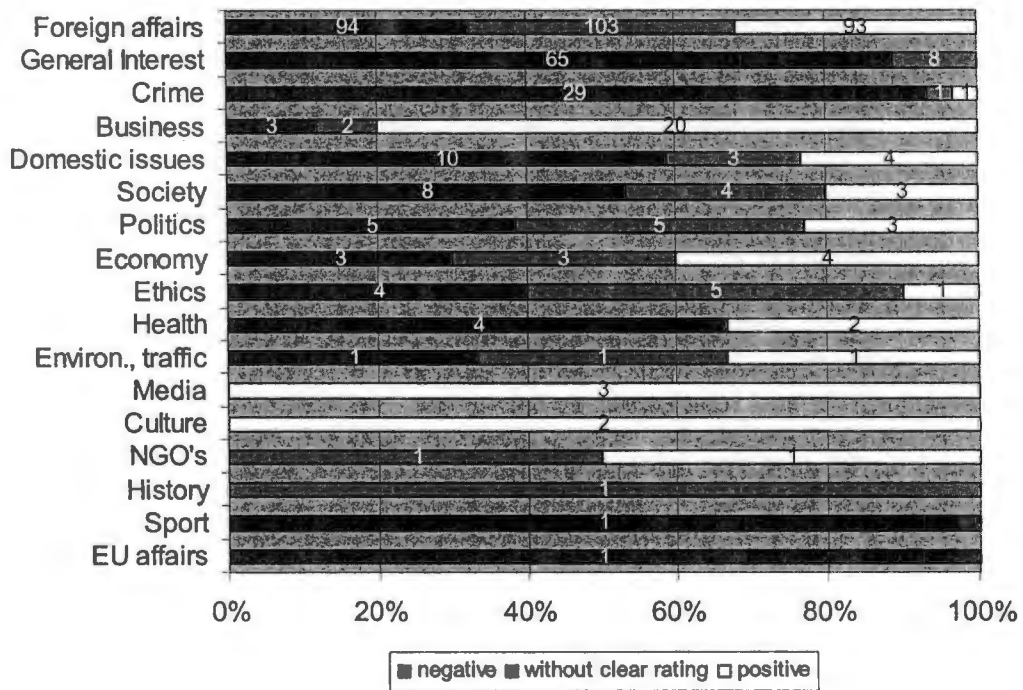
Graph 53: Main issues of reporting on DRC in SA media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=505. Share of rating and number of reports.

Legend: ■ negative ■ neutral □ positive

X-axis: 07/01 08/01 09/01 10/01 11/01 12/01 01/02 02/02 03/02 04/02 05/02 06/02

Annotation: Introduction of Nepad
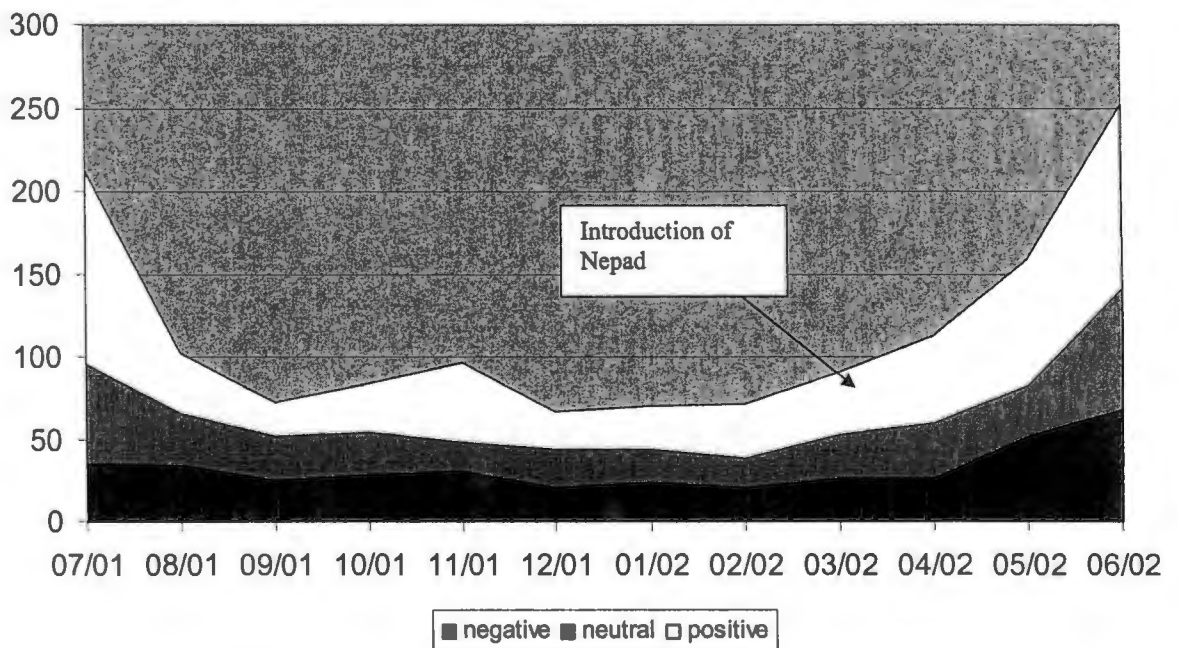
Graph 54: Frequency of reporting on Africa as a continent (separate from individual countries) in SA media by months. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=505. Share of rating and number of reports.
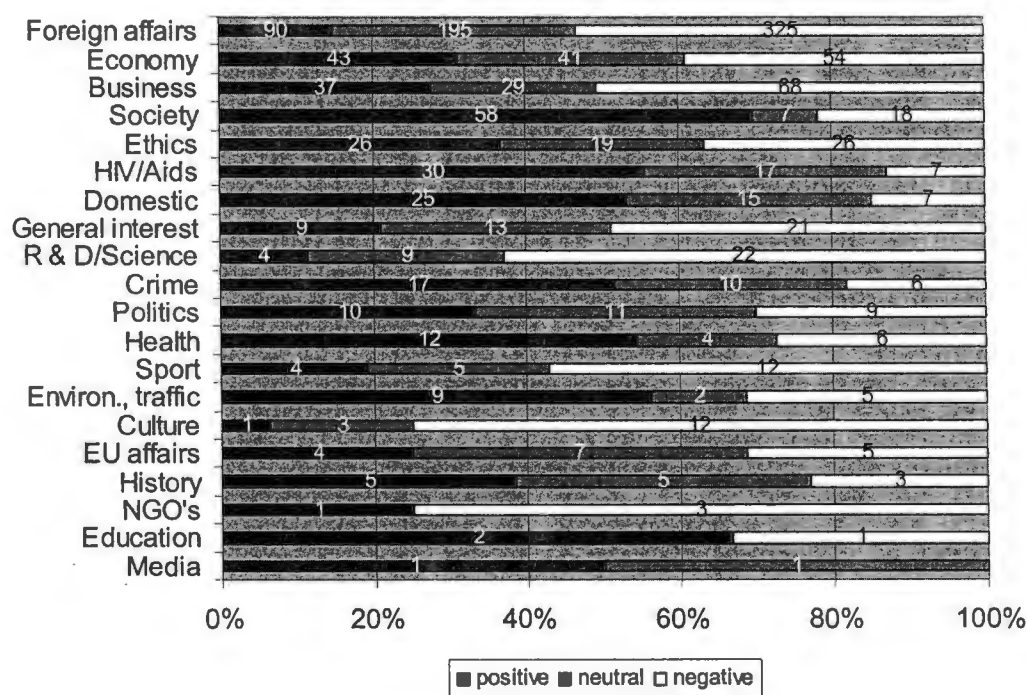
Graph 55: *Main issues of reporting on Africa as a continent (separate from individual countries) in SA media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=505. Share of rating and number of reports.*
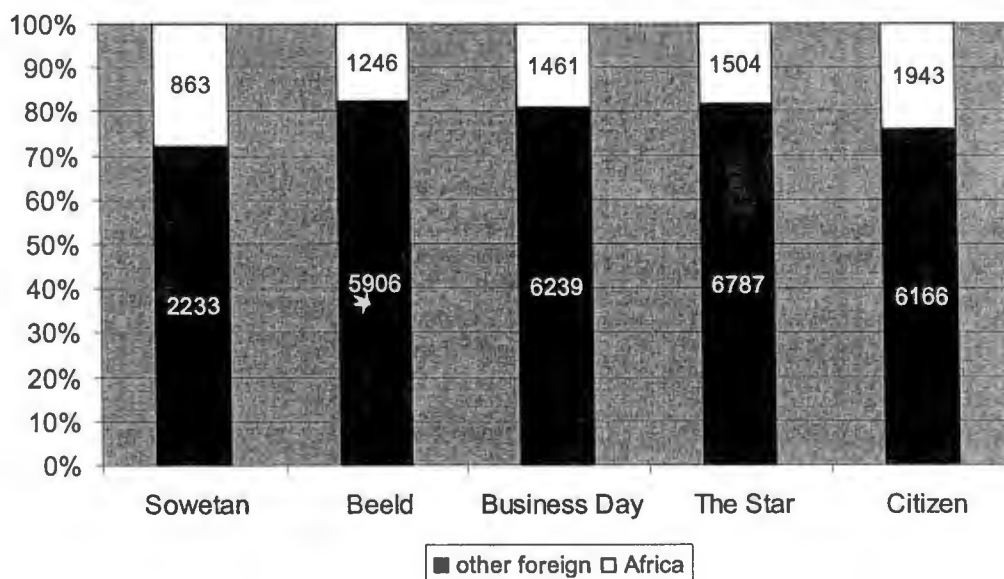
Graph 56: *Share of reports on Africa by SA daily media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=7 017. Share of rating and number of reports.*

Zimbabwe 2503
Africa 860
Nigeria 499
Zambia 324
DR Congo 311
Angola 218
Kenya 186
Sudan 173
Mozambique 151
Burundi 150
Madagascar 135
Swaziland 127
Malawi 123
Namibia 122
Uganda 93
SADC 85
Lesotho 85
Tanzania 80
Botswana 76
Mali 62
Sierra Leone 60
Rwanda 59
Congo- 57
Algeria 51
Somalia 49
Libya 46
Ghana 39
Senegal 38
Ethiopia 36
Ivory Coast 35
Liberia 30
Comores 28
Mauritius 20
Morocco 18
Central 13
Tunesia 13
Gabon 13
Cameroon 9
Guinea 9
Seychelles 5
Benin 5
Niger 5
Eritrea 3
Burkina Faso 3
Mauretania 3
Gambia 2
Cape Verde 2
St. Helena 1
Guinea 1
Chad 1

0   1000   2000   3000   4000   5000

Graph 57: African countries reported on in South African daily media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=7 017.
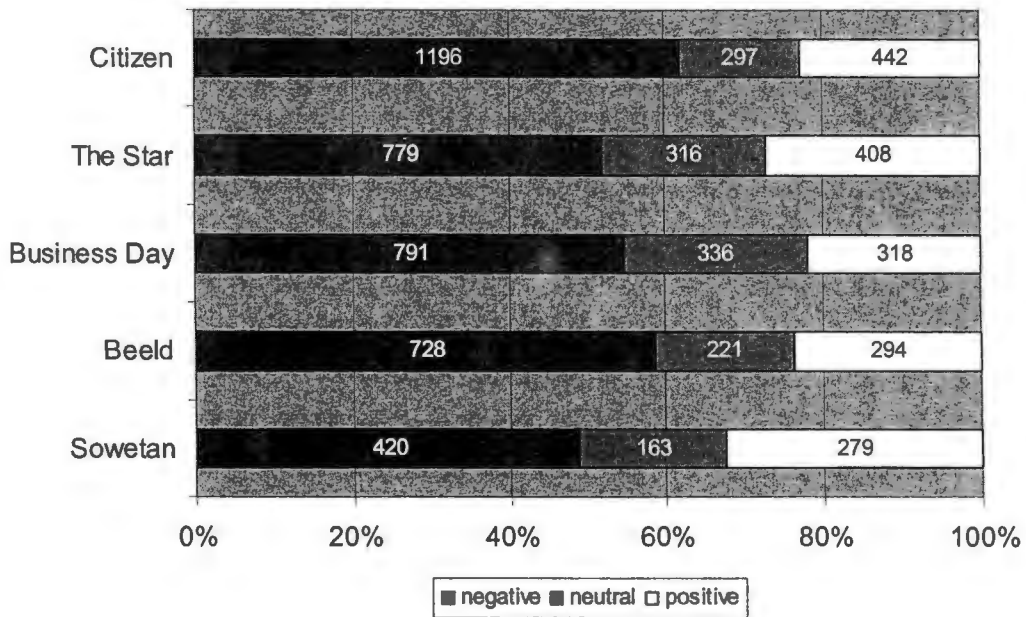
Graph 58: Rating of reports on Africa by SA daily media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=7 017. Share of rating and number of reports.
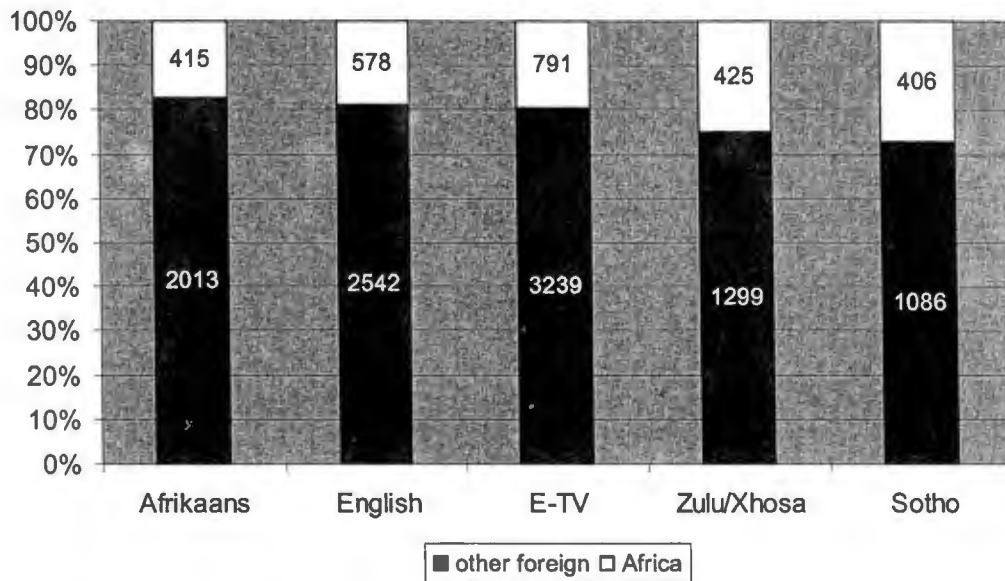
Graph 59: Share of reports on Africa by SA TV media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=2 615. Share of rating and number of reports.

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Country	Value
Zimbabwe	1192
Africa	201
DR Congo	147
Lesotho	101
Nigeria	93
Mali	93
Angola	83
Zambia	68
Burundi	66
Kenya	62
Botswana	62
Madagascar	51
Mozambique	49
Sudan	38
Swaziland	26
Somalia	24
Ethiopia	23
Sierra Leone	21
Malawi	21
Algeria	21
Uganda	17
Senegal	17
Rwanda	16
Comores	15
Namibia	15
Ivory Coast	13
SADC	12
Tanzania	12
Libya	12
Morocco	10
Ghana	9
Mauritius	5
Liberia	5
Tunesia	5
Congo-Brazzaville	4
Seychelles	2
Gambia	2
Eritrea	2
Cape Verde	2
Burkina Faso	2
Gabon	2
Benin	1
Central African Rep.	1
Chad	1
Niger	1
Mauretania	1
Guinea	1

Graph 60: African countries reported on in South African TV media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=2 615.
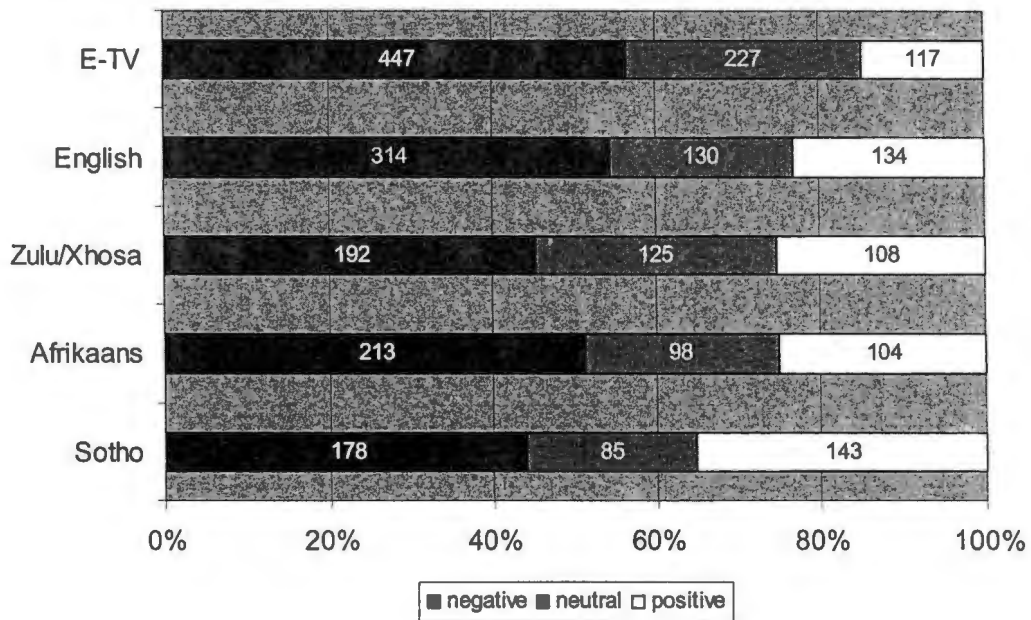
Graph 61: Rating of reports on Africa by SA TV media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=2 615. Share of rating and number of reports.
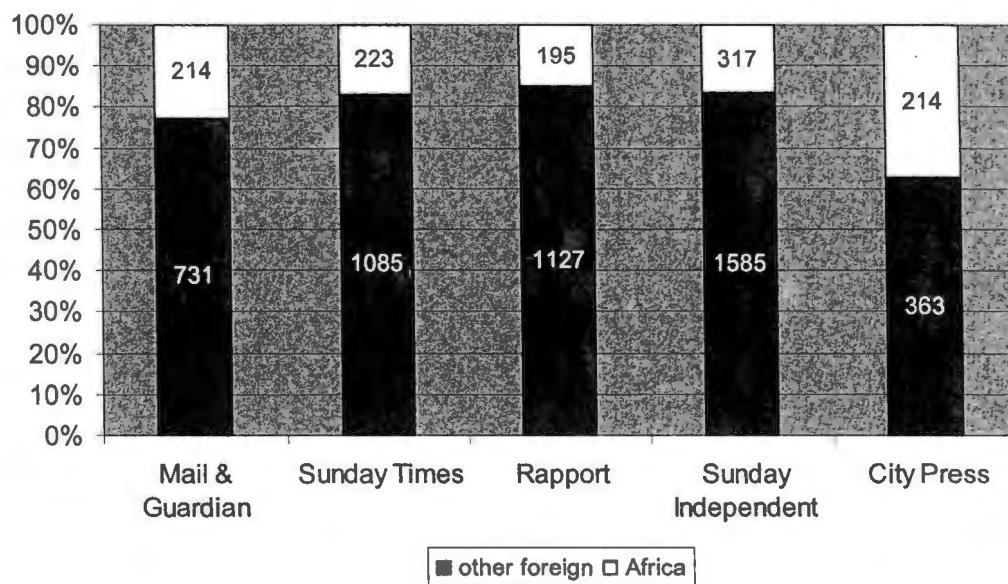
Graph 62: Share of reports on Africa by SA weekly media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=1 168. Share of rating and number of reports.

Country	Value
Zimbabwe	508
Africa	215
DR Congo	47
Nigeria	41
Angola	38
SADC	27
Kenya	27
Zambia	25
Mozambique	25
Lesotho	24
Sudan	20
Burundi	18
Botswana	17
Swaziland	15
Sierra Leone	15
Namibia	14
Malawi	14
Mali	11
Rwanda	10
Uganda	8
Libya	7
Senegal	5
Ethiopia	5
Tanzania	4
Somalia	4
Ivory Coast	4
Madagascar	3
Congo-Brazzaville	3
Africa: other	2
Comores	2
Central African	2
Algeria	2
Equatorial Guinea	1
Eritrea	1
Mauretania	1
Morocco	1
Guinea	1
Ghana	1
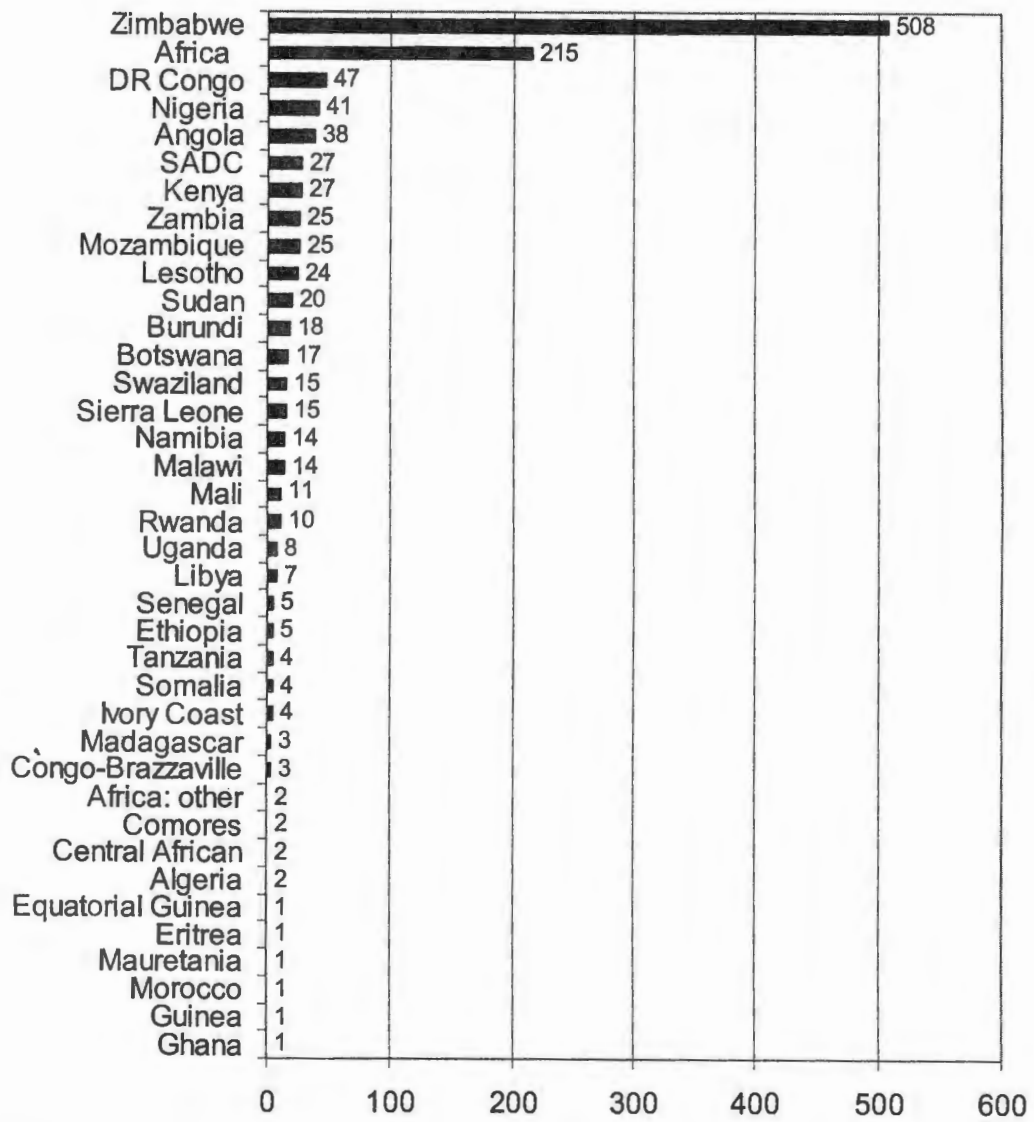
Graph 63: African countries reported on in South African weekly media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=1 168.

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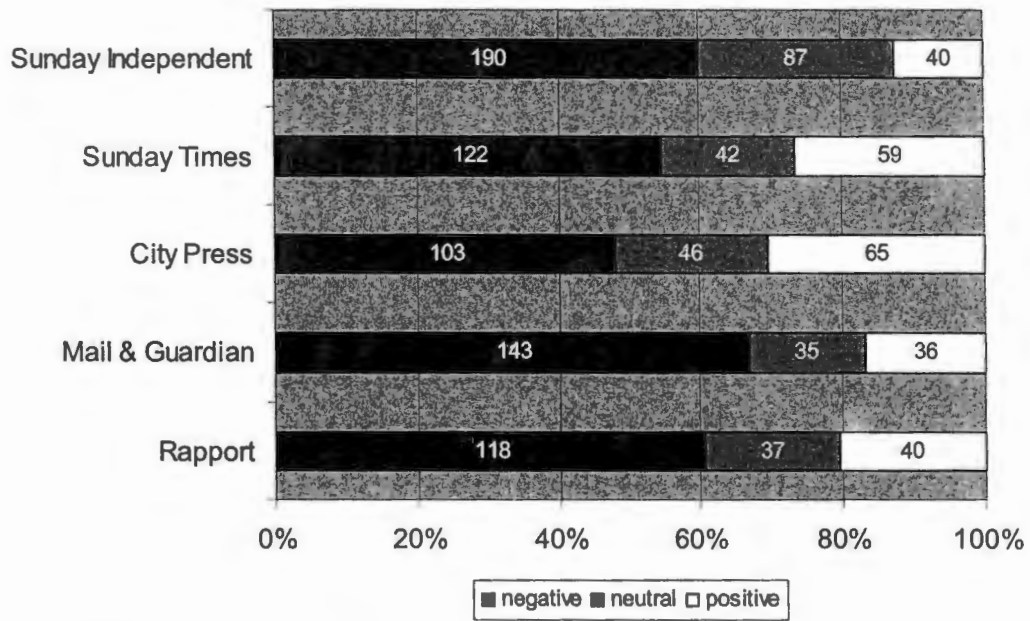
Graph 64: Rating of reports on Africa by SA weekly media. Time period: 1 July 2001 – 30 June 2002. N=1 168. Share of rating and number of reports.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

5.1 General conclusions

The results of the empirical study reveal both traditional trends in the way Western countries report on Africa, and to a certain extent the way African media still report on international news. A new and exciting leaning in African media is however visible, one that might lead to an improved way of reporting, or maybe even to an "African" way of reporting.

It seems as if, September 11 and the US lead "War against Terrorism,' caused US television to abandon to a certain extent, the reporting of international news outside of the areas directly of relevance to them. In terms of share, 73% of their international coverage is devoted to the Far East, in particular Afghanistan and the Middle East (including the Israeli-Palestinian crisis). The remaining 27% was allocated to other areas such as Western Europe and - down at the very bottom – Africa. The latter is marginalised with only 3% of the total international coverage assigned to the continent. Individual events of mostly a negative context are highlighted within this small percentile. Issues such as culture, business or domestic issues are virtually absent in the US media, indicating that the image of Africa in the US media has not altered much in the past 20 years: Africa is still a continent dominated by crime, corruption, devastation, staying true to the appellation "dark continent". In 2000, Mozambique, for instance, received world-wide coverage due to the devastating floods that ravaged the country. The miraculous event of a baby born in a tree, made hundreds of thousands of Americans donate money to the region, yet in 2001/2002 Mozambique, although enjoying enormous growth, almost disappeared on the whole from North American television screens. This phenomenon highlights yet again the event driven nature

of media, rather than developing an issue in all its facets. As said, since the floods, Mozambique has experienced an unprecedented economical and touristic boom developing into a favourable tourist and farming destination with an ever growing infrastructure. In addition the country, in conjunction with South Africa, has initiated several programmes to dispose of its remaining land mines, the remnants of an extended civil war. Another Southern African neighbour receiving no coverage at all in US TV, is Botswana. One of Africa's economic role models, a fact that will not be known in the US as the country plays absolutely no role in US television in the year 2001/2002. The intense focus on events as well as the proximity to the own country, are further underlined by the fact that within the actual coverage on Africa, the protagonist is mostly a US individual, group or organisation.

Although British television devotes a proportionally higher share of coverage on Africa than its US counterpart, it is still not only marginalised, but bound to previous colonial interests. Countries receiving most coverage are the commonwealth members Zimbabwe and South Africa; and amongst the top ten African countries reported on, five are previous colonies. Similar to the US news coverage, British television tends to focus on predominantly negative aspects in Africa. In fact, British news is even more negative on the continent than on the Middle East and Afghanistan, although this Africa is proportionally reported on less. Countries with clear positive developments, such as Botswana (a previous protectorate) and Mozambique, are virtually ignored. Angola, for instance, receives only four reports and all of them negative, this despite the fact that the government signed a peace agreement with the rebel faction. This ignorance of positive developments inevitably leads to the African continent still being portrayed as a continent without hope and ability of successful self-governance. Such positive issues as Nepad, the African Union or trade relations to the EU,

did not receive coverage at all, despite a possible impact on the stabilisation of the region as a whole, which after all should also be in the interest of the United Kingdom.

Compared to the other two international countries, Germany shows the greatest diversity of reports in terms of issues raised, although the volume is relatively low. The broadcasters highlight more individual countries and although it is also mostly event oriented, it still tries to include in its reports (in terms of timespan) a period before and after the event - something virtually absent from the other international counterparts. Similar to the United States (but contrary to the UK), German television reports on African countries where there is a clear reference to Germany (for instance in the case German politicians participation at the Racism Conference or the German victims in the Tunisian bomb blast). Although many of the reports in German television are negative, the high percentage of neutral reports indicates that the broadcasters somehow try to report more balanced on Africa. Some positive issues are even highlighted, although these are mostly sport or general interest topics. Nevertheless, Africa still receives only 3% of the international reports's share, this despite Germany having with 50%, the highest share of international reports among the analysed three international broadcasters. German tourists are the second largest group visiting South Africa, a trend that continues. This might contribute to the rather neutral coverage on the continent in German media.

South Africa's media, although it still predominantly focuses on Western countries, is definitely increasing its coverage on Africa. The high share of reports on non-African countries is largely related to the events around September 11 and covers the United States, Afghanistan and other related countries. It must be noted however, that the developments in

Zimbabwe have caused South African media to largely focus on the neighbour, neglecting other African countries, including some of its other neighbours (Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, etc.). Generally speaking, the South African media chose to depict similar events in its selection than the British, US and German television: the DRC with its civil war and the volcanic eruption in January 2002, and Zimbabwe. However, Zimbabwe's land reform drew attention away from other events of a generally negative nature. But the major difference between international broadcasters and the South African media is, that while international media report predominantly on the events themselves, South African media is attempting to use these events to highlight more developmental news, most of them positive. The introduction of Nepad has surely contributed greatly to a change in reporting style with a more intense focus on Africa. One of the problems the Nepad coverage is facing, is that it focuses on Africa as a continent as a whole, instead on individual countries. This is a "missed opportunity" for some countries, since the overall region could benefit from the Nepad coverage through more positive reports. If journalists are able to link Nepad as an "all African" plan to a more individual plan, the number of reports and diversity of coverage on other countries, especially neighbouring countries will not only increase, but generally contribute to a more positive image of Africa. This will only happen if successfull "news flow" is practised to international media. But without the issue of Nepad, the image of Africa overall is still rather negative. Generally the coverage is highly event driven and the majority of non-event related reports are clearly more positive than negative – a possible trendsetter for journalists.

Compared to its international counterparts, South African television was not as negative in its coverage of Africa. Among daily newspapers, those media accused of an "anti national-interest" attitude (such as the *Citizen*,) proved to be justifiably criticised, and Afrikaans

speaking media, whether daily or weekly, still focused very little on Africa. The *Mail &* *Guardian* who positions itself as the watchdog of the people, and therefore highlights more scandals than achievements, is clearly defending its title with the high share of negative coverage on the African continent. Certain media in South Africa are still very much driven and influenced by (traditional) Western-style reporting: negative and from the perspective of catastrophe. On the other hand, the traditionally nation building media such as the *Sowetan*, are clearly supportive of Africa boosting the image of Nepad to a great extent. The weekly *City Press* (though from the former Naspers, now Media24 stallion) follows this trend, as do the SABC's broadcasting channels that target the black population in South Africa (Sotho news, Zulu/Xhosa news). On the flipside, E-TV aligns itself with the *Citizen*, in the daily newspapers in terms of its coverage on Africa, and the *Mail & Guardian* in the weeklies. These media prefer highlighting rather the negative than positive developments. Most of the other media (*The Star*, *The Sunday Times*, the *Sunday Independent*, *Business Day*, and the English and Afrikaans news on SABC) are rather neutral in their coverage and try to balance both the quantity of its reporting as well as its opinion.

The South African government might accuse South African media of being un-African or even scandalous in their reporting stance, by not highlighting developmental developments more often and intense enough. But the readership/viewership of the individual media, who, as some of them might argue, have little interest in developmental coverage from other African countries, must still be taken into account. Affairs in the region are directly affecting the South African economy and society, and increased information to the population about positive developments might not only ease some concerns on the progress of the country,

but also eventually lead to this type of information "flow" to Western countries, who might see Africa as an opportunity rather than a problem.

5.2 Research goals: conclusion

In terms of the initial research goals, as discussed in 1.4, the following conclusions can be made:

1) News about the West are dominant in international news flow to and within Africa (see also research question C in 2.7.1). Is this still the case in the new millennium?

The answer to this must be a no, at least in South African media. Of all news researched, 67% were national and 33% international, and additionally, 25% of all international reports in South African media in fact focused on Africa. This attributes to around 75% of the total news coverage being 'African', if the own, domestic, coverage is included. The focus is therefore definitely more national than international.

2) News flow to and within Africa is still defined in terms of Western news values (see also research question C in section 2.7.1). Is this statement still accurate?

In terms of the proportion of developmental news, the coverage in terms of issues in Africa is however still very much focused on crime and negative African domestic affairs. The trend, however, might be turning with a strong focus on Nepad and the benefits and advantages for Africa. Also interesting to note is the relatively high focus on business in Africa, and although this might not be called 'developmental news', it certainly is different from the traditional 'bad news' coverage. In terms of news values, de Beer (1997) and Steyn (1995) placed Western news values within the context of

distance and intensity (see section 2.9). In terms of news flow within Africa, South African media still report in a similar style, focusing on physical proximity (Zimbabwe) socio-psychological proximity (economic impact on South Africa), magnitude of events and, as in the case of the Congo volcano eruption – unusualness. As to news flow to Africa, no clear answer can be given since the intenseness of the events around September 11 do not allow objective conclusions about it.

3) International news flow to and within Africa is dominated by 'negative' news (see also research question B in section 2.6.1). Is this still the case?

This still seems to be the case, although in the case of South African media, it might be argued that the importance of Zimbabwe (with negative coverage attached) is of special significance due to social and economic ties between the countries, Nevertheless, with the exception of business issues, most main issues on Africa in South African media received more negative coverage than positive. Among the issues receiving positive coverage were sport, culture, research & developments and the role of NGOs, the latter with very low numbers. The results indicate that 'bad news', in the case of Africa, are still a very important part of South African media's reporting.

4) International news are Western-centric (see also research question D in section 2.9.1)? Can this still be said today?

The answer to this research question must be a yes. In US television, coverage on Africa represents only 2.8% of the total volume, Central America and South America even less. In UK television, Africa receives only 3.3% of the total coverage and in German television 2.6%. Other areas of the 'periphery' (for instance Central and South America)

has similar little coverage. In most cases, the little coverage is related to a proximity to the country showing the information, as will be explained in the results to research question 7.

5) The Third World coverage that exists, focuses on negative or 'bad' news rather than 'developmental news' or educational information. To what extend is this dominant in Western media reporting on Africa as well as (South) African media reporting on Africa (see also research question B in section 2.6.1., D in section 2.9.1)?

'Bad news' coverage still plays a significant role in reporting on Africa by international media, especially crime, which ranks in most countries among the top three issues in the coverage on Africa. But even issues that might be of developmental value (including domestic issues) have a lot of negative coverage. Generally speaking, negative coverage on Africa outweighs the positive coverage by far, and the little positive developmental news that are shown, are little compared to the large amount of negative publicity. The case is slightly different in SA media, where, although still predominantly negative, an increase in positive coverage on Africa could be witnessed from March 2002 onwards – directly linked to the introduction of Nepad by South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki. On Nepad, an issue that did not play a major role in international television, South African media show far more positive reports than negative and this has a direct effect on the image of Africa as a continent, unfortunately not on individual countries.

6) International news trends tend to be shallow and oversimplified in that it concentrates on political leanings of governments rather than accurate and comprehensive coverage of conflicts affecting nations and people (see also research

question B in section 2.6.1). Also, it tends to focus on countries with former colonial powers. Is this still the case?

No definite answer can be given since, in case of international TV, the medium of news is not a platform of comprehensive coverage but rather a platform for short overviews. One result however is that in covering conflicts in Africa, the focus is more on the society as a protagonist than governments or leaders. In the UK, 46% of all protagonists in reports on Africa were from the society, followed by leaders and political parties. The last three combined, however, also account to 36%. In the US, 42% of all protagonists on Africa were from society, and African governments were 'only' 17%. In Germany, 50% of all protagonists are from society, and only 15% governmental. It shows that with the exception of the United Kingdom, the media of the analysed countries did indeed give more news space to the society as to the leaders and political parties. As discussed in 4.6.8, it seems as if the former colonial ties are slowly slipping, although this can only be ascertained in an analysis of other former colonial broadcasters (Portugal, Spain, France).

7) International news focuses on issues close to home or of cultural proximity (see also research question A in section 2.4.1. Is this still the case?

The answer must be a yes. Galtung and Ruge's nine factors of selection of events were found to be still accurate in most extents:

I)   *Timespan.* Depending on the format of the medium (daily, weekly etc), certain events are relevant to the publication and others not. This definition was found to be true in the case of South African media, where three different media types were analysed (weekly, daily, TV). For instance, in covering the UN World

Racism conference, an increased coverage on issues of racism in general or xenophobia were witnessed, not only on South Africa, but Africa in general (with intense focus on Zimbabwe) In the case of international media, where only one medium was selected (TV), no results could be asserted.

II)   *Intensity or threshold value.* Matters of 'national interest' get higher priority than matters of normal level of significance, which in turn can become of larger significance if the public perception shifts towards them. This definition was found to be correct in that events such as the court case against US pharmaceutical companies received increased coverage in US media due to its 'national' relevance and, of course, in the intense coverage on September 11, which ended a debate on racism (following the UN World Conference against Racism) abruptly without a conclusion.

III)   *Clarity/lack of ambiguity.* The less the meaning of an event is in doubt, the more likely it is to be suitable for news treatment. This definition was found to be true in that all international conferences hosted by South Africa received extensive media coverage by all media types. Again, the example of the UN Racism conference can be used. With international negative attitude towards the event (especially from the United States and Israel, fearing a debate on the 'Palestinian issue') the role of the conference and possible solutions were questioned. But the issues were so strongly communicated by the organisers that it became an important news items for two weeks.

IV)   *Cultural proximity or relevance.* The closer the event to the culture and interests of the target audience, the more likely the selection. This definition was found to be true and is reflected in the high 'general' or 'human interest' stories on Africa,

underlining the interest of international reader-/viewership in these issues. In case of the UK television, the high volume of general interest as well as sport shows that there is a cultural interest in certain African countries (in this case, South Africa), while the non-interest in general interest reports in US TV indicates the opposite, a non-interest of its audience and therefore a missing cultural proximity.

V)   *Consonance.* An event that confirms to certain expectations is more likely to get a higher attention (wars, conflicts in areas notoriously known for conflicts, as in the case of for instance Africa). This definition can definitely be confirmed in the high coverage of crime and war related issues on Africa by international media.

VI)   *Unexpectedness.* The more unusual and unexpected, the more likely a story can make the headlines. The case of the volcanic eruption in Goma, DRC and the consequent international media coverage, based on the surprise realisation that Africa does have its share of active volcanoes, underlines this assumption. In terms of international news, September 11 was certainly an unexpected event that lead to a massive increase in news volumes.

VII) *Continuity.* Once an event has been declared 'newsworthy', it is more likely to be sustained in the media. Since most events, especially related to Africa only had a very limited time span, no concrete verification can be made. All events covered on Africa did not have the intensity to validate international media continuity.

VIII) *Composition.* Some events are selected according to the balance of the editorial content of the medium. It can be assumed that the selection of information, especially as it is related to Africa is not based on composition, but rather other factors such as demand, interest of target audience or general newsworthiness.

IX)   *Socio-cultural values* of the receiving society. The rating of especially Africa in international media is definitely based on socio-cultural values (see Eribo, 1997). In an US perspective, governance in Africa might be perceived as un-democratic and therefore 'bound to lead to a war'. As many Islamic countries criticise their image in the Western media, claiming that it does not understand its values, a similar statement can be said on the way, business in Africa is conducted or socio-economic affairs are handled (largely due to a different social positioning of the population).

8) International news focus on events rather than on factors leading to and causing these events (see also research question A in section 2.4.1). Is this still the case?

The answer is yes. The majority of coverage was focused on an event itself (volcano eruption in the Congo, UN World Racism conference in Durban, etc.) Very little coverage was leading to and from the event, although in the case of the UN Racism conference the argument might be that it closed two days before September 11 and therefore the leading time was too short.

Since the concept of agenda setting, as determined by McCombs & Shaw (1972) and Brettschneider (2002) is rather new, no clear results could be established. In order to asses the impact of coverage on Africa in international media as well as coverage on Africa in South African media, a qualitative survey analysis of the population would have been necessary. No data are available on this subject as yet. But if one assumes the research results by scholars on agenda setting to be correct, in that the media have indeed a direct influence

in the way perceive issues and countries, public perception on Africa internationally must be rather bleak.

5.3 New trends emerging

On a positive note, the following developments are visible: the fact that South Africa hosts international events not only increases the coverage on South Africa and other African states, but adds to a certain extent to a more positive and diverse coverage. This is because journalists taking part in such events are forced to deal with not only issues that surround the event, but have the opportunity of getting hands on information and experience of what the country has to offer.

Mowlana's (1997) statement that African media report negatively on Africa (see chapter 1) is only partially true. However, although the developments in Zimbabwe, the volcano eruption in the DRC and the crises in Rwanda shared the majority of coverage on African media, the recent increase in reports on Nepad and the African Union show a new trend: an identification with Africa and proudness of being African. It seems, as if the traditional (and almost colonialistic) view on Africa is slowly changing and a new identification with Africa is cultivated within South African media. The intensity, but also positivity, with which Nepad is debated in the media might lead to a more positive attitude on Africa among African journalists. The increase in positive business reports and increased coverage on a more stable economy might even contribute to this trend. Although the news flow is still very much defined in terms of Western values, a slight increase in 'developmental news' is clearly visible (see sections 4.2.4, 4.3.4, 4.4.4, 4.6.8). HIV/Aids, education and culture are increasingly

reported on and information is more in-depth, although it still highlights negative angles, it however offers new solutions at the same time.

Although some individual South African media still display a traditional approach to reports on Africa and seem to follow their assumed readership (shown by the Afrikaans media's low coverage on Africa, while *Sowetan* and *City Press* have strong reporting), only the *Mail and Guardian* remains true to its Anglo-Saxon heritage.

In an interview with *Beeld* (19.11.2002) the current ambassador of South Africa to the United States, Sheila Sisulu, reflecting over her past six years in Washington, D.C. addresses particularly the issue of Africa's image in the United States. She states that Americans still think that 'Africa is a country and not a continent'. This sentiment seems to be not a unique one to the United States but cross-border. Almost no reference is found in international media as to developments within the continent of Africa – only of a few individual countries. And if there is such a reference, it is of a negative nature exactly because of the focus on the individual country's 'failures'.

This research not only reveals a perception contrast in news coverage. Ethical and news values seem to have shifted away from the (traditional) Western way – at least to a certain extent (see chapter 2.10). While international media still report on issues that concern them or are economically and culturally closer; in a more or less liberal way certain tendencies of developmental news reporting are clearly visible in South African media, even in media that previously were focusing on different type of issues. One of the reasons might be an increase in 'nationalism' – in a positive sense. The very successful 'Proudly South African' campaign

in South Africa seems to have rippled to become a 'proudly African' sentiment – reflected in the increased positive coverage of South African media on the African continent. And although the media industry in South Africa is still to a greater degree white dominated, 'attacks' and claims of racism against them have eased since the Inquiry into Racism in the Media. Generally, the sentiment seems no longer to be that Africans are only black people, but that the entire population of South Africa can contribute to the wealth of the region – irrespective of the skin colour. Media in South Africa were unanimous in condemning the Right Wing bomb attacks in October 2002, branding the people responsible as terrorists and fools. What is however still of concern is that although media seem to follow a more positive approach in reporting on Africa and to a certain extent increase developmental news, this is mostly to be found in media that have lost its traditional ownership.

For international media, the successes of Africa might be too small in monetary terms to impress the 'center-periphery' countries, and the latest chance to prove that Africa is a global player was shunned, when the 2006 Soccer World Cup was awarded to Germany instead of to South Africa. Because of the developments after September 11, international media, following to a great degree the policy of US President George W Bush, might reflect negatively on Africa because of African leaders' outspoken disagreement with the international foreign affairs developments and their condemnation of a possible Iraqi invasion.

5.4 Problems encountered

Among the drawbacks in researching news flow from, within and to Africa from an African research perspective was probably one of the problems that are related to globalisation, and

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that was discussed in section 2.3. Although every possible means were undertaken to obtain the most recent research results on news flow, South African libraries are still approximately two years behind in research journals and magazines. Unless magazines were available online, information after 2000 was only obtained with great difficulty. The Rand-Dollar exchange rates further made it difficult to obtain books online, since it puts most of the international literature out of reach for students and scholars in Africa. Most of the recent information was only obtainable by contacting the leading scholars in the United States and Europe directly via email, an opportunity not available to all students and scholars in Africa. While for instance email addresses of US researchers are readily available on the Internet, it is virtually impossible to obtain an overview of research conducted in Africa, since most universities have no website or Internet address. In fact, one can safely assume that research on news flow from Africa is undertaken within Africa, but not always published, because neither the financial nor technological means are available. But this problem is also one of the possible research possibilities resulting from this project.

5.5 Future research possibilities

Although South African media are certainly a good representative of African media, one must take into account the special and preferential role South Africa plays in Africa, both politically as well as economically. Analysis of other regions in Africa, such as Ghana, Nigeria or Senegal in West Africa, as well as Tanzania or Kenya in the East might reveal new or different patterns than this research. Also, differences in reporting between Anglo-Saxon African countries and Francophone could be established as well as the relevant former colonial power's image in those countries. Further, on a longer term, the impact of Nepad and the African Union on African media as well as international media could also be

investigated. The research results could then be used to strategically position Africa in international media and to actively work on the perception of Africa overseas. Future research might also look at the necessity of African ethics or African news values, and how these fit within the ownership structure of African media, especially in the light of changing ownership and Black Empowerment. The recent acquisition of the traditionally British *Mail and Guardian* in South Africa by a Zimbabwean businessman might indicate a possible shift in news content, not 'enforced' by governmental policies but by natural and economical factors. If this is unique to South Africa or a model for the rest of Africa, could possibly be answered in follow-up research. A further and rather interesting research project would include the establishment of people's perceptions of Africa based on surveys and questionnaires, comparing these results with those of an analysis of media content. The outcome might open a debate about the roles and duties of media, in an ethical context as much as in terms of globalisation.

On a final note, the author hopes that the results of this research will contribute to an increased and renewed debate on 'African' news values and reporting, not from a confrontational 'anti-Western' perspective, but taking into account the diversity of the continent, its people and the cultures. Africa is not a country, but a continent with many countries, and although financially not in competition to the Western World, it does host the second highest population of all continents – and rightly deserves its place in a media world.

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Appendix A

List of coded issues

Attached the list used to analyse all issues; levels (one to three) are indicated. For space

reasons, the list of protagonists is not attached, but the structure is similar.

Level	Description
1	--Ethics/Political values
2	-Ethics/political values in general
3	Ethics/political values in general
2	-Democracy/state
3	Democracy, sovereignty of the people
3	Referendum
3	Representative democracy
3	Federalism
3	Division of power
3	Rule of law
3	Lean state
3	Democratic role of political parties
2	-Justice in general
3	Justice in general
2	-Fundamental rights/ Human rights
3	Fundamental rights in general
3	Civil rights
3	Equality before the law
3	Dignity of man
3	Freedom of movement
3	Gender Equality
3	Freedom of religion
3	Freedom of expression
3	Freedom of press
3	Freedom of science
3	Protection of marriage, family and education (by the state)
3	Right to assembly
3	Secrecy of the mail/ inviolability of the home
3	Right of ownership (of property)
3	Right to labour
3	Preservation of nature and environment (animal protection as well)
3	Bio ethics
3	Freedom of profession
3	Privacy of personal information
3	Asylum
3	Right to resistance
2	-Responsibility of the individual within society
3	Responsibility of the individual within society
2	-Political culture/civic culture
3	Political culture in general

Level	Description
3	Ability to/state of economic or social reforms in general
3	Political correctness
3	Solidarity
3	Tolerance/ Pluralism
3	Civil courage
3	Protection of minorities
3	Integration of minorities
3	Patriotism, sense of nationality
3	Approach to NS-history
3	Approach to NS-history in general
2	-Economy and welfare
3	Social (market) economy
3	Socialism
3	Welfare state, social state
3	Social Stability/ Peace
3	Equal Opportunity (gender and race)
3	Social/ Economic Issues, other
2	-Domestic and external security
3	Compulsory military service
3	Sovereignty
3	External security, peace
3	Domestic security, order
1	--party politics
2	-coalitions and cooperations (fusions)
3	coalitions and cooperations in general
3	Ability of parties to form a coalition
3	Other form of cooperation
2	-Tendency/Competence in general
3	Characterisation as conservative
3	Political tendency in general (e.g.left-wing)
3	Position within the political system (significance of a party)
3	Political Platform in general
3	Competence of party leadership in general
3	Populism
3	Sense of national character within party
3	Representation of interest: economy
3	Representation of interest: high income
3	Representation of interests: average citizens
3	Representation of interest: tax payers
3	Characterisation as progressive

3	Agreement with voters/potential voters/population
3	Party's reflection of the population's values
3	Characterisation as socially minded
3	Ability to reform
3	Extreme tendencies
3	Racist tendencies
3	credibility
2	-Political parties: situation(internal affairs)
3	Situation of the party in general
3	Internal organisation, order
3	Party finances
3	Internal democracy, selection process
3	Personnel policies
3	Internal unity, unanimity
3	Unanimity among party leaders
3	Unanimity between party leadership and members
3	relationship between party and parliamentarians
3	relationship national party-regional groups
3	relationship between party and other subdivisions
3	Membership aspects (entries, withdrawals)
3	Parties: internal affairs, other topic
2	-Elections, votes
3	Electability
3	Voters potential
3	Campaigning
3	Success in previous elections or votes
3	Success in pending elections or votes without majority references (e.g. join the parliament)
3	Success in pending elections: absolute majority
3	Success in pending elections: 5% clause (parliamentary systems only)
2	-suitability ability to govern, government
3	suitability ability to govern, government in general
3	Appointment to a government position
3	Withdrawal from a government position (e.g. resignation)
3	suitability ability to govern, government, other aspect
2	-Parliamentary work
3	parliamentary work in general
3	vote to install an administration
3	vote of no confidence
3	impeachment
3	distribution of power
3	legislative procedure
3	other parliamentary votes as such
3	parliamentary session

3	parliamentary speech
3	parliamentary inquiry
3	parliamentary work in committees
3	parliamentary work in sub committees
3	parliamentary hearings
3	rules for parliamentary work
3	parliamentary work, other
2	-Public appearance
3	Public appearance in general
3	Relation to the media, PR, advertisement
3	TV duel
3	Appearance on TV
3	Committees, events
3	Prohibition of a party
3	Appeal to boycott by a party
3	Appeal to boycott a party
3	Litigation/investigation against a party/politician
3	Illegal actions, corruption of parties/politicians (not party finances)
3	Illegal action against party/politician
3	Other relation to other political protagonist
3	Relation to members of the economy
3	Relation to members of the society
3	Int. reputation, int. appearance
3	fund raising/campaign contributions to individual politicians
3	public appearance, other aspect
2	-Politicians: relation to the party
3	Appointment to a party position
3	Withdrawal from a party position (e.g. resignation)
3	Nomination/ Candidature for high office
3	run for political office
3	Position within the party: other aspect
3	Attitude, relation towards the party: relation to other politicians of the own party
3	Attitude, relation towards the party: other aspects
2	-Politicians: leadership qualities
3	leadership qualities
3	Suitability as President/Prime Minister
3	experience in political offices
3	ability to make decision
3	ability to solve problems
3	farsightedness, ability to plan ahead/plan long-term
3	Sovereignty
3	self-assertion
3	persuasiveness
3	willingness to compromise
3	Ambition
3	Resilience/ Staying Power
3	oratorical qualities
3	strategic abilities

3	Independence	3	Domestic security, other topic
3	Creative impulse/power	2	-politically motivated crime
3	Open-mindedness	3	politically motivated crime (e.g. terrorism)
3	Other leadership quality	3	Assassinations
2	-Politicians: personal characteristics	3	racially motivated crime
3	personal characteristics of a politician in general	3	religiously motivated crime
		3	Suicide bombing
3	physical appearance	3	religious fundamentalism (without description of crime)
3	Sticking to principles		
3	Confidence	3	Anti-Semitism (without description of crime)
3	Energy		
3	Dignity	3	Right wing extremism (without description of crime)
3	Line of conduct		
3	Commitment (to duties/ position)	3	Left wing extremism (without description of crime)
3	modesty, humility		
3	Vanity	3	Extremism in general (without description of crime)
3	self-confident		
3	Optimism	3	Anthrax assaults
3	ability to motivate others	3	Smallpox assaults
3	human touch	3	ABC terrorism
3	Humour	2	-non politically motivated crime
3	Trustworthiness	3	Violent crime in general (non-politically motivated)
3	charisma		
3	intelligence, shrewdness	3	Murder
3	resourcefulness, cunning	3	theft
3	Openness	3	Cash heist
3	Honesty/ Frankness	3	fraud
3	Considerate	3	Computer crime
3	education, formation	3	Drug related crime
3	Religiousness	3	Distribution/ Possession of child pornography
3	Religious affiliation/belief (e.g. Jewish)		
3	Resilience	3	Car theft
3	Industriousness	3	Insurance fraud
3	Ambition	3	Tax evasion, tax offence
3	Earnestness	3	Kidnapping
3	Origin, descent	3	Blackmailing
3	Career	3	Transport sabotage (planes, trains, buses, etc.)
3	Age		
3	politician: personal health	3	Poisoning of food or water
3	other personal characteristic or action	3	Child labour
2	-Party politics, other topic	3	White-collar crime
3	Party History not related to present	3	Copyright infringement
3	Party politics, other topic	3	Illegal immigration
1	--Crime, domestic security	3	smuggling of people
2	-domestic security	3	Arson
3	Domestic security in general	3	Environmental Crime
3	Crime statistics	3	illegal handling of nuclear materials
3	Gun laws, gun control	3	organised crime
3	Eviction of squatters	3	corruption, scandals
3	Crime-fighting measures (government/ police)	3	Police Brutality
		3	Rape/ Sexual Abuse
3	terrorism-fighting measures (government/police)	3	sexual harassment
		3	Muti-Murder
3	ABC terrorism fighting measures (government/police)	3	Bank Robbery
		3	Abuse
3	War on Drugs	3	invasion of private property
3	Espionage, secret services	3	Non politically motivated crime, other

1	--domestic policy,
2	-constitution, government bodies
3	breach of constitution
3	Constitutional reform in general
3	Data protection
3	Regulation of party finances
3	Parliamentary reform
3	Politicians' wages
3	department restructuring
3	personnel restructuring
3	National government relationship to Provincial government
2	-Justice
3	Legal policy in general
3	Court cases/ verdicts/ sentences
3	Death penalty / capital punishment
3	Executions
3	Appeal to Supreme Court
3	Situation of prisoners
3	Judicial Nomination
3	Justice, other topic
2	-minorities/
3	emigration in general
3	Brain Drain
3	Asylum policies
3	Immigration policy
3	foreign immigrants, immigration policies
3	Racism in general
3	Policies concerning handicapped
3	Policies/actions concerning religious minorities
3	Policies concerning minorities, in general
3	Equal Opportunities
3	Black Empowerment
3	SA: Transformation to rectify racial imbalance
3	crime victims (e.g. help for victims)
3	Affirmative Action
3	integration of minorities in general
3	Minority policies, other aspects
2	-Elections in general
3	Election laws
3	National elections
3	Regional elections (state level)
3	Local elections (county and city level)
3	European Elections
3	Election of head of state
3	by-elections
3	Primary elections/party caucuses
3	Elections in general/other topic
2	City politics
3	City politics in general
3	City Communication/Marketing
3	Town Twinning
3	City Development in general
3	Cities: external relations in general
3	Cities: Relationship with EC in general
3	Cities: EC suppot
3	City politics, other aspect
2	-domestic politics, home affairs in general
3	Domestic policy in general
3	Parliament: plenary session in general
3	Deregulation/ Privatisation of state tasks/ enterprises
3	Animal protection/ animal rights/ animal testing
3	anti-war Demonstrations/Protests
3	Demonstrations/Protests, other topic
3	Administrative reform
3	aiding/clearing-up operations (e.g. after accidents or disasters
3	Disaster prevention
3	local government politics in general
3	Public Procurement
3	Release of Census Data
3	Reliability of Census Data
3	Significance of Census Data
3	Census in general/other aspect
3	post-war settlement in coded country in general
3	Domestic policy, other aspect
1	--International politics, foreign affairs
2	-foreign policy
3	Foreign policy in general
3	Role of coded country in the world (world order)
3	Relationship of Germany to other countries, in general
3	Relationship of Germany to other countries, positive development
3	Relationship of Germany to other countries, negative development
2	-defence policy, military, army
3	Missile defence systems/shield
3	military foreign intervention in general
3	military foreign intervention, armed
3	military foreign intervention, unarmed armament
3	military planning in general
3	Conscription
3	Women in the military
3	alternative service
3	Eurofighter
3	Political extremism/ Racism in the military
3	Domestic use of military
3	defence policies in general, other aspect
2	-Development aid
3	Foreign aid in general
3	Foreign aid: emergency actions
3	Foreign aid: other aspects
3	Poverty relief / structural development)
2	-International politics/foreign affairs/conflicts

3	international democratisation, nation building		3	International politics, in general/other topic
3	Middle East conflict(s)		2	-Warfare
3	Northern-Ireland Conflict		3	War in general
3	Kosovo-Conflict		3	Recruitment Methods
3	Kashmir Conflict		3	war strategy/tactics in general
3	North Korea Conflict		3	Air strikes (old code: 208083)
3	Clash of Cultures/Conflict Western Countries/Islam		3	Ground war (old code: 208084)
			3	civil war, guerrilla (old code: 208001)
3	Attacks on U.S. (09/11/2001)		3	War, other (old code: 208002)
3	Reaction of U.S. on attacks of (09/11/2001)		3	War crimes (old code: 208003)
			3	War Damages (old code: 208085)
3	anti-US sentiment / anti-Americanism		3	defections/surrender of troops
3	Iraq conflict: UN resolution		3	urban warfare
3	Iraq conflict, other aspect		3	Military Logistics
3	UN weapon inspection		3	Guerrilla/Terror Tactics in Battle
3	international terrorism		3	Situation of POWs/Release of POWs
3	war against terrorism		3	Civilian casualties
3	international co-operation to fight terrorism (no military action)		3	war, other aspect
			2	-international trade
3	Conflicts in general, other aspect		3	International economic policy in general
3	Nuclear weapons: development/deployment/use		3	intern. trade, intern. economy
			3	Globalisation in general
3	biological and chemical weapons: development/deployment/use		3	Exchange rates
			3	import demand
3	Weapons (other/in general): development/deployment/use		3	export demand
			3	Trade agreements
3	Arms control, non-proliferation		3	Trade conflicts
3	treaties, agreements		3	Free trade zones
3	State visits		3	WTO, in general
3	conferences, summits		3	WTO, settlement, mediation
3	diplomacy/diplomatic measures, other aspect		3	WTO, joining, accession
			3	WTO, other topic
3	human rights		3	Intern. Financial aid
3	Situation of Refugees		3	Basle II
3	Peace Negotiations in general		3	Nepad (New Partnership for Africa's Development)
3	post-war settlement in a foreign country			
3	Transfrontier conservation		3	intern. trade, intern. Economy, other aspect
3	World Summit on Sustainable Development			
			1	--European policy of coded country/ European elections
3	International criminal prosecution and trial		2	-European policy of coded country/ European elections
3	international sanctions		3	EU: policies in general
3	Other aspect co-operation		3	EU-Presidency (of coded country)
3	Domestic safety policy		3	EU financial contributions (of coded country)
3	Peacekeeping/Humanitarian Mission			
3	Occupation of Palestinian Authority cities		3	EU: reform to financial contribution system
3	Sealing off of Palestinian territory		3	European elections (in coded country)
3	Killing of Palestinian leaders		3	European policy of coded country, other aspects
3	Settlements in Palestinian territory			
3	Israeli military action in Palestine		1	--European Union, European integration
3	Relations/negotiations between Israel and Palestine, other aspect		2	-EU: Regions/structure/organisation
			3	Regions/Euregio/regional structures
3	Friendly fire		3	EU: Subsidiary/ delegation of tasks within EU structure
3	African Renaissance			

3	EU: relationship between EU and member countries or their institutions	3	Referendum concerning the Euro, in general
3	EU: internal organisation	3	Criteria of convergence (national debt, inflation rate, interest rates)
3	EU: presidency of EU council		
3	EU: personnel policies	3	Participation in the European monetary system
3	Position/power/influence of the council of ministers		
		3	Stability pact
3	Position/power/influence of the European Parliament	3	Stability pact: Fines
		3	work of European Central Bank (ECB)
3	Position/power/influence of the Eur. Court of Justice	3	EC tax
		3	Monetary policy
3	Position/power/influence of the Eur. Commission	2	-Special section: Euro discussion in the UK
3	Position/power/influence of the Eur. Convention	3	Reaction to Euro (Euro introduction) inside the Euro-Zone
3	EU "Reflection group"	3	Reaction to Euro (Euro introduction) outside the Euro-Zone
3	Interaction/cooperation of EU institutions	3	Experience with the Euro through travel (tourism)
3	EU: reform of EU institutions		
3	European constitution	3	Fraud (Security of the new currency)
3	democracy deficiency of EC	3	History of individual currencies (also British Pound)
3	EU: corruption/ scandals		
2	-EU: integration/extension/European elections	3	Replacement of the national currency: timing
3	EU, European integration in general	3	Experience with the Euro in general/other
3	Maastricht/ single market		
3	Maastricht II, core Europe	3	Potential consequences of the Euro for the UK, in general
3	EU summit		
3	Extension of the EU, negotiations of joining the EU	3	Five economic tests, in general
		3	Economic test: convergence between Britain's economy and the EURO-Zone?
3	European elections (not in coded country)	3	Economic test: is Britain's economy sufficiently flexible to cope with economic change?
3	Harmonisation of law		
3	Realization of the EU treaty on a national level	3	Economic test: would investment in Britain be enhanced by joining the EURO?
3	EU, European integration, other aspects		
2	-EU budget, currency and monetary policy, EURO	3	Economic test: what would be the impact on the city and financial services sector?
3	EU budget in general	3	Economic test: would entry to the EURO be good for employment in Britain?
3	EU spending, abuse of EU funds		
3	European monetary union		
3	Currency rate of the EURO	3	Five economic tests are met
3	Introduction of the EURO	3	Five economic tests are not met
3	Shortage of EURO coins or banknotes	3	Euro-effects on Taxation (e.g. harmonisation of taxes in Europe)
3	Effects of the Euro on the financial markets		
		3	Euro-effects on mortgages
3	Effects of the Euro on the labour market	3	Exchange rate (Pound - EURO as a factor for Euro introduction)
3	Social effects of the Euro (e.g. social gap)		
3	Inflation (as an effect of the Euro)	3	Advertisement for the EURO (e.g. TV spots)
3	Effects of the Euro on foreign direct investment		
		3	Advertisement against the EURO (e.g. TV spots)
3	Price changes after the Euro introduction		
3	Effects of the Euro on the economy, in general	3	Characterisation of the EURO as an economic project
3	Keeping the pound (Campaign)/other anti-EURO campaigns	3	Characterisation of the EURO as a political project
3	Pro-EURO-Campaign		

3	Timing of the referendum	3	Transport policy
3	Opinion poll - positive evaluation of the Euro	3	Social policy, social justice
		3	Health policy
3	Opinion poll - negative evaluation of the Euro	3	Educational policy
		3	Cultural policy
3	Likelihood of a Euro-introduction to the UK (e.g. opinion polls)	3	Media policy
		2	-EU domestic policy/borders
3	Euro-introduction characterised as a patriotic decision	3	European domestic policy in general/other
3	Euro enhances the integration of Europe	3	Domestic security, crime
3	Euro divides Europe	3	Immigration policy, asylum
3	Britain's role in Europe (e.g. outsider, exceptional role)	3	European borders, internal borders, Schengen agreement
3	Euro will lead to the creation of a European super-state	2	-EU foreign and defence policy
		3	EU foreign policy
3	Loss of national sovereignty, in general	3	EU defence policy/WEU
3	Loss of national monetary policy (sovereignty)	3	Common foreign and security policy
		3	Foreign policy with military means
3	Loss of national economic policy (sovereignty)	3	European group in NATO
		3	European army (not WEU/NATO)
3	Loss of national tax policy (sovereignty)	2	-EU in general, other topic
3	Euro represents the political destiny of Tony Blair	3	EU in general
		3	Appeal to European Court
3	Relation between Blair and Brown concerning the Euro	3	EU, other topic
		1	--Economic policies, economic situation
2	-EU consumer and agricultural policy	2	-public budget, debt, tax revenue
3	Consumer product policies in general	3	Budget policy in general
3	Food safety (labelling, controls)	3	Budget Policy: spending in general/other
3	safety policies on non-food items (labelling, standards, etc.)	3	Budget Policy: spending - domestic security
3	EU agricultural policies in general	3	Budget Policy: spending - defence
3	Agenda 2000	3	Budget deficit
2	-EU, employment policy	3	State' share
3	European employment policy in general	3	investments (government)
3	freedom of movement within EU	3	Budget policy, debt of nation or region
3	EU employment policies/ wage policies	3	Budget policy, debt of cities and local communities
3	Social Charter		
3	Common employment policy	3	Increasing public debt
3	European employment policy, other aspect	3	Decreasing public debt
		3	Tax revenue in general
2	-EU economic and trade policy	3	Tax revenue increasing
3	Competition policy/ anti-trust policy	3	Tax revenue decreasing
3	Tax harmonisation policy	3	Subsidies
3	Abolition of inland duties	3	Bond Emissions
3	Realization of the single market	3	System of financial balance between regions
3	Subsidies, policy on subsidies		
3	Energy policy	3	Waste of tax money
3	Science and research policy	3	Budget policy, other aspect
3	Economic policy, in general/other	2	-Revenue, tax policy
3	Tariffs towards non-member states	3	Tax policy in general
3	Import quotas towards non-member countries, import conditions	3	Tax reform (income tax)
		3	Ecological tax (or tax reform)
3	EU development aid	3	Value-added tax
3	EU economic policy towards non-member states	3	Excise duty in general
		3	Death (estate) duty, inheritance tax
2	-EU:environment/transport/society/	3	Company taxation (or reform)
3	Environmental policy	3	Property tax

3	Tobin tax
3	Revenue/ tax policy, other aspect
2	-Economic policy
3	Economic policy in general
3	Closing time of shops
3	antitrust policies/law
3	Fiscal policy
3	Monetary policy
3	Exchange controls
3	Laws, regulations, bureaucracy
3	Workplace safety
3	Environmenal regulations
3	Works industrial-relations scheme
3	Subsidies
3	medium-sized business policy
3	Improvement of economic policy or good economic policy
3	Worsening of economic policy or bad economic policy
3	Intellectual Property Patent Policies
3	Reconstruction (e.g. in Manhattan)
3	Economic policy, other aspect
2	-Mining
3	Mining in general
3	Mining: Coal
3	Mining: Diamonds
3	Mining: Gold
3	Mining, other
2	-Employment policy, labour market
3	Employment, rate of unemployment in general
3	Rising unemployment
3	Decreasing unemployment
3	More new jobs
3	Less new jobs
3	Number of vacancies
3	unemployment benefits
3	Quality of workplace
3	Employment rate
3	Employment rate among women
3	Employment rate among men
3	Employment rate with racial group
3	Employment rate among youth
3	Employment rate among elderly
3	Low-wage employment/ Under-employment
3	Number of apprenticeships
3	More available apprenticeships
3	Fewer available apprenticeships
3	Lack of apprentices
3	Employment policy in general
3	Working hour regulations
3	Apprenticeship tribute (tax)
3	Protection against unlawful dismissal
3	Incentives to attract qualified foreign workers
3	Lack of qualified workforce

3	wage subsidies
3	Wage settlement compliance law
3	Labour market reform
3	Low-wage sector
3	Informal economy/Illicit work
3	Employment policy, other aspect
3	Labour market, other aspect
2	-Agriculture
3	Agriculture in general
3	Agricultural subsidies
3	Agriculture policy
3	Agriculture, other aspect
2	-Economic situation (not labour market)
3	Economic situation/ business cycle in general
3	Economic growth in general
3	High economic growth (> 2 percent)
3	Normal economic growth (1 to 2 percent)
3	Low economic growth (less than 1 percent)
3	Price indicators (e.g. inflation rate) in general
3	Increasing inflation or high level
3	Decreasing inflation or low level
3	Deflation
3	Gross National Product/ Gross Domestic Product (GNP/GDP)
3	High rate of growth in GDP/GNP (>2%)
3	Low rate of growth in GDP/GNP (0-2%)
3	Negative growth of national income
3	Income per capita
3	Aggregate saving ratio
3	Value of the currency (of the coded country) compared to other currencies
3	EURO exchange rate (as a description of the economic situation)
3	Impact of exchange rates
3	Industrial production
3	Inventories as indicator of economic trend
3	Economic forecasts in general
3	Positive economic forecasts
3	Negative economic forecasts
3	Impact of the global economic development
3	influence of war/international conflicts on economic situation
3	impact of other crisis/situation on economy (e.g. SARS)/please note!
3	Business cycle, other aspect
2	-labour costs
3	Labour costs
3	Increasing labour costs or high level
3	Decreasing labour costs or low level

3	Social services contributions/ costs in general	3	Improvement of consumer intentions
3	Rising or high level of social services contributions/ costs	3	Worsening of consumer intentions
		3	consumer debt
3	Decreasing or low level of social services contributions/ costs	3	Business climate/ planned investments
		3	Improvement of the business climate
3	Labour costs in general	3	Worsening of the business climate
3	Rising labour costs	2	-Consumer protection
3	Decreasing labour costs	3	Consumer product policies in general
2	-Situation of the coded country within the global economy	3	Food safety (labelling, controls)
		3	safety policies on non-food items (labelling, standards, etc.)
3	Situation of the coded country in gen.	1	--Companies/ Industries
3	Regulation in general	2	-Situation/success/market position
3	Productivity	3	Situation of the company or industry in general
3	Organised labour relations		
3	Tariff agreements, negotiations	3	Growth in general
3	Infrastructure (transport, communication etc.)	3	Situation improved
		3	Situation worsened
3	Training of qualified workforce	3	turnover/revenue in general
3	Interest rate	3	turnover improved
3	Economic factors, other	3	turnover decreased
2	-Competitiveness/demand/orders	3	Financial situation
3	Competitiveness in general	3	Return on capital
3	Competitiveness higher	3	Return on capital risen
3	Competitiveness lower	3	Return on capital fallen
3	Demand/Orders in general	3	Debts, liabilities
3	Increase of demand in general	3	Insurance/Insurance costs
3	Decrease of demand in general	3	Costs other/in general
3	Domestic demand, orders in general	3	Bankruptcy, settlement
3	Increase of domestic demand, orders	3	Demand, sales, orders, in general
3	Decrease of domestic demand, orders	3	demand / number of orders risen
3	Foreign demand, orders	3	demand /number of orders fallen
3	Increase of foreign demand, orders	3	export demand
3	Decrease of foreign demand, orders	3	import demand
2	-Situation of companies overall	3	Warehouse stock
3	Situation of companies in general	3	competitiveness
3	Innovations overall	3	Power/influence, position on the market, in gen.
3	Procurement of capital		
3	Investments in general	3	Position on the market improved
3	Domestic investments	3	Position on the market worsened
3	Foreign investment in general (including financial investments)	3	Future prospects, forecasts
		3	Forecasts more optimistic
3	Domestic capital investment	3	Forecasts more pessimistic
3	Number of bankruptcies or insolvencies overall	3	Financial holdings/ equity capital
		3	Profitability
3	Rise of insolvencies or high level	3	Write-offs/depreciation
3	Decline of insolvencies or low level	3	Situation, other topic
3	Number of start-up companies overall	2	-Regulations
3	Rise in start-up companies or high level	3	Taxes, taxation
3	Decline in start-up companies or low level	3	subsidies
		3	state regulations concerning company
3	Foreign direct investment (in coded country)	3	euro-currency
		3	international trade conditions (e.g. exchange rate)
2	-Consumption/ business climate		
3	Business sentiment in general	3	Globalisation in general, no special aspect mentioned
3	Consumer confidence index/ Consumer intentions in general		
		3	Economic regulation, other

3	Competition in the industry	3	Corporate policy on environment
3	Other regulations	3	Corporate culture
2	-procurement of capital/stock markets/shareholders	3	corporate governance
		2	-Personality of managers/entrepreneurs
3	Fund raising, procurement of capital	3	Ability to motivate
3	IPO	3	team spirit
3	Actions at int. stock markets	3	professionalism
3	Share buy-back	3	position within company
3	hedge funds	3	reputation
3	share price, stock exchange quotation	3	self-assertion
3	share price risen	3	innovativeness
3	share price fallen	3	credibility
3	Rating in general	3	(sticking to) principles
3	dividend	3	relationship to media
3	dividend risen	3	oratorical qualities
3	dividend fallen	3	persuasiveness
3	shareholder value	3	optimism
3	shareholder value improved	3	resilience
3	shareholder value fallen	3	industriousness
3	market capitalisation	3	internationality (e.g. foreign languages)
3	stock market/shares, other aspect	3	skilfulness
3	shareholders, partners	3	leadership qualities
3	squeeze out	3	relationship towards other members of the board
3	short selling (explicitly mentioned)		
3	Legal form (Private/Public Company)	3	openness, frankness
3	Assets	3	intelligence, shrewdness
3	Delisting	3	resourcefulness, imaginativeness
3	Securitisation	3	Vanity
2	-Mergers/cooperation's	3	strategic abilities
3	Merger, acquisition, takeover	3	Sovereignty
3	hostile takeover of another company	3	farsightedness, ability to plan ahead
3	Buy/take-over of another company (not hostile)	3	public appearance, other aspect
		3	professional skills, other aspect
3	Acquisition of parts of other companies	3	personal qualities, other aspect
3	Integration of companies taken over	3	Line of conduct
3	sale of company/parts of company	3	Origin
3	sale of the company without the consent of the company ("hostile" takeover)	3	Career
		3	Age
3	co-operation of companies	3	manager: personal health
3	existing cooperation/holdings	3	Corporate responsibility (Manager)
2	-executives/management/business policy	2	-Personnel/employees/personnel management
3	Board members		
3	Executives	3	employment, personnel management in general
3	Compensation of executives		
3	Director's shares/share options	3	Employees
3	Resignation of Board Members	3	Workplace environment
3	nomination of managers/management shake up	3	Recruitment
		3	Redundancies
3	Management in gen.	3	reduction of staff
3	Management strategy in gen.	3	short time
3	Company structure in general	3	flexible working hours
3	restructuring, lean management	3	Working hours in general
3	Accounting standards/ practices	3	apprenticeships, training
3	investment	3	Training
3	creation of new company	3	discrimination in business life in general
3	Business abroad	3	racism against employees
3	company location	3	Sexual harassment at the workplace

3	employee safety at workplace	3	criminal actions against the corporation
3	company pension schemes	3	Industrial espionage
3	wages, fringe benefits, wage settlements	3	Security precautions
3	Strike within the company	3	Protest or boycott of a company
3	relationship towards unions	3	Trials, litigation, investigation
3	Personnel management, other aspect	3	Compensation payouts
2	-Research and development	3	Penalties
3	innovations (inventions)	3	Racism against other party (outside of company)
3	Patents		
3	Research in general	3	relationship towards customers
3	Research in companies: genetic engineering	3	relationship towards customers improved
		3	relationship towards customers worsened
3	Research: theory	3	relationship towards business associates/suppliers
3	Research: Conditions		
3	Research: practices	3	relationship towards business associates/suppliers improved
3	Product development		
3	R&D costs	3	relationship towards business associates/suppliers worsened
3	Research: Other Topic		
2	Production process, productivity	3	Relationship to suppliers: award of order
3	manufacturing process	3	Relationship to society/ social environment
3	production: capacity, production load		
3	production figures	3	Relationship to society/ social environment improved
3	production: delivery period		
3	production: logistics	3	Relationship to society/ social environment worsened
3	Quality control		
3	Accidents, production halts, failure	3	Relationship towards political protagonists
3	production: other topic		
3	Productivity	3	Relationship towards economical protagonists
3	productivity risen		
3	productivity fallen	3	Relationship towards other protagonists (e.g. organisations)
2	-Products, Marketing		
3	products, services	3	Social commitment of companies
3	Marketing rights	3	Other aspect of corporate public appearance
3	product policy		
3	Launch of new product	2	-Image, external appearance
3	product safety	3	Image, in general
3	prices, price policies	3	Positive image
3	rebates / extras	3	Negative image
3	Marketing	3	Dependability/ Trustworthiness
3	Product advertising	3	Scandal, in general
3	Brand policies	2	-IT
3	Product recall	3	Internet, E-commerce
3	Sales/marketing/distribution in gen.	3	Spam mail (eg. not expected commercial e-mails)
3	Sales/marketing/distribution, other topic		
2	-Public appearance	3	Telecommunication
3	Public appearance in general	3	M-Commerce (mobile phones)
3	Business Report	2	#NAME?
3	Public relations	3	Historical aspects (events or developments of the past without a direct link to the present)
3	Trade fairs		
3	Events		
3	Sponsoring	3	Year 2000
3	Donations (of coded company)	1	--Business associations, trade unions
3	political statements	2	-Collective bargaining, strikes
3	statements on the economic situation of other companies (e.g. share price)	3	Collective bargaining, tariff policy
		3	Strike
3	statements on other companies (in general/other aspects)	3	Salaries, wages
		3	Working hours (e.g. flexibilisation)

3	Working conditions/ workplace safety
3	Non-wage compensation, social benefits
2	-business associations, appearance and internal affairs
3	Public appearance in gen.
3	Political statements, in gen.
3	Internal affairs of business associations (e.g. number of members, decisions on personnel)
3	Position in public (e.g. power as lobby)
3	Trials, litigation, investigation
3	Relation towards members
2	-Trade unions, appearance and internal affairs
3	Unions: public appearance in general
3	Representation of interests, in gen.
3	Statements about a company, in gen.
3	Statements about a business association, in gen.
3	Political statements in gen.
3	Internal affairs, decisions on personnel
3	Restructuring
3	Relation to other (trade) unions
3	Unions: mergers
3	Membership
3	Relation towards members
3	Unions: Relationship with Pol. Parties
3	Unions: events
3	image of unions
1	--Economy: other topic
2	-Economy: other topic
3	stock markets in general
3	Gold price
3	Oil price
3	Commodity price, other
3	gas/diesel price
3	Economy: other topic
1	--Media, media policy
2	-Media, media policy
3	Media, media policy in gen.
3	Multimedia
3	Internet
3	Press law/privacy
3	Print Media
3	TV, own media
3	TV, other media
3	Digital TV
3	Cable/ Satellite TV
3	Protection of children and young persons
3	Specialized channels
3	Dual system
3	TV viewers' license/ fees
3	Content regulation/ standards
3	Satellite TV
3	Radio
3	Radio: English
3	Radio: Afrikaans

3	Radio: Xhosa
3	Radio: Zulu
3	Radio: Sotho
3	Radio: Venda
3	Violence in the media
3	Pornography
3	Media impact
3	Censorship
3	Propaganda
3	Media/media policy, other topic
1	--Non-governmental organisation
2	-Situation, success
3	Situation of the organisation, in gen.
3	Situation improved
3	Situation worsened
3	Financial situation
3	Debts, liabilities
3	Costs
3	Bankruptcy, settlement
3	Influence in general
3	Influence improved/ heightened
3	Influence worsened/ fallen
3	Future prospects, forecasts
3	Forecasts more optimistic
3	Forecasts more pessimistic
3	Situation, other topic
2	-Regulations
3	Taxes, taxation
3	Subsidies, funds
3	Other state regulation concerning the organisation
3	EURO currency, consequences for the organisation
3	Other regulations
2	-procurement of capital, fund raising
3	Fund raising, procurement of capital
3	Charitability of organisation
3	Amount of donations, contributions
3	Donations, contributions risen
3	Donations, contributions dropped
3	Sponsorship revenue, in gen.
3	Sponsorship revenue risen
3	Sponsorship revenue fallen
3	Membership dues/contributions in general
3	Membership dues/contributions risen
3	Membership dues/contributions fallen
3	Sale of products/services to clients
3	Sale of products (e.g. merchandising)
3	Way of dealing with donations
3	Administrative expenses
2	-NGOs: Foundation/merger/co-operation
3	NGO: foundation
3	Merger
3	Cooperation of organisations
2	-executives/management/business policy

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3	Board members
3	Executives
3	Management in gen.
3	Management strategy in gen.
3	Restructuring
3	Balancing
3	Investments
3	Locational policy
3	Environmental policy
3	Ethics
3	Internal decision-making process
2	-personal/technical abilities of members of organisation
3	Ability to motivate
3	team spirit
3	professionalism
3	position within company
3	reputation
3	self-assertion
3	innovativeness
3	credibility
3	(sticking to) principles
3	relationship to media
3	oratorical qualities
3	persuasiveness
3	optimism
3	resilience
3	industriousness
3	internationality (e.g. foreign languages)
3	skilfulness
3	leadership qualities
3	relationship towards other members of the board
3	openness, frankness
3	intelligence, shrewdness
3	resourcefulness, imaginativeness
3	Vanity
3	strategic abilities
3	Sovereignty
3	farsightedness, ability to plan ahead
3	Origin (NGO personnel)
3	Career (NGO personnel)
3	Age (NGO personnel)
3	Personal health (NGO personnel)
3	Responsibility (NGO personnel)
3	public appearance, other aspect
3	professional skills, other aspect
3	personal qualities, other aspect
3	Line of conduct
2	-Personnel/employees/personnel management
3	employment, personnel management
3	Employees
3	Recruitment
3	Redundancies
3	racism against employees

3	Wages/social benefits/wage negotiation policies of organisation
3	Strike at organisation
3	relationship towards unions
3	Personnel management, other aspect
2	-Research and development
3	Innovations at different organisation
3	Patents
3	Research in general
3	Research: Methods
3	Research: Conditions
3	Research: Process
3	Research: Other Topic
2	-Products, Marketing
3	Activities relating to the targets of the organisation
3	Products/services for members
3	Products/services for clients
3	Group representing one's interests
3	Social activities in general
2	-Public appearance
3	Public appearance in general
3	Position in public (e.g. power as lobby)
3	Advertising, PR
3	Trade fairs
3	Events
3	Political comments
3	Statements on others
3	Criminal activities with disadvantage to organisation
3	Calls for boycott against organisation
3	Trials, litigation, investigation
3	ban of organisation
3	racism towards other parties
3	Members in general
3	Development of memberships positive
3	Development of memberships negative
3	Relationship to members in general
3	Relationship to members, positive development
3	Relationship to members, negative development
3	Members, other aspects
3	Relationship to clients in general
3	Relationship to clients, positive development
3	Relationship to clients, negative development
3	Relationship to partners/suppliers in general
3	Relationship to partners/suppliers, positive development
3	Relationship to partners/suppliers, negative development
3	relationship towards society/environment
3	relationship towards society/environment improved

3	relationship towards society/environment worsened	3	Positive prognosis for the efficiency of the state
3	Relationship towards political protagonists	3	Negative prognosis for the efficiency of the state
	3 Relationship to economical protagonists	3	Social services, other topic
		2	-Pension system, pension policy
3	Relationship towards other protagonists (e.g. organisations)	3	Pension system/pension policy in gen.
2	-Image, external appearance	3	Pension higher or on a high level
3	Image, in general	3	Pensions lower or on a low level
3	Positive image	3	Positive prognosis for pensions
3	Negative image	3	Negative prognosis for pensions
3	Reliability	3	Pension system stable, high amount of funds
3	Scandal, in general	3	Pensions system, positive forecast
2	-IT	3	Pension system instable, lack of funds
3	Internet	3	Pension system, negative forecast
3	Telecommunication	3	Pension systems: Basic pension
2	-History	3	Pension system: demographic development
3	Historical aspects (events or developments of the past without a direct link to the present)	3	pension system: contributions
		3	Private pensions
1	--Society, social welfare	3	Pension system, other topic
2	-Welfare, social policy	2	-Health system, health policy
3	Social services/ welfare in general	3	Health system, health policy in general
3	Improvement or high level of social services	3	Alternative Medicine
		3	Water and Sanitation
3	Poverty	3	Health service, in gen.
3	Food shortages	3	Medical aid
3	Deterioration or low level of social services	3	Voluntary excess
		3	Medical insurance premiums
3	Social aid, social welfare in gen.	3	Cost reduction in the health service
3	Number of persons depending on social welfare risen	3	Drug prices
		3	Drug budget control
3	Number of persons depending on social welfare fallen	3	Health system: private provision
		3	Rescue services
3	Financial resources per household, in gen. (income and means, not pensions or social transfers)	3	Positive forecast for health service
		3	Negative prognosis for health service
		3	Medication and side effects
3	More financial resources or high level	3	effectiveness/over prescription of medicine
3	Less financial resources or low level		
3	Indebtedness of private households	3	Prophylaxis
3	new poverty	3	Vaccination
3	Basic welfare guarantee	3	Blood donations
3	social justice	3	Diseases in general
3	Restructuring of the welfare state	3	BSE, mad cow disease
3	demographic conditions in general	3	Foot and mouth disease
3	Prostitution (as a social phenomenon)	3	Chicken disease
3	Social situation/social policy, other topic	3	animal disease, other
2	-Social services	3	Cholera
3	Government aid in gen. (social welfare, housing)	3	Malaria
		3	Cancer
3	Efficiency of the state (e.g. capacity to finance social welfare)	3	Heart diseases
		3	Anthrax (NOT as weapon)
3	Positive characterisation of the efficiency of the state	3	SARS (Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome)
3	Negative characterisation of the efficiency of the state	3	Other disease (please note!)
		3	Alcoholism

3	Illicit drugs/ drug policy	3	AIDS education in general
3	Organ transplants/ transplant policies	3	AIDS education in schools/ universities
3	Euthanasia	3	AIDS education in media
3	Endocrine substances/ change in reproductive capacity	3	AIDS education in government workplaces
3	Situation of handicapped people	3	AIDS education in private sphere workplaces
3	Drug (abuse)	3	Other modes of education
3	Wage payments in case of sickness	3	Effectiveness of AIDS education
3	Reform of the health system	3	Condom use
3	Nursing home insurance (Germany only)	3	Condom availability
3	health of population	3	Circumcision
3	Life expectancy	3	Abstinence
3	Obesity/eating disorders	3	Needle exchange
3	Malnutrition	3	Drug Treatment
3	Circumcision	3	Superstitions regarding prevention (ie. sex with virgins)
3	Sexually transmitted diseases (no AIDS)	3	other topic AIDS prevention/combat
3	Alzheimer's Disease	2	-AIDS: Medicines/ Treatments/ Research
3	Smallpox (NOT: assaults)		
3	Mental health	3	nutrition (guidelines, theories, etc.)
3	Cosmetic surgery	3	supplements (vitamins, herbs, etc.)
3	Nutrition in general	3	exercise/ physical therapy
3	DNA tests	3	Use of AZT/generic copy before birth
3	Health system/ policy, other aspects	3	Use of AZT/generic copy after rape
2	-AIDS: Causes	3	Costs of AZT/ generic for use before birth
3	Transmission by birth		
3	Sex in general	3	Costs of AZT/ generic for use after rape
3	Consensual sex	3	anti-retrovirals in general, use of
3	Rape	3	anti-retrovirals, effectiveness of
3	Blood Transfusions	3	anti-retrovirals, side effects of
3	Intravenous drug use	3	anti-retrovirals, costs of
3	Poverty	3	traditional medicine, use of
3	Link between HIV and AIDS	3	traditional medicine, effectiveness of
3	Prevalence of other STD infections	3	traditional medicine, side effects of
3	prostitution	3	traditional medicine, costs of
3	multiple partners (serial)	3	experimental treatments, use of
3	overlapping partners (concurrent)	3	experimental treatments, effectiveness of
3	sexual networks (for highly mobile workforces)	3	experimental treatments, side effects of
3	age mixing	3	experimental treatments, costs of
3	relations within marriage	3	alternative treatments, use of
3	child abuse	3	alternative treatments, effectiveness of
3	taboos regarding illness in general	3	alternative treatments, side effects of
3	reluctance to be tested	3	alternative treatments, costs of
3	treatment of infected within society	3	generic medicines, use of
3	Cultural causes in general	3	generic medicines, effectiveness of
3	High risk behaviour in general	3	generic medicines, side effects of
3	Other causes (please note)	3	generic medicines, costs of
2	-AIDS: prevention/combat	3	brand name medicines, use of
3	political will to confront problem	3	brand name medicines, effectiveness of
3	social will to confront problem	3	brand name medicines, side effects of
3	outreach to marginalized groups	3	brand name medicines, costs of
3	costs of harm reduction programs	3	Research into prevention in general
3	Testing for HIV/ AIDS in general	3	Research into prevention (social/cultural topics)
3	Mandatory testing for HIV/ AIDS		
3	Voluntary testing for HIV/ AIDS	3	Research into prevention (scientific topics in general)
3	Costs of testing for HIV/ AIDS		
3	Testing for HIV/ AIDS, other topic		

3	Research into prevention (cures, treatments)
3	Research into prevention (vaccines)
3	Research into prevention, other topic (please note)
3	Nevirapine in general, use of
3	Nevirapine, effectiveness of
3	Nevirapine, side effects of
3	Nevirapine, costs of
3	triple therapy (3TC)
2	-AIDS: Opportunistic Infections/ Associated diseases
3	Opportunistic Infections (OIs) in general
3	Opportunistic Infection, other (please note)
3	Bacterial and Mycobacterial infections in general
3	Mycobacterium Avium Complex (MAC, MAI)
3	Salmonellosis
3	Syphilis and Neuroshyphilis
3	Turberculosis (TB)
3	Bacillary angiomatosis (cat scratch disease)
3	Bacterial and Mycobacterial infections, other (please note)
3	Fungal Infections in general
3	Aspergillosis
3	Candidiasis (thrush, yeast infection)
3	Coccidioidomycosis
3	Cryptococcal Meningitis
3	Histoplasmosis
3	Malignancies in general
3	Kaposi's Sarcoma
3	Lymphoma
3	Systemic Non-Hodgkin's Lymphoma (NHL)
3	Primary CNS Lymphoma
3	Malignancies, other
3	Protozoal Infections in general
3	Cryptosporidiosis
3	Isosporiasis
3	Microsporidiosis
3	Pneumocystis Carinii Pneumonia (PCP)
3	Toxoplasmosis
3	Protozoal Infections, other (please note)
3	Viral Infections in general
3	Cytomegalovirus (CMV)
3	Hepatitis
3	Herpes Simplex (HSV, genital herpes)
3	Herpes Zoster (HZV, shingles)
3	Human Papiloma Virus (HPV, genital warts, cervical cancer)
3	Molluscum Contagiosum
3	Oral Hairy Leukoplakia (OHL)
3	Progressive Multifocal Leukoencephalopathy (PML)

3	Viral Infections, other (please note)
3	Neurological Conditions in general
3	AIDS Dementia Complex (ADC)
3	Peripheral Neuropathy
3	Neurological Conditions, other (please note)
3	Apthous Ulcers
3	Malabsorption
3	Depression
3	Diarrhea
3	Thrombocytopenia
3	Wasting Syndrome
3	Idiopathic thrombocytopenic purpura
3	Listeriosis
3	Pelvic inflammatory disease, particularly if complicated by tubo-ovarian abscess
3	Lymphoma, Burkitt's (or equivalent term)
3	Lymphoma, immunoblastic (or equivalent term)
3	High viral load (early and late stages of infection)
3	Low viral load (middle stage of infection)
3	Other Conditions and Complications (please note)
2	-AIDS: Social/Political Effects
3	HIV/AIDS government policy in general
3	Psychological effects in general (not neurological)
3	Psychological effects, specific topic (please note)
3	Prevalence within a population
3	Prevalence within a population increasing
3	Prevalence within a population decreasing
3	Rate of infection in general (statistics)
3	Rate of infection in general
3	Rate of infection increasing
3	Rate of infection decreasing
3	Numbers of deaths
3	Numbers of deaths increasing
3	Numbers of deaths decreasing
3	Impact on population size
3	Impact on population structure (age distribution, etc.)
3	Impact on life expectancy
3	Effect on family size
3	Effect on family structure
3	Effects on family/home economics
3	Effects on national health policies in general
3	Effects on national health expenditures
3	Effects on national health structures/ systems
3	Effects on national health policies, other topic
3	Effects on political parties/ politicians
3	Effects on agriculture in general

|			
3	Communal farming	3	Family policy
3	Effects on education	3	Children/Youth policy
3	teacher shortages	3	Adoption
3	skills shortage	3	Family, other topic
2	-AIDS: Economic Effects	3	Abortion
3	Effects on economy in general	3	Gender policy, equal rights
3	Effects on national income (GNP/ GDP)	3	Homosexuality in general
		3	Marriage of homosexuals
3	Costs of HIV/AIDS	3	Homosexuality, other aspects
3	Effect on economy, other topic	2	-Education, educational policy
3	Effects on national budget in general	3	Education/educational policy, in gen.
3	Effects on national budget, other topic (please note)	3	School education/ primary education
		3	School education: Teachers
3	Effects on labour market	3	School education: Books
3	Effects on economy, other topic	3	Day-schools
3	Effects on businesses in general	3	Professional training
3	Effects on business health care programs	3	Federal student loans/ grants
3	Effects on business health care/ insurance costs	3	Tuition fees
		3	Public university reform
3	Effects on business human resource management	3	Universities, colleges: in gen./other topic
		3	Continued (further) education
3	Effects on business, other topic (please note)	3	Education, educational policy, other topic
		2	-culture/cultural policy
2	-AIDS: Other issues	3	Culture/cultural policy
3	HIV/AIDS in general	3	National language
3	AIDS orphans in general	3	Music
3	Number of AIDS orphans	3	Film, cinema, movies
3	Life chances of AIDS orphans	3	Theatre
3	Institutionalization of AIDS orphans	3	Literature
3	Community support of orphans	3	Visual arts
3	Training of orphans in house holding	3	Music Festivals
3	Training of orphans in agriculture	3	Film Festivals
3	Training of orphans in other area (please note)	3	Theatre Festivals
		3	Exhibitions
3	AIDS orphans, other topic	3	Architecture
3	AIDS Funding	3	Conservation of natural heritage
3	Insurance in general	3	Heritage projects
3	Insurance, privacy issues	3	Protection of historical monuments in general
3	Insurance, costs		
3	Insurance, testing policies	3	Protection of historical monuments, other topics
3	Insurance, availability		
3	Insurance, legal topics	3	Culture/cultural policy, other topic
3	Insurance, other topic	2	-Housing, rents
3	Discrimination against infected in general	3	Housing, housing policy in gen.
3	Discrimination against infected in workplace	3	Availability of housing, homelessness
		3	Rent, tenancy laws
3	Discrimination against infected in schools	3	Building (construction) projects
3	Discrimination against infected in hospitals/ medical offices	3	Housing, housing policy, other aspect
		2	-Society, policies, other topics
3	Discrimination against infected, other topic	3	Description of the collective life of the society
2	-females/family/homosexuals		
3	Social situation of families	3	City Life in general
3	Social situation of single parents	3	Description of the personal life of individuals
3	Social situation of children		
3	Nurseries, kindergarten	3	Suicides
3	Child maintenance	3	Tourism, travel
		3	SA Welcome Campaign

3	Project Trans African Highway	3	Biological Diversity
3	Tourism: Impact of Crime	3	Ivory trade
3	Tourism: Description of Destinations (as tourist objects)	3	Fisheries
		3	Whale hunting
3	Tourism: Statistics	3	Hunting in general
3	Tourism: Economic impact	3	Electro Smog
3	Tourism: Social effects	3	Electromagnetic radiation from cell phones
3	Tourism: Hunting		
3	Promotion of Tourism	3	Weather
3	Tourist Information	3	Weather forecasts
3	Tourism: Gastronomy	3	Coast care programme
3	Violence in the society	3	Working for Water programme
3	Gambling	3	Alien vegetation clearing programme
3	Social policy (not soc. Welfare), other topic	3	Reclamation of wetlands and catchments areas
1	--Church/religion	3	Beach driving ban
2	-Church/religion	3	Environment, environmental policies in general, other aspects
3	Religion/ church in general		
3	Church: festivities; masses	2	-nuclear energy
3	Church: life in congregation	3	Nuclear energy: disposal
3	Church: relationship to government/society	3	Nuclear energy: fade-out
		3	Nuclear energy, other aspects
3	proselytizing/missionary activity	2	-Fossil energy
3	Relationship with other Jewish groups	3	Fossil energy: hard coal
3	Religion, other topic	3	Fossil energy: brown coal
1	--Environment/Energy/Traffic	3	Fossil energy: crude oil
2	-Environment/Environmental policies	3	Fossil energy: gas
3	Condition of Nature and Environment, quality of environment	3	Fossil energy: in general
		2	-Alternative energy
3	Sustainable Development in general	3	Alternative energy: wind power
3	Relationship between humans and environment	3	Alternative energy: solar energy
		3	Alternative energy: water
3	Pollution	3	Alternative energy: fuel-cell technology
3	Oil spills	3	Alternative energy in general
3	vehicle emissions	2	-Energy policies, other aspects
3	Recycling of used autos	3	Electricity in general
3	fuel consumption standards	3	energy shortage/crisis
3	(Incineration - health waste	3	Energy policies, other aspects
3	Waste management	2	-Transportation policies/technology, traffic
3	Ozone, ozone policies		
3	Climate changes, global warming	3	Description of traffic
3	Results of crime against environment	3	Airport Construction
3	contamination of food	3	Transrapid/ electromagnetic trains
3	Environmental friendly products, production	3	Construction of railroad tracks
		3	Toll roads
3	Ecological agriculture	3	Road construction
3	Environmental impact assessment	3	Navigation systems/ traffic guidance systems
3	Climate protection in general		
3	Climate conferences	3	driver's licences
3	Emission Certificates	3	Speed limit
3	Desertification	3	Speeding
3	Deforestation	3	Taxis
3	environmental quotas	3	Alcohol limit
3	Oil fires	3	traffic fines
3	Drought	3	Public Transport in general
3	Preservation of Endangered species	3	Parking
3	Extinct species	3	Traffic congestion

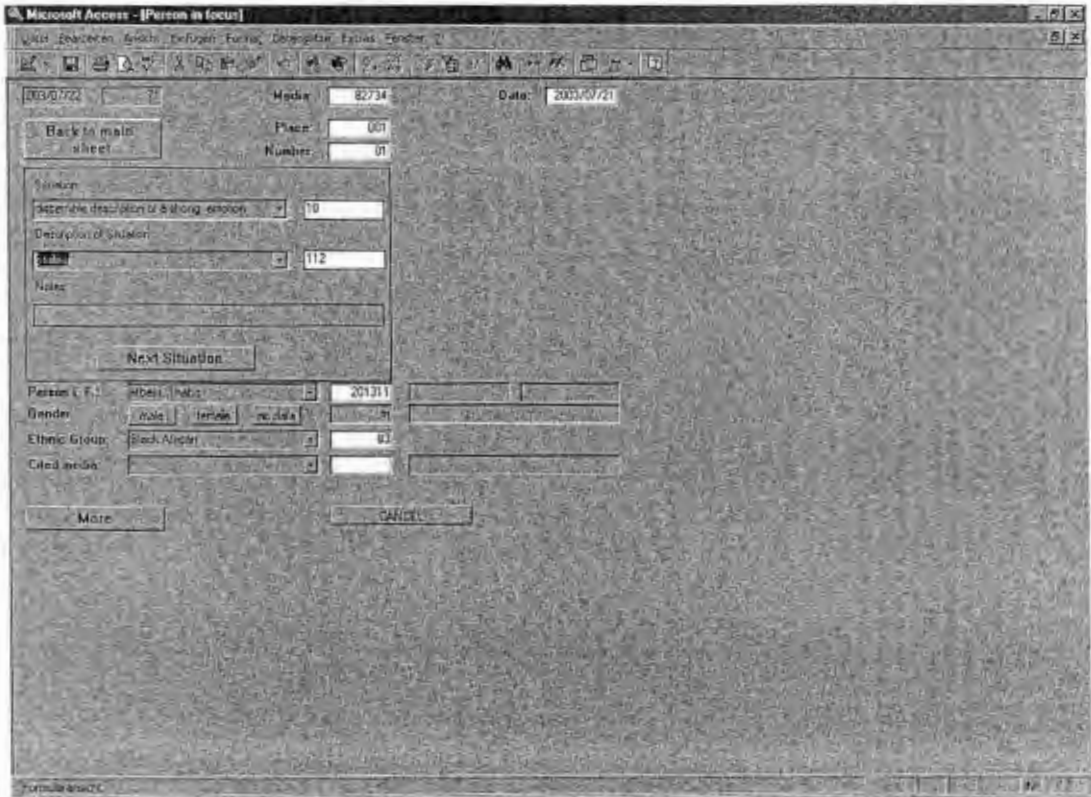|			
3	Road Pricing	2	-Cricket
3	fuel-cell technology in cars	3	Cricket in general
3	Transport policies/ technology/ traffic, other aspect	3	Cricket World Cup
		3	Cricket Vodacom Cup
1	--Technical, research and science	3	Cricket Test Series
2	-Technology, research and science	3	Cricket ODI
3	Telecommunication	3	Cricket: game of national team
3	Information highway, computer networks	2	-Other team sports
3	Biotechnology	3	Basketball in general
3	Gene technology	3	Basketball Tournament
3	genetic discrimination	3	Hockey in general
3	Genetically modified food	3	Hockey tournament
3	Cloning	3	Ice hockey in general
3	Space travel/ exploration	3	Ice hockey tournament
3	Medical research: embryonic/ stem cell research	3	Volleyball in general
		3	Volleyball tournament
3	Medical research in general	3	Hand ball in general
3	Animal testing	3	Hand ball tournament
3	Government medical research policies in general	3	Netball in general
		3	Netball tournament
3	Technology, research and science, other aspect	2	-Equestrian sports
		3	Equestrian sports in general
1	History	3	Equestrian sports tournament/ event
2	-History other topic	2	-Cycling/motor sport
3	SA History	3	Cycling in general
3	Monuments/Memorials	3	Motor sport in general
3	Other historical topic	3	Car racing in general
1	--Sport	3	Formula 1 in general
2	-Soccer/Football	3	Formula 1 Grand Prix
3	Soccer/Football in general	2	-Fighting sports
3	Football World Cup	3	Boxing in general
3	Football European Cup	3	Fighting sports in general/ other
3	Football: Asian Cup	2	-Athletics
3	Football: African Cup of Nations	3	Athletics in general
3	Football: games of national team	2	-Winter sports
3	Football: Champions League	3	Winter sports in general
3	Football: Bundesliga	2	-Tennis/badminton/golf
3	Football: Second League	3	Tennis in general
3	Football: Other league	3	Tennis tournament
3	Soccer UEFA Cup	3	Badminton in general
3	Football: other aspect	3	Badminton tournament
2	-Baseball	3	Golf in general
3	Baseball in general	3	Golf tournament
3	Baseball game	2	-Water sports in general
3	Baseball, other topic	3	Water sports in general
2	-American Football	2	-Dancing in general
3	American Football in general	3	Dancing in general
3	American Football game	2	-Sport in general, other
3	American Football, other topic	3	Sport in general
2	-Rugby	3	Olympic games
3	Rugby in general	3	Extreme sports in general/other
3	Rugby World Cup	3	Doping
3	Rugby Currie Cup	3	Sport, other types of sport, other aspects
3	Rugby Tri-Nations	1	--Other topics
3	Rugby Six Nations	2	-Public opinions
3	Rugby: games of national team	3	Characterization/ stereotype of a population or group
3	Rugby: domestic games		

3	Polling techniques/ development of questionnaires	3	Awards, prizes
3	Findings of public opinion research/ polls	3	Meetings
		3	Conferences
3	Polls in general, other topic	3	Speeches
2	-Accidents, catastrophes	3	Funerals
3	Natural catastrophes	3	Human interest
3	Traffic accidents (railroad, road, air, water)	3	Sex/ erotica
		3	Y2K problem
3	Industrial accidents	3	Holidays
3	Other accidents and tragedies	3	Several topics
2	-Other topic	3	Other topical issue
		3	Other topic

Examples of coding programme, database and data sheet

This is an example of the main sheet of the coding programme used in this research:
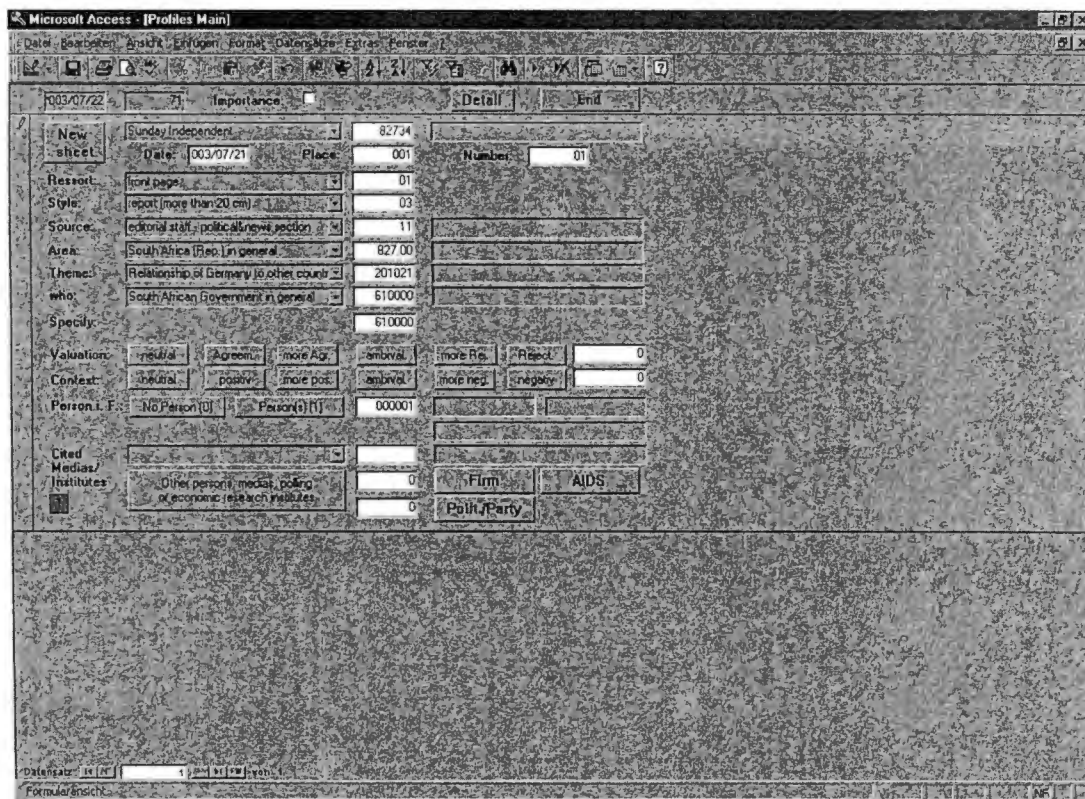
By clicking on the 'person in Focus' button, a further window opens, allowing the entering of individual people:

The Access database captured the information as numerical codes:

In order to work with SPSS, the Access database was converted into SPSS data sheets:

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