

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
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**FOREIGN NEWS COVERAGE IN
THE ETHIOPIAN PRINT MEDIA**

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Abstract of the Study

This study explored the issues of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) which were advocated by the Non-Aligned Movement comprised of the Third World countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. These countries complained about the inequalities and discrepancies in the existing world order particularly in the dominant international communications system. They were particularly concerned with the widening gap in the world wide distribution of means of communications, the imbalance in the global flow of information and the consequent unidirectional flow of information between the First and Third World, and the Western media distorted coverage of the Third World countries (Kleinwachter, 1993:13-14). These concerns the Third World had about the existing information and communication order had been effectively articulated at the various international forums organized by UNESCO in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

*Even though the demands of the Third World countries were ultimately diverted to the question of development assistance by the Western world, various researches have been conducted since then on the issues of international news flow and the coverage of the Third World in the Western media. However, there seems to be little research conducted on the coverage of the Third World in the media of the developing world themselves. Therefore, this research was embarked upon to assess the coverage of the developed versus the developing world in the print media in Ethiopia. The researcher selected six local English language newspapers in circulation at the time of the study. These newspapers included the **Capital**, **The Ethiopian Herald**, **The Daily Monitor**, **Fortune**, **The Reporter** and **The Sub-Saharan Informer**. Six editions of each of these newspapers representing six weeks in March and April, 2006 were sampled, and all the foreign news appeared on the front and/or the inner pages of each newspaper were analyzed quantitatively. A qualitative analysis of a purposely selected news items was also made to identify the roles and representations the developed and the developing world had in the foreign news coverage of the six newspapers. In-depth interviews were also conducted with representative editors and editors-in-chief of the five newspapers except that of *Fortune*.*

The results of the study indicated that the developing world in general and Africa in particular had a wider coverage than the developed world, but the developed world had far more coverage than the developing world outside Africa. When the developing nations were further classified into medium and low categories of development according to the 2006 UN Development Index report, the highly developed nations had far more coverage than either of the developing nations in the two categories. However, the individual newspapers showed significant variations to the extent that the coverage of these parts of the world in some of these newspapers contradicted the generalizations drawn above. These variations appeared to have been explained partly by the objectives of the newspapers, and the influence of the individual editors and editors-in-chief who were involved in the news selection processes. The use of sources in particular was found to be an important factor in determining the newspapers' coverage of the different parts of the world. Ownership, however, seems to have been loosely related to these variations in the extent and types of coverage given to the different parts of the world by the six newspapers analyzed in the study.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) was a global movement initiated by the developing countries in the 1970's to change the structural imbalances in communication system dominating the global order. The movement was mainly concerned with the inequalities in the existing information order between the First and the Third World nations. As Kleinwachter (1993:13-14) described it the movement identified the following three problem areas in the existing information and communication order.

One of the problems was the ever widening big gap in the world wide distribution of means of communications. The largest portion of the means of communications in the world was controlled by the small number of developed nations. An overwhelming number of the developing countries did not have any meaningful access to the global communication network. The communications hardware they are provided with by the dominant nations, as Smythe said, "is a carrier of the ideology and class structure of capitalism" (1994:255).

The other problem which was the direct consequence of the first one was related to the imbalance in the global flow of information. Information predominantly flows in one direction from the developed world in the north to the developing ones in the south. As Butner (2003) pointed out this unidirectional flow of global information was the result of the imbalance of power structure relating to information technology.

There was also another problem closely related to this unidirectional flow of information between the First and Third World. Since the developed nations have the economic and technological upper hand over the developing ones, the Western

media often have distorted coverage of the Third World countries. As Mustapha Masmoudi cited in Giffard (1994:14) said the Western media put the developing nations in a negative light by “stressing crises, strikes, street demonstrations, punches, etc, or even holding them up to ridicule.”

This negative coverage of the developing nations in the Western media as described by Savard (2004) hampered meaningful investment and the resulting economic development. More importantly, as Gamal Eloteifi of Egypt who was the member of the MacBride commission put it, “it is this false image, harmful to their inner balance, which is presented to the developing countries themselves” (Giffard, 1984:15).

It was these main areas of problems the NWICO movement was trying to tackle. The MacBride Round Tables which was the centre of the movement came up with profound recommendations to effect the right to communicate and the democratization of communication in the world in 1980. These recommendations mainly focused on the empowerment of the developing nations in information technology so as to balance the flow of information between the north and south, and have a better representation in the Western media.

Even though the NWICO movement was weakened as a result of the strong resistance from the US and Britain, it inspired many researchers to investigate some of the issues the movement has raised.

One of the researches conducted in this area was S.M. Mazharul Haque’s study on the U.S news coverage of the Third World conducted in 1979. Haque focused on three U.S elite dailies and their coverage of the developing world. These newspapers are the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. This study investigated all the front page news, editorials, op-ed articles and letters to the editor columns of these three newspapers.

The findings of this study disproved the NWICO assumption, at least in the case of those three newspapers, that the Western media give very little attention to the Third World. As the results of the study showed, 82% of the front page foreign news in these daily elites was devoted to the developing world. In the case of editorials, 23% focused on issues related to the Third World while only 6% dealt with the developed world other than the U.S. Similarly, 23% of the op-ed articles were about the Third World, whereas only 10% was concerned with the other developed nations. This pattern also persisted in the case of letters to the editor as 19% was related to the Third World when only 8% was about the developed nations.

Other studies conducted by Richard Cole et al., and Wilbur Schramm in 1977 revealed a more or less similar results. The study on the Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Reuters and Agence France Press (AFP) undertaken by Richard Cole and his colleagues at the University of North Carolina and Indiana University showed a more balanced coverage of the developed and the developing world than claimed by the proponents of the NWICO movement. Wilbur Schramm's study on the international news service to Asia showed that there was an "impressive" amount of news flow about the developing world as almost half of the news coverage was related to this part of the world in some way. The study also showed that a relatively small proportion of the news coverage dealt with crime or disaster in the Third World.

The study conducted by Giffard in 1980 revealed a different result than those discussed above. Using similar methodology to the one employed by Richard Cole et al., Giffard investigated the coverage of AP and UPI Asia wire services in the summer of 1980. The findings of this study showed that stories from the developed world including the U.S accounted for 69% of the total coverage by these two wire services. The Third World excluding Asia had a very small share of the total coverage. The Middle East Countries represented only 6% and this was largely because of the hostage crisis in Iran. African and Latin American countries together accounted for only 7% of the total coverage of the AP and UPI Asia wire services.

This study also showed that the Third World received more negative news coverage than the developed world. For example, two third of the stories reporting internal conflicts dealt with the developing nations. Eighty percent of all the reports on armed conflict were related to the developing world. Different from this, Asia received the largest portion of report on investment, but other Third World regions had a negligible reference in this context. What is surprising in the findings of this study is that more than half of the reports on natural disasters came from North America. In conclusion, the study proved that the news coverage of the developing world in American wire services was biased to the West, but that this coverage could still not be said to be overwhelmingly negative.

The contradictions observed in the findings of the studies mentioned above could probably indicate individual variations in the interpretations of the results of the studies as Ginneken pointed out that purely formal content analysis “may lead to widely divergent interpretations by scholars from various nationalities and persuasions” (1998:143). It may also imply the diversity reflected in the various Western media which are generally considered to be as one and homogeneous category. However, the term ‘Western madis’ is used in this paper as it is to show the historical perspective reflected by various parties involved in the issue.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

One of the findings of Giffard’s study which has a direct bearing on this proposed study was that the AP and UPI Asian wire services had more coverage of the developing world than the media in the developing countries they serve. This could raise the question of the Third World’s commitment to the ideals of the NWICO movement.

The various recommendations forwarded by the McBride Round Table focused on the development of national and regional communication networks to have increased

flow of information among the developing nations in the various regions resulting better media representations of these parts of the world. This, however, did not seem to take roots in the media of the developing nations.

In a study conducted by Kristin Skare Orgeret on the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), attempt was made among other things to assess the corporation's coverage of Africa outside South Africa and that of the rest of the world. The study which covered a decade of the organization's news reporting practices from 1994 up to 2004 revealed that 'bad' news dominated the coverage of Africa outside South Africa. Even the 'good' news about the rest of the continent was also based on negative news values. As a result, the study concluded that the news coverage of Africa in SABC bulletins "fit quite well into some of the assumptions Western media are often accused of utilizing when describing Africa" (2006:214). However, the study also pointed out that the coverage of the rest of the world outside Africa, both the developed and the developing world alike, was dominated by 'bad' news than the 'good' stories. According to the study, this reveals that the parameters used in the selection of foreign news stories by SABC were more or less the same for news stories about Africa and the rest of the world as the organization used the same universal criteria which gave primary attention to 'bad' news.

Apart from this, there seems to be little research conducted to assess the coverage of the developing world in the media of the developing countries themselves. Hence, the present study embarked upon this area to fill the gap which appears to have been left by other researchers. To this end, the study focused on the Ethiopian print media and assessed the news coverage of other developing countries particularly African nations in comparison to the coverage given to the developed world. The assumption for this study was that the developing countries would receive very little attention and more negative coverage in Ethiopian print media compared to the Western World.

1.3. Research Questions

The research project raised the following questions and attempted to come up with their answers in the study.

- Do the local English newspapers in Ethiopia give equivalent coverage to the developed and the developing world particularly Africa?
- What types of news do these parts of the world receive in the foreign news coverage of these newspapers? Which types of news is predominant in the coverage?
- What kinds of sources are widely used in the coverage? How do the sources used influence the extent and types of foreign news coverage these newspapers had?

1.4. Objectives

The general objective of this study is to assess the coverage of the developing world as compared to that of the developed world in the Ethiopian print media. Specifically the study intends to:

- determine the extent of news coverage the developed and the developing world particularly Africa receive in the Ethiopian print media
- assess the types of coverage and representations both the developed and developing nations have in the Ethiopian print media
- identify the news agencies predominantly used as sources of information in these print media and evaluate their relations to the extent and types of coverage these parts of the world receive.

1.5. Scope of the Study

The study focused on the foreign news coverage of the six local English newspapers in Ethiopia namely *Capital*, *The Ethiopian Herald*, *The Daily Monitor*, *Fortune*, *The Reporter* and *The Sub-Saharan Informer*. It selected and analyzed only the foreign news items that appeared on both the front and inner pages of these newspapers. It assessed the extent and types of coverage given to the developed and the developing world, particularly Africa. It also assessed the sources of the foreign news coverage used by the newspapers to evaluate how they related to the extent and types of coverage given to the different parts of the world. The kinds of roles the developed and the developing nations had and the types of representations they received were also identified through a qualitative analysis of selected foreign news items.

1.6. Application of the Results

The results of this study will hopefully be used by the media practitioners to improve their practices in line with the needs of the developing world. They may also be used by national and regional policy makers to design communication policy which best fit the development needs of their region. The result can also be used by other researchers and media professionals to carry out further research in this area of study.

1.7. Organization of the Paper

This research paper has been organized in five chapters including this introductory chapter, which contains sub-sections related to background of the study, statement of the problem, the research questions and objectives of the study, scope and significance of the study, organization of the paper and definition of terms.

The second chapter deals with the review literature which discusses and explains the various theoretical and historical developments related to the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) which is the central concept in this study.

The third chapter explains the sampling techniques and data collection instruments used in the study, and the methodology used to analyze the data gathered.

The fourth chapter presents the data gathered in an organized way and interprets and discusses them in a logical manner. For simplicity and clarity of presentation, this chapter is further divided into three parts. The first part deals with the quantitative analysis of the data, while the second presents the qualitative analysis of selected news items and the interviews conducted separately in two different sub-sections. The third part of this chapter brings the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses together and discusses them in light of the theoretical and historical discussions made in the review literature.

The last chapter summarizes the findings of the research and draws conclusions based on the results of the study and the points raised in the review literature.

Finally, coding sheets, the 2006 United Nations Development Index report, tables and interview questions are attached in the appendix.

1.8. Operational Definitions of Terms

Foreign news: - news items reporting on events taking place particularly outside Ethiopia but not about the nation itself or any of its citizens. Certain events taking place in Ethiopia which are not mainly about the nation itself are regarded as foreign news. Issues involving both Ethiopia and another nation from abroad were considered as foreign news when the news is presented from the foreign nation's perspective.

Positive news: - news items which would depict a bright picture of the nation, region, institution or individual that the report was about.

Negative news: - news items focusing mainly on events which would largely give a gloomy picture of the nation, region, institution or individual that the report was about.

Positive news in a negative context: - a news item which was reported from a positive angle of the story but presented in a predominantly negative context.

Developed World: - refers to those nations found in the 'High' development category of the 2006 United Nations Development Index report.

Developing World: - refers to those nations found in the 'Medium' and 'Low' development categories of the 2006 United Nations Development Index report.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literature

2.1. Introduction: The Question of Order

Order is one of the five axial principles which form the bases of the different international relations theories that dominated the political and academic discourse on the kind of world system required to tackle global challenges. The other four are freedom, equality, community and identity (Tehrani, 1999). These core concepts are closely linked to the question of security, development, justice, democracy and cultural identity.

The dominant theories of international relations such as Realism, Liberalism, Marxism, Communitarianism and Postmodernism have attempted to present models for international relations based on these core concepts. These models were designed to answer those important questions raised in relation to the above points.

Realism, which focuses on the geopolitical struggle for power, considers the nation state as a basic unit of analysis and proposes order as its primary normative value. According to this theory, absence of moral consensus in international politics is the cause of the problems in the world system and thereby the theory characterizes the system as violence prone (Morgenthau, 1985 and Kissinger, 1994 quoted in Tehrani, 1999:35).

Liberalism on its part acknowledges the interdependency among nations and considers the world market as an integrating force which unifies the different parts of the world. As Keohane and Nye (1989) cited in (Tehrani, 1999:35) pointed out, free trade is a path to peace and development which strengthen the economic and security interdependency between and among nations. For liberalism the primary value is freedom in property ownership, politics and trade. As a result, it emphasizes

the increasing role of non-state actors in energy, transportation, finance and telecommunications (Ibid: 35).

Marxism on the other hand focuses on the increasing gap in wealth and income which characterizes the world capitalist system. Marxism criticizes capitalism for its failures to solve its own inherent problems. According to the Marxist principle of international relations, this resulted in class conflicts within nations between the developed ones at the center of the capitalist system and the developing nations at the peripheries. As Wallerstein (1974) and Schiller (1981, 1985) cited in (Tehrani, 1999:36) noted, this created a system of domination and exploitation which is characterized by imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. Thus, social equality is the value the Marxists uphold in their theory of international relations.

The proponents of the communitarian principle of international relations differ in their ideologies, but they all consider civil society as a central component and basic unit in their analysis. Hence, community formation and the integration of world and regional systems are given due emphasis as community is its primary value and institution building is the principal policy. For communitarians, political community is an important path to achieve a sustainable peace at all levels- international, regional, national and local. As a result, it is manifested in various forms such as “anti-colonial, nationalist, tribalist, localist, ethnic and religious movements focused on mobilizing the common historical memories of the peripheries in waging cultural and political struggle against the centers.” (Ibid: 37)

Apart from all the other theories, postmodernism maintains a different perspective, focusing on deconstruction rather than the construction of another ideology. Still, it emphasizes culture and identity formation as a central concept and employs linguistic analysis of knowledge and power. For the proponents of postmodernism, identity is central to “the globalization and localization of knowledge, truth claims, and power struggles.” (Ibid: 37) Thus, international relations is “a process of negotiation of knowledge, power and identity through military, economic and

cultural arsenals of influence.” (Ibid: 37). Therefore, Durian and Shapiro (1989) pointed out:

Plurality of meanings, tolerance of differences, fluidity of identities and recombination’s of ideas and images from totally different eras and civilizations are thus the postmodern foci of analysis (in Tehranian, 1999:37).

In the continued struggle between and among these theoretical perspectives of international relations, Marxism presented a major challenge to liberalism in the 19th and 20th century. Liberalism, in turn, undermined Marxism through “its control of the global flows of capital, trade, news and data.” (Ibid: 38).

However, it is important to note that all these theories are not always mutually exclusive. For instance, communitarianism through emphasizing the centrality of community formation cannot completely ignore “the realists’ focus on political order, the liberals’ preoccupation with individual freedom and the Marxists’ concern with social equality” (Ibid: 38). As Tehranian (1999:38-9) pointed out, global communication plays an important role in and serves as a channel for theoretical integration of the different perspectives in international relations.

As a result, international relations theory has “progressively incorporated the new democratic claims for equality, self- determination and cultural identity” (Ibid: 38-9). It also focuses increasingly on the “growing gaps and interdependencies, conflicts and cooperation, violence and peace building” (Ibid: 39) to deal meaningfully with the complexities of the problems in the world.

2.2. Approaches to Development

There are different developmental perspectives and approaches upheld by scholars and political leaders at different point in history. The prominent paradigms of development which had a significant impact on international relations are modernization, dependency and ‘another development.’

2.2.1. Modernization

According to Tehranian (1999:31) the concept of modernization first emerged in the sixteenth century in the form of colonialism. Others, however, believe that the emergence of this paradigm was related to the cold war context when the Western nations tried “to bring the newly independent nations into the sphere of capitalism” (Thussu, 2000: 58). In the post colonial period, modernization took neocolonial forms of dependency, and it became the dominant paradigm in 1950’s and 1960’s (Carlsson, 2003:5).

As Lerner (1958) pointed out, modernization entails “the passing of traditional society” in favor of modern, Western-style nation- state (in Carlsson, 2003: 4) through the transfer of technology and know-how. The order of modernity requires acceleration in technological innovation, capital accumulation, and progressive incorporation of space. It has no spatial, temporal or intellectual boundaries. Its emphasis lies on individual freedom and its twin ideologies are futurism and globalism (Tehranian, 1999: 31).

Giddens (1996) said, “Modernity is inherently globalizing” (in Carlsson, 2003: 3). He also noted that modernity has four dimensions which, in combination, gave the West economic, political and military power that undermined the Third World demands for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) as we will see in the forthcoming sections in greater details. These four dimensions were

the development of world markets, the rise of nation-state system, the emergence of military blocs and industrialization (Ibid: 3).

At the beginning, modernization conceived development as mere economic growth. Later on, its understanding of development included political, social and cultural spheres of societies (Carlsson, 2003: 4). Still, it places a greater emphasis on the transfer of technology and know-how from the developed nations to the rest of the world. Therefore, its approach to development is decidedly development assistance which focuses on the transfer of technological innovations and technical know-how. According to modernization theory, social change is achieved through consensus, and internal dynamics is important in the development process (Ibid).

Modernization attributes the problems of developing countries to their own historical situation inherent in their territories (Ibid). It also presupposes that the emerging phase of “post industrial, information society will eventually trickle down its benefits to the lower income groups” (Frank, 1969, and So, 1990 in Tehranian, 1999: 44).

However, the modernization paradigm has its own shortcomings. It assumes that modern and traditional lifestyles are mutually exclusive. It has taken for granted that a shift from traditional to modern way of life is inevitable as well as desirable (Thussu, 2000:59). Scholar like Thussu (2000: 59), however, felt that “the dichotomy of modern versus traditional was not inevitable.” Scholars from the South also revealed their concern that the beneficiaries are not people in the South but the West and the Western based transnational companies (Ibid: 60). Critics of this paradigm pointed out that only the creation of wealth is not sufficient for real development to take place, but the equitable distribution of that wealth is no less important. In short, modernization paradigm “failed to ask questions like development for whom and who would gain or lose” (Ibid: 58).

This criticism led to the development of an alternative paradigm known as dependency theory of development. This will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.2. Dependency

Dependency theory emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s as a response to the negative impacts of the modernization paradigm. It appeared in particular in Latin America partly out of the political situation in the continent. During that time, the US government was supporting the right-wing authoritarian governments who did little to change the lives of their own people. This realization on the part of the educated elites in the continent also contributed to the rise of this alternative paradigm (Thussu, 2000: 60). Outside Latin America, the evolution of this theory also coincided with the emergence of nationalist movements across Africa and Asia.

The aim of this movement was to create nation states with planned economies, and it modeled on socialist societies in Eastern Europe, China and Cuba. Thus, it was the driving force of the struggle of the developing world for self reliance and liberation from the world system which was dominated by the West. Unlike the modernization paradigm which places greater importance on individual freedom, the dependency theory emphasizes social equality a great deal (Carlsson, 2003:5). Thus, dependency theory maintains a conflict-oriented approach to society emphasizing the class struggle between the working class and the bourgeois in a nation and the developing world and the developed Western nations on the international arena (Tehrani, 1994:282f in Carlsson, 2003:5).

According to this paradigm, development is defined in terms of the interaction between the developed nations at the center and the developing world at the peripheries. The proponents of the dependency paradigm argue that development in the existing world system was shaped in a way to create a suitable condition for 'dependent development,' (Thussu, 2000:61), which according to Frank (1969) in its most extreme form leads to "the development of underdevelopment" (in Thussu, 2000:61). For proponents of dependency paradigm, underdevelopment is the result of capitalism and its other manifestations such as colonialism and imperialism.

Dependency theory considers transnational companies (TNCs) as agents of the capitalism system which serve as a tool for the Western interest by controlling and exploiting the developing world. In this regard, Thussu pointed out.

Central to dependency theory was the view that transnational corporations (TNCs), most based in the north, exercise control, with the support of their respective governments, over the developing countries by setting the terms for global trade-dominating markets, resources, production and labors (2000:61).

Such domination was made much easier to exercise as TNCs “controlled both the terms of exchange and the structure of global markets” (Ibid). Baron (1957) and Matterlart (1979) also indicated that these Western based TNCs “strengthened their control over world’s natural and human resources” (in Thussu, 2000:61). This monopolization of the world market and its resources increasingly widened and deepened the already existing inequalities in the South (Ibid).

Even though dependency theory provides important observations on the dominant world system, it has also been criticized for its failure to provide adequate evidence to support its arguments. It also does not give a clear definition for basic terms like imperialism (Stevenson, 1988: 38 in Thussu, 2000:63).

2.2.3. ‘Another development’

This paradigm evolved in the early 1980s as a reaction to both modernization and dependency approaches to development rejecting the emphasis placed on the necessity of a particular universal model as simplistic. The term ‘another development’ was first coined in 1978 by Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation and appeared in its journal of *Development Dialogue* (Carlsson, 2005:211).

Rather than prescribing a particular universal model of development for all sorts of societies, this paradigm emphasized the specific needs of the individual localities.

According to this approach, “development efforts must start with specific conditions and needs” (Ibid: 212) which characterizes a given country.

The key concepts in this model of development are cultural identity, self-reliance, access to communication technologies and participation in the production and transmission of media messages. It also upholds traditional values since they are thought to foster a sense of identity, give meaning and serve as a source of continuity in the development process (Ibid).

2.3. The Role of Mass Media in Development

The question of the role of mass media in the development process is at the center of the three development paradigms discussed above. Even though the importance of mass media in the development process seems to have been unquestionable, how to use the media in this process has been highly debatable among the proponents of the three paradigms.

In the modernization paradigm, mass media have a central role in the development process. In the words of Lerner (1958), mass media is a ‘mobility multiplier’ which hastens progress and helps the process of transition from traditional to modern society (in Thussu, 2000:56). This can be achieved by wider economic and political participation which can be brought about through increasing media exposure (Ibid: 57).

Regarding this, Wilbur Schramm, another proponent of the modernization paradigm, stated in his book, *Mass Media and National Development* (1964:27):

. . . the task of mass media of information and the ‘new media’ of education is to speed and ease the long, slow social transformation required for economic development, and in particular, to speed and smooth the task of modernizing human resources behind the rational effort. (in Thussu, 2000:57)

According to Schramm, the media in the south in particular have a responsibility to initiate the people for the necessary social transformation.

The mass media in the south --- ‘face the need to rouse their people from fatalism and fear of change. They need to encourage both personal and national aspirations. Individuals must come to desire a better life than they have and to be willing to work for it. (Ibid)

Schramm described the mass media as a ‘bridge to a wider world’ which helps transfer “new ideas and models from the North to the South, and within the south, from urban to rural areas” (Thussu, 2000:57). Thussu also described this same notion as follows.

Modernization theory arose from the notion that international mass communication could be used to spread the message of modernity and transfer the economic and political models of the west to the newly independent countries of the south (2000:56).

This top down approach to communication was considered important for the development of Asian and African countries (Ibid: 58).

In the modernization paradigm, media is thought to be a powerful force which greatly influences public opinion both at international and domestic level, and thereby influencing policy making processes. Global communication is a useful means in defining problems and negotiating solutions on the international arena. After the end of the cold war, it also came to be considered as a key instrument in the process of modernization and development for the Third World countries (Ibid: 56)

One of the criticisms made against the modernization paradigm is that the media was considered as a neutral force in the development process. This view, however, ignores the fact that “the media are themselves products of social, political, economic and cultural conditions” (Ibid: 59) of the societies from which they originated.

For the dependency paradigm, the fact that media are charged with social, political, economic and cultural elements is rather a reflection of media imperialism. Scholars in the South expressed their concern that the beneficiaries of the view expressed within the modernization paradigm were not the people in the south but the Western media companies themselves (Ibid: 60). They also pointed out that what is lacking in international communication were technical competence in using the existing communication technologies and equality of access (Tehrani, 1999:39).

Access to the existing communication technologies and the participation in the production and transmission of media messages were also emphasized in the third development approach expressed as 'another development' (Carlsson, 2005:212).

The role of communication in development was found to be vital as well as controversial in a way that it led to the demands of a new international information order as we will see in the forthcoming sections.

2.4. Media Empire

Samir Amin identified five different types of monopolies that characterize the world capitalist system. They are monopolies in the areas of technology, finance, natural resources, media and communications, and weapons of mass destruction (Carlsson, 2005:207). Even though these monopolies are at times intertwined and overlapping, we are going to focus in this section mainly on the media monopolies.

Media monopolies were created as a result of the introduction of global media agencies under the world capitalist system. The world's first media agency, the French Havas, was established in 1835. Later on, the American Associated Press was set up in 1848, followed by Wolf in Germany in 1849 and Tuwora in Austria in 1850. The British Reuter was opened in 1851 (Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett, 2004:39).

These agencies were first established as national agencies, and it was gradually that some of them evolved to global agencies. The French Havas, the German Wolf and the British Reuters were the first global agencies, which signed a cartel agreement to divide and control the world news market (Ibid). As Cooper (1942) and Rantanen (1990, 1992) pointed out, Associated Press only joined the cartel in 1927 though it had already started expanding to South America earlier (in Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett, 2004:39).

The evolution and dissolution of the news cartel are divided into four phases. The first phase was the hegemony of the European news cartel, which lasted from 1870 to 1917. During this period the three European news agencies that were the French Havas, the German Wolf and the British Reuters controlled the world's news flow (Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett, 2004:39).

This tripartite cartel system created interdependencies between these global media actors and national news agencies in other countries, particularly the developing ones. The cartel system prescribed that these international agencies would provide news exclusively to national agencies in certain countries or parts of the world, and that the national agencies in return would supply local news on the same basis of exclusivity to the global agencies (Ibid: 37). Thus, establishing such a link with global agencies was highly sought after by national agencies, in particular from the emerging nations as it served as a sign of acceptance for the new nations on the international arena. Regarding this, Boyd-Barrett and Rantanen (1998) said:

The agencies were vital components in the armory of the nation state; then as now, the agencies were among the range of institutions which new nation states came to feel they had to establish [contact] in order to project or to control the dissemination of their “national image” on global markets (in Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett, 2004:37)

Beside this, recognition of a particular national news agency by one of the global agencies proved the acceptance of that news agency as the official news agency of

the given country. Hence, as Palmer (1998) pointed out, the global news agencies not only determined the local but also instructed them “how to operate to the standards of the global agency” (in Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett, 2004: 40).

Rantanen (1997) identified two aspects of the exclusive relationship established between the global and national news agencies. The first aspect is related to the requirement that only one global agency could establish a link to only one national agency in a given nation. The other aspect is related to the value of certain news items. With the introduction of telegraph, speed became a vital component in the dissemination of news. Thus, news came to be perishable goods and only the first agency that obtained the news could enjoy the exclusivity of the news item (in Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett, 2004: 40).

The second phase which involved the dissolution of this cartel system of the Big Three began in 1918 with the withdrawal of the German Wolf from the system as a result of the German defeat in the First World War.

Following the promotion of the American Associated Press (AP) to the status of international news agency, the third phase of the cartel system that involved the Big Five which included the American news agencies AP and UPI, the European agencies, Reuters and AFP, and the Soviet TASS that meant "Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union" set in. In this phase, the power of the global news agencies increased significantly while the national agencies grew weaker and weaker.

As Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett noted the dominant feature of media concentration and conglomeration significantly reduced the number of clients of individual national agencies and increased the power of large clients of the few global media agencies “to dictate the operation of news agencies” (2004:36).

Both owner and clients were increasingly transnational, less committed to local public service ideals, more interested in a la carte principles of news service and pricing structure, more likely to compete directly with agencies for custom (Ibid).

Despite some irregularities as shown in the cases that the French Havas owned the Spanish Fabra and that the German Wolff acquired some early Scandinavian agencies, national news agencies were considered as a symbol of nationalism (Ibid: 40). They were also committed to the ideas of “national” service, nation building and development, but these objectives gradually became no more important (Ibid: 36).

Television, both the global satellite and cable television, as the ‘cornerstone of the media empire under construction’ (Maidment, 1995 in Thussu, 2000:74) increasingly became an irresistible power that determined national or public interest. Then the dominance of a few major agencies became a problem. This concern was expressed by Ginneken as follows:

A few voices can be heard loudly and clearly all the time, but many more voices are drowned out by the noise, and their vague murmur can only be heard intermittently in the background (1998:85).

The growing dissatisfaction of the national agencies with the dominant position of the few global agencies led to the dissolution of the cartel system. Consequently, national agencies became free to contact more than one agency in news exchange and they had to compete with even the global agencies in their own local market. At the beginning this change in the cartel system seemed to present a new and more equitable era in the relationship between national and global agencies (Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett, 2004:41).

However, towards the end of the 20th century the balance of power between the global and national agencies ultimately tilted to the international agencies. This resulted in the collapse of national agencies in some countries while other national agencies barely survived (Ibid: 37). As Rantanen and Boyd-Barrett pointed out,

“This is indicative of transformations in the apparatus and manner of image construction that has long been thought essential to the reproduction of the nation-state . . .” (2004:37)

2.5. The Functions and Power of the Media

One of the most powerful media functions is agenda setting. By doing so, media have the power to determine to a varying extent what people can think and talk about. This is usually done by drawing people’s attention to certain issues or some aspects of an issue and diverting their attention from some others (Ginneken, 1998:87). In relation to this, Cohen (1963:13) said, “the press . . . may not be successful in telling its readers what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about” (in Ginneken, 1998:87).

It is the ability to set the agenda which has given the West the power to influence the rest of the world through its media. Joseph S. Nye, Jr. called this ‘soft power’ and defined it as

the ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs through attraction rather than coercion. It works by convincing others to follow, or getting them to agree to, norms and institutions that produced the desired behaviour. Soft power can rest on the appeal of one’s ideas or the ability to set the agenda in ways that shape the preferences of others (in Thussu, 2000:67).

This is also true when it comes to the question of representation. As the Foucauldian version of representation points out, the question of representation involves a relationship of power and knowledge between representer and represented (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus and Fisher, 1986; and Said, 1978 in Morley and Robins, 1995:134) to use the media in a way that it can influence or determine the media image of the represented. Accordingly, the Western media have the ‘right’ to represent all non-Western others, distinguishing ‘we’ from ‘them’ (Ibid).

This media representation has not only a paramount importance for the representer, but also a great impact on the image the represented may develop about itself. As Tehranian (1999:43) stated, “We define our images of the world, and our images of the world define us.” When the power of defining our images of the world lies in the hands of others, our self image will consequently be defined by those others, in this case, the Western media. The quality of our life, as the American sociologist, C. Wright Mills pointed out in his book, *The Cultural Apparatus*, will also be determined by the kind of meanings received from those media (in Ginneken, 1998:166).

What kinds of meanings or rather images other non-Western people receive about themselves from the Western media has been a bone of contentions for decades between the West and the rest of the world. However, there has been a general understanding that there has been a perpetual stereotypical representation of the non-Western world in the Western press, which has been for long a barrier for global communication and understanding (Merrill, 1983:7). In the words of Tehranian (1982b), stereotyping ‘the other’ became a serious problem “to a point that international communication is becoming a dialogue of the deaf” (in Tehranian, 1999:55).

What the Western media have been trying to do is to validate the Western identity against the non-Western others. Coker (1992:197) explained that what is seen on TV screens “challenges us to respond, to relate what we see to what we are. It compels us to validate our identity” (in Morley and Robins, 1995:135). In other words, what is seen on the screen is the projection of fears, fantasies and desires the Western society has towards others against whom its own identity is defined and constructed (Ibid: 134).

‘Self-us-good’ versus ‘other-them-bad’ is the dichotomy of identity construction the media indulge in. This splitting of good from evil in some absolute way is the reflection of “the same inability to tolerate difference without relegating the different

to the sub-human or inhuman category of the monster” (Ibid: 135). This demonization of others is “related to the desire to purify one’s own culture and civilization” and to show the irrationality of others in order to “be certain of one’s own rational causes and motives.”(Ibid: 136). Therefore, oriental culture is described by the Western media as being subordinate to the Western culture which is assumed to be equivalent to universal culture.

Unlike the Western culture, the oriental culture is also defined by what it lacks such as modernity, rationality and universality which all are thought to be the manifestations of the former (Ibid: 137). Hence, media have ideological functions which involve “evoking threats to our world and world views, labeling and categorizing them, processing and mastering them” (Ginneken, 1998: 187). In these ways, the TV evening news “tests and renews our sense of the world” (Ibid). Therefore, TV news is required to have ‘mythic adequacy’ so that it can fit in with major presuppositions of the Western world (Ibid: 188). It is also expected to celebrate and maintain this worldview in different ways. These are expressed in the seven bardic functions of TV as follows:

- To articulate the main lines of the established cultural consensus about the nature of reality.
- To implicate the individual members of the culture into its dominant value system, by cultivating these systems and showing them working in practice.
- To celebrate, explain, interpret, and justify the doings of the culture’s individual representatives.
- To ensure the culture at large of its practical adequacy in the world by affirming and confirming its ideologies/mythologies in active engagement with practical and potentially unpredictable world.
- To expose, conversely, any practical inadequacies in the culture’s sense of itself which might result from changed conditions in the world out there, or from pressure within the culture for a reorientation in favor of a new technological stance.

- To convince the audience that their status and identity as individuals are guaranteed by the culture as a whole.
- To transmit by these means a sense of cultural membership (security and involvement) (Fiske, 1990:75-6; Hartley, 1989: 102-6 in Ginneken, 1998: 188)

These bardic functions of TV in extension may also apply to other forms of the media such as radio or newspapers. This ideological orientation consequently influences the selection process the media employ to frame, define, and shape reality. In this way, the media “construct the global realities that frame the global events feeding the media constructions of global realities” (Tehrani, 1999:56). This gives the Western media the power to frame the issues that define the Third World (Hagos, 2000:7). This leads to one major area of contention between the developed and developing nations as the former has the means and power to determine the global media representation of the latter. As Noelle-Neumann (1984) in Basil (2000: 228) pointed out that communication channels quiet others, the electronic media controlled by the West quiet the rest of the world and created the perceived imbalance of news flow in global communication.

2.6. Media Effect

Media are believed to have certain effects on the consumer, although the type and magnitude of the effect have not been easy to determine for researchers involved in this area. One of the earlier views on the subject maintains that media have a direct and necessary effect on the consumers. This is what is known as ‘hypodermic needle’ models of media effect. According to this model, media have a direct impact on the audience and the media consumer can do nothing to counteract the impacts of the media message. The consumers may not even be aware of the subtle influences the media exert on them. Evans (1978:2) cited in Ginneken described this impact of the media as follows: “The newspaper reader is unaware of the judgments that open and shut his eyes” (1998:169).

According to Coker (1992:197), the impact is not limited to influencing the opinion of the individual media consumer. It has far reaching consequences on the patterns of relations and interactions that are formed among individual people in a society.

The impact of television lies not at the level of opinion and concepts, but [at the level of] “sense ratio” and patterns of perceptions. A profound structural change in the world has been brought about in human relation in terms of scale, models, and habits (in Morley and Robins,1995:133).

Thus, beyond the impact on individual consumers media also have direct cultural consequences as the ‘hypodermic needle’ model of media effects maintains. This is particularly true when the world media system is controlled or dominated by certain culture representing the Western world. This domination of the media by a particular culture is described by different scholars as cultural imperialism or sometimes as media imperialism.

Cultural imperialism as Schiller (1976: 9) defined it is “the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even to promote, the values and structures of the dominant culture of the system” (in Thussu, 2000:61). In these processes, media play a central role and this may be why some scholars use the term media imperialism in conjunction with cultural imperialism (Ibid: 64). Communication technology in general and media in particular is instrumental in the processes as it is often the case that technologically developed cultures dominate those technologically less developed ones. The effect is not limited only to underdeveloped countries (Basil, 2000: 228) as this can be seen on the American cultural influence on virtually every nation on the globe. Rothkopf (1997:43) described this as follows:

American music, American movies, American television, and American software are so dominant, so sought after, and so visible that they are now available literally everywhere on earth. They influence the tastes, lives, and aspirations of virtually every nation (in Thussu, 2000: 64-5).

As Amin (1997:5) pointed out, the motives of such cultural domination through media and communication are to bring about cultural uniformity among the people of the world and to achieve a political end through manipulation. He also noted that this expansion of media market signals the erosion of democratic principles in the West itself (in Carlsson, 2005:207-8).

This totalistic cultural imperialism, however, is criticized for its failure to explain 'how global media texts worked in national context' (Thussu, 2000: 63). It also does not take into account 'local patterns of media consumption' (Ibid).

The media consumers are not so passive as the cultural imperialism model assumes them to be. They are active in choice, consumption and interpretation of the message they receive from the media though their choice may be framed and limited by 'the dynamics of cultural power' (Morley and Robins, 1995:127). The media consumers have a certain degree of freedom to choose whatever is of some interest to them from what the media provide them with and interpret it in their own way. This freedom, however, is not unlimited since the media message is constructed in a way that they prefer one reading over the other (Hall, 1981 in Morley and Robins, 1995:127). Of course, such a reading can not be taken for granted (Ibid).

Cultures also have their own role to play in the consumption process of media messages. As Stephen Greenblatt pointed out, cultures are "fantastically powerful assimilative mechanism . . . that work like enzymes to change the ideological composition of foreign bodies" (in Morley and Robins, 1995:127). And it is a common phenomenon that culture ingests foreign elements and naturalizes them.

According to scholars like Massey (1991a) there is no place in the world, which has an internally homogenous culture. For him places are “‘spaces of interaction’ in which local identities are constructed out of resources (both material and symbolic) which may well not be at all local in their origin, but are none the less ‘authentic’ for all that” (in Morley and Robins, 1995:128). Thus, authenticity is “a matter of local consequences rather than of local (or ‘foreign’) origins (Ibid). For this group of scholars, natives in a sense that people who are confined to their place without being affected by cultural forces from other places have never existed in the world (Appdurai, 1988:39 in Morley and Robins, 1995:128). Hence, “any attempt to defend the integrity of indigenous or authentic cultures easily slips into the conservative defense of a nostalgic vision of the past’ (Ibid: 130).

Other scholars like Thompson (1995:173) while rejecting cultural imperialism theory, maintain that it is “probably the only systematic and moderately plausible attempt to think about the globalization of communications and its impact on modern world” (in Thussu, 2000:64).

2.7. News and News Flow

Generally speaking, news is considered to be the report of particular events which have taken place in the recent past or which are taking place at the moment of reporting. Regardless of the timing, it is thought to be the actual reflection of the real events on the ground.

However, many scholars in the field of journalism and communication reveal their doubt that news is, or can be, a symmetrical reflection of the reality in the world. Sigal (1987), for example, said, “News is not what happens, but what someone says has happened or will happen” (in Ginneken, 1998:85). According to this statement, what is more important than the reality on the ground is the role of the person or organization which is reporting the events or which serves as a source for the reporting of the events. It is this intermediary role played by a certain body that Sigal

emphasized when he noted that news is not a reality but “a sampling of sources portrayals of reality, mediated by news organizations” (Ibid).

Thus, news organizations as an intermediary body have a vital role in reporting the assumed reality of the world. In the process of reporting a particular event, these organizations involve in a selection process in which consciously or unconsciously they select some aspects of the event while ignoring some others. They even go as far as interpreting the event in a particular way which fits their own world view while down playing or completely ignoring other possible interpretations of the same event. It is this very practice of the news media which is termed as prime definition.

Prime definition as Ginneken described it is the “first and most influential early definition of an event” (1998:113). Considering the media reality in the world the first may not necessarily be the most influential definition of a certain event. This is because it is a few major news agencies which have “quasimonopoly in providing prime definitions of breaking news in the world peripheries” (Ibid: 113-4). Even though these agencies may not sometimes be the first on the spot, they are the first to inform the event to the rest of world. Hence, the power to provide prime definition of events remains in the hands of a few global media agencies. As almost all these dominant media agencies have Western origin, a particular world view dominates the news flow between the center and peripheries of the world.

Once a particular definition is given to certain events by these global agencies, there is a strong tendency on the part of national media agencies to stick to that prime definition resisting any change to other possible alternative definitions (Ibid: 113).

In providing such a powerful prime definition to an event news sources play a vital role not less than the news media themselves which report the event. More often than not the sources may have a leading role than the news agencies themselves as Gans (1980:116) described it as follows:

Either sources or journalists can lead, but more often than not, sources do the leading. Staff and time being in short supply, journalists actively pursue only a small number of regular sources who have been available and suitable in the past, and are passive toward other possible news sources (in Ginneken, 1998:91).

For the small number of global media agencies which are based in the West, the most suitable and accessible sources are undoubtedly officials of Western countries. It is what Ginneken described when he said, “the easy access of elite sources to elite media, and the easy access of elite media to elite sources” (Ibid). This can obviously be seen in the 1973 Sigal’s finding that half of the sources for all front page national foreign news stories in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are officials of the U.S. government (Ginneken, 1998: 86). As he further pointed out, this is the case because of the reporters’ social location, news gathering routine and journalistic conventions (Ibid).

There are three criteria Ginneken identified for the selection of sources by journalists. They are authority, credibility and availability (1998:88-9). As Ginneken noted the application of these criteria in international news reporting creates ‘a heavy slant’ since authority, credibility and availability are judged based on Western standard. The use of other alternative sources is very limited. When it is rarely done, it is under the overall framework of those criteria as defined by media practitioners in the West based on their own perspective.

Besides, some of the news values Galtung and Ruge (1965:65-71) identified also seems to lend themselves to such Western perspectives. For instances, unambiguity and meaningfulness in particular will be determined in relation to Western audience based on their own interpretations of the event. Consonance, that is the predictability of events, and their unexpectedness may also be determined based on Western perspectives as what is to be predicted and what is unexpected will again be based on a certain assumption regarding the world. The other news values may also contribute in varying degree to the Western bias of news reporting in international news flow.

These include frequency, threshold, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations and elite people as well as named people and reference to negative events. Negative news in particular is considered to be less ambiguous and consequently rather consensual and generally more likely to be unexpected and to occur over a short period of time than positive news. This is also related to proximity as “the more distant an event, the less ambiguous will it have to be” (Galtung and Ruge, 1965:80-83 in Herbert, 2001:33).

2.8. The Old International Information Order

The old international information order is characterized by imbalances in the spread of communication technology and the resulting information flow between the developed nations at the center and the developing ones at the peripheries of the world’s political and economic system. There were apparent disparities in the distribution of the existing communication facilities between these two groups of nations. For example, according to 1996 UNDP report, industrial countries as a whole have over 18 times more telephone lines per 100 people than all the developing countries (in Tehranian, 1999:39). The distribution was much sparser when it came to some parts of the world like Africa. It is indicated, for instance, that there was more number of telephone lines in the city of Tokyo than there was in the whole continent of Africa (Ibid).

The figures seem to be only slightly better when it comes to other forms of communication such as radio and television. Only 3.5% of the population had access to television whereas the distribution of radio receivers was much better than television sets. Even then the spread of radio receivers exceeded 100 million for the first time only recently (Mayor and Binde, 2001:398).

These imbalances in communication technology were attributed to the dominant socio-economic and political system of the world. The MacBride report which assessed the existing inequalities in communication technology noted, “Inequalities

in communication facilities, which exist everywhere, are due to economic discrepancies or to political and economic design, still others to cultural imposition or neglect.” (1980:17).

These imbalances in the distribution of communication technology in the world resulted in imbalances in the flow of information between the developed and the developing world. As Nordenstreng quoted in Frederick (1993:128) indicated, quantitatively the amount of information flowing to the developing world from the industrialized part of the world was estimated to be hundred times more than in the opposite direction (Ginneken, 1998:139).

The almost uni-directional flow of information was maintained by the doctrine of free flow of information which the West has upheld. Practically speaking this traditional Western concept of free flow of information in the words of President Kekkonen of Finland would only be freedom of the well-to-do.

The traditional Western concept of freedom, which states that the state's only obligation is to guarantee *Laissez-faire*, has meant that society has allowed freedom of speech to be realized with the means at the disposal of each individual. In this way freedom of speech has in practice become the freedom of the well-to-do Globally the flow of information between states- not least the material pumped out by television- is to a very great extent a one- way, unbalanced traffic, and in no way possesses the depth and range which the principles of freedom of speech require. (Gerbner et al. 1993: x- xi cited in Ginneken, 1998:138).

Critics of this doctrine of free flow of information viewed it as a tool the industrial West designed to dominate the global communication market, and used as a global strategy for ideological control. They pointed out that free flow of information in practice served the interests of the most powerful nations and transnational corporations at the expense of the developing countries (MacBride and Roach, 1993:4).

This principle of free flow of information was internationally agreed on at the UN summit in 1946, that is, one year after the organization was founded.

The imbalances in the distribution of communication facilities and the resulting one directional flow of information gave the West the power to determine the global news rhythms as per their own interest. This is what Ginneken pointed out, when he said, “The news rhythms of the Western world dominate the global media agenda and the formation of public opinion. The news rhythms of the non- western world may often be out of sync.” (1998:119).

As a result, the issues concerning the Western world dominated the global news flow while those of the non-Western world were rarely treated by the Western media agencies. Even when they were discussed in relation to the Western interest, it was to magnify the important roles played by the West while depicting all the other non-western in a negative light. It may often seem to be the case that the Western media was “interested only in the very worst of crises” (Ibid: 115) in the rest of the world. Even then, the reports were “a few typed-up snappy foreign news flashes” presenting extremely stereotypical images of the non-western world (Ibid: 130). As Ginneken noted, the South-Easterners are often depicted as brutes and victims of natural disasters and conflicts, while the North-Westerners are usually portrayed as helpers and saviors (1998: 167). Particularly the Third World is often presented in a context dominated by chaos, negativism, sensationalism and juvenilism (Merrill, 1983:8).

Such negative reports were not even given prominence while being reported in the Western media. There were only a few of them being covered while many others were left not reported. In this regard, Ginneken said,

Yet only very few of these killings and atrocities make the front pages and the evening news in the first world some are hardly reported at all, if they concern peripheral areas alone and there are no immediate central interest at stake ... (1998:115).

For instance, the three major American TV networks gave twice as much time given to the coverage of O.J Simpson's trial than they gave the simultaneous Balkan Conflict and even much more than the coverage of the Middle East peace process (Ibid: 176). As critics of the Western media reporting of events in the Third World pointed out, these western media not only gave limited space and time for the coverage of events happening in the Third world, they also leave out too much important information about the events being covered. For Mencher (1997:67), this omission is equally damaging the images of the Third World as the sin of commission. In his own words, he said, "A publication or (TV or radio) station can be assessed by its wastebasket as by its columns and news- casts, for the sins of omission are as serious as those of commission" (Hagos, 2000:4).

This limited coverage of the Third World by the Western media may be partly explained by the scarcity of relevant materials for their target audience (Carlsson, 2005:206). It is also related to the allocation of journalists to this and other parts of the world. As a rule of thumb, approximately one third of agencies' reporters are allocated in North America while more than one third are in Europe. It is only the remaining one third of all the reporters that are sent to the rest of the world to cover (Ginneken, 1998:131). There are a number of factors which determine such distribution of reporters to the different parts of the world. Boyd-Barrett (1980:152-3) identified the most important factors as historical, logistical, political, commercial and temporary (in Ginneken, 1998: 131-2). It is also said that there are higher number of foreign journalists allocated to certain areas because they generate more news. However, it is also the case that these areas generate more news because there are more foreign journalist to cover events taking place in these areas (Ibid: 143).

Occasionally, a large number of foreign reporters may flock to the Third World when there are particular stories that capture the world's attention. These stories are usually about the widespread of famine or the outbreak of war in these parts of the world. On such occasions, a great number of reporters come in to these areas and report the events for a while and leave the places. As Hachten and Scotton noted, "

This kind of reporting, typically seen on television, fails to provide needed context and follow-up that such stories require for public understanding” (2002:98).

2.9. The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

The evolution of the concept and the movement of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) were closely related to the formation and development of the non-aligned nations’ movement, which took form in 1955 at a conference held among Third World leaders from Africa and Asia in Bandung, Indonesia. The concept of Third World was first coined at this conference (Carlsson, 2003:10), but Thussu (2000:39) pointed out that the phrase was the product of the cold war, which was said to have been coined by the French economic historian Alfred Sauvy earlier in 1952. Still, it appears that the phrase was officially accepted and used three years later at the Bandung Conference.

The concept of new world order took roots in the political changes of 1960’s when a number of nations in Africa and Asia declared independence from the colonial forces. With independence came the need for recognition not only on the political front but in the economic and cultural spheres as well. Thus, it was related to the questions of self-reliance and cultural identity, which were later reflected in the NWICO document. Even though the movement was clearly linked to the dependency paradigm of development particularly due to its emphasis on decolonization and demonopolization, it also had an indication of a new direction in relation to development and communication. This had to do with the concepts such as independence, self-determination and cultural identity (Carlsson, 2005:211). This appears to indicate the rejection of the modernization paradigm as a desired direction towards development (Ibid, 2003:14). However, the emphasis placed upon the need for development assistance was an indication of the traces of modernization paradigm in the movement (Ibid: 2). In general, it can be said, “The issue of a NWICO, as formulated in the 1970s within UNESCO, was an outgrowth of the two

development paradigms and its ideological components” (Ibid, 2005:203), and that it suggested a third, alternative concept of development (Ibid: 211).

Generally, the movement for a NWICO could be divided into three phases. The first phase was a period of the rise of the concept that took place from the mid 1970s to the early 1980s. The second phase witnessed the decline of the movement happening from the early 1980s to late 1980s. In the early 1990s which was the third phase of the movement, there appeared certain signs that the concept of NWICO would have a come back (Kleinwachter, 1993:14-5).

The first phase of the NWICO movement was initiated by the same kind of demand in the economic front. At the non-aligned summit held in Algiers in 1973, a resolution was adopted which called for a “new international economic order.” This resolution was endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly the following year (MacBride and Roach, 1993:4). This was the result of the 1973 ‘OPEC Crisis’ or ‘fuel crisis’ which brought a sharp rise in the oil price breaking the near total dominance of the United States and giving the non aligned nations unprecedented bargaining power (Carlsson, 2005:197). The resolution of the new international economic order was meant to bring a democratic interdependent economic order based on equality and sovereignty including the right to pursue progressive social transformation that enables the full participation of the population in the development process (Hamelink, 1979:145 in Thussu, 2000:39). In practical terms what the non-aligned nations demanded were fair terms of trade, economic assistance, and access to Western technology (Carlsson, 2003: 11).

This was followed by the recognition that information and communication had a vital role in the development process. As a result, it was pointed out in the MacBride report of 1980 that the imbalances and disparities in communication should be corrected first in order to avoid economic inequalities.

Imbalances in national information and communication systems are so disturbing and unacceptable as social, economic, cultural and technological (both national and international) disparities. Indeed, rectification of the later is inconceivable in any true and lasting sense without elimination of the former (MacBride report, 1980:2).

This realization of the importance of communication for economic development was reflected in the discussion about mass media for the first time in Algiers in 1973 (Carlsson, 2003:11). Actually, a year before the UNESCO General Conference adopted a resolution proposed by the Soviet Union which was known as 'Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite-Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Greater Cultural Exchange' (Ibid: 9). Information, however, came in the context of a new international order for the first time at a meeting of a non-aligned nations in Tunis in 1976 (Ibid: 11).

Information and communication became the focus of the new international order initiative due to the growing gaps and disparities in communication technology and the flow of information between the developed and the developing world. What the non-aligned nations were trying to address were the imbalance of information flow which constituted a virtually one-way flow of information from the developed to the developing world, and the general disrespect this unbalanced flow of information reflected towards the Third World people's cultural identities. They were also concerned with the hegemony of transnational communication companies and the inequitable distribution of communication resources between the developed and the rest of the world (Carlsson, 2005:195-6).

In order to tackle these global challenges in the area of information and communication, a resolution was adopted at the 19th General Conference of UNESCO in Nairobi in 1976 which was endorsed at the 31st United Nations General Assembly some weeks later. The resolution was aimed at:

1. The promotion of the development of national communication system in the developing countries.
2. The elaboration of guiding principles concerning the role of mass media in the international sphere.
3. The development of a concept for democratic restructuring of the international information system (Kleinwachter, 1993:15).

The whole concept of the movement rested on the 'four D's' which stands for democratization, decolonization, demonopolization and development. Democratization of communication referred to the free and balanced flow of information between the developed and the developing nations. It also included issues relating to access to and participation in the production and dissemination of information as well as the 'right to communicate' which is a cluster of rights including "the right to be informed, the right to inform, the right to privacy, the right to participate in public communication" at international, regional, national, local and individual levels (Carlsson, 2005:197).

The 'four D's' also included decolonization which indicated self-determination, national independence and cultural identity. The other core concept, demonopolization, was concerned with limiting the activities of transnational communication companies so that national agencies should have the necessary room to develop and function properly. This led to the fourth concept, which was related to the development of national communication policy including the strengthening of infrastructure, journalism education and regional cooperation (Nordenstreng, 1984 in Carlsson, 2005:197-199).

In order to achieve these objectives, the non-aligned nations as stated in the political declaration of the Colombo summit in 1976 had to struggle "through their own efforts as well as by more active cooperation on a bilateral, regional as well as inter-regional basis and by coordinating their activities in the United Nations and other international forums" (Kleinwachter, 1993:14).

The United Nation organ which was particularly concerned with the promotion of NWICO was UNESCO. The organization had two prime roles which were providing assistance and establishing norms. The first one was directly related to the development effort and modernization activities which was given due emphasis by the developing nations in the beginning. In contrast the developed nations used to give more attention to the norm-setting function of UNESCO which later became instrumental in the Third World's struggle for a new international information order (cf. Eek, 1979 in Carlsson, 2005:197). UNESCO's mandate in the areas of communication which was explicitly stated in its constitution that was adopted in 1946 helped in this regard as it endowed the agency with the responsibility to "collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of people, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend the free flow of ideas by word and image" (MacBride, and Roach, 1993:4).

Thus, UNESCO in particular and United Nations in general had injunctions in their statutes to protect and promote freedom of expression and freedom of information (Carlsson, 2003:7). The documents issuing from the United Nations tend to focus on international legal aspects while resolutions emanating from UNESCO were intended to promote a free flow of information (Ibid: 8). As a result, a UNESCO declaration on mass media was issued which was entitled as 'The Declaration of Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Right and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War' (MacBride and Roach, 1993:6-7).

However, the doctrine of free flow of information was attacked by critics as "part of a global strategy for domination of communication markets and for ideological control by the industrialized nations. They saw it as serving the interests of the most powerful countries and transnational corporations and helping them secure economic and cultural domination of less powerful nations" (Ibid: 4).

This led to a frank qualification of the phrase ‘free flow of information’ when it was replaced with ‘a free flow and wider and better balanced dissemination of information’ in the draft revised and presented by the newly appointed Director-General Ahmadou-Mahtar M’Bow in 1987 General Conference, but the draft was rejected by most member countries on the ground that it argued for state influence over the media (Carlsson, 2003:10).

As a result of the 1976 UNESCO meeting, the Director-General had appointed a commission which consisted of 16 people broadly representative of the world’s economic and geographic spectrum and which was headed by the Irish Sean MacBride to study the existing problems in the world communication system (MacBride and Roach, 1993:4). According to Merrill (1983:57), however, the commission members generally represented the ideological slant of UNESCO as only 6 of the 16 members reflected the Western philosophy of press government separation.

The member nations of the non-aligned movement themselves could also hardly be considered as a unity in ideological and political economic system as some had leaning towards the West while others had ideological orientation towards the East (Carlsson, 2005:197). Regardless of such difference the non-aligned nations, as Carlsson (2005:197) referring to Sing and Gross (1984) pointed out, maintained a remarkably united front in their demands for a NIWICO. In less than five years they were able to achieve most of their political objectives and their demands were recognized on the international arena. In 1978, the 33rd UN General Assembly adopted resolution 33/115B recognizing the need for the establishment of NWICO. One year later, the 34th General Assembly established the UN committee on information which one of its responsibilities was to promote NWICO. The whole process was accelerated by the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit in Havana in 1979 and the meetings of NAM Intergovernmental Council for Information (Kleinwachter, 1993:15).

At this point the major achievements of the non-aligned movement on the international area were the following:

1. NWICO (or NIICO in the NAM documents) was a globally accepted item on the agenda of multilateral negotiations.
2. An international mechanism for the promotion of the development of communication was established.
3. Basic principles concerning the role of mass media in international relations were adopted. (Ibid: 15-6).

In 1980, the MacBride commission submitted the final report of its study of communication problems in the world to the UNESCO General Conference in Belgrade. The report identified various problems in the existing communication system of the world and made a number of recommendations as to how it could be improved to meet the demands of the Third World. Many of the complaints the Third World voiced were found to be credible as the report indicated. It was pointed out in the report that there were indeed imbalances and disparities in communication and its structure and in information flow so that utmost importance should be given to the elimination of these disparities (MacBride report, 1980). The role of free, open and balanced communication was duly noted in creating understanding and tolerance in order to bring about more just and more democratic social order, and realize fundamental human rights (Ibid).

The concentration of communication technology in a relatively few developed countries and transnational corporations was pointed out to be responsible for the largely uni-directional flows of information from the developed to the developing world. In order to correct these discrepancies, international measures were required including the reform of the existing patent laws and conventions, appropriate legislations and international agreements (Ibid). The negative influence of market and commercial considerations in the organization and content of national and

international communication flow was also pointed out while the need for the media to generate their revenue was also acknowledged. The role of national news agencies and the setting of regional networks were considered important in improving each country's national and international reporting. The adoption of national information policies by the developing world in relation to the establishment of decision-making centers was thought to be vital to promote regional and sub-regional cooperation (Ibid).

Allowing foreign correspondents to the developing nations and facilitating their operation was indicated in the report as the duty of the host nations in order to improve their international coverage. It was also noted that foreign journalists should give due respect to the national sovereignty and identity of the host nation. Here, the danger of interpreting unfamiliar situations based on the individual editors' or reporters' narrow ethnocentric thinking was pointed out to be inevitable so as to be understood by a distant audience. The very process of news selection was noted to produce an incomplete or distorted picture of the nations being covered in the minds of the audience (Ibid).

The need for a greater coverage of the developing world was recognized and it was recommended that more time and space should be given in the reporting of events in the developing world in particular to include background materials to help the audience have better understanding of the events. The media in the developing world in particular was said to have this responsibility. Particular efforts should be undertaken to ensure that news about other developing countries within or outside their region receive more attention and space in the media.

Such coverage of other developing nations was thought to be reinforced through cooperation among national news agencies and the development of the News Agencies Pool and broadcasting organizations of the non-aligned nations as well as through the regular exchange of radio and TV programs and films. The use of

plurality of sources was also thought to be essential for the availability of abundant information to a broader public (Ibid).

Generally, the report proposed five main areas of action to improve the situation in the world communication system:

1. Promote the inclusion of communication as a fundamental right of individuals and groups.
2. Reduce the imbalances, inequalities and distortions that affect news structures and flows.
3. Shore up all efforts to promote a global strategy for democratic communication in an interdependent world but respecting cultural identities and individual rights.
4. Promote the formation of national communication policies that would be coherent and lasting in the broadest framework of the processes of development.
5. Explore the bases on which a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) as a component of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) should be established (Quiros, 2005:71).

The report also proposed the establishment of International Centre for the study and planning of information and communication within the frame work of UNESCO. One of the main tasks of this centre was suggested to be promoting “the development of national communication systems in developing countries, and balance and reciprocity in international information flow” (MacBride report, 1980:21).

2.10. Western Reactions and the Decline of NWICO

Despite the divergent political, economic and cultural background of the members of the MacBride commission, it was indicated that the commission’s achievement to reach at a consensus on so many points was significant one (Carlsson, 2005:198). However, the recommendations the commission made to change the established system of communication were met with a mounting challenge from representatives

of the First World particularly that of the U.S. When the report was presented at the 1980 UNESCO's General Conference, the recommendations were missed out from the agenda, even though they were constantly referred to and they had somehow influenced the outcome of the conference, that was, what was known as the 'MacBride Resolution' (Ibid: 200). In this resolution, the recommendations were presented in much more diluted form than they were in the Mac Bride report. Only the concept of cultural identity was included in the resolution, whereas the concept of independence, self- determination and the 'right to communicate' were ignored since it was found to be difficult to reach at agreement on these issues (Ibid).

This was all the result of the strong resistance the NWICO movement had met from the industrialized nations in the West. These Western nations perceived the NWICO movement as an "effort by the Soviet Union and some Third World countries to foster government control of media under the guise of a New World Information and Communication Order" (Goddard-Power, 1981:142 in Carlsson, 2005:200-1). They were suspicious of the formulation of new charters and rules which they feared might lead to licensing journalists, limiting international news gathering process and ultimately suppressing press freedom (Ginneken, 1998:139). This suspicion was justified by the fact that many advocates of the movement were accused of such kinds of practices in their own territories (Ibid).

According to Kleinwachter, however, there was no evidence in the MacBride Report which supported or justified their suspicion.

Although not a single paragraph in all the NWICO resolutions included restrictions or censorship for Western mass media, and although both the Mass Media Declaration and the resolution of the MacBride report reaffirmed the principle of freedom of information as a basic human right, right-wing groups identified NWICO as an attempt to restrict the freedom of the press (1993:16).

As MacBride and Roach (1993:7) pointed out, the concerns of the Western nations probably arose from the proposed special protections to be provided to journalists which they assumed to be based on professional credentials. Here, the question was who would be issuing the credentials to journalists. This appears to have led the Western world to the conclusion that the Third World leaders had the intention to license journalists (Ibid).

Western journalists also reflected the same kinds of views regarding the Third World demand for NWICO. They believed that what the proponents of the movement really wanted was not a free flow of news and information but rather a balanced flow (Merrill, 1983:15). The Western based World Press Freedom Committee even went to the point of rejecting the movement as a whole and called for an immediate end to the NWICO discussion at a conference held in Talloires in France in 1981 (Kleinwachter, 1993:16). The representatives of the First World at the conference said, “the time has come in UNESCO and other inter- governmental bodies to abandon attempts to regulate news content and formulate rules for the press” (Merrill, 1983:55). They also issued a statement reaffirming their position against censorship, the licensing of journalists and the formulation of any code of ethics or conduct for international communication (Ibid).

The Western opposition against the NWICO movement was not only directed at the movement itself. The UNESCO organization and its Director-General were also the target of criticism by representatives of Western governments. The organization and its Director-General were accused of inefficiency and nepotism (Gerbner et al, 1993 in Ginneken, 1998:139). Beside the various organizational and financial factors pointed out by the West, other reasons such as the disputes related to Israel, UNESCO’s examination of the issues of peace and disarmament and new generation of ‘peoples right’ contributed to the rejection of UNESCO and the NWICO movement it advocated particularly by the U.S (MacBride and Roach, 1993:8).

As a result, United States withdrew its membership and support from UNESCO in 1983. In a letter written from the Reagan administration Secretary of State George Schultz to the then UNESCO Director- General Amadou- Mahtar M' Bow on 28 December of that year the reasons for the U.S action were indicated emphasizing both “the issue of mismanagement and the ‘injection of political goals beyond the scope of the cooperative enterprise’” (Schultz, 1984:84 in Calabrese, 2005:23). Calabrese (2005) also pointed out that this decision was made to protect the interests of big mass media and the telecommunications industry in the United States. The major impact of this action was to undermine the legitimate efforts of UNESCO to articulate and advocate multilateral principles of global media governance that were not necessarily guided by market logic (Ibid).

As a result of the Western reaction to the movement, the struggle for a NWICO was officially designated in the 1983 conference as “an evolving and continuous process” which was a clear indication of a concession to Western interests (MacBride and Roach, 1993:8). At the Austrian round table held in Igls in the same year, there was an apparent lack of political rhetoric and determination of the participants to design specific mechanisms for the implementation of any of the resolutions provided in the MacBride Report (Ibid).

None of the declarations and recommendations issued from the United Nations or UNESCO were legally binding as there was no real obligation on any of the member countries to act in those directions (Kleinwachter, 1993:16). Most of the documents in international law which had a binding force for the signatories were either treaties or conventions. These treaties and conventions must be adopted and ratified individually by the nations involved. Declarations and resolutions lack this binding force (Carlsson, 2003:7). Since the recommendations made by the MacBride commission were issued only as resolutions, none of them were legally binding for member countries in the United Nations. Besides, there was very little, if any, financial commitment made from the First World for the realization of at least some of the recommendations (Kleinwachter, 1993:16).

The most concrete parts of the resolutions were those related to development and aid (Carlsson, 2005:200). The Western nations put a greater emphasis on these issues as development aid was instrumental for “winning the hearts and minds” of the developing nations (Ibid, 2003:2). They were also able to turn the focus away from their own roles to the conditions in the Third World countries themselves (Ibid, 2005:201).

The factors for the change of directions in the movement for a NWICO to practical development assistance summed up by Carlsson (2005:202-3) in the following four points. The first was the emphasis given to development in the MacBride report by the commission itself. The second was the emphasis on practical assistance which the West viewed as an advantage to modify the demands of the Third World countries and ease the ideological conflict between the two camps (cf. Garbo, 1984; Goddard- Power, 1984; Harley, 1984; Nordenstreng, 1984).

The third point was related to the question of the survival and proper functioning of UNESCO. There was a widespread fatigue within UNESCO, and many delegates felt that there had to be some kind of change to ensure the survival of the organization (Carlsson, 2005:201). UNESCO was at a crossroad and had to choose between its advocacy of the NWICO movement or a more decided emphasis on development assistance (Ibid). The leadership of the organization also appeared to realize the situation when it removed the 82 recommendations of the MacBride report out of the agenda in 1980 and assumed a more mediating role in the conference.

The fourth factor was the result of the anti-NWICO campaign the Western nations particularly the United States launched after the 1980 meeting. The withdrawal of U.S. followed by that of Britain was a major blow to the organization’s financial position which significantly undermined its ability to push the NWICO agenda any further. The decline of the prominence and influence of the Third World countries on the international forums also contributed to the weakening of the movement and the

subsequent change of direction. This decline of the influence of the Third World was also partly caused by the fact that OPEC no longer had the same degree of influence on the oil market (Carlsson, 2005:203). Armed conflict had also been broken out between several OPEC countries which significantly hurt the unity of the non-aligned nations that they were able to muster in 1970s (Ibid). It was also proved to be impossible for individual nations to advocate the NWICO concept on the one hand and seek assistance from the Western nations which opposed the notion of NWICO on the other hand (Ibid).

Consequently, NWICO was completely taken off the agenda in 1989 General Conference (Ibid). A new political world order which stood in stark contrast to the NWICO ideals took roots (Ibid: 204). In this new political world order, it was pointed out that the market place alone, without the interference of governments, should have the role in shaping and nurturing culture (Calabrese, 2005: 23). In retrospect, the 1970s could be seen as a period of transition from politics and ideology to market solution (Carlsson, 2005:203).

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology of the Research

The research focused on the print media in Ethiopia as there are relatively a wide variety of newspapers in terms of ownership and objectives. The electronic media, however, are monopolized by the government so that they may not provide a wide spectrum in their coverage of foreign news events. Thus, due to financial and time constraints which did not make it a possibility to include both the electronic and print media, the researcher chose to focus on the later as it would provide the necessary variety for a comprehensive conclusion regarding the media coverage of foreign new events. As a result, he has chosen all the six local English newspapers in circulation in Ethiopia at the time of the study. These were *Capital*, *The Daily Monitor*, *The Ethiopian Herald*, *Fortune*, *The Reporter* and *The Sub-Saharan Informer*. All of them were considered for the analysis because it might be difficult to choose only some of them as a representative sample as these newspapers might be very different in their objectives and scope regarding their foreign news coverage. Only the English newspapers were considered since the researcher believed that the English newspapers would have a broader coverage of international news and thereby provide more data pertinent to the study at hand.

Six weeks editions of each of the newspapers involved in the study were selected for the analyses. As five of the newspapers are weekly, six editions of six consecutive weeks in April and March 2006 were taken as a sample. In the case of the sixth newspaper, that is *The Ethiopian Herald*, which is a daily publication, six days editions of a constructed week in the given months were chosen for the analysis. The two months of the year 2006 were chosen as the appropriate period for the study since earlier all the newspapers in the nation had been preoccupied particularly with the local issues related to the national election held in May 2005 and the subsequent disputes over the results of the election and the violent protests taken place especially in the capital. It was, however, apparent that the election fever had largely gone by the time of the selected period.

All the foreign news items that appeared on the front and/or inner pages of the six week editions of the newspapers were used for analysis. Only news items were considered for the study as they were meant to be the actual reflection of the reality in both the developed and the developing world, which was the main concern of the study. A total of 704 foreign news items were taken from all the 36 editions of the newspapers. Three decoders who were all students in the Graduate School of Journalism and Communication in Addis Ababa University analyzed all the news items and categorized them based on the classifications the researcher provided them with. These classifications were developed world, developing African nations and other developing nations from the rest of the world. The 2006 United Nations Development Index report was used to categorize the nations found in the news coverage according to their stages of development. In the report all the nations in the report were classified into three groups as high, medium and low. In this research those nations in the medium and low categories were considered as developing. In order to assess whether a special emphasis was placed upon any of the two categories within the developing world itself, the medium and low categories were also treated separately. In analyzing the news items appeared in the six newspapers into these classifications, the three decoders were able to attain an inter-coder reliability of more than 97%.

The decoders were also instructed to categorize the news items based on the types of coverage as positive, negative and positive news in a negative context. Besides, they were told to identify the main issues or topics the news items focused on in their coverage and the types of sources used by the newspapers. For this purpose they were provided with a form which had all the above categories so that they used a consistent pattern of classification in their analyses. The researcher himself had moderated any inconsistencies observed among the three decoders. Inter-coder reliability computed among these classifications of three decoders was found to be 71.08% which appeared to have shown a relatively high degree of cohesion among the decoders.

The data quantitatively analyzed in such a way were presented in different tables by using frequency and percentage. Each table had its own thematic focus such as the extent of coverage, prominence in foreign news coverage, types of coverage, topics or issues treated, nations covered and the types of sources used.

In order to identify the kinds of roles and the types of representations the developed and the developing nations had in the news coverage of the six newspapers, a qualitative analysis of 76 news items which comprised of more than ten percent of the total number of news items analyzed quantitatively was made. Three major kinds of roles were identified in the analysis which included the provision of financial support, the initiation of peace deals, and assumption of the role of representative speakers. The importance attached to the developed and the developing world in the coverage of the six newspapers was also identified along with the negative types of representations they received. The dominant themes identified in the negative types of coverage included armed conflict, drought and poverty, natural disasters, corruption and health problems. Negative types of representations the developed world had which did not fall into any of the above categories were treated separately as those classifications inherently inclined more to the developing world.

To triangulate the study and maximize the validity of the research, in-depth interview with five representative editors and editors-in-chief of the newspapers involved in the study except from *Fortune* was also conducted to assess the beliefs and practices of the individual newspapers in relation to their coverage of foreign news items. The editor-in-chief of *Fortune* failed to give an interview despite her own prior consent and the request the researcher made repeatedly. Questions focusing on the objectives of the individual newspapers, news selection processes, the types of sources used, the practices of foreign news coverage and the barriers they faced while covering foreign events were raised during the interview. The interviews were made after the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data gathered were completed so that important observations and insights obtained from the analyses could be included in

the interview. All the interviews were recorded with prior consent of the interviewees.

All the data gathered in these ways were analyzed and interpreted separately and all the findings were discussed together in light with the points raised in the review literature.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Analysis and Interpretation

As it was indicated in the introductory chapter of this research report, the main objective of the research was to assess the coverage of the developed versus developing world in six English newspapers in Ethiopia in order to identify the extent and types of coverage these parts of the world received in the newspapers. It was also intended to identify the types of sources the newspapers used to determine whether they had some kind of impact on the coverage of these parts of the world.

To achieve these objectives both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis were employed in the research. The analyses and interpretations of the data gathered in both ways are presented in three separate sections below.

4.1. The Coverage of the Developed Versus the Developing World

In order to determine the extent and types of coverage the developed and the developing world received in the six local English newspapers, a quantitative method of text analysis was implemented. To that end six categories were identified based on the focus of the news items. These categories were ‘developed world,’ ‘developing world without Africa’ and ‘Africa.’ Moreover, news items which dealt with overlapping and international news were treated as two more separate categories. Those news items which involved both the developed and developing nations in more or less equal degree of significance were identified as ‘overlapping,’ while those items which talked about global issues without reference to any particular nation were categorized as ‘international.’ In addition to these, there was found to be one more category for those nations which on the basis of the 2006 UN Development Index report were categorized as ‘unavailable.’ Furthermore, attempts were also made to identify the types of foreign news which in one way or another had some kind of relation to Ethiopia. This was done to assess to what types of foreign news

items the newspapers gave most attention. The six newspapers embarked upon in this study were the *Capital*, *The Daily Monitor*, *The Ethiopian Herald*, *Fortune*, *The Reporter*, and *The Sub-Saharan Informer*.

In this way six weeks editions of the six newspapers were analyzed quantitatively and the findings were summarized by using percentage in the following tables.

4.1.1. The Extent of the Coverage of the Developed Versus Developing World

In order to determine the extent of coverage the various parts of the world received in the six newspapers in focus, a total of 704 foreign news items analyzed were categorized into the six classes mentioned above and the results were presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Foreign News Coverage

No	Category	CAPITAL		THE DAILY MONITOR		ETHIOPIAN HERALD		FORTUNE		REPORTER		SUB-SAHARAN INFORMER		TOTAL	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	F	%	f	%	f	%
1	Developed	47	6.68	98	13.93	8	1.14	2	0.28	41	5.82	36	5.11	232	32.96
2	Developing world other than Africa	17	2.42	33	4.69	3	0.43	1	0.14	2	0.28	7	0.99	63	8.95
3	Africa	56	7.96	70	9.94	13	1.85	7	0.99	27	3.84	92	13.07	265	37.64
4	Overlapping	22	3.13	31	4.4	-	-	4	0.57	11	1.56	17	2.42	85	12.07
	- Related to Africa	9	1.28	14	1.99	-	-	4	0.57	10	1.42	16	2.27	53	7.53
5	International	6	0.85	2	0.28	1	0.14	-	-	1	0.14	2	0.28	12	1.71
6	Related to Ethiopia	26	3.69	5	0.71	4	0.57	2	0.28	17	2.42	4	0.57	58	8.24
7	Unavailable	3	0.43	24	3.41	1	0.14	5	0.71	1	0.14	13	1.85	47	6.68
Sum		151	21.45	258	36.65	26	3.69	19	2.7	83	11.79	167	23.72	704	

As shown in the table above, Africa alone received more coverage with 37.64% than the developed world which had about 33% of the total foreign news coverage. Again, Africa was given more than four times more coverage than that of the rest of the developing world which had no more than 9% of the total foreign news coverage in terms of number of stories. Generally, the developing world including Africa received markedly higher coverage than the developed world. However, the developed world had more than three times the coverage of the developing world without Africa. From this, it can be concluded that the developing world in general and Africa in particular had a wider coverage than the developed world though the latter received far more coverage than the developing world outside Africa.

This general picture does not hold true uniformly when considering all the coverage of the individual newspapers. For instance, in the case of *The Daily Monitor*, the developed world, which received about 14% of the total foreign news coverage, had a higher coverage than that of Africa and far more significant coverage than the one given to the rest of the developing world. Of course, the developing world including Africa which had nearly 15% of the foreign news coverage had slightly more coverage than the developed world.

However, in the case of *The Reporter*, the developed world received a higher coverage than the developing world including Africa which altogether had more than 4% of the foreign news coverage. Again the developed world which received nearly 6% of the total coverage in this newspaper had a far wider coverage than the developing world outside Africa which had merely 0.28% of its coverage.

Of all the six newspapers, *Fortune* gave the least amount of attention to foreign news items which did not exceed more than 3% of the total foreign news coverage given by all the six newspapers. Despite this, *Fortune* had devoted four times more coverage to the developing world including Africa and three times more coverage to Africa alone than that of the developed world from any of the other five newspapers. This result was followed by *The Sub-Saharan Informer* which had nearly three times more coverage given to the developing world including Africa than the developed world. *The Sub-Saharan Informer* with 23.72% of its total coverage given to foreign

news was also the second next to *The Daily Monitor*, which had about 37% of the overall coverage given to foreign news by all the newspapers in focus. These variations among the individual newspapers involved in the study showed that even though there was generally a greater coverage given to the developing world including Africa than to the developed world, there appeared to be wide variations, even contradictions in the coverage of these parts of the world across the six newspapers. The possible sources of these variations will be discussed later on under a separate section.

News items which involved both the developed and developing world accounted for about 12% of the total news coverage in the six newspapers. From this, more than 7% of the coverage was given to news items related to Africa. This again shows the fact that more attention was given to Africa than any other part of the world in these local newspapers.

This was not yet always the case when it came to the individual newspapers. For example, in the overlapping news category *Capital* and *The Daily Monitor* gave more attention to news items which were not related to Africa than otherwise. Both the newspapers gave more than half of the coverage they had in the overlapping news category to news items not related to Africa. Despite this, *Fortune* had only the overlapping news items which were all related to Africa, whereas *The Ethiopia Herald* had no news items at all in this category. This again highlighted the variations among the individual newspapers in the emphasis they gave to the different parts of the world in their foreign news coverage.

From all the foreign news items covered by the six newspapers, nearly 2% was about international issues which did not involve specific nation from any of the categories in particular. *Fortune* had no news items in this category at all.

Some of the nations which received a marked coverage did not fall into any of the categories discussed above. According to the 2006 UN Human Development Index report they were categorized as unavailable, and in this analysis too they were treated as such. These countries include Somalia (including Somaliland), Liberia, Iraq,

Yemen, Afghanistan, Serbia and North Korea. These countries accounted for nearly 7% of the total coverage given to foreign news items. Among the six newspapers, *The Daily Monitor* gave the highest coverage, which was 3.41% of its foreign news items to countries in this ‘unavailable’ category.

From the overall foreign news items the six newspapers had, slightly more than 8% was about news items related to Ethiopia. This coverage, however, varied according to the individual media outlets. Newspapers like *Capital* and *The Reporter* respectively had 3.69% and 2.42% of their foreign news coverage related to Ethiopia, while the rest gave less than 1% of their coverage to this category. This shows that foreign news items were not largely selected due to their direct relevance to the local issues even though some of the newspapers gave relatively greater emphasis to the ones related to national issues. The possible reasons for this again will be explained under the discussion part.

4.1.2. Prominence in Foreign News Coverage

In order to determine the level of importance attached to the news items in the above six categories, the items were classified into three classes based on the pages where the news appeared and the space they were given in each newspaper. On the basis of the pages the news items appeared on, the items were generally classified as front page and inner page news. Based on the space the items were given in the inside pages they were categorized as major and brief news. No measurement of the space or word count was made for these types of classifications. It was the newspapers own treatment of the news items as brief news or not that was taken as the yard stick for classification. Accordingly, the results of the analysis were presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Prominence in Foreign News Coverage

No	Category	W	CAPITAL		THE DAILY MONITOR		ETHIOPIAN HERALD		FORTUNE		REPORTER		SUB-AHARAN INFORMER		TOTAL	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	Developed world	F														
		I/M	37	5.63	71	10.81	8	1.14	2	0.3	41	6.24	30	4.26	189	28.77
		I/B	10	1.52	27	4.11							6	0.91	43	6.55
2	Developing world Other than Africa	F			1	0.15									1	0.15
		I/M	17	2.59	15	2.28	3	0.46	1	0.15	2	0.3	6	0.91	44	6.7
		I/B			17	2.59							1	0.15	18	2.74
3	Africa	F	2	0.3	7	1.07	6	0.91			1	0.15	6	0.91	22	3.35
		I/M	46	7	28	4.26	7	1.07	7	1.07	26	3.69	83	12.63	197	29.99
		I/B	8	1.22	35	5.33							3	0.46	46	7.00
4	Overlapping	F			2	0.3									2	0.3
		I/M	20	3.04	19	2.89			4	0.61	11	1.67	15	2.28	69	10.5
		I/B	2	0.3	10	1.52							2	0.3	14	2.13
	-Related to Africa	F			1	0.15									1	0.15
		I/M	9	1.37	8	1.22			4	0.61	10	1.52	14	2.13	45	6.85
		I/B			5	0.76							2	0.3	7	1.07
5	International	F														
		I/M	6	0.91	2	0.3	1	0.15			1	0.15	2	0.3	12	1.83
		I/B														
6	Related to Ethiopia	F			5	0.76	4	0.61			1	0.15			10	1.52
		I/M	22	3.35					2	0.3	16	2.44	4	0.61	44	6.7
		I/B	4	0.61											4	0.61
Sum			148	22.53	234	35.62	25	3.81	14	2.13	82	12.48	154	23.44	657	

Keys: F- Front page; I/M- Inner pages/Major news; I/B- Inner pages/Brief News

As indicated in the table above, Africa received the highest coverage on the front pages, although the continent only accounted for 3.5% of the total foreign news coverage. When it came to the rest of the developing world, only one news item was found on the front pages of all the six newspapers which was a mere 0.15% of the total coverage. This news item about the rest of the developing world was from the front page of *The Daily Monitor*. The developed world as well as the international news, however, had no front page coverage in any of the newspapers. In the overlapping news category, merely 0.3% of the news coverage appeared on the front pages while half of this was related to Africa. From all the foreign news items that appeared on the front pages of the six newspapers, 1.5% of the total coverage was related to Ethiopia. These figures appeared to imply that Africa had relatively more prominence than the rest of the developing world, whereas, the developed world was not given a front page coverage at all unless the news items were somehow related to the developing world, particularly Africa.

In the inside pages of the newspapers, Africa and the developed world received almost equal attention in the major news category. Again, Africa had slightly more news items about 30% of the total foreign news coverage than the developed world, which received nearly 29% of the coverage. The developing world outside Africa having 6.7% of the total coverage was given less than one fourth of the same coverage given to the developed world in the inner pages of the newspapers. This was also slightly less than the coverage of news items related to Africa in the overlapping news category which had 6.85% of the 10.5% coverage given to news items in this category. The same amount of news items to that of the developing world outside Africa that was 6.7% was related to Ethiopia. Only less than 2% of the total coverage was about international issues which did not involve particular nations from any of the other categories mentioned above. Generally speaking, Africa and the developed world had somehow equal coverage while the rest of the developing world was given far less attention than the one given to either Africa or the developed world.

More or less equal coverage was given to both Africa and the developed world in the brief news category in the inner pages, again Africa with 7% coverage receiving slightly more attention than the developed world which had 6.55% of the overall coverage. The developing world outside Africa had less than 3% of the total coverage on the inside pages which was less than half of the coverage given to the developed world in this category. In contrast, this coverage of the developing world outside Africa was more than that of the overlapping news items and even more than twice the news items related to Africa in the overlapping category of brief new items appeared on the inner pages. No foreign news item related to Ethiopia was treated briefly in the inner pages of the six newspapers. The same held true to the international news category. Africa and the developed world had almost equal coverage in the brief news category too, whereas, the rest of the developing world again had relatively small coverage. However, this coverage of the developing world outside Africa was somehow better within the brief news category than the coverage of overlapping news items in general or those news items related to Africa in particular in the same brief news category.

4.1.3. Types of Coverage

To determine the types of coverage the nations in the various categories received, three types of coverage were identified and employed to classify the different news items that appeared in the six newspapers. Two of them were ‘positive coverage’ and ‘negative coverage.’ The third one was positive news in a negative context. To classify the news items in such a way, the context of the story and the angle from which the story was presented were used as important indicators. Accordingly, those news items which were presented in a significantly negative context but which were told from a positive angle were classified as positive news in a negative context. In these ways the foreign news items from the six newspapers were categorized and presented in the following table.

Table 3: Types of Coverage

No	Category	Type	CAPITAL		THE DAILY MONITOR		ETHIOPIAN HERALD		FORTUNE		REPORTER		SUB-AHARAN INFORMER		TOTAL	
			f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	Developed world	P	24	3.65	36	5.48	2	0.3	1	0.15	24	3.65	17	2.42	104	15.83
		P/N	10	1.52	18	2.74	-		-		6	0.91	8	1.22	42	6.39
		N	13	1.98	44	6.7	6	0.91	1	0.15	11	1.67	11	1.67	86	13.09
2	Developing world Other than Africa	P	11	1.67	6	0.91	-		-		2	0.3	2	0.3	21	3.2
		P/N	3	0.46	4	0.61	2	0.3	1	0.15	-		-		10	1.52
		N	3	0.46	23	3.5	1	0.15	-		-		5	0.76	32	4.87
3	Africa	P	25	3.8	12	1.83	4	0.61	3	0.46	9	1.37	25	3.8	78	11.87
		P/N	15	2.28	24	3.65	6	0.91	3	0.46	11	1.67	32	4.87	91	13.85
		N	16	2.44	34	5.18	3	0.46	1	0.15	7	1.07	35	5.33	96	14.61
4	Overlapping	P	10	1.52	5	0.76	-		3	0.46	7	1.07	8	1.22	33	5.02
		P/N	4	0.61	14	2.13	-		1	0.15	2	0.3	5	0.76	26	3.96
		N	8	1.22	12	1.83	-		-		2	0.3	4	0.61	26	3.96
	-Related to Africa	P	5	0.76	2	0.3	-		3	0.46	6	0.91	7	1.07	23	3.5
		P/N	1	0.15	7	1.07	-		1	0.15	2	0.3	5	0.76	16	2.44
		N	3	0.46	5	0.76	-		-		2	0.3	4	0.61	14	2.13
5	International	P	1	0.15	1	0.15	1	0.15	-		-		2	0.3	5	0.76
		P/N	3	0.46	-	-	-		-		1	0.15	-		4	0.61
		N	2	0.3	1	0.15	-		-		-		-		3	0.46
Sum			148		234		25		14		82		154		657	

Keys: P – Positive news; **P/N** – Positive news in a negative context; **N** – Negative news

As shown in the table above, the negative coverage of the developing world including Africa was slightly higher than the positive coverage each of these categories received. For example, the developing world without Africa had nearly a 5% negative coverage and there is slightly more than 3% positive coverage about it. Similarly, Africa received more than 14% negative coverage while it had about 12% positive coverage. The reverse was true in the case of the developed world, which had nearly 16% positive coverage and about 13% negative coverage. Generally, the positive and negative coverage given to the developed world, the developing world including Africa and Africa alone were not widely different, but still the developed world received somewhat more positive news coverage than the negative coverage it had, while the developing world including Africa had more negative coverage than the positive one.

When it comes to the individual newspapers, the general picture appears to be widely varying from one another. Different from the general trend, *The Daily Monitor* and *The Ethiopian Herald* had more negative coverage about the developed world than the positive news items they had about it. *The Ethiopian Herald* in particular had given three times more coverage to negative news items than the positive ones about the developed world. *Fortune*, on its part, had an equal coverage both to the positive and negative news items about the developed world. The other three newspapers, however, had more positive news items about the developed world than the negative ones with the *Capital* and *The Reporter* at the top having nearly twice more positive coverage than the negative one the developed world.

In the case of the developing world including Africa, however, *Capital* gave a different picture than the generalization drawn above. That is, it had more positive news about the developing world within and without Africa than the negative ones about these parts of the world. The same held true in the case of *The Reporter*. This newspaper had more number of positive news items about the developing world including Africa while it had no negative news at all about the developing world outside Africa. *The Ethiopia Herald* and *Fortune* had also given twice and nearly thrice more positive news coverage to Africa than the negative one the continent had

in each of these newspapers respectively. On the other hand, *The Daily Monitor* and *The Sub-Saharan Informer* had up to three times more negative news coverage about the developing world in general than the positive news coverage given to this part of the world. *The Ethiopian Herald* had no positive news coverage about the developing world outside Africa while *Fortune* had neither positive nor negative news coverage about this part of the world.

Apart from these three main categories, there was found to be more positive news than the negative ones in the overlapping news items including those related to Africa and in the international news categories. Slightly more than 5% of the positive news and nearly 4% of the negative news items were found in the overlapping news category. From this, 3.5% of the positive news and slightly more than 2% of the negative news was related to Africa. Nearly 0.8% of the positive news and about 0.5% of the negative news items was related to global issues which did not concern any specific country in particular.

However, in the case of *The Daily Monitor* there were more negative overlapping news items (about 2%) than the positive news items which were less than 1%. The same was true in the case of those news items related to Africa that appeared in this newspaper as there was more than twice the negative news coverage in this category than the positive coverage. There was no overlapping news item in the case of *The Ethiopian Herald* while no negative news appeared in *Fortune* in this category.

The third type of news coverage was what was designated here as positive news in a negative context. This referred to the type of news items which were reported from the positive side of the events that were predominantly negative in their nature. These generally included news items reporting about issues such as peace keeping and peace negotiations, humanitarian aid and relief efforts, court trial particularly related to corruption and human rights abuses, and elections when specially overshadowed by vote rigging and violent protests. For example, a news report about the European Commission allocation of five million euros for emergency humanitarian aid in East Africa, which appeared on *The Reporter* (Vol. X, No. 498,

Saturday, March 25, 2006, pp. 4) was a positive move taken by Europe but put the East African region in a negative light. AU's effort to present a revised "Enhanced Ceasefire Agreement for Darfur" (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 84, Saturday-Sunday, April 8-9, 2006, pp. 1) was also a positive report presented in a negative context as it highlighted the problems in Darfur, Sudan. The report about the former child soldiers in the Great Lakes region who received two million US dollar in aid was a news item presented from a positive angle which at the same time depicted the crisis in the "war-torn" region (*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 010, Friday, March 24-30, 2006, pp. 5).

In this category of news coverage, there were observed wide variations in such coverage given to Africa on the one hand and the rest of the developing world and the developed one on the other hand. In the case of Africa, the coverage of positive news in a negative context, which accounted for 13.85% of the total foreign news coverage, was about two percent higher than the positive coverage that was 11.87% of the coverage and slightly less than the negative coverage that was 14.61% of the total coverage. However, the positive news coverage in a negative context of both the developing world outside Africa and the developed world was less than half of both the positive and the negative coverage these parts of the world received. This type of coverage of the developing world outside Africa, which was 1.52% of the overall foreign news coverage, was less half of the 3.2% positive coverage and even far less than half of the 4.87% negative coverage this part of the world received. In the case of the developed world, this type of coverage which accounted for 6.39% of the total foreign news coverage was again less than half of the 13.09% negative coverage and far less than half of the 15.83% positive coverage it received.

The picture appears to be different when it comes to the other categories of foreign news coverage. In the overlapping news category, the coverage of the positive news in a negative context was the same as the negative coverage which accounted for 3.96% of the total foreign news coverage. This figure was indeed markedly more than half of the positive news coverage in this category which covered 5.02% of the total foreign news items. From all the news items related to Africa in this category,

the positive news coverage in a negative context, which was 2.44% of the coverage, was slightly more than the 2.13% negative coverage in the same category. This type of coverage was still less than the positive coverage which was 3.5% of the overall foreign news coverage. This trend perpetuated in the international news category as well.

There appear to be wider variations across categories in the coverage of positive news in a negative context. In this type of coverage, Africa received more than twice news coverage than the developed world had, whereas, the developing world outside Africa had less than half of the coverage the developed world received. News items related to Africa in the overlapping news category had more positive news in a negative context than that of the developing world outside Africa. This was again more than half of the coverage of positive news in a negative context given to the overlapping news items as a whole.

4.1.4. Topics and News Coverage

In order to make further assessment of the types of news coverage the three main parts of the world received in the six newspapers, the different types of topics were identified and the coverage given to the various categories under each topic was computed. The results were summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Topics Covered

No	Topics	International		Developed		Developing		Africa		Overlapping		Sum	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	Accident			1	0.15			7	2.64	2	0.3	10	1.52
2	Agriculture					1	0.15					1	0.15
3	Aid/Loan/Debt			1	0.15	1	0.15	13	1.98	7	1.07	22	3.35
4	Art/ Film/Literature/Music	1	0.15	11	1.67			4	0.61	3	0.46	19	2.89
5	Business	4	0.61	14	2.13	11	1.67	39	5.94	17	2.59	85	12.94
6	Celebrities			10	1.52	1	0.15	1	0.15	2	0.3	14	2.13
7	Census							1	0.15			1	0.15
8	Conflict/armed/boarder			2	0.3	2	0.3	23	3.5	1	0.15	28	4.26
9	Corruption							7	1.07			7	1.07
10	Crime			5	0.76	1	0.15	6	0.91			12	1.83
11	Culture									1	0.15	1	0.15
12	Drought/Hunger							3	0.46			3	0.46
13	Education							2	0.3			2	0.3
14	Election			1	0.15	2	0.3	14	2.13	3	0.46	20	3.04
15	Energy/Oil/Water/Electricity			1	0.15			5	0.76			6	0.91
16	Environment					1	0.15	3	0.46	1	0.15	5	0.76
17	Fashion			1	0.15							1	0.15
18	Football	1	0.15	115	17.5	4	0.61	24	3.65	14	2.13	158	24.05
19	Health	1	0.15	13	1.98	7	1.07	17	2.59	1	0.15	39	5.94
	- Bird flu			3	0.46	2	0.3	8	1.22	1	0.15	14	2.13
	- HIV/AIDS							2	0.3			2	0.3
20	Hijacking							1	0.15			1	0.15
21	Human Rights									1	0.15	1	0.15
22	Immigration			1	0.15			5	0.76			6	0.91
23	Information Technology			6	0.91					1	0.15	7	1.07
24	Massacre							1	0.15			1	0.15
25	Media			1	0.15			3	0.46	1	0.15	5	0.76
26	Military			3	0.46	1	0.15	1	0.15	2	0.3	7	1.07
27	Natural Disaster			1	0.15			5	0.76			6	0.91
28	Nuclear Program			1	0.15	7	1.07			7	1.07	15	2.28
29	Peace-keeping							12	1.83	2	0.3	14	2.13
30	Politics	2	0.3	9	1.37	9	1.37	34	5.18	10	1.52	64	9.74
31	Poverty	1	0.15					3	0.46			4	0.61
32	Protest					1	0.15	7	1.07			8	1.22
33	Religion							1	0.15			1	0.15
34	Science and Technology			7	1.07	2	0.3	1	0.15			10	1.52
35	Social issues			1	0.15			3	0.46			4	0.61
36	Sport other than football	1	0.15	11	1.67	4	0.61	6	0.91	1	0.15	23	3.5
37	Terrorism			2	0.3					3	0.46	5	0.76
38	Tourism							2	0.3			2	0.3
39	Transportation			2	0.3			4	0.61	2	0.3	8	1.22
40	Trial	1	0.15	12	1.83	8	1.22	7	1.07	3	0.46	31	4.72
SUM		12	1.83	232	35.31	63	9.59	265	40.34	85	12.94	657	

According to Table 4 above the highest coverage was given to news items which talked about football. They had about 24% of the total foreign news coverage. This was mainly due to the wide coverage the developed world, particularly Europe, had which accounted for 17.5% of the coverage that was two third of the total football coverage. In the football category Africa had less than 4% of the coverage which was less than one fourth of the coverage given to the developed world. Next to this, the overlapping news items in this category accounted for slightly more than 2% of the coverage while the developing world outside Africa had a mere 0.6% coverage.

The second most covered topic was business which accounted for about 13% of the total foreign news coverage. That was only slightly more than half of the coverage given to football news items. In this category Africa had the highest percentage of coverage that was nearly 6% of the total coverage of foreign news. This was more than twice the coverage of overlapping news items which was less than 3% and the developed world which was a little more than 2% of the coverage. The rest of the developing world had less than 2% of the coverage given to these types of news.

From all the African news items, next to business political news had the highest coverage which accounted for more than 5% of the total coverage. Both the developed and the developing world outside Africa received equal political coverage that was 1.37% of the total news coverage. The overlapping news items in this category had slightly more coverage than the earlier two categories, which was 1.52% of the total foreign news items.

Apart from football and next to politics, armed conflict which included boarder disputes accounted for 3.5% of the coverage given to the African continent. The developed and the rest of the developing world had again equal coverage which was a mere 0.3% of the total news items assessed. This was about twice the coverage given to the overlapping news items which was approximately 0.15%.

The next most widely covered topic about Africa was health which had 2.59% of the total foreign news coverage. Interestingly, nearly half of this that was 1.22% was

related to bird flu while only 0.3% of the total coverage was about HIV/AIDS. Under the health topic the developed world had nearly 2% of the coverage from which only 0.46% was about bird flu. There was no item about HIV/AIDS related to the developed world. The developing world outside Africa had only slightly more than 1% of the total coverage related to health issues. Of this only 0.3% was about bird flu epidemic. About half of this was related to bird flu in the overlapping news category which was the only type of news item under health topic in this category.

The other relatively widely covered news items about Africa were related to elections and issues such as aid, loan and debt. Election news items covered 2.13% of the total foreign news items, while nearly 2% of the total coverage was about aid, loan or debt. These figures are far higher than the 0.15% coverage the developed world had in relation to both topics. The rest of the developing world received the same amount of coverage about issues related to aid, loan and debt, while it had 0.3% of the election coverage. The overlapping news items in the former category had slightly more than 1% coverage, whereas it had less than half of this in the later one.

There was no foreign news item related to drought or hunger and peace-keeping among others in the categories of developed and developing world outside Africa while Africa received 0.46% of the total news coverage in the analysis in relation to drought or hunger and nearly 2% of the total news coverage related to peace-keeping missions on the continent. News items related to peace-keeping missions which accounted for 0.3% of the coverage came under the overlapping news category, while no item was found in this category related to drought or hunger.

Related to science and technology, more than 1% of the total news coverage in the research material was about the developed world whereas a very small amount of the news items under this topic was about the developing world including Africa. That is, of the total coverage of news stories Africa had merely 0.15% related to science and technology, while the rest of the developing world received 0.3% of the total coverage in this regard.

From the figures and analysis given above, Africa had the highest coverage in most of the topics discussed except football and science and technology. In football the developed world had more than four times higher coverage than Africa and the rest of the developing world. Even though the coverage given to science and technology news items was very small, the developed world again had the highest coverage in this category when it was compared to the very small amount of coverage the developing world including Africa received. The developing world outside Africa was generally the least reported region among the three categories covered, though at times it received equal coverage with the developed world in issues such as politics, armed conflict, and aid, loan and debt. The only category which the developing world outside Africa had a greater coverage than Africa itself was the science and technology section. Similar to the developed world, the developing world outside Africa had no news item about hunger or drought.

From those topics mentioned above, armed conflict, aid, loan, debt, hunger and drought were potentially negative topics while the health category was also dominated by negative issues like bird flu and HIV/AIDS. Though business and politics were not necessarily negative topics, their negative aspects of particularly the latter one appeared to be emphasized in the news coverage. Even in relation to elections, which could be regarded as positive developments in most of the developing world, the news stories about them were usually overshadowed by negative developments in the process.

4.1.5. The Coverage of Individual Nations and Regions

In order to further corroborate the results of the above analysis, the individual nations and regions mentioned in every foreign news item that appeared in the newspapers were identified and the frequency of their occurrences counted. Finally the results of the analysis were presented in Table 5a attached at the appendix. As the table was too long to include here, it was briefly summarized and presented in Table 5b below.

Table 5b: Nations and Regions Covered (Summary of Table 5a)

No.	Nations and Regions	Positive news		Positive/Negative news		Negative news		Total	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
1	Highly Developed nations	149	17.84	77	9.22	104	12.46	330	39.52
2	Medium-developing nations outside Africa	37	4.43	28	3.35	46	5.51	111	13.29
3	Medium-developing African nations	55	6.59	44	5.27	43	5.15	142	17.01
4	Least developed nations outside Africa	1	0.12	-		1	0.12	2	0.24
5	Least developed African nations	24	2.85	73	8.74	66	7.9	163	19.52
6	More regions from the Developed World	8	0.96	11	1.32	14	1.68	33	3.95
7	More regions from the Developing World	23	2.76	21	2.52	12	1.44	56	6.71
SUM		296	35.45	254	30.42	285	34.13	835	

The summary of Table 5a above, entitled 5b, showed that more nations from the developed world appeared in the news items covered by the six newspapers. Nearly 40% of the total number of countries and regions covered were nations from the developed world. When more regions and institutions from this part of the world were included in the coverage, the percentage would go up to 43.47%.

This figure was more than twice the coverage of the least developed nations from Africa which accounted for less than 20% of the total coverage. If the coverage given to East Africa as a region which was dominated by least developed nations was included in this category the percentage would rise up to slightly more than 21%.

Still, this figure was less than half of the coverage the developed nations and regions altogether received.

The developing nations in Africa without the least developed ones had about 17% of the coverage. If news items generally referring to Africa were to be included in this category the percentage would increase a little bit more than 21% which would make it equivalent to the coverage given to the least developed nations and regions on the continent.

The developing nations outside Africa without including the least developed one covered slightly more than 13% of the overall coverage. This figure would go up to above 14% when it included other references to Asia, Arab League, OPEC and the Latin America in general. This figure was far less than half of the coverage given to the developed nations or to the least developed nations in Africa. In the least developed category outside Africa, there was only one nation mentioned and that was Yemen.

When it came to the references made to specific nations and parts of the world, Great Britain was found at the top of the list with more than 11% of the coverage. This was mainly due to the widest coverage Britain received in the coverage of football related news items.

Britain was followed by the United States which had about 11% of the total news coverage. This might most likely be because of the leading role U.S.A played on the political and economic arena of the world.

The coverage these two developed nations received was largely greater than the developing nations which came next in the list. Kenya, the least developing nation in East Africa, stood third in the hierarchy of coverage followed by South Africa. Both nations individually had less than 5% of the overall coverage which did not reach half of the coverage given to each of the top two developed nations. One reason why these two African nations had relatively higher coverage than the other nations down

in the list might be proximity. As African nations, both are closer to the host nation. Kenya in particular is geographically one of the closest as it is a neighboring nation to Ethiopia. In the case of South Africa, it was among the economically strongest nations on the continent and the ‘super power’ of Sub-Saharan Africa. Besides, one of the six newspapers analyzed in this study, *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, had regular correspondence from these two nations in particular.

News items referring to Africa in general gave the continent a fifth place in the hierarchy of news coverage with 4.31% of the total coverage. Next came the European Union (EU) with 3.59% while Spain (3.47%), Sudan and Ghana (having equally 2.64% coverage), Egypt (2.4%) and Russia (2.28%) ranked from seven to ten respectively. The majority of the rest of the nations and other parts of the world each received less than 2% of the overall coverage in the six newspapers analyzed.

Regarding the types of coverage the individual nations and other parts of the world received, the developed nations and the developing African nations in the medium category had more positive coverage than the negative one. About 18% of the developed nations had positive coverage while more than 12% received a negative coverage. Slightly more than 9% of the coverage was positive news in a negative context. In the case of the developing African nations without the inclusion of the least developed ones, 6.59% of the news items were positive news stories while 5.15% was a negative coverage. Slightly more than the negative coverage was the coverage given to the positive news items in a negative context.

Contrary to the above two categories, the developing nations outside Africa at the medium level and the least developed nations in Africa received more negative coverage than the positive one. The moderately developed nations outside Africa had 5.51% negative coverage while 4.43% of the coverage was a positive one. Slightly more than 3% of the coverage was a positive one in the negative context. The least developed nations in Africa had nearly 8% negative coverage, whereas it had less than 3% positive coverage, which was far less than half of the negative coverage.

The positive news items in a negative context, however, exceed the negative coverage these nations had with nearly one percentage point.

The trend appeared to be more or less similar to the general picture when it came to the specific nations at the top of the list. Great Britain, for instance, had more than 5% positive news coverage while it had less than 4% negative coverage. It had also slightly more than 2% of the coverage which was a positive one in a negative context. In the case of the United States, the figures seemed to be more closely dispersed than that of Britain. The positive coverage U.S.A received which was 4.19% of the coverage was nearly equal to the 4.07% of the negative coverage it had. The positive coverage in the negative context the nation had was less than 3% of the total coverage.

Very different from the above figure, Kenya had far more negative coverage than the positive one it received in the analyzed news items. It had 2.76% of the negative coverage which was more than four times the 0.6% positive coverage it had. The positive news in the negative context this African nation received was only slightly more than 1% of the total coverage. South Africa, however, received more positive coverage, that was 2.28% of the total foreign news coverage, than the negative one which covered only 1.2% of the coverage. The positive coverage in the negative context about this nation was 0.96% of the total coverage.

Similarly, news items which generally referred to Africa were more positive with 2.04% of the total foreign news coverage while the negative news items accounted for 0.96% of the coverage. The positive news items in a negative context, however, covered 1.32% of the total foreign news items assessed.

Contrary to the coverage of Africa, Europe had more negative news items with 1.44% of the coverage while it had 0.96% positive news coverage. The positive news items in a negative context Europe received was 1.2% which was slightly more than the positive coverage though it was still less than the negative one.

Regardless of the coverage given to their respective categories, Spain had more positive news than negative while Sudan received more negative news coverage than positive. However, the more positive coverage Egypt and Ghana received and the more negative coverage Russia had were findings consistent with the coverage of their respective categories.

The coverage of individual nations and regions was found to be complicated in comparison to the coverage given to their respective categories. In consistence with the general coverage of the developed world Britain and U.S.A were the top nations in the hierarchy of coverage. However, the coverage given to Kenya and South Africa, the two African nations representing the developing world, exceeded that of Spain, another representative of the developed world. Sudan, Ghana, Egypt and Russia received the highest coverage of all the other nations from the developing world as well as the developed ones. News items about Africa in general had also more coverage than those referring to Europe as a whole.

Similarly the types of coverage given to these nations and regions appeared to be even more complicated than that of their respective categories. For instance, the developed world in general had a more positive coverage than a negative one, whereas Europe, a representative of the developed world, received more negative coverage than otherwise. Contrary to the predominant negative coverage the least developed African nations received, the continent in general had more positive news items than the negative ones. Hence, it would be difficult to conclude that there was consistently the same type of coverage given to the individual nations and regions according to their respective categories of development.

4.1.6. The Use of Sources

One of the objectives of the present study was to identify the types of sources the six newspapers used and assess how they might have influenced or related to the extent and types of coverage the newspapers had given to the different parts of the world. Accordingly, the various sources the media in focus used and the number of news items coming from each source were identified along with the origin of the sources to determine into which categories they would fall.

As a result, all the sources used in the newspapers were classified into the following six categories. The two most important categories which were the central focus of this research were sources from the developed versus the developing world. The sources which did not categorically fall into one of these classifications were grouped as international sources. These included the various UN agencies and other international institutions which were used as sources. There were also sources which were not possible to identify into the two main categories, not because of their international standing, but due to the general reference made to these sources as agencies or due to the fact that the sources were not indicated at all. These types of sources came under the category called unidentified sources. Sometimes, a newspaper was found to have used other local media, including among the six newspapers in focus, while reporting on certain events, and these were classified as local sources. The other sources which were directly accessed by the newspapers' own agents either local staff reporters or international correspondents (as in the case of *The Sub-Saharan Informer*) were identified as direct sources.

In such ways, all the sources used in the newspapers were summarized according to the types of coverage and the parts of the world covered in the news by using percentage. As the lists of sources were found to be too long to be compiled in one table, they were presented in three different tables attached at the appendix. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, however, the data from all the three tables were presented in a summarized way in the table below.

Table 6d: Types of Sources used (Summary of Table 6a, Table 6b and Table 6c)

No.	Types of Sources	Types of News	International		Developed		Developing		Africa		Overlapping		Total	
1	Direct sources	P	1	0.15	2	0.31			13	1.98	5	0.91	21	3.2
		P/N							20	3.04	6	0.76	26	3.96
		N					2	0.31	19	2.89	2	0.31	23	3.5
Sum			1	0.15	2	0.31	2	0.31	52	7.92	13	1.98	70	10.66
2	Sources from developed world	P	1	0.15	63	9.59	6	0.91	17	2.59	16	2.44	103	15.68
		P/N	3	0.46	33	5.02	7	1.07	31	4.72	18	2.74	92	14
		N	3	0.46	65	9.89	26	3.96	42	6.39	19	2.89	155	23.59
Sum			7	1.07	161	24.51	39	5.94	90	13.7	53	8.07	350	53.27
3	Sources from Developing World	P	1	0.15	1	0.15	8	1.22	17	2.59	2	0.31	29	4.41
		P/N			1	0.15	1	0.15	13	1.98			15	2.28
		N	1	0.15	1	0.15	4	0.61	6	0.91	4	0.61	16	2.44
Sum			2	0.31	3	0.46	13	1.98	36	5.48	6	0.91	60	9.13
4	International Sources	P			1	0.15	1	0.15	1	0.15	1	0.15	4	0.61
		P/N					1	0.15	3	0.46			4	0.61
		N			1	0.15			1	0.15			2	0.31
Sum			-		2	0.31	2	0.31	5	0.76	1	0.15	10	1.52
5	Unidentified sources	P	1	0.15	38	5.78	3	0.46	27	4.11	6	0.91	75	11.42
		P/N	1	0.15	11	1.67			23	3.5	4	0.61	39	5.94
		N	-		15	2.28	2	0.15	25	3.81	2	0.31	44	6.7
Sum			2	0.31	64	9.74	5	0.76	75	11.42	12	1.83	158	24.05
6	Local Sources	P							3	0.46			3	0.46
		P/N					2	0.31	2	0.31			4	0.61
		N							2	0.31			2	0.31
Sum			-				2	0.31	7	1.07			9	1.37
Total sum			12	1.83	232	35.31	63	9.59	265	40.34	85		657	

Table 6 above shows that the large majority of sources in the six newspapers came from the developed world which accounted for more than 53% of the overall sources used. This was even more than twice the use of unidentified sources and five times more than the total number of sources coming from the developing world. Even slightly more number of direct sources that covered 10.66% of the foreign news items were used in the foreign news coverage than sources from the developing world in general which was less than 10%. A relatively negligible amount of news items came from either international sources or local sources, which were found to be 1.52% and 1.37% respectively.

The wide use of sources from the developed world was related to the dominant use of the two main news agencies from this part of the world. These were Reuters and BBC. Reuters alone which was predominantly used in *The Daily Monitor* in particular covered more than half of all the sources coming from the developed world which was again far more than the use of unidentified sources, which was the second largest category among the types of sources used. BBC, which was used as a source for more than 11% of the total sources used, on its part alone was the source of more foreign news items than all the other sources from the developing world.

Among all the sources from the developing world, not a single source was used in such a significantly dominant manner. However, the large majority of the sources had African origins.

From the unidentified sources used, almost half of them, which covered nearly 12%, were not mentioned while the other half was indicated as agencies. While all the newspapers sometimes failed to mention the sources of the foreign news items they covered, *The Sub-Saharan Informer* in particular used the term ‘agencies’ widely to indicate the sources of the majority of its foreign news coverage. This newspaper was also the only print media among those analyzed in this study which had correspondents working outside Ethiopia. These correspondents covered about 5% of the total sources used, which was slightly less than half of the sources directly accessed by all the six newspapers.

These different types of sources seemed to have given a varying emphasis to the different parts of the world and similarly different types of coverage to these parts of the world. For instance, the sources from the developed world gave much more emphasis to the developed world than to the other parts of the world. That is, more than 24% of the sources from the developed world covered events in the developed world itself, while the same type of sources was used to cover about 20% of the developing world including Africa. Sources from the developing world had placed far greater emphasis on this same part of the world particularly on Africa. There was only less than 1% of the news items about the developed world coming from sources

in the developing world while more than 5% of the total coverage about Africa came from sources from the developing world itself. However, far more than two times of this coverage about Africa had its sources from the developed world which also covered nearly three times more news items about the developing world outside Africa than those from the developing world itself which had less than 2% of the total coverage.

Slightly more coverage was given to Africa, which accounted for more than 11% of the coverage, than to that of the developed world that had less than 10% of the coverage by the sources which were not able to be identified. The coverage, however, showed a heavy slant towards Africa when direct sources were used for foreign news coverage. Nearly 8% of the total coverage coming from direct sources was about Africa; whereas, news items from the other categories, except the overlapping one, accounted for less than 1% of the coverage. Even the overlapping news items covered by such sources accounted for not more than 2% of the coverage. It was also the case that other local media were used as sources only to report on Africa, or the rest of the developing world in much lesser degree. International sources were also used to give more coverage to the African continent than the developed and the rest of the developing world that had equal coverage by these sources in which each of them accounted for less than 1% of the total coverage.

The types of coverage given to the three different parts of the world varied according to the types of sources used. For example, a more or less equal number of both positive and negative news items about the developed world that were 9.59% and 9.89% of the coverage respectively came from sources from the developed world itself. Whereas, more than twice negative news items than the positive ones about Africa and four times more negative news than the positive ones about the rest of the developing world came from these same sources in the developed world. Even nearly twice more positive news in a negative context came from the same sources about Africa than the positive news coverage the continent received from these sources in the developed world. This coverage was more or less equal to the same type of

coverage the developed world received, but it was nearly half of either the positive or the negative coverage the developed world had.

The picture appeared to be similar in the cases of the two prominent news agencies from the developed world. Both Reuters and BBC had more negative coverage about the developed world than positive one, with variation which seemed to be rather insignificant in the case of BBC in particular. Contrary to that of Reuters, the same pattern seemed to persist in the coverage of Africa in the case of BBC. While BBC had only slightly more negative news coverage about the continent than its positive coverage, Reuters had nearly three times more negative news coverage than the positive one it gave to Africa. Whereas, in the case of BBC the developing world received slightly more positive news coverage than the negative one, Reuters devoted six times more negative coverage than the positive one it gave to this part of the world.

In contrast to the above trend, sources from the developing world had about three times more positive news related to Africa and twice more positive news about the rest of the developing world than the negative coverage both parts of the world received from sources in the developing world. Africa received 2.59% of the coverage from sources in the developing world than 0.91% of its negative coverage from these sources in the developing world, while the rest of developing world had 1.22% of the positive news items and merely 0.61% of the negative coverage drawn from these same sources in the developing world itself. The positive news items in negative context about Africa was even more than twice the coverage of negative news items about the continent, while there was only one item in this category about each of the developed and the rest of the developing world, which accounted only for 0.15% of the coverage coming from sources in the developing world.

In the case of using unidentified sources, more or less equal amount of attention was given to the three types of coverage about Africa. The developed world, however, had more than twice positive news coverage than the negative one about it from those unidentified sources. Similarly, the developing world outside Africa had more

positive news coverage than the negative one it received from the unidentified sources.

The sources directly accessed by the newspapers' own agents had given more negative news coverage about Africa than the positive one. Even the positive news items in negative context had more coverage than any of the positive and negative coverage about the continent. This was mainly due to the slightly more emphasis given to the positive news items presented in a negative context by the correspondents of *The Sub-Saharan Informer*.

In conclusion, it can be said that far more sources from the developed world were used to cover foreign news items in the six newspapers than sources from the developing world. This was mainly due to the wide use of Reuters and BBC, the two prominent news agencies from the developed world. Reuters in particular was used far more widely than any other news agency, even than the BBC mainly because of *The Daily Monitors* heavy reliance on this agency. Not any single source from the developing world was used so dominantly though most of the sources from this part of the world had their origins in Africa.

It was also observed in the analysis that both sources from the developed and the developing world gave due emphasis to their respective regions. This may be due to the tendency on the part of the newspapers in focus to use sources from the same part of the world while covering that part of the world. Despite this, far more sources from the developed world were used to cover the developing world, particularly Africa than those sources from the developing world itself. In contrast, very few sources from the developing world were used to report on events in the developed world.

The types of coverage given to the different parts of the world also varied according to the origins of the sources used and the part of the world being covered. While sources from the developed world gave more or less equal coverage to both positive and negative news items about this part of the world, they had far more negative

coverage of the developing world than positive one. However, sources from the developing world had more positive news coverage about the developing world itself than the negative coverage it received from these same sources. All these seemed to prove the assumption that the types of sources used determine in a way the extent and types of coverage the various parts of the world received in the foreign news coverage in the six newspapers.

4.2. Roles and Representations

The other main objective of this research was to identify the kind of roles the developed versus the developing world assumed and the types of representations they received in the coverage in the six newspapers in focus. To achieve this objective a qualitative analysis of selected news items was made. The total number of the news items selected for this purpose was 76. These news items were selected purposefully with the view that they could be the best examples to show all the various ways these parts of the world were depicted. These various ways of representations identified from the selected news items are discussed below under the respective headings given to each section.

4.2.1. The Roles of the Developed and the Developing World

In the coverage of foreign news items given by the six local English newspapers the developed and the developing world were portrayed as having different and sometimes overlapping roles in various areas. The major areas identified in the following analysis were the provision of financial support and the initiation of peace talks. The representative role of speaking for other is also discussed separately.

4.2.1.1. The provision of financial support

In this aspect of the foreign news coverage of the six newspapers, attempts were made to answer questions such as who was providing financial supports, and who was at the receiving end?

As it could possibly be expected, the major sources of any form of financial support were nations and institutions from the developed world. The U.S.A, European Union, Japan, UK , Netherlands, Germany, Norway and Emirates Bank International were identified in various news items providing financial support ranging from aid to loan to nations and institutions in the developing world. The World Bank as an international financial institute was also identified as one of the sources of financial support, but it could be argued that the World Bank was more inclined to representing the interests of the developed nations in the West particularly the U.S.A as they were the major sources of revenue for the Bank.

Along with these nations and institutions representing the developed world, other institutions from the developing world were also mentioned as sources of financial support. For example, African Development Bank, Arab League, Standard Bank of South Africa and countries like China and Saudi Arabia were cited in various news items as additional and sometimes as the only sources of financial supports. In one news item that appeared in the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 381, Sunday, April 2, 2006) the African Development Bank along with the World Bank was mentioned as a source of funding for the East African transport project (pp.15). In another news story that appeared in *The Sub-Saharan Informer* (Vol. V, No. 011, Friday, March 31-April 06, 2006, pp. 4) Saudi Arabia, a developing nation from the Middle East, was indicated as the sole provider of financial support for the construction of a permanent seat for Arab Summits in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. In another news story from *The Daily Monitor* (Vol. XIII, No. 62, Tuesday, March 14, 2006, pp.2) the Arab League itself was presented as a possible alternative source of financial aid to the African Union (AU) to extend its mission in Darfur, although the offer was rejected by AU as arriving too late. Still, in another news item from the same edition of this newspaper

European Union(EU) was presented as the accepted source of funding for the extension of AU's mission in Darfur (pp.2). This may probably show the lack of confidence on the part of the developing world on its own institutions and its ultimate financial dependence on the developed world.

Apart from these there were also other instances where the developing nations were shown providing financial support for other developing nations. For example, in a news item that appeared in the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 383, Sunday, April 16, 2006, pp.21) China was reported to be providing a loan to Eritrea to develop telephone systems. In another news item from a different edition of this newspaper, Standard Bank was mentioned as the only official sponsor of the confederation of African Football (Vol. 8, No. 381, Sunday, April 2, 2006, pp. 45).

In all the above cases, however, only nations and institutions from the developing world appeared at the receiving end of the various forms of financial supports. Among them East Africa in particular and Africa in general including AU, the Great Lakes region, South Africa, Eritrea, Nile Basin countries and Djibouti were mentioned in various news items that appeared in the six newspapers. Most of these nations and institutions which were depicted as beneficiaries of the financial support provided by the different actors from both camps were from Africa.

Generally, it can be seen from the various news items that appeared on the six local English newspapers that the majority of the sources of the various forms of financial support were nations and institutions from the developed world though sometime other nations and institutions were also found to be involved in the provision of such supports. However, all the beneficiaries of such sort of financial support were the developing nations and institutions particularly those from Africa.

4.2.1.2. Peace initiatives

In the coverage of news items related to peace initiatives and peace-keeping efforts, both the developed and the developing world appear to have played a central role with the latter having an increasingly greater role in the process.

In a news item that appeared in *The Reporter* (Vol. X, No. 498, Saturday, March 25, 2006, pp.13) about the security problem in the Horn of Africa, it was the European Commissioner for Development and Humanitarian Aid, Louis Michel, who came up with a proposed strategy for peace, security and development in the 11th regional Head of States summit of the Horn of Africa. The other typical representative of the developed world the United States' role in negotiations between the two neighboring countries, Ethiopia and Eritrea, to end their border dispute was indicated in another news item from the same newspaper of March 11, 2006 edition(pp.4).

Apart from these initiatives made by the developed world, from the study of the selected newspapers the developing world seems to assume an increasingly active role in peace processes to solve its own problems. In a news item that appeared in *The Reporter* of March 25, 2006 edition it was pointed out that the regional leaders in East Africa were pushing for peace talks to end the Ethio-Eritrean boarder dispute (pp. 2). Inter Governmental Authority on Development's (IGAD) intentions to send a peace keeping force to Somalia to help the transitional government also indicated the desire in the developing world to take practical measures to solve its own problems (*The Sub- Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 010, Friday, March 24-30, 2006, pp. 2).

The bigger continental organization, the African Union (AU), whose head office is located in Addis Ababa, made various attempts to secure peace and bring stability to several war torn regions on the continent. For example, it was indicated in a front page news item on *The Daily Monitor* of April 8-9, 2006 edition that the organization took the role of mediation to end the Darfur crisis. The AU program with financial support from Japan and UNDP was to “ demobilize, disarm, rehabilitate and reintegrate young ex-combatants in the war-torn Great Lakes region”

(*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 010, Friday, March 24-30, 2006, pp. 5). This shows the leading role the organization played not only to resolve armed conflicts but also bring stability to the continent. The organization was also indicated in another news item from the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 24) to send peace keeping troops to support election in Comoros.

There were also fruitful efforts made by the developing world to bring peace and stability in certain areas in the region itself. A case in point was the West Africa's umbrella organization ECOWAS's successful attempt to have enabled the former Liberian president to step down to avoid further crisis in the war-torn nation (*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 011, Friday, March 31-06, 2006, pp. 6).

The developing nations were also observed at times turning their face towards other developing nations hoping to gain support in their efforts to bring peace and stability in their own region. A typical example for this was what was pointed out in a news item that appeared in *The Sub-Saharan Informer* (Vol. V, No. 012, Friday, April 07-13, 2006, pp. 5) about South Africa's potential role in the Middle East peace process. This could also be indicative of the positive role the developing world could play to resolve potential conflicts arising between the developed and the developing world itself. One example could be the intermediary role Russia and China had taken to solve the confrontation between U.S.A and Iran on the later's suspected nuclear enrichment program (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 383, Sunday, April 16, 2006, pp. 24).

In sum, as it was portrayed in the selected newspapers, both the developed and the developing world had a constructive role in peace initiatives with the later taking more active part in the process. As most of the problems related to peace were observed in the developing world itself, the increasingly greater role played by the developing nations could be seen as an effort to solve their own problem by themselves. This was also evident in the faith some of the developing nations showed in certain nations in their own category to help bring peace and stability in the region. At times they also seem to take part in peace negotiations as mediators even when the conflict involved the developed world.

4.2.1.3. Representative Speakers

The fact that someone is chosen to speak representing others may somewhat show the significance attached to the individual or by extension to the group the individual belongs to. Therefore, when people from the developed or the developing world get the chance to speak in the media representing their common interest, that may show the importance given to the people in the group or the group as whole over the other.

In a news item appeared in the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 381, Sunday, April 2, 2006, pp. 38) about an eclipse of the sun, a senior astronomer at the UK Royal Observatory Greenwich was quoted commenting on the phenomenon. The fact that the phenomenon was to be observed across parts of Latin America, Africa and Asia should make it more related to the developing world. However, the one who had a say on the issue was from the developed world. This might create the impression that the developing world did not have the capacity to speak for itself on the phenomenon.

Apart from such kind of favor given to the developed world over the other, people from the developing world appear to have been given due emphasis in areas like football. In apparently the developed world phenomena like European Champions League and England Premiership and Spain's La liga, African football men were found speaking representing their respective teams in the continent. For instance the Ghanaian international Michael Essien who played for the England team Chelsea was quoted in a news item which appeared in *The Reporter* (Vol. X, No. 496, Saturday, March 11, 2006, pp.30) while he was encouraging his team to overcome the Champions League defeat and concentrate on the premiership. Similarly, in another news from *The Daily Monitor* (Vol. XIII, No. 84, Saturday-Sunday, April 8-9, 2006, pp.12), the Cameroonian international, Samuel Eto'o, who played for the Spanish team Barcelona was quoted saying that his team would have the Primera Liga title settled sooner.

In conclusion, it could be said that the developed world at times seems to have an advantage over the developing world in the news coverage as a spokesperson on global events or even on certain events taking place in the developing world. Still, people from the developing world appears to have been given no less prominence in certain areas such as football as representative speakers of their groups even from the developed world itself.

4.2.2. The Place of the Developed and the Developing World

Not only the roles taken up by the developed and the developing world varied in the foreign news coverage in the six newspapers, the place given or the importance attached to these parts of the world was also relatively different from each other as can be seen from the qualitative analysis of the selected news items described below.

The traditional perspective of the developed world as the center of the world appears to be maintained in some of the foreign news items covered in the given newspapers. For instance, in a news item that appeared in the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 383, Sunday, April 16, 2006, pp. 27) U.S.A, Japan and Europe were mentioned to have a central place in the growth of global commerce while no mention was made about any possible contribution from the developing world. In another news item from the same page of this newspaper, only the significance of the U.S and European economy was pointed out in the expected growth and risks in global commerce. Again, nothing was indicated explicitly about the role of the developing world economy except that a general reference was made to the importance of the conclusion of the Doha round of free trade negotiations, which might imply the involvement of the developing world.

The centrality of the developed world in the global economy was also noted in other news items as well. In another edition of the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp.32) U.S.A was described as the world largest oil consumer and

as a very important investor in this sector. Again, in another news item from the same edition (pp.33), the central roles played by the U.S as well as the EU in the process of WTO trade talks were highlighted.

Despite the absence of the developing world in certain news items as those mentioned above, there seems to have been a growing recognition of the importance of this part of the world in the global economic, political, technological and cultural spheres. In a news item about the WTO that appeared in the March 26 issue of the *Capital*, the so called G20, a group of emerging trade powers from the developing world, was described as central in the process of trade negotiation (pp.33). Developing nations like China and Colombia were also mentioned in another edition of the same newspaper as important in the process of WTO accession (Vol. 8, No. 383, Sunday, April 16, 2006, pp. 27).

One of the reasons why the developing world was considered important in the process of free trade talk appears to be that it was seen as a source of raw materials or oil energy. For example, Africa was cited in one foreign news item as an important alternative of oil resource for the U.S.A (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 32). The other reason seems to be that the developing world would provide the necessary market for the goods from the developed world. In one news item that appeared in the above mentioned newspaper (Vol. 8, No. 379, Sunday, March 19, 2006, pp. 23), Morocco, a developing nation from North Africa, was said to be “untapped market” for British sheepskins exporters. What seems interesting in this news representation of the two nations from the developed and the developing world was that Morocco was not depicted as a market for the end products of industrial goods. It was rather presented as an industrial nation which required the provision of raw materials from the developed nation. This would appear to be a reversal of expectations.

Some of the developing nations were also depicted not as a mere source of raw materials or a market for the processed goods from the developed world. They seem to have been considered as important trading partners of more or less equal

significance with the developed world. For instance, South Africa was reported to export more to Belgium with contracts worth R7 billion a year while the import market from Belgium was worth less than half of the export one, that is, only R3 billion. The Belgium delegation to South Africa acknowledged this fact saying that South Africa ranked with other European and U.S trade partners (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 378, Sunday, March 12, 2006, pp.29).

Another example which shows the growing importance of business institutions from the developed world could be found in a news item that appeared in the same edition of the newspaper just mentioned above. On page 41 of this newspaper, it was reported that the British football team, Manchester United, signed the team's biggest ever advertisement sponsorship deal with a company called Mansion, which was owned by a man from the developing world, the Indonesian billionaire Cheutera Sampore.

On the political front as well, the developing world assumed leading position in international organizations like the UN and World Bank. In *The Sub-Saharan Informer* (Vol. V, No. 013, Friday, April 14-20, 2006, pp. 5) it was reported that the South African Public Service and Administration Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was elected vice-president of the United Nations' second committee of experts on public administration and finance. Her fellow South African Finance Minister Trevor Manuel was also appointed to serve on the World Bank's new commission on Growth and Development (pp.5). In another news from *The Ethiopian Herald* (Vol. LXII, No. 179, Friday, April 7, 2006, pp.8) the two developing nations Pakistan and China along with one of the most developed nations in Europe, Norway, were assumed to chair the panel initiated to seek ways of enhancing coordination of the UN system.

In other areas such as science and technology the developing world appears to show a rare but significant achievement for the advancement of the existing knowledge. A case in point is the successful attempt to carry out the design, development and characteristics realization of supersonic combustion ramjet (Scramjet) by Indian

Space Research Organization in early 2006 (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 378, Sunday, March 12, 2006, pp. 42). Indian hydrographers also conducted a survey of Mauritius' territorial waters to indicate how the tiny, vulnerable island be better prepared for disasters such as tsunamis (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp. 2). In another news item from the same edition of the *Capital* newspaper mentioned above it was indicated that two Egyptian researchers at Boston University in the U.S discovered the remnants of the largest crater of the Sahara desert through satellite images. This report not only shows the important role of the two researchers from the developing world but also depicts the technological upper hand the developed world still had in the area.

In sport activities like football, the developing world from the impression of the selected newspapers appears to have received a growing recognition in the international arena. This could be seen by the fact that South Africa was chosen to host the 2010 World Cup (*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 011, Friday, March 31-April 06, 2006, pp. 23). This would be the first not only for the nation itself but also for Africa as a whole to host this top international sport event. The continent also received increasing attention from the developed world for its football talents shining in the various league competitions and championships in Europe in particular. There were found different news items in the six newspapers reporting the performances and achievements of the great players from Africa. One such report talked about the impressive performance of the Ivory Coast international, Amara Diane, in French Strasbourg who scored eight "credible" goals for the team and with whom the French Lyon was keen to conclude a deal (*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 012, Friday, April 07-13, 2006, pp. 22).

Such great football talents of the continent were recognized and appreciated by important personalities from the developed world like Marcello Lippi. The Italian national team coach Lippi recognized that Ghana had "great players" (*The Reporter*, Vol. X, No. 447, Saturday, March 18, 2006, pp. 30). In the report the Ghanaian national team was also described as a "threat" to its Italian counterpart.

It was not only in football that Africa as a typical representative of the developing world received such kind of recognition and appreciation from the developed world. In a news item from *The Sub-Saharan Informer* (Vol. V, No. 008, Friday, March 10-17, 20006, pp.9) Ghana was described as exemplary for the successful ongoing process of democratization and respect of human rights. Another African nation, Senegal, was also upheld as a model of democracy in a region infamous for coups and civil wars (*The Ethiopian Herald*, Vol. LXII, No. 186, Saturday, April 15, 2006, pp.7). Even a leader like the Ugandan president Yuweri Museveni was lauded by the EU delegation for his exemplary leadership as the chairman of IGAD (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 12).

Other leaders of the developing world within and without Africa were also recognized by the international community for their achievement in areas like the environment. The former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Iran's first female vice-president, Massoumeh Ebtekar, were awarded "champions of the Earth" award by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). The award also named other important personalities from nations in the developing word such as Cuba and Egypt (as well as Ethiopia). The only nation representing the developed world included in the award was Singapore (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp 18). This might probably show the more active role played by the developing world in areas which appear to have been neglected by the developed nations. Another interesting point in the story was that the trophy given to the winners of this environmental award was designed by the Kenyan sculptor, Kioko. This might be a further proof of the increasingly active roles played by important personalities from the developing world on the international scene.

Another important achievement of the developing world was the fact that a South African film entitled 'Tsotsi' won the most prestigious award in the U.S.A that is Oscar (*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 008, Friday, March 10-17, 2006, pp.5). Such recognition of the achievements of the developing nations did not only come from the developed world. According to the analyzed newspapers, other developing nations seem to acknowledge the exemplary performance of other

nations in the same category. For instance, in a news item that appeared in the same newspaper of April 07-13, 2006 edition, the Palestinian president Mohamoud Abbas described South African “as a model from which we can draw lessons and inspiration” and called the former president and freedom fighter Nelson Mandela the “father of all liberation movements” (pp. 5).

In general, even though the traditional perspective of the developed nations as a center of the world appears to be maintained in the reports of certain events, the increasingly significant roles the developing world assumed on the international arena were noted in various news items. The growing importance of and recognition given to the developing world were indicated in the political, economic, cultural and sport activities taking place at the global scale or happening in the developed part of the world. The recognition of the achievements of nations and personalities from the developing world came not only from the developed world and the international community but also from other parts of the developing world itself.

4.2.3. Negative Images

Despite the positive roles and representations the developed and the developing world had in the news coverage given by the six newspapers in focus, they also received a negative coverage with the latter having the lion share of this type of coverage. This can be shown in the various news items selected and qualitatively analyzed below under the separate headings given.

4.2.3.1. Armed conflict

Most of the news items about armed conflicts were related to Africa characterizing the continent as the most violence prone and conflict ridden region in the world. African nations such as Algeria, Sudan, Burundi, Central African Republic, Rwanda and Sierra Leone were all indicated in reports about armed conflicts or civil war in particular. For example, Sierra Leone was frequently portrayed as a nation seriously

affected by civil war over the precious natural resource that came to be known as 'Blood Diamonds' (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 32). The nation was also known for the use of child soldiers in the conflict. Not only Sierra Leone but also the Great Lakes region in general was accused of employing child soldiers, and it was also termed as a "war-torn" region (*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V, No. 010, Friday, March 24-30, 2006, pp.5). Even in reports which were not directly related to armed conflict, it appears to be customary to indicate that the nation was involved in some kind of armed conflict even when the conflict was over at the time of reporting. For instance, in a news item about the Catholic Church ban over the conduct of the wedding of HIV positive couples in Burundi, it was pointed out in the report that the nation had a recent history of civil war (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 31).

Outside Africa the Palestine territory was frequently mentioned in reports related to armed resistance or "terrorism" due to its continued conflict with Israel (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 70, Thursday, March 23, 2006, pp.4).

4.2.3.2.Drought and Poverty

In reports about drought and poverty, the most commonly reported region in the analyzed news items was the Horn of Africa. In a news item appeared on *The Reporter* (Vol. X, No. 498, Saturday, March 25, 2006, pp.4), it was indicated that an estimated six million people were affected by drought in parts of Kenya, Somalia and also Ethiopia. In a front page news item on *The Daily Monitor* (Vol. XIII, No. 84), it was pointed out that Kenya, Somalia and again including Ethiopia were the worst-hit areas while Eritrea, Burundi, Uganda and Tanzania were also affected by the drought. In another news item from the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 12), the Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni while handing over his chairmanship of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) cited drought and the consequent famines along with conflicts or potential conflicts within and between states as the challenges the East African region faced.

Along with the East African nations, Zimbabwe was also reported to have been affected by serious drought and critical shortage of food (Vol. 8, No. 378, Sunday, March 12, 2006, pp. 29)

The Horn of Africa, in particular, was also described as “a region affected by chronic cycle of poverty and instability” in a news item appeared on *The Reporter* (Vol. X, No. 498, Saturday, March 25, 2006, pp. 13). Particular nations from other parts of Africa were also presented in the foreign news coverage as typical examples of poverty. For instance, in a report appeared on *The Sub-Saharan Informer* of April 07-13, 2006 edition, it was indicated that according to figures from FAO 80% of the population in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) was trapped in extreme poverty and more than 70% of the population was undernourished (pp. 5). In another news item from the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 32) the former child soldier and now a journalist and leader of the Africanist Movement in Sierra Leone and West Africa pointed out that diamonds were a source of poverty and turmoil in the diamond rich West African nation, Sierra Leone. He also confessed that he had never seen a diamond before he came to America where for the first time in his life he saw people wearing diamonds on their fingers all the time. Not only Africa but also the developing world in general was described as being affected by poverty, but it was also indicated that there was uneven progress in poverty reduction in this part of the world (*Ethiopian Herald*, Vol. I, No. 179, Friday, April 7, 2006, pp. 8).

4.2.3.3. Natural Disasters

Apart from drought and famine which might have been partly explained by natural causes, natural disasters are negative events which often get coverage depending on the level of their impact. In the six newspapers having been analyzed in this study, there were found only a few news items covering natural disasters. In one of these news items which appeared in *The Sub-Saharan Informer* (Vol. V, No. 010, Friday, March 24-30, 2006, pp. 4) Algeria was reported to have been regularly hit by earthquakes. However, it was not only a nation in the developing world which was

described as vulnerable to such natural disasters. The United States, the typical representative of the developed world, was also indicated in a news item from *The Ethiopian Herald* (Vol. LXII, No. 186, Saturday 15, April 2006, pp. 7) as being vulnerable for hurricane. In the report it was even pointed out that the US government was uncertain about its ability to cope with another big national disaster. This kind of report appears to be exceptional for the media coverage of the developed world particularly for such a powerful nation as the United States.

4.2.3.4. Corruption

In news items about corruption both the developed and the developing world were mentioned as being involved in different scandals. From the developing world, the East African nation, Kenya, was frequently reported in corruption scandals to the point that the name Kenya would appear to be synonymous with the term corruption. For example, in a news item that appeared in *The Daily Monitor* (Vol. XIII, No. 70, Thursday, March 23, 2006, pp.2) President Mwai Kibaki was blamed for two big corruption scandals which were not specifically described in the report along with a blundering raid on the media. In another news from *The Sub-Saharan Informer* (Vol. V, No. 010, Friday, March 24-30, 2006) it was indicated that the deal to export some 198 wildlife species from Kenya to Thailand was said to have been “shrouded in secrecy” (pp.4). In a front page news item from the same newspaper of April 07-13, 2006 edition, the Kenyan government was criticized for lack of commitment in fighting against corruption though it was of course reported on another edition of this newspaper that the government had suspended a corrupt official who was the governor of the central bank (Vol. V, No. 011, Friday, March 31-06, 2006, pp. 3).

In the same corruption scandal in Kenya mentioned above (*The Sub-Saharan Informer*, Vol. V. No. 012, Friday, April 07-13, 2006, pp. 1) it was indicated that the two business men implicated in the scandal had Asian origin. This would perhaps further reinforce the negative stereotypes about the developing world.

However, it was not only this part of the world that was reported to have been involved in such corruption. The developed nations like Italy and Australia were also mentioned in relation to some sort of corruption scandals. For instance, the Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi together with the husband of a UK minister was reported to face charges of corruption (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 378, Sunday, March 12, 2006, pp.30) as the latter was said to have received bribe from Berlusconi after giving helpful testimony in two trials. In another news from the same newspaper of March 05, 2006 edition, it was pointed out that the Australian AWB paid \$ 300 million in Kickbacks to Saddam Hussein's regime (pp. 29).

4.2.3.5. Health Problems

The other category of negative news coverage was about health problems in the developed and developing world. From the impressions given by the newspapers, there appears to be more of such types of coverage from the developing world than the developed one.

In the recent phenomenon of bird flu outbreak, the developing world was the major victim of the epidemic as shown in the different news items taken from the six newspapers in focus. In *The Daily Monitor*, for example, it was indicated that H5N1 strain of the disease killed more than 90 people in Asia and the Middle East (Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp.2). It was also indicated in the report that the disease spread to Africa and that it was found in Nigeria. In another news item from a different edition of the same newspaper, it was reported that Asia particularly China and Azerbaijan were affected by bird flu outbreak (Vol. XIII, No. 70, Thursday, March 23, 2006, pp.4). Another developing nation from Asia, Turkey was also pointed out in a report appeared on the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 383, Sunday, April 16, 2006, pp. 24) as being the country worst affected by the epidemic next to the North African nation Egypt.

When the developed world was mentioned in reports related to bird flu, it was to show its readiness against the possible spread of the virus from the developing

world. For instance, France was indicated in one report appeared in *The Daily Monitor* that it was taking measures against the possible spread of the virus (Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp. 4).

As already mentioned above, Africa was portrayed as one of the victims of the bird flu outbreak. The continent was also described as victim of other diseases such as HIV/AIDS. In a report appeared in the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No. 380, Sunday, March 26, 2006, pp. 31) it was pointed out that 6% of the adult population in Burundi was HIV positive. Again, Tuberculosis was reported to be the greatest challenge in Africa along with Eastern Europe which was largely part of the developing world (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 377, March 05, 2006, pp. 38). Other health problems like hemorrhage and high blood pressure were also indicated to have been the leading causes of maternal mortality in poor countries in Africa as well as Asia and Latin America (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 62, Tuesday, March 14, 2006, pp. 5). In another news that appeared on the front page of the same newspaper of March 1, 2006 edition the Canadian Minister of International Cooperation, Josee Verner, was quoted as saying, "Each year in Africa, millions of children under five die from malaria, pneumonia, measles, and other preventable illnesses." This would show that Africa was not only being affected by major epidemics such as bird flu and HIV/AIDS but it was also presented as a helpless victim of such preventable diseases as those mentioned above.

According to the newspapers, the types of health problems in the developed world were quite different from those found in the developing world. In a news item that appeared in the same newspaper of a different edition, it was indicated that 50 million Americans suffer from chronic sleep disorder (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 84, Saturday-Sunday, April 8-9, 2006, pp. 8).

4.2.3.6. More Negative Images from the Developed World

The developed world did not appear to have always received a favorable reporting though such reporting might not be as pervasive as it seemed to be in the case of the developing world. As already shown in some of the earlier sections, however, even the most powerful nation like the United States was at times portrayed not to have been so strong. It was also reported that the U.S. government known for its strong democratic institutions and traditions was found guilty of implementing a program of monitoring phone calls without court approval and criticized for abuses made on non-citizens violating their constitutional rights (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp. 4).

Other nations from the developed world were also sometimes presented in a negative light in the foreign news coverage of the local newspapers in focus. In a news item appeared in the *Capital* (Vol. 8, No.378, Sunday, March 12, 2006, pp. 30), for instance, Japan was mentioned among the countries with the highest suicide rate in the world. In another news from *The Daily Monitor* (Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp. 2) it was reported that a French man who was a suspected leader of a gang that tortured and killed a Jewish man was brought to court in Ivory Coast. What seems to be interesting in this story was the reversal of the general expectations of the possible role of the developed and the developing world. As it would generally be assumed neither the criminal nor the victim was from the developing world. Rather the developing world assumed the role of implementing justice which would be traditionally considered the role of the developed world. Despite such expectation, the developed world here was depicted as victims of its own barbaric actions.

Regardless of such negative reports as shown above, the developed world appears to have a much lighter coverage in terms of negative stories than the developing world received. The developing world particularly Africa had predominantly negative coverage in reports of armed conflict, drought or famine and poverty, corruption and

health problems like bird flu and HIV/AIDS. These would appear to give the developing world a gloomier picture in comparison with the brighter images of the developed world.

4.3. Analysis of Interview

In order to assess the beliefs and practices of the individual news organizations in focus, interviews were conducted with representative editors-in-chief and editors of the selected newspapers. Among the six newspapers embarked up on in this study, the interview was successfully held with five editors of five of the newspapers. All of them were men except the one from *Fortune*. The editor-in chief of *Fortune*, however, failed to give the interview despite repeated requests made.

Hence, the researcher was obliged to exclude this newspaper and focus on the responses obtained from the editors of the other five newspapers. The interview started with eliciting personal information of the respective editors, and included the objectives of the individual news agencies, news selection processes in each agency, their foreign news coverage, the sources they used and the kind of barriers they faced while trying to cover foreign news items.

To give the highlights of the personal profile of the editors participated in the interviews; three of them were editors-in-chief of their respective newspapers while the other two were news editors of *The Sub-Saharan Informer* and the *Capital* respectively. They all had worked in their respective position from about a year up to seven years in the news organization they represented. Some of them had prior experience in the same or other media agencies in similar capacity or as reporters. All of them but the editor of the *Capital* had no relevant formal education in journalism except that some had short term training on certain issues related to journalistic practice. The experience and educational status of the editor from the *Capital* newspaper was not known as he declined to give any personal details.

Based on the understanding that the foreign news coverage of the newspapers in focus was dictated by their objectives, questions were raised to identify the general objectives and the specific ones related to foreign news coverage, if they had one. Three of the newspapers more or less had objectives geared towards the prior coverage of news items related to local or national issues. Different from these, *The Sub-Saharan Informer* had an objective that gave prior consideration to the Horn of Africa in general. *The Daily Monitor* also had the objective of providing foreign news coverage particularly to the diplomatic community in Ethiopia.

Accordingly, the practices and beliefs of the individual newspapers in the foreign news coverage had both similarities and differences from one another. Some of the newspapers determined their foreign news coverage based on the relevance of the foreign event and its direct or indirect implications to the local needs and interest of the nation. For instance, the editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* pointed out that foreign news items were selected based on their relevance to and influence on the national issues. As a result, he said, neighboring countries were given due priority since they had direct economic and political implications on the nation. This, he added, was followed by issues related to AU and World Bank or IMF. Ultimately, he concluded, more emphasis was given to news items about the developed world in the foreign news coverage as they had direct influence on Ethiopia through those financial institutions by the provision of aid and the cancellation of debt or through direct involvement in the nation's economy in the form of investment.

The Ethiopian Herald seems to place more or less similar emphasis in regions mentioned above in its foreign news coverage. As the editor-in-chief explained it, the paper gave priority to issues related to the Horn of Africa in particular and Africa in general as the capital city of the nation, Addis Ababa, was the seat of the AU head quarter and accordingly hosted various events of the organization. Apart from this, the developed world and particularly the U.S received a dominant coverage. According to the editor-in-chief, this happened because of the newspaper's preference given to news items related to scientific and technological developments rather than conflict news, for instance. News items of the earlier type, as he pointed

out, were more abundantly found in the developed world rather than the in developing one.

The Sub-Saharan Informer was also said to have placed more emphasis on the Horn of Africa, then on East Africa and Africa in general, as its target group was the diplomatic community in Ethiopia.

The other newspapers such as *The Daily Monitor* and *Capital* claimed to have given no special attention to one region over the other. The editor-in-chief of *The Daily Monitor* said that the newspaper had no predetermined position to favor one region over the other as the selection of the news item wholly depended on the intrinsic value of the event itself. In this general frame work, he said, they tended to give a more or less even coverage to the different parts of the world. While maintaining the same stance in the coverage of the different parts of the world, the editor of the *Capital* said that his paper inclined to give special emphasis to developing nations that could serve as a model for Ethiopia.

The balance appears to be clearly tilted towards the developed world when it comes to the coverage of sport activities. The editors realized this fact, and they had several justifications for why it was the way it was. The main reason given for this diversion was lack of interest on the part of the audience in local sport events. As the editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* said, this was again related to the very weak sport activities taking place in the developing world. The editor-in-chief of *The Daily Monitor* added another factor which was the comparatively vibrant sporting events happening in the developed world particularly Europe. The various football championships, for example, were part of the reasons which diverted the interest of the local audience towards the West.

No less important was also the question of the types of coverage the different part of the world received in the newspapers in focus. Some of the editors interviewed acknowledged that there was more of negative news about the developing world than either the developed world or the positive coverage of the developing world itself.

Having been aware of this fact, the editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* pointed out that there was also a recent tendency to focus on the positive aspects of the developing world on the economic scene in particular.

The editor-in-chief of *The Daily Monitor* agreed that there were more negative coverage of the developing world in the local as well as the international media. He identified two different ways to explain how this happened. One was that some media agencies may have their own agenda to deliberately focus on the negative aspects of the developing world. The second one could be that others appear to have naively imitated what the former was doing. In this case, he pointed his finger to local media agencies such as his own. In any way, however, he generally felt that the developing world received more of the negative coverage since there were more negative events on this part the world.

For the editor of the *Capital*, this was particularly true in the case of the coverage of Africa. For him, the place of Africa in the news coverage of any media including his own was “in the disaster column”. He strongly believed that the coverage of Africa was so gloomy because the continent was full of negative events. “Reporting on the negative side of Africa is normal because Africa is negative,” he said. As to him, it was not because there was no positive developments taking place in this part of the world, but because such kind of events were so few that one never noticed them. Still, he believed that the coverage was a little better than it was ten years ago.

The views of the editor-in-chief of *The Ethiopian Herald* regarding the image of Africa seemed to stand in stark opposition to that of the editor of the *Capital* described above. He believed that Africa had many positive things, which both the Western media and the media outlets in Africa failed to report on. He pointed out that it were only some of the undeniably great talents in football and athletics that came into the picture. What about the other no less significant talents in areas such as literature and philosophy? Do those media agencies know and accept that there is an African philosophy? He asked.

The editor of *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, however, maintained a different perspective on this issue of negative reporting in general. He said,

This is a much larger question, really, about the entire current paradigm of international news coverage. Your question refers to what, unfortunately, is the standard for international coverage. Events from remote corners of the world do not make it onto the pages of international papers unless they deal with violence, poverty, revolution, etc. (Interview, February 8, 2007)

He also pointed out that the same type of coverage was reflected in the local media, too, since they were dependent on the international agencies. He believed the status quo could only change if the local media could be able to have their own reporters in certain countries so that they would not have to depend on agencies that usually covered the same type of news.

This would lead to the other important point in the coverage of foreign news that was the types of sources the local media outlets use to cover the different parts of the world. All the editors of the five newspapers interviewed said they usually used the Western based older media agencies such as BBC, Reuters, AFP and CNN. On top of these, *The Sub-Saharan Informer* was said to have used IRIN as its source while *The Ethiopian Herald* mentioned the Chinese Xinhua as additional source for its foreign news coverage. *The Daily Monitor* used particularly Reuters, as it had subscription to use the wire service.

All of the editors appear to have a particular preference to use the Western media agencies mentioned above than any other agencies based in the developing world. They said these are giant news agencies, which reach almost every corner of the world. Most of the editors interviewed believed these news agencies had more reliable news coverage than any other media. In contrast, the news agencies in the developing world were perceived as weak and unreliable. The editor of the *Capital* was the most outspoken in this regard. He said the media in the developing part of the world were too political and full of propaganda. He mentioned Xinhua as an

example, and said he had no desire to use this news agency except under compelling circumstances.

The editor-in-chief of *The Ethiopian Herald* had a response to such kind of outlook on the credibility of the media agencies in the developing world. “Who is neutral? Are the Western media themselves neutral?” he asked. Other editors agreed with him to some extent. The editor-in-chief of *The Daily Monitor* accepted that the Western media agencies had their own agenda hidden behind their news coverage and claimed that his newspaper did not take whatever was provided by those agencies. He said they evaluated the news from their own perspective and cross check some facts and tried to balance by including the other side of the story. Supporting this, the editor-in-chief of *The Ethiopian Herald* also pointed out, for example, that the Western coverage of the Middle East was full of adjectives such as ‘extremism’ and ‘fundamentalist,’ which might not necessarily fit the Ethiopia perspective of the reality. Thus, he said the editors of the local media had the responsibility of taking care of such kinds of labeling.

The editor of the *Capital* did not deny that the Western media reflected their own perspective in their coverage of other regions. He firmly believed that they had the right to do so. “Why do they own the media then?” he asked. He also openly declared that he had a pro-American perspective which he designated as ‘center-right’, and that he had strong position against what he called ‘Islamic’ extremism. Asked whether these personal views of his own would not be reflected in his work, he admitted that it would. “You can not take your personality out of your work”, he said.

The others, however, did not appear to have such radical positions with regard to the influence of their personal views in their coverage of the different parts of the world. The editor-in-chief in *The Daily Monitor* accepted the view that the personal outlook of editors, owners or reporters could be reflected in their reporting of various events, but he still believed it should be controlled. This view was shared by the editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* who said that he tried to control the possible

influence of his personal inclination through a participatory approach in the news selection process.

The news selection process in some of the media agencies appears to lend itself for the influence of the individual editors' perspective as they were the main responsible body in the selection of news items. As the editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* pointed out above he invited others to participate in the selection process, but he still had the final say. The editor-in-chief of *The Daily Monitor* said he had the same role in the selection process, though he also had the assistance of column editors in the process, which he believed reduced the question of subjectivity. The news editor of *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, however, indicated that he was the one mainly responsible for selection of news items in the news coverage. In the case of *The Ethiopian Herald*, however, it was a board of editors who determined the general frame work of the news coverage. Under that frame work a group of editors decided on the chance of the individual news items to appear in the paper.

What seemed to dictate the selection of news items was the editors' perception of the interest of their target audience. When they were asked what barriers they faced in their coverage of foreign news items, many of them pointed out the interest of the readers as a major factor. For example, the editor of the *Capital* mentioned 'apathy' on behalf of the general public as the main obstacle not to have a wider coverage of the developing world in particular. The editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* indicated no barrier except the interest of reading public which in a way limited the coverage of foreign news items. For the editor of *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, however, the problem was also reflected on the part of the media leadership. As to him, the leadership lacked the necessary desire to truly expand its coverage and breadth. This coupled with the financial constraints in the local media had become the major barrier in the coverage of foreign news items, he said.

Other constraints were also mentioned by other editors. The editor-in-chief of *The Ethiopian Herald* pointed out the digital divide as a barrier since the limited internet service available in the developing world still posed a challenge for foreign news coverage. In addition to the poor Internet service provided by the Ethiopian

Telecommunication Corporation, the editor-in-chief of *The Daily Monitor* also indicated the shortage of staff within the media agencies themselves which limited them not to use the potential of the Internet to access various sources in their coverage of the different parts of the world. The question of copy right was also another problem he mentioned which would limit their foreign news coverage. This issue was also raised by the editor of *The Sub-Saharan Informer* who said that the local media did not pay the required fee to obtain the services, but added that his own newspaper duly acknowledged the sources better than any other local media.

Despite the actual practices of foreign news coverage in the newspapers in focus and the challenges they faced, the editors interviewed appeared to have a shared belief that the types of coverage of the developing world particularly that of Africa had to be improved both in their own media as well as the international agencies. The editor-in-chief of *The Daily Monitor* believed that it should be the duty of the local media to present the real picture of Africa to the world by covering both the positive and the negative aspects of the continent without exaggeration. The editor-in-chief of *The Ethiopian Herald* also said that what was required was a genuine coverage of the reality, and that it was not an appeal to the media agencies, both local and international, to sympathize with Africa. “I am not saying that we should have a sympathetic coverage. What I am saying is that the other side of the reality is not depicted. It is only one side of the reality that is being covered,” he said. It was not such an unbalanced approach in the coverage of Africa he wanted to see.

However, the editors seemed to have different points of views regarding the extent of coverage the developing world in general should receive in their newspapers. The editor of the *Capital* believed that the developing world should have a greater coverage than it had already received. However, he felt that it would take time until the need for a greater coverage could be created among the public. The editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* agreed in principle that the developing world should occupy more space in their foreign news coverage, but he did not see a pressing need at the moment as there was not much news coming from this part of the world that could give a good lesson to his nation.

The news editor of *The Sub-Saharan Informer* also felt that there was no need at present to give more coverage of the developing world than it already received. What was more important for him at the moment was that the local media should improve its overall practice of local news reporting. “Ethiopian media should not be expected to cover developing world news since local coverage has a long, long way to go before it is free and sophisticated and ethical,” he said.

For the editor-in-chief of *The Ethiopian Herald*, it was not a question of having a greater coverage of the developing world. He believed that this part of the world has already received adequate coverage in the local media including his own. What was lacking was a more positive coverage of this part of the world so as to balance the predominantly negative coverage it received. *The Daily Monitor* seemed to maintain a different perspective on the issue of emphasizing one part of the world over the other. The editor-in-chief insisted that there should not be a predetermined position as to what part of the world should be given more emphasis. He felt that both the developing as well as the developed world should have more or less equal coverage in foreign news reporting.

To sum up, the newspapers involved in the study can be categorized into two groups depending on their objectives. One group of the newspapers gave prominence to the coverage of local issues while the others geared towards mainly the coverage of foreign news items particularly those related to Africa. Regardless of these differences in their objectives, the newspapers in both categories claimed to give precedence to foreign events which they perceived to have direct or indirect relevance to the national issues. As a result, they said that events taking place in the developed world would have more coverage than those from the developing world as they directly or indirectly affect the national interest. In principle, many of them agreed that the developing world should have a greater coverage in the local media, though some still maintained that there was not a pressing need for such a greater coverage of the developing world at present.

4.4. Discussions of the Results

From the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data gathered through content analysis and interview various findings were drawn in accordance with the objectives of the research. These findings were further analyzed and discussed in light of the points raised in the review literature as follows.

One of the main objectives of this research was to assess the extent of coverage the developed versus the developing world received in the six English local newspapers included in the study. According to the quantitative analysis of the foreign news items that appeared in the six weeks editions of the newspapers, it was found that the developing world in general and Africa in particular received a wider coverage than the developed world. It was also indicated that the developed world had far more coverage than the developing world outside Africa. However, based on the three categories used in the 2006 United Nations Development Index report, that are 'high,' 'medium' and 'low,' the highly developed nations had far more coverage than either of the developing nations in the other two categories. For instance, the coverage of the highly developed nations was slightly more than twice the coverage of least developed nations in Africa. The coverage of these least developed African nations in turn was somehow greater than that of the other African nations in the medium category. The developing nations outside Africa, excluding the only least developed nation mentioned in any of the reports that was Yemen, had far less than half of the coverage given to the highly developed nations and the total coverage of either the least developed or the other developing African nations.

When it comes to the coverage of the individual nations, the two typical representatives of the developed world, Great Britain and the United States, were at the top of the hierarchy of coverage with Britain with 11.26% of the total coverage having slightly greater coverage than the United States, which had 11.02%. Britain had such a wide coverage among all nations treated in the foreign news reporting mainly due to the large football coverage Europe in general and the nation in

particular received. According to the editors of the newspapers interviewed, they gave more attention to the football events in this part of the world, following the interests of their audience. The tilt of the interests of the audience towards the championships and premierships of Europe was partly explained by the poor sport activities taking place in the other parts of the world particularly in Ethiopia itself. This might explain why the developed world with 17.5% coverage of the total news stories in football had almost three fourth of the total football coverage whereas Africa having 3.65% of such coverage received less than one fourth of the football coverage given to the developed nations, while the rest of the developing world with 0.61% football coverage, measured in relation to the total news coverage, received an almost negligible amount of football coverage in the six newspapers studied.

On the other hand, the United States received the highest general coverage next to Britain probably because it is the most powerful nation globally with a virtual influence on political, economical and cultural spheres of life in every corner of the world.

Next to Britain and the United States, Kenya and South Africa, the two possible representatives of the least developed and the developing African nations in medium category respectively, came third and fourth in the hierarchy of news coverage. As a neighboring country to Ethiopia, Kenya probably received such an extensive coverage partly due to its geographical proximity. As the interviewed editors of the newspapers indicated in the interviews, the media outlets were meant to give priority to issues related to the neighboring countries as they might have direct or indirect impact on the local issues. Moreover, *The Sub-Saharan Informer* had an outspoken objective to focus on the Horn of Africa of which Kenya is the part. Besides, this particular newspaper had a foreign correspondent in Kenya which enabled it to have a regular coverage of the developments in the nation.

This was also true in the case of the coverage of South Africa. *The Sub-Saharan Informer* had a regular correspondent also in this nation. This might be because of the prominent position South Africa has in the political and economic spheres of the

Sub-Saharan Africa which has given the nation the status of a regional super power. The reason might be that South Africa was likely to have been considered by the newspapers as an 'elite nation' which, according to Kariel and Rosenvall (1984) and also Gultung and Ruge (1965) is a significant factor influencing international news flow.

The quantitative coverage of each of these two African nations exceeded that of Spain, another developed nation from Europe, which received a wide coverage mainly due to football events. The coverage of news items generally referring to Africa was also found to be greater than the coverage of news items which referred to Europe as a whole. This might possibly show the truth in the claims made by many of the interviewed editors of the newspapers that they gave priority to issues of their own continent rather than to stories from the rest of the world. This was also evident in the fact that the majority among the top ten nations which received the highest coverage in the six newspapers were from Africa. These included Sudan, Ghana, and Egypt which ranked from eight to ten along Kenya and South Africa which were found close to the top of the hierarchy.

The quantitative coverage of the different parts of the world showed wide variations and even contradictions between the different newspapers. For example, in *The Daily Monitor*, the developed world had a significantly higher coverage than that of Africa and still a markedly higher coverage than that of the rest of the developing world. Still, the general coverage of the developing world in this newspaper was slightly more than that of the developed world. In the case of *The Reporter*, however, the developed world had a greater coverage than the one given to the developing world including Africa. In contrast, the other four newspapers gave a wider coverage to the developing world in general than they gave to the developed world. *Fortune* in particular had four times more coverage to the developing world including Africa and three times more coverage to Africa alone than what the developed world as a whole received in this particular newspaper.

These individual variations might have arisen from the objectives of the newspapers, the sources they used for their foreign news coverage or the interests or personal inclinations of the individual editors involved in the news selection processes. In the case of *The Daily Monitor*, for instance, the main source of foreign news coverage was Reuters as the paper had subscription to the wire service. As it was found out in the analysis of the use of sources, Reuters covered more than half of the sources coming from the developed world which in turn covered more than half of all the sources used in the foreign news coverage by the six newspapers. It was also found out that sources from the developed world were used to cover most of the news from the same part of the world. This might be why *The Daily Monitor* had a greater coverage about the developed world than the developing one.

The use of sources might again have some kind of bearing on the emphasis given to the coverage of the developed world in *The Reporter*. More apparently, however, was the influence of the individual editor who was mainly responsible for the selection of foreign news items. As the editor-in-chief of this paper explained, the newspaper gave more emphasis to foreign news events which had some kind of relevance to or influence on the local issues. As the main responsible person in the news selection processes, the editor-in-chief was the one to decide on what was relevant to the audience. The editor himself acknowledged that the developed world received more coverage than the developing one as the former had virtually all the means to exert more influence on the nations in the developing world including his own.

The rest of the newspapers, however, gave more emphasis in their foreign news coverage to the developing world either because this was linked to the objective of the newspaper, as in the case of *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, or due to the special attention they chose to give to certain developing nations which they considered as models to other developing nations, and particularly to Ethiopia. A case in point is the *Capital*. *The Ethiopian Herald* also seems to have placed a particular emphasis on issues related to the developing world specially Africa as the nation's capital city Addis Ababa is the seat of the head quarter of the continental organization, the

African Union. The fact that *The Ethiopian Herald* is government owned newspaper does not appear to explain the newspaper's emphasis on the coverage of the developing world as there are other privately owned newspapers which placed the same emphasis on this part of the world.

The emphasis given to Africa in particular was much more evident in the coverage of front page news items. This continent was given relatively more prominence than the rest of the developing world, whereas the developed world did not receive a front page coverage unless the news items were somehow related to the developing world particularly Africa. This seems to indicate that all the newspapers give priority to foreign news items related to the African continent.

The picture appears to be different in the coverage of news items in the inner pages of the newspapers. In both the major and brief news items which appeared on the inside pages of the newspapers, Africa and the developed world had almost equal coverage while the rest of the developing world received far less attention than the one given to either Africa or the developed world. This would seem to suggest that apart from the front page coverage Africa had somehow equal prominence with the developed world in the coverage of foreign news items in both major and brief news categories in the inside pages of the six newspapers.

The coverage of the newspapers in question seems to favor the developed world over the other when it comes to the types of coverage the different parts of the world received. In this regard the developed world had somehow a more positive coverage than a negative one, whereas the developing world including Africa had more negative coverage than the positive one it received. This was due to both the types of stories frequently reported and the way the stories were framed and presented. For example, when bird flu outbreak in the developing world was reported, the focus was mainly on the impact of the disease on this part of the world and the human casualties recorded. However, when the same type of story was told about the developed world, it was to show its readiness against the possible spread of the virus to the region.

The negative coverage the developing world in general and Africa in particular had was largely due to the more negative coverage given to both the least developed nations in Africa and the developing nations outside Africa in the medium category. The least developed African nations particularly had more than twice negative coverage than the positive one they received. This could probably be the reason for the pessimistic view some of the editors interviewed reflected about the continent. For instance, the editor from the *Capital* said, "Reporting on the negative side of Africa is normal because Africa is negative." Such kind of view might in turn help reinforce the same type of coverage the continent has had. As some other editors argued otherwise, the developing nations in Africa at the medium level had more positive coverage than the negative one they received. This might perhaps be the result of what the editor-in-chief of *The Reporter* pointed out as a recent tendency to focus increasingly on the positive aspects of the developing world.

Once again, individual variations in the types of coverage given to the different parts of the world by the six newspapers were observed. The *Daily Monitor* and *The Ethiopian Herald*, for instance, had more negative coverage about the developed world than the positive one they gave to the developed world. Particularly, *The Ethiopian Herald* had three times more negative news about the developed world than the positive news it received in this paper. This does not seem to relate to the ownership of the newspaper as this newspaper along with *Fortune*, a privately owned newspaper, had also twice and nearly three times more positive coverage about Africa than the negative one the continent received in each paper respectively. Similarly, the *Capital* had more positive news items about the developing world within and without Africa, while it had the same type of more positive coverage about the developed world. Likewise, *The Reporter* had more positive coverage about the developing world including Africa while it had no negative coverage at all about the rest of the developing world. Contrary to the trend in the newspapers mentioned above, *The Daily Monitor* and *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, the two newspapers with the widest foreign news coverage, gave up to three times more negative news coverage to the developing world including African than the positive

coverage they had about it. Even though both of them are privately owned newspapers, the predominantly negative coverage they gave to the developing world in particular can not be traced to the question of ownership as the other privately owned newspapers had rather contrastive coverage about the developing world.

These variations might be partly explained by the differences in the views of the individual editors. The more positive coverage *The Ethiopian Herald* gave to the developing world might be the reflection of the strong belief the editor-in-chief had about the coverage of the positive sides of Africa which might as well be shared by the other editors involved in the news selection process in the organization. However, as in the case of the *Capital*, the coverage of the developing world, particularly Africa, was more positive than otherwise despite the editor's gloomy perspective of the continent. In his own newspaper the place of Africa was not "in the disaster column" as he generally claimed. Actually, the editor also pointed out that the paper gave special attention to developing nations that might serve as a model for other developing nations like his own. This position of the newspaper might likely have contributed to the more positive coverage of the developing world including Africa. The wide varieties of sources the paper used from the developing world itself, wider than any of the other papers involved in the study, might possibly have an important role in the mostly positive coverage this part of the world received in this newspaper.

More important than the personal views of the individual editors who were involved in the news selection process was the sources used for foreign news coverage which appear to be determining the types of coverage the different parts of the world received. This is in consistence with Gans (1980:116) assertion, 'Either sources or journalist can lead, but more often than not sources do the leading' (in Ginneken, 1998:91). For example, more than twice the negative news coverage than the positive one about Africa and four times more negative coverage than the positive one about the rest of the developing world came interestingly enough from sources in the developed world. However, sources from the developing world had about three times more positive news related to Africa and twice more positive news about the

rest of the developing world than the negative coverage these parts of the world received from the same sources in the developing world itself. Since sources from the developed world covered more than two times of the coverage of Africa than it received from those in the developing world, Africa ultimately had more negative coverage than the positive one. Similarly, the developing world outside Africa generally received more negative coverage than its positive coverage as those sources from the developed world also covered nearly three times more news items about this part of the world than those from the developing world itself.

In the case of the developed world, sources from this part of the world had more or less equal coverage to both the positive and negative coverage with the later having slightly more coverage than the former. This might show what the editor of *The Sub-Saharan Informer* pointed out as the question of the current paradigm of international reporting. Similarly, Ginneken also pointed out that the Western media was “interested only in the very worst of crises” (1998:115) while covering the non-western world. This is in line with what Galtung and Ruge (1965:71) also described as negative events are more likely to get into the picture of international reporting since they could be seen as less ambiguous, more consensual, generally more likely to be unexpected and to occur over a short period of time than positive news. Still, the developed world generally received slightly more positive coverage than the negative one owing to the favorable coverage received from sources directly accessed by the newspapers’ reporters. These included press conferences given by embassies and foreign diplomats in Ethiopia. This could also be a further proof to how sources can play a leading role in news reporting.

However, sources directly accessed by the reporter or correspondents of the newspapers also shaded a negative light in the coverage of Africa rather than a positive one. This might perhaps be the influence of the sources or the result of the personal orientations of the reporters or the correspondents themselves. For instance, the foreign correspondents of *The Sub-Saharan Informer* gave more negative coverage to the continent than positive one. Here, it should also be noted that these correspondents placed more emphasis to positive news items in a negative context

than either the negative or the positive coverage they gave to the continent. This might perhaps show the conscious effort on the part of the reporters or the correspondents to present Africa from a positive angle.

This might perhaps sound truer when the opposite happened in the case of the use of other sources and the coverage of other parts of the world. For instance, the positive type of coverage in a negative context Africa received from all the sources together was less than the negative coverage but more than the positive coverage it had. In contrast, this same type of coverage the developed and the developing world outside Africa received was less than half of both the positive and the negative coverage these parts of the world received. In other words, this positive coverage in a negative context Africa had was more than twice that of the developed world while the same coverage of the rest of developing world was less than half of that of the developed world. This could probably be related to the belief shared by many of the editors interviewed that Africa in particular and the developing world in general should receive a more balanced coverage in terms of the types of coverage given by the various media outlets. Some of the editors even believed that some sort of improvement had already been taking place in this regard.

This appears to be evident in the kind of roles the developing world including Africa played and the types of representations it received in relation to the developed world. Even though the major sources of financial support were nations and institutions in the developed world, some nations and institutions from the developing world came to take part in the provision of financial support. What were still at the receiving end were nations and institutions in the developing world particularly Africa. Though most of the problems related to peace and conflict were again found in the developing world particularly Africa, nations from this part of the world as well as those in the developed world involved in peace initiatives to bring stability in their own region. Certain nations in the developing world even played an intermediary role when the conflict involved nations from both the developed and the developing world. Some nations from the developing world were also shown in certain reports to have been seeking support from fellow nations in the same part of the world. This

was perhaps a sign of frustration on the part of the developing world towards the developed world for the apparent lack of commitment to help put an end to the problems in the developing world, and it might indicate a shift of trust to other nations in the same category.

Despite certain attempts to portray the developed nations as the center of the world, based on the findings of this research project there seems to be a growing recognition of the importance of the developing nations in the world's economic, political, technological and cultural spheres. This developing part of the world was not only presented as important sources of raw materials and oil energy but also depicted as market places for finished goods as well as goods yet to be processed. Certain nations in the developing world were also regarded as important trading partners by the developed nations in the West. A case in point was the report about the recognition of South Africa as an important trading partner ranking with the West by the Belgium business delegates (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 378, Sunday, March 12, 2006, pp. 29). This African nation also had increasing political participation on the international arena as two of its ministers were appointed to prominent positions in the United Nations and World Bank. This nation again was the first in Africa to have ever been chosen by FIFA to host the World Cup in 2010. It was also the South African film *Tsotsi* which won the prestigious Oscar award in U.S.A. In fact, the performances and achievements of this particular nation may not be representative of the rest of the developing world or even the African continent as it is much more important in economic and political terms. Still, it is an African country that may serve as a model for other African nations in some respects, not least for being a different role model than countries in the North or in the West.

Though there might not be as many examples as the South African one, there were still some other nations and personalities from the developing world recognized and appreciated for their exemplary performances and achievements. For instance, certain African nations such as Ghana and Senegal were appreciated for the successful ongoing processes of democratization and respect for human rights. The great football talents from the continent were also reported to have performed

extremely well in the football championships and premierships in Europe, and sometimes quoted as representative speakers of their respective teams. The achievements of certain leaders from the developing world including Africa in areas which appeared to have been neglected by the developed world such as environment were recognized by international agencies like the UN. Rare but significant achievements of the developing world in science and technology have also received attention from the media as in the case of India's successful attempt to carry out the design, development and characteristics realization of supersonic combustion ramjet (Scramjet) (*Capital*, Vol. 8, No. 378, Sunday, March 12, 2006, pp. 42).

Despite such reports of the positive developments in the developing world, the coverage of this part of the world particularly that of Africa remained largely negative as suggested by the findings of qualitative as well as the quantitative analyses. From the qualitative analysis, it was observed that most of the reports about armed conflict, drought and poverty and health problems such as bird flu and HIV/AIDS were related to Africa. The continent was also depicted as a helpless victim of other diseases such as malaria, pneumonia, measles and other preventable illnesses.

In reports related to corruption both the developing and developed nations were indicated to have taken part in various scandals. The East African nation, Kenya, in particular was mentioned in various reports in relation to corruption which seem to have presented it as the most corrupt nation on the continent. The highly developed nations in the West, Australia, Italy and Britain were also indicated in reports in connection to corruption scandals. Hence, here the differences were interestingly not so big between developed and developing nations.

In a few reports made about natural disasters, nations from both camps were presented as victims of such natural phenomena. In one of such reports, the vulnerability of the most powerful nation in the globe, the United States, to hurricane was reported and the inability of its government to cope up with another such disaster was highlighted. This seems to be a positive proof of what Banthall

(1993:11-12) as cited in Ginneken(1998:116) pointed out in relation to the coverage of natural disasters as the endorsement given by the media to the marshalling of relief efforts. This might perhaps be indicative of the presence of so few reports of natural disasters in the coverage of the developing world.

The developed world was hence not always presented with a favorable coverage as shown in some of the reports mentioned above. There were also some but not many reports of negative developments in this part of the world. United States, for instance, which was considered as a model for its democratic institutions was accused of violating constitutional rights of non-citizens through abuses and monitoring phone calls without court approval (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp. 4). It may be because of these and also some other reasons that the positive coverage of this nation was almost equal to the negative one it received.

It was not only the United States which was sometimes presented in a negative light. Citizens of other nations from the developed world were at times reported to have been involved in criminal activities. For example, a French man who was a suspected leader of gang that tortured and killed a Jewish man was reported to have been brought to Ivory Coast (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp. 2). Despite the general expectation both the criminal and the victim were not from the developing world. Rather the developing world as represented by Ivory Coast was shown in the report to have been entrusted with the responsibility of implementing justice. This was quite the reversal of expectation regarding the traditional roles of the developed versus the developing world.

In conclusion, the developing world in general and Africa in particular had a wider coverage than the developed world, but the developed world had far more coverage than the developing world outside Africa. When the developing nations were further classified into medium and low categories of development according to the 2006 UN Development Index report, the highly developed nations had far more coverage than either of the developing nations in the two categories. In this regard, however, the

individual newspapers showed significant variations to the extent that the coverage of these parts of the world in some of these newspapers contradicted the generalization drawn above. These variations appeared to have been explained partly by the objectives of the newspapers, and the influence of the individual editors and editors-in-chief who were involved in the news selection processes. The use of sources was also found to be an important factor determining in a way the newspapers' coverage of the different parts of the world. Ownership, however, seems to have been loosely related to these variations in the extent and types of coverage given to the different parts of the world by the six newspapers analyzed in the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions

As it is already explained in the introductory chapter of this research paper, the main purpose of the research was to assess to what extent the complaints of the Third World countries made three decades ago about the international flow of information still holds true and whether the NWICO movement has made any impact on the media in the Third World nations themselves regarding their coverage of the developed and the developing world. For this purpose, the researcher was keen to assess the coverage of foreign news events in the print media in his own nation, Ethiopia. To this end, he has set the following specific objectives for this research project:

- determine the extent of news coverage the developed and the developing world, particularly that of Africa, received in the Ethiopian print media
- assess the types of coverage and representations both the developed and developing nations had in the Ethiopian print media
- identify the sources of information predominantly used in these print media and evaluate their influence on the extent and types of coverage these parts of the world had.

To achieve these objectives, the researcher has chosen six local English language newspapers namely *Capital*, *The Ethiopian Herald*, *The Daily Monitor*, *Fortune*, *The Reporter* and *The Sub-Saharan Informer*. All the foreign news items were collected from the six week editions of these newspapers in March and April 2006, and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively to determine the extent and types of coverage the developed and the developing world received and the types of sources used in the six newspapers. Interview was also conducted with the representative editors and editors-in-chief of the newspapers to evaluate their beliefs and practices regarding their foreign news coverage.

After all the data gathered in these ways were analyzed and discussed in light of the theories and historical developments raised in the review literature the following conclusions were drawn.

The developing world in general and Africa in particular received a wider coverage than the developed world in the six newspapers, but the developed world had far more coverage than the developing world outside Africa. However, the coverage of the developed nations was far greater than that of the developing nations either in the medium or lower categories of development.

With regard to the coverage of the individual nations, Great Britain and the United States received the highest coverage with Britain at the top mainly because of the wide coverage given to football events in the nation. Apart from these two nations, however, African nations dominated the top ten nations which received the highest coverage of foreign news with Kenya and South Africa having third and fourth places.

The coverage given to these parts of the world in the individual newspapers showed significant variations, and at times contradictions, with the generalizations drawn above. For example, the coverage of the developed world in *The Reporter* was far greater than the coverage of the developing world including Africa, the newspaper had. *The Daily Monitor* also gave a markedly higher coverage to the developed world than to Africa or the rest of the developing world, although the developing world in general had a slightly greater coverage than that of the developed world. However, other newspapers like *Fortune*, for instance, gave as much as four times more coverage to the developing world including Africa, and three times more coverage to Africa alone, than that of the developed world.

These variations among the individual newspapers' coverage of the different parts of the world seems to have emanated partly from the differences in their objectives, the types of sources they used and the influence of the individual editors involved in the selection of foreign news items. For example, *Fortune's* emphasis on the

developing world appeared to have arisen probably from the objective of the newspaper as it gave a greater coverage to issues of national interest and related foreign events. *The Daily Monitor's* emphasis on the coverage of the developed world, however, seems to be the result of its huge reliance on *Reuters* as a main source for the coverage of foreign news items. In the case of *The Reporter*, the individual perception of the editor-in-chief who was the main responsible person for the selection of news items seems to have influenced the greater coverage given to the developed world. Ownership, however, does not seem to have any apparent relation to the variations in the coverage of the different parts of the world in individual newspapers analyzed in the study.

Africa was also given precedence in the coverage of the six newspapers as it received relatively greater front page coverage than either the developed or the rest of the developing world. The developed world did not receive any front page coverage unless it was in overlapping news items which were related to the developing world. In the inside pages, however, the developed world had more or less equivalent coverage to the one given to Africa. The rest of the developing world had a negligible coverage on both the front page and the inner pages of the newspapers.

When it comes to the types of coverage, the developed world somehow received more positive coverage than the negative one it received. In contrast, the developing world including Africa had more negative coverage than the positive one it received in the newspapers.

The negative coverage the developing world received in the analyzed newspapers was mainly due to the negative reports about the developing African nations in the low category of development and the developing nations in the medium category outside Africa. The least developed African nations in particular had more than twice as many negative coverage than the positive one they received.

There were again individual variations in the types of coverage the different newspapers had about the different parts of the world. Contrary to the generalization given above, *The Ethiopian Herald* gave three times more negative news coverage to the developed world than the positive one. Similar to that of *Fortune*, this newspaper also gave more than twice more positive news coverage to the developing world including Africa than the negative one this part of the world received. Both the *Capital* and *The Reporter* also had more positive coverage about the developing world in general than the negative one they gave to this part of the world. Contrary to the coverage of the above newspapers, *The Daily Monitor* and *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, the two local English newspapers with the highest foreign news coverage, gave three times more negative coverage to the developing world including Africa than the positive one they had about it.

These variations in the types of coverage among the six newspapers might have partially arisen from the editors' personal inclination and the kinds of sources they used. Ownership, however, does not again appear to have any apparent connection to the variations in the types of coverage given to the different parts of the world by the newspapers in question. For instance, *The Ethiopian Herald's* emphasis on the positive coverage of the developing world seems to have been related to the editor-in-chief's conviction that this part of the world and particularly Africa should have a more positive coverage than otherwise. In the case of *The Daily Monitor*, however, the use of *Reuters* as a main source of foreign news coverage appeared to be a major factor for the largely negative coverage the developing world received in this newspaper. *Reuters* in particular and the Western news agencies the six newspapers used as sources in general covered more than twice as many negative news items about Africa and four times as much negative coverage about the rest of the developing world than the positive coverage each of these parts of the world generally received in these newspapers. In contrast, sources from the developing world had about three times more positive news about the same part of the world than the negative coverage. However, sources from the developed world covered more than twice the coverage of Africa coming from sources in the developing world. The sources in the developed world had also about three times more the

coverage of the rest of developing world by sources from the developing world itself. As a result, the developing world including Africa would ultimately receive more negative coverage than the positive one it received from all the sources in general.

Sources directly accessed by the newspapers' reporters or correspondents also gave a more negative image of Africa than a positive one. This might perhaps be the influence of the sources themselves or the result of the personal orientation of the reporters or the correspondents. The correspondents of *The Sub-Saharan Informer*, the only newspaper which had foreign correspondents among the six in question, appear to have exerted effort to present the continent in a positive light despite the dominant negative coverage it had as they covered more positive reporting in a negative context than particularly the negative coverage which was found to be the other way around in the case of all the other sources used.

The qualitative analysis also indicated that even though the major sources of financial support were nations and institutions in the developed world, other nations and institutions from the developing world did also take part in the provision of such financial support. Though most of the problems related to peace and stability were located in the developing world, nations in this part of the world as well as those in the developed world initiated peace deals to solve the problems.

Even though there appear to be certain attempts in the newspapers to portray the developed nations as the centre of the world, the growing importance of the developing nations in the world's political, economic, technological and cultural spheres seems to be recognized and appreciated by the international community. In this case, nations like South Africa and India were found to stand out among all the other nations in the developing world. Hence, it might be argued that these nations might not be representative enough and that the performances and achievements of these nations could not be equated to those of the other nations in the same category.

Despite such positive roles and representations the developing nations have in the coverage of the six newspapers, the coverage of this part of the world particularly that of Africa appears to have remained largely negative as most of the reports about armed conflict, drought and poverty, and health problems like bird flu and HIV/AIDS were related to Africa in particular. The continent was also depicted as helpless victims of other diseases such as malaria, pneumonia, measles and other preventable illnesses.

The developed world was not always presented in a positive light as there were certain reports regarding this part of the world, which were related to corruption and natural disasters. One of the most developed nations in the world such as the United States was also accused of violating constitutional rights of non-citizens through abuses and monitoring phone calls without court approval (*The Daily Monitor*, Vol. XIII, No. 51, Wednesday, March 1, 2006, pp. 4). Apart from such type of negative reports, however, the developed world generally seems to have been presented in a more favorable light than the developing world in the analyzed newspapers.

Generally, though the developing world has somewhat a wider coverage than that of the developed world in the local print media in Ethiopia, it still appears to be true that the developing world has largely a more negative coverage than the developed world. It also seems to be true that the gap between the positive and negative coverage of these parts of the world was not as wide as it was pointed out in the MacBride report three decades ago. It may perhaps be the case that there has been a gradual change in the media coverage of the developing world at least in the international news coverage of the media in the developing world itself.

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Statement of Declaration

The thesis, my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other University and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name

Signature

Name of the Advisor

Signature

Appendix 8

Acronyms used in the Paper

AFP - Agence France Press

AP - Associated Press

AU - Africa United

IGAD - Inter Governmental Authority on Development

NWICO - New World Information and Communication Order

SABC - South African Broadcasting Corporation

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UPI - United Press International