



**Media Coverage of China-Africa Relations: the Case of the BBC
and ETV**

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study was examining the media coverage of China- Africa relations in light of Framing and Orientalism theories. The study focused on the 21st century China- Africa relations, when China has become one of the world's powerful nations and Africa has started building a new name. It also pointed out emphasized and deemphasized issues and commonly utilized media sources. To this end, a qualitative method, (particularly) textual analytic method was used. The BBC and ETV were selected purposefully and their online version of the news stories published from Jan. 2011 to Feb. 30, 2013, were collected from the websites, www.com/news and www.erta.gov.et, respectively.

The analysis shows that the BBC and ETV online news stories used South-South co-operation frame, non-interference frame, and mutual benefit frame in articulating China-Africa relations. While ETV's online news stories focused on success-oriented positive narratives in describing the relationship, the BBC online news stories presented both the positive and the negative sides of China-Africa relations a bit with some exaggerations on the negative side of the relationship. Along the negative side, the BBC online news stories framed the relationship as a new form of colonization. However, ETV had nothing to say about the negative consequences of China's practice on the Continent. ETV online news stories highlighted the economic and political gains that have accrued from China-Africa relations, whereas they deemphasised the negative influence the relationship brought on Africa.

The two selected media outlets represented China-Africa relations differently. What is more, while ETV's news sources were predominantly official government sources, the BBC used an array of sources from different walks of life in its news production. This might be attributable to the fact that the two media outlets follow different models of journalism: ETV follows the developmental journalism model, whereas the BBC adheres to the liberal model. Finally, based on these findings a few recommendations have been suggested.

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I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my late father.

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The contemporary world is widely described as globalized, globalizing or postmodern. The center to these descriptions is the claim of historical change. A globalized or globalizing world is juxtaposed to an earlier international world just as the postmodern world has left modernity behind (John, 2006).

The interconnectivity among nations what peoples called globalization is a form of an international relation. International relations are relations between, at least two, states of the world. The goal of these relations is to promote states' economic- trade, investment, politic-security, human right, ideology and socio- cultural interests- language, way of living, social values so on. There is one saying I notice from my IR teacher; "there is no permanent enemy rather permanent national interest." So every state runs to secure their national interest over the others, but the economical and political power they have matter to cop up in the competition. "Germany's Otto von Bismarck, elaborated state policy strategies in foreign affairs that emphasized actions based upon national self-interest, but exercised with reason and caution [wisely using the appropriate diplomacy]" (R. Catley and Mosler, 2007).

There is a means to accomplish good relation to a state, even if it is challenging- diplomacy. Diplomacy is a peaceful method to solve conflict, maintain good relations, promote state's values, and advance interests of the state through conducting debates, discussions, exchanging ideas and negotiations between or among representatives of states (<http://belvina.wordpress.com/2008/02/15/>). But, "Geopolitical theorists in the nineteenth century elaborated on the necessity for the state to exercise military power in order to further the aims of state interests and diplomacy (<http://belvina.wordpress.com/2008/02/15/>). Encyclopedia of Placement explains work of diplomats:

Is based on watching the events happened in the country, following reactions of world states on the main world events, reporting about them to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, recommending what official position is better to a concrete case and, at the same time. Diplomats do not report blindly; they have official right to collect information about the country where they work. Then, the government

takes position on the case in line with its national interests based on the gathered information (<http://belvina.wordpress.com/2008/02/15/>).

In international relation, the role of mass media is one of the very powerful elements; because, it can cover big amount of new information during a short period of time. Furthermore, very often, the point of view represented by the national mass media of any country is perceived as opinion of the state. Moreover, media can easily influence mind of people through texts, photos, audio, video and comments. The best examples of such impact are “CNN effect” that is used by politics to persuade world community (<http://belvina.wordpress.com/2008/02/15/>).

The main power of “CNN effect” is 24-hour news coverage of event such as war, disaster, international conflict, etc. using photos and video from the spot. It makes pressure on government and pushes to do immediate decision that can be spontaneous and thoughtless. As a result, it can lead to redoubling of conflict because of misunderstanding. If 24 hours a day to say that Iran, for example, has nuclear weapon, anyone unconsciously will believe in it. An intervention to Iran will be perceived as a logical decision (<http://belvina.wordpress.com/2008/02/15/>). Not only the coverage, but, the way media frame issues and represent to the audience matters more.

1.1.1. Short Brief of People’s Republic of China

Sino (China’s Ancient name) is one of the ancient empires which have its own long lasting history. According to Federal Research Division (2006) Country profile- China:

The outbreak of revolution on October 10, 1911, signaled the collapse of the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), which was formally replaced by the government of Republic of China (Western- style government) on February 12, 1912. And again, the People’s Republic of China was officially established on October 1, 1949, replacing the Republic of China government on mainland China (p.2).

Federal Research Division (2006) explained, the Chinese people’s artistic talent and their intellectual creativity, plus their numbers, has long made China’s civilization predominant in East Asia. The end of imperial rule was followed by nearly four decades of major socioeconomic development and sociopolitical disputes. The communist takeover of the mainland in 1949 set the scene for building a new society built on a Marxist-Leninist model replete with class struggle and popular politics shaped and directed by the China Communist Party (CCP).

The research institution (2006) added that the 1978 reform made China is one of the largest world economies and trading partners as well as an emerging regional military power. The Four Modernizations (agriculture, industry, science and technology, and national defense) became the preeminent agenda within the party, state, and society. During the review period, there were no significant political reforms. China's leadership continues to strongly resist any calls for increased political freedom, competition or participation. Also, fundamental civil rights continue to be denied (Stiftung, 2012).

The politics in command of the Maoist past were unconsciously present when technocrat Hu Jintao emerged by 2004 as the preeminent leader: president of China, chairman of both the State Central Military Commission and Party Central Commission, and general secretary of the CCP (Stiftung, 2012). In November 15, 2012 a new leader, Xi Jinping, elected to replace Hu based on the CCP ten year term power transition rules. Xi takes the Hu position in March 14, 2013 after four months get elected.

The People's Republic of China (PRC) covers an area of 9.6 million square kilometers. In 2011, it had a population of 1,338.3 million among 31 provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities (exclusive of Hong Kong and Macao Special Administrative Regions and Taiwan Province). Out of 56 nationalities, Han is the largest one accounting about 91.6 per cent of the total population. Chinese language, Mandarin, is the second most on use next to English. In recent decades urbanization has taken place rapidly with fast economic development. In 2001, the number of cities had grown to 662; however most of the Chinese people still lived in rural areas, and only 44.9 per cent resided in urban areas. Life expectancy goes up to 73 years (World Bank, World Development Indicators: China, 2011 cited in BTI, 2012).

With growth rates of 9.2% in 2009 and 10.3% in 2010, China has surpassed Japan as the world's second biggest economy with about \$6 trillion GDP, and in 2009 became the biggest exporting country, ahead of Germany. Growth domestic product per- capital has been reached \$7599 in 2011/12. But poverty still accounts 36.3 % population (Stiftung, 2012). According to United Nation MDG 2011 report by 2015, it is now expected, the global poverty rate will fall below 15 % under the 23 % target; this global trend, mainly, reflects rapid growth in Eastern Asia, especially, China.

The most pressing unresolved problems of China include: social inequality and the associated increase in popular unrest, ongoing ethnic tensions in Tibet and Xinjiang, deepening regional developmental disparities, insufficient social security systems, corruption, and environmental degradation. Externally, China is able to portray itself as an important economic partner that pulled the world economy and in particular countries- Australia, Brazil, Germany and South Korea; due to its enormous need for resources, capital and consumer goods. But, China has been criticized for increasing forcefulness to its neighbors and its “mercantilist” economic policies- undervaluation of the Yuan, export restrictions, market access restrictions, etc (Stiftung, 2012).

1.1.2. An Overview of the Africa Continent

It is challenging to get uniform and consistent political, economical and cultural profile of a continent which incorporates various nations. So what is better I get is to see organizations or and unions profile that represent those nations, in this case, Africa Union (AU). Wishes of the founders of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was largely informed by the desire of the Pan-Africanists who believed that it is only full political unity that will end the Pan-African struggle. It is the expression of Pan-Africanism as a structural working frame work for action in regard to the multiple issues facing African people (Journal of Pan African Studies, 2009).

The search began with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963; in 2002 OAU advanced to Africa Union (AU) aiming more solidarity and integrity in all aspects of the continent. Initially, OAU main objective was freeing African from colonizers and establishing independence sovereign states. When the physical colonization becomes history, its aim and objective stretches to all rounded issues of the continent. But, some scholars question OAU advancement to AU. For instance, Amadu Sesay (2008) noted:

Does a change in the name of an organization, whose membership remains identical ... significantly, alter its orientation, mission mandate, philosophy, resource base and the will to make a difference? These questions point to the dominant perspectives on the new organization. On the one hand, those who would like to argue, the African Union is simply the OAU without the O, and that it is simply ‘new wine in old bottles.’ On the other hand, some observers do believe that the AU marks a significant departure in several significant ways from the defunct OAU. whatever the AU has done or is doing now that seems to set it apart from the OAU, is intricately tied up with the changing global priorities,

goals and agendas which have compelled it and similar actors in the international system to amend their priorities, focus, and ways of operation (p.7).

The other point that shows a significant change of AU, Africa is trying to solve conflicts and secure peace with the help of UN and EU, especially in finance, logistic and training. According to (Soderberg, 2005: cited in Sesay, 2008) Africans are beginning to take responsibility for the continent's conflicts. With the right international assistance, the effort can tip the balance from war to peace. On 18-22 March, 2008 New York: Sheraton, Collegiate Conference National Association; delegates to the African Union discuss implementation of a Pan-African free trade area, reinventing growth in Africa, development and technological innovation and the role of African Union peacekeepers in regional conflicts (National Model United Nations, 2008). Contemporarily, AU sent peacekeepers to Somalia and things become better.

According to Population Reference Bureau (2012), Africa accounts about one billion population in mid 2012. UN projection estimated that population in Africa will be more than double by 2050 to almost 2 billion. A recent study indicates two major factors, determine Africa's future economic growth; one growth in the working-age share of the population and the second is institutional quality, includes factors such as a strong rule of law, efficient bureaucracies, government stability, anti-corruption, and a stable business environment that encourages domestic and foreign investors. Similarly, a World Bank study found, boosting economic growth in Africa would depend on four "I"s: expanding infrastructure, improving investment, harnessing innovations, and building institutional capacity (Population Reference Bureau, June 2007).

Africa lives with various challenges. According to Model United Nation (2008) Committee Conference guide,

Most populations are rural based, between 70-90% mainly depending on subsistence farming. In urban areas, most people are engaged in crafts and manual labor. Fast growing populations are mostly composed of youth. This implies a heavily dependent population. Combined with prevalent economic malaise at home, most countries experienced high rates of inflation, frequent devaluation of national currencies, and high interest rates, all of which adversely affected the growth of industry and business, and eroded the purchasing power of the people (p. 14).

Moreover, the 2008/9 crisis in Europe has overall effect on Africa but, the effects would depend on the depth and duration of the crisis and how much it touches the rest of the global economy. If Europe's debt crisis worsens, it could affect Africa on exports of goods, services and tourism.

There could also be reduced official development assistance, foreign direct investment and of remittances from migrant workers (ADB, OECD, UNDP, UNECA, 2012). Euro- crisis continues until 2013. Although challenges are there, Africa seems on the right track in the 21st century than any time before. Overall, the 2012 African Economic Outlook presents an optimistic future for the continent. Africa's impressive growth for more than a decade and its resistance to the deep global recession supports such optimism.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The aim of a liberal foreign policy lies in the systematic promotion of liberal principles abroad i.e. in changing the cultural, economic and political constitution of non-liberal states. This promotion of liberal principles requires a clear distinction between liberal and non-liberal states. The preferred means to this end are economic – sanctions or restricted interaction with non-liberal states and extended aid and trade with liberal or transitional states (John, 2006). People Republic of China is one of the non- liberal states and Africa countries are unidentified, except a few which seem transitional states. So any China- Africa relations is a big concern for liberal states; and it is very significant news for both international media like BBC World News and national media like Ethiopian Radio and Television Agency (E.R.T.A). Thus, it is the researcher curiosity to know how the BBC and ETV frame and present the China- Africa relations.

The West in modern international relations plays three key elements: 'the West' as actor, as institutional model and as an intellectual foundation. The West, meaning principally Europe and the United States, has been a dominant force in modern world political and economical order (Hagan, 2002). But China, being the second largest world economy and one of the Veto power, it becomes another political and economical actor and poll of the globe. Following this, African states open their main gate to China. Without any doubt, it is a miss to the West. As the researcher observes, politicians and also intellectuals, international news makers describe China as African new colonizer. They sue China for exploiting Africa natural resources, ignoring human rights issues of Africa, irresponsible aid and loan. On the other hand, African governments argue that China is another development alternative and model for Africa. They appreciate China non interference policy in countries internal affair. African governments enjoy China's loan and aid without preconditions in contrary to the West. So what the researcher wanted to do was examining the BBC and ETV news reports making arguments on the subject.

According to Mann (1993) in the nineteenth-century, the ‘West’ was a multi-power civilization and undisputed global hegemony. European expansion from the sixteenth century onwards meant that Western powers became involved economically, militarily and politically in Asia, Africa and the Americas; the affairs of Europe coming to influence and dominate those of other continents (Mann, 1993). China is the new comer in this competition i.e. after the second half of the 20th century. May Westerns lose their hegemony over others such as Africa? What did the BBC and ETV have been narrating about China and the West, especially US-China competition over the African continent?

1.3 Objective of the Study

General Objective:

The main purpose of this study was examining how the BBC and ETV frame the contemporary China- Africa relations.

Specific Objectives:

- Exploring how the selected news media, the BBC and ETV frame China-Africa relations in their online news narratives.
- Examining the difference between the BBC and ETV news coverage of Sino-Africa relations.
- Identifying arguments discussed in the selected media news narratives on China-Africa relations.

1.4 Research Questions

The following questions are answered by this study:

- How did the BBC and ETV online news narratives frame China- Africa relations?
- What were the differences between the BBC and ETV news coverage on China- Africa relations?
- What arguments were discussed in the BBC and ETV news narratives on China- Africa relations?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The result of this study is assumed to be used by media people in improving China and Africa economical, political and socio- cultural interactions. Foreign relations researches can give tips about areas where there is weak and or strong tie between or among nations. So this study can indicate the level of interdependence, cooperation, mutual stand, and the gaps between China and Africa. In addition, media build or erode once nation image; this image matter how to be represented in the world and how to be viewed by others- tourists, investors, cross national corporations, human right organizations, etc. So the media monitor department of China and African countries can use this study as one indicator how China- Africa relations is represented and framed by media outlets. What is more, other researchers of media and foreign relations can use it as reference for further study.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study focused on the BBC and ETV online news and news analysis narratives on China- Africa political and economical relations which were stored ranging from 2011 to February 30, 2013. The selected media outlets online news narratives were broadcasted on air. The BBC was selected from international media outlets, because, it has a special program on Africa, called “Focus on Africa” which is on air always at 8:30 PM except weekends. Ethiopia Television was selected, because, there is no alternative Television channel in Ethiopia and the researcher is an Ethiopian who lives in Ethiopia so that it is easy to access it than other African countries media outlets products where interconnectivity is low to share information among African countries.

Internet service was very weak, while this study was conducted, thus, online information browsing and accessing international media online news narratives were the challenges which faced the study. It will be more strong and sound if more international and national media news narratives were included in the study. But due to lack of finance and time it is limited to the BBC and ETV online news and news analysis narratives.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This paper is organized in five chapters; including this introduction part, which involves background of the study, statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study, research questions, significant and scope of the study as sub- topics.

The next chapter is review of related literatures which deals about, mainly, elements of international relations, such as foreign policy, state sovereignty and duty, and diplomacy; China-Africa political and economical relations such as investment, loan and donations, FOCAC; arguments on China- Africa relations; media in international relations and theoretical frameworks.

The third chapter states the methodology of the study. The chapter contains the research method and selection of media outlets (ETV and the BBC) short profile. In addition, time and news text selections are involved.

The fourth chapter is the analysis part of the study. Selected online news narratives of the BBC and ETV, which focused on China- Africa interaction, quoted partially or fully and discussed to show how they cover the 21st century China- Africa relations.

The last part of this paper, chapter five, is the conclusion and recommendations of the study findings which have been made based on the review of related literatures and extracted from the analysis chapter. Finally, the logo of the BBC and ETV, sample news text of the BBC and ETV online news stories and Africa and China maps have been attached as appendixes. At the end, the bibliography is presented.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literature

This part, chapter two, provides a short summary review of literatures on various sub- topics related to international relations concept and elements and China- Africa political and economical relations, such as foreign policy, diplomacy, nations' international obligations, international relation actors; and China's investment in Africa, China loan and donation to Africa, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and arguments on China – Africa relations. Besides these, other issues like media in international relations and theoretical frameworks are part of the chapter.

2.1 The Concepts and Elements of International Relations

Each of all human beings demand certain standards of conduct in dealing with them. One fundamental standard is recognition of their entitlement to our regard and respect, which is the rule or practice of acknowledging the existence, status, and independence of people. Recognition is one of the oldest and one of the most fundamental norms of international relations in state level (Jackson, 2005).

Israel and Palestine case can be mentioned here as example. Palestine does not recognize Israel as existing nation even if Israel is a member of the UN; their international relations is a style of rat and cat adventure. Palestine does not have a state level status, even if in November 2012, its status was upgraded from UN observer authority to UN non- member observer state- here Israel is the core reason for it.

The discipline of international relations developed in response to WWI (1914 - 1918) - its guiding task was to analyze the nature of international politics and the causes of wars between or among states, with the aim of devising solutions to the problems of international interactions. For much of the twentieth century its theorizing has been dominated by two main schools of thought: the political realists, who argue that war between states is an ever-present condition of international politics – owing either to the self-interested nature of human actors or states, or to the ‘anarchic’ nature of the international system – and the liberals, who argue that war between

states can be moderated, regulated or even overcome through various means such as institutionalization or economic interactions (Kurki, 2008).

The main debate in international relations between neo-realists who focused on the limits of cooperation and the possibility of conflict and the neo-liberals who focused on the possibilities for cooperation and the limits to conflict comes from their philosophical difference (Chandler, 2004). Philosophical realists argue that ontology matters in the study of international relations. They recognize that ontological assumptions are fundamental in directing how we analyze the world; they create 'interpretive horizons' through which to engage with the empirical world; where liberalists utilize positivism (Kurki, 2008).

International relations theorizing have suffered from unnecessarily restrictive methodological, epistemological and ontological assumptions. The rationalists are, first, methodologically hindered in that, because of the empiricist grounding of knowledge on the perceived; their causal analyses cannot draw on certain important interpretive types of methods of analysis and are unable to use and evaluate certain important types of evidence. Hermeneutic interpretation of reasons and motives of action, and their meaningful context, for example, is largely ignored by the positivist causal analysts. The methods of discourse analysis, in fundamentalist or poststructuralist senses, for example, are considered unsystematic and unscientific (Kurki, 2008).

Kurki (2008) pointed out a better theorization in the linkage between domestic and international by seeing the two concepts as interlinked. He argues that the international shapes the domestic structure of the state, which, in turn, affects the types of international system in the world. He sees the domestic and international as part of a whole rather than as two separable variables. He also conceives of domestic and international as constituted by economic and normative relations as well as political-military relations. China and Africa can be a good example. Chinese competitive manufacturing industries, military, politics and others fix its international interaction strong. On the other hand, Africa's weak domestic overall structures bring it less decision making power and less attention in the international stages.

International thought is an inquiry into the fundamental ideas and beliefs involved in the arrangement and conduct of world affairs over time: international anarchy, the society of states, the cosmologies of humankind, hegemony, empire, confederation, the practice of

diplomacy, international law, war, espionage, world commerce, international organization, global civil society—to mention some of the most prominent. It is also an inquiry into the values at stake: peace, security, independence, order, justice, human rights, prosperity, and progress among nations (Jackson, 2005).

Harvard Professor, Samuel P Huntington in his *Clash of Civilizations* (as cited in R. Catley and Mosler, 2007) argued, the world was divided into nine core civilization groups, with most of them having a leading state apparatus. These were: the US-led West; the detached Latin America; the poor and inward looking Africa; the Orthodox Christian area under Russia- with declining power after its Cold War defeat; the Confucian world with China as its leader; the Hindu world centered around India; the Japanese sphere; the Buddhist world from Thailand to Mongolia; and the Muslim world with a number of states contending for leadership. Based on Huntington category, this paper main focus is on the relationship between the Confucian world-China and the poor and inward looking Africa.

2.1.1 Foreign Policy

International relations are more uncertain than domestic relations. Perhaps this is because foreign policy is conducted at greater distances and with fewer authoritative and reliable means than domestic policy. Statecraft—what we would call foreign policy—involves doing whatever is necessary to provide external security, and to counter or avoid whatever is likely to undermine that security (Jackson, 2005). A nation's international relation is basically determined by its foreign policy. For instance, China's non-interference policy on others' domestic peace, stability, law and regulations, economical or political policy gives it good friendship and acceptance in Africa. But the West and Africa relations seems to asymmetrical. Such relations do not seem to be sustainable unless some co-equal relations and horizontal communication is developed.

Nations have their eye and their mind on each other; they are looking to see what the others are doing, or wondering what they might do, how it might affect them, and how to respond to it in successful ways. Foreign policy decisions are thus social and interactive—between agents. International decisions and the games of the strategy they invoke are interdependent decisions: threats of war, deterrence, warnings, negotiations and blackmail are nonzero-sum games that

involve not only conflict, as in zero-sum games, but also mutual dependence, mutual accommodation, joint expectations, communications, and coordination, (Jackson, 2005).

The context of foreign policy is stretched to all rounded interactions of nations. With the increasing number of human rights treaties, institutions, NGOs, increased foundation funding for human rights work – and human rights had become a part of foreign policy of key countries (Risse and Sikkink, 1999 cited in Chandler, 2004).

2.1.2 Diplomacy

Diplomacy is an activity involved in dealing with governments abroad who are independent of others and probably also different from others but whose policies and activities must be of interest and concern to others because they could be affected by them and we do not control them, at least not completely. Diplomacy is a sphere of human relations with its own distinctive norms; reflect the complexities, uncertainties, and anxieties of different member states of international society (Jackson, 2005).

Modern international society is understood to be a diplomatic system at its core. The various activities and institutions of diplomacy, such as the exchange of resident ambassadors, the activity of communication between states, the practice of diplomatic immunity, the holding of congresses and conferences, the negotiation of treaties and agreements of various kinds, are not only a distinguishing feature but also a foundational element of any society of independent states. When the diplomatic system is absent we are not likely to be contemplating political activities that could accurately be labeled “international.” When it is present we are almost certainly witnessing international relations (Jackson, 2005).

Some use the diplomatic tool to keep their dominance over the others. For instance, the fundamental principle of British diplomacy throughout the centuries had been to preserve a balance of power on the Continent (Europe) in order to prevent any expansionist power from achieving continental hegemony (Lebow, 2007). Britain is one of the successful countries to reserve own values, especially its language.

Diplomacy is also a subject of political thought: it raises normative questions as well as instrumental questions. It is a specialized political activity between and among selected

people who normally are agents and representatives of independent states. The world of the diplomat is a world created and kept in existence by independent governments whose agents and representatives must deal with one another at least from time-to-time and most likely on a standing and regular basis. We cannot separate the world of the diplomat from the states they represent; the one is not completely intelligible without the other (Jackson, 2005). But of all branches of human endeavor, diplomacy is the most inconsistent tool of international relations (Derian, 2009).

2.1.3 Nations' International Obligations

An obligation is a binding norm or standard of conduct by reference to which human activities are demanded or required. To be under an obligation is to be legally or morally bound to take an action or refrain from taking one, such as to perform a duty, to observe a requirement, to comply with a demand, and so forth. An obligation is a notion of whom we ought to obey. It is a component of a normative framework of some sort (moral, legal, religious), to which we are expected to conform in our policies and activities (Jackson, 2005).

Jackson (2005) further explains that obligation is a fundamental concept of political and legal thought. Political obligations is, in legitimate and capable states, a positive habit of obedience, of both rulers and ruled, to the demands and requirements of the state, that is, its constitution, laws, regulations, policies, and so forth. The state is a moral and legal framework that constrains its officials and citizens to perform or avoid certain actions. International obligations are practices of diplomacy; military alliances, commercial treaties, international organizations, and much more. But international law is not set above constitutional law. It is produced by the will and consent of sovereign states. International obligation involves non-sovereign groups or collectivities that extend across international boundaries. The following have been among the most prominent international obligations traditionally: preserve the society of states, uphold the balance of power, abide by international law, accommodate international trade and commerce, and respect human rights.

International obligation is a sphere of greater complexity, ambiguity, and uncertainty than domestic political obligation, which means, such norms come into conflict more readily and are

resolved with greater difficulty, owing to the weakness or absence of authoritative bodies that exist for that purpose (Griffiths, and O'Callaghan, 2002).

2.1.4 International Relation Actors

A crucial part of the traditional definition of international relations has also been played by the theorization of the role of the state. The state enjoys a hegemonic position in the conceptual system of international relations, in the sense that most theories, from realism, to liberalism, to the English school and many sectors of constructivism, see states as the sole units, or agents that should be concerned with. 'Statism' in this sense, has been the 'flip side' of the acceptance of the particularly narrow view of the international if international relations is defined by the existence of an international system/society, this international system/society has been defined by the interaction of states (Kurki, 2008).

The main actors of international relations are not only states, but also international and non-governmental organizations, individuals and others. Wight points out (as cited in Kurki, 2008) these although states have been accepted as the central units in international relations, many rationalists have not even accepted the state as a 'real' structure or actor, because empiricism has de-legitimized any credit of reality to unobservable entities such as the state. Some rationalists have made their empiricist commitments explicit by declaring that the state simply 'does not really exist'. Others have treated the state merely as a 'useful abstraction' that can be assumed to exist under 'as if' descriptions: when we say the state exists, we are simply saying that it is useful to talk about it 'as if' it existed.

Miller's (1994) argument also was complementary to Wight's one. He argues that the growth of so many kinds of non-state actors challenge and even weaken the "state-centric" concept of international politics and replaces it with a "transnational" system in which relationships are more complex. These organizations changed the international environment. The increase of non-state actors has recently led some observers of international relations to conclude that states are declining in importance and that non-state actors are gaining status and influence.

Following the traditional classification, non-state actors are divided into two categories: international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) and transnational or international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (Brown, 1995). The first group consists of the non-state

actors that are created by nation-states like UN, EU, AU and such others, which are officially documented by government agencies. The second group of non-state international actors is established not by nation-states, but by certain group of individuals, businessmen and other societal forces. This group has no legal bonds with nation-states; therefore, they are truly transnational.

2.2. Review of China- Africa Relations

Realists believe that all states pursue their own interests to the limits of the power that they possess. They usually believe, also, the value systems or ideologies that states advocate are masks and/or excuses for the pursuit of those interests, sometimes merely designed to generate popular support at home or abroad. States will only be restrained from pursuing these interests by the limitations of their power or the application of countervailing power, usually by other states (R. Catley and Mosler, 2007).

The relationship between China and Africa has developed over the last 60 years and it has three distinguished phases within this timeframe. The first were the relationships between China and African nation states in the eve of independence (1950s) when China recognized the struggle for independence. The second phase was the period when China was given a permanent seat on the UN Security Council in 1971- China needed many voices to the seat. The final phase covers the post-Maoist (1990s) period and is characterized by the liberalization and subsequent growth of the Chinese economy when Africa starts to receive loan and donation from China (Looy, 2006). It is also the time Africa started economical growth.

Looy (2006) further wrote that before 1955, Africa has no significant importance to China but from then onwards, China hunted international recognition and political allies, hoping to strengthen international alliances against the capitalist West and the revisionist communist Soviet Union. It is part of China's struggle against the international political and economic order which it describes the working system as unfair.

2.2.1 Political and Economic Interaction

In January 2006, the Chinese government released its official African policy which specifically encourages and supports Chinese enterprises' investment in Africa, and will

continue to provide preferential loans and buyers' credits to this end (China's African Policy, 2006). Why China invests a large amount of money into the African infrastructure sector? Jensen in his Master thesis (2011) hypothesises if there is a correlation between China's investments in infrastructure and extraction of African resources, as well as investigating if the investments in addition could be due to China's intention of facilitating access to its own goods on the African markets or the assumption that something in China's own development history is reflected in its African investments. Finally, he found out that all these are true. For instance, one of Jensen's (2011) conclusions was:

[China's] investments can be seen in the light of [its] own development issues, which require a stable economic growth to maintain social stability [in China], and as social stability furthermore is said to be fundamental for economic growth, these two factors are inseparable and an omnipresent concern. In this regard, the regulating function of the Chinese state and supporting role of financial institutions can be referred to. Not only in terms of encouraging and supporting Chinese companies to invest and move overseas but also in terms of the establishment of the overseas sizes and the opportunities this creates for mature companies and Chinese goods (p.84).

When Ethio-China relation, the 40th anniversary, was celebrated in Beijing in December 16, 2010, the theme was Ethiopia and China Development and Transformation issue. Ambassador Hailekiros Gessesse, Ethiopia's used to be outgoing Ambassador to China, noted on the occasion, the two countries have a relationship solely based on the principles of mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and peaceful coexistence. He added, the bilateral relations have developed in all encompassing manner and underlined on the great hope on the further economic growth of the two countries. Mr. Jing Dunquan, Vice President of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, on his part said, the establishment of diplomatic ties opened a new chapter between the two countries. He added that the bilateral relations have endured change in all level and developed in a sound and profound manner particularly since the EPRDF came to power in 1991.

Dependency theorists explain the economic development of a state in terms of external political, economic, and cultural influences on national development policies are a form of oppression (Sunkel, 1969). Dependency theory assumes that economic domination runs across north-south geo-economic patterns. However, what the world is witnessing since the emergence of China as a global trade heavyweight is its unusual position within the center-periphery framework. That

is, particularly in its economic and trade relations with Africa, China does not fit the theoretical concept of center country, nor does it any longer fit the standard periphery nation (Maswana, n. d).

Most African efforts and strategies with respect to its partnership with emerging global economic drives have focused on South - South cooperation. There have been a new organized efforts aimed at dealing with China as a strategic partner with whom to engage in order to optimize the positive complementary impacts of this engagement on Africa economies (Stiftung, 2007).

While not a new phenomenon, China's involvement in African affairs has changed over time. At the time of the 1955 Bandung Conference, the China-Africa relationship was anti-US hegemonic, and anti-imperialist that led to China's involvement in and support of liberation struggles in many African countries. Nevertheless, this link involved no significant trade flows, nor could it trigger African development (Maswana, n. d). But since Beijing's late 1990s announcement of its —going global□ policy, which includes large firms expanding their exploration into investment opportunities in Africa, a new economically focused trend has emerged. For example, in November 2006, at the Beijing summit of the Forum of China-African Cooperation, China expressed its commitment to 'win-win' perspectives in its economic exchange with Africa. Yet the capitalist mode of production is often characterized by increasing tensions and divides, because, in theory, core countries, as owners of capital, have built-in advantages over periphery nations and workers (Stiftung, 2007).

Not only did trade (exports and imports) between Africa and China increase from US\$11 billion in 2000 to US\$56 billion in 2006 and \$160 in 2013, but the share of Africa's exports to China rose from 1.3 percent in 1995 to 9.3 percent in 2004. However, recent discussions show that China-Africa economical links has often overlooked the technological gap that may account for much of Africa's inevitable another dependency (Lammers, 2007). So again, one understands that the traditional core-periphery domination remains as it is in the other form, but not yet well defined.

The profile of goods traded in the China-Africa relationship has changed. During the 1980s and 1990s, China exported mostly clothing, footwear, and light manufactured goods; in 21st

century, it has shifted toward higher technology exports, like electronic goods and machinery, which now account for close to 50 percent of its exports (World Bank, 2007). In turn, China imports from Africa primarily crude oil, iron ore, cotton, diamonds, and other natural resources and primary goods. Thus, for those African countries without much oil or many raw materials to export, trade with China is less mutually complementary, which results a rise in their trade deficit (Guixan, 2006). According to the World Bank (2007), non-commodity exports from Africa to China are insignificant, accounting for less than 10 percent of African exports. These exports—which include textiles and clothes, processed food, and small manufactured goods—tend to be technologically simple and are either intermediate inputs, as in the case of textiles, or finished consumer goods.

Another driver of China-African engagement that indicates new dependency is Chinese immigration. Most studies of China in Africa focus on the obvious politics as manifested in diplomatic delegations, huge loans, and large-scale projects. But the most important of which leads to domination is the growing numbers of Chinese who make African countries a temporary or permanent home (Mohan, 2008). Only by monitoring these everyday relationships and social processes one can fully appreciate China's impact on the political-economy of Africa (Mohan, 2008). By the late 1980s, there was a visible increase in Chinese residents and Chinese-owned businesses in many African countries (Obiorah, 2008). Now, it is much more than 1980s especially in fast growing countries like Angola, Nigeria and SA.

2.2.2 China Investment in Africa

External resources flowing to Africa peaked in 2011 following a decade of sound macroeconomic policies and sustained average annual growth of over five (5) percent. As a share of Africa's gross domestic product, external flows doubled from (6.8%) in 2000 to (12.3%) in 2006; the lion share comes from the People Republic of China investment in terms of countries contribution (ADB, OECD, UNDP, UNECA, 2012).

Recently, China has been further diversifying into the apparel, food processing, telecommunications, and construction sectors. However, Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa is still comparatively small since Africa accounts for only (3) percent of China's outward FDI (Monaghan, 2006). Nevertheless, even though Chinese investments are

concentrated in only a few African countries, China's FDI stock in Africa reached US\$1.6 billion in 2005, with Chinese companies present in 48 African countries, of which Sudan is the largest recipient and (9th) largest recipient of Chinese FDI worldwide (UNCTAD, 2007).

When we think of Chinese oil investment in Africa, it was an affordable location to invest, and competition with other nations and international oil companies (IOCs) was less fierce than elsewhere because it was the most neglected place. Beijing, therefore, encouraged its internationally-oriented national oil companies (INOCs) to find new international opportunities so as to ensure China's ownership over its oil and its ability to meet demand in case of a future crisis (The Journal of International Policy Solutions, 2008).

Copper prices have increased six fold since 2001, topping \$8,000 per ton in some recent trading, and platinum prices have tripled over the same period. At the same time, the availability of Chinese motorcycles, air conditioners, T-shirts, and kitchen utensils has meant lower consumer prices across the continent, while in South Africa, two companies are planning to introduce Chinese automobiles to the busy domestic market at discount prices (Timberg, 2006).

Furthermore, China announced new infrastructure projects, including dam construction projects in Ghana and Mozambique and a communication satellite in Nigeria; broadcasting, and broadband multimedia services for Africa. China has long said that it wants its growing trade relationship with Africa to benefit both sides 'equally'. Thus, the Chinese government promotes business ties with Africa by providing information, coordination mechanisms, and financial assistance for Chinese companies to investors in Africa (Maswana, n . d).

On the other side, Chinese industries' products which are produced even in Africa weaken local competitors. For instance, the South African textile industry is complaining, the large influx of cheap Chinese textiles, clothes, and shoes has caused unemployment and the closedown of local factories. In addition, such influx of affordable Chinese textiles has resulted in intense competition for South African textile export in third market (Guixan, 2006). African contractors of infrastructures and even Westerns become less competitive to Chinese. Most roads, railways, dams, electric transformers and manufacturing industries have been constructed and established by Chinese firms in Africa.

Sometimes China relocates its companies seeking opportunities outside Africa where labor has been placed in a weakened position. For example IMF (2005) notes:

when the US-sponsored African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA) came into effect in 2000, a considerable number of Chinese textile companies established themselves in Africa to exploit the preferential access to the US market that AGOA conceded to certain African products, including clothing and textiles. However, in recent years, American demand for African textiles has failed in favor of even cheaper clothing made in China; and by 2005, Africa-based Chinese companies were already relocating their production back to China in search of cheaper labor (p.8).

In the process of relocating firms, tens of thousands of workers in, for example, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, and Kenya lost their jobs (Tull, 2006). Many literatures, arguments and fact-books show the huge imbalance of China - Africa relations- but African governments continue thanking China for its investment, donation and loan.

2.2.3 China Loan and Donation to Africa

China also promised to cancel African debt, increase the number of African export items to China receiving zero-tariff treatment from the least developed countries in Africa with diplomatic ties to China, set up special agricultural technology demonstration centers in Africa, and even to increase the number of Chinese government scholarships to African students (Maswana, n . d).

Together with its intention to facilitate trade, improve access to natural resources, and recycle its massive foreign exchange reserves into profitable investments overseas, China has started an active aid program to Africa. For instance, in 2002, China provided \$1.8 billion in development aid to its African allies. It has also used debt relief to assist African nations, effectively turning loans into grants. Besides writing off \$1.2 billion in African debt in 2000 and forgiving another \$750 million in 2003, since 2000, Beijing has taken significant steps to cancel the debt of 31 African countries (World Bank, 2007).

Also, in September-October 2007, in the largest deal with an African country, China signed, via China Exim-Bank (Export-Import Bank) and China Development Bank, respectively, a US\$8.5 billion and US\$5 billion loans to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to develop

mines and build infrastructure (World Bank, 2007). According to Centre for Chinese Studies (2008) between 2002 and 2006, Angola received loans totaling US\$5.5 billion of which China has contributed 58 percent, particularly, in the light of China's oil-backed loans to the Angolan Government. In July 2012, on Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Chinese president Hu Jintao pledged 20 billion USD in loan to African Countries over the next three years (bbc.com/news and erta.gov.et/news, accessed July30, 2012).

According to Zhang (2008), in comparison to the Western countries, China's aid to Africa follows the principle of 'non political conditionality' that is 'the principle of non-interference in internal affairs'. This respects the purposes and the principles of United Nations Charter, the 'Principles of Peaceful Coexistence' and other recognized rules related to international relations. It symbolizes the thoughts of China's independent and peaceful diplomacy. China's model is well received and recognized by the African countries and facilitates steady and healthy development of China-Africa relationship.

Zhang (2008) added that Western accusations, 'irresponsible fund', on China's aid to Africa did not get response and support in Africa. On aiding African issues, China will cooperate with African countries on the basis of mutual respect, 'equal' negotiation and 'full' considerations of African interests. The world is witnessing African progress, but, how much China aid and donation contribute to it is not yet measured well.

2.2.4 Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FOCAC)

Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was initiated in 2000. According to the Centre for Chinese Studies January (2010) report, it is established by China and friendly African countries for collective consultation, dialogue and a cooperation mechanism among the developing countries which falls into the category of South-South cooperation. The first meeting of FOCAC has been held in Beijing among high-level ministerial in 2000, then in Addis Ababa in 2003 and again in Beijing in 2006, in Sharma El Sheik, Egypt, in November 2009 and recently in Beijing in 2012. It has been held in every three years once in China and then in one of the African selected cities.

The Beijing 2006 FOCAC was the most promising forum where a number of commitments were made. For instance, "A new era for China's aid program started in 2006 with China

declaring a new strategic partnership ... on China-Africa Cooperation [and] China announced to double its 2006 aid effort to Africa by 2009 with the aim to reach the target of mutual benefit and 'win-win' situation between China and African countries" (China's Ministry of Commerce, 2007, p. 416).

Maswana (n. d) in his article entitled "China-Africa's Emerging Economic Links" wrote the following quoting from the work of Gill and Reilly (2007):

In 2000, the first Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) founded the China-Africa Joint Business Council, which provides government support for investment by Chinese enterprises in African countries and establishes an array of economic partnerships. At the 2006 FOCAC, China pledged \$3 billion in preferential loans and \$2 billion in export credits to African states over the next three years, created a special fund of \$5 billion to encourage Chinese investment in Africa, and established the China-Africa Joint Chamber of Commerce (p.7).

Centre for Chinese Studies (January 2010) report evaluated China's FOCAC commitments to Africa and mapping the way ahead. Its conclusion analysis identified six issues as key to whether or not China-African relations post the 2009 FOCAC meeting will be beneficial for Africa's peoples. The six issues were:

1. Employment equity in the African countries, notably the recruitment of local workers, labor rights and skills development.
2. Building African capacity and ensure technology transfer.
3. Language training gain significant attention in African countries.
4. Coordination between the relevant African government departments and the Chinese Embassy should be improved by appointing China coordinators in key African government departments.
5. African civil society to be included to a greater extent in consultations between African leaders and Chinese government and company representatives in order to prevent a popular backlash against the Chinese presence in Africa.
6. African countries require a greater share of building material, used to donate by the Chinese government, should be sourced in African economies.

Beijing also presented a six point proposal to forward the Sino- African strategic partnership. They were:

1. Increasing the political trust and strategic consensus between China and Africa through more political consultation, high level visits and strategic dialogue.
2. Increasing cooperation between the two sides in operationalising the Africa Union's (AU) Africa peace and security architectures (APSA).
3. Strengthen China's cooperation with AU and sub- regional organizations in Africa.
4. Expanding mutual benefit in economic cooperation and balanced trade, adopting innovative ways to boost cooperation including deepening cooperation in trade, investment, poverty reduction, infrastructure building, capacity building, human development, food security and hi-tech industries- this is the traditional list.
5. Strengthen people to people and cultural exchanges cooperation of the two sides.
6. Further strengthen the cooperation between the two sides in international Affairs.
(www.thebeijingaxis.com/tca/).

All in all, FOCAC bring significant cooperation advancement in the relation between China and Africa engagement. In 12 years life time of FOCAC (2000 - 2012) trade has increased from USD10 billion to USD166 billion; China's FDI has risen from USD400 million to USD14 billion; cooperation sectors has showed expansion and China has diplomatic relations with 50 African Countries (www.thebeijingaxis.com/tca/).

2.2.5 Arguments on China- Africa Relations

China thinks of itself as an old friend of Africa, who combated colonialism shoulder-to-shoulder and helped independence movements in the 1950s and 1960s (Sautman and Yan, 2006). Cooperation and economic development dramatically intensified in the 1990s, when China becomes stronger, and China's interest in gaining Africa's resources has taken on a significantly profit-centered outlook in the 2000s (Sautman and Yan, 2006). For instance, only six African countries have diplomatic relations with Taiwan, but 50 with china; because, as Looy (2006) the foreign policies of African countries have for a long time been driven by the search for aid and substantial financial contributions have often determined the choice made by African governments in this respect.

On the other hand, the West represents China as self – serving economic motives and which works against other interest irresponsibly and with inhumane practice. Many, in the US, have a

tendency to polarize the debate and present China's presence in Africa an implicitly threat to US interests (Mohan, 2008).

In framing the political economy of China-Africa relations, most authors are implicit about what they mean. Kitissou (2007) usefully situates the China-Africa issue within an analysis of globalization and China's internal reforms, needs and internationalization strategy more specifically. A similar pattern of argumentation is found in the Le Pere (2007); the argument is a clear and well account of changes in China's foreign policy. He argues (2007) that China has moved to a more flexible approach based on the need to achieve security in terms of raw materials and energy.

Furthermore, the West sees China's engagement with the developing world as 'ideological', namely 'socialist co-operation', but for Chinese scholars like Zhao China's engagement with Africa and with others in the South is non-ideological (Zhao, 2007, cited in Mohan, 2008). He added that China is now 'non-ideological' and is simply pursuing rational economic interests. But again, as Harvey (2005) notes, China's recent growth is 'Neo-liberalism with Chinese characteristics' and requires a deeply embedded ideology backed up by a raft of reform policies and an authoritarian state.

Whether it is ideological or not, according to Obiorah (2008) the rapidly evolving China-Africa relationship presents both opportunities and challenges for Africa. Some African countries are benefiting from higher commodity prices arising from immense demand for natural resources for China's manufacturing industry. Obviously, Chinese trade, investment and infrastructure aid are fundamentally re-shaping Africa's economies to the benefit of local consumers and business in some countries, but, Obiorah (2008) also pointed that it is to the primary benefit of ruling elites in others especially extraction-based economies. The argument rests on the fact that China-Africa engagement brings undeniable positive change, but these changes do not belong to the mass rather too few leaders' family (political elites). For instance, BBC's Stephen Sackur, Hard Talk producer, told the story of Equatorial Guinea's president Teodoro Obiang- where his son is Minister of Forest and the other son is Vice President and his brother is Minister of Defense and he himself is one of the long serving presidents (33 years and still in power) and who has become the world richest leader. China is a friend of him and the main buyer of Equatorial Guinea's

natural resources (rain forest timber, oil...), infrastructure contractor and millions of dollar donor and creditor (BBC: Hard talk on air Dec. 22, 2012).

Many in Africa hope that China's emergence as a major global power will offer Africa a better role in world affairs in contrast to the post-Soviet uni-polar world dominated by the US and its European allies. Obiorah (2008) advises Africa's governments to maximize the benefits of a potential strategic partnership with China, while actively working to avoid the perpetuation of an asymmetrical relationship of the same kind to Africa's trade and political relations with the West.

Mohan (2008) on his part put his uncertainty of China's role to Africa because of two reasons:

When we pay attention to China's role to Africa, we should not overestimate it for two reasons. First, it is unclear whether China's role will greatly alter Africa's structural position within the global economy; undoubtedly it adds new markets and investment opportunities and creates new sources of rents, but there is little evidence that this will straightforwardly alter the continent's fortunes. Indeed, in some cases it may aggravate conflicts in various ways. Second, in focusing on China, we must not lose sight of other countries and corporations that are striving for Africa's resources in similar ways (p.12).

Maswana (n. d) also in his article entitled "China-Africa's Emerging Economic Links" put in question China's role to Africa. He (n. d) wrote that the lack of economic structural reconversion does not support the long run economic growth that Africa badly need. Primary commodities will eventually run out, leaving the continent without any viable alternative. Further, as asserted by dependency theories, reliance on export of primary commodities does not expand the value added of exported products, which thus prevent countries from generating rapid economic growth similar to China's current experience in Africa; rather it leads to a new form of dependency which seems to happen in African countries.

In addition, ADB, OECD, UNDP, UNECA (2012) report on "African Economic Outlook" informed stronger South-South cooperation should lead to market and investment diversification, especially considering the current economic situation in the United States and Europe. The increasing role of emerging economies, such as, Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS group), in Africa's trade and investment continued and intensified in 2011. The appetite of these emerging economies for natural resources triggered a boom of international commodity prices, which boost resource-seeking investment in Africa. Yet, this strong growth and rush in

FDI did not translate in greater economic opportunities for the entire population, nor did it create enough employment to meet what Africa need. Africa needs to attract more productivity-enhancing FDI, more beyond extraction of natural resources, to diversify its economy, develop its private sector and benefit from technology transfers and spill-over effects.

Others argue for China's unfair competition with the rest of the world over Africa. China's role in post-war African settings operates largely through state-owned enterprises and other companies rather than NGOs, and through businessmen, engineers, and laborers rather than development consultants and volunteers (ADB, OECD, UNDP, UNECA, 2012). For instance, the case of Chinese International Oil Corporations as pursuing corporate aims advantaged by government assistance. According to the Journal of International Policy Solutions (spring 2008) this assistance creates three elements absent from the traditional International Oil Corporations framework:

First, Chinese INOCs can include foreign aid and diplomatic recognition as a "subsidy" for their efforts. Second, Chinese INOCs do not need to respond to shareholder concerns (humanitarian, environmental, or otherwise). This allows the Chinese INOCs to operate in regions "off limits". Third, in the guise of government cooperation (the aid or development funding paired with it) helps to exploit a South-South model of economic relations that finds particular resonance in Africa. In these ways Chinese INOCs differ both from the traditional NOCs (such as Saudi Aramco or Kuwait Oil) and traditional IOCs (such as Chevron, BP, Total, etc.) (p.12)

In general, the argument of China- Africa relation rests on three basic views: the first is China's involvement in Africa has ideological concern in addition to raw material extraction. The second view is that China's march towards Africa and other South is solely economical, but China dominate the game and Africa exposed to new form of dependency. And the third is what China's and Africa's governments have declared that China- Africa relations is an integrated cooperation between the two sides based on win -win and non- zero sum 'game'.

2.3. Media in International Relations

The best method of communication between states is diplomacy that has real power to solve crisis, control situation and obtain information, and mass media can represent opinion of the states or be a means to promote and achieve economic, cultural and political interests of states (<http://belvina.wordpress.com/2008/02/15/>).

Scholars like Kushner (2005) argue that international relations can be affected by the news media coverage- presentation and representation of countries. This shows that foreign policy may be changed or at least restructured again because of media influence. As example, Abddisa (2010) in his PhD. dissertation notes that the shifting of the US media coverage shifting representation or portrayal of governments and parties, (in his case, the Sudan and South Sudan People Liberation Movement) was consistent with the foreign policy position Washington held toward each of the three war-time Sudanese regimes. One can say that countries' media seem to follow their respective governments' foreign policy when it comes to covering international issues. Thus as, Abddisa (2010) argues the credibility of media- its role as a Fourth Estate and watchdog- in international affairs seem to be in question mark.

Mosco (2008) seems to concur with Abddisa's (2010) conclusion on the US media. According to Mosco (2008), on balance, most of the research findings in relation to state and mass media or communication, media have shown "nationalist tendencies." Similarly, Yang (2003, as cited in Saleem, n. d) notes that the NATO airstrikes on Yugoslavia in 1999 were framed differently by the Chinese and US media in accordance with their national interest. Yang (2003) indicates that the Chinese media framed the airstrikes as an encroachment of Yugoslavia's sovereignty and territorial (in line with China's non-interference foreign policy) and the U.S. media framed the airstrikes as a humanistic act of support for Albanians in order to stop ethnic clash initiated by Serbians- admitting US Values .

Studies in search of state and media relations often show that media are on the side of their respective government's foreign policy directions and national interests. For instance, Herman and Chomsky (1988), Yang (2003), and Abdissa (2010), Muse (2012) and others confirm the existence of symbiotic relationship between state and media.

As argued above, media tend to work for their respective countries national interest. They seem to engage in building image of their countries. According to Kunczik (1997), images of certain nations, however right or wrong they might be, develop through a very complex communication process involving varied information sources. Kushner (1997) further notes:

The process [image building]starts with one's experiences in early life; in school; in children's books, fairytales and other leisure literature; the theatre and so on, and may include accounts by relatives, acquaintances, and friends. But radio

and TV transmissions of international programs, newspapers and magazines, cultural exchange programs, sports, books, news services, and so on are probably the strongest image shapers. And especially in today's world the role of media in shaping the public opinion and image making is greater than all of it. As a part of a social system and democratic process of a country, media has great role and influence on public and development of the public opinion (p.2).

A country's good name brings more tourism, investment (FDI), aid and loan and cooperation because of the trust others might have in it. All in all, one can argue that the more a country builds its national image, the more it could have international agreements, co-operations, trade transactions, military alignments and others. And this is done, mainly, through media.

Media frame issues when covering certain events and happenings and then audiences may perceive that issues in a way the media present. To see how the BBC and ETV frame China-Africa relations news framing theory used in this study. The selected media outlets also have Orientalism discourse in their news narratives which is selected to be examined in this study. The next sub-topic deals with News Framing and Orientalism theories under the theoretical frameworks part of this study.

2.4 Theoretical Frameworks

Theoretical frameworks of this study are news framing and Orientalism discourse which shape all the arguments discussed here. Below, both news framing's and Orientalism discourse's concepts summarized and discussed in short.

2.4.1 Framing

Concepts and Definitions: This study mainly informed and guided by news framing theory. One influential way that the news media can shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways and framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. Different scholars define framing in related explanations. For instance, Pan & Kosicki (1993, 27) state that "framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences." In a related manner, Ryan (n. d) defines framing as a process that the writers and editors who report the news, construct a subjective picture of reality, selecting and organizing a confusing flood of

information in a way that make sense to themselves and their audiences. But, for Friedman (2008), media framing is presenting of issues in dualistic ways (debate style) to audiences.

Some issues presented by the media become the public discussion topic and also sometimes an agenda. According to Ryan (n. d) this happens, because the media frame those issues in a way they attract audience's attention. Ryan (n. d) notes:

Struggles over framing decide which of the day's many happenings will be awarded significance. The media have become critical arenas for this struggle. Social movements have increasingly focused on the media since it plays such an influential role in assigning importance to public issues. But gaining attention alone is not what a social movement wants. The real battle is over whose interpretation, whose framing of reality gets the floor (P.1).

Entman (1993) noted that frames have several locations including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. These components are integral to a process of framing that consists of distinct stages: frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing (d'Angelo, 2002; Scheufele, 2000; de Vreese, 2002).

AS Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) explained, framing can be seen in two levels- in macro and micro levels. They (2007) noted that:

Framing is both a macro-level and a micro-level construct. As a macro-construct, the term "framing" refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience. This does not mean, of course, most journalists try to spin a story or deceive their audiences. In fact, framing, for them, is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news holes and airtime. As a micro-construct, framing describes how people use information and presentation features regarding issues as they form impressions (p.12).

How Media Frame Issues: Entman (1993) observed framing, essentially, from two important angles- selection and salience. For him (1993, P.52), "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text ...". Along the same line, Kendall (2005) is of the view that frames are underlining or privileging certain aspects of an issue over others, thereby making them more noticeable and memorable, i.e., what Entman called "salience".

News frames are implicit processes that do not appear to either journalists or audience as social constructions but as primary attributes of events that reporters are merely reflecting. They make the world look natural. News writers and editors determine what is selected, what is excluded, what is emphasized. In short, they present a packaged world. Far from being an objective list of facts, a news story results from multiple subjective decisions about whether and how to present happenings to media audiences (Ryan, n. d).

Framing Functions: One may ask, what functions framing news does accomplish by making the issues salient? According to Entman (1993 cited in Abddisa, 2010, P.137) framing does four basic functions. These are "... the promotion of a particular definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation." Further elaborating Entman's idea Abdissa (2010, P.137) asserts that "The media provide the public not only with information on the news events itself but also on how it should be interpreted. Critical media theorists argue that frames are never value-neutral and that they typically reproduce the ideological orientation of the larger sociopolitical system."

Types of Frames: In general, scholars have classified frames in to five categories. As such, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) listed them as- (1) conflict frame (emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest); (2) human interest frame (brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem); (3) economic consequences frame (reports an event or issue, the impact it will have economically); (4) morality frame (puts the event, or issue in the context of religious views or moral prescriptions); and (5) attribution of responsibility frame (presents an issue or event as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group).

Frames can be also classified as mobilizing frame and demobilizing frame. The explanation Ryan (n. d, P.5) gives to a mobilizing frame is that "[It] pushes audiences to see problems not as individual but as collective. The definition of the issue stresses its social character, responsibility for dealing with the issue is collective; and the solution happens on a structural level." He (n. d) further notes that "It is critical for the mobilizing frame to use a moral appeal to argue that the

dominant frame holder is violating shared moral principles.” He (n. d, P.5) also explains that “A demobilizing frame does the reverse, making problems ever more individual.”

Related Theories: The theoretical explanations of news framing, agenda setting, priming effects and discourse analysis, as approach or model, share similar or common philosophical assumptions. For instance, research in framing may certainly inform how those processes work and how they influence agenda setting. The temporal sequence of agenda setting and priming assumes that media can make certain issues or aspects of issues more accessible (i.e., easily recalled) for people and thereby influence the standards they use when forming attitudes about candidates and political issues (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

This study focused on the BBC and ETV online news narratives on China- Africa relations in line with South-South cooperation frame, non-interference China’s foreign policy frame, Mutual benefit frame and new form of colonization frame. Thus, framing can be taken as the main guiding theory of the study.

2.4.2 Orientalism

Concepts and Definitions: This study partly informed by Orientalism discourse. The Western view Africa, Asia, Middle East and the Arab World (Islam), as reflected through their media, is based on their own values, ideologies and interests. The knowledge and understanding of Western values developed through their media and colonial documents and this can be taken as one practice of Orientalism. According to the man, who is considered as the originator of Orientalism, Edward Said (2003, p.2), “Orientalism expresses and represents that part [European material civilization and culture] culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.”

In a similar line, Yan and Santos (2009, P. 295) noted that “Orientalism, which sustains the myths of unchanged and uncivilized Others, can be used to investigate ... non-Western produced representations.” For them (2009), non-Western produced representations are each country’s values, indigenous cultures and non-modernity, because modernity has been constructed as a result of a Western social-cultural system and Westernization has come to be perceived as the pre-condition for accomplishing modernity.

Orientalism can be also described in space. For instance, Buchowski (2006, P.465) wrote that “In this political reality of the world and the way of conceptualizing it, orientalism is bound to the East that can be “far,” “middle,” “near,” and last but not least, “European.” But it always stands for a certain place, the people living there and their cultures, all, no doubt, essentialized.” He (2006, P.465) added that “The “new order” that emerged in the 1990s has allowed orientalism, understood as a way of thinking about and the practices of making the Other, to escape the confines of space and time.” The 1990s were the time when Socialism failed and uni-polar world realized until China emerges as super power.

As far as Said (2003, P. 3) is concerned, Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as “The corporate institution for dealing with the Orient (Islam- Middle East, Arab, Asia and [Africa])— dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it. In short, Orientalism is a Western style, for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”

Said (2003) further elaborated that Orientalism theorists i.e., those who write, teach or make debate on the topic, basically acknowledge the already stated West - East boundaries. Thus, a very large number of writers, among whom poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the Orient (East), its people, customs, "mind," destiny, and so on.

In the contemporary phenomena of the world, Buchowski (Summer 2006,) illustrates Orientalism as:

A specter that haunts people’s minds and serves as a tool for concocting social distinctions across state borders as well as within them. In that sense, the new European orientalism is a refraction, a derivative or correlate of a phenomenon covered by such concepts as globalization, the expansion of multinational capital, flexible capitalism, transgressions, migrations, transnationalism or the media-covered global village (P.465 – 466).

The Buchowski’s (Summer 2006) argument concurs with what Said (2003) stated about the Western domination, over the East (Orient) through Orientalism, using the following words:

My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. Moreover, so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism. In brief, because of Orientalism, the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action (P.3).

Basically, Said's works on Orientalism discourses gets popularity because it sensibly demonstrates how the West has represented the East and Islam (the Arab World). In a broader sense, it can be the telescope to observe the West domination over the East for a long time. For instance, as he (2003) noted from the beginning of the nineteenth century until the end of World War II, France and Britain dominated the world political and economical order; since World War II, US has dominated the non-West world. Still now, British, French and American are the largest body of Orientalism texts what he calls them Orientalists.

Challenging Orientalism: Hübinette (n. d) in his article entitled “Orientalism Past and Present” identified three different arguments that show the West's domination and the struggle against the hegemony. As Hübinette (n. d) the first critique came from Anouar Abdel-Malek, an Egyptian philosopher at the University of Sorbonne in Paris, in his 1962 article “Orientalism in crisis”. According to Hübinette (n. d), Abdel-Malek starts by establishing the fact that the emergence of anti-colonial and national liberation movements in Asia after World War II, and the victories achieved by these movements in the form of political independence, has plunged the orientalist profession in a serious crisis; no longer it is natural that the Westerners would rule the planet and enjoy direct control of Asia and the Asians. It seems that Abdel-Malek's argument can also describe the current African situation vis-à-vis the West.

The second point, as Hübinette (n. d) wrote comes from the Palestinian historian Tibawi at the University of London who published an article entitled “English-speaking Orientalists”, which explicitly criticized the way how Orientalists had portrayed Islam and the Arab world. As Hübinette (n. d) argues Tibawi's point of departure is his emphasis on the almost endless and deep-seated hostility between the Islamic and the Christian world.

The third critic, both the most influential and the most complete, as Hübinette (n. d) described it came in 1978 with the Palestinian literary historian Edward Said at Columbia University in New York. For Said (1978, cited in Hübinette, n. d):

Orientalism is a way of thinking about Asia and Asians as strange, servile, exotic, dark, mysterious, erotic and dangerous, and has helped the West to define itself through this contrasting and dichotomous image. It is important to remember that the relationship between the West and Asia has never been equal, as the West conquered, colonized, and exploited the people of Asia. To rationalize the conquest, it defined Asia and the Asians as despotic or stagnant and in need of Christianizing, civilizing or control (P.3 - 4).

Saïde's (1978) Orientalism concept as shown in the above paragraph resembles the concept that the West draws about Africa now. Modernization theorists as one actor of Orientalists define Africa as untouched and uncivilized continent. They also argue that less developed countries like African will not develop unless they follow the foot step of the developed West. They produced knowledge and concepts about less developed countries in comparison with their values and interest and present it using their media.

Future of Orientalism: Hübinette (n. d) constructed his own theory, post- Orientalism with Orientalism. He explained that Orientalism has also survived as re-orientalism in the forms of fundamentalism and nationalism in the newly independent former colonies of Asia. He viewed fundamentalism, especially its Islamic version, as a form of indigenized Orientalism whereby the orientalized re-orientalize themselves in a manner which can be summed up as: "Yes, we Orientals are really religious minded, despotic and cruel by nature." As he (n. d) also described, nationalism as re-orientalism basically works the same way, although in a more positive meaning: "Yes, we Orientals are really diligent and hardworking." This type of re-orientalized nationalism seems to be most common in South, East and South East Asia. Orientalism theorists ignored mentioning Africa in their list, but their explanation works as it works for Asia or the East in general.

Hübinette (n. d, P.7) posed the question "Can we imagine a world beyond Orientalism?" He (n. d, P.7) puts his reflection on his question as saying: "Well, my personal guess is that orientalism will always exist in one or another form as long as the West has hegemonic power. Orientalism is strongly intertwined with the Western self-image to such an extent that if

Orientalism goes, then Western world power or even the West itself must also go.” He (n. d, P.7) added that “Isn’t that what we are seeing today, a slow but unstoppable power shift from the West towards East Asia with China and Japan in the forefront, maybe also South Asia with India as a leading nation, while the academic world itself is undergoing a rapid Asianization...?”

The West’s culture, ideology, philosophy, in general their values have been expressed and transmitted to others through their media. The West’s media news narratives have Orientalism discourses which note about what the East should learn from them. For instance, democracy and human right are the buzz words of the West’s media. In this regard, the West’s media such as the BBC, criticize China’s ignorance the issues of democracy and human right in Africa when it makes business with Africa. As such, in the name of “non-interference”, unlike the West, China lends money to Africa without preconditions. Thus, this study examined such discourses from the selected media outlets, the BBC’s and ETV’s news narratives.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Methodology of the Research

3.1 Research Method

This research employs a qualitative research method. According to Mwanje (2001), the method is concerned with offering specialized techniques for obtaining in-depth response about what people is thinking about, arguing for, is doing and feel on it. Mwanje (2001) further noted that a qualitative research method enables researchers to gain in-sights into attitudes, beliefs, motives and behaviors of the research sources, and gain a better understanding of the main issue. Mwanje (2001) added also that this method covers the realm of observation (especially ethnography), texts (especially document analysis using textual analysis), interviews, audio and video (especially discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and analysis of face to face interactions), validation and aesthetics of research.

According to Yin (2011, P.3) “Unlike other social science methods, virtually every real-world happening can become the subject of a qualitative study. [But] with all of qualitative research, nothing is linear. Understanding specific topics depend on being knowledgeable about other topics.” It requires detail and deep understanding of issues. Yin (2011, P.VIII) stressed that “Nearly every qualitative study calls for presenting the meaning of social reality from the perspective of a study’s participants (people whose lives are a large part of the subject of study).” There is no a need for general law and measuring the specifics in the general principle rather it gives instance and subjective realities.

Thus, this study, certainly, calls for a qualitative method (especially news text examination using textual analysis method), because the object of this study is ETV’s and BBC’s online news narratives, i.e., the news texts. Through this method, the selected media outlets online news narratives on China- Africa relations could be discussed. Then, the study could identified and analysed how these media framed the China- Africa relations.

3.2. Selection of Media Outlets

On the basis of purposive sampling, Ethiopia Television and BBC World News were chosen as the media outlets for the study. These two TV channels were chosen purposefully for the following reasons: ETV is the only national TV channel in Ethiopia, so there is no alternative TV channel in the country. It has also a wider reach compared to other media outlets in the country. The BBC is selected, because it a global brand and as such it has a specific program on Africa called “Focus on Africa” which pays attention to issues pertaining to Africa. News texts from both selected media outlets are accessible online on their respective websites.

This research focuses on the electronic media rather than on the print media. This is because, it is generally believed that electronic media is more powerful and influential than the print media. In addition, accessing international print media products is more difficult than accessing electronic media in Ethiopia context.

Ethiopia Television: It is the most important source of news and information in the country after radio. Television in Ethiopia caters mainly for urban audience, because of poverty, lack of electricity and poor reception contain people from having TV sets outside the main towns. Television broadcasting is completely controlled by the government. There are no private TV broadcasters in Ethiopia. However, an independent satellite broadcaster, Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT), has begun broadcasting programs into the country in Amharic from abroad in 2010. ESAT has repeatedly complained of jamming by the Ethiopian authorities. The state-run Ethiopia Radio and Television Agency (ERTA) operate the national channel ‘Ethiopia Television’. It broadcasts from 27 transmitters around the country and claims to reach a potential audience of 25 million people (Powell, 2011).

Ethiopia Television (ETV) was established in 1964, during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie, with the technical help of the British firm, Thomson. ETV was initially established to highlight the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) founding heads of state meeting in Addis Ababa in that year. Color television was introduced in 1982 by the military regime Derg in order to commemorate the founding of the Workers’ Party of Ethiopia (WPE) (Birhanu, 2009).

Since its establishment, ETV has remained in the hands of government- ruling party, with its operations and content regulated by the government. These days the common complaint about ETV is a gradual decline in the quality of its program content and presentation. Some viewers, especially in Addis Ababa, subscribe to the South African-based Multi Choice Africa DStv satellite pay-TV service and the ArabSat satellite or NileSat service so that they can access international media like BBC and others.

BBC World News: BBC was founded in 1922 as the British Broadcast Company Ltd by the British General Post Office (GPO) and a group of six telecommunications companies namely- Marconi, Radio Communication Company, Metropolitan Vickers (MetroVick), General Electric, Western Electric, and British Thomson-Houston (BTH)—to broadcast experimental radio services and it became the world's first international broadcasting organisation. BBC television broadcasting was suspended from September 1, 1939 to June 7, 1946- almost for seven years- during the Second World War (<http://www.BBC.com/history>).

BBC World News is part of the world's largest and most trusted newsgathering organizations (Media Brand Values (MBV), 2008). It broadcasts a diverse mix of authoritative international news, (bulletins appear on every hour), sports, business, current affairs, lifestyle, and documentary programming in English to a global audience.

BBC World News is the world's largest news organisation with 7, 255 journalists, 70 bureaus and 33 language transmissions. It is reaching 166,939 million in 24 hour broadcasting. Global weekly viewers to BBC World News clearly rate the channel as trustworthy (50%), stimulating (28%), influential (31%), a source that they would quote (23%) above other global TV stations (Media Brand Values (MBV), 2008).

BBC.com is the international face of BBC.co.uk. It was launched commercially in November 2007, and since its launch, the site has carried over 600 advertisers. BBC.com is an established product in the market –with 50 million unique users (BBC.com users study, 2009). BBC.com/news is the segment of BBC.com that focuses on news. Popular news which is already on air appears on the site and this is where part of the data for the study came from.

Timeframe: To get the news texts the researcher has browsed ETV online news archive that was stored from 2011 to February 30, 2013, almost a three- year news archive. Out of 2052 news headlines read online at www.erta.gov.et the researcher has identified 42 news articles on China- Africa relations and downloaded them all to examine the discourses they dealt with. The BBC World news' web site, www.bbc.com/news, produced 35 news items on China- Africa relations through title searching mechanism- using its search engine box. The researcher wrote phrases and sentences like China investment in Africa; China loan and donation to Africa; trade between China and Africa; FOCAC and the like to get the news articles.

As news is not a planned activity that runs in a regular time, no one knows how much news on China- Africa relations would be on air in the selected media in a certain timeframe. When new things have happened, media possibly make news on them; so do BBC World News and ETV television channels with respect to China- Africa relations. That seems to be the factor as to why the researcher could not get more news in the selected timeframe from the selected media outlets.

News Text selection: ETV and the BBC online news narratives, but which were broadcasted on air, news texts were the data sources for this study. The researcher took part of a news narrative text or the whole text as necessary and appropriate to discuss in the study. All the collected news texts would generally categorize as: news on China- Africa political relations and news on China- Africa economic relations. In more detailed observation the political relations news identified as foreign policy and diplomatic news, human right news whereas, economic relations news identified as investment (FDI) and loan and donation news. In addition, the collected news identified as emphasized or deemphasized issues. Furthermore, the study explores commonly utilized news sources and news makers in the selected media outlets

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Media Frames on China- Africa Relations

As it was indicated in the introductory chapter of this research, the aim of this study was examining media coverage of China- Africa relations in light of Framing and Orientalism theories. This research assessed China- Africa political and economic relations to show how the BBC and ETV online news narratives framed China- Africa relations. It also intended to point out emphasized and deemphasized issues, commonly utilized media sources by the BBC and ETV online news narratives and the messages they wanted to convey to the target audience about the practices of China in Africa.

In order to achieve these objectives and answer the research questions: - how the BBC and ETV news narratives framed China- Africa relations, emphasized and deemphasized issues by the BBC and ETV online news narratives on China- Africa relations and the commonly utilized media sources in the BBC and ETV news discourses on China- Africa relations, a qualitative research method was used so as to analysis and interpret the selected broadcast media news reports. From qualitative methods, textual analytical approach was employed to look into the discourses of the selected news items.

Although it is tricky to detach economic issues and other social issues from politics, the researcher tried to show the BBC and ETV online news narrations on such categories. Then, the researcher identified sub-topics such as South- South co-operation frame, non- interference frame, mutual benefit frame, and new form of colonization frame; emphasized and deemphasized issues in China- Africa relations and the commonly utilized media sources. Each sub-topic looked at two perspectives, ETV's perspective and BBC's perspective.

Out of 2077 online news and news analysis narratives (2052 from ETV, 35 from BBC) covering the time period ranging from 2011 to February 30, 2013, a total of 77 (42 from ETV, 35 from BBC) online news and news analysis narratives that focused on China- Africa relations were identified. These stories were further examined in relation to the economic and political aspects of the China- Africa relations. Analysis of the data together with discussion is presented here below.

Historically, China – Africa relation started in the medieval period (500AD – 1500AD). Rhodes Journalism Review magazine (September, 2013) noted that the first instance of Sino- African contact can be traced to 1415, when Admiral Zheng visited more than 30 countries in Africa. But their relation took significant stride since 1950s during which Africa was engaged in a struggle against colonialism. Then, in 1970s, when China needed international voices to be the member of UNSC, and after 1990s following China’s economic boom, the relationship took especial dimension and enhanced further.

The online news narratives from the media outlets considered for the study (BBC and ETV) mainly concentrated on the 21st century China- Africa interactions whose core focus has been economic one. In the last decade, international media in unusual manner have come with celebratory achievement and success-oriented coverage of Africa. For instance, Rhodes Journalism Review magazine (September, 2013, p.23) wrote the following quoting Cincinnati website as, “Africa is changing. It’s on the move, and it’s rising. Become a member today and help prepare for the take off! By all indicators, Africa is on the move. It has been for the last decayed. The continent faces an unprecedented opportunity to dramatically transform itself and the lives of its people much like Asia did 30 years before”.

The Review magazine (September, 2013) elaborated more on Africa’s achievements, which it argues have brought about perception changes on the part of the international community. It (September, 2013, P.23) noted that “With a population now 900 million, a rising middle class, a rapidly urbanizing population, strong investment in infrastructure, education, health, and a strong penetration of ICTs, the narratives of Africa as a dark continent cursed by poverty and conflict, is fast disappearing.”

From this, one can understand that Africa is showing improvements and it is changing its image. Some African leaders like Ethiopian X- PM Melese Zinawi, Sudanese president Al Basher and others acknowledge China more than the West for Africa’s last decade growth. The overlapping of the time Africa starts to grow and China’s extensive engagement in Africa has attracted media attention, generating discourses about the relationship.

4.1 South to South Cooperation Frame

The world has been divided loosely into two directional groups with respect to countries development level and their associated locations. The names given are different in words but tell about two sections of the world; the developed world (directionally called the West or the North) and the developing or less developed world (directionally called the East or the South). North America and Europe are under the former group, whereas most Asia including China, South America and Africa are under the latter group.

A significant number of documents indicate that China and Africa are sharing a common path to prosperity with respect to South- South co-operation. Lagerkvist (2009) noted that there is an emerging state-sponsored Chinese model of ‘effective governance’, guided by a South-South vision of mutuality, equality and reciprocity at work. Lagerkvist (2009) added that in light of China’s reform experience, it proposes that indigenous contexts should determine what developmental model to choose and China is unwilling to force its experiences of ‘a market economy with Chinese characteristics’ upon other nations. In the absence of prescription and with strong appreciation for context sensitivity China and Africa seem doing well together. A lot of the BBC and ETV online news and news analysis narratives confirm this argument.

ETV’s Perspective

The following excerpts from ETV’s news narratives echo the fact that China- Africa relations can be regarded as south-south co-operation, sympathy and close friendship.

The Ethiopian Premier, Haile Mariam Desalegn, said that Ethiopia would continue to take advantage of the opportunities the Sino-Africa relationship presents and the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation provides an opportunity for Ethiopia and other countries to beef up their relations with the East (www.erta.gov.et, March 09, 2013). The Premier was quoted more in the news as saying the following:

Had it not been for the relationship between China and Ethiopia, it could have been difficult for Ethiopia to implement all these infrastructure projects, be it in power, roads, in railways and telecom. China has its own deal in these projects in Ethiopia. That could have not happened without the Chinese involvement in our

country; so we are grateful for that. We are thankful for the government and people of China for doing so (www.erta.gov.et, *March 09, 2013*).

In a similar manner, another ETV online news narrative noted that China's ties and friendship is felt throughout the African Continent.

Indeed many here in Africa are following keenly the political developments in China because the last ten years have not only witnessed rapid growth in China but also signaled a vigorous development of China-Africa friendship and co-operation. This partnership is felt across the continent particularly in regards to the effect China's investment has had on Africa's economic transformation in the last decade (www.erta.gov.et, Sept. 04, 2012).

On its February 20, 2013 news narratives about China's New Year and what Chinese like to do for their close friends, the ETV online news chronicled the following:

It is a Chinese tradition to visit friends during the Spring Festival, refreshing friendship and exchanging greetings. For years, Africa, a true friend of China, has been on top of the visiting list of the Chinese foreign minister at the beginning of the Chinese Lunar New Year. This year is no exception. Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi is visiting South Africa. The visit demonstrates once again that China attaches importance to the new type of strategic partnership with Africa and takes it as foundation for its foreign policy (www.erta.gov.et, Feb. 20, 2013).

As a reaffirmation of China's commitment to south-south relation, China's new leader Xi Jinping told the African Union Commission chief Dlamini-Zuma during her visit in China that "No matter how situations change, China will attach importance to ties with Africa; remain a reliable friend and faithful partner of African nations" (www.erta.gov.et, Feb. 20, 2013).

These ETV online news narratives argued that the current China-Africa relations are built up on the principle of South-South co-operation. The South or the East countries assumed to share common experiences, such as colonization, political and economical domination from the West and socio-cultural influence. Thus, the co-operation among themselves can be taken as one means to come out of the Western influence.

BBC's Perspective

The BBC online news narrative noted what a senior manager from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa said about China's tangible south-south commitment in the following

words: "If you want concrete things you go to China. If you want to engage in endless discussion and discourse, you go to the normal traditional donors [the West]. These partnerships are the shining examples of south-south cooperation Chinese leaders and media often like to portray" (www.bbc.com/news, Sept. 22, 2012).

The following excerpt from the BBC online news narrative elaborated more on China- Africa strong friendship ties:

China therefore will continue to be a major economic and foreign policy player in each capital across the continent [Africa], including the African Union itself in Addis Ababa where China has just funded the construction of the new AU HQ exclusively from its own resources. So will there be major foreign policy changes on the large questions facing the international community in the decade ahead? In broad terms, Chinese foreign policy will continue to follow the contours outlined before. There is therefore likely to be more continuity than fundamental change (www.bbc.com/news, 28 January 2012).

What is more, the BBC online news narrative further noted what China's most senior political advisor, Jia Qinglin, said that during the opening of the new headquarters, "The towering complex speaks volumes about our friendship to the African people, and testifies to our strong resolve to support African development." The then AU chairman, Equatorial Guinea's President Teodoro Obiang on his part said, "The new building signifies China's growing friendship with Africa and it's a testimony that this relationship will continue in the future" (www.bbc.com/news, 28 January 2012).

In another BBC online news narrative, the Chinese leader Mr. Hu also called for better cooperation with African countries on international affairs and as developing nations, China and countries in Africa should work better together in response to "the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor" in international affairs. In the news narrative, Mr. Hu added that "as Africa's good friend and partner, China will continue to support Africa's integration process and concerted efforts for common development, and advance the new type of Sino-African strategic partnership" (www.bbc.com/news, 19 July 2012).

The X-president of China, Mr. Hu speech, in this online news narrative, stressed on calling cooperation between China and Africa on international affairs and on common development

agenda. His discourse can be interpreted as saying that the South or the East should stand together to defend itself from the Western influence and protect its interest in the international stages. He tried to draw common problems and common solutions for China and Africa (the Main part of the South/East).

4.2 Non-Interference Frame

In their report on China-Africa-US relations to the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) delegation Gill, Huang and Morrison (2006, p.6) noted, “Reflecting principles dating back to the Bandung conference of developing nations in 1955, Beijing staunchly supports the inviolability of African state sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, and the need for postcolonial nations to stand up to outside “bullying” and “hegemonism”.”

Lagerkvist (2009, p.119) in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* quoted China’s President Hu Jintao saying, “We respect the right of the people of all countries to independently choose their own development path. We will never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries or impose our own will on them.” Lagerkvist (2009) also referred to what a Chinese official said to the *Journal* which was quoted as saying that all the new aid packages destined for African countries were offered selflessly and there ‘were no political strings attached nor interference in internal affairs’. Generally speaking, news media coverage of the China- Africa relations seems to concur with what scholars have written about the subject.

ETV’s Perspective

The Ethiopian Television online news narrative has the following to say about China- Africa relations in line with China’s ‘non-interference’ policy:

The AU has welcomed China as an important strategic partner in Africa's push for modernization and sustainable development. China has also made it clear that it respects African countries' independent choice of the road of development and supports African countries' efforts to grow stronger through unity. Its policy of ‘non-interference’ and no strings attached to its financial and technical assistance has been welcomed by Africa’s leadership (www.erta.gov.et, Oct 04, 2012).

In this ETV's online news narrative, a Chinese official was quoted as saying, "The friendship between China and Africa, characterized by sincerity, equality, mutual trust and mutual benefit, is destined to last long (www.erta.gov.et, Oct 04, 2012).

In another ETV online news narrative, the China's Ambassador to Ethiopia stressed that "governments can never have the right to criticise other governments. Importantly, non-interference in state sovereignty and freedom from "hegemony" has been a theme of Chinese foreign policy" (www.erta.gov.et, Dec. 14, 2012).

Referring to an Angola's official who speaks to China Central TV (CCTV), one of ETV's online news narratives noted that the Angolan government is deeply appreciative of China's 'non-interference' stance. On the other hand, CCTV noted that over the last couple of years, Angola's government, in need of re-construction funds after the civil war, has gotten loan in billions of Dollars from China.

As these ETV's online news narratives imply, for China, setting preconditions for lending or donating money is interference in the internal affairs of others. As such, the West is interfering in the internal affairs of developing countries under the guise of democracy and human rights, which are their common benchmarks. Thus, China presents itself for developing countries as another alternative to the West. This is the argument China and Africa want to get across with respect to their relations. The ETV online news narratives choose to ignore views from the West on the subject.

BBC's Perspective

The BBC's TV channel usually feeds its website www.bbc.com/news with updated information and the researcher browsed the following online news narratives concerning China- Africa relations and China's non- interference policy in the internal affairs of African countries.

The following excerpt from the BBC online news narrative asserted that "contrary to prevailing views, China is not offering a "model" of development. It has no quick-fix recipe for success. Although China is making it possible for Africans to visit, study and work in China, it is not asking, or requesting, other countries to emulate it or support its values" (www.bbc.com/news, Aug 12, 2012).

Another BBC online news narrative also elaborated the same argument. This online news narrative stated the following on China's unconditional co-operation with Africa:

China also offers "no-strings" aid, a marked contrast to Western donors who impose conditions on aid and tie trade sweeteners to human rights issues. Critics say China's approach has emboldened unsavoury governments, allowing them to ignore Western calls for reform, safe in the knowledge that Beijing will take up the slack (www.bbc.com/news, Jun. 12, 2011).

China's economic attache in Ethiopia, Yan Xiao Gang spoke to the BBC and was quoted as saying, "China consistently respects and supports African countries [and] it never imposes its own will on African countries, nor interferes in the domestic affairs of African countries." The BBC online news narrative also noted that "Ethiopian officials speak of "owning" their country's development, but do admit that major contracts usually go to Chinese firms because of their ability to keep costs down" (www.bbc.com/news, Aug 12, 2012).

Another online news narrative from the BBC poses the following questions on China's non-interference policy with respect to China's growing role in the international arena:

For how long China can maintain its position predicated on "non-interference" is a crucial question, particularly as China becomes more and more integrated into the global order and the responsibilities that come with this? [And] After all, what are the implications for China's stance on non-interference in domestic affairs if a "sovereign" African state chooses to expropriate resources and materials owned by a Chinese corporation? Or if a Chinese corporation is punished for environmental damage or mistreating local employees? (www.bbc.com/news)

This online news narrative ended with accusing China for misuse of its non-interference foreign policy in Africa. The following excerpt from one of the BBC online news narrative asserted that "It [China] must be cautioned that currently, Beijing is an actor in Africa that does provide a discourse that effectively legitimises human rights abuses and undemocratic practices under the guise of state sovereignty and "non-interference" (www.bbc.com/news, Mar. 24, 2012).

These BBC's online news discourses presented the China- Africa relations' non-interference frame from two different perspectives. The first perspective reflects that China has no intention to impose its will on Africa by attaching strings to its aid. The second perspective advances the

notion that China is trying to escape from responsibilities and ignores human rights issues under the guise of ‘non-interference’. The former perspective concurs with the views of the East (China and Africa), while the latter concurs with the Western (US and Europe) views. Thus, it can be said that the BBC online news narratives presented the arguments both the East and the West have on China- Africa relations.

4.3. Mutual Benefit Frame

In their report on China-Africa-US relations to the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) delegation Gill, Huang and Morrison (2006) noted that China and Africa has an agreement to promote mutual respect, deepen understanding and enhance cooperation, and the two sides have decided to strengthen friendly contacts in various forms between the National People’s Congress of China (NPCC) and parliaments of African countries as well as the Pan-African Parliament. Leaders and officials of both sides confirm to the media that they have win-win or mutual benefit relations. Although most of ETV’s online news narratives concentrated on Ethio- China interactions, the theme of the news reports shows that Ethio- China relation optimizes China- Africa relations. The BBC’s online news narratives focused on China’s relation with the continent at large than ETV’s online news discourses.

ETV’s Perspective

The Ethiopian Television online news narratives had the following to say about Ethio-China mutual benefit or win-win relation, which could be taken as a show case for China- Africa relations:

Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, Gu Xiaojie said Ethio-China relations, which are based on mutual respect and benefits, could be exemplary for others [African countries]. On her part, Vice Chairperson of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference and President of the Chinese Association for International Understanding said her country is desirous to work with Ethiopia on issues of mutual interest (www.erta.gov.et, Friday, 02 September 2011).

According to ETV online news report, “In its recent report, the World Bank said China is now the largest bilateral source of Foreign Direct Investment in African countries. And according to [Ethiopian PM] Haile Mariam Desalegn, it is effectively a win-win relationship for both sides” (www.erta.gov.et, *Jan. 09, 2013*).

China also appreciates its relationship with African countries. Referring to CCTV, ETV reported that “China, Africa's largest trade partner, sees the development of Africa creates opportunities for China as China's development offers chances for the African continent. China-Africa mutually beneficial cooperation has brought African countries investment, jobs and low-priced Chinese products. Meanwhile, China serves as a large market for African products.” (www.erta.gov.et, 02-20-2013)

Chinese leaders asserted that Ethiopia can be an exemplary for China- Africa relations. The following excerpt from ETV online news report claims that:

When Prime Minister Meles Zenawi conferred with a delegation led by Chairperson of Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), Jia Qinglin, in January 2012, they discussed bilateral cooperation and other issues of mutual interest, according to Ethiopian Ambassador to China, Seyoum Mesfin, who attended the talks between the two officials. Meanwhile, Ethiopia and China signed on Saturday seven economic and technical agreements to further strengthen the existing bilateral cooperation between the two countries. Accordingly, the two governments signed two economic and technical cooperation agreements that would enable China to provide grant and interest-free loan to Ethiopia (www.erta.gov.et, Saturday, 28 January 2012).

What is more, ETV online news report noted that “ the two framework agreements were also signed between Ministry of Finance and Economic Development and China Development Bank Corporation to promote cooperation in railway, sugar production and telecommunications sectors, among others” (www.erta.gov.et, Saturday, 28 January 2012). China’s infrastructure developments are visible throughout the African continent and they are the most positively reported issues by the selected media outlets.

Despite these success stories of ETV with respect to its relation to China, Melber (2007, p.20) argued that “China talks of mutual trust...The danger is that China will politely rip off Africa, just as the West did.” Such arguments are not unusual, but ETV selectively reports all the positives and ignores any negative impacts China’s relation may bring to Africa, as this is what the Ethiopian government needs the media pay attention to.

BBC's Perspective

A statement taken from one of the BBC online news narratives noted that “Africa is determined to continue its quest for development - and China is equally determined to fuel its surging economy.” bbc.com/news in January 02, 2011). Another news narrative from the same news channel claimed that “Trade between the two sides is now thought to be worth around \$160bn a year. But it is not just a one way street. An increasing number of African entrepreneurs are now seeing China as a land of opportunity.” (www.bbc.com/news, 29 May 2012). The following news report, for example, included the following experience of a Zambian man in China:

In the town of Jintan, which is connected to Beijing by a super-fast modern eight lane highway, one Zambian has taken that lesson very much to heart. Enock Mundia is co-owner of Shanghai Liberty Apparel, which turns out a million items of clothing a month for big international brands such as Uniqlo and Eddie Bauer. It even exports clothing back to Zambia. Speaking at his factory in Shanghai, Mr Mundia believes the future for Africa lies in seeing China as more than just a source of investment. "As Africans, we'll need to look at what China is lacking," he says. "For instance, Chinese people need food. Zambia is one of the biggest growers of rice. So why not export rice to China?" he added. (www.bbc.com/news, 29 May 2012).

The BBC's news report included different voices it at a times puts in question what officials and a few elites often say to the media about China-Africa mutual benefit based relations. The following corroborates this:

Despite the media barrage, though, there are still concerns in many parts of Africa that this is not an equal exchange, concerns that the investment deals are opaque and open to corruption, that Chinese infrastructure projects often import Chinese labour rather than developing local skills, that Chinese firms may exploit local workers, that cheap Chinese products undermine Africa's ability to build its own industries, that for all the new roads, railways and ports, this is not a mutually beneficial relationship (www.bbc.com/news, 19 July 2012).

This excerpt from the BBC online news has some grain of truth in it as other international news agencies (AP, Reuters & AFP) have also written on the issue. Even there were public demonstrations against the Chinese practice in a few African countries. For instance, When a little-known Chinese company invested \$7bn (£4.16bn) in a mining deal in Guinea, people took

to the street denouncing the country's military junta, provoking Guinea's army to open fire on demonstrators, killing 150 people.

Another case covered by the BBC online news report was the Chinese copper mining firm's unfair treatment of Zambian workers. Referring to human rights watch, one of the BBC online news report has the following to say about the Chinese unfair treatment of Zambians:

“China's significant investment in Zambia's copper mining industry can benefit both Chinese and Zambians,” said Daniel Bekele, the Africa director at Human Rights Watch. “But the miners in Chinese-run companies have been subject to abusive health, safety and labour conditions and longtime [Zambian] government indifference.” Many of the poor safety practices in Zambia's Chinese-run mines were strikingly similar to abuses at mines in China, he added. A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman in Beijing, Hong Lei said the report did not accurately reflect conditions (bbc.com/news, 3 November 2011).

The BBC online news narratives, on mutual benefit based China- Africa relations were not full of successful news stories; rather, a mix of both negative and positive impacts that Africans face because of the Chinese practice in Africa. Melber (2007, p.6) called it “Old wine in new bottles;” it means that China's intention is to exploit Africa's human and natural resources just like the West had done.

4.4 New Form of Colonization Frame

We have often come across, specifically from ETV, news narratives that portray China as the savior of Africa. But Gat (2007, cited in Lagerkvist, 2009) argued that China and the rapidly growing countries make Africa resource battlefield for securing raw materials. He (2007) wrote the following on the subject:

For these [China and India] Asian states, in their different ways, Africa can be viewed as a screen on which their long-term global ambitions are projected while their economic and energy needs are to be fulfilled for now. This observation follows the arguments made by some pundits who point to the Asian giants as once again turning Africa into a battlefield for yet another scramble for natural resources, in a world witnessing a deepening conflict between democracies and entrenching authoritarian capitalist powers such as Russia and China (p.121).

Such critical reports often come from the BBC World News. ETV is usually silent if or whether China's role in Africa might amount to ‘new colonization’. This might partly be influenced by its

developmental orientation, where positive and success stories usually get coverage and other voices remain untold.

According to Cenite et al. (2006, cited in Abdissa, 2013, p.18) the practice of development journalism can be, “Rather than assuming an adversarial role, press and government are seen as partners in national development [i.e.]...; to promote the larger good of social harmony and stability together with economic growth and development... The development press also educates the public about government policies and the current national and global situation.” From this perspective, ETV tries its best to work with the EPRDF in all aspects and any news seems to partner with the government and it rejects any thing that does not fit with the philosophy, policy and strategy.

Therefore, no ETV news report that questions China’s practice in Ethiopia or in Africa was found. However such a narrative was reflected in the BBC’s news report.

BBC’s Perspective

Is China becoming Africa's new colonial master? Is Beijing sucking away resources to drive its own economic growth, while offering little in return? Or is such talk the product of fear and envy? Is it a sign of Western anxieties that China is fast becoming the new power in Africa, building more equal relationships, and undermining Western influence on the continent? The BBC online news narratives had answers to these questions.

One of the BBC online news narratives had the following to say about China’s positive and negative influence on Africa: “Advocates claim that China's rise has benefited the continent by injecting unprecedented investment, dynamism, and confidence into local markets, generating important gains for local economies. Critics, in contrast, accuse China of violating local laws, depleting the continent's resources, and taking advantage of corrupt leaders.” (www.bbc.com/news, Jun, 22, 2012). Another BBC online news narrative added:

China's growing role in Africa's economic development has been welcomed in many countries but fears are now growing that there could be a negative aspect to the foreign investment. The Chinese government has made investments such as building new roads to secure supplies of resources like oil, iron ore or copper.

However, investment from China is now being received with caution (www.bbc.com/news, 12 November 2012).

The BBC online news story went on to say that “The new headquarters of the African Union - a prestige project - is being built by the Chinese - as are roads, bridges and other major projects around the country [Ethiopia]. But when you look at another natural resource attracting attention from China - you get a bit more of a fuss. China and others are buying up vast tracts of land to grow food that is sent straight back home.” (www.bbc.com/news, January 2011).

According to the BBC online news report, when China’s Premier, Mr. Wen, was asked by journalists whether he was concerned by the criticism regarding China’s activities in Africa, his was that:

There have been allegations for a long time that China has come to Africa to plunder Africa's natural resources and practise neo-colonialism. The allegation in my view is totally untenable. Who is really asking these questions?” he said. "Is it the African states or is it the West looking on nervously? (www.bbc.com/news, Mar. 23, 2012).

In contrast with the Chinese Premier’s argument, Nigeria's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Bagudu Hirse was quoted as saying, “China was throwing money at corrupt and repressive regimes.” He added, "We [Africans] accept what China is doing. And we welcome their investment. But they must understand that we are very sensitive to good governance and democracy (www.bbc.com/news, Mar. 23, 2012).

The BBC online news narrative further added that “The Egyptian independent Prime Minister Mustafa al-Gindi sees the issue as a battle between East and West for the biggest share of African spoils. He believes the old relationships in Africa are now being tested and he is hugely fearful of China's way of doing business. "There is huge competition between East and West for Africa", he said. The BBC quoted the Egyptian Prime Minister as saying:

And whatever they say, it is a fact that the Chinese come to Africa not just with engineers and scientists - they are coming with farmers. It is neo-colonialism. There are no ethics, no values, there is only one thing, 'I want the land and I don't mind how we get it'. And I think if Europe and the West really want to play in Africa, then ethics and values are the weapons they must use (www.bbc.com/news, Mar. 23, 2012).

In response Mr. Wen was quoted as saying that “There are plenty of major Western companies operating in countries with oppressive governments. Chinese oil companies are taking only a fraction of the resources their big American counterparts are taking.” (www.bbc.com/news, Mar. 23, 2012). The BBC’s reporter, Christian Fraser, asserted that “Chinese Prime Minister Wen JiaBao has a big cheque book. Over three years, he is pledging \$10bn (£5.9bn) in new loans, 100 new clean energy power stations. And there are the opportunities arising from the difficulties the emerging world has in financing [their] infrastructure projects, especially as foreign banks retreat to home markets” (www.bbc.com/news, Mar. 23, 2012).

The neo-colonial charge leveled against China was rejected by China’s media as was done by the leaders and officials of the country. The BBC online news reported what the China Daily and Xinhua wrote about the subject. The English-language, China Daily wrote that "The West claims that China's relationship with Africa is neo-colonialism" It denounced such a claim. The rejection was similar to what Mr. Wen dismissively said, “The nerves Western question” (www.bbc.com/news, Mar. 23, 2012).

China is sensitive to the charge framed as a neo-colonial power. It is trying hard to refute it. Referring to Xinhua News Agency, one of the BBC online news report had the following to say about how China defends itself from the charge: “The opinion piece, from the official Xinhua news agency which echoes official opinion, said the charge was "biased and ill-grounded", the relationship is based on "equality and mutual benefit... fact is more convincing than rhetoric". BBC quoted more statements from Xinhua aimed at disproving the charges as follows:

Africa's exports of crude oil, minerals, steel and agricultural products have played an active role in lifting the Chinese people's livelihood. Meanwhile, the continent also serves as an indispensable market with great potential for Chinese products."China also provides Africa with much-needed products and technologies, and a vast market for its commodities. What's more, Beijing focused on helping build the continent's productive capacity by improving its infrastructure and boosting the manufacturing sector, rather than involving the so-called "resource-grabbing practice." President Hu Jintao repeatedly called this, "a new type of China-Africa strategic partnership." He said "The Chinese and African peoples have always treated each other as equals... we will... forever be a good friend, good partner and good brother of the African people" (www.bbc.com/news, 19 July 2012).

It seems that such arguments will not go away any time soon, unless the current China- Africa relations recall berated in a manner that it is in favor of Africa. Though a bit exaggerated, no doubt that there is grain of truth in the Chinese argument. The next sub- topics, which focus on China- Africa economic and political relations, will give us more insights into this relationship argument.

4.5 Media Discourse on China-Africa Economic and Political Relations

African countries, addressing the issues of development aid, good governance, and economic reforms, have since the fall of the Berlin Wall, mainly, conceptualised it in terms of Western schools of thought. With the rapid expansion of Chinese influence on the African continent, however, there is also a growing need to understand whether aid and governance with ‘Chinese characteristics’ are concepts perceived as useful by African bureaucrats and Chinese technocrats alike. Chinese views on development, security and poverty reduction are increasingly important as China continues to integrate strategically with the world economy, especially in the developing world (Kurlantzick, 2007 in Lagerkvist, 2009).

In their report on China- Africa- US relations to the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) delegation, Gill, Huang & Morrison (2006) identified six key factors that significantly undergird the Chinese approach to Africa. They are:

1. China’s quest to build a strategic partnership with Africa fits squarely within Beijing’s global foreign policy strategy and its vision of the evolving international system.
2. Chinese leaders and strategists believe China’s historical experience and development model resonate powerfully with African counterparts, thereby creating a comparative advantage vis-à-vis the West.
3. China’s history of friendly, respectful, and helpful political linkages with Africa is thought to provide a durable foundation for a future strategic partnership.
4. China believes Africa is on the verge of a developmental takeoff.
5. China’s policymakers are confident that a state-centric approach to Africa will build strategically on Beijing’s core strengths and align with the stated preferences of African countries.
6. Policymakers believe it is in China’s interest to engage third parties on Africa, but cautiously, slowly, and with serious reservations (p. V).

The media give coverage to these approaches in comparison that of with the West. Thus, the BBC and ETV observe, in their news narratives, the economic and political approaches China in relation to Africa and how the West sees its implications for them, Africa and the rest of the world. The BBC and ETV viewed the political and economic approaches and strategies China practises in Africa differently. Referring to the online news narratives of both the BBC and ETV, arguments are advanced below.

4.5.1 Media Discourse on China- Africa Economic Relations

The BBC and ETV news narratives on China- Africa relations are full of numbers talking about China's loans and donations, investments, trades exchanges and contract agreements signed between China and Africa. The media news reports reveal that China economic deals between China and African far exceeded Africa's deal with West. These media outlets reports also show that the economic competition between China and the West over Africa has intensified and it seems that China is winning the game. Let's see ETV's online news discourse first, and then that of the BBC to identify their perspectives on the subject.

ETV's Perspective

One of ETV's online news narratives had the following to say about Ethio-China economic integrations:

Chinese investment in Ethiopia has reached over \$345 million, Chinese Ambassador to Ethiopia, Xie Xiaoyan disclosed. In a press brief he gave on Thursday, the Ambassador said, peoples of the two nations are benefiting from the strong relationship existing between the two countries. He said the trade exchange between China and Ethiopia has reached over \$1.3 billion. The Ambassador also said the new African Union building built by Chinese Government is an indication that the relationship between China and Africa has got momentum (www.erta.gov.et, Thursday, 19 January 2012).

ETV has also reported about China's loan and grant to Ethiopia. The following ETV excerpt recorded that:

The Ministry of Finance and Economic Development has extended gratitude to the government of China for its big share in the improvement of the overall infrastructure sector in Ethiopia. Ethiopia and China signed on Monday 456 million Birr Grant and interest-free loan agreements 256 million Birr of the stated amount is secured in the form of grant while the balance 200 million Birr is obtained as interest-free loan. Wei Hongtian, from the Embassy of China, for his part said China will continue to support Ethiopia's efforts to realize its Growth and Transformation Plan (www.erta.gov.et, Tuesday, 07 August 2012).

This ETV news report reflects what China has been doing throughout the African continent. China dominates the continent infrastructure sector development projects. Many infrastructure development projects are financed by China development bank and EXIM bank. Less cost and interest free loan to such projects enable China to make business with Africa, and outcompete the West.

Concerning Ethio- China economic relations, ETV had many more news narratives related to construction and installation agreements such as (rail way, roads, dam, electric transmission polls, tell-communication ...); in investments (cement, cloth and leather industries, café & restaurants) in trade- import exports, loans and donations and in skill transferring.

EVT's main concerns, as we have argued above, are national issues. Hence, many of its news narratives focused on Ethio- China relations. But, it also had a few news narratives on the continent.

The Africa-China Poverty Reduction and Development Conference kicked off in Addis Ababa on Monday. The Conference brought together delegates from African countries, China and emerging economies like Vietnam to explore best poverty reduction and development experiences. China over the last three decades extricated well over 400 million people from poverty. That means 75 per cent of human beings that overcame poverty are Chinese. Extreme poverty in Vietnam dropped from 64 percent in 1993 to 22 per cent in 2006. Coming to Africa, Ghana has reduced the rate of extreme poverty from above 50 per cent in 1992 to 30 per cent in 2006.... Addressing the high-profile gathering, Meles said "it would be natural for Africans to learn from those who have succeeded in defeating poverty...." The event will help Africa to explore the experiences of China and others. Vice Minister of Chinese Council of Poverty Alleviation and Development, Zheng Wenkai on the occasion promised to respond to the call of

MDGs by enhancing cooperation with African countries (www.erta.gov.et, Sat. 23 Mar. 2012).

From this news narrative, one can understand that the meeting was among countries of the East where they shared experiences. The main issue in the news narrative was alleviating poverty, where China was presented as the best case study. China itself promised to respond to such poverty alleviation calls. In this manner, China is come out as potential alternative to the West.

On the (5th) China-Africa Cooperation Forum of July 2012, China pledge \$20 billion loan to Africa which would run for the next three consecutive years. Referring to CCTV, reported the following about the said China loan to Africa:

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hailemariam Desalegn has welcomed the announcement of China's \$20 billion loan package for Africa. The new loan package is almost double the amount China offered to Africa previously. Hailemariam in an interview with CCTV said Ethiopia is delighted in China's all-round support to the continent that is matching the growing expectations of Africa. He said China and Africa have tremendous cooperation in a number of areas and that could be consolidated further (www.erta.gov.et, Saturday, 21 July 2012).

China did not put any preconditions to African countries for lending them the 20billion dollar. It did not ask African leaders to run democratic elections, to respect human rights or to reform their political and economic policies to receive loans or donations as opposed the experience from the West.

BBC's Perspective

On attempt to capture the Chinese conundrum, Lagerkvist (2009, P.120) said that “The specter is that of a rising China, a market-friendly one-party state with a poor human rights record set on a course to deliver the message that authoritarianism works as it alleviates poverty with an all too firm hand.” Lagerkvist (2009, P.120) added that “It is with this mindset that Western policymakers and media commentary increasingly view Chinese capital, labour, and goods entering the African continent.”

The following excerpt from BBC online news narratives reaffirms China's deep integration with African countries and how they have welcome the alternative donor:

It may be too early to call China's economic miracle a success story, or determine how many African countries are willing, interested or indeed capable of following a similar course, but for the first time since the end of the Cold War, people from Algeria to Angola have a genuine alternative to the Western donor bloc (www.bbc.com/news, 29 May 2012).

The news report added “Trade between China and Africa has increased more than six-fold during the past decade to \$120bn (£76bn) in 2011. Now, trade between the two sides is thought to be worth around \$160bn a year.” (www.bbc.com/news, 29 May 2012). These billions of dollars illustrate not only the China- Africa economic integration but also how China becomes one of the worlds' economic power houses. It seems that China is challenging the traditional world holders.

The West seems highly concerned with the new world power house (China) aggressively involved in the Africa Continent. They claim that China's interest in the continent is extracting African natural resources to meet its raw material and energy demand. Concerning this, the following excerpt from the BBC news noted:

In almost every corner of Africa there is something that interests China. The continent is rich in natural resources that promise to keep China's booming, fuel-hungry economy on the road. China is interested in Africa's natural resources and in return is investing huge sums in African infrastructure. There is copper to mine in Zambia, iron ore to extract in Gabon and oil to refine in Angola. In other countries less blessed by natural resources, Chinese companies have spied trading and investment opportunities. Roads are being built by Chinese firms at a staggering rate. (www.bbc.com/news, 3 November 2011).

Both China and Africa enjoy all these economic interactions between them. It is clear, Africa need improved infrastructures (new and better roads, school buildings, computer networks, telecom systems and power generation) and in return, this has opened a profitable opportunity for Chinese firms. But what does it mean to the West and how do they see it? According to the BBC news report, “The new Sino-African dynamic can leave the West ill at ease, reviving memories of Europe's colonial domination in Africa and drawing complaints that low Chinese bids are freezing out Western companies” (www.bbc.com/news, 3 November 2011). The

competition between Chinese firms and Western companies over African projects mostly end with declaring the Chinese as winner. From this, one can understand that Africa is becoming the economic proxy war field for China and the West.

The West and China criticize each other on what they are doing in Africa. For example, in the BBC news report, a Chinese official was quoted as saying, “While other rich nations [West] impose conditions before aid is given, China's relationship with African countries is strictly a business one.” This news narrative also noted that “Human rights groups have criticised China for undermining efforts by western countries to link aid to improvements in governance. However, African leaders have welcomed the Chinese approach and have embraced investment from Beijing” (www.bbc.com/news, 3 November 2011). Using African economic quest as a point of intersection, the West accuses China over issues of democracy, good governance and human rights concerns.

The other issue the West argues is that China itself abuses African economic rights. One of the cases they raise is the issue of wages Chinese firms pay to their African employees. Concerning these, the BBC wrote, “Many Chinese firms employ large numbers of local workers but wages remain low. It is also suggested by some critics that many Chinese companies bring in their own workers and pay their wages to banks in China, thus limiting the actual flow of cash into Africa” (www.bbc.com/news, 2 January 2011). What is more, there is also a growing anger in Africa about the growing presence of small-scale Chinese operators in the retail sector. For instance, it is an existing problem in Zambia and the government is planning to take action in securing some sectors for citizens only.

This being the case, the BBC report acknowledged that “China is now Africa's largest trading partner, surpassing the United States and its traditional European partners. Commercial ties between the two regions [China and Africa] exploded since 2000, leaping from \$10bn (£6.3bn) to over [\$162bn] in [2012]” (www.bbc.com/news, 22 September 2012).

Furthermore, in 2010, China's top five trading partners in Africa were Angola (\$24.8bn), South Africa (\$22.2bn), Sudan (\$8.6bn), Nigeria (\$7.8bn) and Egypt (\$7.0bn) (www.bbc.com/news, 22 September 2012).

4.5.2 Media Discourse on China- Africa Political Relations

China has peaceful political relations with almost all African nations. Melber (2007, P.12) noted that “China is ranking of its own Five Principle of Peaceful Coexistence on an equal footing with the Charter of the African Union – and even the Charter of the United Nations – is an example of the way in which Beijing seeks to court Africa within the broader framework of global politics, whilst at the same time asserting its leadership claims.” He (2007) added that China has sought to strengthen political ties with African countries, exemplified by the establishment of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum (CACF) which was established in 2000 to discuss China’s and Africa’s all rounded issues.

Melber (2007, P.12) further noted that “[China and Africa] support each other in international affairs, especially on major issues such as human rights, safeguard the legitimate rights of developing countries and make efforts to promote the establishment of a new just and rational international political and economic order.” This means, for China and Africa, the existing international political and economic order is unfair; so that they need to work together to correct it. But this is not an easy task, because the West who has established the existing international political and economic order also works hard to keep the status-quo. ETV and the BBC online news narratives had the following to say about China- Africa political relations and the West’s reflections on the subject.

ETV’s Perspective

As explained earlier, ETV news report focused on Ethio- China issues. As such, the following excerpt from ETV elaborates on Ethio- China political institutions experience sharing.

Ethiopian women parliament members met on Wednesday a Chinese delegation led by Chen Zhili, Deputy Chairperson of the Chinese Congress with the rank of Deputy Prime Minister. The delegation saw women’s participation in the Ethiopian House of People’s Representatives (HPR) much better than in China, and a lesson to take note. Shitaye Minale, Deputy Speaker of the HPR, said “Ethiopia hopes to learn a lot from the Chinese stunning growth achieved over the last few decades” (www.erta.gov.et, 12, Oct, 2012).

The two political institutions, the Chinese Congress and the Ethiopian Parliament, shared experiences through delegations.

ETV also reported about the Communist Party of China (CPC) delegation's official visit in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and the Communist Party of China (CPC) signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Tuesday to further build up their cooperation. Redwan Hussen, EPRDF Office Head and Ai Ping, Vice Minister of International Department of the Communist Party of China signed the MoU on behalf of their respective party. Redwan and Ping said at the signing ceremony that the agreement would enable the parties to enhance their partnership further. Redwan said the two parties are alike in that they have ensured the development benefits of their peoples as well as offered quality leadership. Mr. Ping for his part said EPRDF is undertaking commendable activities in expediting development, good governance and democracy in the country. He said the peaceful and democratic conclusion of the fourth national elections shows that democracy is deepening in Ethiopia. He further said the two parties would further strengthen their cooperation in the areas of peace, development, good governance, and democracy. It was indicated on the occasion that the MoU would also contribute greatly towards bolstering party-to-party, government-to-government and people-to-people relations between Ethiopia and China (www.erta.gov.et, Wednesday, 13 October 2011).

The AUC Chairperson, Delame Zuma, during her recent visit to China puts a pointer to Africa's expectations, expressing Africa's hope of a boost in cooperation with China to further advance the China- Africa relations. The following excerpt from ETV online news narrative on the Chairperson's visit to China noted that "Another area that will be of interest to Africa is China's foreign policy. China-Africa friendship is embedded in the long history of interchange. And Africa will expect to continue figuring prominently in China's foreign policy agenda against a background of changing geopolitical dynamics" (www.erta.gov.et, February12, 2013). The report added that "The Chinese leadership is determined to lift China-Africa ties to a higher level by boosting political, economic and cultural cooperation as well as coordination on regional security and major global issues" (www.erta.gov.et, February12, 2013). The Chairperson was quoted further in this news narrative as saying, "Africa has been a staunch supporter of China on issues concerning its core interests on world arena, and China has dedicated itself to peace and development on the continent" (www.erta.gov.et, February12, 2013).

ETV had many more online news narratives on China- Africa political relations, which are about Forum on China- Africa Cooperation agreements and achievements, South- South cooperation, party to party delegation visits, political institutions experience sharing and government level delegation visits. The theme of those ETV online news narratives was about integrating China and Africa politically and making them to work together in the international political arena to challenge the existing international political order.

BBC's Perspective

The BBC online news narratives had the following to say about China's foreign policy towards Africa: "Just as with the freedom of speech story, there are numerous areas where China's African foreign policy deserves credible scrutiny. Its arm sales to despotic leaders (Robert Mugabe), support of brutal authoritarian regimes (Sudan) and active involvement in official corruption (The DR Congo) are all worthy of questioning and investigation" (www.bbc.com/news on April 11, 2011).

This news narrative questions China's foreign policy towards Africa to be measured by the existing international relations standards. These standards are respecting freedom of speech; and alienating "despotic" and "authoritarian" African leaders like Mugabe and Al Basher. But, China and Africa are critical of such claims, because they perceive and interpret these standards as a means of interfering in others internal affairs.

Another BBC online news narrative elaborates how China and the West view and define the African continent.

There's nothing actually wrong with the question, [but] just arrogance to ... the use of the word "motive." It's comparable to how the CNN and other international news organizations selectively use the word "regime" to define a government. Somehow, Beijing is a "regime" and Washington is a "government." The word "regime," as does "motive," has a distinctly negative connotation that is rarely applied to Western governments. Importantly, Liu [interviewee] does highlight a key difference between the Chinese perspective on Africa and that in the West. For most government and populations in the U.S. and Europe, Africa is regarded as a basket case of war, disease, famine and decades of failed development policies. In contrast, Liu highlights, the Chinese see Africa as opportunity. Beyond the obvious extractive industries, the Chinese are engaging

the continent as an export market that the West long ago abandoned. Furthermore, China's development policies in Africa are proving to be far more *effective* than those of bloated, expensive and *ineffective* Western aid agencies. Liu rightly points that China's effectiveness is leading to enhanced political ties in the region at the expense of the former colonial and international powers (www.bbc.com/news on April 11, 2011).

This news narrative can be taken as a pointer that demarcates China's and the West's perception of Africa. China asserts that the West interprets and draws Africa wrongly as represent with disease, famine and failed development policies. But it sees Africa as an opportunity. On the other hand, the West urges Africa to escape from China's exploitations and practices that lead to danger might be determinant in the long term.

Another area where the approach of China and the West differ with respect to Africa is in relation to sanctions. Following the international community's successful sanctions against South Africa's former apartheid government in the late 80s and early 90s, that dream still exists. Within the UN, U.S and the EU, sanctions are an effective tool at isolating dictatorial governments. But, the following excerpt from the BBC online news report noted that China rejects to coordinate with the West on such sanctions against some African governments.

Where Myanmar, Iran, North Korea, Sudan, Zimbabwe and many others have defied international sanctions policies, the presumption that sanctions actually work persists. ... [But] China does not support sanctions measures, because mass populations suffer disproportionately compared to the elites. China is unwilling to join the West to coordinate a sanctions policy against Robert Mugabe and Zimbabwe (www.bbc.com/news, 9 December 2011).

There are criticisms of China because of such rejections of sanctions against "dictator" governments. For example, the BBC reports what US Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Johnnie Carson said about this subject: "China's full-throttle rush into Africa has done nothing to stop corruption and bad governance. And it is willing to deal with brutal and corrupt governments. The Chinese are dealing with the Mugabe's and Basher's of the world, which are a contrarian political model" (www.bbc.com/news, 9 December, 2011). He also described China as "a very aggressive and pernicious economic competitor with no morals" (www.bbc.com/news, 9 December, 2011). In this news report, Johnnie Carson further noted that "China is not in Africa for altruistic reasons. China is in Africa primarily for China. A secondary reason for

China's presence is, to secure votes in the United Nations from African countries" (www.bbc.com/news, 9 December, 2011).

China- Africa economic and political relations remain one of the debatable issues in the media discourses. The BBC and ETV online news narratives noted that China's "no string" attached loan and donation and low interest rate credits has attracted African leaders. What is more, less cost and interest free loan from China Development and Exim banks enables Chinese firms to dominate African infrastructure projects. Thus, the West's economic share in Africa seems shrinking as the African continent welcomes China.

Politically, China's "non- interference" policy, in the others internal affairs, and its welcoming of "dictator" and corrupt leaders of Africa has helped China to enjoy the African continent. China calls African governments for cooperation in the international stages to challenge the status quo, because it believes that the existing political and economic order is unfair to developing nations.

4.6 Emphasized and Deemphasized Issues in the News Narratives on China-Africa Relations

According to Coronel (n. d, P.1), "Since the 17th century, the role of the press as Fourth Estate and as a forum for public discussion and debate has been recognized. Today, despite the mass media's propensity for sleaze, sensationalism and superficiality, the notion of the media as watchdog, as guardian of the public interest, and as a conduit between governors and the governed remains deeply ingrained." He (n. d, P.1) stresses that "The role of media in bringing democracy, especially for fledgling democracies is vital. The media have been able to assert their role in buttressing and deepening democracy." What is more, Coronel (n. d) argues that investigative reporting, in some cases, can lead to the dismissal of Presidents and the fall of corrupt governments.

As Coronel (n. d, p. 1), "because of stringent laws, monopolistic ownership, and sometimes the threat of brute force, media lack to fulfill the ultimate role it can play. Moreover, the media are sometimes used as proxies in the battle between rival political groups, in the process sowing divisiveness rather than consensus, hate speech instead of sober debate, and suspicion rather than social trust." Political and economic elites impose their interest over the media. Thus, the

public interest and grievances lack considerations in the media coverage. That is why the media emphasises on some issues over others to make them salient and de-emphasis some other issues to put out of sight and consideration. On the other hand, the media generally ignore some issues, even if they can be public interests; because revealing those issues may affect the one who controls the media outlets.

In a similar manner, Powell (2011, P. 11), in his study entitled, “Ethiopia Media and Telecoms Landscape Guide” find out that “The [Ethiopian] government maintains tight control on news and information. News reports that are critical of the government are extremely rare. Journalists constantly practice self censorship to keep out of trouble with the authorities.” Thus, ETV, which serves as the government mouthpiece, make salient the Ethiopian government agenda than any other issues and ignore serious critics. Thus, in its coverage of China- Africa relations, ETV focuses on celebrating the existing relations by emphasizing positive and success stories.

The BBC World News, as a Western media led by liberal philosophy, emphasis on defending Western values. Thus, in covering China- Africa relations, it makes salient issues such as, China’s violations of human and economical rights of African, Chinese companies’ exploitations of African natural resources and China government willingness to cooperate with despotic and corrupt African leaders over the African people interests irresponsibly.

ETV’s Selection of Issues

Emphasised Issues: ETV struggles to practice “development journalism” with the perspective of media’s partnership with the government. Thus, it focuses on promoting the government agenda, policies and strategies. As Powell (2011, P.11) wrote and the researcher witnessed through by observation, “News reports that are critical of the government are extremely rare” in the ETV online news narratives. It dwelt on the following themes while reporting China- Africa relations:

- Signing agreements between China and African countries on deals, such as loans, donations, trade- import-export, achieving Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP).

- Contract agreements of projects between Chinese companies and African countries, including roads, rail ways and industries buildings.
- Foreign direct investments which flow from China to Africa and Ethiopia, and employment opportunities created by Chinese companies in Ethiopia and in the continent, technology and skill transfer from China to Africa.
- Business delegation visits from Chinese to Africa and Africa to China in order to share experiences and sign Memorandum of Understanding (MOU).
- China's call for Africa to cooperate at international political and economic forum in order to protect their common interest and to challenge the status quo.
- Party to party delegation visits to share political experiences.
- Government level official visits and periodic meetings, like the FOCAC once in every three years in China and the other in one of the African countries.
- Celebrating the existing relationship.

Deemphasised Issues: The Ethiopian Television online news narratives deemphasized and or ignored the following issues in its coverage of the China- Africa relations:

- Any negative effects of China's practice in African never received attentions.
- Chinese illegal Rhino poaching and smuggling of timber from Africa to China was deemphasised by the ETV's news coverage.
- Issues related to employment, wage and work place safety between Chinese firms and African (local) employees and laborers was also deemphasised by the ETV's report.
- China's exploitation of African natural resources, such as oil, minerals, timber, arable land and many others was ignored by the ETV's news narratives.
- The issue of democracy, such as periodic elections, freedom of speech, and the right to form association and respecting human rights got extremely minimal focus in the online news coverage of ETV.

This illustrates that ETV was obsessed with covering success stories about China- Africa relations in line with its understanding of development journalism. These positive and success oriented news stories communicate the fact that ETV sees China as the best development aid alternative for Africa. Furthermore, they insinuate the fact that Western critique of China- Africa

relations as baseless, and gets across the message that the relationship is beneficial to Ethiopia as well as the Continent as a whole.

BBC's Selection of Issues

Emphasised Issues: The BBC online news narratives of China- Africa relations focused on the following theme:

- Chinese companies investments in extracting and exploiting African natural resources, such as oil exploration and refinery, mining, timber production and arable land grabbing, and displacement of local communities.
- Environmental pollution and distractions caused by Chinese companies.
- Chinese illegal Rhino poaching and smuggling of timber with the cooperation of corrupt African leaders.
- The unfair Chinese companies deal with local workers on employment and wage issues and the violations of African economic rights.
- The unbalanced import-export trading deal between China and Africa.
- China's ignorance of democracy and human rights and its co-operation with authoritarian leaders in the African continent.
- African countries governments act of jamming broadcast signals with the technological help from the Chinese government.
- China's immorally and irresponsibly smuggling of weapons for both rebel fighters and authoritarian leaders.

Deemphasised Issues: The BBC online news narratives deemphasised the following issues in its coverage of China- Africa relations:

- China's contributions to Africa's infrastructure sector, such as telecommunications, roads and rail ways constructions.
- China's loans and donations worth billion dollars to Africa and its role in the African economic growth, especially, in the last 10 years.

- The employment opportunities created for the local people in the Chinese companies and the establishment of industry zones in Africa by the Chinese.
- Chinese companies' investment even in the climatically inhospitable areas in African.
- The opportunities FOCAC agreements have opened to the African continent.

Generally speaking, the BBC online news narratives highlighted the negative effects of China's practice on the African continent; it selected frames that represented China as immoral, inhumane and exploiter. What is more, the BBC focused on discourses that framed China as the new colonizer in Africa with a coded warning to Africa. It underestimated what Africa is benefiting from its relations with China and portrayed Africa as a loser in the game.

Missing Link: ETVs online news discourses focused on the celebratory aspects of the existing China- Africa relationships. It fails to critically examine the relationship for what it is.

On the other hand, the BBC online news narratives focused more on warning Africa to protect itself from China's influence and to carefully think about the long-term damage of this relationship. What is more, still the West and Africa have a significant cooperation in economic, political and social sectors. For instance, on education, health, HIV/AIDS and Malaria prevention, Africa has been working more closely with the West than with China. Economically, AGOWA (Africa Growth Opportunity Act) cannot be underestimated and the MDG is also the Western project. Furthermore, the West cooperates with Africa in fighting terrorism and in promoting peace and security better than China does with Africa. Thus, it is an erroneous argument to suggest that the West is leaving Africa for China and Africa is totally turning its face to China and the East.

4.7. Commonly Utilized Media Sources on China- Africa Relations

Media people collect information, basically using three gathering techniques; by analyzing documents, by conducting physical observation on the spot and conducting interviews with officials, experts, eye witnesses and victims.

Sources are critical for producing media content, and media sources are also very important elements in framing issues, because sources who talk to a specific media outlet can make some

issues salient and ignore some other issues deliberately or unconsciously. The other point is that the media outlets themselves select some talking heads and reject others. This helps the media to frame an issue in the way they want. Thus, commonly utilized media sources can affect the news narratives framing of issues. The sub-section below discusses what media sources were commonly utilized and often ignored in the BBC and ETV online news narratives.

4.7.1. Commonly Utilized Media Sources in ETV

ETV, commonly, talked to government officials and a few project coordinators. EPRDF Ministers, Ambassadors and other higher officials were frequently utilized sources in the ETV online news narratives on the issues concerning China- Africa relations. ETV was busy by promoting the government's successes achieved from its relationship with China. Thus, ETV online news narratives framed China- Africa relations in line with the Ethiopian government agenda, strategies and policies.

News stories from ETV focused on celebrating the existing China- Africa relationship which has benefited both sides equally. ETV's news discourse appears to be aimed at proving a counter narrative to the Western critique of Chinese relations with Africa.

ETV online news stories ignored the voices of professionals, eye witnesses and more importantly the victims. The laborers', employees' and local communities' claims and grievances on Chinese companies' inappropriate activities never made to ETV online news. Such media discourses could have negative implications for the long term relationship. One of the criticisms about China's approach to Africa is that China- Africa relations are limited to government to government level. The people are passive and government to public interaction is almost none. Thus, if government change occurs either in Africa or in China, this relationship may face continuity problems.

4.7.2. Commonly Utilized Media Sources in the BBC

It is common that elites make news than ordinary people. But it doesn't mean that the media should always talk to elites. Although, the discourses they can make are not as strong as the elites can make, sometimes, it is important that the media should talk to ordinary people and give due attention to their views.

The BBC talked to eye witnesses, local workers, employees, business-men, victims, human rights watch and environmental investigation agencies more than any other media sources in its online news narratives on China- Africa relations. The second commonly utilized media sources in the BBC online news narratives were professionals, such as project advisors, managers and coordinators, bank advisors, political advisors, senior executives, chief economists, and scholars. The BBC talked also to officials and leaders, such as Prime Ministers and Presidents, foreign Ministers and foreign affairs representatives and spokesperson.

In the case of the BBC online news stories, media source utilization has more or less, enabled all sides to have a say on the issues. Sometimes, people who had complaints on China's practice in Africa talked to the BBC more frequently than those who appreciated what China is doing in Africa. As such, in the BBC online news narratives, criticisms of China- Africa relations were more pronounced. From this, one can conclude that the BBC, as the Western liberal media, seems to reflect the foreign policy direction of the Western governments in relation to Chinese investment in Africa.

The BBC and ETV online news narratives presented China- Africa relations differently. This might be attributed to the fact that they are informed by two different models of journalism: ETV follows the development journalism model, whereas the BBC adheres to the liberal model.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

The aim of this study was examining the BBC's and ETV's coverage of China- Africa relations in light of Framing and Orientalism theories.

To this end, a qualitative method (specifically, textual analysis method) was used. The BBC and ETV online news stories published from Jan. 2011 to Feb. 30, 2013 were collected from the websites, www.com/news and www.erta.gov.et, respectively. A total of 77 (42 from ETV and 35 from BBC) online news stories on China- Africa relations were used for the analysis. Accordingly, the collected online news stories, from the selected media outlets, were analyzed using textual analytic method.

Based on the textual analysis, it was found that the BBC and ETV online news stories used South-South co-operations frame, non-interference frame, and mutual benefit frame in articulating China-Africa relations. This being the case, however, ETV's online news narratives focused on success oriented positive discourses in describing the relationship. On the other hand, the BBC online news narratives presented both the positive and the negative sides of China-Africa relations with some exaggerations on the negative side of the relationship. In doing so, the BBC online news narratives framed the China- Africa relations as a new form of colonization. It represented Africa as battle field for the East and the West, where the two groups compete for control of African resources. However, ETV had nothing to say about the negative repercussion of China's practice on the continent.

The BBC and ETV portrayed China- Africa economic and political relations as relations based on 'no- string attached' loan and donation and 'non-interference' foreign policy strategies.

While the BBC used an array of sources from almost all walks of life in producing its stories, ETV mainly focused on official sources.

ETV online news stories highlighted the economic and political gains that accrued from China-Africa relations, where as they deemphasised the negative impact the relationship brought on Africa.

The BBC online news discourses on China- Africa relations, highlighted the negative impacts the relationship brought on Africa more than any other issue. The BBC underestimated what Africa is getting from its tie with China.

While ETV's news sources were predominantly official government sources, the BBC used an array of sources from different walks of life in its news production. This might be attributable to the fact that the two media outlets follow different models of journalism.

5.2 Recommendations

This study examined the media coverage of the 21st century China-Africa relations. The selected media outlets, the BBC's and ETV's online news stories published from Jan. 2011 to Feb. 30, 2013, were collected from the websites, www.com/news and www.erta.gov.et, respectively and analyzed. Based on the findings, the researcher suggests the following recommendations to the selected media outlets:

- The Ethiopia Television's online news stories focused on success-oriented positive narratives in describing the China-Africa relations. So the audience had gotten only one side of the relationship. Thus, it is appropriate to report both sides of a story in order to give complete information to viewers.
- The Ethiopia Television's news sources were predominantly official government sources. Other voices, especially, who spoke against the Ethiopia or Africa relations with China were ignored. So the news reports did not balance the stories. Therefore, it is advisable to use sources from different walks of life and involve different views in a story, so that the news reports will be balanced.
- The British Broadcast Corporation online news stories presented China-Africa relations with a bit some exaggerations on the negative side of the relationship. Such media

presentation could have negative implications for the long term relationship. In addition, the BBC seems to reflect the foreign policy directions of the Western governments in relation to China involvement in Africa. But the BBC, as international media brand, is expected to report international issues fairly and neutrally.

- Sometimes people who had complaints on China's practice in Africa talked to the BBC more frequently than those who appreciated what China is doing in Africa. As such, the BBC more pronounced criticisms of China- Africa relations. Such media practices could mislead audience to the wrong conclusions. Thus, the BBC shall report both criticisms and appreciations on China- Africa relations equivalently in order to give all the facts to its audience.

Appendixes

Appendix 1: Map of China and Africa



The picture is taken from WWW.bbc/news in February 16, 2013

**Appendix 2: ETV Sample News Stories downloaded from www.etra.gov.et
(Unedited)**

Meles: Ethio- China Relations Gaining Momentum

Friday, 06 January 2012 17:38

Prime Minister Meles Zenawi said relations between Ethiopia and China are getting strengthened in all spheres.

While receiving a message sent from Chinese President, Hu Jintao on Friday, Meles said a number of Chinese investors are engaged in different sectors in Ethiopia.

Prime Minister Meles Zenawi further said relations between China and Africa are also getting enhanced.

Presenting the message, Chinese vice Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zhai Jun said the two countries have excellent bilateral relations based on mutual benefit, according to Arega Hailu, Director General of Asia and Oceania Affairs Directorate with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The two sides discussed ways of strengthening existing relations between the two countries.

Hailemariam commends China-Africa relations

Saturday, 21 July 2012 17:14

Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hailemariam Desalegn has welcomed the announcement of China's \$20 billion loan package for Africa.

The new loan package is almost double the amount China offered to Africa previously.

Hailemariam in an interview with CCTV said Ethiopia is delighted in China's all-round support to the continent that is matching the growing expectations of Africa.

He said China and Africa have tremendous cooperation in a number of areas and that could be consolidated further.

The economy of Africa is growing fast and there are huge investment and trade potentials, he said.

Hailemariam mentioned the great possibility for expansion of tourism, thereby strengthening people-to-people relations.

Common issues of concern for the new global order include the areas of UN reform, terrorism, climate change and piracy and these can encourage increased cooperation between China and African countries, including Ethiopia, in various multilateral forums, he said.

Appendix 3: BBC Sample News Reports downloaded from www.bbc/news

China pledges \$20bn in credit for Africa at summit

BBC 19 July 2012 Last updated at 06:03 GMT

Mr Hu called for better co-operation with African countries

China has pledged \$20bn (£12.8bn) in credit for Africa over the next three years, in a push for closer ties and increased trade.

President Hu Jintao made the announcement at a summit in Beijing with leaders from 50 African nations.

He said the loans would support infrastructure, agriculture and the development of small businesses.

The Chinese leader also called for better co-operation with African countries on international affairs.

As developing nations, China and countries in Africa should work better together in response to "the big bullying the small, the strong domineering over the weak and the rich oppressing the poor" in international affairs, said Mr Hu.

The loan is double the amount China pledged in a previous three-year period in 2009, since which time China has been Africa's largest trading partner.

Trade between the two hit a record high of \$166bn (£106bn) in 2011, Chinese Commerce Minister Chen Deming wrote in the China Daily newspaper, ahead of the two-day forum.

"We want to continue to enhance our traditional friendship... rule out external interference and enhance mutual understanding and trust," said Mr Hu.

United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon is also attending the fifth ministerial meeting of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation.

'Balanced development'

On Wednesday, Mr Hu and Premier Wen Jiabao held bilateral talks with key African leaders, including South African President Jacob Zuma.

Kenya worries about China's

12 November 2012 Last updated at 03:53 GMT Economic News

China's growing role in Africa's economic development has been welcomed in many countries but fears are now growing that there could be a negative aspect to the foreign investment.

The Chinese government has made investments such as building new roads to secure supplies of resources like oil, iron ore or copper.

However, as the BBC's Noel Mwakugu reports from Nairobi, investment from China is now being received with caution.

China mines in Zambia 'unsafe' says Human Rights Watch (News Analysis)

3 November 2011 Last updated at 11:04 GMT

President Michael Sata has been very critical of Chinese-run mines

Chinese-run copper mines in Zambia are dangerously unsafe and owners routinely flout the rights of workers, says a report by Human Rights Watch (HRW).

The pressure group says miners are threatened with dismissal if they became involved in union activities.

It urged Zambia's new President, Michael Sata, to fulfil election promises and take decisive action against the owners.

The Chinese state company running the mines denied most of HRW's allegations.

Copper mining is one of Zambia's main industries, providing nearly three-quarters of the country's exports; many of the mining companies are foreign-owned.

'Misunderstandings'

The Human Rights Watch report entitled "You'll Be Fired If You Refuse": Labour Abuses in Zambia's Chinese State-owned Copper Mines, highlights "persistent abuses".

It said miners had to work 12-hour shifts often in fume-filled tunnels. Sometimes shifts were 18 hours long.

Zambian law limits shifts to eight hours.

“Start Quote

They just consider production, not safety. If someone dies, he can be replaced tomorrow. And if you report the problem, you'll lose your job.”

Zambian copper miner

The report said that despite improvements in recent years, safety and labour conditions at Chinese mines were worse than at other foreign-owned mines.

The state-owned China Non-Ferrous Metals Mining Corporation (CNM) runs four copper mines in Zambia.

In its response to the report, CNM said "language and cultural differences" could have resulted in "misunderstandings".

"China's significant investment in Zambia's copper mining industry can benefit both Chinese and Zambians," said Daniel Bekele, the Africa director at Human Rights Watch.

"But the miners in Chinese-run companies have been subject to abusive health, safety and labour conditions and longtime [Zambian] government indifference."

Many of the poor safety practices in Zambia's Chinese-run mines were strikingly similar to abuses at mines in China, he added.

A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman in Beijing, Hong Lei said the report did not accurately reflect conditions.

"The conclusions reached by Human Rights Watch are inconsistent with the facts," Mr Hong told reporters.

He said Chinese companies had brought great benefits to Zambia and that systems were in place to protect the safety and rights of workers there.

Booming trade

The report is based on interviews with 170 copper miners, more than half of whom worked for the Chinese companies.

Human Rights Watch found that pay at the Chinese-run mines was higher than Zambia's minimum wage, but much lower than that paid by other multinational copper mining firms.

The workers said they often had to buy their own safety equipment.

"Sometimes when you find yourself in a dangerous position, they tell you to go ahead with the work," one miner told Human Rights Watch.

"They just consider production, not safety. If someone dies, he can be replaced tomorrow. And if you report the problem, you'll lose your job."

Zambia's new President, Michael Sata, has been a longstanding critic of conditions in Chinese-run enterprises in Zambia.

But he toned down his anti-Chinese rhetoric in his last campaign, and since he was elected.

Chinese companies took over many Zambian mines after western investors pulled out following a collapse in copper prices.

Prices for Zambia's prime export have recently shot up, fuelled by Chinese demand.

China has invested more than \$400m (£250m) in Zambia's mining industry, and Zambia earned \$2.2bn from copper exports to China last year.

The total trade between the two countries last year was \$2.8bn.

"Simply demanding that Chinese companies improve their practices is insufficient if not accompanied by more effective regulation of the mines," Human Rights Watch said.

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Statement of Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all sources of materials used for this study have been appropriately acknowledged.

Candidate

Signature

Date

Name of the Advisor

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Date