Painting Pictures of Progress

Representations of Africa's changing socio-economic realities in South African print media.

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Preface

How the story began – a personal introduction

The first time I returned to South Africa, after spending my early childhood in the Cape, was in 1995. The country had just witnessed the first free and fair elections and Nelson Mandela was the adored 'pater familias' of a true rainbow nation with a new constitution protecting the rights of all. A new and bright future was dawning and the country was entrenched in optimism. I had just finished my master's degree in geography and was working as a lecturer of environmental journalism at the University of Applied Sciences in Utrecht, the Netherlands. Our department of Journalism set out to explore the possibilities of cooperation with South African journalists and in the years to follow I coordinated a programme of student and lecturer exchange, mainly with Rhodes University, and internships in Cape Town and Johannesburg. I visited our partners on an annual basis and in due course renewed my acquaintance with South Africa. I discussed the challenges of journalism in a young democracy with my South African colleagues and became passionate reporting Africa. When, in 2001, I started training young Dutch journalists to be correspondents in Africa I became involved in the growing network of young Africa journalists in the Netherlands and the discussions on the role of western media. But the more I learned, the more I felt something was missing. I lacked in-depth knowledge on the history of Africa, the theories on its development, the ideas on ethnicity and modernity and the academic background of social sciences, to give me a different and more balanced understanding of Africa and on reporting Africa. Most of all, I missed the academic research and intellectual discussions of my geography years.

I enrolled in the research master at the African Studies Centre in Leiden and after a year of intense studies I wrote my research proposal. Over the years I had so often been involved in discussions about 'the negative news from Africa' in western media and the way it influenced the image of Africa worldwide that I started wondering about African media themselves, what role did they play in the representation of Africa.

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An interesting question but not enough for a journalist, there needs to be relevance. The changes in the media over the past ten years provided such a relevant context. Two developments were at the centre of change, digitalisation and commercialisation. Digitalisation had created opportunities for Africa to open up to the world and also to participate on their own account in global communication. Secondly the commercialisation of media had an enormous impact on the budgets and structures of the media. The first fields of journalism to suffer were the most expensive ones, foreign correspondence. Looking at reporting on Africa through the focus of these two developments there were two opposite flows, western journalists were moving out and African journalists were moving in. As 'increasingly more independent media voices were taking ownership of their own stories' (Hunter-Gault 2006:107) on the continent, western media were withdrawing their correspondents in the field and relied more on press wire and parachute journalism.[1] Western media and press agencies started involving local journalists, the alternative and web based media more eagerly than the classic mainstream.

The economic upheaval of the first decade of the twenty-first century seemed to offer the ideal circumstances to show different perspectives on Africa. In light of these developments I was curious to find out how South African media reported on Africa and how they viewed their role in representing Africa. The country held a special position; geographically it has always been part of the continent but politically and even economically it was disconnected. Since the end of Apartheid the country was repositioning itself on the continent. This made an interesting viewpoint in the way Africa was represented, almost in between western perspectives of looking outside in and African perspectives of looking inside out.

With a lot of high flying ambitions I set out to 'the field' to find answers in the newspapers and the newsrooms of Johannesburg. And of course, as it goes in a confrontation between paper theory and practical reality, it all turned out quite differently. I found some answers and discovered new questions, learned to be patient, to accept what I found and keep a focus at the same time and subsequently postponed some of my ambitions to 'after my master'. But most of all I learned a lot about life, and however that is another story, it bears some relevance as I was only able to pick up my thesis writing a year after my return from the field. Even then it was not easy ride at times. So now after almost four years of a quest into Africa and reporting Africa I am handing in my thesis.

Carien J. Touwen,
Utrecht, July 2012

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[1] Parachute journalism is a term used to describe how major news events are covered in a couple of days by foreign reporters that have been flown-in for the occasion. In her 2006 book 'New News out of Africa, uncovering Africa's Renaissance', journalist Charlayne Hunter-Gault discussed the role of parachute journalism in Africa.

PART ONE : INTRODUCTION

'In theory, theory and practice are the same.
In practice, they are not.'

Albert Einstein

In the first introductory part of my thesis I will discuss my research questions and the theoretical and conceptual context. I will also give some theoretical and historic background to my topic as it bears relevance to my data and the analysis of my findings.

The second part deals with my fieldwork and data. It part starts with a chapter on the research environment, followed by a chapter discussing the different research methods and the way I collected and analysed my data.

In the third part I will present my fieldwork data and the results of my analyses. In the final chapter I relate my outcomes and interpretations to my research questions and theory and try to answer the central question: Did South African print media Paint Pictures of Progress, reflecting the changed socio-economic realities on the continent, in a media reality still entrenched with images of The Hopeless Continent?[2]

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[2] The Hopeless Continent, *The Economist,* 13th May 2000

1. Research topic and questions

1.1. Context and problem statement

Since the early decolonization years of the past century, the representation of Africa in the media has been a popular topic both in academic research and public debate. Research into representation can be found in all three major fields of media studies, as described by Long and Wall (2009): text, production and context.[3]

Text and context studies deal with the representations themselves, their properties, the way they are constructed and the way they speak to an audience. Text analysis is a much used method in media monitoring. This type of research focuses on the different elements in representations, not just in text but also in photos, images and

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[3] Paul Long and Tim Wall. *Media Studies: Texts, Production and Context.* London: Longman, 2009

audio-visual productions.[4] Context deals with the impact of representations and images on the audience -the media consumers- and the influence on society as a whole.[5] This is one of the most popular angles to media representation both in media and social studies. The second field of media research, according to Long and Wall, deals with the production process, it involves research into innovations, technology and changes in the media business and the media landscape. This field of research is often referred to as the sociology of news.[6] The clear distinction between the three categories described above has often resulted in research and theory that focused on only one aspect of the news content and news process.

Among journalism practitioners the news room discussions are less academic and not so clearly cut in different fields. It involves practical, professional and ethical issues, ranging from working conditions to journalists' roles and responsibilities, both in a context of professionalism as in the context of society.

In my research I tried to use the strength of both representation theory and journalism practice and look at the way the categories in Long and Wall were related; representation as part of the creative and personal practice of a journalist, influenced by factors in his working environment. Representations are more than just a combination of words, phrases and images, more than products of a media business determined by commercial interests and more than just reflections of the shared ideas in society. Media images are created and reproduced by individuals and influenced by the dynamics in which they work.

The lack of insight and awareness on why and how images are constructed by journalists also hinders the training of future professionals. A lot of courses in journalism focus on skills training. And however the curricula consist of general theory on mass communication and discus professional ethics and codes of conduct, the proficiency of skills is considered core business. Image construction is at best a side topic in media ethics. Representation theory is not implemented in skills training. It's almost as if the integration of theory and practice is left for the students to work out for themselves. A week training programme on the representation of minority groups in my own journalism department revealed that young journalists were unaware that their choice and combination of words, phrasing and use of sources, constructed certain images and revealed and communicated propositions on, for instance, the role of women. They were, at first, uncritical to the influence of shared meaning and fixed ideas in their own reporting. Much like consumers underestimating the influence of advertisement. In that respect the course made them aware and more critical to their own reporting, which in the end is part of a professional attitude.

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[4] Stuart Hall. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practice.*
 London: SAGE Publications, 1997
[5] Beverly G Hawk. *Africa's Media Image.* New York/London: Praeger Publishers, 1992
[6] Michael Schudson. *The Sociology of News.* W W Norton & Company Incorporated, 2011

1.2. Scope and questions

This thesis focuses on part of the image of Africa, the socio-economic reality, in a specific period of time and represented in a specified section of the media. In my research I analysed the way South African newspapers constructed, transmitted and reproduced 'shared meaning' on African development in a time of economic uplift, in a media landscape that world wide still seemed to reflect a failing continent.
The central question I tried to answer in my research was:

> *Did South African print media Paint Pictures of Progress, reflecting the changed socio-economic realities on the continent, in a media reality still entrenched with images of The Hopeless Continent?*

My presumption was that due to economic growth in Africa the socio-economic reality had changed and was changing still. I was curious to find out how South African print media covered these changes through representations of development. Furthermore globalisation and digitalisation offered technical opportunities for different and new ways of representation via media. It was therefore valid to presume that they had cause and opportunity to cover the changed socio-economic realities in Africa. As a starting point I needed to find out how the newspapers had covered the economic growth in Africa. The first part of this thesis will therefore deal with the representations and the shared meaning on development in Africa. I used reporting on developments (chapter 3) as a topic filter. I chose a fixed period of time, just before the financial crisis of mid 2008, and I analysed four different newspapers, both print and digital. I used content analyses and critical discourse analyses to collect and analyse my data. In this first, and major, part of my research I tried to answer a number of sub questions related to the way South African print media constructed, transmitted and reproduced 'shared meaning' on development in Africa:

> *Which new developments were linked to the changed socio-economic situation in Africa and which were connected to the old realities and images.*

> *Which words did journalists use to describe development in Africa, what angles did they take towards development: financial, political or social? Who did they present as actors, and which words did they use to present them?*

> *Which fixed ideas were present? Ideas on what development entailed, on who were involved, who were affected and who held the power. Who's perspectives were covered?*

> *What meaning was constructed in between the lines. How did this meaning relate to established images on Africa. Could certain representations be classified as covering the changed socio-economic realities?*

> The first part of my research generated a lot of data on representation of development in Africa. It supplied a solid statistical basis for statements on propositions

and ideas in media that were only discussed but hardly ever proven. This could be the starting point for more research and discussion amongst academics and journalists, as one of my interviewees said, 'I always sensed that our reporting on Africa didn't reflect the realities of our (South African) business interests and activities, but your data now prove that this is the case'.[7] This discrepancy between media and business is dealing with the relationship between journalists and their audience, which is not in the scope of my research, but part of the bigger picture nonetheless.

The second part of my research dealt with the so called sociology of news, the factors that might have influenced the construction and reproduction of representations. I was curious to find out if there were differences in key factors influencing the construction of meaning, between different newspapers. I collected data on the working conditions and made profiles of each newspaper. I used the preliminary outcomes of the first part of my research in semi-structured interviews with journalists and editors. These interviews were aimed to get an impression of the journalistic practices and opinions in the newsroom and at the newspaper. The questions I tried to answer in that second part of my research were:

What influenced the reporting on development, both on the individual level of the journalist as in the dynamics of a newsroom? Which limitations did they experience when reporting on development in Africa?

How did journalists and media see their role in the representation of Africa in general and on the development of the continent more specifically. How did they deal with their role, which limitations and challenges did they experience?

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[7] Interview with Dianna Games (Africa@Work) on 19 February 2010. Our meeting inspired her to write a column in *Business Day* (8 March 2010), 'As business takes off into Africa, SA media remain grounded.'

2. Conceptual and theoretical framework

The theoretical framework that is used in this thesis on the representation of Africa in South African print media includes theories and concepts from media, social and cultural studies. This chapter gives an overview of the underlying theory and explains my understanding of the main concepts and terminology I used in my research. In this chapter I give context to the different aspects of my research topic (§§2.1-2.3), contextualise my research environment (§2.4) and assess my own professional point of reference (§2.5).

2.1. Images of Africa, a historic perspective

The representations of socio-economic realities that were the topic of my research were part of a bigger story involving historic and present-day perspectives on Africa, both from the west as from Africa itself. My understanding of media images is in line with the approach put forward by Beverly Hawk in her renowned publication on Africa's media image.[8] She stated that media images on Africa simply are general beliefs related to values systems of our western society. They therefore change over time but are nevertheless, for the sake of comprehension, classified as fixed frameworks at a given time. Hawk only referred to the western image of Africa, manifestations of Eurocentrism were at centre stage in her publication. Of course it was also relevant how African's viewed themselves and their nation states and how this reflected in their media. More specifically the position of South African media was relevant to my research as I will show in this paragraph but also discuss in more detail in chapter three. Unfortunately there is far less literature on African media as there is on western media when it comes to 'Africa's media image'. I will therefore rely on African history and research into pan-Africanism to shed some light on the African perspective, presuming that these ideas were also reflected in the media at the time and still feed into present-day representations.

Euro or Afro perspectives
Eurocentrism is one of the concepts that originated in colonial times and still bears relevance for reporting on Africa today. Eurocentrism, as Shohat and Stam argued (1994:14), is a complex rationale that has developed through time from the classical Greece and 'is premised on crucial exclusion from African and Semitic influences'. Eurocentrism includes all ideas and attitudes that are related to the European society. Eurocentrism first 'emerged as a discursive rationale for colonialism' (Shohat and Stam 1994:2), so to speak the 'colonizer's model of the world'.[9] But Eurocentrism is not restricted to a physical place or fixed time. The present discussion on multi-party

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[8] Beverly G Hawk. *Africa's Media Image.* New York/London: Praeger Publishers,1992
[9] James Morris Blaut. *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History.* New York: The Guilford Press,1993

democracy as the best model for freedom and stability originated in an American world view, taking the free market democracy as an ideal model. Critique on this concept of democracy and on the presumed solution for Africa is much heard in Europe. Eurocentrism is a highly temporal and spatial concept. The fact that Europeans don't use words such as negro, or view African's in the framework of a colonial administration, doesn't mean that Eurocentrism is over, it just has different manifestations that are linked to the current times and present world order. It is therefore valid to expect Eurocentrism to still be present in news reporting, not just in western media but also in South African, considering the country's political roots (§3.3).

The first reaction to Eurocentrism by African intellectuals in the diaspora, such as Blyden and Du Bois, was the negritude movement of the nineteenth century, which emphasized and promoted the uniqueness of 'the negro'.[10] Another intellectual and prominent member of the abolition movement, Alexander Crummell, voiced these ideas into a more active approach advocating that the common bonds and objectives of all African people can best be achieved through unity and the elimination of white supremacy on the continent. A prominent supporter of this view was Leopold Senghor. By taking the uniqueness of black culture as a central concept, the negritude movement in fact created and supported ethnocentrism on the African continent. Kwame Nkrumah's approach to uplift the continent and its peoples was based on a notion of economic inequality rather than ethnic difference, his vision was rather universalist. His argument was that Africa was perfectly capable but had been denied the same opportunities to development as western societies.[11] Nkrumah's agency 'addressed the concerns of African centeredness, empowerment, economic independence, cultural liberation and vitality' (Poe 2003:149). Both currents in Pan-Africanism gave Africa a voice in the international arena and contributed to different perspectives in western media. No doubt African media, weather resistance pamphlets in times of liberation struggles or free newspapers during independence, reflected these pan-African sentiments. In South Africa both currents have been and still are present. The Freedom Charter advocates a more universalist approach, whereas the current rhetoric by Julius Malema voices strong sentiments of 'black uniqueness'.

In reporting on economic growth and development these ideas are reflected in the debate on Eurocentric and Afrocentric management.[12] However these discussions mostly make their way into specialized management magazines and academic publications,[13] and on occasion newspapers such as Business Day,[14] my data (chapter 5)

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[10] Hollis Ralph Lynch. *Edward Wilmot Blyden: Pan-Negro patriot 1832-1912.* Oxford University Press, 1970
[11] Daryl Zizwe Poe. *Kwame Nkrumah's Contribution to Pan-Africanism: An Afrocentric Analysis.* New York/London: Routledge, 2003
[12] Stephen Robbins, P., T.A. Judge, A. Odendaal and G. Roodt. *Organisational Behaviour. Global and Southern African Perspectives.* South Africa: Pearson Education, 2009
[13] Henk van den Heuvel. 'Prophecies and Protests: Signifiers of Afrocentric Management', in: Van den Heuvel, H.; Mangaliso, M.P. & Van de Bunt, L. (eds.) *Prophecies and Protests. Ubuntu in Global Management.* Amsterdam/Pretoria: Rozenberg Publishers & UNISA Press, 2006 pp. 13-33
[14] Yvonne Fonty. 'Afrocentric Approach to Management Lauded', in: *Business Day,* 15 July 2002

show that the perspectives underlying both Eurocentrism and Afrocentrism are part of reporting development in Africa, especially from the point of view of South African business.

Dependency in times of independence.
On their path of nation building new independent states a first showed progress and optimism but soon economic reality hit. Most countries were still highly dependent on the mother countries. Parallel to dependency theory on development (§2.1) a whole industry of development aid emerged in the west. An image of a dependent and helpless Africa became the new reality. And however the intentions were no doubt noble the development approach was still Eurocentric and strengthened the image of Africa's vulnerability, incapability and desperation.[15] Documents such as the African Alternative Framework to Structural Adjustment (AAF-SAP) showed a need in Africa to formulate own perspectives.[16] It it mainly offered Africans a 'refocusing on domestic development and the mobilization and optimal utilization of indigenous factor inputs' (Adedeij 2004:284)[17] and was therefore in line with pan-African sentiments that had been prominent since colonial times. As South Africa at that time still experienced white supremacy it is not likely that these African perspectives were present in the media, other than the black press and some white resistance media (chapter 3). It is however more relevant to my research that these historic roots feed into the current discussions on development in Africa. The call from the AAF-SAP to focus on domestic development is much heard both in recent reports by the World Bank (§2.2) as by South African business itself, reflected in investments into the local African markets and advocating Afrocentric management.

How a continent was lost....to the world.
From 1990 onwards the image of Africa in the west rapidly declined from dependent to hopelessly lost. The Cold War marked the failure of communist ideology (and even socialist) and subsequently meant the victory of a western, capitalist economic system. African countries, already struggling to link on to the global markets, now found their funding depleted if they didn't adopt a neo-liberal policy. African states were assessed for their level of democracy[18] with the multi-party system as the ideal. International funding was linked to economic and political stability, and countries were labelled as fragile, failed or nearly failed states.[19] Many African countries changed their economic policies to escape the image of failure and to secure western donor funding and World

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[15] Jo Ellen Fair. 'Are We Really the World? Coverage of U.S. Food Aid in Africa, 1980-1989', in: Beverly G. Hawk. *Africa's Media Image*. New York/London: Praeger Publishers, 1992 pp. 109-120

[16] P. Thandika Mkandawire and Charles Chukwuma Soludo. *African Voices on Structural Adjustment.* Codesria, African World Press, 2003

[17] Adebayo Adedeji. 'The ECA: Forging a Future for Africa', in: Yves Berthelot (ed.). *Unity and Diversity in Development Ideas. Perspectives from the UN Regional Commissions.* Indiana University Press, 2004

[18] William Easterley. *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's efforts to aid the Rest have done so much ill and so little good.* Oxford University Press, 2006

[19] Soniya Carvalho (ed.). *Engaging with Fragile State: an IEG review of World Bank support to low income countries under stress.* Washington: World Bank Publishers, 2006

Bank support. At the same time they struggled to keep hold of their own self perceptions and identities. A new pan-Africanist philosophy called African Renaissance was to be the African way to adopt the neo-liberal world order. Statesmen such as Mbeki (South Africa) and Museveni (Uganda)[20] were astound promoters of an economic strategy that was as much practical as ideological. As a side effect, the success of some countries strengthened the image of failure of others.

An old concept redesigned itself under the new global world order, the dependency of the north-south divide. In the neo-liberal discourse of global markets the inequality between western and non-western markets became a centre argument for African economists and politicians. It influenced not only trade negotiations but also the discourse on climate change in which developing countries demanded lower emission targets to catch up with the industrialized world.

The image of Africa as a failing continent was not only created in the global playhouse of politics and finances. Under the influence of mass media the image of a 'lost continent' flooded the public arena in 1994 after the issue of Robert Kaplan's article.[21] It was eagerly adopted by the development industry. After all, the evidence was right there on the television screens. At the end of the 1980-ies Africa was struck by two major disasters which finally allowed the west to dismiss the continent as lost. The HIV-Aids pandemic, that surfaced in the eighties was now a reality, the figures of international health organisation alarmed the world.[22] At the same time Africa, especially the north and east were struck by drought and hunger.[23] In 2000 The Economist gave voice to this Afropessimism with an issue called 'The hopeless continent'. It framed Africa in a single phrase, strong enough to dominate the debate for over a decade.

It was only in the fall of 2011 that The Economist countered their own stereotype with a new issue voicing Afro-optimism, with a new phrase: 'Africa Rising'.

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[20] Washington A.J Okuma. *The African Renaissance. History, Significance and Strategy.* New York/Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2002

[21] Robert D. Kaplan. 'The Coming Anarchy: How scarcity, crime, overpopulation, tribalism, and disease are rapidly destroying the social fabric of our planet', in: *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1994(2)

[22] Shabar Jaffar et al. 'The natural history of HIV-1 and HIV-2 infections in adults in Africa: a literature review', in: *Bulletin of the World Health Organisatio,* 82(6)

[23] Jo Ellen Fair. 'War, Famine, and Poverty: Race in the Construction of Africa's Media Image', in: *Journal of Communication Inquiry,* 17(2), 5-22

How a continent was found……by itself.

While development organisations and media eagerly and uncritically presented the western public with horrible figures and doom scenarios on Africa, Africa itself started to pick up at the turn of the twenty first century. Economic growth increased and some countries even scored the highest rates worldwide. The African Renaissance was becoming a reality, at least in the eyes of its followers. The western media however completely ignored or missed this new socio-economic reality. At that time attention was abruptly drawn away from the problems in Africa and dragged toward the new threat of Islamic terrorism. The western euphoria of the post-Cold War era was over, at least ideologically. This also influenced the image of Africa in the west, especially of countries with a predominantly Islamic population. Conflicts in Africa were now viewed through the frame of religion, more over Islam.[24] And as Islam was considered more or less similar to terrorism and thus conflict, the image of Islamic countries as instable and corrupt was strengthened (Frerks 2007).

The general image of Africa however didn't change drastically in comparison to the time before 9/11 but the representation was different. From a governmental approach using words such as fragile and failing, the emphasis was now on security, using words such as conflict, chaos and corruption.[25] The USA suddenly viewed the Sahara belt as an African axis of Islamic terrorism and went on a quest to establish a military stronghold on the continent (Africom[26]). But Africa was only a minor player in the 'war on terror'.

The suffering of Africa became a marginalized subject in the international media and there seemed to be more space for alternative voices to be heard. On the continent the new pan-African spirit was eagerly adopted by some contemporary artists, writers and journalists who had already moved away from the classic images of Africa as dependent and lost continent decades before. However the legacy of colonialism still had a great influence, their stories and films showed everyday life and ordinary people, not an Africa still to be modernized.[27] African journalists frequently reported on African Renaissance and the economic project, Nepad.[28] In all layers of society the feeling that Africa and Africans had to handle their affairs and were very capable to do so was strong. Moreover, the critique on the neo-liberal model, both ideologically and economically created space for African voices in the international arena, firmly supported by upcoming economic powers in the BRIC-countries.[29] In academia critics were opposing the fragile states approach of western governments and development

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[24] Georg Frerks. *Promoting Human Security: To Securitise or to De-securitise?* Conference paper for the 57th Pugwash Annual Conference in Bari, Italy. 21-26 October 2007.

[25] Georg Frerks. 'Human security as a discourse and counter-discourse', in: *Security and Human Rights,* 19(1), 8-14.

[26] http://www.africom.mil/

[27] Melissa Thackway. *Africa shoots back. Alternative Perspectives in Sub-Saharan Francophone African Film.* Oxford: James Curry, 2003

[28] Lilian Ndangam and Andrew Kanyegirire. 'African Media Coverage of NEPAD: Implications for Reporting Africa', in: *Africa Media Review*, 13(1), 41-60,

[29] Richard Westra. *Confronting global neoliberalism: third world resistance and development strategies.* Atlanta Clarity Press, 2010

organisations[30] and Africa itself shot back with the controversial plea by Zambian scientist Dambisa Moyo. In her book 'Dead Aid'[31] she called out to abandon all development aid and let Africa take care of its own affairs, arguing that it was perfectly capable. Her pleas were supported not only by ideological sentiments of an African Renaissance but by actual changes in the socio-economic realities of many Africans. The increase in migrant remittances and the simultaneous decrease in donor funding changed the nature of money flows into Africa. The same applied to the shift in foreign direct investments since Arab, Indian and Chinese companies entered Africa as a potential market. These changes influenced the way money could be spend and where investments were made. It also changed the possibilities of people, made them less dependent on donor money which often came with a whole package of preconditions. Digitalisation created new opportunities for people to find other ways to development. In §4.3 I will reflect on these changes in more detail. Publications such as Dead Aid stirred up discussions in the western media for a while, but their seemed no notion of a changed socio-economic reality. Soon the hype blew over and in most western media alternative voices remained whispers in the background. Despite significant economic growth in the first decade of the new millennium, the image of dependency was still prominent, as became clear in the news coverage of the effects of the economic crisis.[32]

All this made me wonder how South African media represented their continent and their fellow Africans in those years of economic growth and development. After all South Africa became, so to speak, part of Africa again after Apartheid ended. Mbeki put Africa on the political and economic agenda with the Renaissance project. It was fair to presume that the media would also report on Africa more frequently. The economic growth of the 21st century offered new investment possibilities for South African business on the continent. Was there any evidence that South African newspapers covered the new socio-economic realities on the continent? Did they cease the opportunity to paint new pictures of Africa? Or were they still captured by the 'hopeless continent' image that seemed so hard to beat in western media.

2.2. Economic growth and development in Africa

To establish if and how South African print media covered the new socio-economic realities in Africa I focused on news articles dealing with economic growth and development in Africa. I used existing development theory and economic history as a basis for my data collection and analyses (chapter 4).

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[30] Seth D. Kaplan. *Fixing Fragile States: a Paradigm for Development*. New York: Preager Security International, 2008

[31] Dambisa Moyo and Niall Fergusaon. *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and How There is a Better Way for Africa*. Straus and Giroux, Farrar, 2009

[32] 'Economische crisis treft Africa hard', *NRC Handelsblad*, 10 March 2009

A general approach to development is to see it as **a process of change** from a simpler or lower form to a more advanced and complex one. If development continues for a longer period of time a chain of different stages of advancement or evolution can be distinguished. However a lot of academic studies on development situated the start of modern development theory in the early years after the Second World War, the basis lies in the 18-19th century rationalism and humanism of The Enlightenment.[33] Absolutism of religious beliefs were replaced by an almost blind faith in unlimited growth and change through human ratio. Combined with proof on ecological development by Darwin's evolution theory the new mind frame was soon applied to all aspects of natural and social environment. Important to this developmental world view is a point of departure (lower stage) as well as an ideal goal (advanced stage). Within the colonial and imperialistic context of the 19th century, in which these ideas sprouted, this cumulated into a modernisation theory with a strong sense of western superiority and Eurocentrism. However the world order of the colonial era changed drastically after the Second World War and ideas of ethnic superiority were unacceptable, the belief in a superior economic system only strengthened. Rostow's economic model '**Stages of Growth**' (1960) soon became the new doctrine.[34] This was not only caused by the strong narratives of modernisation theory from the Enlightenment by also by the dominant intellectual discourse of structural functionalism, which rooted in natural sciences.

In analogy of the biological approach to an organism as a system made up of different elements with a different function to serve the system, the British scientist Spencer introduced functionalism into social science at the end of the nineteenth century. The French sociologist Durkheim elaborated on this idea when he argued that the needs of the system determine the functions of the elements.[35] The influence of functionalist thought into developmental theory resulted in a western policy to change structures in less developed countries as precondition to a modern western model, in actual fact a liberal, capitalist model. This is most clearly expressed in the World Bank's **structural adjustment** programmes for Africa. These were prominent into the nineties of the last century when the modernisation approach of the early Cold War years had long been challenged by alternative approaches such as the dependency theory.

Based on experiences of economic development in Latin America the advocates of this theory argued that development opportunities for countries in the 'periphery' were strongly influenced by the unequal and dependent relationship with the 'core countries' in the west. Most prominent scholar in this '**dependency** school' was A.G. Frank who published his ideas in an article 'The Development of Underdevelopment' in 1966. The theory can be seen as a direct challenge to the 'stages model' by Rostow. According to

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[33] Robert B. Potter, Tony Binns and Jennifer A. Elliott. *Geographies of Development: an introduction to development studies.* United Kingdom: Pearson Education Ltd, 2008
[34] Walt Whitman Rostow. *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto.* Cambridge University Press, 1960
[35] Peter Kloos. Culturele Antropologie: een inleiding, in: *Studies of Developing Countries*, *17*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002

dependency theory the underdeveloped areas are not in a similar situation as today's developed areas were in the past. An approach based on historic growth patterns in the west will not automatically lead to modernisation, it was argued.[36] In the media this approach led to strong emphasis on the underdog position of less developed countries and sometimes even a negative stance towards the presumed exploiting systems in the developed countries. But the dependency model did not distance itself from structural functionalism, it just presented a different view on the origins of the structures that were present in underdeveloped countries and offered different solutions to change these structures. The desired outcome however was still the ideal western model, the main indicator was income, expressed in GDP (Gross Domestic Product). The media sympathized with the dependency theory on development but a lot of the discourse was still aimed at political structures and financial institutions and their spokespersons remained at centre stage.[37]

Within the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) there was an urge to get a more **people centered** approach to development. Supported by new views put forward by leading scholars such as Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq and Havard professor and Nobel prize winner Amartya Sen, the UN set up a committee to design an indicator for human well-being, the Human Development Index (HDI). This approach to development included different criteria in main categories such as standard of living and income, health and life expectancy, literacy and education. It showed an alternative perspective on development but also served as a new tool for policy makers.[38] However the influence of a human and participatory approach to development was significant and resulted in a new indicator that is now widely used, the mind frame of structural functionalism remained strong. The elements of the new indicator were often viewed through the same frame of institutions and structures, as this definition clearly shows:

> The term economic development refers to widespread, widely shared, sustainable economic growth accompanied by significant structural change in production patterns and in economic and political institutions and by generalized improvement in living standards. This definition distinguishes economic development from economic growth that is narrowly based; dualistic in production and distribution; cyclical; grounded in the exploitation of natural resources; and unaccompanied by systematic changes in production structure, institutional development or improvement in the living standards of the poor.[39]

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[36] Aidan Forster-Carter. 'From Rostow to Gunder-Frank. Conflicting paradigms in the analyses of underdevelopment', in: *World Development*, 4 (3), 167-180

[37] Jo Ellen Fair and Hemant Shah. 'Continuities and Discontinuities in Communication and Development Research since 1958', in: *Journal of International Communication,* 4 (2), 3–23.

[38] Shahid Yusuf, Angus Deaton, Kemal Dervis, William Easterly, Takatoshi Ito and Joseph E. Stiglitz. *Development Economics Through The Decades, A Critical Look At Thirty Years Of The World Development Report.* Washington: World Bank Publications, 2008

[39] Irma Adelman and Cynthia Taft Morris. 'Development History and its Implications for Development Theory', in: *World Development,* 25(6), 831-840

My understanding is closely linked to the Human Development Index. Human development in my view is a participatory process of social change that relies on the ability and willingness of people to achieve both material and social progress.[40] The functionalist approach that is still very present and probably inevitable if one wants to express welfare and well-being in figures and stats is questioned by theorists as it gives insufficient insight in the actual involvement of people in development nor how people can best be involved.[41] It draws too much on existing structures and institutes and excludes alternatives.[42]

In 1964, long before the UN started to advocate a people centred approach through the HDI, two Latin American scientists set up IPS (Inter Press Service), an international cooperative of journalists that supplied news content on issues such as development, environment, human rights and civil society.[43] However the focus was on Latin America the scope became global in the late 1980's. As they claim on their website 'IPS was the first news outlet to identify itself as 'global' and define the new concept of neoliberal globalisation as contributing to the marginalising of developing countries from wealth, trade and policy-making.' So in actual fact the notion of a more people centred approach in journalism dates back almost half a century.

Economic reporting however has always relied strongly on stats and figures supplied by the financial world and economic institutes. However Bloomberg was only established in 1981, Reuters before them also relied on economic and financial data for their press wire. It was only with the introduction of themes such as sustainable development and corporate social responsibility that more human development issues became part of their output.

2.3. Socio-cultural theory of representation

Theory on **representation** is essential to analyse media images and determine their properties. The general understanding that a representation is an object with semantic properties such as content, reference, truth-conditions, truth-value (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy), allows me to analyse the construction of representations by looking at the content and discourse in language and image. Stuart Hall argued that 'language is one of the media through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in a culture'(Hall 2003:3).[44] Culture is about 'shared meaning'. We need shared meaning to relate to each other, to communicate with each other, to make sense of things in our society. These things hardly ever have one, single, fixed and unchanging

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[40] Colin Sparks. *Development, Globalization and the Mass Media.* London: SAGE Publications, 2007
[41] Pieter J. Fourie. 'Media and the Production of Meaning: Semiotics', in: *Institutions, theories and Issues (Media Studies vol. 1).* South Africa: Juta Education, 2007
[42] Jeni Klugman, Francisco Rodrígues and Hyung-Jin Choi. 'The HDI 2010: New Controversies, Old Critique', in: *Human Development Research Paper,* 2011(1)
[43] http://www.ips.org/institutional/get-to-know-us-2/our-history/
[44] Stuart Hall*. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London: SAGE Publications, 2003

meaning. The meaning of things is dependent on their representation by those who deal with them or communicate them. Unfixed and changeable means that things have a meaning in time and space, they have context. It is no wonder that 'lack of context' is one of the most heard critiques on journalism. Facts without context lack meaning or are open to multiple interpretation. As Edward Said once said 'Facts get their importance of what's made of them by interpretation.' If a representation lacks context, the context of the receiver might become more dominant. It is therefore highly relevant where and by whom the interpretation is made, both in the construction of text and image by journalists as in the deconstruction by the audience. In my research I focused on the first group by analysing the way South African print media constructed, transmitted, and reproduced, a 'shared meaning' on African development in the texts they produced.

Language is not just the sum of a series of words, it is words constructed into sentences, made into stories, told in a certain tone of voice, placed and published in a specific setting. All these different elements (so called signs) of language signify meaning and relate to frameworks that are socially constructed.[45] This is how we understand and interpret things in our society and in our interactions with others. De Saussure was one of the first to formulate a general approach to representation, based on the notion that 'language is a **system of signs**'.[46] He deconstructed the process of representation to a form (words, images, sounds) which he called the signifier. In content analyses of print media these signifiers are often referred to as keywords. A signifier can, according to De Saussure, trigger a certain idea or concept in the head of the receiver, this he calls the signified. It is the relation between both signifier and signified which sustains representation (Hall 2003:31). A sign, or representation, is therefore always composed of and can only exist by both signifier and signified. This sign is not necessarily a one-dimensional and clear meaning. In theory one word or image can signify a single meaning, but most of the time elements carry different meanings and -in interaction with others- signify more complex meaning. In content analyses these complex meanings are often referred to as discourses or in media studies as propositions. They exist in society and therefore in the minds of all participants in communication.

In media, language has for long been the dominant way to share meaning, but images are becoming more important. Annual surveys by private equity firm Veronis Suhler Stevenson (VSS) have shown a decline in hours spend reading in favour of visual media.[47] Our society is often referred to as an image society.[48] But I think one can't just dismiss language as less important because other media, such as internet, are using more images than text and people watch more television than read newspapers and magazines. The strength of modern communication is in the combination of **language**

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[45] Pieter J. Fourie. 'Media and the Production of Meaning: Semiotics', in: *Institutions, theories and Issues, (Media Studies vol. 1)*, South Africa: Juta Education, 2007
[46] Jonathan D. Culler. *Saussure.* London: Harvester Press, 1976
[47] http://www.vss.com/
[48] Warna Oosterbaan and José van Dijck. *The Image Society: Essays on Visual Culture*. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers, 2002

and image. Both are systems of representation (Hall 2003), with their own strengths and own effects, but most powerful in the combination, for 'the total is always more and different than the sum of its parts' as Aristotle has pointed out in his Metaphysics many centuries ago. Images work in the same way as words, they are more than just mirrors of a presumed reality. Through light, composition, perspective, colour and -in the case of moving images- sounds, words, music, they transmit meaning. Meaning is more than the one-dimensional features of the object in the image. Barthes describes two phases in representation through images.[49] The first phase or level represents simple messages composed of definable elements of the image (signifiers). Barthes calls this the level of denotation. The second phase communicates more complex messages, which are composed of but cannot simply be reduced to the signifiers, they relate to ideas and meanings (signified). Barthes calls this the level of connotation or as Hall (2003:38) states 'at this level we are beginning to interpret the completed signs in terms of the wider realms of social ideology-the general beliefs, conceptual frameworks and the value systems of society'. Western images of Africa are none other than general beliefs related to values systems of our western society.[50] They therefore change over time but are nevertheless fixed frameworks at a given time. Interestingly they also linger on or even transform when societal values have changed. I will get into more detail on this in the next paragraph. As for my research, in the first week of data collection I established that the amount of images on development in Africa was too small to include in my research. Furthermore, the images that I did come across were not communicating much more than was already in the text. Adding them to my data would only have complicated my analyses and add very little.

Stereotypes can be viewed as specific constructions of shared meaning, as 'repeated and ultimately pernicious constellations of character traits' (Shohat and Stam 1994:198).[51] They are often focused on persons. Stereotypes are signs that often occur in combination with other signs and in that way are part of fixed ideas. In a research on the media coverage of the 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa I discovered that the representation of Somali as shopkeepers is a sign in itself but is also part of a shared meaning on 'haves and have-nots' being at the basis of xenophobic violence in South Africa. This shared meaning, in my opinion, points at another interesting phenomena in South African society, the discrepancy between a supposed 'shared meaning' of an all-inclusive rainbow identity based on 'ubuntu', cherished by politicians and for a long time the media as well, and the actual 'shared meaning' of township inhabitants that 'the others, the foreigners', are to blame for their misfortunes.[52] The **Other** or constitutive other is a key concept in continental philosophy opposed to the Same.[53] It refers, or

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[49] Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. London: Hill and Wang, 1973
[50] Beverly G. Hawk. *Africa's Media Image.* New York/London: Praeger Publishers, 1992
[51] Ella and Robert Stam Shohat. *Unthinking Eurocentrism, multiculturalism and the media.* London/New York: Routledge, 1994
[52] Carien J. Touwen. *Ernesto Burning, An analyses of Dutch print media coverage on the 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa*. Research paper as part of the course Media and Ethnicity in the research master Media and Performance Studies, Utrecht University, 2009
[53] Hegel was one of the first to address this idea

attempts to refer, to that which is 'other' than the concept being considered. The term often means a person other than oneself. The other is singled out as different. Arguing along the lines of De Saussure's semiotics, difference is a signifier, it is important to meaning. 'Without difference meaning could not exist', Hall argues (2003:234). The Russian linguist Bakhtin takes a slightly different approach. He stressed that meaning is established through the interaction between the one and the other. That 'meaning arises through difference' (Hall 2003:236). The representation of the other gives both meaning to the other and to the self. It is also a way to order the world. The other therefore plays an important role in processes of inclusion and exclusion. This more anthropological approach views the classification of the other as part of establishing culture. Mary Douglas argued that within social groups the classification of the other is essential to the feeling of sameness (1987:60)[54] or as Hall put it, to share meaning. The other is therefore most of all a construction within the framework of the self. It tells us, more than anything, what the point of reference, our shared meaning is.

In my fieldwork I noticed that this process of othering exists on two levels in the media. It is most apparent in the actual reporting in which countries and peoples are included or excluded in relation to the own context. But it is also at work in the interaction between journalists in a newsroom, where economic journalists might view leisure journalists as others and vice versa.

In media studies theory on **framing** has gained popularity over the past two decades with new insights from media theorists such as Robert Entman.[55] The base for framing theory is that 'an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives' and 'people develop a particular conceptualisation of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue' (Chang and Druckman 2007:104).[56] In line with the social theory on stereotypes it deals with fixes ideas and representations. Frames are 'interpretive packages on the basis of a central organizing idea' (Gamson and Modigliani 1989[57]; De Vreese 2005[58]). These interpretive packages exist as shared meaning in the public domain and are used to explain events and issues. De Vreese defines issue-specific frames, that are specific to certain topics and generic frames, that 'transcend thematic limitations'. There is a lot of debate if this typology by De Vreese runs true, especially for generic frames. Chong and Druckman (2007) argue with Shen and Edwards (2005)[59] that an economic frame is not generic but issue-specific to welfare reform. For me De Vreese's approach of generic

[54] Mary Douglas. *How Institutions Work (Collection of the 1985 Abraham Lectures at the Syracuse University)*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987

[55] Robert M. Entman. 'Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm', in: *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51–58

[56] Dennis Chong and James N. Druckman. 'Framing Theory', in: *Annual Review of Political Science,* 10, 103–126

[57] W. A. Gamson and A. Modigliani. 'Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: A constructionist approach', in: *American Journal of Sociology*, 95, 1-37

[58] Claes H. de Vreese. 'News framing: Theory and typology', in: *Information Design Journal + Document Design,* 13(1), 51-62

[59] F .Shen and H.H. Edwards. 'Economic individualism, humanitarianism, and welfare-reform: a value-based account of framing-effects', in: *Journal of Communication*, 55, 795-809

frames works well, especially if I combine it with an approach by Entman to look at specific sets of frames that favour the perspectives of certain groups such as elites.[60] In reporting development there is a clear distinction between an economic and financial frame representing the perspectives of the financial powers, a political frame representing the perspectives of the political elite and a social frame representing the perspectives of civil society. These frames operate on a higher or more general level and include topic or issue-specific frames. I have used the generic frames to organize my data and will give more background on this in my methodology chapter.

Frames are part of common sense and can be so strong that 'if the facts don't fit the frames, the frames stay and the facts are ignored'.[61] Participants in the public debate ignore new facts and journalists select only facts that fit those frames. This gives an explanation for the strength of the 'Hopeless Continent' frame in reporting Africa and the ignorance of the western media on Africa's economic development of present years and what triggered me into this research.

Constructing images, representing others, are practices in the communication of shared meaning (Hall 2003). **Image construction** thus involves 'creating a positive or negative image of someone or something, crediting or discrediting by referring to the location of actions and attributes in binary pairs of value, all of which has its effect by evoking reactions from audiences', media critic and journalist Ken Sanes stated on his website transparencynow.com. This definition is in line with a constructionist approach to representation, which I used in my research. Stuart Hall described three theories or approaches to view 'how the concept of representation connects meaning and language to culture'. Language can simply reflect a meaning which already exists out there in the world of objects. In journalism this *reflective* approach is often simplified in to a description of journalists as being 'middleman for information'. Journalists collect facts and report on them, as they are. Language can also be viewed as the personally intended meaning of the speaker. In journalism there is a special genre to deal with this *intentional approach*, the column or comment. Personal opinions are only allowed in these genres, other journalism genres should be reflective and factual. In journalism this is called 'objective', meaning neutral with regard to the journalist's personal stance. Objectivity, I don't really need to point out, has always been and still is a topic of fierce debate in journalism and society. Most recently over the personal stories of foreign reporters in conflict areas such as north Africa, or the use of Twitter and social media in reporting.[62] The third approach assumes that meaning is *constructed* in and through language. In journalism this approach addresses media images and propositions that are present in all media productions, but are often dismissed as being less important than the factual (reflective) representations.

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[60] Robert M. Entman, Jorg Matthes and Lunn Pellicano. 'Nature, Sources, and Effects of News Framing', in: Karin Wahl-Jorgenson and Thomas Hanitzsch (eds.). *The Handbook of Journalism Studies*, London: Routledge, pp. 175-190

[61] Geroge Lakoff. 'Framing the Debate: It's All GOP', in: *Boston Globe,* 12 September 2004

[62] http://newsombudsmen.org/columns/facebook-friends-create-ethical-issues-for-journalists

In my research I tried to establish, through a *constructivist approach,* what the 'shared meaning' was on development and growth in Africa within different print media. Which words or combination of words did journalist use, which propositions were constructed. In the second part of my research I gained insight in the propositions and the underlying discourses present. I established what influenced these constructions and representations. Inspired by Verschueren's argument that 'structural and functional properties of the news gathering and reporting process'[63] are often ignored in discourse analysis of journalism, I tried to move away from the well-known excuses that journalists and media always come up with, such as lack of time and budget or 'the will of the audience'.

2.4. South Africa in terms of media theory

In the previous paragraphs I've sketched the context of my research topic. As my research involved representations of socio-economic realities, it is not just the context of these that are relevant but also the context of those who produce them, the journalists. In chapter four I will sketch the media-landscape of South Africa in more detail and describe the newspapers that are the focus of my research. In this chapter I will explain the professional environment in which journalists operated, using media theory.

A common way to discuss the media coverage of Africa and Africans is to simplify it into a good-bad news debate, resulting in two camps. One camp holds the opinion that most journalists only highlight the negative issues in society and should pay more attention to the positive news.[64] The other camp argues that 'good news is no news' and that it is the obligation of journalists to be objective and inform society on all wrongdoings. This good-bad news discussion is value-based and more over it simplifies the debate to a level that allows anybody, inside and outside the journalism profession, to have an opinion on it. It doesn't get us any closer to understanding representation and professional practice as a contributing factor. A good starting point is to look at journalist's role in society. In a young democracy such as South Africa, with a history of resistance, and former allies in conflicting positions, this leads to a lot of debate and even court cases between government and media. The most recent example concerns an art work portraying the president as Lenin, with his genitals prominently exposed. The ANC called for a boycott of City Press that published the picture, stating that is was 'anti-ANC, the president, our democracy and the majority of South Africans'. Editor-in-chief Haffajee defended her decision to publish the picture on the grounds of press freedom. The IPI (International Press Institutes), by voice of its executive director Alison Bethel McKenzie, condemned the ANC call as 'an abuse of power and a form of harassment'.[65]

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[63] J. Verschueren. *International News Reporting: Metapragmatic Metaphors and the U-2*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1985

[64] Clifford G. Christians, John P. Ferré and Mark Fackler. *Good News: social ethics and the press.* Oxford University Press, 1993

[65] http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2012/may/28/southafrica-press-freedom

This clearly describes the tense relation between press and state in South Africa. In my research I asked editors and journalists about their view on the role of the media in South Africa in relation to their reporting on Africa. To understand how they positioned themselves I used normative media theory. As a starting point I took '**Four Theories of the Press**' (1956)[66] by Fred Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm and moved to more recent adjustments and additions.[67]

On basis of social and political structures Siebert et al distinguished four normative theories. In a revision of the 'Four Theories' in 1995 John Nerone[68] argued that in actual fact Siebert dealt with one media-theory with four examples or perspectives. His leading perspective, classical liberalism, revealed a Eurocentric position. As I will apply general media-theory in a South African context, this is an important argument. As explained before the South African situation is complex. As a result of segregation in the country in Apartheid years and the exclusion from the rest of the continent, the mainstream media were rather western (chapter 3), Eurocentric. At the same time the resistance press was entrenched with idealism and in support of the struggle, rather Afrocentric. Both feed into the media landscape of today and have formed the professional identities of journalists, but also the expectations that state and society have of the media.

Siebert's ideas where formed and subsequently widely accepted, in the early years after the Second World War when the debate on the role of the press in the United States cumulated in a report by the independent Hutchins Commission.[69] It provided a moral basis for the idea that the press held responsibilities towards society. The link between democracy and a free press, supplying a diversity of information and opinions to the public which in return had a right to this information, become one of the cornerstones of journalism. This also applies to the press in South Africa, as Haffajee's column clearly visualized.

Siebert in his media-theory used two different relationships to describe the press: the relationship with the state on the one hand and society on the other. In relation to the state he described the press either as controlled, government-owned press *(authoritarian)* or as a free press in a competing market *(libertarian).* The second set of approaches dealt with the way the press related to society. The *social responsibility theory* presumed that the press held a special position in society to carry out certain responsibilities. The Soviet communist approach was closely related to Marxism, and presumed that the press supported the main socio-political ideology. Most western media were the products of a combination of the libertarian and social responsibility

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[66] Fred Siebert , Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm. *Four Theories of the Press.* University of Illinois Press, 1971

[67] Clifford G. Christians, Theodore L. Glasser, Denis Mcquail, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Robert A. White. *Normative Theories of the Media, Journalism in Democratic Societies.* University of Illinois Press, 2009

[68] John Nerone (ed.). *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press.* University of Illinois Press, 1995

[69] Robert Hutchins. *A Free and Responsible Press: Report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press.* University of Chicago Press, 1947

approach, and as argued before this approach in actual fact was the central perspective in Siebert's theory, to which he related other perspectives.

South Africa, at the time of my research, no longer suffered from government suppression of the press. It had been an all-inclusive democracy for over ten years and freedom of the press was firmly embedded in the constitution. Simply framing the present media landscape through Siebert's theory would classify it as libertarian with a social responsibility role for the press. Such a classifications however disregards the history of press, state and society that lingers on in the present media-landscape. However in general the media-landscape of South Africa might be classified as western or libertarian, elements of other models can be distinguished and are highly relevant to developments in media and society today. These elements are partly related to the apartheid history but also related to the country's position on the African continent and partaking in African history. In chapter five I will give a brief overview of South African press history and the newspapers that are part of my data. The English press for instance is deeply rooted in western ideas of social responsibility within a libertarian society. The Afrikaans press gives a more complicated image. However western ideas were also prominent, a lot of Afrikaans newspapers supported the Apartheid government and in doing so resembled the role of the press in a Marxist media landscape in which the media support the one right political position in society.[70] Complicating in the South African situation was that this did not apply for the whole media landscape. The English press did not support the government but in general did not take on a role of resistance press either. By not openly engaging in a confrontation they were still able to function in a society with a dominant and oppressive political system, this became more problematic as Apartheid intensified.

'Four Theories of the Press', by addressing social norms, was breaking with the tradition of social sciences to take a value-free stance, and in that respect contributed greatly to the study of communication. The downside of the model was that its design was not value-free either since it took the western perspective as a norm. In the years to follow 'Four Theories' was criticised, adjusted and extended. The media debate of the sixties and seventies was strongly influenced by the development discourse in social sciences (§2.2); a developmental perspective was added to the existing media theory. Several theorists (Hatchten 1981; McQuail 1983; Altschull 1984) have suggested a for developmental approach, in addition to libertarian and Marxist models, arguing that 'societies undergoing a transition from underdevelopment and colonialism to independence often lack the money, infrastructure, skills and audiences to sustain a extensive free-market media system'[71] (McQuail 2010:168). McQuail in his 1983 publication was most outspoken stating that media should 'carry out positive development tasks' and that 'the state has a right to intervene in or restrict media operations' in the interest of development (McQuail 1983:95). This approach was

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[70] Lucas M. Oosthuizen. *Media Ethics, in the South African context An introduction and Overview*. Landsdowne: Juta & Co., 2007

[71] Denis McQuail. *McQuail's Mass Communications Theory*. London: SAGE Publications, 2010

closest to the collaborative role of the media which historically was the 'natural first role for the press when employed by various institutions' (Christians 2009:31). In the early years of nation building the appeal to the media, by institutions and new governments, was to work together on the path of modernisation. In the media in Africa there was a strong urge to play a role in this modernisation, away from the imperialistic perspectives and structures that had dominated the media in colonial times.[72] The objectives of a government concerned with nation building however did not always align with the journalists' perceptions of their other roles, for instance the radical role as critics of the ruling powers.

In the nineties of the past century Hemant Shah moved away from the approach to **development journalism** as a collaboration between state and media and in stead viewed it in the relation between media and society. Shah in his model of development journalism described the role of journalists as 'participants in a process of social change'.[73] This approach to development journalism gave journalists a more workable perception of their collaborative role, amongst others because it not so easily conflicted with other professional roles such as a facilitative and radical role (Christians 2009:202). But it bypassed the state and thus ignored part of reality. A journalist might exercise his radical role by revealing corruption at a municipality in the interest of local communities, and might defend his own role as 'participant in social change'; the government might see it as undermining a process of progress that is not in the interest of the public. It can subsequently use its power to ensure a more collaborative role towards the objectives of the state. A recent example in South Africa is the Protection of Information Bill[74] that gave government officials the option to withhold information to the public (and the press) for reasons of 'national interest'. This was defined in section 15 of the Act as 'all matters relating to the advancement of the public good'. The fact that the South African government thought it necessary to make a bill, and in that way approach the press in an authoritarian way, clearly showed that there is no shared understanding on the concept of 'public good'. It also showed that in practice the emancipatory role of the media, that Shah defined in relation to society cannot be viewed without taking the (power) role of the state into consideration.

In South Africa the interpretations of press freedom and the relation between the press and the state is furthermore complicated by the country's Apartheid history. A statement by the ANC on the website of the Province of the Northern Cape clearly illustrated this: 'Some of the newspapers, who today wish to lecture us on press freedom, where loyally serving as the mouthpiece of the Apartheid regime and staunchly

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[72] Louise Manon Bourgault. *Mass Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Indiana University Press, 1995

[73] Hemant Shah. 'Modernization, Marginalization, and Emancipation: Toward a Normative Model of Journalism and National Development', in: *Communication Theory*, 1996(6), 143-166

[74] The Protection of Information Act was accepted in Parliament on 22-11-2011. At the time of my research there was already a lot of uproar and protest which resulted in some adjustments to the initial proposal but the final Act still proved that there is a huge gap between the government's view on journalists' role in society and journalists own perception. The debate that started three years ago and still continues today far exceeds the group of media professionals, which points at a complicated understanding in society in general on the role of journalism.

espoused and entrenched apartheid misrule. They should be the last ones to tell us about press freedom.' Therefore theory on a developmental role of the media, in the relationship with the state, was highly relevant to my research into South African print media. The debate on the Protection of Information Bill had just started at the time of my fieldwork in 2009. Journalists and editors that I interviewed were very concerned and reassessing their professional positions in the relation between state and media.

Shah's model of development journalism, taking the relationship between press and society as a focal point, described a role for **alternative media** alongside mainstream media. This perspective presumed that the ideas and values of the ruling elite dominated mainstream media and certain groups in society were excluded. This view was in line with Herbert Altschull's first law of journalism,[75] in which he stated that 'In all press systems, the news media are agents of those who exercise political and economic power' (Altschull 1984:298). This general approach could be applied in all kinds of political systems, with different actors in power, using mainstream media as their platform and different alternative media existing alongside, either legal or not. Depending on the political landscape alternative media can therefore range from grass-roots and community media in democratic societies to resistance press in countries with authoritarian regimes.[76] South Africa holds a special position as a young democracy with a long history of resistance media, ranging from grass-roots newspapers located in mission stations, to political papers in the struggle against segregation and Apartheid (chapter 3). Some of these newspapers became mainstream within a so called Black press. These newspapers were closely linked to the resistance movement and developmental ideas on the role of the media were prominent. In the last two decades of Apartheid the alternative press again blossomed with a range of grass-roots newspapers, either established by non-governmental organisations or dissident journalists. At the same time some mainstream newspapers, both from English and Afrikaans press, engaged in a confrontation with the government, over political ideology as well as press freedom. A lot of journalists today have roots in this alternative journalism and their ideas and beliefs are still present in the newsrooms today.[77] Some media, such as the Mail&Guardian, might be considered mainstream in the present media landscape, but in their strive to be a platform for civic voices, sometimes operate more as the alternative media they used to be. This points at the limitations of viewing alternative only as an opposite to mainstream and presuming that mainstream media are always agents of ruling powers. Chris Atton in his extensive publications on alternative journalism positioned alternative not only in the relationship between society, press and state but also in the context of journalism practice and professionalism. Atton argued: 'As the dominant has changed, the alternative that changes it has changed as well. The twentieth century proliferation of different ways of writing and of organizing the production and distribution of alternative journalism so

[75] Herbert J. Altschull. *Agents of power, the role of the news media in human affairs.* London: Longman, 1984
[76] Chris Atton and James Frederick Hamilton. *Alternative Journalism.* London: SAGE publications2008
[77] Carien J. Touwen. *The legacy of the alternative press in South Africa's media landscape.* Essay as part of the master in African Studies, Leiden University, 2011

apparent today emerged from a deep and fundamental challenge to the very bases of journalism itself (2008:21).' This became clear in the present digitalized media landscape in which new forms of communication, such as social media, have added new dimensions to alternative journalism. Digitalisation offered new ways to transmit information and changed the roles of the participants in the information exchange. Citizens became 'active agents in the process of meaning-making' (Deuze 2006:66).[78] In my research however I focused on the journalist's role in meaning-making. Journalists and media experienced less technical obstacles than ever before to interact with the public. The extent to which media used new technology to include citizen voices differed. At the time of my fieldwork Twitter only just started and was quite new to most reporters. Other forms of interaction with citizen voices, via internet platforms and online communities were widely used. Some newspapers looked into citizen journalism and reporting via mobile phones. The interviews I had with reporters and editors however showed that the understanding of their professional roles or the perception of the newspapers position in society was more important than the technical possibilities.

2.5. Reporting Africa

As a final context to my research it is important to position myself as a media researcher and journalism practitioner. After all, my own position was relevant to my motivation but also defined my perspective and influenced my perception.

In the academic and public debate in the Netherlands, and in most non-African countries, the term Africa journalism is used for 'western reporting on Africa'. And however my approach is to look at reporting from a South African context, I needed to consider my personal point of reference. In the Netherlands Africa journalism is seen as part of 'third world journalism', a type of journalism with a strong focus on developing countries, especially those targeted by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As with the developmental approach in normative media theory, this self-proclaimed form of journalism has its roots in the development debate of the seventies. But the focus on development aid has always been problematic, more over when this extended to cooperation between ngo's and media.

The Dick Scherpenzeel Stichting, the most renowned Dutch ngo affiliated to this form of journalism was founded in 1974. Recently they changed their mission statement and now aim to 'analyse and stimulate coverage of non-western countries in the Dutch media'. However I support the intention to move away from a focus on Dutch development aid and so called developing countries -if only from a point of journalistic independence- the approach by the Dick Scherpenzeel Stichting still communicates a very Eurocentric perspective of 'the west and the rest'. In a recent symposium, as part of the Dick Scherpenzeel Award-giving in Amsterdam, I sensed an underlying shared

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[78] Mark Deuze. 'Participation, remediation, bricolage: Considering principal components of a digital culture', in: *The Information Society,* 22, 63-75

meaning on how to report on 'non-western countries' or 'less stable democracies', as if it required a different kind of journalism. The point of reference was still a western model of democracy and involved mainly western reporting. If African reporters were part of the equation it was in their role as sources and fixers to European reporters operating on the continent. The point of departure for discussing Africa's' media image seemed to be the same as it has been for decades among Africanist scholars and media researchers. The image was 'simplified and sensational' (Hawk 1992) and influences the western audience into negative perceptions of Africa.

Without disregarding this approach and the importance of the debate I would like to stress that my point of departure is not the audience but the journalist. My focus on the journalism profession is in line with the ambitions of a group of journalists that want to move away from the western position and the normative discussion on how western media should report on non-western countries. Their focus is the quality of reporting: professionalism as a cornerstone. 'Africa should be reported on without an agenda', ZAM editor Bart Luirink told me in a discussion on the editorial mission of the Africa magazine in 2008. Journalists involved in this approach argue that there is no such thing as African journalism, there is just journalism. In this approach there is no good and bad news, just good and bad journalism. In their opinion professional journalism involves balanced reporting, therefore a diversity of topics, using additional sources, taking alternative story angles, and an independent voice. This is in line with the views of many African journalists and journalism organisations such as the Professional Journalists' Association, who stressed these values again in the debate over the Protection of Information Bill in November 2011. Professional reporting on Africa, whether from inside or outside the continent, by African or non-African journalists alike, will automatically lead to a more diverse image of Africa, it is believed.

I support this view full heartedly, unfortunately in practice it is not as simple. This approach in a way presumes that the often criticised image of Africa is mainly caused by bad journalism. I dispute that for in the reciprocal relationship between media and society the news content is always shaped in a way that fits the mind frame of the audience. In that way it reflect as much the society it reports on as the society it reports to and that is good journalism. But it inevitably leads to the recycling of known representations and present discourses. In a discussion on the cooperation between Dutch and African journalists a Dutch correspondent told me that only he knows how to address the Dutch audience and therefore should always be the one to write the story. That sounds logic but seems to dismiss the African perspective at the same time, or at least regards it as less important. Despite these reservations I personally feel more comfortable in a professional than an ideological approach to reporting on Africa. This no doubt has to do with my own professional identity as a lecturer and practitioner of journalism.

PART TWO : FIELDWORK

'Difficulties increase the nearer we approach the goal.'

Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe

As part of my research I spend five months in the field, from September 2009 until February 2010. In this part of my thesis I will give background information on my research environment in Johannesburg, South Africa. I will also describe the methods and criteria I used to collect and analyse my data.

My fieldwork consisted of different forms of data collection. In the first two months I collected basic data on representation of Africa and African development, using content analysis on a set of articles per newspaper. To prepare the second part of my fieldwork I also needed to select representative articles and define stakeholders in the media for further research. When I completed the body of quantitative data I analysed all articles to find propositions. I used critical discourse analysis as a method.

In the last two months of my fieldwork I set out to do qualitative research in the media by means of interviews. I analysed my data using statistical methods to find trends and represented the outcomes in graphs and maps. These results were input for the interviews, as was the background information on the newspapers and the media landscape I collected in an earlier phase. By questioning important stakeholders in the newspapers I tried to find explanations for the outcomes of my data analyses. I also needed them to reflect on some of the interpretations I made and add new information on the working conditions and professional beliefs and attitudes in the newsroom.

3. Johannesburg: media hub of Africa

3.1. Research Environment

Out of all African cities Johannesburg holds the most media, both in amount and diversity. Not just for South Africa but Johannesburg serves as a media-outlet for the whole continent and even for the rest of the world. Due to the digitalisation and the growing coverage of networks all over the continent on the one hand and the financial constraints of commercial media on the other hand, more international media rely on local media to provide them with content. More recently the trend in civic journalism and social media and subsequently a more human oriented style of reporting has further strengthened the role of

Johannesburg skyline with Media Park

local reporters in news coverage. In the growing network of local reporters and media all over the continent Johannesburg is the hub for Sub-Saharan Africa.

Most media in Johannesburg are located on the west side of the city at the Media Park; almost all major newspapers, the national television SABC, the national press agency SAPA and international agencies such as AFP, Bloomberg and Reuters, who even launched a regional Africa office in the economic capital of South Africa in 2007. A lot of news websites are developed and their offices located in Johannesburg. South Africa The Good News started off with a focus on South Africa but is now expanding to Africa. The city also hosts a wide range of media ngo's such as the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI), Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) and organisations for journalists such as The Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ), the South Africa National Editors Forum (SANEF) and the Forum for African Investigative Reporters (FAIR). They often link to local and national academia where a lot of young journalists from all over Africa are trained.

Considering that the presumption to my research was that the economic development of Africa over the past decade must have created space for journalists to represent Africa differently, Johannesburg was a good place to research this. Furthermore, the presence of so many media would provide easy access to a lot of data and stakeholders. Johannesburg is not just a hub for the hard content but also for the journalism debate, as is apparent by the amount of media ngo's and media studies. In order to be 'on top of the news' and also have easy access to different data and stakeholders, I asked the research institute **Media Monitoring Africa**[79] if they would

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[79] MMA is a non-profit research and training institute that aims to promote the development of a free, fair, ethical and critical media culture in South Africa and the rest of the continent.

support and accommodate me. They use similar research methods to the ones I had in mind so it also provided me with a good research environment. At MMA research manager Sandra Roberts was my major sparring partner, but the input and insights from director William Bird and the many young researchers involved in the institute's monitoring projects created an inspiring research environment and kept me sharp. The weekly meetings on Monday mornings, in which we discussed the news of the past week, were always an opportunity to test my own opinions on media issues and ethics. It also helped me to understand the media landscape and customs in South Africa and added greatly to the media-interviews that I did towards the end of my fieldwork. The hospitality that MMA granted me was never expected to be paid back in time consuming participation in their projects from my side. Being a coach to some of the young researchers and simply sharing my insights in media issues and contributing to discussions on MMA strategy was greatly appreciated. Once William asked me to carry out a small research on one of the topics that I entered into the Monday meeting, the media coverage of the end of the Cold War, linked to the twenty year commemoration of the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 2009. However not directly linked to my research it gave me some interesting insights in how journalists signified the importance of the end of the Cold War for Africa. It resulted in an article which was published by MMA on their online newsletter.[80] I could not have had a better working environment to carry out my fieldwork. It also allowed me to keep a professional distance towards the media and allowed me to view my data with an open mind.

Analysing data at my MMA desk, Dec 2009
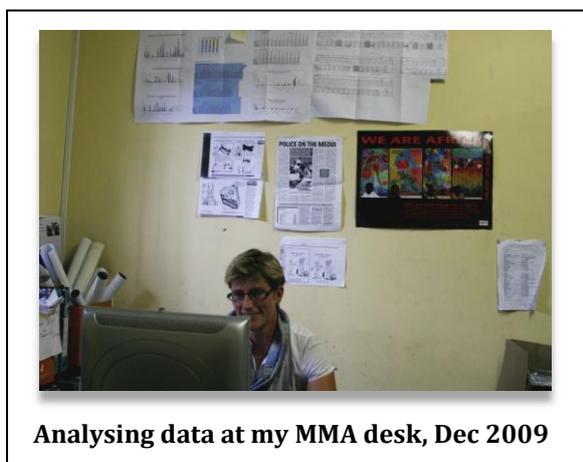
An average work week started with the Monday morning meeting. The whole team of young researchers, the research manager and the director met in the staff room, annex lunch room, annex meeting room, at ten o'clock. Everyone was responsible for monitoring one or two newspapers, especially on the coverage of children as that was the major project at hand. But first we established the major topics in the media, and discussed the reporting and we followed up on media freedom issues such as the Protection of Information Bill and the Public Broadcasting Bill. An important result of the meeting was to decide which articles we considered examples of good and balanced reporting on children and which were really violating children's rights or were representing children in a harmful or stereotypical way. One of the researchers would then write a short report for the website. We also informed each other on our work for the coming week and sometimes invited others to join for media visits or meetings. Over lunch we discussed media issues too, but most of all we had a lot of fun and we all

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[80] Carien J. Touwen. 'The Walls of Africa - coverage of the fall of the Berlin Wall' on: *www.mediamonitoringafrica.org*. Johannesburg, 2009

learned a thing or two about cultural differences since the team was made up of people from very different ethnic backgrounds from both inside and outside South Africa. The rest of the week we would all be involved in our own work. Sometimes I joined one of the researchers on a visit to the media, or I sat in on a presentation, went to a conference or discussed research issues and media theory with Sandra and William. But most of the time I collected data, online and in the newspaper archives at MMA, I analysed some of the outcomes and visited editors and journalists for interviews.

3.2. Newspapers

I made a selection of newspapers on the basis of relevance and accessibility. First of all I decided to only look at text in newspapers (both print and online), for reasons of comparison as well as practical ones. As explained in §2.3 both image and text construct and communicate meaning. Analysing images however requires different research methods than texts.[81] Furthermore, economic development is still predominantly reported through text, more so digital over the past decade, but still text as a main message carrier.

There were also practical reasons to choose newspapers as a source of my data. Most newspapers have digital archives and MMA had a large physical archive that I could access. The next step in the selection was to identify representative newspapers. For this too, Johannesburg was the ideal research environment, being the economic capital of South Africa (chapter 4). Many business newspapers are located in the city that has one of the major stock exchanges of the continent and hosts a vast number of important national and international businesses, and financial institutes.

To analyse news on economic development I choose newspapers with various audiences and objectives, but all with substantial space for economic news. I included English and Afrikaans as I speak both languages, but most of all because I was interested to see if there was a difference in representing Africa.

The Business Day: influential daily business newspaper, English
Beeld: daily newspaper with a separate business section (Sake24) and predominantly white audience, Afrikaans
The City Press : weekly newspaper aiming at an economically active black audience, English
Mail&Guardian: daily (online) and weekly (print) newspaper aimed at an educated and politically engaged audience, English
(South) Africa the Good News: online publication with a clear mission statement on bringing 'good news from (South) Africa', English

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[81] Stuart Hall. *Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London, SAGE Publications, 2003

The presentation of my data (chapter 5) will include background information on the newspapers as I am well aware of the fact that the so called identity of the newspaper might influence the shared meaning on development and growth in the newsroom. This newspaper identity is also influenced by the history of the newspaper and press history in South Africa in general, so I will briefly go into that in the next paragraph.

South Africa the Good News I only used as comparison to the other four in order to establish the influence of their 'good news' objective on reporting economic development in Africa.

3.3. Media landscape of South Africa

In this paragraph I will give a brief overview of the history of the media in South Africa and zoom in on the four newspapers. In the newspaper profiles (appendix VII-XI) I will give more current information. This chapter is also to make clear how the newspapers in my research stand in different parts of the South African media landscape. In some ways they differ, in other they share the same roots.

The origins of the South African media landscape coincide with developments worldwide. In the British Cape colony the first English government-owned newspaper was established as early as 1800 (Cape Gazette). Les Switzer's extended research into the black press in South Africa[82] showed that an 'independent African protest press can be traced back to the 1880s and was mainly active in the Cape where Coloured and African males were granted voting rights in 1872'. Die Zuid-Afrikaan, the first Afrikaner newspaper was a reaction to the English press in the Cape that didn't voice the interests of the Afrikaners. It was published in 1830, in Dutch; the first Afrikaans language newspaper was the Afrikaanse Patriot in 1876.[83]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there were three major pillars in the South African media landscape, the English Press, the Afrikaans Press and the so called Black Press. The major funding for the independent English press came from the mining industry. Throughout history commercial interests combined with press freedom have been at the heart of the English conglomerates such as Independent Newspapers and Avusa.[84] The Afrikaans press was political in origin and mission. Three major Afrikaans newspapers were founded in 1915, parallel to the establishment of the National Party. The English and Afrikaans press had their own funding and publication companies, but the Black Press, from its early days was under influence of white ownership related to political commitment by white liberals. In the 1930s the commercial interests of the

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[82] Les Switzer and Mohammed Adhikari (eds.). *South African Resistance Press*: *Alternative Voices in the Last Generation under Apartheid*, Ohio University Press, 2000

[83] Pieter J. Fourie. *Media Studies: Media History, Media and Society*. South Africa: Juta&Co, 2007

[84] Independent Newspapers started as the Argus Printing Company in 1866, Avusa until a few years back was called Johnnic and was initially established as the Times Media group in 1902.

established printing and publishing sector started to play a key role in publications aimed at a black audience. In 1933, the English Argus Printing and Publishing Company took over Bantu World[85] that soon became the flagship of the newly established subsidiary Bantu Press Ltd.[86] Bantu World was the first in a tradition of 'a captive black commercial press', so called black newspapers owned by white publishers.[87] Despite the business interests of the Argus Group Bantu World was not simply a commercial newspaper, covering whatever sells. In the early days editor Selope-Thema made the newspaper into a credible voice of African opinion. Many of the journalists previously worked at ANC party newspaper Abanthu-Batho,[88] that closed two years earlier. Until the 1960s the Argus Group held the monopoly on the black press. It was only in the 1980s that the Afrikaner press entered the world of black readers with the establishment of **City Press** by Naspers in 1984.

Most black independent newspapers ceased to exist in the years just before Apartheid was institutionalized and there after the new nationalist regime made it impossible for new publications to be launched. The voicing of resistance and criticism towards the government now boiled down to the 'captured' Bantu press and progressive white newspapers such as the *Guardian* , the *Rand Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Times*. The latter two were incorporated into the Times Media group by mining tycoon Abe Baily at the start of the 20th century. The *Guardian*, launched in 1937 in Cape Town as a socialist journal, was affiliated with the Communist Party but it never became a party publication. The first editor-in-chief, Betty Radford made the newspaper into an incubator for investigative journalism. The critical *Rand Daily Mail* suffered from the same interference by management into their editorial content as black newspapers. It was closed down by the Times Media group in 1985 at the crest of government suppression. Some of its prominent journalists, such as Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim, set up a new journal to fill the gap: The **Weekly Mail**. To avoid the Newspaper Registration and Imprint Act they intended it as a subscriber publication for members of a Weekly Mail society, but eventually decided to put it up for registration anyway. Their application was approved and in short time the weekly played a pivotal role in voicing political change and keeping pressure on the government. After the abolition of Apartheid the newspaper evolved to what is the Mail&Guardian today. In the early nineties they introduced new technology into print media using desktop publishing and thus evening the path to digital reporting in South Africa.[89] The **Mail&Guardian Online** was one of

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[85] Bantu World was launched in 1932 by Bertram Paver, modeled on the British Daily Mirror (www.southafrica.info/)

[86] Les Switzer. 'Bantu World, and the Origins of a Captive African Commercial Press', in: *South Africa, Journal of Southern African Studies,* 14(3)

[87] Les Switzer and Elizabeth Ceiriog Jones. 'Other Voices: The Ambiguities of Resistance in South African's Resistance Press', in: *South African Historical Journal,* 32, 66-113

[88] Peter Limb. 'Representing the labouring classes', in: Les Switzer and Mohammed Adhikari (eds.). *South Africa's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generation under Apartheid.* Ohio University Press, 2000

[89] The Mail&Guardian online was one of the world's first digital newspaper in mid-nineties.

the first digital newspapers world-wide, generating their own news content, in a time when most web based reporting consisted of merely uploading print content.

While the Apartheid government had shut the world out and suppressed and manipulated the media, innovation in publication and news gathering due to automation and digitalisation opened up a whole spectrum of new possibilities. Communication became a vital weapon in the anti-apartheid struggle, both inside and outside the country. Inside it developed into a real battle between the authorities and the alternative press. All over the country community publications sprouted as western anti-apartheid movements directed funding to local initiatives. The government responded with more restrictions, a bombardment of propaganda and a series of States of Emergency from 1985 until 1990, which effected the free flow of information. But the UDF was increasingly successful in using both alternative and mainstream media.[90]

The alternative press of the eighties

The mainstream English press juggled between press freedom and commercial interests in an urge to keep alive under censorship rules. Some journalists moved out to join the resistance press. The mainstream Afrikaans media opposed against legislation that restricted their press freedom but remained loyal to the Apartheid ideology. Some brave editors, such as **Beeld**'s Ton Vosloo dared to confront the government on issues such as the banning of the ANC. His successor Willem Wepener came into open confrontation with minister Botha when he supported the release of Mandela in 1988.[91]

Only two alternative newspapers survived the transition to democracy, the Weekly Mail and the East Cape News. The influence and position of the alternative press in present day South Africa lies in its professional tradition of investigative journalism, the experience of struggling for change under hard censorship rules and the ability to give a voice to ordinary citizens on a grassroots level. Those skills became widespread as after Apartheid the resistance journalists moved into the mainstream press, media organisations and journalism education. The journalism profession constantly keeps the government and society up for scrutiny over any issue that might affect press freedom and undermine the critical role of media in a democratic society. A recent example is the discussion around the Protection of Information bill, which brings back fears of Apartheid censorship.[92]

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[90] Jeremy Seekings. 'The media of the United Democratic Front, 1983-1989', in: Les Switzer and Mohamed Adhikari (eds). *South African's Resistance Press: Alternative Voices in the Last Generations under Apartheid*. Ohio University Press, 2000, pp. 223-259.
[91] Les Switzer and Mohammed Adhikari (), *South African Resistance Press*: *Alternative Voices in the Last Generation under Apartheid*, Ohio University Press, 2000
[92]'South Africa: Press Freedom under threat', *The Global Post*, 24 October 2010,

In the mid eighties a new newspaper was launched that managed to keep a low profile and therefore remained unnoticed in media research into those last days of Apartheid, the **Business Day**. As an English language newspaper selling company news it easily blended into the English media landscape that had been dominated by business capital since its origins. However every day news was covered as well, the focus was purely business, politics were avoided, unless it had to do with business interests. Business Day in those years was a platform for debate on sanctions,[93] but they voiced opinions that had been going round since the start of the seventies when prominent business people discredited Apartheid as an unprofitable economic system.[94] They did not openly seek confrontation with the government. Since black business was not in focus it was no topic in the newspaper either, the point of reference was the western economic order and the South African economy.

For my research the historic roots of the newspapers were important. It determined the way journalists viewed their roles, the position newspapers took and it determined the way society looked at the media. However it was not my objective to establish the influence of this press legacy on the professional identity of journalists, it was in my view a factor of importance in a professional discussion. Besides which, for the sake of my predominantly non-South African audience, some contextualization of the media landscape was needed.

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[92] Guy Berger. 'Surmounting deadlock over the state of South African media freedom', in: *Mail&Guardian Online*, 21 Oktober 2010

[93] Mark Orkin. *Sanctions against Apartheid,* South Africa: David Philip Publishers Ptb., 1989

[94] Allister Sparks. *The mind of South Africa.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc.,1990

4. Methodology

As outlined in paragraph 1.2 I broke my main research question down into a number of sub questions on how economic development and the connected socio-economic realities in Africa were represented in the print media in South Africa. I used text analysis as a methodology on different levels to establish how 'shared meaning' on development in Africa was constructed, transmitted and reproduced. Fairclough distinguished three levels of textual analysis: the actual text; the discursive practices (creating, writing, speaking); and the larger social context that underlied text and discursive.[95] The focus of my research was on the actual texts and discursive level of journalism practice. The research methods were quantitative, using content analysis and statistical methods to build a substantial database. This database formed the basis for further, qualitative research, using discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews to establish, if and how discursive practices influenced the construction of meaning.

4.1. Content Analysis

Content analysis in media studies is frequently used to establish representations. It is, as George V. Zito (1975:27) put it 'a quantitative method applicable to what has traditionally been called qualitative material – written language'.[96] There are many definitions of content analysis but the one that I feel most comfortable with in media studies relies on a common definition by Zito:

> 'Content analysis is a method of studying and analysing communication in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner in order to establish its manifest content.'

The most problematic part of the definition is objectivity. As the selection of criteria and categories is the choice of the researcher it is clear that some subjectivity will enter into the findings. At all times insight into the sampling and categorization methods is required[97] and therefore I will explain in this paragraph how I established categories, keywords , and sources and assigned them to predefined frames (chapter 2).

As content analysis is a quantitative method it is important to decide and explain to what level of detail this extends. For my research it was not always relevant to count the exact words used, counting categories of words (topics) was often sufficient, as I will

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[95] Norman Fairclough. *Media discourse.* London: Edward Arnold, 1995
Norman Fairclough. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research.* London: Routledge, 2003
[96] George V. Zito. *Methodology and Meanings: Varieties of Sociological Inquiry*. New York: Praeger, 1975
[97] Arthur Asa Berger. *Media and Communication Research Methods, An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Approach., London:* SAGE Publications, 2011

explain in the next chapter in more detail. Representation is not only reflected in the words and categories of words used, but also by the choice of voices. In my content analysis I have therefore included sources - spoken and printed- as is also suggested by Entman in his 1993 publication on framing.[98] To provide context, content analysis in media studies is furthermore combined with media data (circulation, readership, frequency) and production features (location in the newspaper, length, genre). This information is part of the presentation of my data in chapter five and the newspaper profiles in the appendices.

4.2 Selecting and Collecting Data on Africa

I decided to first make a map of the coverage of African countries in general. I selected all articles on African countries and counted the number for each country. I excluded South Africa as I wanted to establish how the rest of Africa was reported on from a South African point of view. First of all I was curious to see how often newspapers reported on Africa and if newspapers had a specific regional focus. I looked at
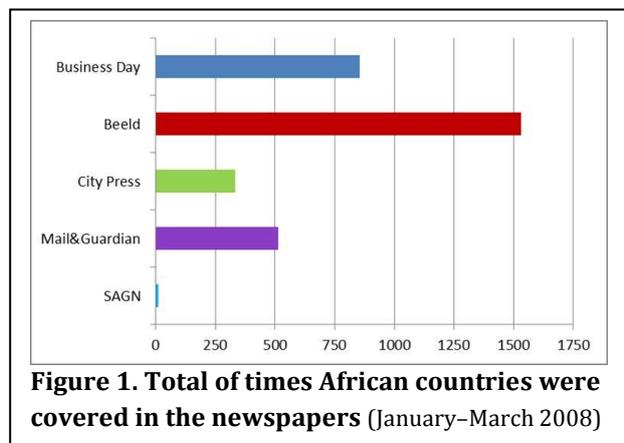
Figure 1. Total of times African countries were covered in the newspapers (January–March 2008)

the topics covered (appendix I) and made a list of the major news issues in the time frame to find explanations for the representation of certain countries (appendix II). At the time of my fieldwork Kenya and Zimbabwe faced election turmoil, for instance. For me the representation of African countries in the newspapers served as a first impression of the reporting on Africa in the time frame of my research. In chapter five, where I present my data, I will therefore start with this general representation of African countries on a map of Africa for each newspaper.

4.3 Selecting and Collecting Data on economic development

The general coverage of Africa was a helpful context for more detailed research of the coverage of socio-economic realities through reporting on developments. For that in depth analysis I singled out the articles on development in Africa. To analyse the news content I looked at different variables: the presence of certain keywords, propositions, topics, sources of information and quotation (Entman 1993; Alozie 2005[99]). I selected

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[98] Robert B. Entman. 'Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm', in: *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51-58

[99] Alozie Emmanuel. 'Sudan and South Africa – a framing analysis of Mail & Guardian Online's coverage of Darfur', in: *Ecquid Novi*, 26(1), 63-84

my data and ordered them in different generic frames (§2.3). Generic frames to me were sets of keywords, topics and propositions that were interrelated. Propositions are be identified in the text or image using discourse analysis and theory on representation, propositions are part of shared meaning (§2.3). For instance keywords/topics such as 'natural resources' were signs that signified meaning, expressed in a proposition such as 'Economic growth in Africa is primarily steered by natural resources'. This proposition was part of an economic-financial framing that consisted of all kinds of propositions that described development as a process steered by capital (§2.1). Generic frames therefore operated on a high level and, in line with Entman's theory, often reflected the perspectives of certain groups. Defining generic frames for me was more than just a handy tool to organize my data, it represented journalism practice and reflected coherent sets of ideas around economic development.

There are two methodological ways to apply framing in media research: inductive and deductive (De Vreeze 2005). I chose a deductive approach by using frames that were predefined and operationalized prior to my research. I choose to pre-define three generic frames that were 'structural and inherent to the conventions of journalism' (De Vreese 2005: 55)[100] and therefore in line with criteria commonly used in media-studies (Cappella & Jamieson 1997).[101] As a central organizing idea I used the most common characterisation of issues and events in journalism: political, economic and social.[102] These generic frames were not only a practical choice because they reflected different angles in reporting. There was a clear link to my research question which deals with the socio-economic realities in society. These realities were part of the perspectives of different groups. In my research these perspectives were relate to different approaches to development (§2.2). The most common way to report on economic development is as a process of growth, and therefore represented through financial figures such as GDP, information on companies and products. A different angle to development is to view it as a political process of strategies and policy, involving institutes and governments. Both approaches are linked to theory on development that was current since the second part of the 20th century, and influenced the representation on Africa in general (§2.1). A third, so called human, approach to development is reflected in the Human Development Indicators and became more common in journalism when IPS expanded to a global level. As I have argued (§2.2) a human approach for me exceeded the basic criteria of the HDI and also included issues such as human rights, environment and civic participation.

In the next paragraphs I will give back ground information to the keywords and propositions I choose, within the scope of the three generic frames.

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[100] Claes H. de Vreese. 'News framing: Theory and typology', in: I*nformation Design Journal + Document Design* 13(1), 51-62
[101] J.N. Cappella and K.H. Jamieson. *Spiral of cynism. The press and the public good*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997
[102] P.M. Sniderman and S.M. Theriault. 'The dynamics of political argument and the logic of issue framing', in: W.E. Saris & P.M Sniderman (eds.), *The Issue of belief: Essays in the intersection of non-attitudes and attitude change*. Princeton University Press, 2004

Reporting in a financial frame

In January 2011 The Economist reported 'Africa is now one of the world's fastest-growing regions'.[103] An analysis of the first ten years of the new millennium showed that six of the world's ten fastest-growing economies were in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Economist also found that over the first decade the average annual growth rates hardly differed between Africa and Asia. Based on predictions by the IMF, The Economist concluded that 'the average African economy will outpace its Asian counterpart'.

As a region Africa might be one of the world's fastest growing, a map of annual GDP for 2007 (figure 2) showed the differences between African countries were huge. It needs no argument that Africa is a continent of fifty-three unique countries, with a different mix of variables influencing development. That the situation varies greatly between countries is of course relevant and therefore in the presentation of my data I started with a frequency map of countries covered in the newspapers (chapter 5). But my research was not aimed at analysing the differences between specific countries but to look if the changed

Sources: African Development Indicators, World Bank 2008, UN Data 2008

Figure 2 . GDP annual growth percentage for African countries (2007)

socio-economic situation in Africa was covered and how. The financial approach to development comes with a whole vocabulary of abbreviations, institutes and figures that are presumed to be closely related. I've included most of them in my list of keywords (appendix III). My analysis shows that these relationships, expressed in propositions (appendix IV), are often taken at face value however the story is more complicated and there are alternative views, as the following account of the economic growth in the first decade of the 21st century shows.

Source: African Economic Outlook 2011 (UNECA, AfDB , OECD, UNDP)

Figure 3. GDP annual growth for Africa and its sub regions
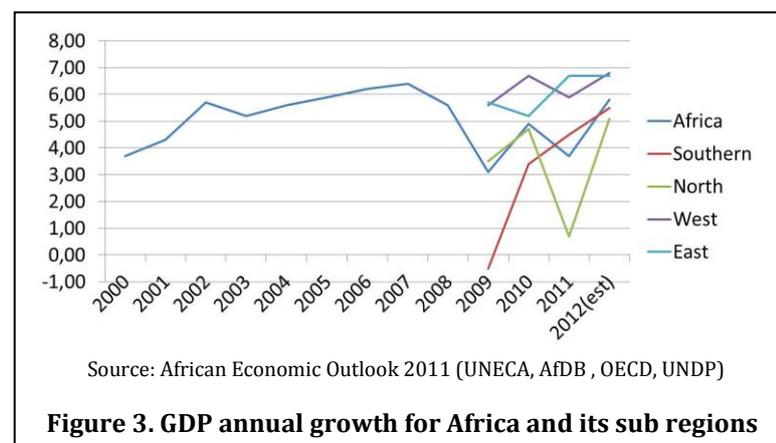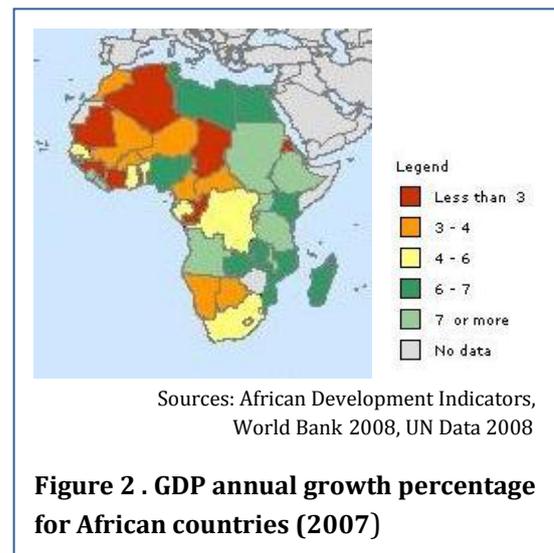
Africa had seen times of economic growth in the past before. At the time of my research it was too early to call for a sustainable trend, and for a short while the global crisis tempered the optimism, but growth returned in 2010 and the present financial crisis in Europe also does not seem to

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[103] 'Daily Chart: Africa's Impressive Growth. Africa is now one of the world's fastest-growing regions', *The Economist Online*, 06 January 2011

effect Africa so hard. The dip in **GDP-rate** for north Africa was caused by the political uproar in the region. In the African Economic Outlook 2011 a growth in GDP of up to 5.8% is predicted for 2012, bringing Africa's growth percentage back to before the global crisis.

According to economists the growth of the African economies in the first decade of the millennium was pushed by two forms of foreign capital flow, investments and development aid. An analysis by the African Studies Centre (ASC) in Leiden, the Netherlands, showed that high foreign direct investments (**FDI**) occurred in countries with significant economic growth. In an analysis the ASC concluded that the increase in FDI was caused by investment in the basic pillars of industrialization, commodities and energy. Countries that relied for over 70% on oil revenues were beneficiaries of over 40% of all FDI into Africa between 2000 and 2006.[104] But the ASC analysis also stated that not all fast growing countries had equally high figures for foreign investments. In Congo both investments and aid have been extremely high since 2006 but had not resulted in comparable increase in GDP, so there was more at play than a linear relation between GDP and FDI, as figures on economic growth in Namibia, Botswana and Angola where GDP is much higher despite lower investments, also showed,.

An analysis by the World Bank showed a new perspective on the relationship between **natural resources** and growth. Almost 80% of all countries with a GDP-rate of 4,5% or higher did not primarily rely on oil revenues. In actual fact there was only one oil country (Equatorial Guinea) that showed a significantly higher figure than non-oil countries.[105] Still the dominant perception was that natural resources were the main drivers for growth and development in Africa (appendix IV). In a report that addressed the consequences of the global crisis for developing countries, the World Bank
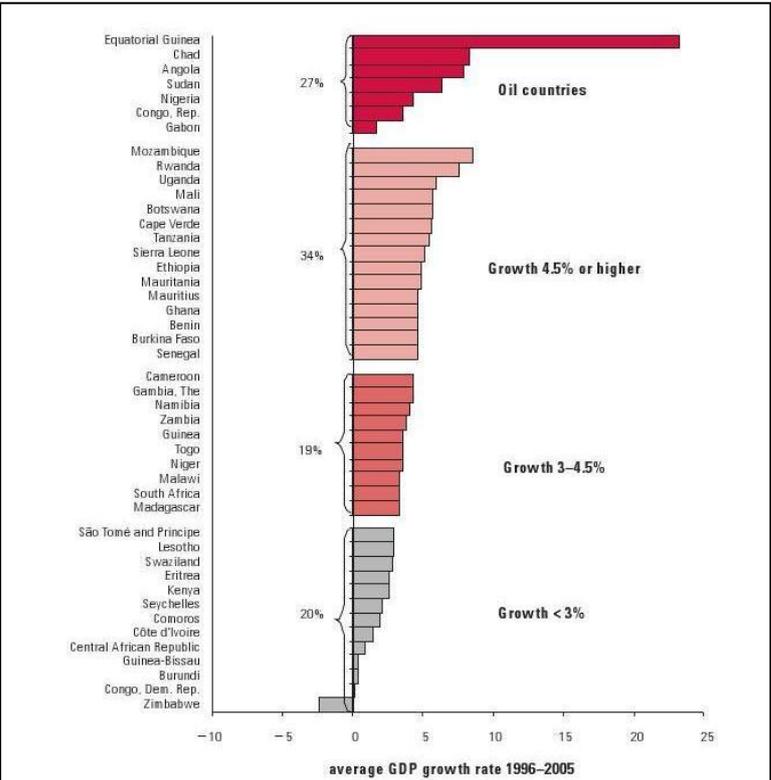
Source: Africa's Silk Road, China and India's new frontier, World Bank 2007

Figure 4. GDP annual growth comparing oil-producing countries to other African countries

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[104] Kim de Vries (ed.). *Kaart van Afrika 2008, Buitenlandse Directe Investeringen (FDI),* Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2008
[105] Harry G. Broadman. *Africa's Silk Road, China and India's new frontier*. Washington: The World Bank, 2007

therefore focused on the long term consequences for more diversified economies. They argued that the focus should be on these economies as they showed more sustainable growth and could add to a more diversified African economy via intra-continental investments.[106] And however this report was launched after the time frame of my research, these ideas on **diversification** were present. I was curious to find out if the South African newspapers covered these changed perspectives on African development. Even figures by non-oil producing countries, reports on performances in other sectors of the economy, different companies, intraregional trading and organisations for regional cooperation within Africa, could show these new perspectives. **Regional cooperation** as such is not a new phenomenon in Africa, it already existed in the colonial era, but the emphasis as important factor in Africa's development is quite recent as the World Bank report illustrated.

In the fifties and sixties many regional organisations were formed, but none were very effective. Mostly because the African local markets were so small that even cooperation didn't make them any more attractive to foreign investors. However the market-oriented approach of the **World Bank**s Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) did stimulate more regional cooperation in the nineties, the liberalisation of the national currencies that occurred simultaneously decreased price differences between countries and therefore made intraregional trading less attractive. The four geographical regions in Africa all have their own economic bodies. In the north the Arab Maghreb Union (**AMU**) includes all Arab African countries except Egypt. However the idea of an economic union originated in the fifties it was not until 1989 that the AMU was formed. The east African countries in the Horn of Africa are united in the **IGAD** (Intergovernmental Authority on Development). It was established through the United nations in 1986 to combat famine and drought that hindered development in the region. The Economic Community of West African States (**Ecowas**) was established in Lagos in 1975. Contrary to the CFA-countries that are linked to France by currency, all western African states are members of Ecowas. The smallest of the economic communities, the East African Community (**EAC**) established in 1967, lasted only ten years. It was revived in 2000 and is now seeking close cooperation with SADC. In the south the Southern African Development Community (**SADC**)[107] became the major economic player on the continent when South African joined in 1990. I used this geo-economical ordering in the comparison of my newspapers in chapter 6.

It was also in the nineties, under the influence of globalisation and following the example of the European Union that overall economic bodies such as the African Economic Community (1991) and free trade zones such as **COMESA** (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, 1994) were established. On the other hand, Africa holds the oldest customs union of the world, the **SACU** (Southern African Customs Union) was

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[106] 'Swimming Against the Tide: How Developing Countries Are Coping with the Global Crisis', World Bank Background Paper for the G20 Finance Ministers and Central Governors Meeting, 13-14 March 2009
[107] SADC was established in 1980 in Lusaka, as SADCC, in 1992 the name changed to SADC

established a hundred years ago in 1910 and consists of South Africa, Namibia (since its independence in 1990) Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.[108]

The end of the Cold War coincided with another major change in society that became a driving force for globalisation: **information- and communication technology** (ICT) that opened up the world through digital infrastructure. However such changes did not occur overnight, and in a way were part of a slow process that started in the Industrialisation of the 18th century, the specific impact of ICT on society became real in the nineties when western economies turned into knowledge societies. The collapse of the east-west divide further opened up global markets and made space for new relations, worldwide. **New investors** entered the African arena, where development aid was shrinking. The remittances send home by migrant workers in the west was already exceeding **donor funding**. Other upcoming markets such as India and China, but also wealthy Arab oil states saw investment possibilities. Upcoming economies formed alliances outside the classic north-south relations (**BRIC**). In the new world order, neo-liberalism was the economic reality in a playing field no longer dominated by western aid money. The move of **South African capital** into Africa was cheered by economists world-wide as it encouraged inter-African trading and forced countries and business to invest in construction.

Source: Databank The World Bank, 2009

Figure 5. Internet users per 100 people in 2008
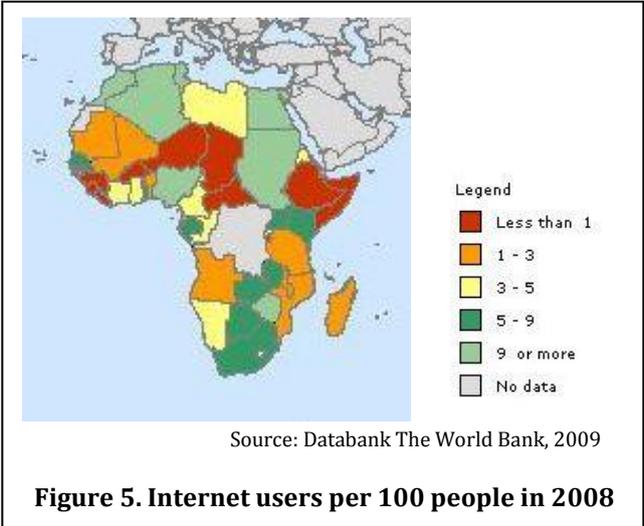
Not only the lack of **infrastructure**, both physical and digital, was believed to have been a hindrance to economic growth, so were the high tax regulations, import and **export barriers** and **customs** procedures of poorly organized African states. But however these economic developments can in retrospect be seen as major changes to the economic structures in Africa, the results in terms of economic growth and development were initially quite meagre. The differences between countries were huge and the growth slowed down towards the digital crisis of the millennium. In the end the average African growth in the nineties equalled the population growth, at best there seemed to be a shift in the down ward trend of previous years.

The ICT revolution however encouraged entrepreneurship of Africans. The introduction of **mobile phones** and **internet** enabled local businesses to bypass the expensive brokering and directly connect to their consumers worldwide. But of course the digitalisation also had a direct economic effect as many new ICT companies sprouted on the continent, often located in South Africa or funded with South African capital. Recently some local providers and new cell phone companies were established in major

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[108] http://www.sacu.int/about.php?include=about/history.html

African capitals. The introduction of ICT in the African economy also seemed to trigger the long needed diversification of the economy and might make Africa less dependent on its natural resources for income, as the World Bank had urged. This was already reflected in the **banking** system which had been intensified and professionalised in countries with a growing economy and new trading and business opportunities.

In my analysis of reporting on economic development in Africa I was curious to find out if journalists were writing about these changed perspectives. In other words, were journalists able to look beyond the dominant discourse in the financial frame that FDI and natural resources were the prime drivers of growth in Africa, and GDP was the best indicator for economic development. Where they able to show different perspectives as the human approach advocates, or did they still reflect the perceptions of political and financial elites. Even when dealing with classic indicators of the financial frame such as GDP, there are opportunities to do so. Looking more in depth into the World Bank's statistics on Africa shows that beyond GDP a whole range of over 1500 Africa Development Indicators (ADI) can be found[109] that paint a complex and more diversified picture of economic development in Africa, a picture of an inclusive economy.

Reporting in a political frame
The second major frame to represent economic development is through politics. As my paragraph on development theory shows the discourse in this frame is related to development aid and power structures. Therefore institutes such as the **UN, EU** and the AU are present in a political frame. The complication with these institutes is that the financial and political objectives are part of the same agenda's. On the other hand there was a discrepancy between high ideals and practical implementation, which underlied the propositions that were constructed around them. Since the first pan-African organisations were formed in the early sixties , the Union of African States and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), until the establishment of the African Union (**AU**) at the end of the decade, ideology ruled. This also applied to the other regional organisations (see previous paragraph). I found it therefore difficult to decide if I would include the organisations for regional cooperation within the financial or political frame. But in essence these bodies served an economic purpose, despite the high level of ideology and the integration with political discourse. The AU in itself however is mostly a political organisation. In 1980 the OAU drew up a plan for economic development of Africa, The Lagos Plan of Action.[110] It is seen as Africa's response to the dominance of the World Bank and it's SAP's and still communicates a high level of political ideology. At the start of the new millennium the AU launched a new economic project: **Nepad** (New Partnership for Africa's Development), which has a clear financial approach based on neo-liberal policy. This also was the major topic of critique, Nepad was accused of being a neo-liberal document too closely related to the Washington Consensus of the World

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[109] Statistiscs in Africa, The World Bank
[110] 'Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa 1980-2000', on: *www.uneca.org*. Organisation of African Unity

Bank.[111] It furthermore had a focus on integrating Africa in the world economy.[112] It still held the old Lagos Plan principles of eradicating poverty and promoting sustainable development, but it also included issues of good governance and conflict. I was therefore not sure where to include Nepad and choose the financial frame on the basis of the main objective which is more financial than political. Furthermore it is often reported on in relation to financial institutes such as the World Bank. In the end it turned out that Nepad was hardly reported on at all by the newspapers in my data set, so if my choice in the end was correct I could not establish.

Global institutes such as the **UN** were at the heart of alternative approaches to development as their initiative to the HDI showed. Most of the main HDI indicators I included in the social frame because they originated from a clear human approach to development. But the UN as an organisation has a political agenda and their major arena is world politics. The confusion that surrounded the UN and its HDI is also reflected in arguments to include concepts such as **good governance** and **transparency**, that have been at the core of development aid and policy since the end of the Cold War. If one views the UN primarily as a political organisation this is an understandable critique, but to me the HDI as such takes a very clear human approach to development and that does not include political concepts such as transparency and ways of governance. In my definition of the three frames of economic reporting it makes perfect sense to view the UN as part of the political approach to development and its HDI as part of a social frame. In the end, the HDI turned out to be a non-topic, I found no reference to it in my whole dataset.

In the slipstream of political discourse on governmental level ngo's stressed the importance of individual **freedom** (gender, religion, expression) and **human rights**. Over the past twenty years these approaches have become an important part of political discourse at government level, as the uncomfortable relationship with upcoming economic power block China and the west showed. I have therefore decided to include them in the political frame (appendix III). However one might argue that issues over freedom can be viewed as part of a human and social approach, in economic reporting they were part of a political frame. It should be noted that however I might classify these keywords as part of political frame, that was only for reasons of ordering my data. In one article keywords from different frames worked together to construct propositions that signified meaning.

Reporting in a social frame
The third approach to development is to frame it as a process of social change. This approach is very different from the political and financial approach, as §2.5 showed. Both within the political and financial frame the dominant approach to development is

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[111] Chris Landsberg. *NEPAD: What is it? What is missing?* Johannesburg: National Labour and Economic Development Institute, 2003
[112] http://www.nepad.org/

in line with Rostow's stages model, and takes a very top-down view on development. The major participants and agents from a regional to a global level are people and structures in power. The social frame takes a bottom-up approach, looking at the participation and contribution of **civil society** and individual civilians and **civic organisations** to development. It looks at other than financial drivers for development, such as **education, health and poverty** that are also at the heart of the HDI. As argued before the human approach included more than the main categories of the HDI. The Millennium Development Goals for instance also included **gender** and **environment**. The global debate on climate change had entered economic discourse. Not only in a social frame where the living conditions of individual citizens were affected, but also within a financial frame where an energy dependent industry was the focal point. Were South African media able to report on these changes, I wondered. And were they able to do so from a bottom-up perspective?

There were other issues that influenced the possibilities for people to develop, such as **safety** and **employment**. It's interesting to see that so called human indexes as HDI and MDG don't include these issues as if they are the sole terrain of a financial or political approach. A recent study on piracy by the British think-tank Chatham-House 'concluded that significant amounts of ransom money are spent in the regional centres, with the benefits being shared out between a large number of people due to the clan structures in place.'[113] These people might have a completely different perception on safety connected to piracy than looking at the issue from a political angle. Talking about security in the political frame always means that corruption and conflict have a negative influence on development. This example shows that a social perspective tells a different story. My question was if journalists were able to report on safety and security through a social frame and not just a political one.

Pro and cons of content analysis
The use of a predefined list of keywords comes with advantages but also with limitations. One needs to be very careful to include all possible keywords and topics, for what one doesn't predefine one will not find. This also works the other way round: if you want to establish what is not there, you need to include this in your list of keywords. To some extent I did, as topics such as the HDI's, MDG and freedom of religion illustrate. For other topics I did not. BRIC was in my original list of keywords but it slipped through the cracks when I processes the data into graphs. Other topics I only later realised that I had not come across when doing content and discourse analyses, but I had no proof. In my analyses (chapter 5 and 6) I could easily deal with this by running my data through text analysis in the software programme Wordle. This progamme counts all words in a text and rates them in order to create a word-cloud (chapter 5). The raw data can also be accessed. In this way I checked my data for keywords such as BRIC, migrant remittances,

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[113] 'Somali piracy boosts Puntland economy'**,** on: *BBC Africa News,* 12 January 2012
New research suggests piracy has led to widespread economic development in some parts of Somalia.
Based on research by Chatham House.

informal economy and informal market and found that they indeed were absent in all newspapers. Migrants were present but only as part of a migration story, not in the context of remittances.

By categorizing my keywords in different frames, according to general theory and practice, I went with the flow and might not have established if combinations of political and social perspectives were made. That is another reason why content analysis is a limited method and should always be followed by qualitative research. By using critical discourse analysis I enabled myself to look more in detail at the propositions in articles and how they related (§4.4).

Time Frame

To test my hypothesis that the positive economic development of Africa at the start of the 21st century gave space for a different representation of Africa I choose a moment when there had been enough time for different representations to have entered news reporting. As I have argued in my theoretical approach, it takes time for shared meaning to change and often old images linger on or are incorporated into new representations, at least for a while. Besides which, it also takes time before growth figures are part of a trend and not an incident. So a time span of ten years seemed reasonable. But with the new reality of an economic crisis at the time of my research, end of 2009, I could not analyse present day reporting as it was now completely dominated by crisis discourse. I therefore choose the first quarter of 2008, just before the global crisis really hit. This to some extent was a complication as I had to find archives of newspapers and also in the interviews with stakeholders I might have to refer to articles that they wrote over a year ago. But as I was interested in the overall trends in reporting, I considered this a minor problem. To support my interviews I selected some current articles that fitted the outcomes of my 2008 analysis, just to ease discussions with stakeholders and to see if the frames were persistent.

4.4. Discourse analysis

Strictly speaking content analysis can only be applied on so called manifest content. In the representation theory described by Hall (2003) content analysis would therefore only be applicable in a reflective approach to journalism.

In a constructionist approach, which assumes that language constructs meaning and is not simply a reflection of somebody's opinion or of 'the facts', additional analysis is required. In media studies it is common practice to look at so called propositions, popularly defined as something that one finds while reading between the lines. This is comparable to discourse analysis in social studies. 'Discourse' however is a widely used and extremely diverse concept. I prefer to use 'proposition' as it clearly describes the

object of study within a media context.[114] A proposition is a combination of identifiable signs in a text, that signifies meaning on the basis of cohesion, causality, narrative and motivation.[115] This approach is in line with a formalist or structuralist definition of discourse (Schiffrin 1994),[116] it views language as a system of signs. This means that **structured discourse analysis**, or propositional monitoring, 'looks for patterns in units which are larger, more extended, than one sentence' (Cameron 2001:11).

However propositions can be viewed as a construction of signs, the meaning that it signifies is influenced by more than just its properties. Meaning is created in an environment of social knowledge, in journalism loosely referred to as context. This in fact means that a purely structuralist approach is not adequate (Richardson 2007:23). Language is a tool people use to express and exchange meaning based on ever changing social knowledge. 'The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use.' (Brown and Yule 1983).[117] Especially in journalism where meaning is constantly tied to context such a functionalist approach to discourse is required in addition to propositional monitoring, which in a strict sense only identifies the discourses present but doesn't look at the underlying social context (Fairclough 2003). For **functionalist discourse analysis** qualitative research methods such as semi-structured interviews on the basis of the outcomes of a structured analysis are more appropriate (§4.6)

4.5. Defining propositions

In the second phase of my research I used structured discourse analysis to identify the propositions in my articles on economic development. Defining propositions, can be done in a deductive or inductive way. I used a deductive approach to pre-define propositions on the basis of theory and discourse on development and representations of Africa. When searching for propositions in the selected articles I used the criteria defined by Cameron.

Many propositions were made up of keywords within the same frame, which strengthened the meaning they signified. To phrase it in a popular way, they represented fixed beliefs, stereotypes. Within framing theory they could be regarded as issue-related frames (de Vreese 2007). Sometimes propositions were constructed by the interaction of keywords in different generic frames. It would make an interesting research to look into the strength of issue-related frames within the broader scope of generic frames, but that was not the objective of my research. I wanted to look at different representations of economic development and establish if the changed socio-economic realities in Africa were covered. I therefore focused on the propositions themselves and for reasons of comprehension ordered them in the frames that most

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[114] John E. Richardson. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis.* Great Britain: Palgrave, 2007
[115] D. Cameron. *Working with Spoken Discourse*. London: SAGE, 2001
[116] D. Schiffrin. *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994
[117] G. Brown and G. Yule. *Discourse Analysis.* Cambridge University Press, 1983

closely resembled their content. But it becomes clear when looking at the list (appendix IV) that some propositions in the financial frame also have properties linked to a political and social perspective and vice versa. In my data presentation and analysis (chapter 5) I will explain how these propositions were present in articles and how they constructed meaning.

It was interesting to see that some existing propositions manifested in a changed context, but in fact stayed the same. For instance, the dominant discourse in the financial frame that Foreign Direct Investment is one of the major drivers of African development, still existed but was rephrased substituting western investors by Asian. So a new context in this case did not lead to new discourse. Some might argue that the context had not really changed, hence headlines accusing China of neo-colonialism. But the news framing of China's role in Africa is a topic in itself for further research.

4.6. Discussing representations

The outcomes of content and structured discourse analysis provided the data I needed for evidence based interviews with several stakeholders in the print media. I selected the interviewees on the basis of a list of journalists I drew up when analysing the articles, information on the newspaper management and insights I required through informal interviews with researchers at MMA and other journalists in my own media network in South Africa. These **informal interviews** can be seen as an important part of qualitative research however in literature they are often disregarded as trivial for it is difficult to verify the outcomes or intentions. But informants provide a researcher with important background information and can help to 'establish contact with and gain the confidence of' (Berger 2011:136) the source. In that respect it is no different in journalism where we all acknowledge the importance of fixers to access sources and information. As in journalism I didn't keep a detailed track record of the information that my informal sources provided, call it professional deformation on my part, but I would like to right that wrong in giving credit to all my colleagues at MMA, my friends and contacts in South Africa, who shared their insights unconditionally.

On the evidence base of my research into the representation of Africa and economic development, background information that I acquired via literature studies and professional discussions at MMA, I set up my **semi-structured interviews** (appendix VI). In individual meetings with journalists and editors I discussed my outcomes and asked them if they were aware of the propositions in their newspaper and if these propositions related to what they intended to communicate. I furthermore discussed how these propositions subsequently were part of representations of Africa and asked them about their personal stance towards reporting Africa. I also used these interviews to check and supplement the general information for the profiles (appendix VII-X), especially with regard to sources, as this was not always clear from the articles.

For the interview with South Africa the Good News I used the analysis of their reporting in the same way as I did with the other newspapers. But the objective of my interview was to gain information for a comparison with the mainstream newspapers. To establish if a clear 'positive news' approach gave a different kind of reporting and representation of development or that it simply was a matter of focus. And I was also curious to find out if they thought that their reporting was very different to mainstream and why so. That interview therefore was only **loosely structured**. I also used a recent interview with departing editor-in-chief Ian MacDonald[118] that addressed a lot of the issues I needed to discuss.

To give context to my data from an outside perspective I wanted to interview several media-professionals not linked to one of the newspapers. These **unstructured interviews** I planned after my interviews at the newspapers so I could add the outcomes into the discussion and let outsiders reflect.

In this phase of my research I had to put my fieldwork on halt for a while due to an accident. I had started to set up meetings with various stakeholders but was now running out of time. My intention was to interview reporters from my 2008-dataset that were still working for the same newspaper in February 2010. In the end I succeeded in speaking to the most important stakeholders: editors and journalists from the newspapers and sources on the outside such as freelancers and press agencies (appendix V). I didn't manage to interview a substantial amount of journalists involved per newspaper but as a whole they gave enough evidence on how journalists and print media viewed the representation of changed socio-economic realities in Africa and their personal role in reporting Africa. Some of the outcomes, especially in my main dataset, can be considered common knowledge among media researchers or journalism professionals or even consumers; through research they become visible and available for further analysis. The outcomes provide a solid basis for further qualitative research, such as conducted by Kanyegirire in his study on Nepad.[119]

Due to time constraints I was also not able to observe the dynamics in the newsrooms as I intended to do, to get a sense of how professional practices and working conditions influenced reporting. Looking back the interviews with journalists and the one observation in a newsroom were amongst the most inspirational. In that respect this fieldwork triggered me to want to know more about newsroom dynamics and professionalism, as all fieldwork is a prelude to the next, I suppose.

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[118] http://www.sagoodnews.co.za/newsletter_archive/what_ive_learnt.html
[119] A.S.T Kanyegirire. *Journalists' perceptions of their roles and identities with regard to the New Partnership for Africa's Development* (PhD thesis), South Africa: Rhodes University, 2007

PART THREE : DATA-ANALYSIS & RESULTS

'Facts get their importance of what is
made of them by interpretation.'

Edward Said

The third part of this thesis contains a presentation of my fieldwork data, analysis and conclusions. A major part of the analyses of my data I had to carry out while in the field in order to collect qualitative data for the second part of my fieldwork. I have therefore integrated the analysis of my quantitative data in the presentation of my data per newspaper. The background information that I collected per newspaper to contextualise my findings I have used to construct newspaper profiles (appendix VII – XI)). These profiles are based on material I collected through document research as well as interviews with editors. In chapter six I will analyse the overall outcomes per newspaper, compare differences and similarities between the newspapers and try to apply theory to practice on the basis of my findings.

5. Reporting on development in Africa

5.1. The Business Day

Reporting Africa

To establish how often Business Day reported on Africa I counted the amount of articles for each African country from 1 January until 31 March 2008. A lot of articles (over 75%) covered more than one African country; in those the countries were mere examples for activities in a region or by a certain company or organisation. In total African countries were 856 times the subject in newspaper articles in Business Day (see figure 1). Most stories (54,5%), covered Southern Africa (ex SA). Eastern Africa and the Horn came in second (28,9%). Northern Africa was hardly covered at all, as was the case in all newspapers.
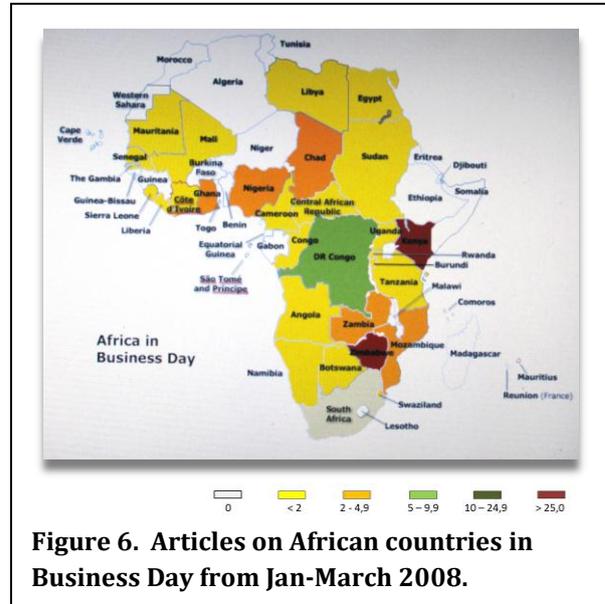
Figure 6. Articles on African countries in Business Day from Jan-March 2008.

However this is a map of the news coverage on Africa in general, resource-rich countries scored high. This is too be expected with a business newspaper that covered a lot of company news. Out of all resource-rich countries Congo was covered most frequently (6,2%), this however was not only caused by reporting on economic growth and natural resources, many articles dealt with conflict. This was also the main reason for the high scores of Zimbabwe and Kenya. The news in the first three months of 2008 was dominated by election related violence in both countries (appendix II). It is remarkable that Namibia and Botswana were hardly reported on, however there were significant business interests for SA companies.

In an interview in February 2010 editor Peter Bruce stated that Business Day mainly reported on finance and the economy but not merely through economic sectors. My data show that politics is an even bigger topic. Looking closer at these articles showed that they often addressed business related issues, but through a political angle.
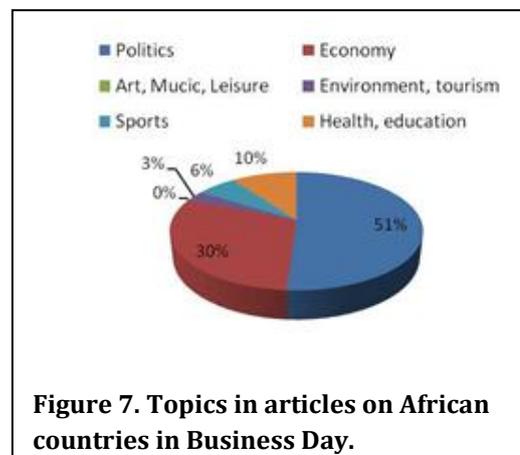
Figure 7. Topics in articles on African countries in Business Day.

Representing economic development

In the main dataset with articles on Africa I selected all articles dealing with development for closer analysis on how economic growth and development was represented, in total 42 articles. Development was not restricted to articles on the economy, but the major part of the articles was framed either financially or politically, as I will show in my analysis below.

I established the prominent news frames, keywords and propositions in the 42 articles and classified an article in one of the three frames when the majority of keywords and propositions matched my predefined set (appendix III, IV). My data showed that development was mainly reported through a <u>financial frame</u> (76,2%).

Figure 8. Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the financial frame
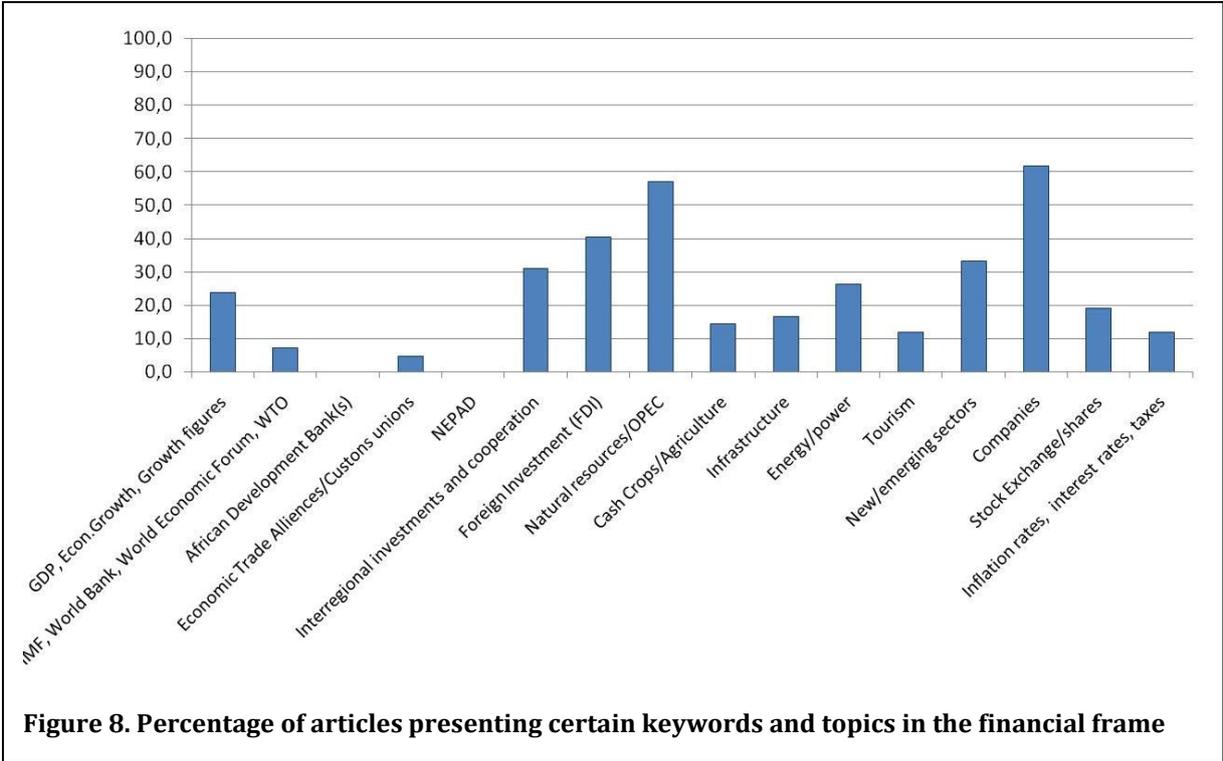
Frequently used words/topics were: foreign direct investments (in 40% of all articles on development), interregional cooperation and SA investment in the region/Africa (31%), and GDP (23%). In over 60% of all articles companies were the subject. This was too be expected as the Business Day had a special companies section.

Most frequently reported sectors of the economy were mining, natural resources (57%) and energy (26%). Growing sectors such as construction, banking and telecommunications (33%) were also frequently reported on, more so since a lot of South African businesses, e.g. telecommunications giant MTN and Standard Bank, were active investors. But the coverage was outnumbered by mining companies such as AngloGold and De Beers. A good example was a series of articles on diamonds and De

Beers by reporter Michael Bleby in March 2008.[120] No other topic, nor company had that kind of exposure.

Significantly economic institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and the African Development Bank scored low, but they were indirectly present by the frequent use of World Bank and IMF data and the propositions that reflected WB and IMF economic policies. This suggested that the newspaper used these institutes as a primary source, but didn't always present them as such. Almost as if it was 'common knowledge', and it probably was for their audience of business people. Trade alliances were also hardly mentioned. This was remarkable for the importance of interregional cooperation was often stressed in articles on development. This can mean two things, either the journalists presumed it was obvious or the opposite: they did not see a role for these institutes in regional cooperation. The latter dids not seem to run true. An article on competition law stressed the role of regional organisations such as SADC and COMESA.[121] But articles addressing these issues were outnumbered by articles stressing the importance of business cooperation on a regional level.[122]
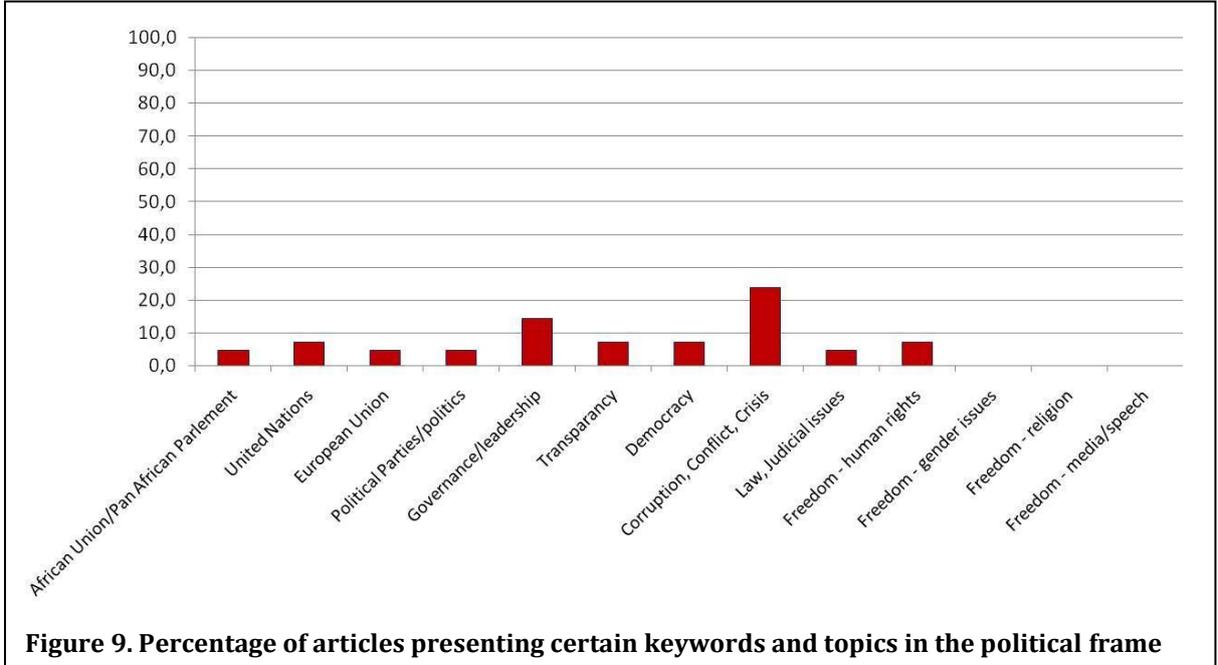
Figure 9. Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the political frame

Short of 12% of all articles have a political angle. Within the political frame there seemed to be a strong emphasis on conflicts and crisis. This was presented in opposites. Conflict and crisis were linked to bad business opportunities.[123] Good governance and political stability were present in economic success stories.[124] A word-cloud[125] including

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[120] 'De Beers bows to Botswana' (20 March 2008), 'Diamond centre set to shine on global stage' (20 March 2008), 'World's richest diamond mine ponders its future' (26 March 2008)

[121] Sanchia Temkin. 'SA is African leader in competition law', in: *Business Day*, 11 March 2008

[122] Charlotte Mathews, 'Ambitious plans for electricity from Botswana', in: *Business Day*, 31 January 2008
Regis Nyamakanga, 'Imara starts east African fund with local partner', in: *Business Day*, 17 January 2008

[123] Barney Jopson, 'Bad, bad, bad for business in Kenya', in: *Business Day,* 3 January 2008

[124] Dianna Games, 'Financial facelift for rallying Rwanda', in: *Business Day* , 18 February 2008

[125] I used a simple software programme (Wordle) to visualize the dominant words used in the 42 articles on development. I filtered for common words to get a better visualization, and excluded obvious words such as Africa and African. The frequency of occurrence is visualized in the size of the words*.*

all 42 articles showed an abundance of words from the financial frame. One word from the political frame stood out: 'government'. This can only mean that in stories that were predominantly financial some political discourse was present as well, especially on the role of governments. In the analyses of propositions I will explain how this worked.

Figure 10. Most commonly used words in articles on development in Africa and African countries in Business Day (Jan-March 2008)

The visualization was also more or less consistent with the map of African countries. Major conflicts in Kenya and Zimbabwe were reported on frequently in 'development articles' as well. There was a clear proposition that political instability was hampering development.

In Business Day the <u>social frame</u> was just as present as the political, with 12% of articles mainly addressing social issues. The emphasis was on aid and poverty and general topics such as livelihood and civil society. In most newspapers this lead to strong propositions on the role of non-governmental organisations or civil society, not so in Business Day, ngo's were absent, as were civilians (appendix VII). The focus was on development aid via governments. Keywords from the political and financial frame were present in all articles taking a social perspective. Again good governance and investments were considered essential, in this case to enable social development. A complicated article on the Mining Indaba threw all the financial and political beliefs into a big melting pot to explain how 'the uplift of communities' could be achieved.[126] The reporter argued that for too long the emphasis had been on 'exploitation of mineral resources and not development'. The best way to go ahead was clear: 'With improvements in governance, growing investment in infrastructure and an increased focus on the role of business, the mining sector will play an important role in poverty

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[126] 'Commodities supercycle' spins on', in: *Business Day*, 6 February 2008

alleviation and development,' Anglo American CEO Cynthia Caroll was quoted. In the same article urbanisation was mentioned, as was education and transparency. All of it in less than 500 words. Quite an achievement, but there was really only one dominant proposition present: money and good governance was needed to achieve development, all the rest comes in second.

Figure 11. Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the social frame
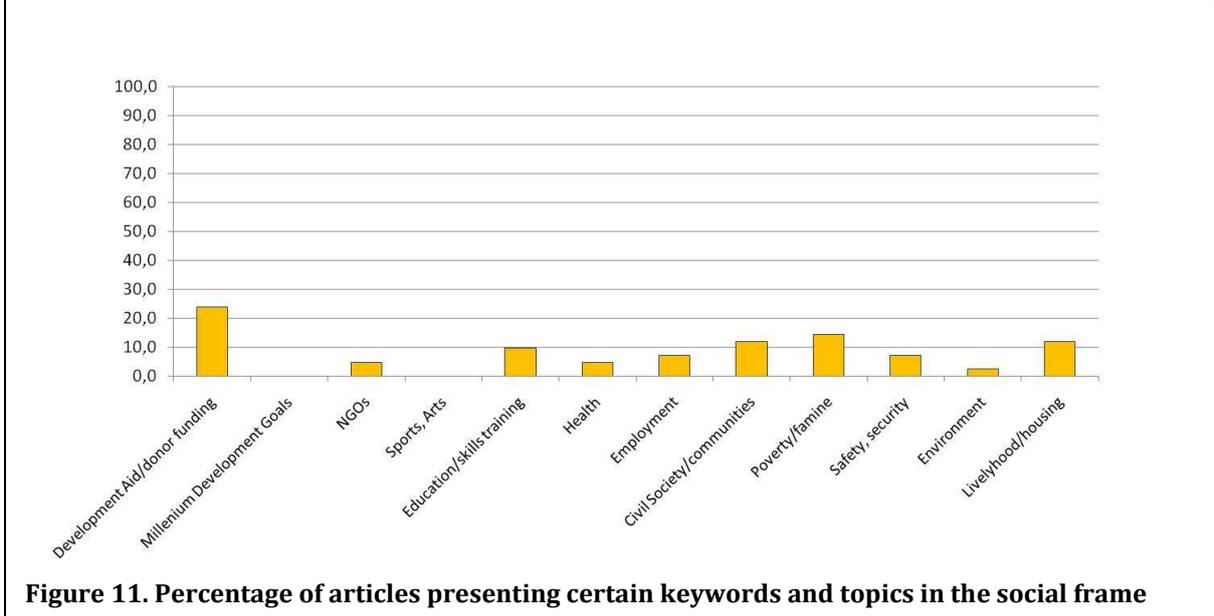
Fixed beliefs and new ideas

As the example above showed, merely looking at the content of an article was not enough to understand how development was framed and represented. In Business Day all propositions from the financial frame were present (appendix IV) and in most articles propositions and keywords from the financial frame were dominant. This resulted in a very strong framing of development as a financial process. In one third of the articles propositions could be found on the importance of foreign direct investments supported by GDP figures as indicators for development. But above all mining and natural resources were presented as the main carriers of economies in Africa. Just some headlines to illustrate this:

'Pangea blazes a supply trail to developing Congo diamond mines'
'Nigeria's Yar' Adua in China for oil deals'

The financial propositions together reflected a neo-liberal view on economic development through free markets. This neo-liberal policy was adapted to the African situation in such that an important role for governments was promoted in order to secure business interests. This was different from the view in parts of the western world at that time, where supporters of a free market wanted as little government interference as possible.

Another set of propositions surrounded upcoming sectors, such as infrastructure and telecommunications. Of course these were no new sectors in any economy, but the

main focus of business investors in Africa had been mining. The importance of intracontinental trading and much needed infrastructure, both physical and digital, to support this was a relatively new phenomenon at the start of the 21st century, not in the least steered by innovation (§2.2). An article on the level of connectivity stated that 'technology can transform lives by giving people the means to connect'.[127] Another old but growing sector was banking. South African banks had the financial power to invest in offices in upcoming economies and provided loans. Several articles reported on new Standard Bank branches in African countries.[128] The new field of micro financing was a topic in two articles on South African financer Blue.[129]

The coverage of these developments painted a picture of diversification of economies. Business Day in one article showed how South African insurance company Metropolitan moved into Africa in the slipstream of economic development. The upcoming middle-class demanded to be insured against job loss or illness, a lot of African countries did not have solid social policies in place, so the market could step in.[130]

A new topic that didn't get the attention it could have had, was Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). However it was the major topic in the social frame, the amount of editorial space in the newspaper as a whole did not reflect the hype at the time. In an article on tobacco CSR was presented as more effective than development aid.[131] In another article CSR was advocated as profitable.[132] The angle was financial or political rather than social. In actual fact, however I classified some articles in the social frame on the basis of their content, the main angle of those articles was financial. The way social development was presented was not in line with theory that views it as a process of social change (§§2.2 and 4.3). Even in an article advocating local solutions and quoting development expert William Easterly saying 'Solutions to development should be home grown and home owned'[133] the proposition was that 'social change needs both political stability and sound financial stimulants'.

The story of energy supported the coverage of both classic and emerging sectors. On the one hand this story was about supply and demand. Supply of natural resources and the demands in an emerging market. In Business Day it was often a political story about the role of governments to secure energy supplies[134] and a plea for investment in transport and interregional cooperation.[135] The other side of the story was about the

[127] Lesley Stones, 'SA scores fifth in Nokia survey', in: *Business Day*, 1 February 2008

[128] Regis Nyamakanga, 'Standard-Zambia deal details to be finalised', in: *Business Day*, 17 March 2008

[129] Regis Nyamakanga, 'SA´s Blue freezes Kenyan investment', in: *Business Day*, 5 February 2008
Regis Nyamakanga, 'Blue, local bank target Nigerian masses', in: *Business Day*, 7 March 2008

[130] Regis Nyamakanga, 'Metropolitan to launch Swazi life office', in: *Business Day*, 17 March 2008

[131] Gregg Mils, 'Lessons of Tete's tobacco tale', in: *Business Day*, 9 January 2008

[132] 'Brewers find the glass half full of Africa's local brew', in: *Business Day*, 27 February 2008

[133] 'Rwanda, where aid debate and theory meet', in: *Business Day*, 31 March 2008
'Brewers find the glass half full of Africa's local brew', in: *Business Day*, 27 February 2008

[134] Sarah McGregor, 'Tanzania to allow private power delivery', in: *Business Day*, 20 February 2008

[135] Charlotte Mathews, 'Ambitious plans for electricity from Botswana', in: *Business Day*, 13 January 2008
'Building for Maputo fuel pipeline starts in June', in: *Business Day*, 14 February 2008

effects of this energy consumption, the story of environment and climate change. Unfortunately this other side of energy was almost absent in Business Day reporting.[136]

The lack of coverage on environment or CSR constructed meaning that these topics were not important enough for business nor interesting or relevant enough for the audience. I strongly doubted that and asked the editor about it. Peter Bruce acknowledged and regretted the lack of coverage on the environment: 'I really think that we should do more and better reporting on environmental issues, but to be frank, with a small newspaper it is so highly dependent on that one journalist that you can afford, to cover this.' It is

Editorial staff meeting at Business Day

however questionable if a newsroom always needs a specialised reporter to include environmental issues. Energy supplies played a pivotal role in African development, Business Day frequently reported on it. In my view it didn't need an expert to connect it to the world wide debate on climate change. Nor to describe the relevance of a healthy environment for business success. The same applied to reporting on new business opportunities connected to CSR, fair trade and eco-friendly produce.

In between the lines
As I have mentioned before, in Business Day combinations of keywords and propositions were consistent within the financial frame, thus constructing a strong framing of development as a financial process. But (political) propositions on governments were also frequently presented in articles with a financial content. This constructed propositions on the political conditions for business in Africa, as the headline of an article in January 2008 suggested: 'Investing in Africa not for the faint-hearted'.[137] The article was full of classic financial keywords describing the (GDP) situation in fast growing economies (Angola, Congo, Zimbabwe,) with natural resources (oil, platinum, cobalt). The IMF, the World Bank and FDI's (investment companies in London) were present, as was the regional stock exchange (Kenya) and even China. But the countries were not just praised for their growth and development, they were also condemned for their unstable and unsafe political climate. 'We looked at the investment case for Africa a year ago and decided not to go there', a CEO is quoted. In the next line data on corruption and conflict from Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index were presented and linked to the countries in the article. Some areas in Africa were classified as 'war zones'. One successful example of investment into Zambia was mentioned in the closing line of the article. But it seemed rather out of place, the topic was cattle (Zambeef) and not natural resources and Zambia was not mentioned

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[136] Mathabo Le Roux, 'SA to get 20% more gas from Maputo', in: *Business Day*, 6 February 2008
[137] Tom Cahill and Janice Kew, 'Investing in Africa not for the faint-hearted', in: *Business Day*, 11 January 2008

earlier. It hardly made a difference, the link between economic development and political stability was as clear as daylight, according to the Bloomberg reporters. 'The World Bank warns that Kenya's political unrest threatens growth in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundy.'

The reporting on China made another good example of how keywords and propositions worked together to construct meaning. However Business Day seemed to hold factual reporting high and tried to refrain from any normative statements, the case of China proved that they sometimes failed to do so. An article might seem to contain only so called facts but in combination they signified meaning. For instance quoting western governments in their criticism of China, or linking governments to their position in a conflict index,[138] However one could argue that these were all facts, in combination a proposition was constructed that China did business with corrupt governments. This was a predefined proposition that was present in the discourse on the role of China and in this example it is easy to see how the reader can put the pieces together, even when the proposition as such was not phrased in a statement. Some articles did openly communicate these propositions,[139] making it even more easy for the reader to read it between the lines in other articles. The fact that other countries did business with corrupt African governments too, was never mentioned in any Business Day articles.

Business Day also reported on Arab investments, this made an interesting comparison to China. Whereas China was represented as 'resource-hungry' and accused of doing business with the likes of Sudan that was involved in a 'brutal civil' war; the Arabs were presented as fair business partners.[140] Sultan Ahmed Bin Sulayem was praised for investing in a project that 'creates over 30000 direct jobs'.

Another interesting example of how meaning was constructed in between the articles of Business Day was the representation of the major stakeholders in economic development. However the different stakeholders were hardly ever presented together in one article, their presentation as opposites linked them together (§2.3) and thus constructed meaning on their roles. The absence of ngo's as financial stakeholders also painted a clear picture on what role Business Day saw for them: preferably none. In this way the proposition 'donor funding (by governments) means dependency[141] foreign business investments mean independency' was constructed. Or 'western aid is tied to democracy and transparency, other (such as Chinese or Arabian) is not'.

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[138] Dan Martin, 'Nigeria's Yar'Adua in China for oil deals', in: *Business Day*, 29 February 2008

[139] Joe Bvier, 'China increases its footprint in Congolese mining', in: *Business Day*, 14 February 2008

[140] Daniel Flynn, 'Senegal, Dubai firm sign $800m deal', in: *Business Day*, 22 January 2008

'UAE telecoms group launches in Brazzaville', in: *Business Day*, 15 January 2008

[141] Katrina Manson, 'Sierra Leone seeks aid', in: *Business Day*, 28 January 2008

Reporting development in Africa

To get insight in variables that might have influenced reporting on development in Africa I discussed my findings with the editor-in-chief and the foreign desk editor, in semi-structured interviews (appendix VI). I also sat in on an editorial meeting where the topics for the day were selected, and had some informal discussions with journalists.

I asked editor Peter Bruce how he viewed the reporting on Africa in his newspaper. 'We would like to do more reporting on Africa', Bruce stated. 'But we lack the resources and adding another Africa page will mean skipping another one, so what can we do.' He explained that he had the ambition to start a special African Business page but the plan was blocked by the board. They did do a very successful special series on African business leaders in 2007. This series was written by freelance journalist Dianna Games.

Business Day was also in the process of appointing a correspondent in Nigeria, but due to the economic crunch it failed. Peter Bruce did not seem to regret this 'I would rather have a correspondent in Brussels than in Lagos. That gives me more value for money. In the old days we had reporters all over the world,' he added.

Bruce did not believe in African reporting as such. 'There should not be a difference between journalism in Europe or in Africa. I don't believe in the developmental role of the media. One should just practice good journalism and write the stories that your audience wants to read and supply the information they need.' That being true I asked why Business Day was not writing more stories on emerging markets in Africa as they might offer investment opportunities for South African companies. Peter Bruce admitted it was a just question but even so he thought it was only logical that his newspaper didn't report on Africa more often: 'Europe and America are in that respect equally important to South Africa, they are major trading partners.'

Foreign desk editor Hopewell Radebe, who was also a member of SANEF (South African National Editors Forum), thought the increase in reporting on Africa just after South Africa's independence was encouraged by the African Renaissance movement. 'It seemed as if just after independence Africa reporting was growing (…), but the momentum seems gone. (..). This is more than just the economic crunch and Mbeki's resignation.' The recession and the fall of Mbeki coincided in the second part of 2008. Radebe continued: 'Mbeki started a lot of projects, it takes time for them to materialize. There could be more reporting on how these developments are working out and how ordinary people and economy are benefiting.' I explained that my research did show a clear proposition on the role of infrastructure and communications, he replied '.. we cannot stress that enough, connections mean development.'

When presented with the lack of alternative voices in Business Day both editors claimed the influence of easy accessible company sources. 'To get other voices in, such as women takes more effort and a lot of journalists don't have the time to go at lengths, but awareness is a first step,' Radebe acknowledged. The Business Day had a good

understanding with GenderLinks[142] as far as reporting on women was concerned, this had added to the female voice in financial reporting. But again these were often business women linked to major companies. 'To access the smaller entrepreneurs, which are often women, is more difficult for you have to go out on the street and do more research,' he explained. When more engaged in the topic after additional questions Hopewell Radebe also had some personal views on including social issues and alternative voices into regular reporting. 'I always try to highlight different aspects in my stories. For instance: a story about the poor state of the pipelines in Zimbabwe. I would always highlight the conflict, for that is the news, but I would also tell about the initiatives and solutions such as alternative pipelines via Botswana and Mozambique, offering new opportunities for these countries, while at the same time making SA economy less dependable on the Zim pipeline. I also want to show that as a region we cannot dismiss what goes on in Zimbabwe, it affects us all and I want to show that there is creativity to come to solutions. But that is my personal approach. I think you have an obligation as a journalist to tell more than just the economic side of dry figures.'

In the Business Day newsroom lack of budget is believed to be the major limitation for change. Peter Bruce said he had no money for specialized journalists to cover new issues, such as emerging markets or environment. The foreign desk editor mainly pointed at the lack of resources to send out reporters. When presented with under representations of countries such as Namibia Radebe admitted that: '..this is a flaw in our reporting. It simply has to do with money. We can't afford to even send somebody into Swaziland. Reporting on DRC and other resource rich countries in Africa also hangs on company trips and press releases by larger companies.' Peter Bruce pointed at the benefits of company trips: 'Then we can get more in-depth stories on Africa in place. It is not the lack of interest by the editorial staff that is hindering Africa coverage, but lack of budget.' Hopewell Radebe recognized the risks of reporting in the slipstream of a company but thinks the Business Day reporters are professional enough to keep their own perspective and report as critically as possible. 'Quality is always the main criteria. We would then add that the story was written due to a sponsored trip of course.' I argued that if this is true, the consequence is a proposition that 'Development in Africa has to do with companies, not with ordinary people.' Radebe admitted '...that is the impression, but it actually has a lot to do with ordinary people we just don't access them enough.' I questioned if this was only a matter of small budgets, because the combination of propositions on this topic constructed a stereotypical economic divide: 'large scale development goes via governments and companies, rural and small scale development goes via micro financing.' Hopewell Radebe just smiled and said 'That is funny, yes I suppose there is a divide.'

From this reaction I concluded that he considered my observation to be true in the 'real world out there' and not just a 'representation in the reporting'. This 'thinking

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[142] GerderLinks (2001) is a Southern African NGO, headquartered in Johannesburg, that promotes gender equality and justice across the fifteen countries of the region (www.gerderlinks.org.za).

in opposites' was present in the newsroom itself, where the companies reporters were located around one desk, they dealt with company news only. When asked why there were so many stories on companies and almost all in the financial frame one foreign desk reporter said. 'In that newsroom they will just continue to do what they've always done.' However all journalists worked together in one physical space (see appendix VII) the companies desk was viewed as a separate newsroom, the reporters were 'the others'.

The sentiments towards the publisher communicated a similar process of establishing sameness by inclusion and exclusion (§2.3). The publisher or board was represented as the enemy, the one setting the parameters, as Hopewell Radebe voiced it: 'The limitations I experience have mainly to do with the budget. BD, being part of a small publishing group has hardly any margins to operate. The board is more concerned with profit making than quality journalism. They don't have a specific vision on BD, except for the existing formula, which is being the top business newspaper in South Africa, serving the business world as it always has.' Previously Peter Bruce had also blamed 'the board' for hindering innovations in his newsroom and newspaper.

5.2. Beeld

Reporting Africa

With no special Africa page (appendix VIII) and no policy on reporting Africa I was curious if the overall representation of Africa would be lower than in newspapers with a clear vision on Africa like City Press or newspapers that covered business opportunities in Africa such as Business Day. Beeld nevertheless wrote about different African countries over 1500 times in the time span of my research. Which is the highest of the newspapers in my dataset. However after correcting for amount of pages and frequency, it was about the same as the other newspapers.

The distribution was more interesting than the actual numbers. Most stories covered Southern Africa (57%), East Africa came in second (25%). West Africa was covered in 15% of all articles on Africa and -as was the case in most newspapers- Northern Africa

Figure 12. Articles on African countries in Beeld from Jan-March 2008.

didn't seem to be part of Africa. When corrected for major news topics such as the Africa Cup of Nations the figure on West Africa was even lower. Business editor Ryk van

Niekerk mentioned the language barrier as the main reason. It was remarkable that Beeld used French press agencies AFP, had access to a Media24 network of Africa reporters and didn't come up with a higher figure for the region. It foremost seemed to be a matter of priority and audience.

The major difference with other newspapers was the focus on Southern Africa. Beeld was the only newspaper to cover Namibia substantially, this probably is a language matter. Afrikaans is still much spoken in the former South African 'province' and Beeld is distributed in Namibia. Media24 furthermore had a reporter in Windhoek.

The conflict areas of the first quarter of 2008, Zimbabwe and Kenya, were reported on daily. Politics was the major topic in Beeld too. Beeld showed a comparable focus on Health and Education as Media24's other newspaper in my data set, City Press. Due to Sake24 as daily business insert the coverage of economic news was more substantial than in the Sunday newspaper. Beeld covered sports in four pages daily, but was less focused on the African continent, more on local and European sports. A remarkable difference

Figure 13. Topics in articles on African countries in Beeld.

was the 10% coverage of Environment[143] and Tourism.[144] Mail&Guardian was the only other newspaper to also report on this topic in an African context. Another remarkable outcome was the low score on Arts, Music and Leisure. Beeld covered this topic extensively in their special section Plus but it was not about the African continent, Plus had a South African focus.
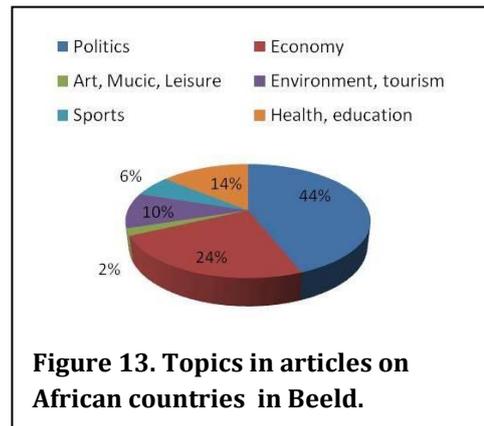
Representing economic development

Out of all articles on African countries 121 addressed development. Most of these articles were published in the Sake24 insert. The business insert was 20% the size of the main section but counted for the majority of articles on development. It made me wonder why Beeld did not address development in the rest of the main section more frequently, they seemed to leave the subject to the economic journalists of Sake24, as if development was 'their topic'.

I also wondered if the South African focus influenced the perception of development and if my discourse analysis could shed some light on that. Either way, as far as the contextualisation of development in Beeld was concerned it resulted in a predominantly <u>financial framing</u> (78,5%).

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[143] Adward-John Bottomley, 'Groen bewustheid bevoordeel EnviroServ alom' (Green awareness benefits EnvrioServ), in: *Beeld,* 19 February 2008

[144] Antoinette Slabbert, 'SA Toerisme-veldtog wil meer sakereisigers lok: Toerismefeite' (SA Toerism mission wants to attract more business travelers: Toerismfigures), in: *Beeld,* 4 January 2008
Riana de Lange, 'Rezido wil 50 hotelle oral in Afrika hê' (Rezido wants 50 hotels all over Africa), in: *Beeld,* 21 January 2008

Frequently used words/subjects were: foreign direct investments (31% of all articles on development), interregional cooperation and SA investment in the region/Africa (31%), and GDP (20%). In 50% of all articles companies were the subject mostly in short news items with figures, referred to as 'kernsyfers'. Ryk van Niekerk explained that companies are by law obliged to publish their company results. So this is easy information that often makes it into short news items of less than 50 words. Ryk van Niekerk even referred to them as financial adds (appendix VIII), disregarding them as journalism. But the average reader cannot tell the difference, it is just a short news item, without any reference to the source or calling it an advertorial. In my data set however I only included news items that communicated development and not three line messages merely stating the company and the results, so the financial framing can't have been caused by these financial adds. Even so the amount of short news items is huge in Beeld (appendix VIII) and a lot of the short items were clearly based on these 'kernsyfers'.

Figure 14. Most commonly used words in articles on development in Beeld

A word cloud including all articles on development in Africa, illustrates the South African reference point. The dominance of southern Africa is even more prominent in than it is in the general coverage of Africa.

Most frequently reported on sectors of the economy were finance and telecommunications (36%), this even exceeded mining of natural resources (31%). Beeld argued in opinion articles to move away from natural resources and diversify the economy[145] in order to 'beskerm die kwetbaarstes'[146] and create jobs for ordinary

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[145] Jaco Visser, 'Afrika-lande moet hul nywerhede help' (African countries must help their local industries), in: *Beeld,* 9 January 2008
[146] translation: protect the most vulnerable

Africans. In the same article the journalist argued that this is difficult due to 'kwaai mededinging van China, waar werkers laag besoldig word'.[147] Beeld was most outspoken on the role and intentions of China, of all newspapers, mostly condemning China's interference on the continent[148] (appendix IV).

Figure 15 . Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the financial frame

Figure 16 . Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the political frame

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[147] translation: fierce competition from China, where workers are low paid
[148] Brian Ligomeka, 'China koop Malawiese goedgezindheid', in: *Beeld,* 14 January 2008

The underline political frame (11,6%) in Beeld was slightly more present than the social (9,9%). The pattern is comparable with Business Day, a strong emphasis on conflict and crisis The word-cloud shows only few keywords from the political frame such as 'regering' (government) and minister. On the basis of the content analysis a one sided story of political stability as precondition for development emerged. The graph (figure 16) from the content analyses shows that other political issues were hardly present. If that was an indication for less diversified reporting on the political aspects of development I tried to find out by looking at the presence of certain propositions.

In the social frame the dispersion of keywords was wider. On an individual basis most of them scored very low. Subjects such as civil society and health appeared in less than 5% of all articles. In Beeld employment and poverty seemed to be important subjects when covering development in a social frame. They often occurred in combination with propositions in the political frame as I will show in the next paragraph.

Figure 17 . Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the social frame
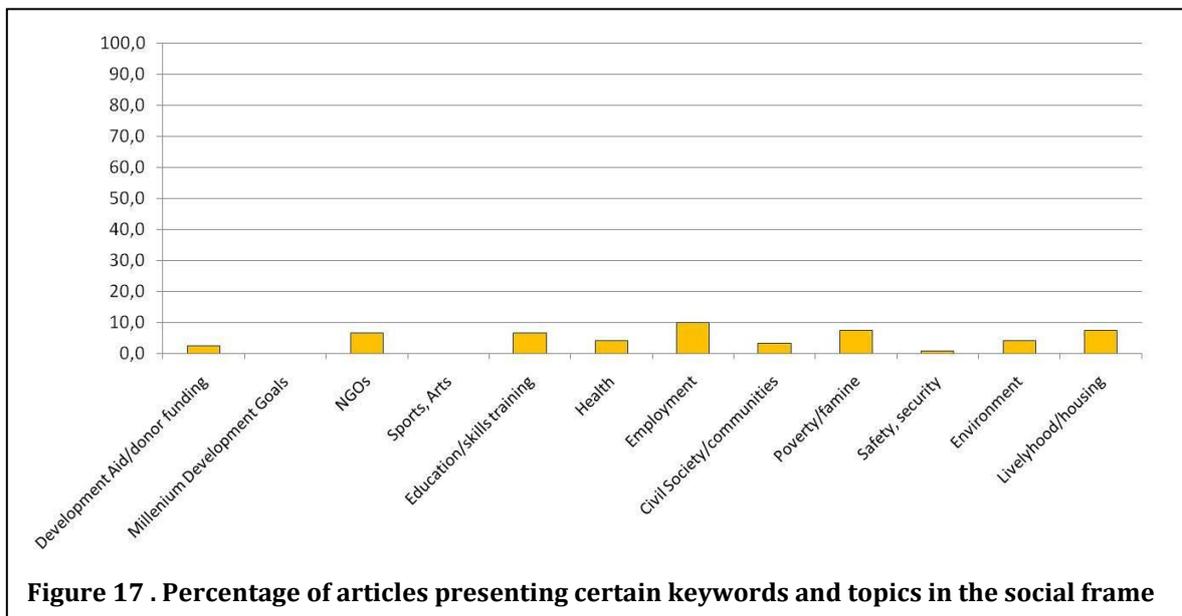
Beeld was the only newspaper to distinctively connect environment to development. The focus on the vulnerable members of society was visible again. Not 'huge' environmental issues such as climate change were addressed but everyday problems, for example littering[149] and health issues. The angle to food production was an interesting one too. Instead of going down the old lines of aid, the emphasis was on genetic improvement and innovation in local production methods.[150]

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[149] Charles Mangwiro, 'Konsortium gaan Maputo opruim' (Consortium will clean Maputo), in: *Beeld,* 18 February 2008
[150] 'Mielie vir maer jare ontwikkel' (Corn for lean years developed), in: *Beeld,* 25 March 2008

Fixed beliefs and new ideas

The combination of words and phrases constructed a lot of propositions, only incidentally some less current propositions and new ideas could be found (appendix IV). The general representation of economic growth as a financial process was dominant as was clear from the content analysis. The specific angle that Beeld took was the South African context resulting in headlines such as 'Standard die beste ontluiker in Afrika'[151] and 'Krag kan SA konstruksie kou'.[152] The first article showed the success of South African business on the continent, the second one pointed at the South African energy crunch as a major hindrance for expansion on the continent. Construction companies were losing business opportunities to the Chinese as everywhere new infrastructure and building projects emerged, the journalist argued. In this article different propositions, on the role of China, the importance of infrastructure and the urbanisation of Africa were blended together to highlight the importance of solving the energy crunch back home.

Beeld included regional trade alliances and customs unions more often than other newspapers. It suggested that they saw an important role for efficient regional cooperation in development. Beeld frequently pointed at problems that still existed within these organisations, and urged governments to solve them in the interest of business.[153] The newspaper explained the resistance by some governments to cooperate in change. An article such as 'Swaziland 'slagoffer' van Sadu-meevaller' argued that Swaziland was too dependent on income from the Southern African Customs Union and did not make an effort to gain income independently.

Most significant in the political frame was a clear opinion on politics that undermined Africa's position on the global market. This did not just concern China as I have already mentioned in the financial frame, but also the European Union and the own AU. An article on the trade negotiations accused the Europeans of self-interest, in the same phrasing as they wrote about China.[154] Namibia was praised for holding their ground in trade negotiations with the EU.[155] The internal structural problems in the AU were seen as the major problem for free trading and development. The phrasing was the same as in articles addressing the role of regional trade and customs alliances in the financial frame. An article on the tenth AU meeting of national leaders stressed the political role of the AU. In 'AU verstik in stof van sy kwelpunte'[156] the newspaper criticised the organisation for addressing financial issues such as the AU budget and not talking about all the conflicts on the continent, specifically mentioning Kenya, Darfur and

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[151] 'Standaard die beste ontluiker in Afrika' (Standard the best emerger in Africa), in: *Beeld,* 20 February 2008

[152] Elma Kloppers, 'Krag kan SA konstruksie kou' (Energy crunch can hit SA construction), in: *Beeld,* 31 January 2008

[153] Waldimar Pelser, 'Stadige grensposte vermors R15 miljard per jaar' (Slow borderposts waste R15 billion per year), in: *Beeld,* 3 March 2008

[154] Jaco Leuvennink, 'EU pers Afrikalande af vir eie gewin, sê SA regeringslui' (SA government officials: EU rips of African countries for own profit), in: *Beeld,* 29 February 2008

[155] 'Namibië kry toegewings deur Europeërs langer aan lyntjie te hou' (Namibia gets concessions by stringing Europeans along), in: *Beeld,* 28 January 2008

[156] 'AU verstik in stof van sy kwelpunte' (AU strangled by its own bottlenecks), in: *Beeld,* 7 February 2008

Zimbabwe. By giving a voice to the South African institute for human rights (Hurisa) the journalist gave a different context to development; political and socio-economic factors were considered crucial, even more than a good budget.

Analyses of articles with a predominantly political framing showed that the focus on conflict and corruption was not as one-sided as the content analysis suggested, but it was very prominent. The overrepresentation was caused by a consistent link of the other keywords to conflict and corruption. An article by Reuters correspondent in Mozambique Charles Mangwiro made this clear. He concluded his article quoting an economist: 'Soos almal weet, is die sentrale doelwit van die regering om die struikelblokke vir ontwikkeling, soos burokratiese rompslom, apatie, korrupsie, misdaad en endemiese seiktes, te beveg'.[157] Mangwiro is a staunch supporter of developmental journalism as an interview with him on the website of London-based ngo Panos illustrated: 'As a foreign correspondent I think I can market the country, tell the world what is going on in terms of development,' he said.[158] Of course one can argue that this is one journalist's way of representing development in his country. But Beeld used

his articles quite often, six times in the time span of my research. In this case a combination of emphasis on certain countries (Mozambique is an important investment market for South African companies) and the use of Reuters' press wire for international news put propositions such as 'Development is a matter of good governance' and 'Political instability hinders development' at centre stage. The interview I later had with business editor Ryk van Niekerk

Beeld newsroom at Media24

confirmed that this is in line with views on development in the Sake24 newsroom. So probably Mangwiro's framing of development in this way is no cause for discussion nor reason to search for alternatives to report on development in Mozambique.

I found some ideas on development that did not fit the most frequently mentioned propositions. Some of them, with regard to corporate social responsibility and micro financing also occurred in other newspapers. The only relatively new angle that Beeld stressed was linking environment and development. But this was not such a new idea, in actual fact it has been on the international agenda ever since the Brundtland report in 1987. It just didn't enter the reporting on economic growth substantially. This is remarkable as physical condition is such a crucial factor for development and recently environmental legislation is adding to the political and financial context of development. By covering these new angles Beeld tried gave a broader perspective on development than just financial, but as these examples were few, the impact was low.

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[157] translation: "As everyone knows, it is the primary goal of the government to fight the obstacles to development, such as bureaucracy, apathy, corruption, crime and endemic illnesses." in: Charles Mangwiro, 'Mosambiek gaan aktief meer buielandse beleggings en mega-projekte lok (Mozambique will actively attract more foreign investments and mega projects), in: *Beeld,* 17 March 2008
[158] http://panos.org.uk/journalists/charles-mangwiro/

In between the lines
The framing of development as a social process had a distinct focus in Beeld: employment. The ordinary workers, the poor who were denied possibilities to develop and profit from growth were on central stage. The causes for their misfortune were mainly political, according to Beeld. This link between poverty alleviation and development is a strong believe in the framework of the Millennium Development Goals, but Beeld didn't mention them once. In the broader perspective of development as a process driven by finances and business investments, this blending of political and social factors reflected an underlying shared meaning: not companies and business people were to blame for the underdevelopment of ordinary people but their own governments, political leaders and regional and international organisations.

As social propositions were mostly used to contextualise financial developments fixed ideas on the relation between the two were constructed. In the article 'Swaziland 'slagoffer' van Sadu-meevaller' high unemployment figures were used to illustrate that the country needed to reform its economy. In between the lines a link between economic growth and much needed job creation and skills development was constructed, one that I did not find in the other newspapers.

Reporting on development in Africa
Beeld had no special Africa page in the main body of the newspaper. Sake24 sometimes had an Africa page on Monday. The newspaper had no policy or guidelines regarding reporting Africa in place. Nor was it a topic of discussion in the newsroom. The main criteria for reporting was 'newsworthiness'. A Beeld reporter expressed his views as 'News should be relevant to our readers, who are South Africans.' Of course, what is considered relevant is in part a matter of interpretation, as my interview with business editor Ryk van Niekerk showed. He viewed the rest of the continent as not as important to local business as South Africa itself. 'There are not many real opportunities, investing in Africa is still risky business. It is not that our target group, being Afrikaners, are less interested in the rest of Africa. There simply is more important local news, it's a matter of priority.' However it sounded very logical in the way he phrased it, his opinion was opposite to the views of other newspaper editors and journalists.

Reports and content on African countries was provided by the Media24's Africa Desk and adjusted by Beeld reporters to match their audience. Sake24 had some budget to send out reporters; according to a marketing officer it was 'event based'. Ryk van Niekerk had the opportunity to send out his reporters in to Africa only when specialised content on economic events in Africa was needed. He regretted the commercialisation of the media and thought that a lack of budget was eroding the quality of reporting. But he would not use more budget to increase Africa-reporting. When asked if he used freelancers as they were often specialized and could add a different angle to regular reporting, he explained that he only occasionally used budget to pay a freelancer but he

was very cautious. 'A lot a lot of this copy is not very reliable. We ask ourselves, what is the reliability of figures that come out of dysfunctional countries and can we publish such information if we do not know what it means and how accurate it is. We stick to fact-based stories.' On the other hand, to freely quote Edward Said, 'facts get their meaning what is made of them by interpretation'. The above mentioned example on Mozambique clearly showed that the interpretation of how development works and the role of the government is presented as a fact. The same proposition was present in other articles and Ryk van Niekerk seemed to take it as a fact that political stability is a precondition for development. I did not want to get tied up in a debate over facts and interpretation, nor journalistic objectivity and 'the truth' so I didn't press the matter any further. It however seemed to me that if there are such strong believes in certain perspectives on development in Africa, especially by those making the editorial choices, it is not very likely that editors or journalists will search for alternatives, either in sources nor methods to show alternative perspectives.

5.3. City Press

Reporting Africa

City Press made an interesting case in my research. First of all the newspaper had easy access to a lot of content on Africa and the economy through Media24 special desks, including on the ground coverage by field reporters. Secondly City Press was the only newspaper that claimed to be an 'all African newspaper'. Media24 defined City Press as a newspaper that covered 'the continent and the world'. Editor Qosa explained that however there were no written guidelines on reporting Africa the preference was to access African voices.
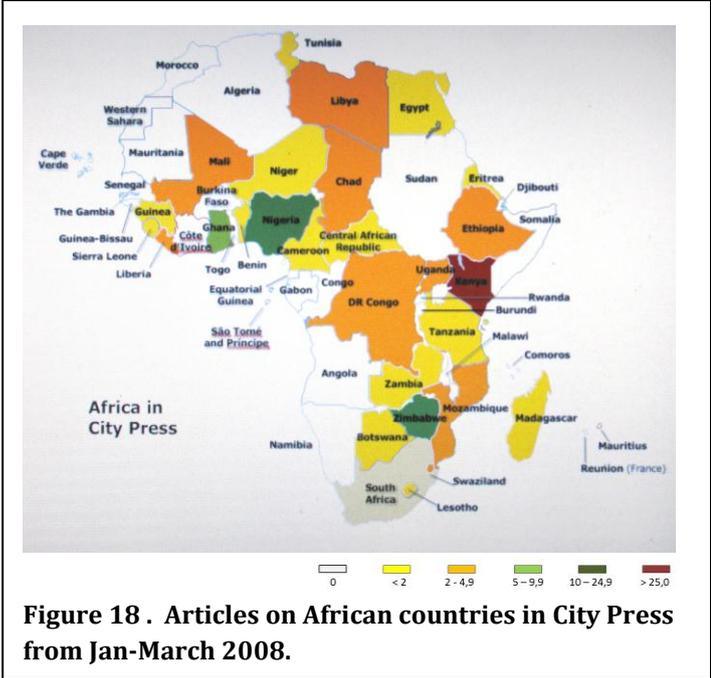
Figure 18 . Articles on African countries in City Press from Jan-March 2008.

City Press frequently reported on Africa in broad topics including several countries or regions. Western Africa as a region was more frequently (35%) reported on than southern Africa (24%) because of the Africa Cup of Nations (Afcon) in Ghana. Kenya and Zimbabwe stood out due to political instability surrounding elections. Kenya was part of over 25% of all articles on African countries.

Figure 19 . Topics in articles on African countries in City Press.

Africa was mainly reported on via short news items. This resulted in a wide range of countries and topics in the newspaper but hardly any in depth stories (appendix IX). However the majority of articles on Africa dealt with politics (48%), other topics were also well represented. Health and education even more than economy, despite the fact that the business supplement was included in my research.

Reporting on economic development

In the main dataset on African countries only 13 articles dealt with development. Significantly this is the lowest of all the newspapers in my data set. So however in three months, including 13 newspapers, over 300 articles were about African countries, only an average of one article per newspaper was on growth and development in Africa. The outcomes of my content and discourse analyses are therefore based on less data than the other newspapers. On the other hand, City Press was the only newspaper to report significantly through a social frame which paints a more reliable picture on the way development can be represented as a social process, compared to other newspapers.

In a word-cloud that I composed using all 13 articles, keywords from the social and financial frame catch the eye. My content analysis, in which I classified articles according to the dominant frame, also showed an underrepresentation of the political frame (23%). Both other frames were equally present (38,5% each).

Figure 20. Most commonly used words in articles on development in City Press (Jan-March 2008)

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In the <u>financial frame</u> South African companies were the main topic of news articles,[159] some referred to natural resources, but banking and telecommunications were present too. The business editor wanted to increase company news but advocated more focus on small businesses. The IMF and the World Bank were the only institutions City Press referred to in its reporting on growth and development. On the basis of five articles however it is difficult to conclude that City Press didn't find other institutes relevant for development.

Figure 21 . Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the financial frame
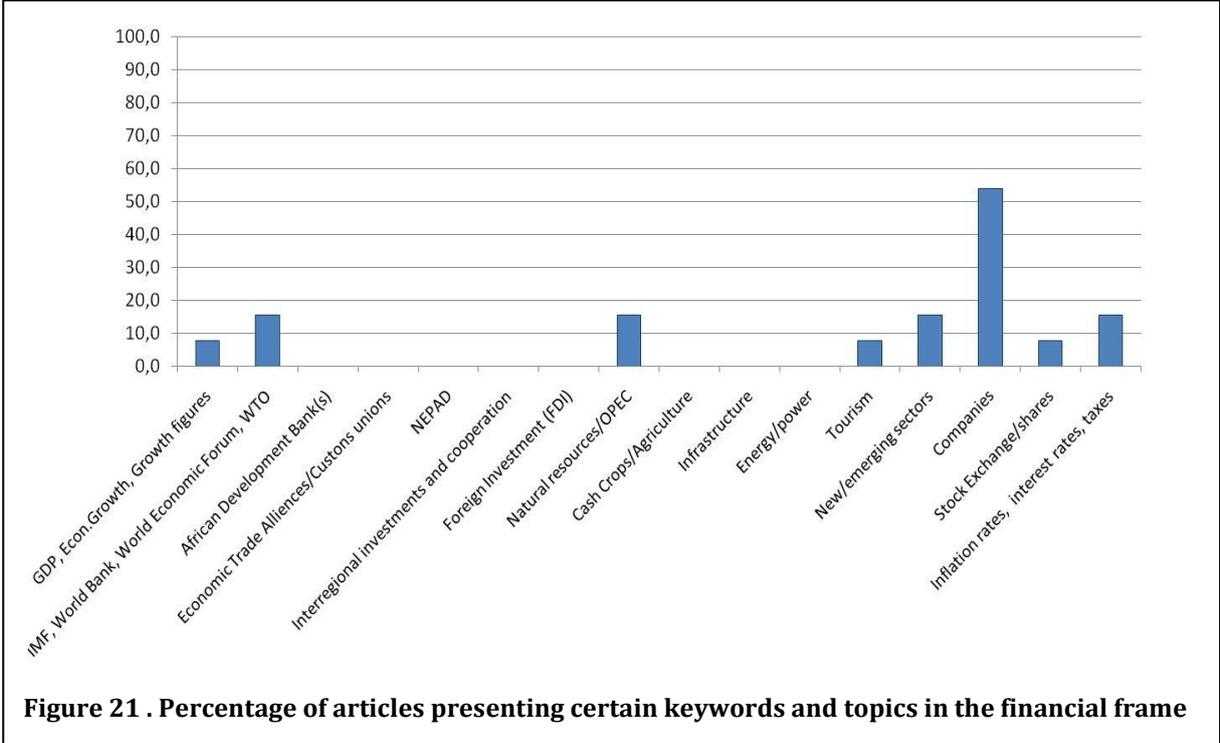
The same counts for the absence of trade alliances and economic projects such as Nepad. On the other hand it is significant that institutions and programmes on growth and development were not even mentioned once in a time span of three months. The same was apparent in the political frame, where the UN, the EU and even the AU were absent.

Out of all 13 articles I only classified three in the <u>political frame</u>. In the whole dataset on Africa, 45% of all articles were about politics, covering major issues such as the Zimbabwe and Kenya elections. But articles connecting development and politics, were few and did not deal with these current issues. One article was on women leaders in Africa,[160] the other on young African leaders at the World Economic Forum. It was interesting to see that however only three articles on development were dealing with politics, City Press managed to take an alternative angle to leadership, representing women and youth instead of the ruling governments or current election issues.

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[159] 'AngloGold shines up Tanzanian production', 29 March 2008
[160] 'Women in politics need to be brave to stand their ground', 14 January 2008

Figure 22. Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the political frame
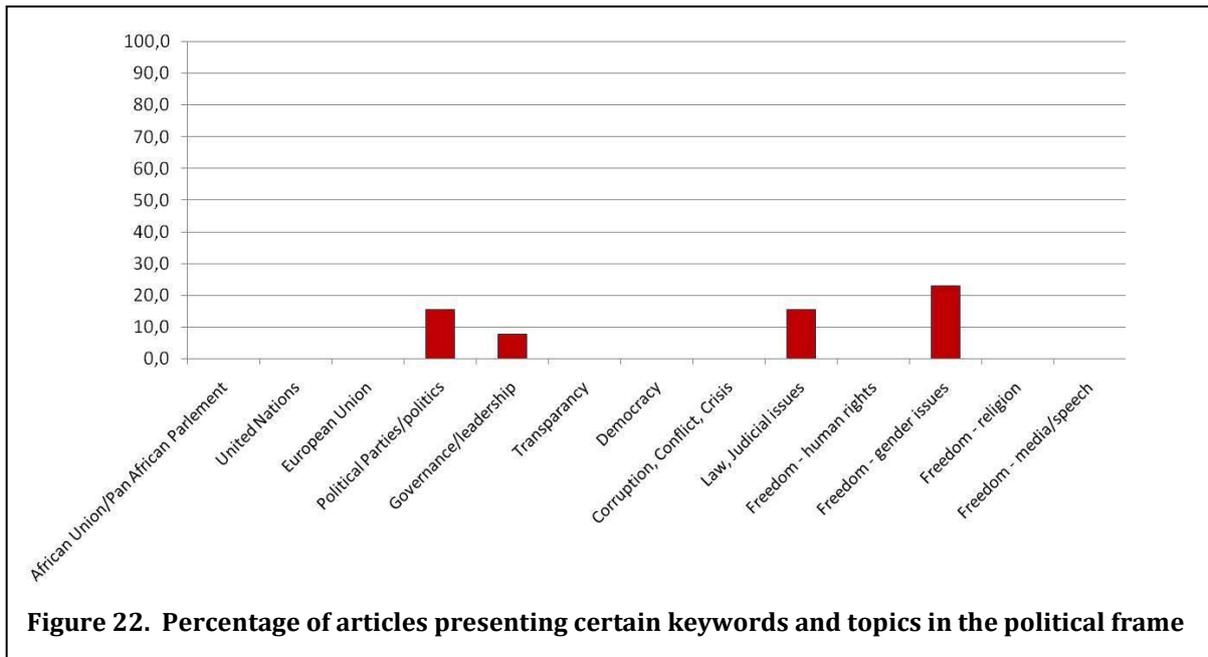
The five articles in the <u>social frame</u> showed a focus on civil society and the role citizens, communities and ngo's play in development. The key players were volunteers at the Africa Cup of Nations, women actors, schoolgirls and gays. A lot of the articles on development and growth were on women, in all frames (5 out of 13). The word-cloud paints that picture more clearly than the separate frames as it includes all articles.

Figure 23. Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the social frame
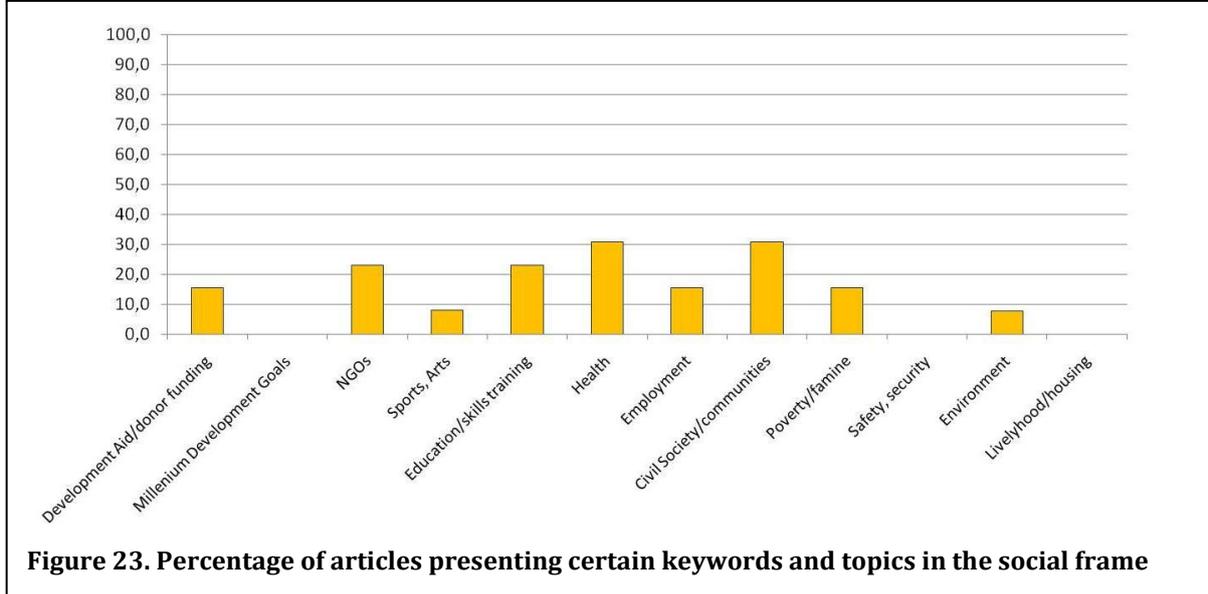
Fixed beliefs and new ideas

Due to the small number of articles and variety of topics it was difficult to find reoccurring propositions. Some prominent propositions in the financial frame were present in City Press reporting too (appendix IX). City Press, as Beeld, put a strong emphasis on South African companies. But the angle was very different. The 'all African newspaper' showed how South African investments could benefit Africa and not the

other way round. An article on the appointment of Standard Bank's new chief executive Simpiwe Tshabalala presented it as encouragement for new black leadership on the continent.[161] Leadership is a reoccurring theme in articles on development. City Press managed to give a broad perspective on it, not just restricting it to politics and finance,[162] but including arts and sports. An article showed how female directors struggled for recognition and funding for their theatre productions.[163] City Press combined this with another ambition, to bring news on what affected the everyday life of African citizens. They presented research that proved women to be more involved in raising social awareness and setting up community theatre projects. This angle is reflected in the graph on the social frame and the world-cloud, where the word 'communities' stands out. The presence of women in one third of all articles constructed strong propositions on the role of women in society that were exclusive for City Press and transcended all frames.

Africa Reporting

City Press had a clear ambition to report on Africa (appendix IX). The Sunday newspaper had Africa in its logo and lived up to it by reporting on Africa in over 300 articles in three months. But to make an in-depth analysis of how they reported on development on the basis of my data was difficult, because the newspaper hardly seemed to cover the topic. In an interview with business editor Siya Qosa I tried to establish what his views on representing Africa were and how journalists could best report on development in Africa.

Siya Qosa believed that journalists in Africa still had a lot of educating to do. In his opinion South Africa had an obligation, as a country with a professional media landscape, to report on the continent as a whole. He observed that in other African countries reporting was more local and regional, and not as professional and independent. His attitude towards the role of journalists in reporting Africa came close to a development model (§2.2). But he didn't promote an active role for journalists in supporting ruling governments or organisations. 'Journalists should first be journalists,' he said. His professional opinion more resembled Shah's[164] definition of development journalism (§2.4) in line with approaches in alternative media theory that advocate a perspective on civil society and access of civic voices. This is consistent with the keywords and propositions I found in the articles on development.

In line with his ambitions to educate people through reporting he regretted the lack of resources for research. 'We now have to focus on everyday reporting and have little means to explain complicated matters.' In that respect he also mentioned the

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[161] Andile Ntingi, 'Inspired and motivated at Standard Bank', in: *City Press*, 8 March 2008

[162] Malose Monama, 'World Economic Forum lauds young global leaders',in: *City Press*, 22 March 2008
'Women in politics need to be brave to stand their ground', in: *City Press*, 14 January 2008

[163] 'Female actors still looking on from the curtains of the stage', in: *City Press*, 23 February 2008

[164] Hemant Shah. 'Modernization, Marginalization, and Emancipation: Toward a Normative Model of Journalism and National Development', in: *Communication Theory*, 1996(6), 143-166

juniorization of the newsrooms and the outflow of older and more experienced journalists. 'Not only for the sake of training young reporters, but also because of their broad knowledge of society, it is a loss,' he argued.

In my analyses of City Press reporting it was most of all the poor coverage of development in Africa that struck me. I asked the business editor if he had an explanation. He thought it had to do with City Press' ambition to report on development as being 'all inclusive'. 'Development involves the whole of society, but local citizens often have no access to big development projects. With our focus on civil society we therefore do not often report on them,' he tried to explain the absence of articles on development. A proposition such as 'Local citizens do not profit from African development' points in the same direction.

I therefore reread the articles to establish if indeed City Press tried to report on development as a process that (should) include the whole of society as Qosa claimed. I found articles in all frames to support this.
An outstanding example was an article on the revenues of the Africa Cup in Ghana, focused on small traders. The dominant frame was financial, quoting a street vendor who didn't know how to pay back her loan to the bank.[165] Political context was supplied by the Minister of Tourism's prediction that 'one million soccer fans and tourists would come into the country' and spend money. The title and introduction to the article, however, highlighted the support of women's groups for the national team, praising their involvement as the basis for a successful and peaceful tournament. The two sided story -on the one hand social success, on the other hand financial failure- painted a picture of the inability to include all layers of society in the success of this major enterprise. In quoting government policy the journalist also suggested that it was the intention to use the soccer tournament as an opportunity for inclusive development. Unfortunately there was no information on where it went wrong, the article was too short to include this (400 words). Just a hint that the 'tourism minister and the Local Organizing Committee are blaming each other.'

Another example in the social frame was on education for girls.[166] The article included the UN, the Ethiopian government, the family of the girls, their school and the community they lived in. The story painted a picture of how education for girls steered development in society as a whole. The reporter was very outspoken stating that 'society should value women as equal players in the country's social and economic development.' In this way he directly linked different aspects of development. The story described how other families in the community were included. The education project gave 'people ownership of the process' was one of the major conclusions. The story ended by telling how one of the girls wanted to become a doctor to contribute to the further development of her community. This article painted a picture of how inclusive

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[165] Amos Safo 'Ghana women thank Almighty for successful Afcon', in: *City Press*, 25 February 2008
[166] 'Back to school – not the marital bed', 23 February 2008, in: *City Press*, source: UNFPA

development could work. Development was pictured as a process including political, economic and social change and which involved and benefitted all layers of society. Of course this article showed the perspective of the UNFPA and City Press rightfully mentioned them as the major source. This however does not downgrade the point I want to make that it is possible to write about development as a process that includes more than just one stakeholder. This approach needs not be restricted to ngo's. The fact that City Press choose to print it also showed that they shared the approach in the article, it was presented as a regular in depth story and not as an opinion piece.

Looking at the other 11 articles on development in City Press it became clear that it was difficult to write about development as an inclusive process. Most of the time articles focused on groups in society that were excluded, such as women, youths, gays and ordinary people. In an article on volunteers[167] Standard Bank was praised for sponsoring the branded clothes. It is understandable that in the space of 170 words the journalist couldn't get into questions if this volunteer programme by Standard Bank was part of a bigger picture. For instance if the bank offered jobs or intended to expand these activities to other sectors or countries. The article on girls education contained 990 words. On the other hand, if City Press wanted to represent development in Africa as an inclusive process, it could have addressed these questions in other articles. In this way a more diverse picture could have emerged in the combination of articles, but I did not find them.

As I had concluded on the basis of my discourse analysis, the main proposition was 'Local citizens do not profit from African development.' The claim by the editor that City Press wanted to report on development as an inclusive process was only partly reflected in my data. I do think that they believed development *should be* inclusive but they gave little reason to believe that it *could be*. The emphasis on groups that were excluded only strengthened this. It furthermore painted a picture in which certain groups in society seemed powerless to influence development. This is in line with images of Africans as victims in need of aid (§2.1), regardless that City Press did not connect their exclusion to development aid.

The abundance of research and policy documents on inclusive development[168] showed that there is a story to tell on how inclusive development could work. This however does not necessarily mean that in practice it does. But the examples that are there, however few, are an opportunity to -in Quosa's words- 'educate people'. If, as a journalist you strongly value your facilitative role in which 'news media do not merely report on civil society's associations and activities but support and strengthen them (Christians et al. 2009:31),[169] these examples offer an opportunity to paint a picture of Africa where

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[167] 'Afcon employs 2000 volunteer workers', in: *City Press*, 21 January 2008
[168] Ignacy Sachs. (2004). *Inclusive development strategy in an era of globalization*. Geneva: International Labour Office
[169] Clifford G. Christians, Theodore L. Glasser, Denis Mcquail, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Robert A. White. *Normative Theories of the Media, Journalism in Democratic Societies.* University of Illinois Press, 2009

'people play an active role in development', as was presented in the article on girls' education.

5.4. Mail&Guardian

Reporting Africa

Mail&Guardian covered all African countries substantially, even northern Africa. In articles published online in the first quarter of 2008, African countries were covered over 515 times. However the newspaper did not advocate it's Africa reporting in the way City Press did, there was a distinct ambition to cover Africa. Online editor Chris Roper stated: 'The M&G is a major brand in Africa. We do believe we have a special role to play. We can supply basic information on Africa, to support Africa as a internally connected continent.' Editor Nic Dawes added to that stating

Figure 24 . Articles on African countries in The Mail&Guardian from Jan-March 2008.

that they were very aware of stereotypical reporting. 'It is an issue of on-going debate in our newsroom. We have al kinds of initiatives such as Africa in Focus and the Africa page to contribute to better reporting on Africa.'

Overall the coverage in the Mail&Guardian was political. Even when articles took a social or financial angel, the political perspective was present in the back ground as I will show in this paragraph. This political angle often involved conflict and crisis. Even when an article was focused on the positive changes in government (eg Rwanda), it would refer to the conflict loaded history of the country. I will get into this in detail on page 87 where I discuss my interviews with the editors.

The presence of renowned conflict areas showed up in the map on African countries. This involved current conflicts in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Chad (see list of news topics in appendix II), and older conflicts such as Guinea, Nigeria, Sudan and Somalia. I did a quick check on all the Africa-articles in Mail&Guardian to establish if my impression was correct, in order to raise the issue with the editor-in-chief in an interview. Of all articles on African countries 72% were dealing with conflict and crisis related issues. A check on the other newspapers showed that City Press and Business Day scored just over 60% and Beeld did not even reach 50%.

The topics covered by Mail&Guardian when reporting on Africa were no surprise, politics was dominant. This was in line with the 'colour' of the newspaper, but the emphasis on conflict, despite the outspoken intention of the newspaper to contribute to non-stereotypical reporting on Africa was an interesting discovery. Another topic was the environment, with 12% coverage the highest of all the newspapers in my data set.

Figure 25 . Topics in articles on African countries in Mail&Guardian

Representing economic development

The main dataset of African countries contained 39 articles on development and economic growth. I ran the content of all the articles through a quick textual analysis and created a world cloud. I filtered out all common words and the words Africa, African and Africans. The word cloud paints a divers picture of topics and angles, but no angle really stands out when looking at news articles on development and growth. Financial words such as 'investment' and 'economic', popped up, but so did political words ('government', 'president' and 'Bush'). Development is both linked to countries and people. The less prominent words also showed a great variety. Growth, mining, natural resources (gas, oil, diamonds) and cash crops (rice, tea, cocoa) point at a strong financial perspective. But the abundance of words related to social issues (health, community, population, fair, farmers, art, poverty, gay) suggests a broad focus on other than just financial aspects of development.

Figure 26. Most commonly used words in articles on development in Mail&Guardian

A word cloud however only gives an indication. It tells nothing about the way these words appear in articles. The high score on Bush (62 times) for instance is caused by five articles in which his name is frequently mentioned, whereas the same high score for the word 'economic' (60 times) is caused by over twenty articles of which some only mentioned the word once or twice. In my content analysis I classified articles per frame based on the type and combination of words present, not on their individual numbers. Almost half of all the articles on development showed a dominance of words from the financial frame (49%). The political frame made up for 28%, the social frame 23%. The score for the political frame is almost half of the financial frame, but still is the highest score of all newspapers, when reporting on development. Mail&Guardian scored second after the City Press in coverage of development articles through a social frame. This diversity is also reflected in the word cloud.

Despite the above mentioned limitations of a word cloud, the content analysis of the articles showed a significant resemblance, at least in the financial frame. The graph below shows a lot of articles on natural resources (>40%) and/or cash crops (20%). In the word cloud they were represented by their specific names in the smaller font size. When grouped together, as I did in content analysis, a clear focus was revealed.

Figure 27 . Percentage of articles with a majority of keywords and topics in the financial frame
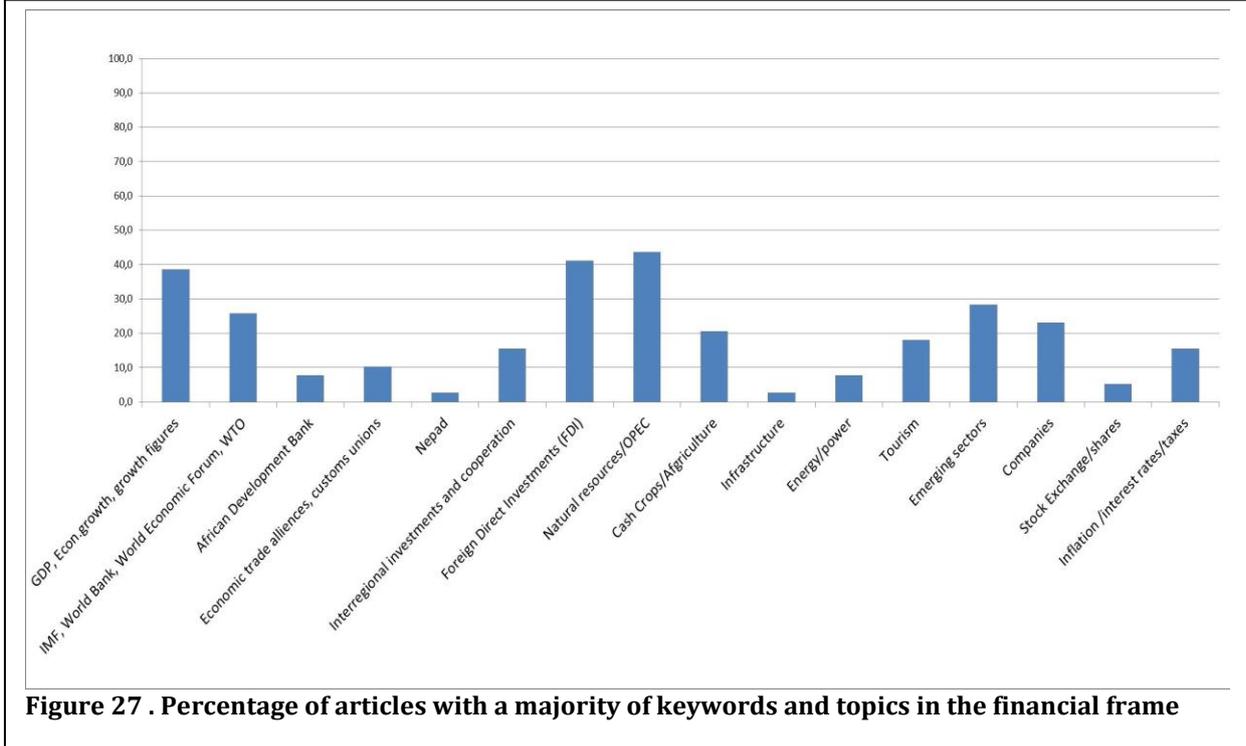
Another interesting discovery, when comparing word cloud and content analysis was the low score on infrastructure. In both Business Day and Beeld it stood out in word cloud and content graph. In Mail&Guardian you might at first overlook it as it doesn't pop up in the word cloud, it does become visible in the content analysis, but only just. Clearly this was not an important topic in Mail&Guardian during my fieldwork.

When I asked editor-in-chief Nic Dawes if there was a specific reason for this low score he reacted rather surprised and said that he thought infrastructure and connections in general were very important to development in Africa. It had nothing to do with a deliberate ignorance of the subject.

After I analysed my data more in detail I discovered that it probably had to do with the absence of company news in Mail&Guardian. If infrastructure was mentioned in Mail&Guardian it was always in a list of topics that a country needed to deal with to achieve development, it was never about infrastructure itself. Infrastructure was still a topic viewed from the perspective of construction companies. There were no articles on the benefits for local economies, however it seemed obvious.

From the word cloud it is even more difficult to get a good impression of the political frame. The content analysis showed almost 30% of all articles framing development through a predominantly political angle, but in the word cloud the only significant political word is 'government'. This is the same in all newspapers and is partly caused by the fact that political words are often linked to the specific situation in a country, more so than financial words. Every country has its own political parties and presidents, this will not show up in a word cloud counting specific words. In my content analysis I looked for topics rather than words. They gave more insight in the way

Figure 28 . Percentage of articles with a majority of keywords and topics in the political frame

development was politically contextualised. Mail&Guardian showed a slight emphasis on party politics, leadership and conflict issues in reporting development. But overall the political angle was quite diverse, most predefined topics and words were present.

As the political angle was so prominent in reporting Africa (figure 25) and also was the highest of all newspapers when reporting development I made a separate word cloud of the development articles in the political frame. Again 'Bush' stood out; a closer look at the articles showed that Mail&Guardian covered the US president's trip to Africa substantially.[170]

Figure 29. Most commonly used words in articles on development in the political frame in Mail&Guardian (Jan-March 2008)

From the word cloud of political articles the emphasis on conflict issues also became clearer. Present and former conflict areas such as Darfur, Liberia, Kenya and Rwanda were frequently mentioned, as was genocide. This, to a large extent, also had to do with the visit by US president Bush. He was frequently quoted when commenting on these conflicts. A quick count of the word genocide showed that 9 out of 10 were in one article on his visit to Rwanda.[171] The other time it was Bush again, in relation to his foreign policy ambitions for Africa. So one leads to the other.

Malawi made an interesting case as there was no breaking news from that country, as was the case with Kenya or Ghana (see list of news topics). Malawi was mentioned for giving up their contacts with Taiwan in favour of China,[172] but also for their difficult position between Comesa and SADC and their profits in tea and tobacco.[173] All articles were by the same reporters, from press agencies Reuters and IPS. These were not Mail&Guardian staff reporters but local journalists, as the location Lilongwe, in

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[170] 'Bush asks for more money to fight Aids in Africa', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 29 January 2008
'Bush visit to Africa to centre on Tanzania', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 7 February 2008
'Africa: A bright spot in Bush's foreign policy', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 14 February 2008
'Bush calls for increased effort to help Darfur', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 19 February 2008
[171] 'Bush calls for increased effort to help Darfur', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 19 February 2008
[172] Mbvuto Banda, 'Malawi ends ties with Taiwan in favour of China', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 14 January 2008
[173] Pilirani Semu-Banda, 'Malawi's tea growers hope to boost prices', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 28 February 2008

the dateline suggested. Online editor Chris Roper explained that they were busy to 'increase the network in Africa to gain on location content as we have limited resources and can't afford to spend a lot of money on foreign correspondents or stringers. Partnerships in Africa include other media, but also media collectives and organisations'.

In the social frame the focus seemed to be on development aid and related subjects such as health and poverty. The frequent reference to ngo's and the use of press services IPS and IRIN (appendix X) confirmed the impression that Mail&Guardian strongly relied on information from the aid sector to give a social context to development.

Figure 30 . Percentage of articles presenting certain keywords and topics in the social frame
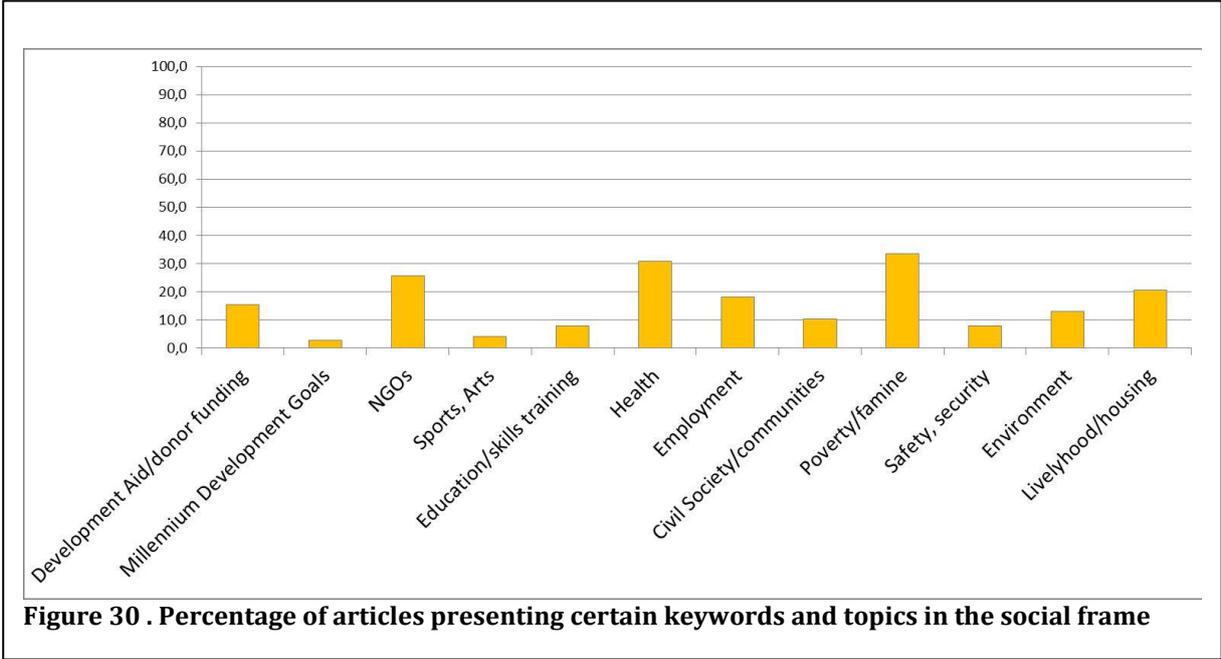
Fixed beliefs and new ideas

The propositions in Mail&Guardian did not show a very dominant framing of development in Africa. Most of all it became clear that the newspaper did not have a dominant financial framing of development but that propositions from all three frames were often combined. Financial articles in Mail&Guardian showed a great variety in opinions on how to achieve development. From the textual analysis the story seemed straight forward that natural resources and cash crops were the main drivers of economic growth in Africa. This is a very common financial proposition on development in Africa. But the absence of words that were normally present in reporting on these topics made me wonder which angle Mail&Guardian took. A closer look at the propositions showed that the focus was rather different from other newspapers. In stead of writing about GDP and profits made by companies, the newspaper focused on the role of cash crops in local economies (proposition 5b). In the same way they put forward examples on how commodity prices[174] and mining activities could steer

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[174] Pilirani Semu-Banda, 'Malawi's tea growers hope to boost prices', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 28 February 2008

development in other sectors of the economy. In between the lines these articles together also constructed a proposition that diversification of the economy was the way forward for Africa.

If anything stood out in the framing of development in Mail&Guardian it was the focus on the local level and how development and growth could improve the livelihood of ordinary people.[175] Propositions in the social frame, linked to topics such as corporate social responsibility, micro financing or environment were more present in Mail&Guardian than any other newspaper. The graph on topics (figure 25) already showed a great variety and a substantial contribution of environmental issues. The newspaper tried to cover these topics from a local perspective (appendix IV). An article on reforestation in Madagascar highlighted the involvement of the communities and showed how tourism would benefit.[176] The other newspapers took a more distant approach or connected these topics to business and investments.

In between the lines
The shared meaning in Mail&Guardian was a bit to see, at first sight no real fixed ideas seemed present. The newspaper was not as outspoken on the role of South Africa on the continent as Beeld and not as opinionated about the continent's economic independence as Business Day. Contextualising development in a political frame was established in between the lines, within and between articles. Consistently presenting political issues from the local perspective constructed a proposition such as 'good governance is essential to ensure security for social development' (appendix IV). This does suggest the same ideas on the role of politics in development as in the other newspapers (good governance, democracy, transparency), but aimed at society rather than business. Political stability through peaceful transitions and democracy was presented as beneficial to ordinary people and as a precondition for donor funding. An article on Angola covering trade negotiations in Lisbon suggested that since peace was established nothing should withhold investors and donors to support the country on its way up.[177] The IPS-reporter concluded: 'Now peace has been achieved and a fully functioning Parliament is operating, Angola has 'a radiant future ahead, for the economy and for the country''. The reporter quoted a government official describing president Dos Santos as 'a worker for peace and reconciliation'. Not withstanding the fact that one can question if the reporter is not giving his own interpretation of the situation in Angola from a Lisbon point of view, in between the lines it was suggested that peace was a precondition for foreign donors.

It was remarkable that despite the frequent use of press services with a clear focus on civil society such as IPS and IRIN, Mail&Guardian did not become a voice for the

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[175] 'Nigeria adopts new gas policy to favour domestic users', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 8 February 2008
[176] Ed Harris, 'Madagascar slows destruction of forests', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 10 March 2008
[177] Mario de Queiroz, 'Angola welcomes responsible foreign investment', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 14 February 2008

political agenda's of ngo's or donors. They did not voice an opinion if donor funding or business investments were better for development, but focused on the ways and efforts to create an all inclusive and sustainable economy. In actual fact that is the other core proposition that stood between the lines in Mail&Guardian reporting. Combining propositions from different frames, all with a clear local focus, resulted in stories such as 'Cadbury invests in sustainable cocoa production'. A story from Ghana on how one of the world's largest producers of chocolate, Cadbury, had invested hugely in sustainable farming and intended to use the 'increase in yields to invest in quality-of-life measures, including building schools, libraries and wells, all intended to attract the next generation into cocoa farming.' [178]

Another remarkable discovery was that however Mail&Guardian took a distinct local perspective to development this did not mean that civic voices dominated the discourse. They were present (see graph in appendix X), and more so than in most newspapers, but they were still outnumbered by expert's opinions and political statements on social issues.[179] Randgold CEO Bristow was quoted at the Mining Indaba in Cape Town saying: '..mining companies operating in Africa have to accept that they have an obligation greater than the need to enrich investors. They also have a social responsibility to help the people of these countries realise their hopes for a better life.'[180] In all it is fair to conclude that Mail&Guardian focused on the social issues rather than on social groups, as was the case in the other newspaper that frequently used civil voices, City Press.

Reporting development in Africa
One of the most eye opening discoveries I made after analysing the Mail&Guardian reporting on development was the presence of discourse on conflict and instability, that is so much part of the image of Africa as a Hopeless Continent (§ 2.1). On the basis of Mail&Guardian's ambition to be a platform for African voices and show a different side of the continent I expected a different outcome. Of course I did not expect Mail&Guardian to simply dismiss what is part of Africa's reality, but I expected it to be less prominent as it was not the only story about Africa and certainly not over the past decade in which Africa experienced economic growth. And as the analysis above shows Mail&Guardian did show different perspectives to development, so why was the conflict frame still so prominent? I examined my data again and found that high journalistic standards were likely at the basis of this. The urge to contextualise and explain news resulted in background information that often included conflict. When some newspapers would just present the high grow figures of Rwanda and mention the benefits for certain companies, Mail&Guardian would give background info on the historic conflict and stressed the current stable and peaceful situation. Even when the conflict was not specifically mentioned, stressing the present stability and good governance pointed at a

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[178] Cadbury invests in sustainable cocoa production, 28 January 2008
[179] Politics and graft undermine African healthcare, Daniel Flynn, 4 January 2008
[180] Africa's most important industry is booming, Alf James, 14 March 2008

previous situation in which this was not the case, a situation still present in the memory of the audience and thus recycled. From the point of view of contextualising, which is a valid journalistic skill, this might seem logic. After all the importance of Rwanda as news topic is mostly caused by its past. Taking Stuart Hall's argument that 'meaning is created through difference' this is logical. But one can ask 'what meaning was created?' Often there was no real connection to the content of the article on development. It was just a way to put a label to a country, and that's were it became problematic in my opinion. The M&G also used other countries as a comparison or point of reference. In this way some African countries were represented through a conflict frame in articles on other countries, there was no relation to the topic of the article. The only reason for their 'presence in the article' was their conflict past.

I asked editor-in-chief Nic Dawes if he was aware of the fact that 'old images of Africa as an continent torn apart by conflict' were so present in his newspaper. At first he did not believe me, stating that they hardly ever reported on conflict unless there was clear and open conflict at hand, such as Kenya. And even then they tried to contextualise the conflict and not fall into stereotypical representations. I explained that this was indeed not the case but by writing about positive changes, for instance in Rwanda, and at the same time referring to Rwanda's past civil war, old images were being recycled. In an article on Bush' trip to Africa the reporter wrote '..conflicts in Kenya and Darfur will intrude on a trip intended to show the positive impact from US investment in health and development programmes in the largely stable countries of Benin, Tanzania, and Ghana, as well as Rwanda and Liberia, once ravaged by civil war.'[181]

This made an interesting dilemma which Nic Dawes could not address there and then. After all it was commendable that a newspaper reported on all aspects of a situation and contextualised issues, and the historical context was correct. The only question that remained, from the point of journalism professionalism, was 'relevance'. Nic Dawes agreed that this indeed was a valid question. After all, by mentioning the unstable past of Rwanda the suggestion was made that it was relevant for the present economic success. Of course this was a choice the reporter made, maybe not even deliberate. But what was the proposition between the lines here? That previous unstable countries were still fragile? This article was not by a Mail&Guardian staff reporter, even if the editor would have been fully aware of the underlying propositions there was only so much he could have done. The only option that really remained, as with all external copy, was a matter of choice again, to publish or not to publish.

That was, apart from a single choice per article, also a question in a broader scope. Why was the Bush trip covered so substantially (5 out of 39 articles)? It was a choice of relevance made in the newsroom and one that I questioned. On the one hand one could have argued that a visit by the president of the largest economy of the world was highly relevant and that what ever he said was only a representation of the facts and

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[181] Tabassum Zakaria, 'Africa: A bright spot in Bush's foreign policy', in: *Mail&Guardian,* 14 February 2008

on his account. On the other hand it also resulted in an exposure of classic and western representations of Africa, that were not countered by African voices within the article or series of articles.

When presented with this perception on my part, Nic Dawes explained how difficult it was to get African voices in regular reporting. It was feasible to make special stories on Africa but he had to agree that African Voices was still a 'separate project' that might not influence the images constructed in ordinary news reporting as much as you would like to. Dawes explained that when reporting on Africa Mail&Guardian found itself in another difficult situation. When you don't have the budget to send out your own reporters but you still have the ambition to cover Africa substantially and also in a way that represents 'the different voices of Africa' you have to be creative. Chris Roper gave an example: 'English as a language already sets parameters and limits storytelling on genuine African issues,' he pointed out. 'We have recently set up a new initiative using online to make a digital noticeboard for immigrants who now go to libraries and community halls to communicate with each other and family back home (Hotel Yeoville). 70% of the population in Yeoville is non-SA. The noticeboard will run through the M&G.' This noticeboard could then supply the newsroom with story ideas and sources. Which touched on another dilemma often discussed in foreign reporting: the reliability of the information. A reason why some newspapers said they'd rather report less on Africa than use local voices (§5.2. Beeld). My data however showed that for Mail&Guardian it worked the other way round. They seemed more daring to take articles by freelancers and local reporters on, regardless that they had to take certain representations for granted, if the rest of the story fitted their standards and ambitions.

6. Changing socio-economic realities in Africa

In the previous chapters I described in detail the way four South African newspapers have covered the economic growth and subsequent developments in Africa in 2008. In this chapter I will answer my research question how the print media in South Africa covered the changed socio-economic realities in Africa at a time of economic growth in Africa and in a media-imagination of a hopeless continent. The choice of newspapers in my research allowed me to do this. In Business Day and Beeld the financial frame is most prominent, City Press and South Africa the Good News reported substantially through a social frame. Mail&Guardian showed the most even distribution of frames and the highest score in the political frame. It was fair to presume that representations of development in the one frame could be supplemented by representations in the other and thus together cover the changed socio-economic realities in Africa.

In this chapter I will point out similarities and differences between newspapers in reporting economic growth and development. I will explain how some of these representations originated in existing ideas and images and I will show which representations pointed at the changed socio-economic realities.
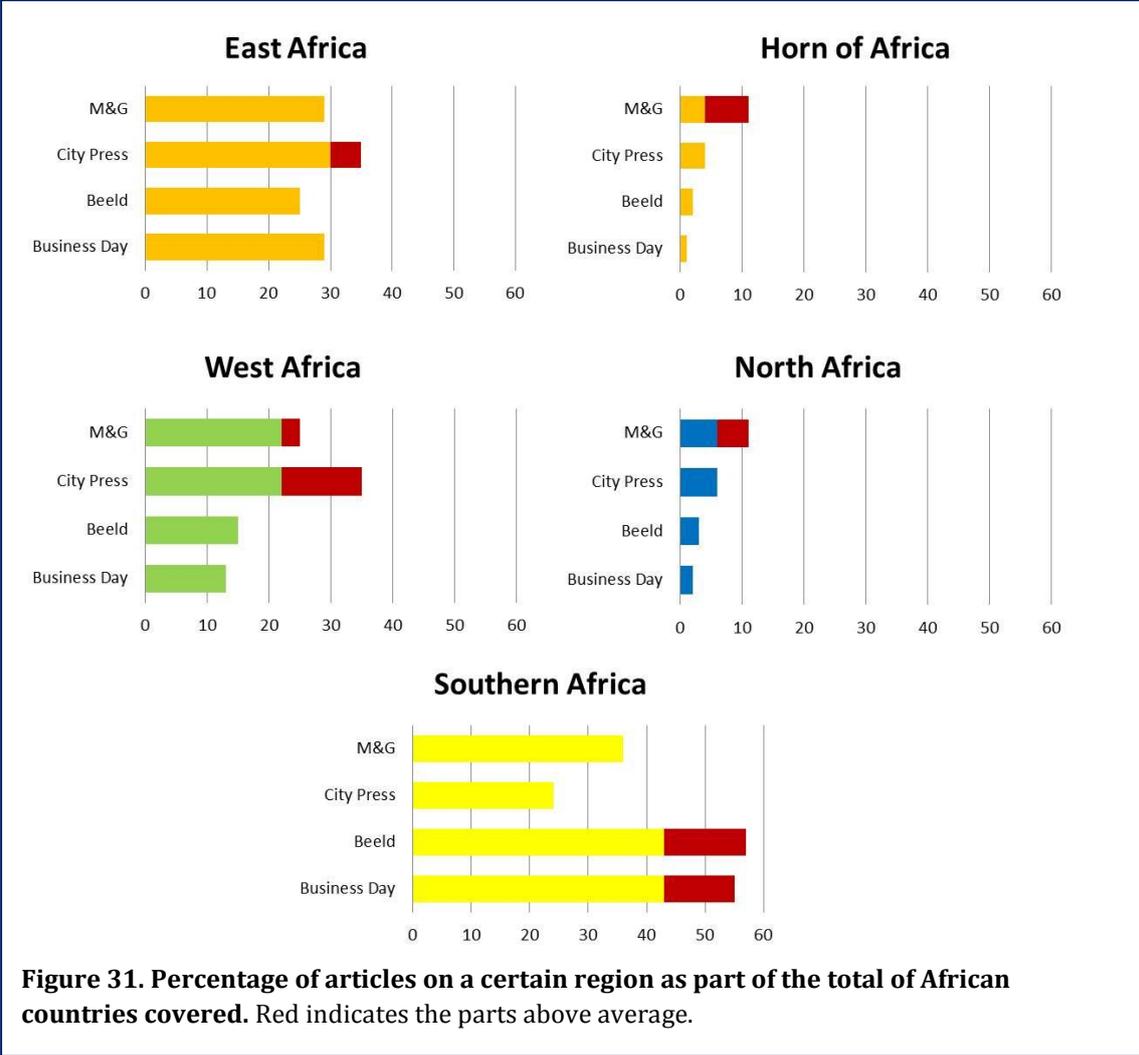
By making this final analysis I was able to establish which picture of the changed socio-economic reality was painted. What did South African print media cover and what was uncovered. As a conclusion of this chapter and of my thesis I will present the *picture of progress* that I reconstructed from articles on development in South African print media.

6.1. Covering the continent

In chapter five several maps showed which countries were covered in the newspapers. For the sake of comparison between newspapers I have grouped the countries in five geographical regions (appendix XII). For each region I estimated the average coverage and if newspapers performed under or above average.

The north eastern part of the continent is by far the least reported on. The only newspaper to report above average on North Africa and the Horn was Mail&Guardian. It was remarkable that both newspapers with a major business section (Beeld and Business Day) hardly reported on North Africa in 2008. Three years later the Arab Spring of 2011 showed how a changing demographic reality due to a lowering fertility rate, which was on-going over the past twenty years, caused sociological change that in the end collided with the reality of an unchanged society. 'The current young generation is the last from a period of wild population growth, while also being the first to reach

adulthood in a new sociological context' (Merlini and Roy 2012:6).[182] The digitalisation further opened up the world to this new generation, showing other realities that remained out of reach. The media however hardly reported on these changes. Peter David, The Economist's Washington bureau chief and expert on the Middle East was one of the few to point at fundamental changes for the region. In a 1990 article he pointed at the 'wild population growth' at a time of political stagnation[183]. In a 2009 article 'Waking from its sleep'[184] he looked back and predicted that change was now inevitable. He pointed at changes all across the region, not just the much reported conflict areas of Israel and Iraq.

Figure 31. Percentage of articles on a certain region as part of the total of African countries covered. Red indicates the parts above average.

When, in 2009, I talked to editors and journalists in South Africa it was clear that most of them did not see the northern part of the continent as part of Africa, however they hastily admitted that of course it was. This is probably caused by historical perceptions of north Africa as part of the former ancient world and later the Arab world

[182] Cesare Merlini and Olivier Roy. *Arab Society in Revolt: The West's Mediterranean Challenge.* Virginia: R.R. Donnelley
[183] http://www.economist.com/node/14070748
[184] http://www.economist.com/node/14027698

around the Mediterranean. And subsequently images of Africa as everything that lies south of the climate barrier of the desert, expressed in names such as Sub-Saharan Africa. This signifies North African's as being the others, being non-African. Despite Gadhafi's Africa rhetoric, the old views and stereotypes were strong. However the historical and social explanations of this absence in representation are sound, in this way an important part of the continent was not covered. Journalists that I talked to about this couldn't come up with any arguments, they just said that North Africa was just not their focus. This is remarkable as South Africa, based on alliances from the anti-apartheid struggle, held ties with several north African countries, on a political and business level. It worked both ways: opportunities for South African companies up north and much needed investments by oil rich northern African countries on the continent. The economic consequences of Gaddafi's fall and the end of most of the Libyan investments in Africa are huge. Many African countries and the African Union are still figuring out how to deal with it.[185] One could argue that in actual fact not a lot was going on in North Africa over the past decade and that's why media didn't report on this. That was true for the political situation which was considered stagnant by most political experts and journalists, but not for the demographic and social reality.[186]

In the coverage of Africa, both Beeld and Business Day showed a substantial coverage of countries in Southern Africa. Most of the business interests of South African companies are in the southern part of the continent so this was to be expected. For Business Day this was strengthened by limited resources to send out foreign correspondents and the subsequent dependency on company-sponsored press trips. On the other hand, the remark by the editor that he would rather have a correspondent in Brussels than Lagos didn't show priority to cover the rest of the continent either. After all, most newspapers at least have a contract to Reuters, which has reporters posted all over the continent, often locally trained. Sake24, the business section of Beeld, had access to Media24's Africa desk but this did not result in a substantial coverage. Interviews with the business editor confirmed that it was a matter of choice rather than financial constraints. However it is difficult to make general statements on the basis of one journalist's comments I sensed that the choice for certain countries partly originated in the Afrikaner identity, more over via language. As Mary Douglas argued, the more there is a need for sameness, the more prominent the classification of 'the other' will be (§2.3). Explanations such as 'language barrier' and 'no connection with our audience' are no professional arguments for not covering West Africa.

[185] Julius Barigaba and Isaac Khisa, 'Libya: Gaddafi Ghost Still Haunts Investments in East Africa', on: *allAfrica Global Media*, 18 February 2012

[186] Cesare Merlini and Olivier Roy. *Arab Society in Revolt: The West's Mediterranean Challenge.* Virginia: R.R. Donnelley, 2012

6.2. Sources for African voices

There is more to representing Africa than just the number of articles and the countries covered. To answer the question how the changed socio-economic realities were covered it was equally important to look at the voices and perspectives that were present. In the next paragraph I will go into that in detail when I look at the dominant propositions and how they represent political, financial and social perspectives. In this paragraph I specifically look at the sources and voices that were present. Of course this again has to do with the financial situation of a newspaper. It needs no argument that it is more difficult to access sources in the field when you don't have the budget to send out reporters and limited budgets also limit the contracts with different press wires. But that certainly is not the only reason. Choice of sources and efforts made to reach less accessible sources has a lot to do with professional beliefs on what a good news story needs and the methods on can use to construct them.

Furthermore historical roots of a newspaper and target audience co-defined the network of sources and relations in which it operated. The interviews I had with several journalists showed that professionals were not very aware of this. It's not as if they don't know, but they viewed most aspects of their working environment as fixed parameters that they didn't challenge. Almost as if they underestimated the influence of their working conditions (apart from the financial constraints) or do not see the possibilities of improving their reporting via change of sources or methods.

As an extra input to finding out just how the professional views and methods influenced reporting I analysed the reporting in South Africa The Good News. This is a web based magazine with a clear focus on positive changes in Africa (appendix XI). For a large amount they operated as journalists, they reported on changes in society as all media do, they used journalistic skills to research and produce, they upheld journalistic values such as relevance and context. The major difference was their news selection. It was based on a mission to spread 'good news' about Africa to counter the abundance of negative stories in the mainstream media. Other media made their news selection on criteria that are considered journalistic, such as audience profile, impact on society or topicality.[187] A choice to report on positive changes only, triggered by an ideology to change the perception of Africa is not considered professional journalism but part of the work field of pressure groups. In the scope of my research I was not concerned with this discussion but foremost curious to find out if this ideology driven news selection would result in different voices and perspectives on development in Africa and if they used different sources.

Sources
To get a general idea of the sources and voices present in the newspapers I grouped them together in two graphs (figures 32 and 33), excluding all the sources and voices
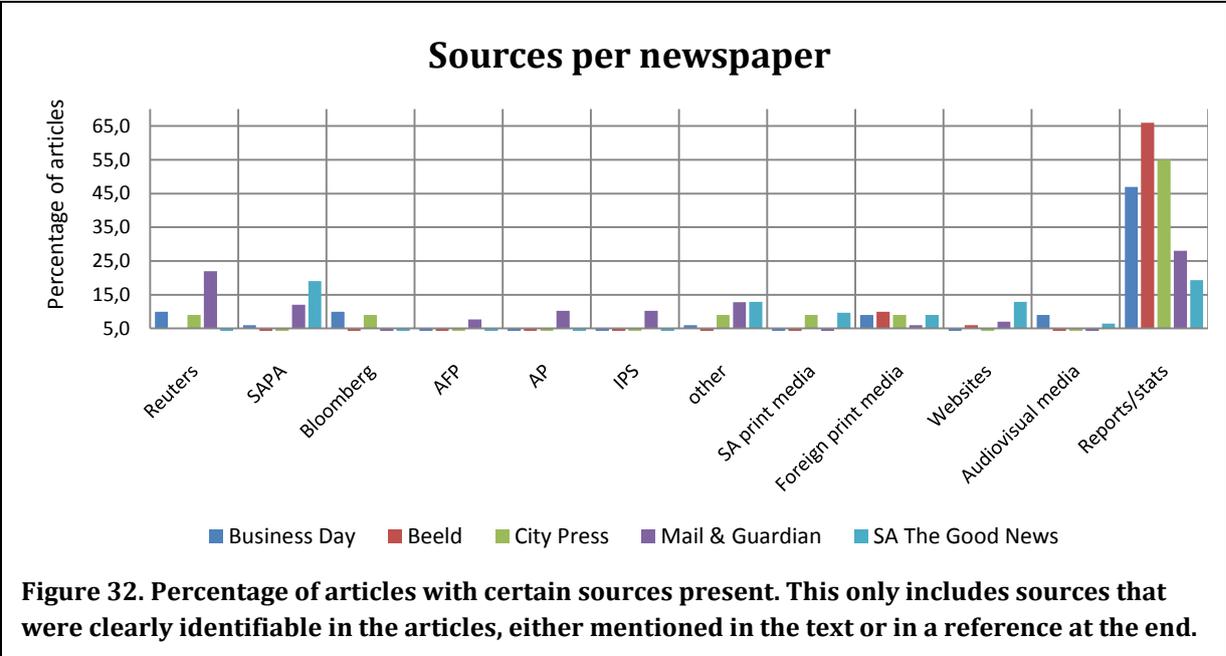
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[187] Nico Kussendrager and Dick van der Lugt. *Basisboek Journalistiek*. Groningen: Noordhoff Uitgevers, 2007

that scored under 5%. Mail&Guardian was the only newspaper to use a wide variety of sources, or at least the only one to clearly indicate the sources used. To overcome this lack of transparency I asked all editors personally which sources they used and it confirmed the pattern in figure 32 in general. One thing stood out: all newspapers frequently used reports and statistical data as a major source for reporting on development in Africa. This also meant that the ideas and representations that were present in these reports easily found their way to the public via mass media. I will reflect on this in more detail in the next paragraph.

Bloomberg, as specialized economic news agency was frequently used by Beeld and Business Day, the business editors stated. But it scored lower than 5% in Beeld because it was not always referred to in the articles. City Press used the same content from Sake24 as Beeld but more often mentioned the sources.

Reuters and SAPA were the main sources for wire copy; Reuters was often used for foreign content, including the rest of Africa, and SAPA for local. It was used more frequently than was given credit for in the newspapers. Especially Beeld didn't give reference to sources other than voiced in the text or when a press release was published unchanged. It was difficult to establish to what extent the newspapers relied on wire copy. The lack of reference was clearly no indication. The date lines in the articles and the interviews with the editors confirmed that they hardly used copy from 'on the ground reporters'. Regardless if they were own reporters, as from Media24's AfricaDesk, or locally based reporters affiliated to international press agencies.

Figure 32. Percentage of articles with certain sources present. This only includes sources that were clearly identifiable in the articles, either mentioned in the text or in a reference at the end.

Until 1995 Reuters had the exclusive right to supply foreign copy to SAPA. After that Reuters set up its own office in South Africa in competition with SAPA. Nowadays SAPA buys most of its foreign copy from US-based AP, French AFP and DPA (Deutsche

Presse Agentur). Which means that the wire copy on the rest of Africa is highly dependent on foreign press agencies and their reporters. However more and more local correspondents are employed by international press agencies and the growing local media are becoming an important market,[188] the situation in 2008 was still that most of the copy targeted an American and European audience, which meant that South African newspapers or SAPA had to translate it to the local situation. Beeld confirmed that they did this as they had to translate the copy from English to Afrikaans anyway. But most of the time the content stayed the same and propositions present in these articles, that often reflected shared meaning in a western context, remained unchanged. Numerous articles, such as the ones on Bush's trip in Mail&Guardian (§5.4) or on Angola in Beeld (§5.2) illustrated this.

The graph also shows how sources relate to publication platforms and methods. Media with a strong web based content (Mail&Guardian and SAGN) scored the highest in the use of websites and web based content. The relationship between countries covered and the providers of the content is also apparent. As figure 31 showed, Mail&Guardian covered all African regions substantially. It is also the only newspaper to use a great variety of sources, in different languages and from different origins (appendix X). The often heard excuse that lack of budget is hindering the coverage of Africa was not showing in my data. Indirectly it might influence the coverage as contracts with press agencies cost money too. And it was obvious that more reporters on the ground could generate more content on what happened on the continent. But the choices made in the newsrooms were far more important. Beeld had access to a lot of Africa content, but only reported substantially on Southern Africa. Also there were many other sources for news than the easy accessible press releases from Reuters and SAPA and figures and stats in official reports. There were also different ways to get to content. Most newspapers were not using the possibilities of the web to the fullest. There are more and more professional African journalists and media on the continent but most newspapers were hesitant to use freelancers or team up with local media, let alone explore the possibilities of civic journalism. Changes in methods and sources offer opportunities to cover the changed realities on the continent. These changed realities were not all present in the classic network of sources and accessible through the established methods of research and news selection. And if they were they showed the familiar perspectives on development and bypassed other aspects that are relevant in the socio-economic reality of every day life in Africa (see next chapter).
Of course there are many other constraints, new methods and sources need to be applied with great consideration and with a close watch on quality of reporting. But in my interviews I sensed that these options were too easily dismissed. One rather blamed financial constraints for the uneven and incomplete coverage of Africa and subsequent

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[188] Charlayne Hunter-Gault,. *New News Out of Africa, Uncovering Africa's Renaissance.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2005

ignorance of socio-economic changes than admit that one didn't want or dared to question the established status quo in the newsrooms and the profession.

The focus on so called 'good news' did not seem to influence the choice of sources for SAGN. However major press agencies were absent and official reports were not used as frequently as in the other media, the pattern was comparable to other media. Press agency SAPA was a prominent source. The articles based on SAPA were mostly dealing with positive business performances by South African companies, some of these topics appeared in regular newspapers too, but not as often. However SAPA did not have any foreign correspondents on their pay role, they did work with stringers and used a great variety of foreign press agencies. It would therefore make sense for newspapers to make greater use of SAPA, especially when budgets are too tight to afford foreign correspondents of their own. Editor-in-chief Mark van der Velden explained the difficult position of SAPA in an interview I had with him in 2009: 'The press agency is owned by the newspapers, the editors are on the board. The room to operate is highly dependent on how much money the newspapers are prepared to pay for press releases. With the cut backs on own budgets for foreign reporting it would make sense to give SAPA more, as the press agency can target all the newspapers with just one correspondent per region. In practice newspapers feel too much competition to really invest in SAPA for a common goal.' The commercialisation of the media further undermined the position of SAPA as an article in Mail&Guardian in 2000 showed.[189] Big publishing companies such as Media24 can afford to have their own special desks. Sake 24 and the Africa Desk in a way function as press agencies for all the Media24 publications. It is no wonder that the graph showed little direct use of SAPA by the two Media24 newspapers Beeld and City Press. Business Day, through it's network with other business newspapers and sources around the world, also hardly used SAPA, unless for specific local content. Comparing the SAPA articles in Business Day with those in Mail&Guardian and SAGN showed hardly any overlap. The selection was made in the newsrooms where ideas on development and audience profiles together determined the outcomes per newspaper.

Voices

The same to a large extent counts for the voices that were present. This even more reflected the focus of the newspapers. Ordinary citizens and aid workers were overrepresented in City Press that stated that it wanted to give a voice to ordinary African's and what affects their everyday life. Mail&Guardian with a socio-political angle presented lots of government officials to comment on developments. Beeld and Business Day communicated development through the voices of business people and disregarded the voices of ordinary civilians. The voices in SAGN and City Press showed a great resemblance, which might point at a common denominator in both publications that influenced the choice of voices and perspectives presented in reporting on development. It is too easy to say that by accessing ordinary people more positive stories are covered.

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[189] http://mg.co.za/article/2007-01-23-saving-sapa

It would need further research into the reporting in City Press to establish if this is the case.

More interesting was the low score for government voices in SAGN. This indirectly suggested that 'negative news' and governments are related, or at least are supposedly related from the perspective of South Africa the Good News. So however the focus was on positive changes and developments in Africa, the proposition that positive changes were hindered by instable governments was present in SAGN too, as it was in newspapers that do report on the involvement of governments in development. Taking a constructivist approach to journalism (Stuart Hall 2003) it became clear that the dichotomy between 'good and bad news' constructed meaning both on the good and bad. By stressing the one and excluding the other, with the signifiers that went along, an interaction existed that established meaning (§ 2.3).

Figure 33. Presence of certain voices in articles on development in Africa.
This only includes voices that were clearly quoted or referred to in the articles.
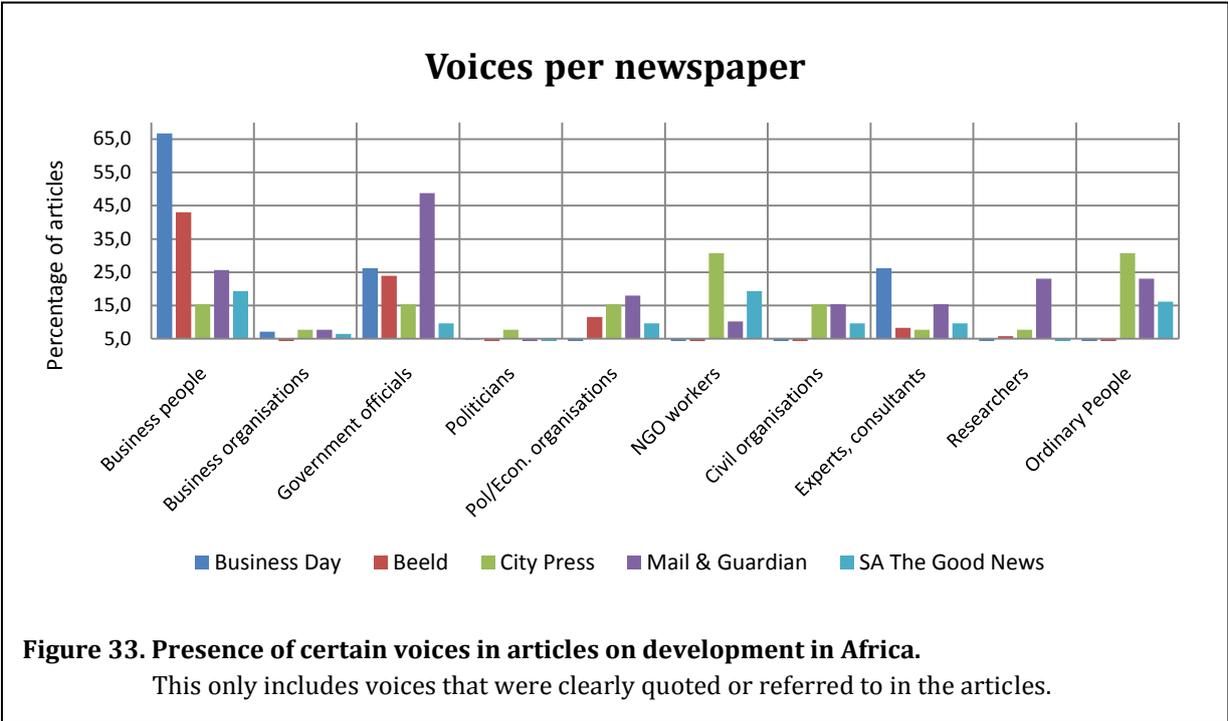
Something similar was at play in City Press, where business voices scored the lowest of all newspapers. Business editor Siya Qosa thought it might have something to do with the newspaper's focus on civil society. Indeed, articles on development focused on groups in society that were underrepresented in other media, such as women, youths, gays and ordinary civilians. The downside of this focus however was that other actors were absent. If development included the whole of society, it also included companies and business people, financial institutions and political strategies. They do affect the socio-economic realities of ordinary people and are part of the same stories. By not presenting these voices City Press constructed sameness and otherness that established meaning on separate worlds. In this way they did not address the economy and society as all inclusive as they claimed to aspire (§5.3). Neither did Business Day and Beeld by disregarding civilian voices in their reporting and only showing the

perspectives of companies and governments. Looking at the overall coverage of the socio-economic realities, represented in stories on development, civilian voices were outnumbered by large and the choice made by City Press to focus on them is understandable.

6.3. Covered and Uncovered realities

In chapter five I have described how the four newspapers reported on developments in Africa. I looked at the topics they covered, the words and sentences they used, the propositions that were present in and in between the lines. As I pointed out in the previous paragraph the three generic frames not only consisted of different vocabulary and propositions, they also reflected different perspectives, showed different realities.

As my research focused on establishing how print media covered the socio-economic realities my data collection and content-analyses was based on a predefined list of keywords, that contained mainly what was present. What was absent was however also part of the story of representation of socio-economic realities. I established through a quick text analyses that indeed certain words were not present in any of the newspaper articles on development and not just missed because they were not part of the predefined list. This allowed me to also conclude on uncovered socio-economic realities.

Financial realities

The financial realities included changes in the way development was funded and how financing was organised. My data showed that new realities such as investments by Asian and Arab countries were covered. These new foreign investments were not judged on their own merits however but compared with investments by western countries. They were assessed through the familiar political and social parameters that have always dominated the discussion on development aid and donor funding. Especially if articles were politically framed this became visible in propositions such as 'Western aid is tied to democracy, transparency, human rights and good governance' and 'China has no ethics or moral agenda when doing business in Africa'.

A normative discussion on dependency was part of representing the financial reality. Established ideas on the relation between north and south were recycled. However the stakeholders changed, from western to eastern, the approach to the relationship with Africa remained the same. The central message was still that Africa could only develop and grow with huge foreign investments. The financial dependency remained despite that the political influence was presumed to be less. So the observed absence of a political agenda, which was always presented as one of the causes of dependency in the relation between Africa and the west, was translated into a proposition that a change of stakeholders would mean independency for Africa. This is

one of the clearest examples I found of how 'meaning was created through differences' (Hall 2003:236) as I have described in §2.3.

**Figure 34. Topics in the financial frame**
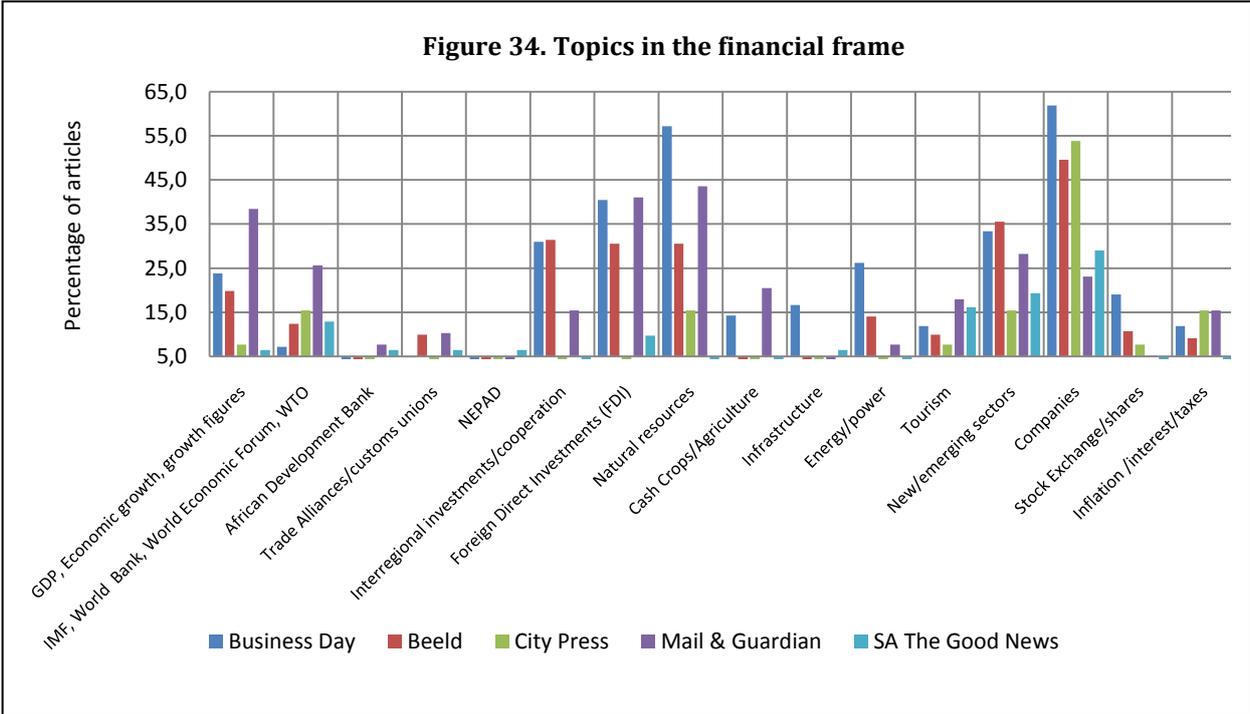
Investments by the market, more over by South African companies was another way to avoid politically loaded donor funding and make Africa more independent (appendix IV, financial frame, propositions 2 and 4). In most newspapers this was presented as the preferred economic track compared to investments by Asian and Arab countries. This communicated a neo-liberal approach in which the solution was the free market rather than state interference. To some extent this can be explained by the time frame of my research which was just before the economic crunch at a time when the neo-liberal model was not a major topic of discussion (§4.6). But apart from the fact that the financial crisis of the past four years has shed a different light on the absoluteness of the free market, the major parameter to assess it was political. The market was not described on its own merits but through the characteristics of donor funding. The market was what donor funding was not, free of political values. So in line with Hegel's theory a sense of sameness was created on the basis of what defined the other, especially in newspapers with a target group of business people. The financial dependency that came with commercialisation and privatisation was not questioned. This was more so remarkable as most journalists were very aware of the influence of commercialisation on their own independency. This became clear in the interviews I had with them.

To sum up, financial independency is mostly presented through alliances with new countries and the free market, and presented as an alternative for donor funding. Another major source of cash flow, migrant remittances was not mentioned once, however in some countries this already made up a large portion of the incoming cash

flow. This might have been caused by the lack of a civic perspective in the financial and political frame, which excluded the perspectives of ordinary people, who were the main players in the story on migrant remittances. But even in the social frame there were no stories on this subject. As I argued in §6.2 these financial aspects of socio-economic realities were almost absent in a social perspective. So due to the strong framing the stories and realities that lied in between the frames were ignored. That was a flaw in reporting development in Africa.

Political realities

Apart from the dependency on money, the dependency on structures and institutions, more over international institutions, was the other major part of the story. This related to a structuralist and functionalist approach to development (§4.6) that presumed that development could only be achieved if the process is 'well organized'. The role of major institutions such as the IMF and World Bank was sometimes criticised, but they were still presented as key players in a process of development.

Figure 35. Topics in the political frame
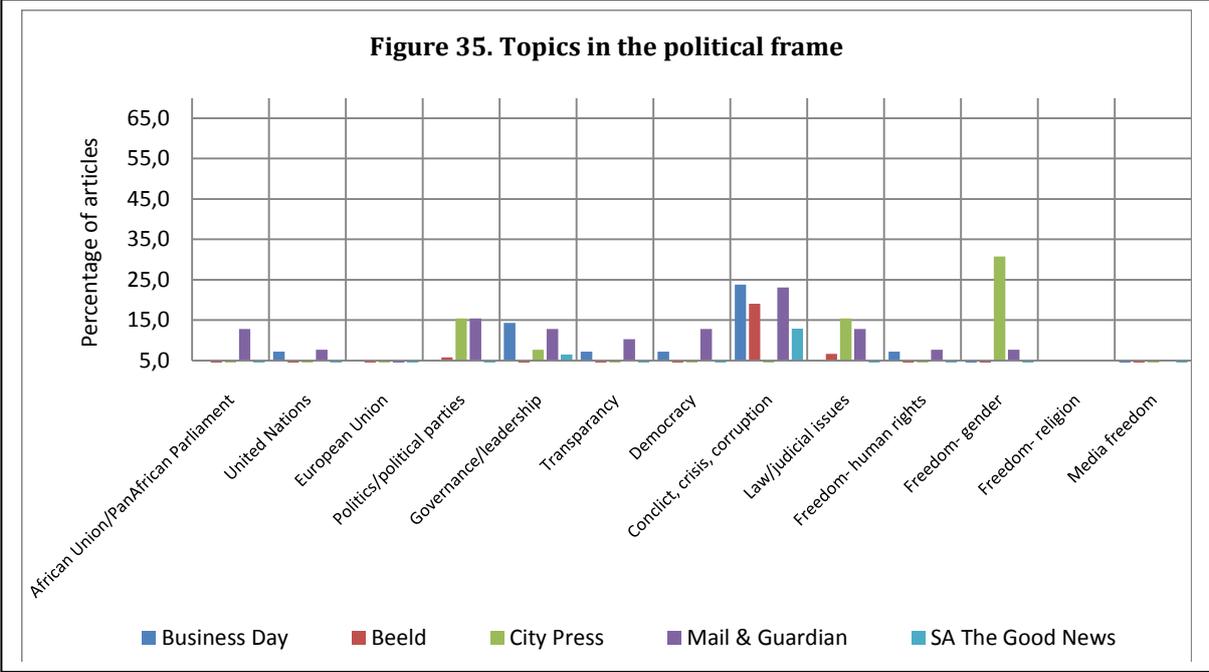
The abundance of coverage on regional cooperation communicated that it was a good thing for Africa to become less dependent on these international institutions and organise their own development, via their own institutions and bodies. This new reality was especially well covered in Beeld and Business Day. Articles on the hindrance of customs rules, the complications of regional cooperation, the importance of inflation control and solid budgets all communicated that these were hard preconditions for development and countries and companies were working hard to establish them. But institutional preconditions were not the only factors influencing regional and international cooperation and trade. There were a lot of articles on the importance of infrastructure, both physical and digital. And on the opportunities for South African

business to make a profit by investing. This part of the socio-economic reality of Africa was on it's way to beat the coverage on natural resources, cash crops and commodities (see financial frame). The only thing missing was how these changes would influence the present institutions and stakeholders. It was clear that digitalisation could reduce the distance between producer and consumer, provider and buyer. Some stakeholders, such as middle men and sales representatives, might disappear in the value chains of goods and services. Institutions and regulations were not only preconditions for development, development would also change the institutions and regulations. It could change the way people related to each other and to the world around them, it would change dependency and independency. This perspective, that existed in between the financial and political frame, was however absent in reporting on emerging sectors such as ICT. Again this was more so remarkable as most journalists were very aware of the influence of digitalisation on their own work processes, organisations and professional independence.

Political preconditions for development furthermore dealt with political and financial stability (solid budgets, good governance, democracy and transparency) and not with human safety and security. If human security was represented it was always through the perspectives of the rulers, top down. It showed how good governance could provide structures to ensure human security as a precondition for development. It didn't show how freedom and human rights could provide a sense of security that empowered citizens to participate in development, bottom up. This socio-economic reality, that lied in between the political and social frame was not covered. The proposition that human security is a precondition for development that involved both governments and citizens was only covered in City Press. And mainly through a gender discourse (figure 36).
To me this was something I had not expected. Human rights were an important topic in political articles. Media-freedom was hugely debated in South Africa (§2.4). It was viewed as precondition for democracy, in line with established ideas on the role of journalists in society, especially from a social responsibility approach.[190] But it seemed restricted to political articles and professional debate. It seemed as if topics were the unique domain of certain 'beats' in journalism. In this way realities that lied in between remained uncovered. Only one article, in one newspaper showed the role of media-freedom in change and development and represented the socio-economic reality of young bloggers.[191]

Social realities
Overall the social frame presented citizens' perspective of development as something that happened to them and not as something they could influence and even create. As I have argued before, the lack of financial and political topics in the social frame, by

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[190] Clifford G. Christians, Theodore L. Glasser, Denis Mcquail, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Robert A. White. *Normative Theories of the Media, Journalism in Democratic Societies*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009
[191] Sarah Benhiada, 'Morocco's blogosphere takes off', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 8 January 2008

absence communicated that financial and political preconditions were either no concern to citizens or aspects they couldn't influence. The City Press business editor confirmed that observation by stating that they did not report on development as much because 'local citizens have no access to big development projects' (§5.3). Which of course didn't mean that it had no affect on their everyday lives, or might benefit or hinder them in an indirect way. In actual fact there were numerous examples of opportunities for development in the slipstream of big projects. City Press showed this for the Africa Cup of Nations, other big projects were no different in the processes they triggered in society. As expected and explained before these affects were absent in the political and financial frames that lacked citizens' perspectives. But even in a magazine such as South Africa the Good News these stories of citizen agency, were hardly covered. It seemed that for SAGN the same limitations counted, they did not report on stories of development that occured outside the known playing field. No newspaper reported on the informal market and how it developed in a changing world, despite that it included the socio-economic reality of so many Africans.

Fiugre 36. Topics in the social frame
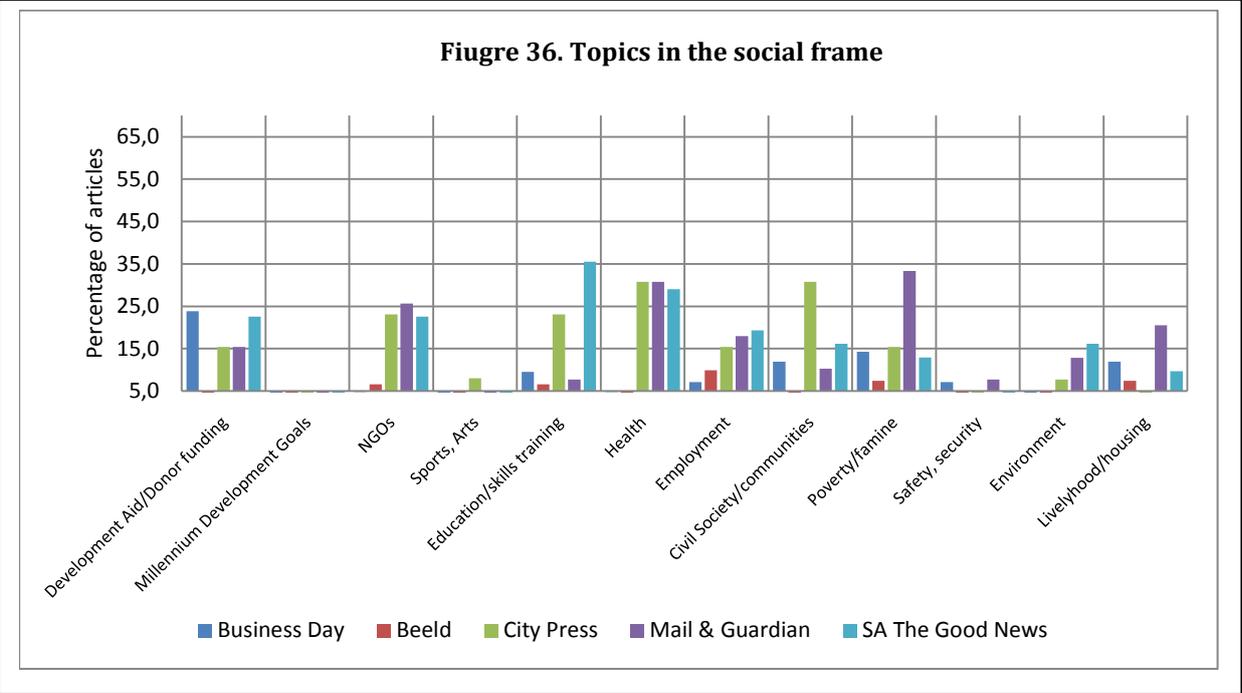
The underrepresentation of social perspectives in the financial and political frame also caused ignorance on the effects of economic growth on civil society. An increase in overall GDP didn't tell the story of income distribution. The growing gap between rich and poor undermined the sense of safety and security of civilians, it could lead to exclusion of certain groups, creating new forms of dependency. I found only two articles that addressed the growing income gap.[192] The propositions that were created in those two articles (see appendix IV, propositions in the Social Frame, 5 and 8) were in actual

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[192] Daniel Flynn, 'Politics and graft undermine African healthcare', in: *Mail&Guardian*, 4 January 2008
James Hall, 'Wêreldbank kap Swaziland oor sy KMO-beleid' (World Bank cuts Swaziland over its SME-policy), in: *Beeld*, 12 March 2008

fact negations. The articles countered fixed ideas that economic growth would lead to development for all, more specifically alleviate poverty and unemployment. These fixed ideas were constructed by a reoccurring combination of economic growth and investments in education, health and job creation. The view of money as a panacea for underdevelopment was questioned in articles in the social frame. But mostly the focus was on dysfunctional structures and incapable governments and not on the economic process of a growing income gap. This extended to countries; they were frequently referred to as either rich or poor, in resources or GDP, never were the consequences of this growing divide described. The qualification rich or poor was used to describe their status and possibilities for development, not to describe the interdependency between countries.

In the newspapers poverty was only covered as a single subject. In line with Hall (see 2.3) I agree that difference creates meaning. Lack of comparison with the opposite (wealth) disregarded meaning. A specific part of the meaning on poverty, the part that signified at the socio-economic realities of the poor, was lacking. Poverty and the poor were mentioned often in articles on development, but most of the time as a physical reality. As a state of being that included malnutrition, health issues, clothing, housing. Even in the Mail&Guardian articles the main focus was healthcare. Of course all these aspects of poverty were relevant, a sick person is not able to gain a proper income and so on and so forth. But the underlying process of a growing income gap was ignored, the focus was on the consequences of poverty not on the causes.

Rich and poor furthermore were financial qualifications, no country was called rich or poor in human capital. Education was an important topic, but more in an abstract and instrumental way, the educated themselves were not represented. In some countries, such as Ghana, improvement of education over the years had resulted in a well-educated young generation. This human capital was absent in reporting development. So were the socio-economic realities that these young people encountered as they couldn't find jobs in an economy that had not grown in opportunities accordingly. City Press was the only newspaper to represent youths as part of the story on development. But again it was not their socio-economic reality that was presented but ideological arguments that Africa needed young leaders and should treasure it's youths (appendix IV).

The inability of representing topics in the social frame from the perspective of business people was another flaw in reporting development. In the present day and age environmental demands and social responsibility are important aspects of the socio-economic realities of business people. Apart from legislation that bounded companies to rules and agreements that cost money, these social aspects of business offered opportunities for sustainable business. It is clear that there is no way back to an economy that destroys the environment and exploits its labour force. The only way is forward and companies that make these social aspects part of their business strategies are more likely to be profitable in the long run. Business professor Hermann Simon argued that the German success was caused by a long term business vision rather than

quick and easy profits.[193] German companies and research institutes, for instance, have invested in sustainable energy and are now leading in the world. They started thirty years ago when Robert Hayes and William Abernathy published their renown article 'Managing our way to economic decline'.[194] They argued that short term views and profits would eventually pull the economy down. It needs no argument that we are witnessing the manifestations of that theory today. It was therefore remarkable that economic reporters did not pay attention to the preconditions for sustainable business and editors did not prioritize these subject in their newsrooms. For South African business people who invested in Africa the environmental and social conditions, policies and legislation, both on the local level of their new enterprises as on a global level of international trade, were very much part of their socio-economic reality. But my data showed that they needed other sources than business newspapers to show them those realities.

6.4. Talking about development

Combining the results for the different newspapers shows that the propositions in reporting development (appendix IV) for the major part deal with one central set of ideas or shared meaning: the dependency and independency of Africa and Africans. Propositions in all frames described the way in which countries and people were dependent on financial parameters, political terms or social conditions. In that way the dependency-independency dichotomy worked as a generic frame on a meta level. In the financial frame this dependency involved natural resources, investments and donor funding. Some of these representations originated in the Independence era when on the one hand natural resources were viewed as Africa's major cash generator, more so with

the high prices on the international market, and on the other hand development aid and donor funding became increasingly important drivers in Africa's development (§2.2). The political frame was dominated by ideas and images involving good governance and stability that stemmed from the after Cold War era (§2.1). Dependency on institutes and governments, policies and structures was still a frequent topic in reporting on development.

Figure 37. Frames in reporting development in Africa

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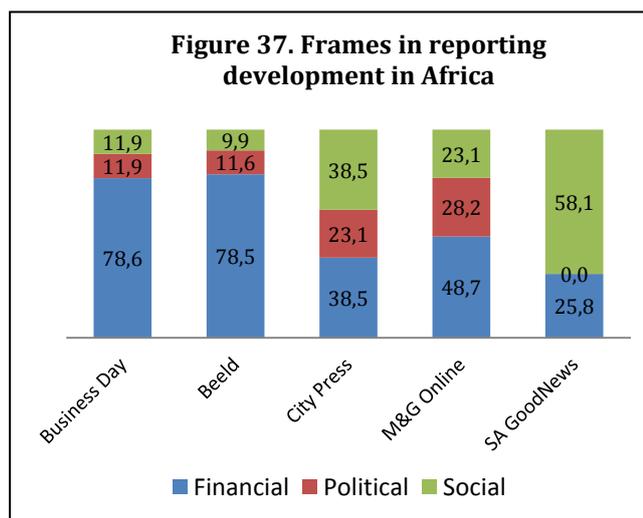
[193] Hermann Simon. *Hidden Champions of the 21st Century. Success Strategies of Unknown World Market Leaders.* Germany: Springer, 2009

[194] Robert H. Hayes and William J. Abernathy. 'Managing our way to economic decline', in: *Harvard Business Review,* 7/8, pp. 67-77

In a dominant financial and political framing (figure 34) development was represented as a money driven process of change that needed structures and institutes (§4.6). The main stakeholders were business people and governments, the representations in the political and financial frame showed their perspectives. Based on ideas from the past that lingered on Africa and Africans were portrayed as dependent on external factors to establish the much needed financial and political preconditions. On the other hand a lot of propositions advocated independency of Africa (appendix IV). Mostly presented as a desired outcome, related to an African renaissance and earlier movements of pan-Africanism (§2.1), rather than as a (new) reality. This enforced the image of dependency.

Even in the social frame, where the perspectives of civil society were dominant, the representation of ordinary people excluded from economic society, or as victims of financial or political systems strengthened the dichotomy of dependence and independence (§5.4). Most editors and journalists shared views to also look at development as a process of human change, driven by the agency and creativity of people, but only few articles managed to show that without falling into the dependency-independency pit.

As a starting point of my research I contextualised my central question in what I believed was still the dominant image of Africa, that of a hopeless continent. I discovered that in reporting on development in Africa this image was only recycled in the political frame, mostly by negation, showing how stable countries with spectacular economic growth figures were conflict stricken areas before. But this characterisation of hopelessness was only an image to show the dependency on political and financial structures. Within representation theory this meant that the image of a hopeless continent was a sign that signified at deeper shared beliefs on the dependency of Africa (§2.3). The same worked the other way round where images of Europe or China as colonisers pointed at a shared meaning that if only Africa could free itself from this dependent relationship, all would work out.

The image of Africa as a hopeless continent is now slowly replaced by one of a rising continent, as the recent publication in The Economist showed (§2.2). What hasn't changed is the underlying shared meaning that this rising takes place within the dichotomy of dependence and independence. It almost seems as if society and media can only create meaning in the 'difference between the one and the other' (§2.3). Journalism practice adds to this in its facilitative role to society (Christians 2009). As renown American journalist Walter Lipmann stated almost a hundred years ago, society was becoming way too complex for ordinary civilians to comprehend. It was the role of journalists to translate complex matters to society.[195] To do this the journalist will inevitably polarise issues, simplify complex relations. The journalistic value of objectivity adds to this when the journalist shows all sides and often presents them as opposites for the sake of clarity. This analysis is not to argue that journalists should not

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[195] Walter Lipmann. *Public Opinion*. New York: Free Press, 1922

contextualise issues, nor to advocate a journalism that produces only multi-focused and all-encompassing news stories. I only intended to show that the practice of polarising and contextualising, which is inevitable and also valuable within news reporting had a side effect in constructing and reproducing shared meaning on dependency of Africa.

The question then arises how economic development in Africa can be represented beyond the dichotomy of dependence and independence, if there is such a reality and if current practice allows journalists to represent it. I believe there is and it lies in the framing of economic development through the paradigm of interdependency. In a way that is what business editor Quosa referred to when he spoke of an 'all inclusive economy'. Interdependency theory stems from political sciences and was first formulated in the seventies of the last century by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye.[196] Their theory originated in the presumption that the decline of military force in the power relations and increase of other forms of power (financial, social), would create space for more cooperation between nations. Since their first publication their presumption has become more true with a change in military power after the Cold War and an increase in other forms of power in a globalised world.[197] It is interesting to see that several sources, especially from a Chinese perspective,[198] go at lengths to present the China-Africa relationship in a frame of interdependency rather than dependency. Of course it is the journalist's task to question this, after all there is a clear interest for China not to be portrayed as a 'new coloniser'. But there are quite a number of recent academic publications that view the relationship between Africa and China within the same frame of interdependency.[199] And however interdependency is also portrayed as an opposite to dependency and not always as a paradigm in its own right, it offers a different view on development in Africa. It is part of the socio-economic reality of Africa that extents down to the local level.

My data however showed that this is not yet the current way of reporting on development in Africa. In all the generic frames a strong dependency paradigm was present. This was enforced by the lack of interaction between the different frames. Interdependency described an all inclusive social and economic society, but the representations and perspectives were still very much in their own corners: financial, political and social.

As most reporting happened through fixed frames, the reporting of development and change in Africa in most newspapers was limited, the representation of the socio-economic reality was incomplete. The frames in my data set all consisted of a specific set of topics, stakeholders, voices and sources. In the political frame other institutions were

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[196] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. *Power and Interdependence* (4rd ed.). Longman, 2011
[197] Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye. 'Power and Interdependence in the Information Age', in: *Foreign Affairs*, 77(5), 81-94
Keohane, Robert O. *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World.* London: Routledge, 2002
[198] Deng Yushan and Liu Chang (2011). 'China-Africa Co-op Flourishes with Rising Interdependence',
on: *China Radio International*, 27 May 2011
[199] Dent, Christopher M. *China and Africa Development Relations*. New York: Routledge, 2011

present than in the financial or social. In the social frame other voices were heard than in the financial or political. And thus a picture was painted of different realities, almost as if they existed without each other (§6.2). To give an example. An article promoting micro financing, voicing women, showing how they independently steered their own development, ignored their dependency on structures and regulations. But as I have argued before in the analyses of City Press, institutes are part of women's socio-economic reality too. And not just the institutes in stereotypical representations in the social frame, such as ngo's, but also the World Bank -fixed in the financial frame- or governments -fixed in the political frame. The frames enforced meaning on otherness and signified inclusion and exclusion, while in reality all representations were part of the same story. In practice newspapers showed only part of the socio-economic reality, none covered it all.

To be honest, I didn't expect them to. It doesn't work that way, for obvious reasons of target audience, finances, professional practices (to name a few). But I expected that they would have covered more than they did. Different perspectives and realities were restricted to their own frames and all that lied in between seemed to fall though the cracks.

I also expected that they would have taken a different perspective to development on the continent, especially when reporting on changed socio-economic realities, but overall they didn't. Development in Africa was still predominantly framed in terms of dependency.

Epilogue

Painting Pictures of Progress

In my parents house, over the couch, hangs a picture of an African shebeen. It is a colourful and lively scene that can capture children (and adults) for hours, and time and time again. There is always something new to discover. In one corner a couple is making out, next to a man beating his wife. Musicians play on self-made instruments, young girls sing along. A black and a white guy contently share a water pipe on a sofa against the wall. The bartender can hardly keep up making cocktails for a bunch of young guys laughing at the bar, while in the next corner some of their friends have picked a fight. A dog is snoozing under a table, a mother is breastfeeding her child. The artist clearly made an effort to show it all in just one glance. African society as a scene in a shebeen. As a spectator I was dazzled, at first, and then intrigued. After I had stopped jumping from one scene to the next I wondered what story was told and what was untold.

The same fascination was underlying my search for pictures of progress in South African print media. What did I see and what did I not?
I saw a huge picture, dazzling in its complexity, a huge frame around it with the phrase 'Dependence or Independence, that's the question'. Within it were smaller frames, in three different colours: red, blue and green. In a blue frame I saw South African business men in nice suits and boots checking out new mines in dark Africa. I saw construction vehicles and work men cutting their way through hostile jungles, making new roads, opening up new horizons. Loads of trucks lined up in the shimmering sun at closed boarder posts. Bill boards of cell phone companies and names of South African banks on new offices in Kenya. Politicians bowing to Asian business men, showed up in red frame. And in a corner I saw some women setting up small businesses in their neighbourhood. I saw a soccer team training in a dark stadium, hit by power failure. And I also heard some ambitious youths debating the future of their continent.

A mining CEO stressed the importance of social responsibility, he seemed to lean out of his blue frame to reach out for a green frame along side, where I saw girls studying hard to become doctors and parents creating opportunities to make it happen. Those were sometimes only small images in between the bigger pictures of companies, board rooms and government buildings. Voices in the distance, to be heard by those who were not overwhelmed by the loud rhetoric of economic performance.

But everyone was very much in their own corner of the picture, captured in their own coloured frames. The politicians and business men seemed to have a common agenda and in the middle of the painting some handshaking was going on between African business men and the Chinese minister of trade. An Arab sheik signed a deal with a west African government. In the far right corner a bunch of white colonials were looking a bit agitated through their glasses of transparency, holding out their money in bags tagged 'democracy'. The African's had turned away and looked at the gold on the eastern horizon. Meanwhile via the backdoor in the top, behind the Chinese wall, white UN vehicles drove in loaded with boxes full of donations.

In the left corner it was very busy, lots of citizens doing all kinds of things, it looked a bit disorganized and it didn't seem to involve a lot of money. The politician in the middle was not looking at the women in the township, the doors to the stock exchange were closed on the left side and the guy from the energy company completely ignored the switch to the soccer stadium. A young guy doing business on his cell phone with a small trader in town, didn't notice the bank director looking over his shoulder. In the background there was a huge university, a nice and clean building, crowded with eager kids, studying hard.

It was as if different artists had worked on this picture together but where trapped in their own imaginations, painted pictures in their designated corners, in their own coloured frames not even aware that more was going on in between. They all used their own tools. One used water colour, the other made a lino cut in black and white, another one used different layers of oil paint on top of each other. But none looked at the other and asked, can I use some of your colours to add perspective to my lino, can I use some of your water to show fluidity in my layered structures.

I turned to the back of the painting. Someone had stuck photographs to the canvas. In the left corner, behind the building of the European Union I saw a migrant worker taking his pay check to a bank. A big black arrow marked a route via the cables of internet networks, along the new roads through middle Africa to the women opening their news cell phone shops on the edge of town. Somebody had written the words migrant cash next to the arrow. In a huge photograph stuck in the centre of the painting notice boards displayed high food prices; in the background a market place next to golden heaps of natural resources. A picture of leaking barrels was overlapping it on the edge. Someone had put a toxic-waste sticker over it. Another arrow pointed at a mine official desperately looking for new labourers in the polluted township.

Next to it in a brand new factory foreign business men were buying bio-fuel from local farmers. A certificate with a green-leaf logo was pinned next to it. In the right corner the image of young academics was visible through the canvas. They were happily waving their diploma's. Someone had drawn an entrance gate next to it on the backside, with a sign reading 'Society: no jobs beyond this point.' A bit to the left was another gate saying 'The World: digital access only.' Next to it were pictures of young people working on their laptops.

More than separate stories the back of the painting seemed a different reality, not just in representation but also in construction.

'The real issue is whether indeed there can be a true representation of anything,
or whether any and all representations,
because they are representations,
are embedded first in the language,
and then in the culture, institutions, and political ambiance of the representator.
If the latter alternative is the correct one,
then we must be prepared to accept the fact that
a representation is eo ipso implicated, embedded, interwoven with
a great many other things besides the 'truth',
which is itself a representation.'

Edward Said[200]

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[200] Edward Said. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon, 1978 pp. 272-273

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Genres used in articles on African countries

Articles	News	Features	Opinion	Total
Business Day	147	40	24	*211*
Beeld	311	34	18	*363*
City Press	70	8	5	*83*
M&G Online	219	32	2	*253*
SA GoodNews	1	0	0	*1*
Percentage	News	Features	Opinion	Total
Business Day	69,7	19,0	11,4	*100,0*
Beeld	85,7	9,4	5,0	*100,0*
City Press	84,3	9,6	6,0	*100,0*
M&G Online	86,6	12,6	0,8	*100,0*
SA GoodNews	100,0	0,0	0,0	*100,0*

Topics in articles on African countries

Articles	Politics	Finances, Economy	Art, Music Leisure	Environment Tourism	Sports	Health, Education	Total
Business Day	107	64	0	7	13	20	*211*
Beeld	158	88	8	35	23	51	*363*
City Press	40	9	2	5	14	13	*83*
M&G Online	137	28	2	30	14	42	*253*
Percentage	Politics	Finances, Economy	Art, Music Leisure	Environment Tourism	Sports	Health, Education	Total
Business Day	50,7	30,3	0,0	3,3	6,2	9,5	*100,0*
Beeld	43,5	24,2	2,2	9,6	6,3	14,0	*100,0*
City Press	48,2	10,8	2,4	6,0	16,9	15,7	*100,0*
M&G Online	54,2	11,1	0,8	11,9	5,5	16,6	*100,0*

Major Africa News Topics (01/01/2008 to 04/01/2008)

Incidents/events

3-5 Jan	Cancellation of Dakar race (west Africa)
January	Flooding in Southern Africa (Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Namibia)
8-17 Jan	Congolese peace talks and new hostilities in eastern Congo
12-16 Jan and 14-20 March	Remembering Cuito (Namibia-Angola)
20 Jan – 10 Feb	Africa Cup of Nations (soccer)
31 Jan-2 Feb	African Union Summit, Addis Abeba
1-11 Feb	Chad crisis
14 Feb – March	Celebs boycott Beijing Olympic Games over Sudan/Darfur
15-21 Feb	US pres. Bush visits Africa
23 Feb-March	AU 'invades' Comoros, Crisis on Comoros, preparing for elections
March	Clashes in DRC

Ongoing Issues

Jan-Feb	Energy/oil crisis
Feb- March	Food crisis
Jan-March	Post election violence in Kenya (east Africa)
Jan-March	Xenophobia/immigration issue in SA
Jan – March	Preparing for Zim elections/Zim crisis, elections and waiting for results
7 Feb – 9 March	SA-EU Trade negotiations, troubles over Economic Partnership Agreements (EPA) in SACU/SADC

Keywords and topics on economic development, related to different frames

1. Financial Frame
   - GDP, economic growth, growth figures, production figures
   - Global economic and financial institutes
     (IMF, World Bank, World Economic Forum, World Trade Organization)
   - Regional financial institutes (s.a. African Development Bank, (AfDB))
   - Regional economic and financial institutes/trade alliances
     (SADC, SACU, ECOWAS, EAC, AMU/UMA and customs unions)
   - Nepad
   - Foreign Direct Investments
   - Interregional investments
   - Natural resources, commodities
   - Cash crops, agriculture
   - Infrastructure
   - Energy
   - Tourism
   - New/emerging sectors such as telecommunications, banking, insurance, IT
   - Companies
   - Stock exchange, shares
   - Inflation rates, interest rates, taxes

2. Political Frame
   - African Union, Pan African Parliament (AU, PAP)
   - United Nations (UN)
   - European Union (EU)
   - Political parties
   - Democracy
   - Transparency
   - (good) Governance, Leadership
   - Conflict, Corruption, Crisis
   - Law, Judicial issues
   - Human Rights
   - Gender issues
   - Media freedom

3. Social Frame
   - Development aid, donor funding
   - Millennium Development Goals (MDG)
   - Human Development Indicators/Index (HDI)
   - Ngo's
   - Sports, Arts, Leisure
   - Education, skills training
   - Health
   - Employment, Labour

- Poverty, famine
- Civil Society, communities
- Safety, security
- Livelihood, housing
- Environment

Propositions in a Financial Frame (frequent)	Business Day	Beeld	City Press	Mail & Guardian	SAGN
1. Development equals **growth figures**, such as GDP	x	x			
A solid financial sector is a basis for development	x	x			
Inflation control is crucial for development and secures investments	x	x	x		
Diversification will stabilize economies and make them more sustainable		x		x	
Customs and protection policies hinder regional development				x	
Bureaucracy, esp in trading and customs , hinders development	x	x			
2. **Economic freedom** is important to Africa's development		x	x		
Changes in international structures (such as the IMF and WB) are a precondition for Africa's role in the world.			x		x
3. **Interregional** investments and cooperation is crucial for Africa's development		x			x
Regional economic cooperation is essential to attract foreign investment	x	x	x		x
4. African economies are dependent on FDI's and donor funding	x				
Foreign business **investments** mean independency	x				
Investments from Asia (esp China) and Arab countries are important new drivers		x			x
Investments from Asia and Arab countries make Africa less dependent on the former colonies and world institutions (WB and IMF), this means independence		x		x	
SA companies are the economic motor of southern Africa		x	x	x	x
Black ownership and investment is good for Africa's development			x		x
5. Economic growth is primarily steered by **natural resources**, esp mining	x			x	
Natural Resources can steer development in other sectors.				x	
China is only after resources for their own profit	x	x			x
Higher prices for commodities and cash crops steer economic growth and development.		x		x	x
High commodity prices create investment opportunities	x	x			
High commodity prices have brought new investors to Africa (China, Arab, India)	x			x	
6. **Infrastructure, Energy and Communications** are the three major conditions for development in Africa	x	x			
Cell phones are crucial to Africa's development	x	x	x	x	

Propositions in a Financial Frame (incidental)	Business Day	Beeld	City Press	Mail& Guardian	SAGN
1. Production on a **local level** is essential for (local) development, job creation and education.	x			x	
Local manufacturing of goods is important for job creation		x			
Franchise opens opportunities for small businesses and development		x			
Lack of diversification of the economy hinders local markets and rural development				x	
Cooperation with and investment in local companies is necessary to improve living conditions and strengthen local markets.				x	
Mining policies should be aimed at benefitting the African people				x	
2. **Corporate Social Responsibility** (CSR) can benefit local producers				x	
CSR can be profitable	x	x			
Micro financing is important for local and rural development	x	x			
3. It is important for Africa to invest in **renewable energy** as their growing economies highly dependent on availability and accessibility of energy				x	
Economic growth puts pressure on energy supplies	x				
Energy shortage is one of the major reasons to hold back investors	x	x			
Climate disaster (floods, drought) can seriously effect economic growth				x	
Populations growth and urbanisation will further put pressure on environment and services (energy, infrastructure)		x			
4. Tourism is an important sector in Africa		x			x

Propositions in a Political Frame (frequent)	Business Day	Beeld	City Press	Mail & Guardian	SAGN
1. Development is a matter of good **governance**	x	x		x	
Democracy is the basis for development in Africa	x	x			
Lack of **democracy** affects the ordinary man most of all				x	
Political instability hinders development	x	x			
Peaceful changes in governments are at the basis of African development	x			x	
2. **Interregional cooperation** can aid to social and political development	x				
Interregional cooperation and institutions are important for donor funding				x	
3. **Donor funding**, on government level, is one of the major drivers of economic					x

	Business Day	Beeld	City Press	Mail & Guardian	SAGN
development					
Western aid is tied to democracy, transparency, human rights and good governance	x	x		x	
Aid by western governments comes with demands for transparency and accountability				x	
Morality and Money need not be linked in business		x			
Donor funding means dependency	x				
4. The **EU** wants to protect its own markets in trade agreements with Africa		x			
African countries should stand their ground when negotiating with European/western government and investors.		x			
The **African Union** is clawless, this hampers African development		x			
China has no ethics or moral agenda when doing business in Africa		x			

Propositions in a Political Frame (incidental)

	Business Day	Beeld	City Press	Mail & Guardian	SAGN
1. Africa needs **young leaders** to steer development and initiate change			x		
2. Women leaders play a pivotal role in crucial sectors of society such as health, education and finance			x		
3. The **west** still view Africa as the lost continent					x
Western countries also support corrupt governments		x			
Progressive/democratic African leaders are favored by the West				x	
4. Chinese development aid is also politically labeled (Taiwan).		x			
China has become Africa's new colonizer				x	
China's influence in Africa is exaggerated					x

Propositions in a Social Frame (frequent)

	Business Day	Beeld	City Press	Mail & Guardian	SAGN
1. Solutions to development should be home grown and home owned	x				
Focus should be on role of small business in African development					x
Focus of foreign donors should be on ngo's and **civil society**	x				
2. Commitment by governments and leaders is crucial for social change			x		
Good **governance** is essential to ensure security for social development				x	
3. Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is more effective than development aid	x				
4. Women still experience major disadvantages in their development			x		
The exclusion of certain groups (**GLT, women**) is bad for development		x		x	x

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
5. Development aid should focus on education, health and poverty alleviation					x
Economic growth does not immediately alleviate **poverty**		x		x	
6. **Education**/knowledge is the key to development		x	x	x	x
7. **Health** issues (malaria, HIV) hamper growth and development		x			
HIV and poverty have not prevented Africa from economic growth				x	
8. Economic growth doesn't automatically alleviate **unemployment**		x			
9. ICT, is vitally important in the development of African citizens	x			x	x
Mobile technology is essential to involve marginalized groups in development			x	x	

Propositions in a Social Frame (incidental)

	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5
1. Fair trade offers development opportunities for Africa				x	
Investment into business should be accompanied by skills development/training		x			
2. Higher environmental demands create opportunities for new businesses		x			
Litter is a major threat to health and development		x			
The energy crunch effects local people and small business the hardest		x			
Mining can act as catalyst for social development and poverty alleviation				x	
3. Sports can encourage development and offers opportunities for social change			x		x
4. Art can contribute to social awareness				x	
5. Religion restricts development opportunities for girls				x	
6. There are many innovative Africans that can/ contribute to development		x			x
7. African needs to treasure its talented youth			x		
Youth is hit the hardest by unemployment		x	x		
8. Genetic innovation can contribute to food security and combat climate change		x			
Innovation of local agricultural species can alleviate poverty				x	
Local production of food is better than food aid				x	x
9. Western volunteers contribute to Africa's development					x

A. Frames in current reporting

A. Business Day

Date	Title	Reporter	Frame
4-12-2009	Border post fast-track plea to Africans	Hopewell Radebe	Political-Financial
4-12-2009	The Bottom Line Column	Colin Anthony	Political
29-12-2009	Transport in Africa still stuck in port	Hopewell Radebe	Social-Financial
12-01-2010	Reaping the benefits of biofuel production	Hopewell Radebe	Social

B. Beeld

Date	Title	Reporter	Frame
11-1-2010	Resessie se gevolge ry Afrika nog	Rene Vollgraaff	Financial
11-1-2010	'Wetenskap en tegnologie die antwoord op dreigende water- en voedseltekorte'	Hennie Duvenhage	Financial
18-1-2010	'Ekologie is ekonomie'	Elise Tempelhoff	Social
20-1-2010	China se Afrika-belang 'suiwer sake'	Lauren Thys	Political
28-1-2010	Demokrasie voor sy grootste toets – Resessie lê swak plekke in Afrika-instellings bloot	André le Roux	Political

C. City Press

Date	Title	Reporter	Frame
22-11-2009	Guinea's quarry quandary	Julien Brygo	Financial-Social
6-12-2009	African currency on the rise		Financial
10-1-2010	Africa's 2010 political risks	Ed Cropley	Political
17-1-2010	Ball is in Africa's court to grab trade opportunities	Jacko Maree	Financial
24-1-2010	'Zambian workers become slaves to Chinese miners'		Political-Social

D. Mail&Guardian

Date	Title	Reporter	Frame
27-11-2009	SA investors seal Zim deal	Jason Moyo	Political-Social
27-11-2009	Not so pathetic Laos	Greg Mills	Financial
23-12-2009	A strategy for the future (CSI)	MG reporter	Social-Financial
22-1-2010	Hard times as Madagascar hangs in political limbo	Henrik Lomholt Rasmussen	Political-Financial
29-1-2010	Time to meet healthcare goals	Vicky Okine	Social

E. SA The Good News

Date	Title	Reporter/Source	Frame
27-11-2009	AfDB clears €1.86bn loan for Eskom	SAPA	Financial
8-12-2009	Afridoctor wins Nokia application contest	Nokiaconnect.co.za	Financial-social
25-1-2010	Prestigious award for UCT project	MediaClub South Africa	Financial
4-12-2009	What I've learnt (interview with departing editor in chief Ian McDonald)		

B.   List of Interviews

		Date	Notes
Newspapers – semi -structured interviews			
Business Day	Peter Bruce (editor in chief)	11-2-2010, 12.00h	Invited to observe the editorial meeting 11-2-2010, 10-11h
	Hopewell Radebe (Africa and foreign desk)	11-2-2010, 14.00h	
Beeld	Tim du Plessis (editor in chief)	interview cancelled	
	Ryk van Niekerk (business editor)	17-2-2010, 12.30h	
City Press	Ferrial Haffajee (editor in chief)	Interview cancelled	
	Siya Qosa (business editor)	23-2-2010, 13.30h	
Mail&Guardian	Nic Dawes (editor print)	23-2-2010, 15.00h	
	Chris Roper (editor online)	17-2-1010, 15.30h	
Other – Unstructured interviews			
MediaMonitoring Africa	William Bird (director) Sandra Roberts (research manager)	1-12-2009 to 31-1-2010	Several discussions on the outcomes of my analyses, the role of the media and reporting Africa and development
SA The Good News	Julie Cunningham (editor in chief)	14-2-2010, 15.30h	
SAPA	Mark van der Velde (editor in chief)	15-2-2010, 13.30h	
Freelance	Dianna Games (Africa@Work)	19-2-2010, 14.00	

Interview questions

General Info

How would you describe your newspaper (vision)?

Who make up the major part of your audience?

How many journalists are working at newspaper?

How is the newsroom organized, different sectors, do they work together?

Do you have foreign correspondents in Africa?

Which are the dominant sources you use?

How is your newspaper influenced by the ownership (pro/contra)?

Other relevant info on the newspaper

Questions about Africa reporting

1. How do you (newspaper, journalist) see your role in the representation of Africa/Africans?
   - Is there a policy
   - Is there a general guideline, code of practice
   - Is there a difference between sections in the newspaper

2. How do you see the role of the media in Africa?
   - Relationship between press and state
   - Relationship between press and society

3. How do you deal with your role/vision in journalism practice?
   - What limitations do you experience
   - What do you take into consideration when writing about Africa
   - Which issues are more important
   - Do you use a specific style or writing/style guide

Questions about reporting development in Africa

1. Has the economic crisis influenced the reporting on Africa?

2. Are you aware of certain keywords, propositions and frames within reporting on development in Africa
   - What determines these propositions (newspaper, limitations, yourself, society)
   - Have the conditions changed, over the years and why
   - Are these issues a part of newsroom debates

3. My research findings show…. ,please reflect on that.
   (presenting research results, propositions found, frames used, keywords a.s.o)

Newspaper profile Business Day

BusinessDay
N E W S   W O R T H   K N O W I N G

Business Day was launched in 1986. The newspaper covers corporate news, black economic empowerment, economic policy, corporate governance and financial markets.

Business Day is part of the BDFM Publishers Ltd, a publishing company owned by Avusa Ltd. and the London based Pearson Plc. Avusa also publishes Financial Mail and Bignews.

- Type: daily newspaper
- Language: English
- Circulation: 40.000
- Readers: 118. 000
- Editor: Peter Bruce
- Deputy editor: Pearl Sebolao
- Foreign and Africa Desk   Hopewell Radebe

Business Days' major funding comes from advertisement revenues. It is a small niche newspaper with no extra marketing strategies except for advertisement.
The newspaper has been hit hard by the financial crunch, according to the editor.

Business Day is South Africa's major economic and financial newspaper and a 'must read' for everybody working in business or finance in the country and even some other African countries. The audience of Business Day consists mainly of business people related to big companies in South Africa, but also a growing number of small entrepreneurs and opinion makers in economy and business reads the newspaper. Outside the business world the audience is made up of diplomats and students and academics in economical sciences. The number of women is growing and there is an ambition in the editorial staff to include more women spokespeople, but it is not a standing policy. It's up to every journalist individually.

"Business Day reports on economic development, but not only through economic sectors."
Peter Bruce, 11-02-2009

Sources: *Audit Bureau of Circulations South Africa (ABC) circulation figures for October to December 2008 and South African Advertising Research Foundation's All Media Products Survey (Amps), Newspaper Readership and Trends 2008 to 2009.*
www.businessday.co.za; www.southafrica.info and MediaClubSouthAfrica.com.
Interviews with Peter Bruce and Hopewell Radebe

The Newsroom

Business Day is located in the Avusa building in Rosebank, Johannesburg. The total staff in 2010 was 70, but was over 120 some 10 years ago. The newspaper used to have two regional desks, but the Durban desk was dismantled a couple of years ago. Including the Cape Town desk the total number of newsroom journalists was short of 30 in 2010. Peter Bruce was very sorry to lose the Durban desk, he believes the newspaper needs to have reporters in every one of the main ports of South Africa. The Cape Town desk is only maintained as it also covers the news from parliament.

Johnnic Publishers was renamed Avusa in 2007

The newsroom consists of two sectors. The main newsroom covers broad economic topics, political topics and basic news. The Companies section is reporting on companies, mainly South African, including lots of figures and stock exchange info.

The newsroom has an open structure, journalists sit and work together. The editor in chief has his own office, but his PA has a desk outside his office, bordering the main newsroom. Editorial meetings take place at a round table in the open newsroom.

The main newsroom at Business Day

Business Day shares the floor with Financial Mail, a magazine published by the same company, but they only share facilities.
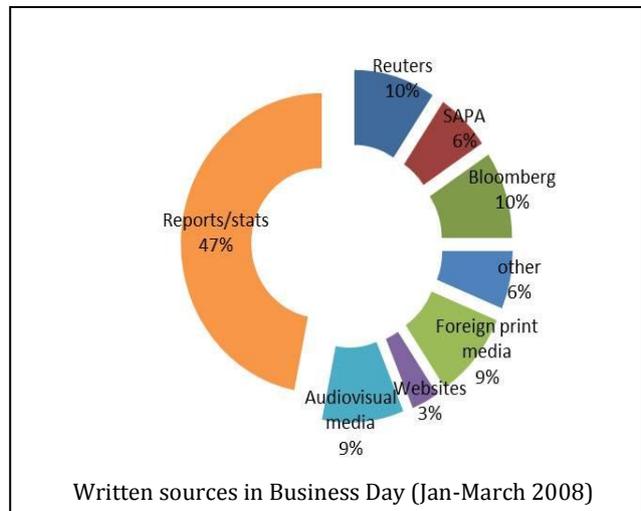
Business journalists from different sectors work together if necessary. If a companies -journalist comes across a story that has a broader range than just the dry figures he can write a more in-depth story for the main body of the newspaper. He will still write the story and not hand it over to other journalists, nor do they actually co-write.

Business Day has no foreign correspondents in Africa. They use freelancers or stringers for in depth stories. Freelancers often come up with own storylines and the Business Day encourages this by giving them space to publish, this also adds to the diversity in the newspaper. "But we can't send them on a specific mission unless we have the budget to pay them for an assignment," foreign desk editor Hopewell Radebe explains.

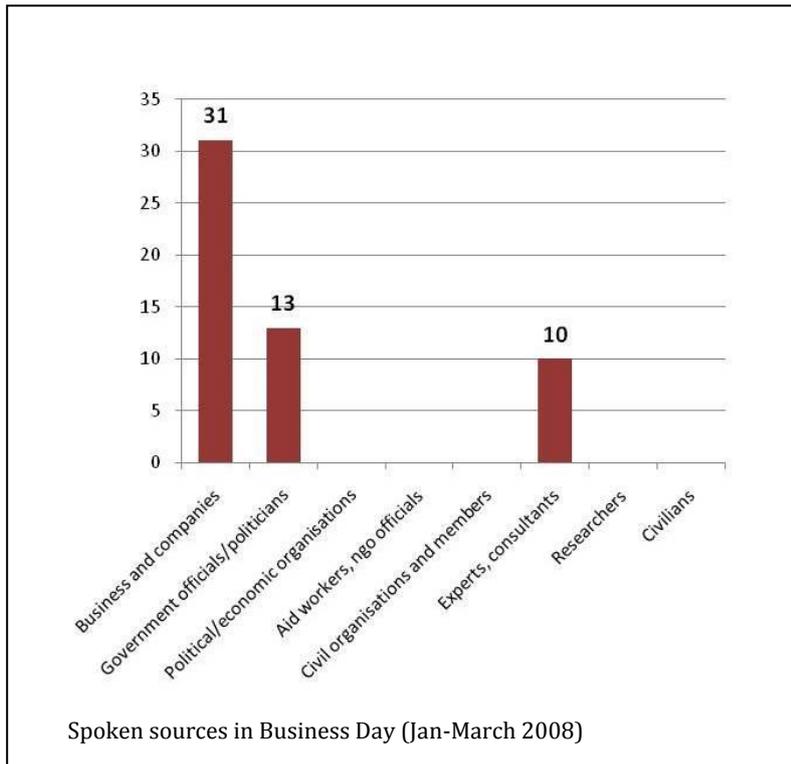The main sources that Business Day reporters use are press agencies Bloomberg, Reuters and the local SAPA. According to the editor they have no budget for additional sources, which also seems to include AFP one of the largest press agencies worldwide. Thus lacking access to a press agenciy that has a stronger network in the west of Africa and the former French colonies.

Written sources in Business Day (Jan-March 2008)

Spoken sources in Business Day (Jan-March 2008)

Business Day frequently uses easy accessible and free sources such as websites and reports, regardless that they are not always very specific on the origins of the data they use. Therefore the category with reports and stats is so big, and also a bit difficult to compare with other newspapers. Business Day used only financial media as a media source, both renown international publications as the South African Financial Mail.

The main spoken sources were representatives from the business community, as the diagram shows. As with the written sources, it was difficult to identify the voices, as it was sometimes clear that a journalist talked to researchers or liaison officers, but didn't mention them in the articles.

The newspaper

Business Day is a broadsheet newspaper with in total 28 pages. It has two parts. The main body of the newspaper (12 pages) covers the headlines and the main business news. It has sections such as Africa and the World, Management and Opinion. The newspaper always spends a full page on a special topic and the approximately two pages on advertisement of which one is full page. The second part of the newspaper deals with company specific information. The sports section is on the last pages of the newspaper, also covering the back page. Three full pages are spend on advertisement. Over summer holidays, when business news is low, the newspaper is reduced to one section of 12 pages, containing the major beats from both parts.

The Business Day website mainly contains the same content as the newspaper but headlines are frequently updated. The same topics are present but there is also a separate tab for Mining and another tab for Technology. The website encourages engagement with its audience by provided more human interest stories via the tab Business Life and by putting the Opinion & Analyses tab in second place after the headlines.
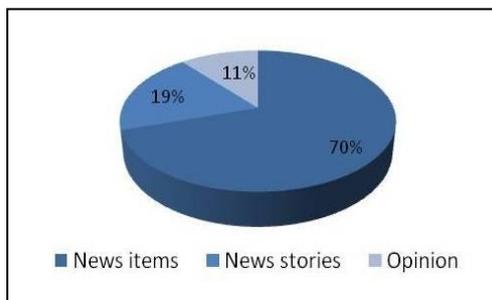
The majority of articles on African countries are news items or news stories. Business Day is a daily newspapers and there are a lot of small economic issues to cover. The success of the Business Day online has so far not resulted in a shift of short news from the print to the net, possibly offering space for more lengthy stories in the newspaper. Peter Bruce said he would like to do more in depth stories but simply lacks the space and the manpower due to financial constraints.

Newspaper profile Beeld

Beeld
Jou wêreld, Jou koerant

Beeld is an Afrikaans-language daily, first published in 1974 by the Afrikaans publishing company Naspers. Since 2000 the newspaper is part of the company's independent print media company Media24. With a turnover in excess of R5,5 billion a year Media24 is a leading publishing group in Africa.

- Type: daily newspaper,
                                         (5 weekdays + Weekend Beeld)
- Language: Afrikaans
- Circulation: 101 972 (+ 87 900)
- Readers: 575 000 (+ 347 000
- Editor: Tim du Plessis
- Business Editor: Ryk van Niekerk

Beeld aims at a broad Afrikaans speaking audience of middleclass families. As all newspapers that were formerly connected to the ruling Apartheid government they had to reinvent themselves after 1994. In the late days of Apartheid the image of Beeld as a government lap dog was already cracking. Beeld editor Ton Vosloo frequently clashed with the ruling government in the early eighties. As the media market became more competitive Beeld had to hold on to their readers while adapting to the new reality of a changed society in the nineties. And however Beeld is trying to include non-white readers, it still has a predominantly white readership. Their southern sister Die Burger is doing better due to a large group of Afrikaans speaking colourds in the Cape. The first black editor at Die Burger Henry Jeffreys said in an interview in 2007: "It is because of its heritage that the Afrikaans media's soft under belly continues to be vulnerable to criticism and attacks whenever it reports critically about the government."
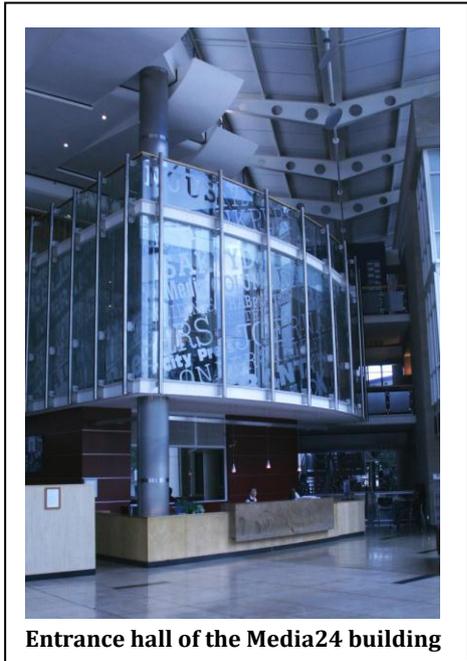
The ambition at Beeld is to employ more young black journalists and focus on investigative journalism. According to Robert Brand, lecturer of economics journalism at Rhodes University Media24 has invested in editorial quality. So however they might be targeting a stagnant Afrikaans speaking market, they are doing much better than English newspapers in voicing the concerns of the communities. Media24 has furthermore invested in innovation and extended their English news coverage with new titles and the daily website News24, that has an Afrikaans counterpart Nuus24. Beeld also runs its own newspaper website in Afrikaans. The strength of Afrikaans newspapers is their quality and own content, MediaTenor South Africa claims on their website. This now also applies to Media24's English newspapers such as City Press.

Beeld is the largest Afrikaans newspaper in the country and is distributed in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, North West, Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal. Media24's other Afrikaans dailies Die Burger and Volksblad are distributed in the Cape provinces and the Freestate, respectively. Die Burger is also sold in Namibia.

Sources: *Audit Bureau of Circulations South Africa (ABC) weekly circulation figures for October to December 2008 and South African Advertising Research Foundation's All Media Products Survey (Amps), Newspaper Readership and Trends 2008 to 2009.*
www.beeld.com; www.media24.com; www.mediatenor.co.za; www.southafrica.info and MediaClubSouthAfrica.com.
Interview with Ryk van Niekerk (Feb 2010), meeting with Robert Brand (March 2009)
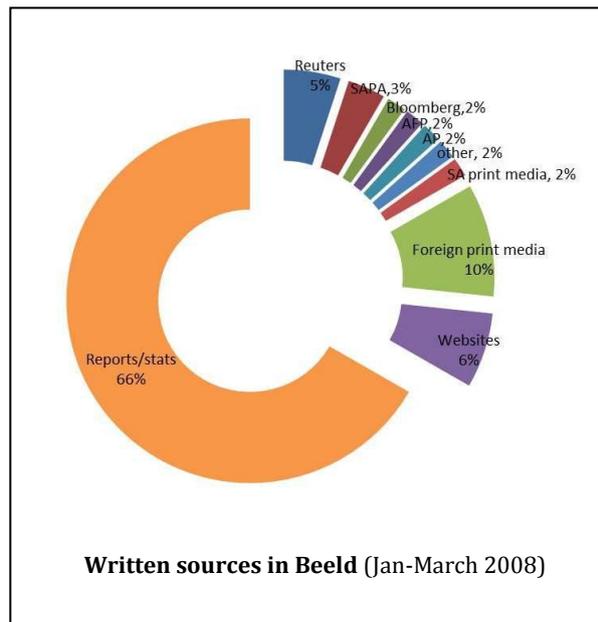
The Newsroom

Beeld is located in the Media24 building in Auckland Park, Johannesburg. It had more floor space than City Press, being a daily newspaper but the layout of the newsroom was the same with desks in square blocks. The Media24 business section Sake24 and the Africa Desk were located elsewhere in the same building. In total 18 journalists worked full time for Sake24, ten in the Johannesburg office, the other worked from regional offices in the country. The Sake24 newsroom was independent from Beeld and journalists did not integrate, however Sake24 was a part of the main section of the newspaper. African content was supplied by the Africa Desk, the Sake24 journalists focused on regional and local business and general economic and financial issues.

Entrance hall of the Media24 building

News was South African news, Beeld had no special Africa page, some news on other African countries appeared in between and international news was in the back of the news section. Reports and content on African countries were provided by the company's Africa Desk and adjusted by Beeld reporters to match their audience.

Sake24 sometimes has a special Africa page on Mondays. They had some budget to send out their own reporters; according to a marketing officer it was 'event based'. Only when specialized content on economic events in Africa iwa needed could Ryk van Niekerk send out his own reporters. Freelancers could have added a different angle to the regular reporting, but Ryk rather not used his budget on them. "A lot of this copy is not very reliable. We ask ourselves what the reliability of figures is from dysfunctional countries. We cannot publish information if we do not know what it means and how accurate it is. We stick to fact-based stories."

The main written sources in Beeld were reports and press agencies SAPA and Reuters. Beeld frequently identified these sources. In other newspapers I came across similar content without proper reference. On the basis of my data I can only say that Beeld was more open about the use of these sources and their specific origins.

Beeld frequently referred to other international media, but hardly ever to other South African media. A Media Tenor survey in 2007 showed that Afrikaans newspapers were often cited in other South African newspapers. Business editor Ryk van Niekerk attributed this to the amount of own content. "We write all our own copy, however we use the press agencies' releases. We have to

Reuters 5%
SAPA, 3%
Bloomberg, 2%
AFP, 2%
AP, 2%
Other, 2%
SA print media, 2%
Foreign print media 10%
Websites 6%
Reports/stats 66%

Written sources in Beeld (Jan-March 2008)

rewrite anyway as we publish in Afrikaans. Other newspapers simply put wire copy in, we can't do that." For Sake 24 additional business sources such as Bloomberg and company press releases were used


Spoken sources in Business Day (Jan-March 2008)
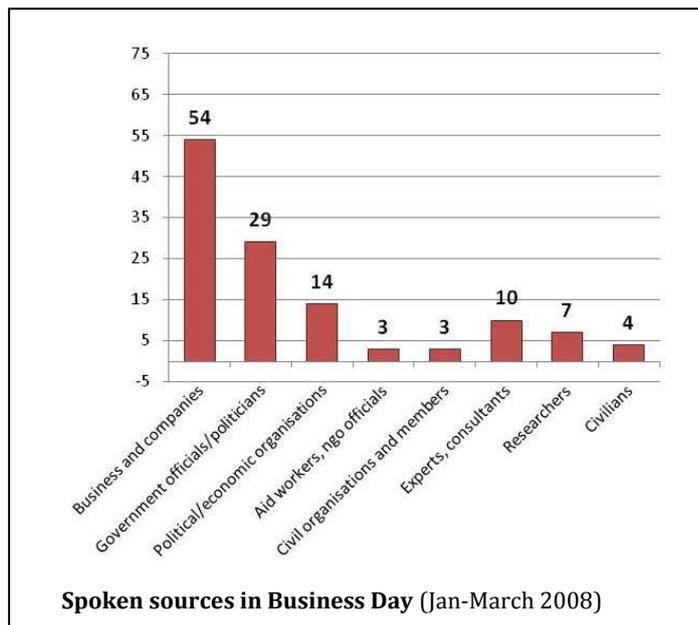
As Sake24 is an important part of the newspaper it was no surprise that many business voices were present in the reports on development. In comparison with other financial newspapers they did manage to access a greater variety of voices. A few articles voiced civilians and civic organisations. Beeld also included political and economic organisations in their reports. The overall image of development and growth was therefore wider than just company performance. Business editor Ryk van Niekerk explained that they needed to take the broad Beeld-readership into account. "We do some coverage on investment possibilities in Africa, but we have to make it accessible to average middle class readers". Business people value Sake24 but they use other news sources such as Business Day and Financial Mail as their prime source of economic news. The importance of digital sources that were updated regularly was growing, especially with new appliances for cell phones and iPads. Media24 had focused on strengthening their web content on Fin24 and Sake24 in the years prior to my fieldwork. Ryk van Niekerk expected this to influence the content in the newspaper even more in future.

The Newspaper

Beeld is a broad sheet Afrikaans newspaper. There were eight to ten pages of headlines and news and special pages for arts and lifestyle (Plus), career opportunities and job listings (Beroepskeuse), business news (Sake24) and Sports. The main section was between 20 and 38 pages depending on the day in the week and advertisement revenues. Monday and Tuesday newspapers were smaller, so was the main section of the Weekend-Beeld, but that was added by many supplements, such as a special on the car industry (Motor) and Naweek with more in-depth stories and features. In average there was one full page of ads in every seven pages, but there were some ads in between too.

Sake24 is the business section, distributed as a daily insert to all Media24's Afrikaans newspapers. Apart from general economic and business news the section also provided stock exchange rates and market reports. The section was at least four pages but could run up to eight on larger issues. This was mostly dependent on the amount of paid copy as Ryk van Niekerk explained to me: "Major issue for Sake24 is government legislation that compels companies have to publish company results in the newspapers, this generates a lot of paid copy. Subsequently inserts in economically influential areas such as Gauteng and Cape Town have more editorial space, because there are more financial ads."

Different genres for content on African countries.
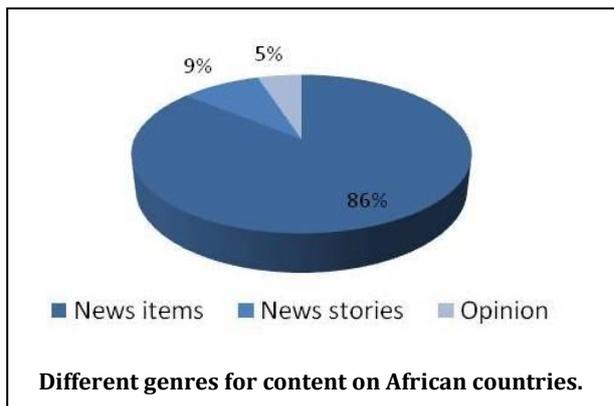
The dominant genre in the main section was current news. Beeld covered many different topics in their main part and gave more space to lengthy articles in the special sections, but these special sections mainly focused on South Africa.

Newspaper profile City Press

City Press
DISTINCTLY AFRICAN

City Press was launched in 1982 as Golden City Press, and set up to target a black audience. The name changed in 1983. It is the fourth most read newspaper in South Africa and claims to have the most affluent black audience.

City Press is part of the Media24 that acquired the newspaper in 1984 from its owners, Jim Bailey and the South African Associated Newspapers.

- Type: weekly newspaper on Sunday
- Language: English
- Circulation: 197 112
- Readers: 2 530 000
- Editor: Ferial Haffajee
- Deputy editor: Lizeka Mda
- Business Editor: Siya Qosa

City Press aims at the discerning, well educated, economically active black population. Their vision is to supply readers with content and opinions on a changing world. A reader survey showed that it appeals to key leaders and decision makers in common sectors of society as well as the emerging and mass markets.
The City Press audience reads the weekly in addition to other daily newspapers.
When asked in 2009 a City Press marketing officer said that however sales were up they needed to broaden their audience as the average reader was aging. It would be a challenge to reach a younger audience without losing the core market, also from an advertisement point of view. In May 2010 City Press changed the layout of the newspaper and added two new sections. To better communicate its African focus the new logo visualizes Africa in the title.
In a press release for the new look, the newspaper stated:
"We've given ourselves a makeover to reflect our role in the 21st century and as an expression of our highest aspiration, which is to be South Africa's leading Sunday newspaper - a read of black excellence and one we want to make an essential in all South African homes."

The newspaper is distributed nationally but also in neighbouring countries Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho and Swaziland.

Sources: *Audit Bureau of Circulations South Africa (ABC) weekly circulation figures for October to December 2008 and South African Advertising Research Foundation's All Media Products Survey (Amps), Newspaper Readership and Trends 2008 to 2009.*
www.citypress.co.za; www.southafrica.info and MediaClubSouthAfrica.com.
Interview with Siya Qosa

The Newsroom

City Press is located in the Media24 building in Auckland Park, Johannesburg. At the time of my research approximately 60 journalists were working in the City Press newsroom, four of them reporting for the Business section. City Press also relied on information and journalists from the company's SAKE24 desk for their economic reporting. Other sections of the newsroom involved News, Politics, Sports, Features, Lifestyle and Career. Journalist of different sections worked together at desks that form squares.

Entrance of City Press in the Media 24 building, Aukland Park.

The main newsroom at City Press

The main newsroom was bordered by small offices for section editors and staff. Most offices were open to the main newsroom with glass windows, often doors were left open. Journalists mainly worked for their own section but in editorial meetings topics passed on to other sections and sometimes journalists worked together. As part of a major media company, City Press is often supplied with content from Media24 special desks such as Sake24 and the Africa Desk, located elsewhere.

City Press has a special Africa page in the main body of the newspaper. Most of the content comes from Media 24's Africa Desk and SAPA. City Press has no reporters in Africa nor do they send out reporters or freelancers because the Africa Desk already takes care of that. A City Press marketing officer regarded that as a great advantage as City Press needn't spend budget on expensive foreign reporting and can still in this way report on location. Of course, being part of a major company they indirectly pay for the services of the Africa Desk, but it is cheaper to share expensive reporting with other newspapers in Media24. The Africa Desk supplied content to all Media24's major dailies, such as Beeld, Die Burger, The Witness and Son and weeklies Rapport and City Press. They send out reporters to major capitals such as Kinshasa, Accra, Nairobi and Laos. Their reporters also frequently visit the SADC countries, however their reports are published mostly in the Afrikaans newspapers Beeld and Die Burger.

City Press has four full time reporters to cover business and finance, and relies heavily on the news desk of Sake24 for basic content. This 'only Afrikaans business newspaper'[201] is a special section of Beeld, Die Burger, Volksblad and the weekly Rapport. Media24 has a special financial website in English called Fin24. City Press however has its own Business tab on the website, for as the business editor states "We report on business that reflects our country and our readers, we hardly cover finances and investments." He said that however he agrees with the development approach to economics the newspaper should add more company news, especially small business. A reader survey showed that a lot of new black business people read the City Press. Topics such as transformation, affirmative action and economic policy debates will add to the diversity of the business section, Qosa believed.

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[201] http://www.media24.com/en/newspapers/finmedia24/sake24.html

The frequent debates on economic policy in the opinion section of the newspaper showed that it is something that the readers wanted to discuss.

The main written sources in City Press were SAPA, AFP and Reuters. For business reporting they in addition used official reports and Bloomberg. The category of reports and stats is very broad as it was difficult to identify the specifics of certain sources and data. My content analyses and the overview of spoken sources below reveals that there is a difference between the newspapers. City Press more often used data from ngo's and civil organisations, whereas Business Day and Beeld often used financial institutes.

In articles on development City Press just as regularly voiced the opinions of business people as ordinary citizens. The only group not really present were experts and researchers, which was to be expected with a broad audience and aiming at 'a leisurely read' as the editor-in-chief put it.


Written sources in City Press (Jan-March 2008)

Spoken sources in City Press (Jan-March 2008)
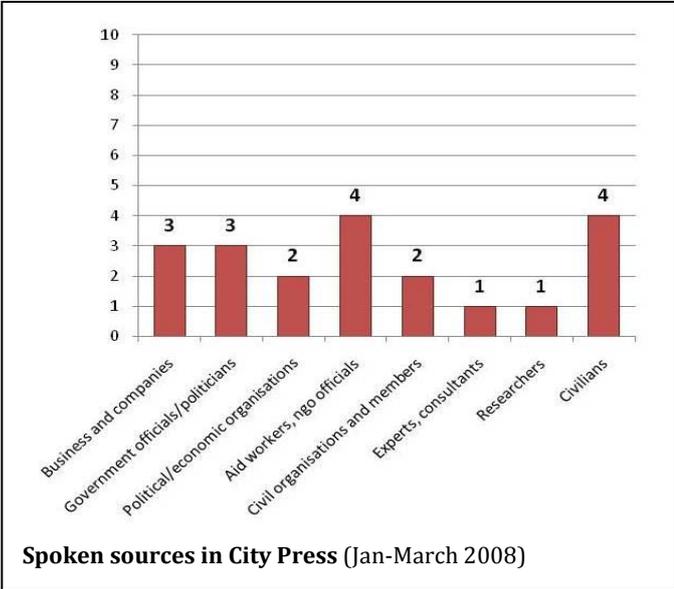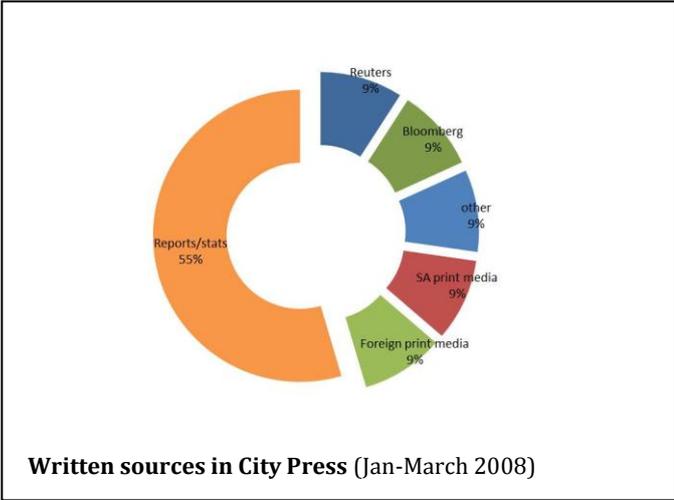
The newspaper

City Press is a 'fully fledged' Sunday newspaper incorporating separate Sport, Business and Careers sections, as well as a TV Guide / entertainment magazine, called City Pulse.[202] The main body of the newspaper had three parts and was in total 40 pages. The first part (12 pages) covered News, Entertainment, Politics and Education. The back page on fashion was called Candid Cassandra. The first part of the newspaper included a page on Africa and the World. The second part was the sports section and covered eight pages. The third part was the largest and covered Lifestyle, and social issues such as the 16 Days of Activism campaign in December. This section also gave space for social debate with Viewpoints and Analyses and an opinion page called Speak Out.

The separate Business supplement was 12 pages and, according to business editor Qosa, had a strong emphasis on development economics.

Both first parts and the Business supplement contained one full page of ads and some smaller ads in between articles. The average of advertisement for the whole newspaper was short of two pages per ten. Editor Qosa regarded this as one of the disadvantages of being part of a large company, but acknowledged that in the current time newspapers are highly dependent on advertisement revenues. More so since money making on the web is an even bigger struggle and websites are much needed for daily updates, especially for a weekly such as City Press.

Most articles in the main body of the newspaper were short news items. The reason for this was the newspaper's policy to cover a great variety of topics in the main section of the newspaper.

Different genres for content on African countries
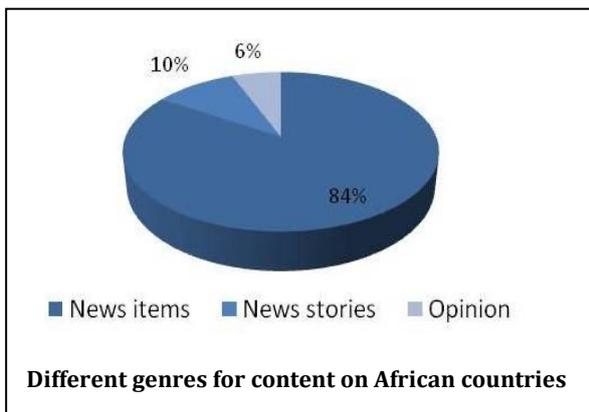
On the launch of the new outlook in 2010 editor in chief Ferial Haffajee said that there would be even more short items in the new City Press. She cited the EyeTrack07 research by the Poynter Institute that showed 55% of readers tend to stop after 600 words, after 1500 words only 15% is still reading[203]. "There will be fewer words, but the stories won't be 'dumbed down.' Readers can expect the sense of a leisurely read that isn't choked by text."

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[202] www.citypress.co.za
[203] http://eyetrack.poynter.org/

Newspaper profile Mail&Guardian

Mail&Guardian
Africa's Best Read

The Mail&Guardian is one of South Africa's most influential weeklies. As a former resistance newspaper it stands in a tradition of political journalism with a social-democratic perspective. The newspaper was launched as the Weekly Mail on the high tide of apartheid resistance in the eighties. Former Rand Daily Mail journalists set up a new weekly to fill the gap of their banned newspaper and the Sunday Express, that for so long had been successful liberal voices against the government. When apartheid ended they struck a deal with the London based Guardian. Today it is owned by Trevor Ncube's Newtrust Company Botswana Ltd, the Guardian still holds a 10% minority share.

- Type: weekly newspaper
- Language: English
- Circulation: 58.300
- Readers: 500.000
- Editor: Nic Dawes

The newspaper has always been strong in investigative reporting and innovation. It was one of the first to successfully start an online daily in 1994. It feels no less restraint to criticise the present ANC government than it did criticizing it's apartheid predecessor. In 1991 it was the first newspaper to break the news on 'Inkathagate', in 2010 the high court banned publication of an article on 'Oilgate', the scandal about the ANC presumably using state funds via an oil company to finance the 2004 election campaign.

The newspaper claims to be the first to discuss issues as environmentalism, gay liberation and gender and who's news selection was colour-blind from the beginning. All South African newspapers before 1990 were aimed at racially defined audiences, either black or white, or had separate editions.
M&G has always reached a socially and politically engaged audience, interested in current affairs, arts and culture. These are mainly highly educated professionals in middle to upper income groups, holding more liberal and social-democratic views. "We try to take reporting one step further than usual fact reporting, " online editor Chris Roper states. "Our newspaper is about the interactions behind the issues."

Mail&Guardian has a policy to make the weekly more attractive to women; a reader survey showed that still more males than females read the newspaper. They don't need a policy to encourage black readers as the readership is already more black (60%), than white (40%), the editor estimated. The Mail&Guardian is sold in major capitals worldwide and has a vast readership among international professionals connected to Africa through business, arts or academia and the African diaspora. Due to logistic problems it's difficult to move the print newspaper into the African continent, fortunately with the growth of internet that gap is filled by the online daily.

Sources: *Audit Bureau of Circulations South Africa (ABC) weekly circulation figures for Oct-Dec 2008 and South African Advertising Research Foundation's All Media Products Survey (Amps), Newspaper Readership and Trends 2008 to 2009. www.mg.co.za; www.media24.com; www.mediatenor.co.za; www.southafrica.info and MediaClubSouthAfrica.com. Interviews with Chris Roper and Nic Dawes (Feb 2010)*

Mail&Guardian online

Weekly Mail pioneers Irwin Manoim and Bruce Cohen started the Electronic or Daily Mail & Guardian in 1994 as a digital alternative for readers outside South Africa. It is one of the world's oldest news websites and the first news site on the African continent In June 2008 the website, that was renamed into the Mail&Guardian Online, was complete redesigned. In August of the same year it was bought back from MWeb who had been a major stakeholder since 1995. Now the online daily has a much closer relationship with the printed weekly and developments in the newsrooms suggest a further integration.

- Type: online daily newspaper
- Language: English
- Unique visitors: 550.000 per month
- Editor: Chris Roper

M&G Online describes its readers/viewers as 'an extremely argumentative bunch' of South Africans and Africans who 'prefer their news delivered fast and daily' and often look for a higher level of participation than is offered in print. As stated above an large number of readers, Roper estimates that it might be up to 40%, live abroad and use the easy access to internet to keep informed on South African issues. The Mail&Guardian Online is valued for its quality reporting and viewed as one of the most reliable sources of information from the continent or as the editor puts it: "Mail&Guardian is a brand, we want to inform and educate our audience."
In 2005 the news website received an honourable mention in the Webby Awards, the 'Oscars for the internet', for their reporting on the 2004 elections.

The newspaper includes in-depth stories from its printed sister, but the main content is own copy. The M&G Online is not simply a newspaper website linked to a daily, the newsroom needs to write their own stories, above all because the weekly doesn't supply daily news items. Both media offer different possibilities. The printed weekly has more space for lengthy features and in-depth analyses, the digital daily has an average of 70 items per day covering major news issues, following up on debates and offering special interest information on separate websites such as Campus Times with student news and opinion sites such as Thought Leader and Sports Leader.
However the news site carries multimedia content and was even awarded for its News in Photos in 2008, it was rather late to introduce video in 2009.

The Newsrooms

Since the M&G Media group incorporated the online Mail &Guardian into its own publishing company the two newspapers have been on a road of closer cooperation. Both newsrooms are in adjacent offices on the ground floor of the Grosvener Corner office complex on Jan Smuts Avenue in Rosebank. Gradually they will become one newsroom.

The total staff at the Mail&Guardian was about 40, this included 9 online journalists and 2 camjo's. In time all journalists will be trained in videojournalism, the print staff on a voluntary basis. Editor Chris Roper was very optimistic, there was less suspicion than he expected to this innovation. "Actually we have more applications than we can cater for at the moment." All journalists will be trained in basic skills such as shooting and editing, only some will become full swing videojournalists. But integration has more to it than just a technical side, Nic Dawes argues, closer cooperation requires a different way of thinking. However there is huge overlap in audience the genres are completely different. It will take time as both are so accustomed to their own focus and producing their own content.

The print newsroom was loosely organized in four sections, News, Sports, Communities and Entertainment. There were some smaller offices on the sides with glass walls, for support staff; the editors had their own offices. The newsrooms were both rather small and the desks close together, but on an average day half of the journalists were out working on stories anyway. Two days prior to an issue of the weekly on Friday the print newsroom was packed, on other days it was quiet, but the online journalists, working for a digital daily platform, constantly walked in and out. In that part of the newsroom the excitement followed the buzz of daily news. As long as the weather was fine, the door to the inside garden was open and was mostly used as main entrance. Not just for the regular coffee or smoke break, but also for walking in and out during the day, as it has an easier access to the parking than the official entrance at the front. It created a homely atmosphere of coming in via the backdoor. Having cooperated with the Mail&Guardian for many years as a journalism trainer I was greeted with a big question mark when I entered the building via the front entrance for my first meeting as a researcher. I never used it again.

I analysed the content of the Mail&Guardian in the digital archives. This mainly contained online content, but a lot of print articles had been uploaded to the web and I included them too.

However these articles were written by print journalists they were now part of the online section and reached the online audience. The clear divide between online and print was fading anyway and more so at the Mail&Guardian in the process towards an integrated newsroom. The majority copy on African countries however was short news items, produced by the online journalists. The longer news stories and features were often uploads from the print

Different genres for content on African countries.
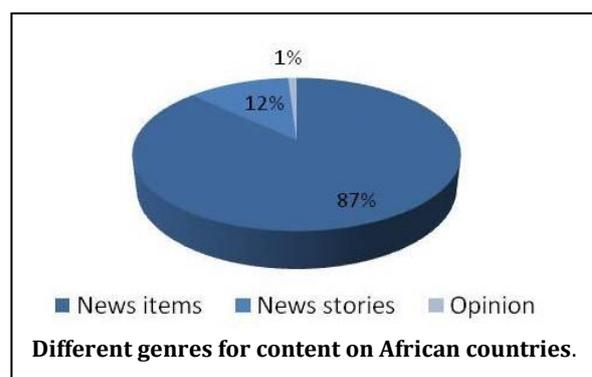
newspaper. The opinion articles were published on special web pages such as Thought Leader. M&G Online provided a substantial space for opinion but not often on Africa or African countries.

The main sources used by Mail& Guardian journalists were Reuters, SAPA,AFP, AP and IPS . IPS is an international press service, founded in 1964, with a clear humanitarian mission to 'uplift communities through information[204]'. Another press service, related to the UN (IRIN) contributed to the high figure in the category other. The print newspaper occasionally included copy from the UK Guardian to which the newspaper is formally linked. These were news stories on international topics that South African based journalists could not easily cover. Being a small newspaper with limited resources to send out journalists they experienced the same problems as everybody to make a profit on the net. From their tradition as a newspaper to serve the community, they rather invested in new forms to connect to local audiences, for instance through civil journalism, editor Nic Dawes explained. Online reader participation was part of that package too. User generated input is often used as a tool to limit costs but to M&G the relevance of the content and commitment of the audience were the main drivers to invest in these new options. Chris Roper believed it would add to the quality and scope of the Mail&Guardian as a whole, print and online. "There is still so much to understand about multi-cultural communication, it's a struggle to get the right message across, with reader participation we might also address part of that problem."
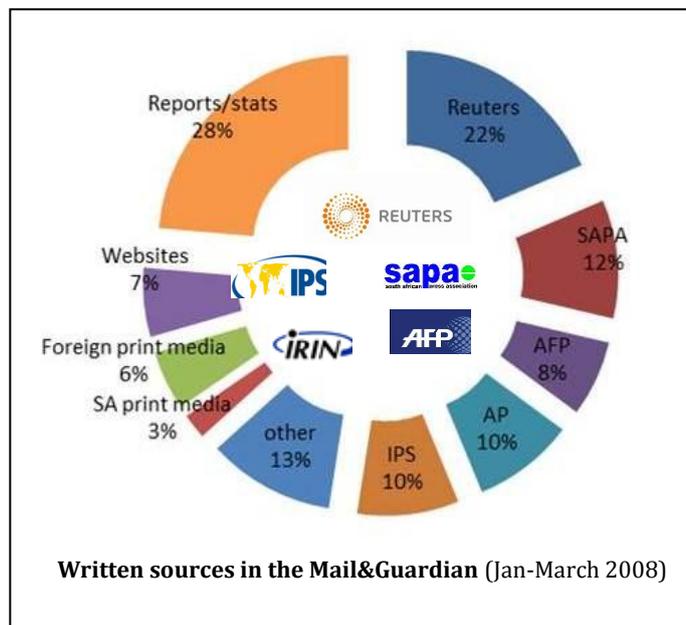
Written sources in the Mail&Guardian (Jan-March 2008)

Voices in numbers of articles (Jan-March 2008).
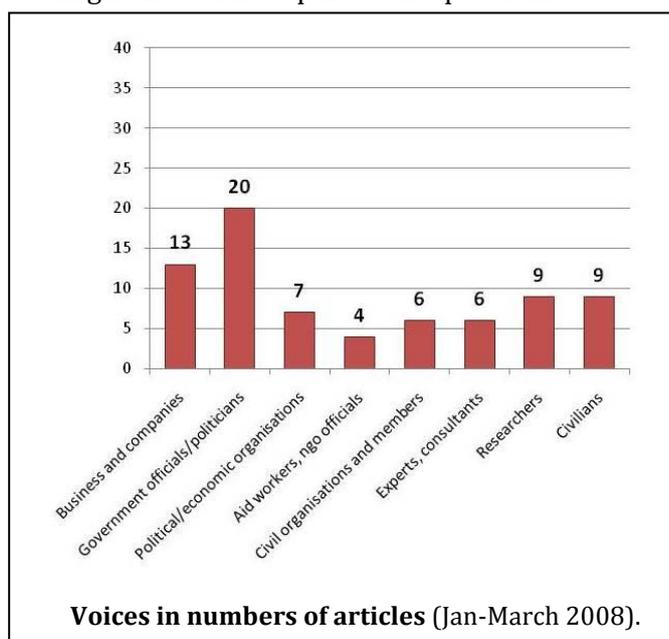
In the spoken sources that were present in the news items on development in Africa, M&G Online showed a different pattern to the other newspapers in my data set. Most significant was the presence of expert and civil voices. However the newspaper had a political focus and government voices were most present, they were not dominant due to the variety in other sources. The use of IPS and Irin contributed to all kinds of voices from civil society. In all reporting on development in African was in line with the political and social colour of the Mail&Guardian.

[204] http://www.ips.org/institutional/get-to-know-us-2/our-mission/

The Newspaper

Mail&Guardian is a tabloid weekly newspaper. The main section was 44 pages. In addition there was a 12 page supplement on Arts and Entertainment simply called Friday Special. The first fifteen pages consisted of news. As a weekly the focus was mainly on background to current news topics and analyses. The newspaper often came with scoops to current issues taking a different angle or using breaking interviews. They sometimes broke their own stories after months of investigation into political mishaps or scandals and searched for the limitations of press freedom, as a recent incident around an arms deal involving former liberation icon Maharaj showed. Pages on Africa and International affairs followed the news pages. Then some pages on economic issues such as Money and Business, Job opportunities (there is special part for academic jobs). The last three pages, including the back page, were for Sports and Games.

Incidentally Mail&Guardian included special interest supplements. These were sponsored and supplied by externals or produced by the Mail&Guardian newsroom itself. In my research period there was a special on 20 years Fall of the Berlin Wall, sponsored by the Konrad Adenaur Stiftung, a German ngo. But also a special on Education by Mail&Guardian reporters, indicating that it was sponsored content. Marketing told me that they could only publish specials with additional funds from advertisement or sponsoring.

November 2011: The weekly Mail & Guardian was forced to pull a front page story about Mac Maharaj's possible involvement in a shady arms deal.

A year before my fieldwork, in June 2008, the M&G Online was relaunched. Most of the content remained the same, the website was redesigned to support the new video output, following several adjustments over the past years. The most important page was still the news site. In addition there were separate pages for opinion (Thought Leader, Tech Leader and Sports Leader) and a platform for South African blogs called Amatomu. Sites such as JobConnection, The Teacher and Campus Times supplied specialized info for certain target groups.

The M&G Online has a special site for entertainment (The Guide) and offered access to several mobile sites for cell phones and iPads.

News in Photos, a price winning site in 2008, was still one of the more popular pages. Due to limitations in internet access on the continent photos give easier access to images than memory consuming videos. But as both internet access and technology were developing at high speed, more newspapers included video. In that respect the M&G still had some ground to cover in comparison to News24 websites and The Times.

SA The Good News – general info

South Africa: The Good News is a news website
that highlights the positive developments in South Africa.

SA The Good News (SAGN) claims to be an independent organisation for the distribution of good news about South Africa. SA The Good News however is not an online newspaper linked to the independent press. Nor is it a non-governmental organization, they claim to be apolitical and without an agenda. On the other hand , they do have a clear vision on the representation of (South) Africa, which could well be described as ideological. They have recently been added to the list of ngo's on Charityfinder.com. As they state on their website:

"Bad news sells. That is a global reality and it is no different in South Africa. Arguably, the news mass media tend to focus on the bad news and largely ignore the positive developments in this county, creating an "information imbalance". This imbalance fuels the perception that bad news is predominant in South Africa, whereas the reality is that we have many reasons to be exceptionally proud of our country's recent past and optimistic about our future. Our goal is to address this reality/perception gap that is often more negative than positive as well as 'sell' South Africa as a country of positive development, excitement, opportunity, interest and as a potential travel and investment destination."

SAGN is a commercial enterprise, sponsored by commercial businesses such as FNB and MTN. They gain their income from advertisement and sponsoring, which is also no different to most independent media, but they openly state that their 'good news' serves to 'sell' South Africa, and in that respect they cannot be viewed as an independent medium without an agenda. On the other hand, in practice a lot of independent reporting is not value-free either and CEO Pennington is a member of the National Press Club and an active participant in the debate on press freedom in the country.

The World Soccer Championships of 2010 offered the opportunity for SA The Good News to expand from South Africa to the whole continent, in a press release (31 January 2009) on the launch of the new website they stated:

"This website presents Africa positively, without ignoring her challenges. It is about hope and the new winds of change that are gusting over her nations and the growing opportunity in arguably the most ethnically diverse, biologically rich, scenically beautiful continent in the world!"

Editor in chief: Ian MacDonald (until Dec 2009)
                          Julie Cunningham (2010)
CEO: Steuart Pennington

The Newsroom

At the time of my research SAGN and Africa The Good News were located in an office on the Ballywoods Office Park *in* Bryanston, Johannesburg. At present the postal address has changed to the small KwaZulu Natal town of Nottingham Road, where CEO Steuart Pennington lives.

Besides editor Julie Cunningham there were two other writers working at SA The Good News. They worked with wire copy, reports and other sources of information and did not gather their own content. It looked more like an office than a newsroom when I visited SAGN for an interview with Cunningham. She confirmed the policy of the website and said that she intended to make it more journalistic but the focus was, at that time, on the launch of Africa The Good News with the 2010 soccer championships coming up.

Written sources in the SA The Good News

I analysed SA The Good News content in the same way as I did with the newspapers, but I only used it as reference. In all I found 27 articles about development in Africa in the time span of my research. There were only two articles about a specific country. Most of the articles were dealing with general subjects about Africa, so it was difficult to make a map to show how Africa was covered. This might prove easier with the new website Africa The Good News, but that was not online in 2008. Most of the news on the website was about South Africa.

The content on Africa was mainly framed through a social angle (over 65%), with the financial frame in second. SA The Good News was the only newspaper to not have any articles framed through a political focus.

In the financial frame the main focus was on what companies (can) do in order to contribute to Africa's development. Upcoming sectors (especially ICT-technology) and tourism, were the main topics. There is remarkably little reporting on 'old sectors' such as mining/natural resources, cash crops and agriculture.

Within the social frame, NGO's and Development Aid were well represented. The most covered topics were Health and Education. A quick Wordle gives the same impression.

In all, the topics and use of sources, reflect a high dependency on NGO and UN content.

News coverage in the four economic regions of Africa

Percentage of articles on the four main regions in Africa,
as a percentage of the total coverage of Africa
(01-01-2008 – 31-03-2008)

	Southern Africa	East Africa	Horn	West Africa	North Africa
Business Day	55	28	1	13	2
Beeld	57	23	2	15	3
City Press	24	31	4	35	6
M&G	36	18	11	25	11
Average	43	25	4	22	6

North	Algeria	Egypt	Libya	Morocco	Tunisia							
West	Benin	Burkina Faso	Cameroon	Cape Verde	CAR	Chad	Côte d'Ivoire	Equatorial Guinea	Gabon	Gambia	Ghana	Guinea
West	Guinea-Bissau	Liberia	Mali	Mauritania	Niger	Nigeria	Congo Brazzaville	São Tomé and Príncipe	Senegal	Sierra Leone	Togo	
East Africa	Burundi	Comoros	Kenya	Rwanda	Seychelles	Tanzania	Uganda					
Horn of Africa	Djibouti	Eritrea	Ethiopia	Somalia	Sudan							
South	Angola	Botswana	DRC	Lesotho	Madagascar	Malawi	Mauritius	Mozambique	Namibia	Swaziland	Zambia	Zimbabwe