

Chapter One

Introduction

This study aims to critically compare and analyse the representation of Africa and its countries in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail* for differences and/or similarities on a selected number of themes, primarily politics, economics and HIV/AIDS. In doing so, this study attempts to fill a gap in research on media representations of Africa by comparing and contrasting how foreign and local media report on the continent and its countries. In this dissertation, Africa refers to both the entire continent and the 53 countries that constitute it.

The focus of this study is unique in that it critically investigates whether local media representations are similar to or different from foreign media representations of Africa. The local media analysed in this study is *Financial Mail*, and *Time* and *The Economist* are both foreign publications. Little comparative research has been conducted on representations of Africa in both the foreign and local media. Often, the question that is overlooked is how Africans represent themselves in their media. Rather, research on representations of Africa often focuses on what is perceived to be the dominance and prevalence of stereotypical reporting by foreign media. These stereotypes usually depict Africa as a continent ravaged by conflict, poverty and disease, and are commonly negative. Much research has focused on film and television depictions of these stereotypes. Few studies focus on Africa's representation in magazines, and fewer still have posed the question: What is the difference? Therefore, this study adds to the body of knowledge on the media's representations of Africa.

Furthermore, most research in this field is outdated, having largely been undertaken towards the end of the twentieth century. As newsworthy African events occur every day, research on their representations must continually be undertaken. Africa has seen a wide range of political, economic and HIV/AIDS developments in the twenty-first century, which will inevitably play a role in its media depictions. Africa has to some

extent stabilised and moved away from historical unstable leadership and economic structures, which ideally should have an impact on its representation in the media. Hence, the time period to be analysed is 16 months, from July 2007 to October 2008. This allows for the representation of specific issues that arise within this time period in certain African countries to be focused upon.

The study will proceed by way of analysing the depiction of Africa in three magazines by selecting specific themes focusing on politics, economics and HIV/AIDS. These themes have been selected as they are often the dominant issues that the foreign media use to frame Africa. These themes will include the common, negative portrayals of conflict, poverty and disease, as well as positive representations within these fields. In analysing both negative and positive representations, this study further steps away from only considering stereotypical coverage of Africa, choosing instead to focus on the broad representations of the continent. The three magazines have been chosen because they are established and respected publications, which are influential with policy makers and elites in North America, Europe and Africa. It is thus arguable that they reach a powerful group of people, often with various interests in Africa. They therefore allow for a representative global sample of depictions of Africa to be considered.

This study addresses the question of whether both foreign and local media depict Africa in similar ways, with negative and stereotypical frames of representation dominating. Issues around media structure, ownership, news production and representation inform the answers to this question. In utilising three theoretical approaches to analyse the coverage of Africa in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*, the following research questions will contribute to formulating the overall conclusion of this study:

1. In what ways do local and foreign media represent Africa?
2. What are the differences and similarities in these representations?
3. Do the representations differ depending on the issue being reported?
4. How can these types of representations be explained?

This dissertation is divided into six chapters: Chapter One introduces this study. Chapter Two explains the three-pronged theoretical framework of this study, namely critical political economy of the media, theories of news production and cultural studies. Chapter Three outlines the methods used in this study. Chapter Four presents the findings of this study. Chapter Five analyses negative, positive and mixed representations of Africa that abound in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*, with focus on the sources, language and visual images used. Chapter Six concludes this study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

Introduction

This study is situated within a framework that combines aspects of critical political economy of the media, theories of news production and cultural studies. These are intrinsic aspects in the analysis of media representation and will assist this study in systematically analysing representations of Africa.

Hesmondhalgh (2007) places cultural studies and critical political economy of the media as opposing media approaches. The former is mainly concerned with the production of culture, with particular focus on social power and its impact on society (Dahlgren 1997; Golding and Murdock 2000; Hesmondhalgh 2007). However, this focus has attracted critics such as Golding and Murdock (2000:72), who point out that

cultural studies offers an analysis of the way the cultural industries work that has little or nothing to say about how they actually operate as industries, and how their economic organisation impinges on the production and circulation of meaning.

Hence, critical political economy of the media must also be utilised here, as it offers an overall understanding of the political and economic structures that inform cultural production (Fourie 2001). Baran and Davis add that in analysing social institutions, this theory probes “the extent to which valued objectives are sought and achieved” (2003:225). Chomsky (2003) further asserts that these objectives affect the construction of media messages. It therefore becomes necessary to also consider theories of news production in this research.

Theories of news production are useful in providing explanations of the choices and processes of the construction of news, which is the primary focus of this study (Seaton 1997). Tuchman explains that news is not simply a presentation of information by

journalists; ‘rather they can be seen to literally ‘produce’ the news in the context of organisational and other social frameworks” (2002:78). McChesney (2000) further elaborates that one cannot research media messages only; it is necessary to delve deeper and look at the interaction of society and political and economic structures.

The business model that the media works within has relevance to this research, and is a dimension of all three theories that this study uses as a framework for analysis. In considering ownership of news media and business interests, external and internal factors influencing news production and finally, representation, the three theories provide a complementary framework upon which to develop this study. This framework then serves to provide a holistic and exploratory study into contemporary representations of Africa. The review of the theoretical literature will be embedded within the theoretical framework.

2.1 Critical political economy of the media

Mosco (1996) and McChesney (2003) explain critical political economy of the media as entailing the examination of the control of the mass media, with focus on media ownership, the media market and commercial support and how they shape or influence processes of representation. Hesmondhalgh (2007) further explains that critical political economy of the media analyses media messages within culture as a product both created and consumed within capitalism.

Therefore, this approach primarily focuses on the media’s role as an industry and business (Williams 2003). Herman and McChesney further argue that “capitalists control the media and they do so to maximise profits” (1997). Profit is the basis of the business model that contemporary media operates within - they manufacture products to sell to a certain audience, with the aim of making a profit (Picard 1989; Curran 2000b; Chomsky 2003). This business model aligns with the ideals of a capitalist economic system. Hence, it can be seen that the content created within this system may be shaped by corporate interests (Shah 2003), which further links to the impact of ideology on news

production. Ideology refers to the “knowledges and representations characteristic of or in the interests of a class” (O’Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery and Fiske 1994:139).

Ideology is a critical research area, as media industries and organisations deal in symbolic goods that enter into and impact upon society (Herman and Chomsky 1988; Cottle 2003). Chambers further highlights that “this means that journalists’ products, ‘news’ and investigative reports, are increasingly treated as commodities and judged by their potential to make profits” (2000:93). Therefore, this influences the creation of media products, especially the representations that circulate, as the media now upholds both an ideological and economic role in society (Gandy 1997). Picard explains that media companies aim to satisfactorily meet the needs of

- 1) media owners, the individuals or stockholders who own media outlets; 2) audiences, those who view, listen to, or read media content; 3) advertisers, those who purchase time or space to convey messages to audiences; and 4) media employees, those who work for the firms (1989:9).

Accordingly, media ownership of the three magazines will be explored as part of the critical political economy of the media framework, with the role of media employees in constructing meaning and representations considered under theories of news production. Audience reception of the three magazines does not form a focal point of this research and will not be considered.

2.1.1 Media ownership and control

Schiller argues that “corporate influence pervades nearly every aspect of society” (2000:101). Furthermore, Dearing and Rogers (1996) and Bagdikian (2000) postulate that the attention given to an issue by the media often indicates the power of certain individuals or organisations over the news process. These observations raise the issue of the impact of corporate ownership of the media on its content, which Curran explains as developing through its “large degree of control over operations, the recruitment and reward of cultural labour and, ultimately, media content” (2000a:26). Herman and

Chomsky uphold that “money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public” (1988:2). In looking at media ownership, critical political economy of the media analyses and critiques the organisational structure of the media and the impact it has on the product disseminated (Golding and Murdock 2000). For businesses based in capitalist, free-market systems, maximum production output and the profit gained from that output are their main ideals (Dunleavy and O’Leary 1987; Heywood 2002). These systems have impacted upon both the structure of media production and journalistic autonomy, which will be further developed under theories of news production. Critical political economy of the media is concerned with the broader structures of media production; the “wider relations of power in which the media are situated” (Curran 2000b:125).

The funding of media corporations also has significant impact on their output (Fourie 2001). As Harris observes: “News media, whether national or international, are in the almost unique position of being concerned solely with the business of describing the world” (1981:34). As the theories of news production will show, the organisational structure of a media company informs its output. Fourie links this to the ideological power of the media, which is “mainly vested in those who own the media and who have the financial means to own and manage the media” (2001:122). Hence, various political and economic connections that media companies have must be considered, along with the source/s of funding received. In this instance, funding is mainly obtained through subscriptions to the magazines, as well as advertising income. Income from advertisers wields a significant amount of power upon content, as Louw explains:

More importantly, within commercial news organisations, newsroom practices are necessarily entangled with the needs of the advertising department, not because of direct advertiser pressure upon editors (although such pressure may occur), but because commercial media have to collect, package and deliver audiences to advertisers. The task of any editor in a commercial medium is to generate and package the sort of material that will appeal to the audience that advertisers are interested in (2001:158).

This facet of the construction of news will be looked at more closely under theories of news production.

2.1.2 African media ownership and control

A relevant media ownership example in this research is that of *Financial Mail*. As it is a South African publication, the historical impact of African media systems must be considered. Kariithi (1994) writes that African media systems have been inherited from the colonial era, a point which Nyamnjoh (2005a) presents as a critical foundation for any research into the state of African media.

Many theorists (see Legum 1971; Bourgault 1995; Ngugi 1995; Mbennah, Hooyberg and Mersham 1998; Nyamnjoh 2005) reiterate Kariithi's (1994) point on the inherited nature of Africa's media systems. Upon independence, most African countries took over where the colonial government had left off (Kareithi 2005). Hence, power structures and organisational issues shifted ownership and remained in place (Strelitz 2005). However, Africa features tremendous cultural varieties - the power structures and organisational issues that remained did not present a diverse enough approach for the countries of the continent (Okigbo 2000; Nyamnjoh 2005a).

Upon independence, African governments implemented media systems that they had been exposed to under colonial rule, where governments had generally funded and controlled the media, and focused specifically on creating national unity and promoting development (Legum 1971; Kariithi 1994). In doing so, the media became the mobilising force behind the new African governments, which has led to a significant contrast in African media systems today (Ocitti 1999). This dimension of the critical political economy of the media will be elaborated upon when discussing the political factors of news production, as African media ownership and control is closely informed by past historical and political elements. Whereas critical political economy of the media considers the relationship between media production and media messages (Inglis 1990), it

does not consider the actual production of messages, which theories of news production examine.

2.2 Theories of news production

Curran (2000a:21) labels theories of news production as a “sister-discipline” to critical political economy of the media, as they consider media structures as part of society, focusing on political, economic, organisational and professional elements affecting news production (McNair 1998; Schudson 2000). News production is therefore a process of representing reality. The various actors in the process include news organisations, management, journalists and the sources they choose to use in their stories. Theories of news production is an especially important theory to utilise within this research, as “this is where news sources, news reporters, news organisation editors and the competing demands of professionalism, the market-place and cultural traditions collect around specific choices of what news to report and how to report it” (Schudson 2000:175), further indicating that news is always a process of selection and construction (Tuchman 1978; Louw 2001; Manning 2001).

2.2.1 Political factors

McNair (1998) states that journalists should ideally be free agents and go about representing reality without constraints. However, some political factors exist which present “a certain amount of regulation, control and constraint” upon this profession, thereby impacting upon the process of news production (McNair 1998:82). These factors are determined by the type of political system in place in a country. Today, much of the world aligns with the ideals of a liberal democracy, namely a capitalist, market-based economy, with much focus on meeting the interests of each individual within society through a representative government (Dunleavy and O’Leary 1987; Heywood 2002). This focus on the individual is carried through to the media and its roles and functions within this system, which “implies a low degree of political control of the media and a high degree of tolerance amongst political elites for the unwelcome and critical things

which journalists in such a system will write and say” (McNair 1998:84). Furthermore, the media is also an independent player in the market-based economy, thereby ensuring that it remains independent from government interference (Curran 2000b).

However, Mills and Hughes (2002) state that Africa today faces a challenge brought about by its colonial history and transition to independence. Kariithi (1994), Kew (2005), Nyamnjoh (2005b) and Pham (2005) agree, further pointing to the current state of African media and democracy. Nwanko (2000) points out that the media fills a critical role in society, in extending the scope and promoting the viability of various political discourses. This role falls in line with the functions of the media – to inform, educate, persuade, entertain and act as a societal watchdog (de Beer 1989; Baran & Davis 2003).

Legum (1971) supports this, explaining that there is a correlation between the structure of society and the state of its media. Under colonial rule, dictatorships were established – single, one-party rule with no competition or opposing voices allowed (Heywood 2002). Consequently, the colonial governments funded and controlled the media, leading to a lack of press freedom and diversity (Legum 1971; Kariithi 1994). However, since independence, many African countries claim to have become democracies, where strong, stable political institutions and the full participation of citizens in the “political, social and economic life” of a country are merged (Pereira & Shenga 2005:125). Heywood (2002) further elaborates, explaining that public participation in government and a focus on governing in the public interest are the foundations of a democracy. Consequently, if a country ascribes to the structures of a democracy, it will encourage a free, outspoken, independent press (Legum 1971; Randall 1993; Kariithi 2005). Hence, within a democracy, interference with press freedom is viewed as an interference with free, unaffected dissemination of truth (Stokke 1971).

Upon independence, African governments focused upon creating national unity and promoting development, and they did so within the media structures they knew best; those of their colonisers (Legum 1971; Kariithi 1994; Kareithi 2005; Strelitz 2005). Langa (2006) reiterates this in writing that African governments saw control as the only

means to success. While this control is no longer seen in the African country focused upon here, South Africa, it is necessary to note that the Western world shares a relevant political history with Africa, which will be considered further when discussing the representation of the continent in the media. Kupe (2005:194) emphasises this connection by asking: “What are the relationships between African media and global media? Do African media take their cue from the global media or vice versa?” implying that the issues of the past are still applicable. It is therefore necessary to consider the parallels, if any, between the media output of different regions, especially those that have a historical connection, as is seen here.

Time, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail* are American, European and South African publications, respectively. All three regions today align with the ideals of a liberal democracy (Dunleavy and O’Leary 1987; Heywood 2002). As all three magazines are owned by private companies, no state intervention should be seen regarding their content (McNair 1998). However, Hardt (2000) notes that state intervention is no longer the main problem – a necessary focus now is the relationship between political and economic structures. Therefore, intervention and influence can be observed in a different manner, through the economic structures and framework that these companies operate within.

2.2.2 Economic factors

According to Compaine (2001), economic factors play a key role in informing decisions made by media organisations. As these organisations function within a capitalist marketplace, their main objective is profit. Bagdikian (2000:xxv) highlights “the increasing insertion of a news company’s own business goals as a selection factor in what news the readers will be permitted to see – or not see” as a main economic factor of news production. Media companies today have many business interests, inevitably causing content produced and disseminated by them to conflict with other business interests (Shoemaker and Reese 1991; Golding and Murdock 1997; Chambers 2000). However, in seeking to obtain maximum profit, media companies must cater for as large an audience as possible, thereby obtaining their profit, which is done through subscriptions and

advertising (Fourie 2001). Herman and Chomsky posit that “the successful media today are fully attuned to the crucial importance of audience “quality”” (1988:16). This measure of the audience is necessary in order to garner enough of the preferred type of advertisers, especially in this instance, where all three magazines have a strong subscription base and powerful advertisers catering for a primarily elite, educated market (McNair 1998). Furthermore, Burton (2005) names advertising as a critical economic factor impacting upon the construction of news today. In calling the relationship between media organisations and advertisers “symbiotic”, Burton explains that this relationship “leads to questions about how far media texts represent the interests of advertisers and the ideology of the marketplace” (2005:18). The adjustment of journalistic practices to accommodate the corporate interests of media companies fall under organisational and professional factors of news production.

2.2.3 Organisational and professional factors

Murdock (2000) names the managerial and editorial staff of a news organisation as pivotal players in the process of news construction. These staff members are affected not only by broader political and economic factors, but also by their organisations’ vested business practices. Allan explains that “the resultant ‘profit orientation’ of these organisations, many of which are under intense pressure from stockholders, directors and bankers to focus on ‘the bottom line’, is a further key aspect of this filter shaping news coverage” (1999:58). Furthermore, Schudson (2000) points out that methods of news gathering and construction constrain the various media messages that are produced. While journalists have a certain amount of autonomy, Gans (1980) notes that news producers can never be completely objective; some form of influence will inform decisions made when choosing and constructing news. Hence, McCombs asks “how much of what is available to local readers is determined by the traditions, practices, and beliefs of journalists, regardless of the ownership structure?” (1988:129). Various news production tools are applicable.

2.2.3.1 News selection

Firstly, in selecting and rejecting news stories, the element of bias is introduced. Bias in news production refers to the slanted or one-sided presentation of information, as well as the various personal perceptions that are held by media workers (Watson and Hill 2000). One way in which bias continuously forms part of media messages is through news values. Media organisations abide by certain news values that assist in determining what information will be disseminated to their audience. This is also known as the process of gatekeeping (Shoemaker and Reese 1991). Golding and Murdock further explain news values as “guidelines for the presentation of items, suggesting what to emphasise, what to omit, and where to give priority in the preparation of the items for presentation to the audience” (1997:495).

Galtung and Ruge (Hartley 1982; Allan 1999) have determined that these values include: frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations/persons, personalisation and negativity. These form the criteria a news story should have in order to be selected for dissemination (McNair 1998). However, O’Sullivan et al (1994:202-203) argue that within the structure of these news values, priority is still given to “stories about the economy, governmental politics, industry, foreign affairs of state, domestic affairs,” especially those with a negative angle and involving elite players. McQuail (2000) thus postulates that certain events will be focused upon by the media, thereby implying that others will be ignored. McNair further posits that “... if news values can be viewed as an expression of social values, then the news values prevailing in liberal democratic societies refer to a world which is ethnocentric, elite-orientated and focused on ‘negative happenings’” (1998:79).

Shoemaker (1997) also links news values to the actual message of the selected event, asserting that once selected, certain aspects of a message are retained, whilst others are omitted. In this manner, news values are first used as selection criteria for the events and are then replaced by frames, which assist in structuring the stories for the audience

(Tuchman 1978; Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson 1992). Tuchman (1978) and White (1997) assert that media organisations, and more specifically, the journalists producing the news stories, use frames to further categorise news. Gitlin (1980:6) explains frames as “principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters.” The repeated use of frames in constructing news stories eventually leads to a ‘natural’ process of selection and omission of information pertaining to that type of story, indicating that certain constructions will continually be perpetuated. Frames relevant to this research include the placing of stories on Africa within the magazines, the type of events reported on, the timeliness of the event, the sources informing the reporting and the various themes and representations inherent in the reporting (Tuchman 1978; Hartley 1982; Oosthuizen 2001).

2.2.3.2 Agenda-setting

Semetko (2004) further notes that the most prominent news issues become the most prominent public opinion issues, emphasising the media’s role as a significant connection between individuals and society. This is called agenda-setting. Dearing and Rogers (1996) point out that the attention given to an issue by the media often indicates the power of certain individuals or organisations over the news process. Therefore, despite news being a global commodity, some events will rarely become news, and if they do, they will be framed in a specific manner (Manning 2001; Newbold, Boyd-Barrett and Van den Bulck 2002).

It can thus be seen that through their coverage, the media creates and informs ideas and interpretations of events for their audience (Steinberg 1994). Croteau and Hoynes (2003) also note that the news media covers extraordinary events, rather than issues, indicating that news coverage is very simple and fragmented, rather than in-depth, investigative and continuous, as coverage of significant events would ideally require. Often, the events covered reflect the importance placed upon them by the media as news creators.

These changes in news production have ultimately impacted upon the individual journalist's autonomy within their profession. This has led Curran to comment that:

... journalists and other media workers have very little independence or security and are even less likely to oppose management decisions and editorial lines. Thus the long-term effect of organisational changes has most likely been a decline in the autonomy of media employees (2000a:34).

Hence, McChesney (2001) argues that journalism is very rarely neutral and free of bias, as it tends to “volley within the walls of elite opinion and call that neutrality.” In doing so, certain views are highlighted and continuously reiterated, whereas other viewpoints are either downplayed or ignored (Doyle 2002), which introduces sources as another key dimension in the construction of news.

2.2.4 Sources

Manning places the sources used in news production as a critical area of research, explaining that

... central to the study of news sources is an understanding of the way in which both structures and dynamic social practices shape the flow of information generated by news source activity and the needs of news organisations. The power relations shaping information flows between news sources and news organisations involve both instrumental and structural dimensions but their analysis has to be located in specific historical contexts (2001:49).

Soloski argues that sources informing news “are drawn from the existing power structure; therefore, news tends to support the status quo” (1997:144). McNair (1998), Curran (2000a) and Davies (2008) further support this in observing that the majority of news sources are institutional and belong to elite groups within society, which form part of the authoritative domain within which many issues that are reported upon in the media fall (Gurevitch and Blumler 2000). In this way, the dominant ideology of the society will continually be perpetuated, which Gurevitch and Blumler (2000) also categorise as a subtle method of control used by media organisations to further their interests. Consequently, “certain sources have the power to set some of the media's agenda, and

certain media have the power to set some of the public's agenda. The two processes are inextricably linked" (van Ginneken 1998:87).

Hall, Crichter, Jefferson, Clarke and Roberts (1978), Allan (1999) and Schudson (2003) note that the more powerful the source, the more likely it will be used in the news production process. Consequently, sources most utilised include those with authority, credibility and those who are easily available (MacGregor 1997; van Ginneken 1998). These are usually government and expert sources, by virtue of their being "recognisable and credible by their status and prestige" (Herman and Chomsky 1988:19), which indicates that the audience will place more trust in their opinions. In being easily available, these sources also ensure that they become the most utilised voice on news events, further supporting Manning's observation that "journalists claim objectivity by faithfully reporting what other people say" (2001:69). As a result, the majority of sources are either official sources or experts of some sort, namely government officials and spokespersons, as well as academics, policymakers and others deemed to be experts in a specific field (van Ginneken 1998; Allan 1999; Louw 2001). Hall et al (1978:59) label these as the "primary definers" of news. Furthermore, Manning (2001) highlights the relationship between journalists and sources, implying that the constant use of certain sources creates a powerful frame within which news is constructed and circulated.

MacGregor (1997) and Winsbury (2000) further note that in repeatedly using the same sources, certain representations are perpetuated, especially as they become dominant within media messages. Hence, another process of gatekeeping is noted, as sources either assist or restrict the flow of information through the paths they manage, which in turn affects the introduction of certain information into the media (Shoemaker 1991). This emphasises the impact of professional factors of news production upon the process of news creation. These factors assist in creating media messages, which have been shown to be constructions of reality. These constructions form the final facet of the theoretical framework of this study – cultural studies.

2.3 Cultural studies

Garnham (1997), Lemon (2001) and Milner (2002) explain cultural studies as focusing on construction of meaning and more broadly, on the power relations that inform this process. Therefore, identity, especially representation, is a dominant focus of this theory (Dahlgren 1997; O’Leary 2007). In focusing on the social construction of meaning, this study will only utilise certain foci of cultural studies, namely representation and broader societal power relations. It is in this manner that cultural studies departs from the more critical focus of critical political economy of the media and theories of news production. Mosco (1996:247) explains this theory as a “broad-based intellectual movement which concentrates on the constitution of meaning in texts,” which Dahlgren (1997:54) further supports when emphasising that meaning is “embodied in social institutions and practices,” through the process of representation.

2.3.1 Representation

McQueen explains representation as being an “image, likeness or reproduction of something in the ‘real’ world. It may be an object, person, group or event that has been *re-presented*, or *mediated* in some way” (1998:139). These images, of people, events and society, become various representations that are created and maintained by the media, in the form of media texts, or messages (Du Plooy 2001; Williams 2003). As representations are constructed, Manning further argues that they are not accurate, mirror reflections of reality, but instead, develop from processes of construction and “fabrication” (2001:50). It follows that representations are never completely accurate (Hilton and von Hippel 1996; Ferguson 1998). Furthermore, these constructions of understanding can become implicit in the general ideas that the public holds about certain arenas of the world (Ruotolo 1988; Schlesinger 1991; Hilton and von Hippel 1996). The types of constructions focused upon in this study include the selection of issues for reporting, language and visual images.

Ferguson postulates that these constructions lead to the circulation of inaccurate representations, which result from “a production system that oversupplies negative images of minority group members” (1998:159). These inaccurate representations are viewed and applied as being typical and natural, enabling them to circulate within society, through the use of frames and framing (Curran 1996; Hilton and von Hippel 1996; Grossberg, Wartella and Whitney 2006). Croteau and Hoynes maintain that it is necessary to investigate how representations differ from reality, especially as “white, middle- and upper-class men have historically controlled the media industry, and media content has largely reflected their perspectives on the world” (1997:133). In doing so, Croteau and Hoynes (1997) emphasise that representation must always be considered within its broader framework; as the result of a production process. This emphasis further supports the choice of the three theories that inform this study.

2.3.2 Language

Rigney notes that representation both constructs and directs “our view of the world with the help of language” (2007:415). Consequently, a critical mode of representation, thus, construction, considered in this study is that of language. Steinberg explains this as “a unified system of signs that permits a sharing of meaning” (1994:48). The words that create language are signs; they are the “written representations of sounds that people have agreed will stand for something else” (Steinberg 1994:48), thereby creating a significant communicator of meaning and beliefs (Jalbert 1983). Sonderling (1996) maintains that this communication is never a neutral process, as meaning is always produced by someone, for someone and says something about someone, indicating that meaning via language both includes and excludes information (Corner 1983). Choi elaborates, pointing out that “metaphors, catch phrases, depictions, and naming ... can all be used to evoke images and increase the salience or intensity of a particular characteristic” (2004:31).

In focusing upon these communication tools, the relevance of the language used by sources is also emphasised. Sources also work within certain structures, indicating that

their contribution to a media text is also a construction; a representation of their respective owner (Boyd-Barrett 2007). Hall et al (1978) explain the power of language in forming recurrent themes and representations around a subject as falling within the use of widespread cultural and social ideas. By utilising these ideas consistently through language and meaning, a frame of reference is created around a topic, which furthers the societal acceptance of such a representation and reinforces widely held views on a subject (Hall et al 1978; Louw 2001; Moritz 2008). Furthermore, in presenting information obtained from sources, the media plays a “secondary role in *reproducing* the definitions of those who have privileged access” to information (Hall et al 1978:59). Consequently, the language of the coverage will be focused upon as distributors of representations of Africa.

2.3.3 Visual images

This study also finds it necessary to analyse visual images, including photographs and political cartoons. Rojek maintains that “we live in the culture of the image...they are attached to chains of connotation through which cultural distortion can be applied” (2007:108). As media texts, visual images are also constructed representations of reality, which again allow for the inclusion, exclusion and perpetuation of information to take place (Rogoff 1998). However, visual constructions of reality emphasise the ideas that inform the final image, most notably their historical, cultural and organisational backgrounds (Wright 1999; Greenberg 2002). These backgrounds introduce further realms of representation that must be considered.

Greenberg argues that images present readers with “condensed claims or mini-narratives about putative “problem” conditions and draw upon, and reinforce, taken-for-granted meanings of the world” (2002:182). This assumed knowledge is especially relevant when considering political cartoons, as the cartoonist assumes the reader is aware of certain past events and is therefore able to interpret the humour of the cartoon successfully (Greenberg 2002). Visual images that accompany written texts also work on the assumption that the reader is aware of past events, as representation and meaning do

not work in isolation; one informs the other, enabling the successful understanding of the text (Bal 1994). Hence, images, graphics and visuals accompanying the selected articles will also be included in this analysis. When focusing on these tools of the construction of meaning, various types of representations may be found.

2.3.4 A typology of representation

As Manning previously argued, representation develops from processes of construction and “fabrication” (2001:50). These processes do not necessarily produce negative representations – both positive and more neutral, or mixed representations do exist and are circulated throughout the media (Hall 1997c). This study aims to highlight this spectrum of representation, as seen within reports on Africa.

2.3.4.1 Negative frames of meaning

Negative depictions of reality are commonly referred to as stereotypes. These are usually negative frames of groups, geographic locations and ideas in the world (Fourie and Karam 2001; O’Sullivan, Dutton and Rayner 2003). Beller further labels stereotypes as “a lens in which to focus other topics” (2007:432), indicating their broad inclusiveness of group characteristics. However, a limitation of many studies on representation is their narrow focus on seeking out specific, negative, stereotypes of representation. Paterson points this out: “The inclination to report Africa, and the developing world in general, only in terms of bizarre and unrepresentative events has been well catalogued” (1994:15). Furthermore, Ruotolo writes that “all media tend to present highly similar coverage of the same few images and events” (1988:125). Accordingly, it can be seen that media messages always present a specific viewpoint and interpretation of a situation, and thus, the world, which is not necessarily always negative (Storey 1998:5), due to the use of frames that are inherent in the news production process, which were initially discussed under theories of news production.

Hawk notes that when reporting Africa, "... journalists also seek out a *big five* through their lenses: poverty, famine, corruption, tribalism and, AIDS" (1994:3). Similar conclusions have been reached by most studies on this topic. However, Murphy (2000) argues that traditional foreign representations of Africa are now visible within African depictions of Africa. Furthermore, Thackway (2003) names the reproduction of especially Western stereotypes as the main issue within locally produced work. Some representations include the idea that Africa is a have-not continent, and thus a failure, as well as viewing African culture as primitive, backward and insignificant (Hawk 1992; Fanon 1994; Thackway 2003). These depictions widely support the idea that Africa is a 'dark continent', referring to the skin colour of some inhabitants, as well as their alleged ignorance of Western ways (Haynes 1958; Hawk 1992; Murphy 2000). Coombes (1985) further explains that this idea has led to Africans being viewed as a spectacle, as they are allegedly more animal than human in nature. All these common representations combine to form an unrealistic view of Africa and Africans as the 'other' (Dunn 1996; Hall 1997a). Ebo (1992) and Hall (1997b) support this conclusion in their summation that foreign media generally portray negative images of Africa, as their cultural values are broadly seen to be superior to African cultural values. This has ultimately led to a dominance of representations of Africa that often bear little resemblance to reality (Hawk 1992; Thackway 2003).

2.3.4.2 Positive frames of meaning

Berenstein (2002) notes that while much focus is often given to negative frames of meaning, positive frames also exist and so require inclusion in this study. This form of representation often allows for more accurate constructions of meaning to circulate within the media, simply by utilising more positive attributes and aspects to represent 'reality' (Dyer 1993). However, it is necessary to be aware of the nature of representation and note that even positive frames of meaning can be inaccurate and distorted and so serve to perpetuate incorrect ideas, as negative frames of meaning are often assumed to do (Lichtenberg 2000). Positive frames of meaning ideally present a positive construction of reality, thereby completely opposing negative frames of meaning.

2.3.4.3 Mixed frames of meaning

These representations include those that are both positive and negative, within the same text. In presenting both sides of the spectrum, the broad representations viewed under this heading are mixed. This study chooses to focus on the range of representations of Africa, including negative, positive and mixed depictions. Shohat and Stam subsequently posit that “the sensitivity around stereotypes and distortions largely arises, then, from the powerlessness of historically marginalised groups to control their own representation” (1994:184). Interestingly, the historical connection between Africa and the rest of the world has been discussed, with an emphasis on questioning whether the continent’s history plays a role in its current representations in the media. Mixed representations can be based on the past, and use past events to inform present, more positive representations.

2.3.5 Representations of Africa

Much research has been undertaken on the representation of Africa in the media. However, this research tends to focus on only one facet of this representation – either local or foreign representations. Research done by Segal (1976), Ebo (1992), Hawk (1992), Hultman (1992), Pieterse (1992), Fair (1994), Michira (2002), Franks (2005) and Riesz (2007) outline overall trends in media portrayals of Africa, with focus on broadly negative stereotypical depictions of the continent. Print media has been looked at by Haynes (1958), Galtung and Ruge (1965), Onu (1979), El Zein and Cooper (1992), Beattie, Miller, Miller and Philo (1999) and Ndlela (2005), but magazines have received very little focus (Domatob 1994). This is an interesting omission within print media, as magazines generally offer a different reporting style compared to newspapers, which presents an interesting comparison for research in the field.

Research undertaken by Domatob (1994) and Ndlela (2005) present the most relevant construct for analysing representation. Domatob (1994) analyses representations of Africa in *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines from August 1989 to August 1991. This research is a rare example of an analysis of the representation of Africa in magazines.

The categories of analysis implemented in this study align with general stereotypes found in reporting on Africa. Both the categories of ‘crisis and disaster’ and ‘politics and government’ are found to be dominant in *Newsweek* and *Time*, respectively. As the two categories overlap and at times, inform one another, this study chooses to utilise a ‘politics’ theme, which includes the issues and implications that would fall under Domatob’s (1994) two separate themes. Another category of analysis used in Domatob’s (1994) study is that of ‘trade and diplomacy’. This has been named as ‘economics’ in this study, which encompasses issues of both trade and diplomacy, as well as any further implications within this field. A final theme of HIV/AIDS is also included in this study, allowing for the analysis of the ‘disease’ stereotype surrounding Africa (Hawk 1994).

Ndlela (2005) considers the representation of the Zimbabwean crisis in Norwegian newspapers. He analyses reports within specific categories that highlight prominent features of the current crisis in the country. In doing so, he finds that typical negative representations are utilised. He further bases his findings upon elements of journalism, such as the language and sources used in the stories. These aspects of representation are incorporated into this study, through a consistent focus on the language used in coverage of Africa and specific focus on the sources utilised. However, Ndlela’s (2005) study neglects to consider images and the additional representations they offer. This study includes this in its analysis of the coverage of Africa in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*.

2.3.6 Power relations

The selection and use of certain language and visual images over others points to power relations that exist within the media (Jalbert 1983). Gitlin states that “the production of news is a system of power” (1980:251). Kareithi (2001) postulates that problems with representation commonly exist where there are large power inequalities, thereby creating and placing certain frames of reality against a subordinate group. Therefore, these constructions inform representations of subordinate groups; in this instance, Africa (Branston and Stafford 1999).

In using these preferred frames, representations are seen to exist within a hegemonic structure, which Gitlin explains as a “historical process in which one picture of the world is systematically preferred over others, usually through practical routines and at times through extraordinary measures” (1980:257). Interestingly, Finkelstein (2007) notes that while this process is maintained, it also presents the opportunity for alternative frames of meaning to join the process and present another view of an issue. Jalbert (1983) and Hall (2003) name societal ideologies as the main reason that this shift does not occur regularly.

These ideologies inform the relationships people have with their culture and society and ultimately, to their reality (Heck 1980). The ideologies that one aligns with inform one’s ideas of meaning, through representation, which Hall (1997a) and Kareithi (2001) argue is necessary in order to make sense of the world. However, Williams (2003) points out that while necessary, representation actually aids in restricting one’s view of the world. Fair explains:

In telling a ‘story’, the news media retell and reinterpret versions of that particular story as told by other powerful social and political institutions. The newsmaking process is inherently ideological in that media help to create and reproduce certain dominant notions of reality (1994:35).

These representations are often replicated throughout worldwide media, as Domatob (1994) and Ndlela (2005) have shown. Therefore, information and images that have been produced in one part of the world join a global flow that minimises and amends perceived cultural differences between people and societies (Mattelart 1994; Heywood 2002). In this manner, representations are not only versions of reality but are also ideologies themselves, according them an immense amount of power within society (Fiske 1991). As Hall observes: “Representation connects meaning and language to culture” (1997c:15).

2.4 Conclusion

The choice of theories for this study demonstrates that the main issue focused upon here, representation, will be critiqued from a macro to a micro perspective. Hence, representation has been shown to stem from and require various facets of these theories, enabling this study to present a well-rounded approach to the representation of Africa in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*. The methods of analysis, which follow, also incorporate the various strengths and weaknesses of these theories in their approach to analysing representations.

Chapter Three

Methods

Introduction

This study conceives media content as representations of reality. This study will therefore utilise a qualitative methodological approach, which is appropriate to studying media content as representations and not as an empirical reflection of reality. However, quantitative content analysis will be used as a stepping stone to make qualitative judgments about media content.

3.1 Quantitative and qualitative content analysis

Quantitative approaches enumerate and qualitative research methods explain (Terre Blanche, Kelly and Durrheim 2006), indicating that a study's findings are always strengthened when employing triangulating methods (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock 1999). Hansen, Cottle, Negrine and Newbold broadly explain this combination of methods within content analysis:

Content analyses count occurrences of specified dimensions *and* they analyse the *relationships* between these dimensions. Although content analysis initially fragments texts down into constituent parts which can be counted, it re-assembles these constituent parts at the analysis and interpretation stage to examine which ones co-occur in which contexts, for what purposes, and with what implications (1998:98).

This combination of methods is therefore ideal for this type of research, as the possible reasons behind the representations of Africa is a focal point. Hansen et al further support the use of qualitative content analysis for this research, explaining that it is inherent in “studies of media organisations, media professionals, sources of media information, and, generally, the production of news and other media content” (1998:94). Therefore, these

methods incorporate focal points of the theoretical framework that informs this research – critical political economy of the media, theories of news production and cultural studies.

3.2 Using qualitative content analysis

The choice of media considered in this research includes articles from three weekly magazines; *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*. The time period considered was 16 months, from July 2007 – October 2008. The three magazines analysed are published on a weekly basis, therefore, the content analysed was selected from a universe of approximately 192 magazine issues.

3.2.1 Selection of articles for analysis

This study utilises all articles on Africa within the three chosen magazines, with only the ‘Inbox’ (in *Time*) and ‘Letters’ (in *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*) sections excluded from this sample. These sections were omitted as they are public opinion pieces, which usually do not correspond to the news selection and production techniques implemented with the rest of the magazine content.

As *Financial Mail* is a South African publication, further selection guidelines were implemented around this magazine, as it obviously featured many more articles on African politics, economics and the African HIV/AIDS situation than both *Time* and *The Economist*. Therefore, the selection of articles from this magazine was based upon those selected from *Time* and *The Economist*. If particular focus upon an issue or event was observed within these two magazines, then articles from *Financial Mail* with the same initial focus were analysed alongside those identified within the two foreign magazines. Furthermore, articles selected dealt with issues that are not unique to South Africa; thereby ensuring that the rest of Africa was not excluded in the content chosen from this magazine. This ensured that the bulk of articles selected from this magazine are not focused solely on South Africa. While *Financial Mail* may still provide the bulk of

articles on African economic events in this analysis, it is necessary to note that this magazine has not been researched within the following frames of analysis before.

3.2.2 Selection of themes for analysis

The analytical process implemented in this study first grouped the articles into specific themes: politics, economics and HIV/AIDS. These themes include articles on the following issues:

- **Politics:** Reporting on Africa generally tends to either focus on or incorporate an aspect of the relevant political situation. Therefore, articles included in this theme include reports on governments, governance, corruption, elections, unrest, conflict and war. It is a relevant focus within the study of representations as it features significant explanations around Africa's situation as a developing continent in a widely developed world, and as such, holds definite interest for the readers of *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*.
- **Economics:** This theme includes reports on events that take place within the economic realm of the country concerned, or are directly tied to the economic impact resulting from another event. Investments, trade interests and opportunities and further growth opportunities, as well as economically significant consequences from often political events are often viewed as economically relevant events, especially for the readers these magazines target. This theme primarily focuses on feature articles focused on these economic aspects, indicating that company reports, financial statements and economic indicators do not form part of this theme.
- **HIV/AIDS:** One of the most widely covered African issues of late; HIV/AIDS is generally misrepresented, with only a few facets of this very relevant issue disseminated by the media. As the spread of HIV/AIDS presents major problems for both the political and economic structures of African countries, this issue is a relevant

one for the readers of these magazines. Therefore, articles on HIV/AIDS or the implications thereof are included in this theme.

It can therefore be seen that the three themes are somewhat interrelated, presenting both a site of common misrepresentations of Africa within the media, as well as a platform where such misrepresentations may result in a loss of readers, as the content is assumed to be significant to the audience catered for by these magazines.

The articles that were analysed were initially identified through headlines, which either focused on or referred to the identified themes. The introductions for the articles were then used to verify that the articles qualify for analysis. Thereafter, the number of articles within each theme was counted. Semiotic analysis was then used to analyse the articles and any accompanying images within each theme and determine how Africa is represented.

3.2.3 Semiotic analysis

Bertrand and Hughes (2005) argue that meaning always presents two interrelated levels of interpretation; denotation and connotation. Denotation refers to the literal meaning of something, whereas connotative meaning looks beyond the literal, seeking to interpret further (Watson and Hill 2000). Both Deacon et al (1999) and Bignell (2002) note that semiotic analysis assists in identifying certain conventions and depictions that may be found in a text, which is an essential feature of qualitative content analysis, as “this approach is concerned with the deeper meaning of the message. The method is concerned, not with manifest content, but with structural relationships of representations in texts” (Gunter 2000:83). These structural relationships inform the underlying implications of the latent content found within a media text, which semiotic analysis focuses on deconstructing (Bignell 2002; Chandler 2007).

Therefore, semiotic categories of denotation and connotation, and their role within greater systems of meaning and representation within society are focused on in this

analysis (Sonderling 1996; Bertrand and Hughes 2005; Chandler 2007). Tuchman states that media texts are “replete with symbols of the society which shaped them, and which they, in turn, reshape and reassert” (2002:81). These symbols form part of the ideological structure of society, which van Dijk (1998) asserts informs media messages. Hence, semiotic analysis enables this study to focus especially on connotations within the texts, allowing for the ideological influence upon media representations to be highlighted. This is especially suited for image analysis, which is included here. In this manner, trends and patterns of coverage and representation within reports on a specific region, country, event or leader are noted and critiqued. Overall, information selected, emphasised, repeated and sourced within the articles receive focus. In this manner, a critical analysis of the language and sources used within the articles was undertaken. The six source categories of analysis have been drawn from previous research and include:

- Experts: This category includes sources that are specifically labelled as experts in a particular field.
- Official body / Company: This category includes sources that are located within institutions and companies and play a role in the political, economic and HIV/AIDS arenas.
- Government / Political parties: This category includes sources that fall within the political realm of a country as either a member of government or political party.
- Academics: This category includes sources that are labelled as academics, focusing on a particular field. This has been included as a category as academics are distinguished as separate from experts within the articles and so require distinction in this study.
- Citizens: This category includes citizens of a country that do not form part of the political or economic elite.
- Unknown: This includes sources that have chosen to have their names withheld in the articles.

Images, graphics or visuals that serve to inform or support the reports were also focused upon. This reveals which broader social and organisational structures have informed the

construction of these representations, as well as highlighting further subtle meanings found within the texts. These various strands of analysis come together to answer the research questions specified earlier, as well as utilising the theoretical framework that this research is based upon.

3.3 Conclusion

The choice of methods successfully merges the quantitative and qualitative aspects of this study, thereby strengthening the Findings, which follow. In first making use of quantitative practices, the data was minimised and presented in an easily understandable format. This assists in the effective interpretation of the data through a semiotic analysis, which is presented in the Analysis chapter.

Chapter Four

Findings

Introduction

The articles for this study were collected from three magazines; *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*, over a period of 16 months. The analysis of these articles aims to answer the following research questions:

1. In what ways do local and foreign media represent Africa?
2. What are the differences and similarities in these representations?
3. Do the representations differ depending on the issue being reported?
4. How can these types of representations be explained?

The findings below are sorted and tabulated into a number of categories, including the occurrence of texts per theme, the whereabouts of coverage, the sources used per theme and the images utilised throughout. In tabulating these findings, certain trends and observations around the coverage of Africa can be noted and highlighted for use in the Analysis, which follows this chapter.

4.1 Theme breakdown

The figures below indicate the number of texts that fall within each theme, namely politics, economics and HIV/AIDS, as well as the percentage each theme contributes overall for both time periods. The themes comprise of the following events and issues:

- Politics: This theme includes articles on governments, governance, corruption, elections, unrest, conflict and war.

- Economics: This theme includes articles on investments, trade interests, current and future trade opportunities and economically significant consequences arising from political events.
- HIV/AIDS: This theme includes articles on HIV/AIDS and the implications thereof.

The following tables present the number of articles that fall within each theme, for all three magazines. The pie charts illustrate the percentage each theme contributes to the overall coverage for each time period.

Table 1: Overall figures for July – December 2007

Theme	Time	The Economist	Financial Mail
Politics	24	121	24
Economics	22	39	77
HIV/AIDS	4	8	10
Total	50	168	111

Figure 1: Overall contribution of each theme for July – December 2007

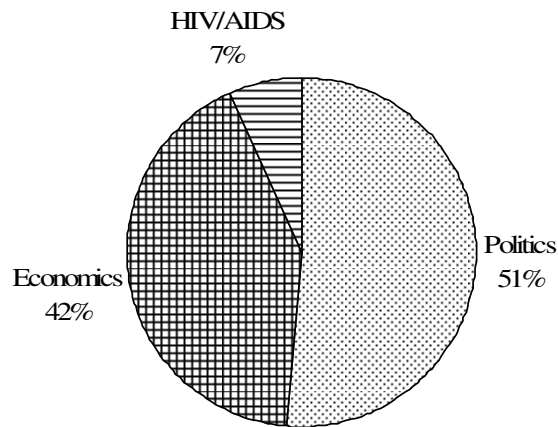
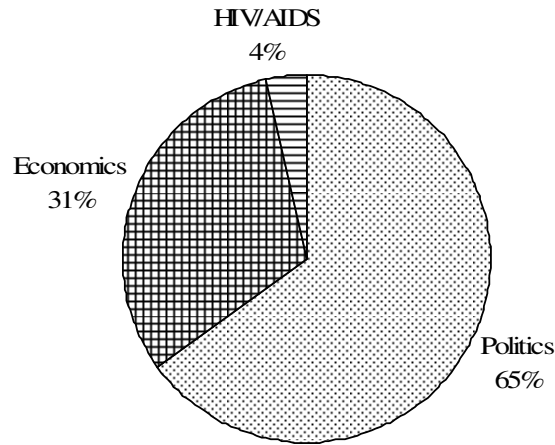


Table 2: Overall figures for January – October 2008

Theme	Time	The Economist	Financial Mail
Politics	64	238	133
Economics	38	61	112
HIV/AIDS	6	9	9
Total	108	308	254

Figure 2: Overall contribution of each theme for January – October 2008



These figures show that *The Economist* features the majority of the coverage of Africa overall, followed by *Financial Mail* and *Time*. *The Economist* features 51% of the total share of coverage of Africa in 2007, which drops to 46% in 2008. The most prevalent theme throughout the time frame of 2007/2008 is politics, which garners 51% and 65% of overall coverage respectively. HIV/AIDS, as the theme featuring the least amount of text occurrences, contributes 7% and 4% to the 2007/2008 figures. Throughout both time periods, the amount of HIV/AIDS reports in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail* never amount to more than ten.

It is necessary to note that *The Economist* has a dedicated ‘Africa and the Middle East’ section it must fill each week. However, before the reader reaches this section, a brief summary of key world events is presented, followed by editorials and commentary on certain major issues, which is only then followed by the relevant section featuring stories on Africa. Much of the weekly coverage is therefore repetitive, implying that while *The Economist* presented the most coverage of Africa during the 16 months of analysis, the occurrence and presentation of new information ranks lower than the figures presented here.

4.2 Countries covered

The following figures indicate the countries focused upon within the articles. The findings are presented per theme for each magazine, with the overall totals for each location summing up the publication's findings. The figures may not correspond exactly with the findings presented in Tables 1 and 2 as an article that falls within one theme may feature coverage of a number of African countries. There were only eleven African countries on which there were no articles. These countries include: Cape Verde, Mali, Namibia, Reunion, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Seychelles, The Gambia, Togo, Western Sahara and Zanzibar. This pattern of coverage indicates that the magazines had articles on 79% of the continent; a large proportion of the 53 countries and island groups that constitute Africa. *The Economist* refers to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the country alongside, Congo, as Congo and Congo-Brazzaville, respectively. For the purposes of consistency, the names Congo and Congo-Brazzaville have been used throughout this study to indicate references to the DRC and Congo.

Table 3: Countries covered in the politics theme in Time, July – December 2007

Location	Politics
South Africa	5
Somalia	4
Sudan	4
Ethiopia	3
Eritrea	2
Rwanda	2
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Djibouti	1
Libya	1
Zimbabwe	1
Total	24

Ten countries are reported upon within the politics theme. South Africa receives 21% of the coverage, placing it as the most reported upon country in *Time* for this time period, with Somalia and Sudan following closely behind with 17% each. Four countries share the least amount of coverage here: Côte d' Ivoire, Djibouti, Libya and Zimbabwe. They each hold 4% of the total amount for this theme.

Table 4: Countries covered in the economics theme in Time, July – December 2007

Location	Economics
Africa	4
Angola	2
Nigeria	2
South Africa	2
Zimbabwe	2
Chad	1
Ethiopia	1
Gabon	1
Guinea-Bissau	1
Kenya	1
Malawi	1
Mauritius	1
Rwanda	1
Tanzania	1
Zambia	1
Total	22

This theme features texts focusing on fifteen countries within Africa. Reporting on the continent as a whole makes up the majority of this coverage – 18%. Ten locations contribute 5% each, making up half of the coverage found here. While this theme may feature more countries, the amount of coverage is less than the previous theme, politics, which features 24 occurrences of locations compared to the 22 of economics.

Table 5: Countries covered in the HIV/AIDS theme in Time, July – December 2007

Location	HIV/AIDS
Africa	2
Congo	1
Kenya	1
Total	4

The theme of HIV/AIDS features the least occurrences of locations for *Time* during the 2007 period of analysis. With four occurrences focusing on three countries constituting this theme, it features 83% and 82% less coverage than the previous themes, politics and economics. Africa again receives the most focus here, as is seen within economics.

Table 6: Overall countries covered in *Time*, July – December 2007

Location	Total
South Africa	7
Africa	6
Ethiopia	4
Somalia	4
Sudan	4
Rwanda	3
Zimbabwe	3
Angola	2
Eritrea	2
Kenya	2
Nigeria	2
Chad	1
Congo	1
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Djibouti	1
Gabon	1
Guinea-Bissau	1
Libya	1
Malawi	1
Mauritius	1
Tanzania	1
Zambia	1
Total	50

Twenty-two locations were reported upon during the second half of 2007, across all three themes. The overall figures indicate that South Africa was the most reported upon country in *Time* during this time period, with coverage of Africa as a continent following closely behind. These two locations make up 14% and 12% of the coverage, respectively. Eleven countries only appear once, comprising nearly half of the overall coverage for this time period, at 22%.

Table 7: Countries covered in the politics theme in Time, January – October 2008

Location	Politics
Zimbabwe	19
South Africa	11
Kenya	8
Africa	5
Sudan	4
Chad	3
Congo	2
Egypt	2
Somalia	2
Angola	1
Burundi	1
Liberia	1
Libya	1
Mauritania	1
Morocco	1
Tanzania	1
Zambia	1
Total	64

The politics theme consists of 17 locations. Zimbabwe contributes 30% of the coverage and South Africa follows with nearly half that figure, at 17%. During the previous time period, Zimbabwe contributed only 4% to this theme, indicating that the amount of focus on this country has increased by over seven times that of the 2007 figures. Eight countries present the least amount of coverage here, comprising 13% of the overall amount.

Table 8: Countries covered in the economics theme in Time, January – October 2008

Location	Economics
Africa	13
South Africa	4
Kenya	3
Zimbabwe	3
Ethiopia	2
Ghana	2
Benin	1
Botswana	1
Cameroon	1
Egypt	1
Liberia	1
Libya	1
Nigeria	1
Somalia	1
Sudan	1
Tanzania	1
Uganda	1
Total	38

Africa ranks as the most reported upon location within economics, which is also observed within the same theme during the 2007 time period. The continent contributes 34% to the overall coverage here. South Africa again ranks second, as is seen with politics, but only receives 11% of the focus; three times less than Africa. Eleven countries are focused upon only once, together comprising nearly the same amount as Africa, 29%.

Table 9: Countries covered in the HIV/AIDS theme in Time, January – October 2008

Location	HIV/AIDS
Africa	2
South Africa	2
Zambia	1
Zimbabwe	1
Total	6

This theme again features much fewer locations than the previous two themes. The 2008 time period includes four locations, of which Africa and South Africa share the majority of coverage, with 33% of the focus, respectively. Zambia and Zimbabwe make up 34%

in total. Overall, this theme features 91% and 89% less coverage than the previous themes.

Table 10: Overall countries covered in Time, January – October 2008

Location	Total
Zimbabwe	23
Africa	20
South Africa	17
Kenya	11
Sudan	5
Chad	3
Egypt	3
Somalia	3
Congo	2
Ethiopia	2
Ghana	2
Liberia	2
Libya	2
Tanzania	2
Zambia	2
Angola	1
Benin	1
Botswana	1
Burundi	1
Cameroon	1
Mauritania	1
Morocco	1
Nigeria	1
Uganda	1
Total	107

These findings show that Zimbabwe, Africa, South Africa and Kenya received the vast majority of coverage in *Time* in 2008, contributing between ten and 22% of the overall coverage within this time period. In total, twenty-four locations were reported upon. Nine countries were focused upon only once, comprising 8% of the coverage.

Table 11: Countries covered in the politics theme in *The Economist*, July – December 2007

Location	Politics
Sudan	22
South Africa	19
Zimbabwe	10
Africa	8
Somalia	8
Congo	7
Ethiopia	7
Nigeria	7
Kenya	6
African Union	3
Eritrea	3
Niger	3
Uganda	3
Chad	2
Sierra Leone	2
Algeria	1
Burkina Faso	1
Cameroon	1
Comoro Islands	1
Congo-Brazzaville	1
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Egypt	1
Lesotho	1
Libya	1
Morocco	1
Mozambique	1
Total	121

This theme features 26 locations. The most reported upon location is Sudan, which received 18% of the coverage. South Africa is placed second, contributing 16% of the coverage. Thus far, these findings are the most for this theme during the July – December 2007 time period. *Time* features ten locations and a total of 24 locations occurrences; *The Economist* presents more than double the amount of locations and more than five times the amount of location occurrences for the same time period.

Table 12: Countries covered in the economics theme in The Economist, July – December 2007

Location	Economics
Africa	13
Zimbabwe	8
Nigeria	3
South Africa	3
Botswana	1
Congo	1
Djibouti	1
Egypt	1
Ethiopia	1
Kenya	1
Liberia	1
Libya	1
Mozambique	1
Sudan	1
Tanzania	1
Uganda	1
Total	39

The most reported upon location in this theme is Africa, with 33% of the overall coverage. Twelve countries were only focused upon once, comprising 31% of the findings here. The findings for *Time* during this time period indicate that Africa was also the most reported upon location. Overall, 22 location occurrences form the findings for *Time*, while *The Economist's* findings show an increase of 17 occurrences, to 39.

Table 13: Countries covered in the HIV/AIDS theme in The Economist, July – December 2007

Location	HIV/AIDS
Africa	3
Libya	3
Malawi	1
South Africa	1
Total	8

This theme also features fewer locations and occurrences than the other themes, as is also seen with *Time's* findings. Africa and Libya both contribute the most coverage, with

38% each. The number of locations reported upon here is four, which is consistent with the 2008 findings for *Time*. The 2007 findings feature three locations for this theme.

Table 14: Overall countries covered in The Economist, July – December 2007

Location	Total
Africa	24
South Africa	23
Sudan	23
Zimbabwe	18
Nigeria	10
Congo	8
Ethiopia	8
Somalia	8
Kenya	7
Libya	5
Uganda	4
African Union	3
Eritrea	3
Niger	3
Chad	2
Egypt	2
Mozambique	2
Sierra Leone	2
Algeria	1
Botswana	1
Burkina Faso	1
Cameroon	1
Comoro Islands	1
Congo-Brazzaville	1
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Djibouti	1
Lesotho	1
Liberia	1
Malawi	1
Morocco	1
Tanzania	1
Total	168

The Economist features more than three times the amount of coverage overall that *Time* offered between July and December 2007. Africa receives the most coverage (14%), with South Africa and Sudan following closely behind. Thirty-one locations are reported

upon during this time period, which is a 29% increase from the findings of the same time period for *Time*. Thirteen locations feature only once, comprising 7% of the overall findings.

Table 15: Countries covered in the politics theme in The Economist, January – October 2008

Location	Politics
Zimbabwe	65
Kenya	35
South Africa	24
Sudan	16
Somalia	12
Nigeria	9
Chad	8
Congo	8
Rwanda	6
Uganda	6
Africa	5
Algeria	4
Angola	4
Egypt	4
Mauritania	4
Comoro Islands	3
Libya	3
Zambia	3
African Union	2
Equatorial Guinea	2
Liberia	2
Morocco	2
Tunisia	2
Botswana	1
Cameroon	1
Central African Republic	1
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Djibouti	1
Eritrea	1
Total	238

This theme features 29 locations; the most thus far for this theme throughout both time periods. Zimbabwe constitutes the most coverage here, with 27%. Kenya is placed second, comprising 15% of the overall coverage. The occurrence of locations within this

theme is also the most for this theme over both time periods. These figures show an increase of 49% from the figures of July – December 2007 for *The Economist*.

Table 16: Countries covered in the economics theme in The Economist, January – October 2008

Location	Economics
Africa	18
South Africa	8
Kenya	5
Somalia	5
Egypt	3
Ethiopia	3
Sudan	3
Zimbabwe	3
Botswana	2
Djibouti	2
Nigeria	2
Angola	1
Chad	1
Congo	1
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Ghana	1
Malawi	1
Mauritius	1
Total	61

Africa is the most reported upon location within this theme. The continent contributes 30% of the coverage. Seven countries feature only once here, comprising 11% of the overall coverage. This theme features eighteen locations, which is less than the findings for this theme during July – December 2007, also within *The Economist*.

Table 17: Countries covered in the HIV/AIDS theme in The Economist, January – October 2008

Location	HIV/AIDS
Africa	5
South Africa	3
Malawi	1
Total	9

This theme again displays fewer locations and occurrences compared to the other themes. This is observed with both *Time* and *The Economist* throughout both time periods. Africa also remains the most reported upon location in both magazines and across both time periods. Here, Africa's coverage comprises 56% of the overall coverage.

Table 18: Overall countries covered in The Economist, January – October 2008

Location	Total
Zimbabwe	68
Kenya	40
South Africa	35
Africa	28
Sudan	19
Somalia	17
Nigeria	11
Chad	9
Congo	9
Egypt	7
Ethiopia	6
Rwanda	6
Uganda	6
Angola	5
Algeria	4
Mauritania	4
Botswana	3
Comoro Islands	3
Libya	3
Zambia	3
African Union	2
Côte d' Ivoire	2
Equatorial Guinea	2
Liberia	2
Malawi	2
Morocco	2
Tunisia	2
Cameroon	1
Central African Republic	1
Djibouti	1
Eritrea	1
Ghana	1
Mauritius	1
Total	308

The Economist again features more than double the overall amount of coverage than *Time* from January – October 2008. This time period also shows an increase of 66% in coverage of Zimbabwe, compared to *Time*'s coverage of the same time period. *The Economist* focused upon 30 locations of coverage during 2008. The overall occurrence of locations presented here is the most thus far for any time period. *The Economist* also features coverage on smaller and lesser known African countries, which are not focused upon by the other two magazines. These include Niger, Sierra Leone, Burkina Faso, Congo-Brazzaville, Equatorial Guinea and the Central African Republic.

Table 19: Countries covered in the politics theme in Financial Mail, July – December 2007

Location	Politics
Zimbabwe	8
Africa	4
Sudan	4
South Africa	2
African Union	1
Botswana	1
Chad	1
Libya	1
Mozambique	1
Nigeria	1
Total	24

This theme's number and occurrence of locations matches *Time*'s politics findings for this time period. Zimbabwe receives the most coverage here, at 33%. In the findings for *Time* for this time period, Zimbabwe is one of the smallest contributors, comprising only 4% of the total. Six locations are only focused upon once here, comprising 25% of the total findings for this theme.

Table 20: Countries covered in the economics theme in Financial Mail, July – December 2007

Location	Economics
Africa	28
Zimbabwe	19
South Africa	9
SADC	6
Botswana	3
Congo	2
Mozambique	2
Namibia	2
Angola	1
Egypt	1
Morocco	1
Somalia	1
Uganda	1
Zambia	1
Total	77

This theme features 14 locations, with Africa ranking as the most reported upon location. The continent contributes 36% of the overall coverage here. Zimbabwe is placed second, with 25% of the coverage. These findings also present the highest number of occurrences of locations within this theme for all three magazines, across both time periods.

Table 21: Countries covered in the HIV/AIDS theme in Financial Mail, July – December 2007

Location	HIV/AIDS
South Africa	10
Total	10

Financial Mail presents the least amount of locations reported upon within this theme thus far. While the number of occurrences is also the highest thus far, it is all attributed to one country, South Africa.

Table 22: Overall countries covered in *Financial Mail*, July – December 2007

Location	Total
Africa	32
Zimbabwe	27
South Africa	21
SADC	6
Botswana	4
Sudan	4
Mozambique	3
Congo	2
Namibia	2
African Union	1
Angola	1
Chad	1
Egypt	1
Libya	1
Morocco	1
Nigeria	1
Somalia	1
Uganda	1
Zambia	1
Total	111

The majority of coverage in *Financial Mail* for July – December 2007 focuses on Africa (29%), with Zimbabwe and South Africa placed second and third, with 24% and 19% respectively. Ten locations are reported upon once, comprising 9% of the total occurrences. Overall, nineteen locations are focused upon, with a total of 111 occurrences. This is the second highest number of occurrences for this time period – *Time* features 50 and *The Economist* 168.

Table 23: Countries covered in the politics theme in *Financial Mail*, January – October 2008

Location	Politics
Zimbabwe	69
South Africa	20
Kenya	13
Africa	4
Sudan	4
Angola	3
SADC	3
Botswana	2
Comoro Islands	2
Liberia	2
African Union	1
Congo	1
Chad	1
Ethiopia	1
Libya	1
Mauritania	1
Nigeria	1
Rwanda	1
Somalia	1
Uganda	1
Zambia	1
Total	133

This theme features more than five times the number of occurrences of locations than the same theme for *Financial Mail* between July and December 2007. The number of locations featured here is also more than double that of 2007, with 21 locations focused upon here. Zimbabwe receives the most coverage, at 52%. South Africa is placed second, with 15% - three times less than Zimbabwe.

Table 24: Countries covered in the economics theme in Financial Mail, January – October 2008

Location	Economics
Africa	34
Zimbabwe	23
Botswana	12
South Africa	12
Nigeria	4
Kenya	3
Angola	2
Congo	2
Egypt	2
Ethiopia	2
Rwanda	2
Somalia	2
Zambia	2
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Lesotho	1
Libya	1
Madagascar	1
Malawi	1
Mauritania	1
Namibia	1
SADC	1
Swaziland	1
Tanzania	1
Total	112

Twenty-three locations are focused upon here, nine more locations than the findings for this theme during the 2007 time period. Africa receives the most coverage, with 30%. The continent is also the most reported upon location during 2007, with Zimbabwe also ranking second, as is seen here. Zimbabwe here contributes 21% to the overall coverage. Ten locations only feature once, comprising 9% of the total coverage.

Table 25: Countries covered in the HIV/AIDS theme in Financial Mail, January – October 2008

Location	HIV/AIDS
South Africa	8
Africa	1
Total	9

This theme features two locations; South Africa and Africa. South Africa receives 89% of the coverage, with Africa comprising the remaining 11%. *Financial Mail* features South Africa as the most focused upon for this theme throughout both time periods.

Table 26: Overall countries covered in Financial Mail, January – October 2008

Location	Total
Zimbabwe	92
South Africa	40
Africa	39
Kenya	16
Botswana	14
Angola	5
Nigeria	5
SADC	4
Sudan	4
Congo	3
Ethiopia	3
Rwanda	3
Somalia	3
Zambia	3
Comoro Islands	2
Egypt	2
Liberia	2
Libya	2
Mauritania	2
African Union	1
Chad	1
Côte d' Ivoire	1
Lesotho	1
Madagascar	1
Malawi	1
Namibia	1
Swaziland	1
Tanzania	1
Uganda	1
Total	254

Zimbabwe sees the highest amount of coverage overall for this time period (36%), with the closest contender, South Africa, receiving less than half of Zimbabwe's coverage (16%). A total of 29 locations are reported upon, ten more than the overall findings for

Financial Mail's 2007 time period. This is again the second highest number of occurrences for this time period – *Time* features 107 and *The Economist* 308.

4.3 Sources

The figures below indicate the types of sources utilised in coverage of Africa. The source categories include the following:

- Experts: This category includes sources that are specifically labelled as experts in a particular field.
- Official body / Company: This category includes sources that are located within institutions and companies and play a role in the political, economic and HIV/AIDS arenas.
- Government / Political parties: This category includes sources that fall within the political realm of a country as either a member of government or political party.
- Academics: This category includes sources that are labelled as academics, focusing on a particular field. This has been included as a category as academics are distinguished as separate from experts within the articles and so require distinction in this study.
- Citizens: This category includes citizens of a country that do not form part of the political or economic elite.
- Unknown: This includes sources that have chosen to have their names withheld in the articles.

Table 27: Overall figures of sources used, July – December 2007

Source	Time	The Economist	Financial Mail	Total
Experts	57	160	128	345
Official body / Company	68	158	67	293
Government / Political parties	39	197	69	305
Academics	6	4	4	14
Citizens	22	55	1	78
Unknown	11	81	20	112

Table 28: Overall figures of sources used, January – October 2008

Source	Time	The Economist	Financial Mail	Total
Experts	127	270	177	574
Official body / Company	73	258	138	469
Government / Political parties	107	319	170	596
Academics	9	8	5	22
Citizens	59	94	7	160
Unknown	24	219	75	318

These figures show that experts and government sources are the most used for the 2007 and 2008 time periods, making up 28% and 27% of the overall figures, respectively. *The Economist* utilises the most sources throughout its coverage, making up 57% of the total sources used in 2007 and 55% in 2008. *Financial Mail* ranks second in 2007, with 25% and *Time* third, with 18%. This pattern is repeated in 2008, with *Financial Mail* again ranking second, with 27% and *Time* ranking third, with 19%.

4.4 Breakdown of sources

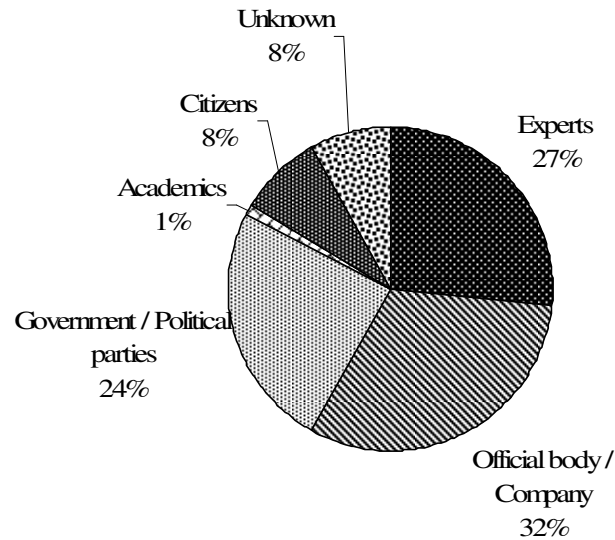
The figures below indicate the types of sources referred to for each theme of analysis. These figures are further broken down into diagrams depicting the specific percentages of the sources used for each theme.

Table 29: Summary of sources used per theme in Time, July – December 2007

Source	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Experts	23	29	5	57
Official body / Company	27	33	8	68
Government / Political parties	21	16	2	39
Academics	1	5	-	6
Citizens	7	15	-	22
Unknown	7	4	-	11

The economics theme features the most sources used, with 102. This forms 50% of the overall amount for *Time* for the 2007 time period. Politics ranks second, with 86 sources used, contributing 42%, while HIV/AIDS comprises the least, with 15 sources, or 7%. Overall, sources falling under the category of official body / company are the most sourced (34%), while academics are the least sourced (3%).

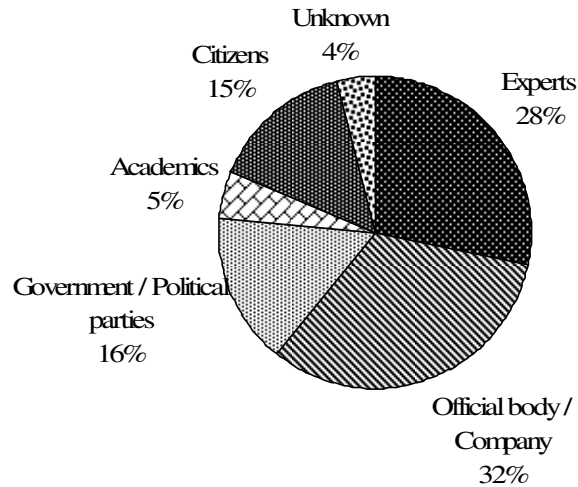
Figure 3: Breakdown of sources used in the politics theme in Time, July – December 2007



This diagram presents a breakdown of the source categories for the politics theme of analysis. Sources falling under the category of official body / company are sourced most often (27 occurrences out of a total of 86). Experts are sourced 23 times and government

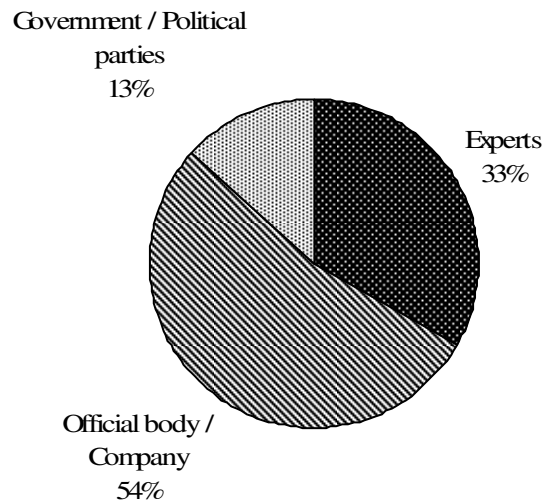
/ political parties 21 times. Citizens and unknown sources are utilised seven times each. Academics are sourced once.

Figure 4: Breakdown of sources used in the economics theme in Time, July – December 2007



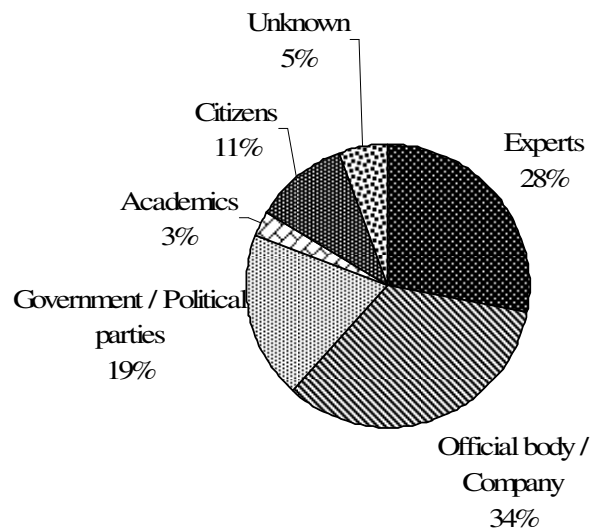
The findings for economics show that official body / company sources form the majority of sources here. They are sourced 33 times out of a total of 102 for this theme. Experts are sourced 29 times, government / political parties 16 times, citizens 15 times, academics 5 times and unknown sources 4 times.

Figure 5: Breakdown of sources used in the HIV/AIDS theme in Time, July – December 2007



This theme features only three of the six source categories. Academics, citizens and unknown sources are not referred to at all within HIV/AIDS reporting. Official body / company sources are utilised the most – eight times out of a total of 15. Experts are sourced five times and government / political parties twice. This theme features the least amount of source categories used, as well as the least amount of source occurrences.

Figure 6: Breakdown of sources used in Time, July – December 2007



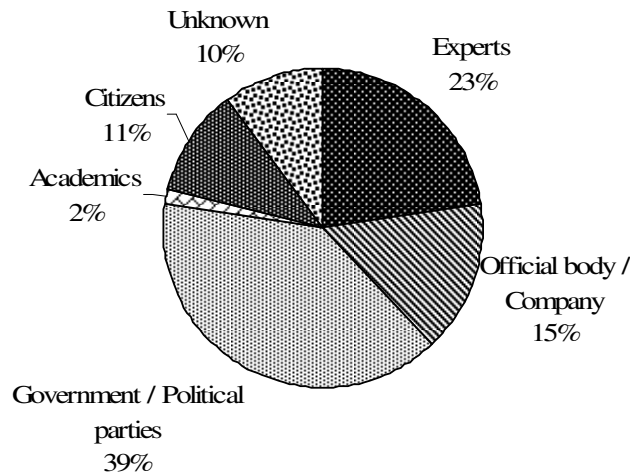
Overall, official body / company sources are utilised most often during the July – December 2007 time period. This category ranks the highest throughout all three themes of analysis, making up 68 of 203 overall sources. Experts rank second with 57, government / political parties third with 39, citizens fourth with 22, unknown sources fifth with 11 and academics last with six.

Table 30: Summary of sources used per theme in Time, January – October 2008

Source	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Experts	44	81	2	127
Official body / Company	30	42	1	73
Government / Political parties	77	29	1	107
Academics	3	6	-	9
Citizens	21	38	-	59
Unknown	20	4	-	24

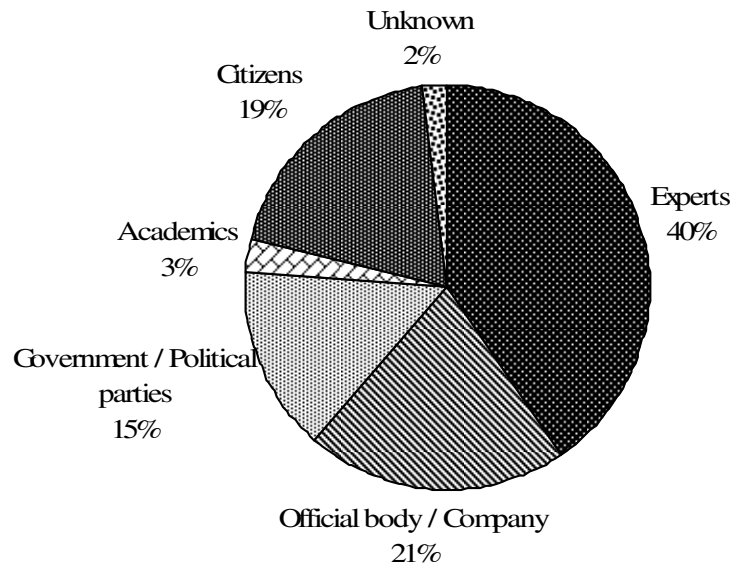
Economics features the most sources here, with 200 out of a total of 399; 50%. Politics ranks second, with 195 sources used, comprising 49%. HIV/AIDS again ranks last, as is seen within the July – December 2007 time period. Four sources are used within this theme during the 2008 time period, contributing 1%. This ranking of themes is also seen with the 2007 findings for *Time*. Overall, experts are sourced the most here (32%), while academics are sourced the least (2%).

Figure 7: Breakdown of sources used in the politics theme in Time, January – October 2008



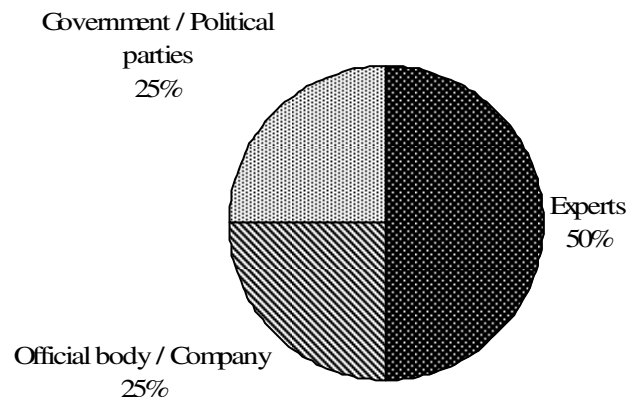
This diagram shows that the category of government / political parties feature the most sources within this theme; 77 out of 195. The categories of experts feature 44; official body / company feature 30; citizens feature 21; unknown feature 20 and academics feature the least, with three.

Figure 8: Breakdown of sources used in the economics theme in Time, January – October 2008



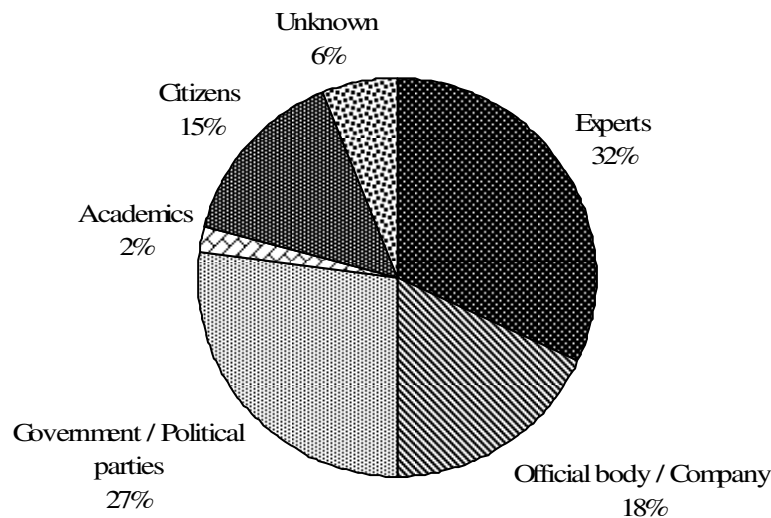
Comparably, experts are sourced the most within economics. They comprise 81 out of 200 sources. Official body / company sources rank second, with 42 occurrences, followed by citizens (38), government / political parties (29), academics (six) and unknown sources (four).

Figure 9: Breakdown of sources used in the HIV/AIDS theme in Time, January – October 2008



This theme again features only three of the six source categories. Academics, citizens and unknown sources are not referred to at all within HIV/AIDS reporting here. Experts are sourced the most, with two out of a total of four source occurrences. Official body / company sources and government / political parties are each sourced once. This theme features the least amount of source categories used, as well as the least amount of source occurrences. Overall, this theme contributes 1% to the source occurrences for *Time* between January and October 2008.

Figure 10: Breakdown of sources used in Time, January – October 2008



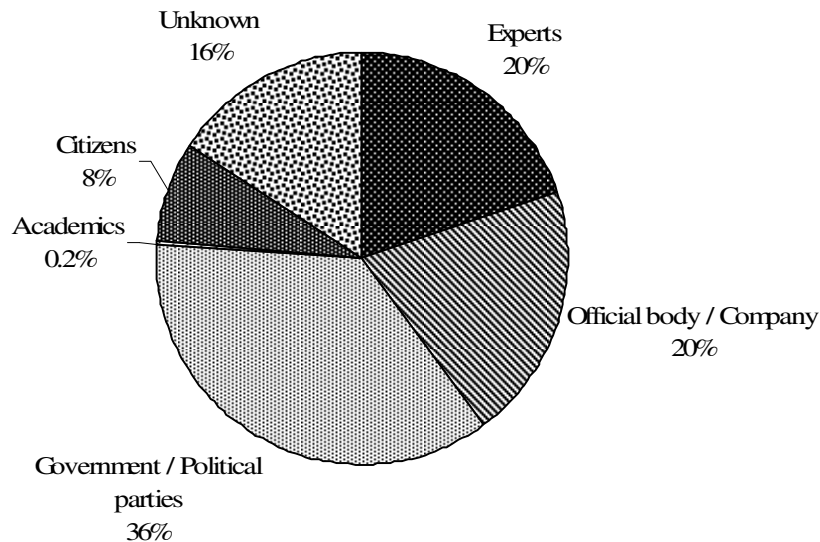
Overall, experts are utilised the most during this time period, comprising 127 of 399 sources. Government / political parties rank second with 107, official body / company sources third with 73, citizens fourth with 59, unknown sources fifth with 24 and academics last with nine.

Table 31: Summary of sources used per theme in *The Economist*, July – December 2007

Source	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Experts	84	72	4	160
Official body / Company	87	66	5	158
Government / Political parties	154	42	1	197
Academics	1	3		4
Citizens	33	21	1	55
Unknown	68	11	2	81

The findings for *The Economist* show that government / political parties are sourced the most, with 30%. Overall, the theme of politics features the most sources here, with 427 out of a total of 655, or 65%. Economics ranks second, with 215 sources used, comprising 33%. HIV/AIDS ranks last again, as is seen with the findings for *Time*. Thirteen sources are used within this theme, contributing 2%.

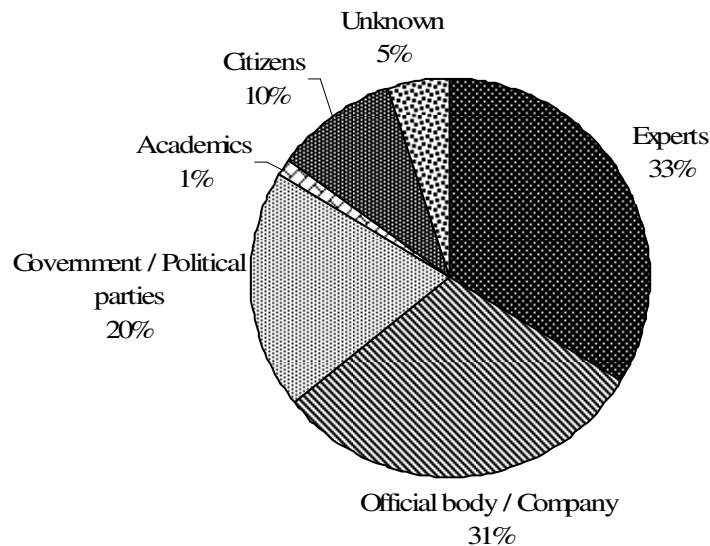
Figure 11: Breakdown of sources used in the politics theme in *The Economist*, July – December 2007



This theme's findings show that government / political parties are sourced the most; 154 times out of 427. Official body / company sources and experts both make up 20% of the overall sources used for this theme, with 87 and 84 sources utilised respectively.

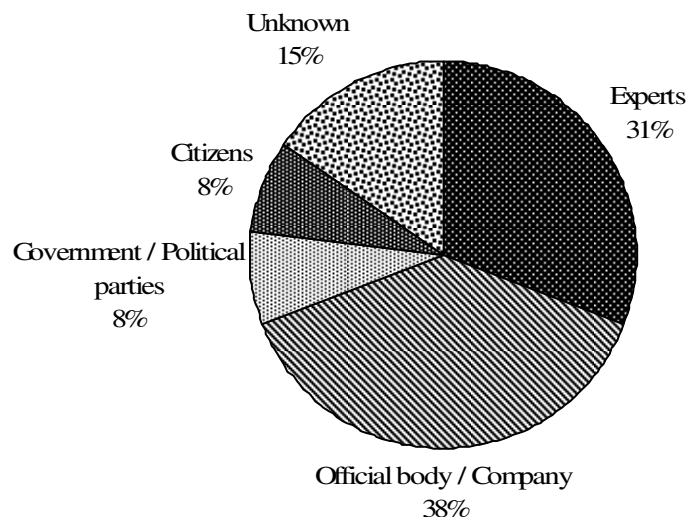
Unknown sources contribute 68 occurrences, citizens contribute 33 and academics one. Academics are also referred to once in *Time* within this theme during the 2007 time period.

Figure 12: Breakdown of sources used in the economics theme in The Economist, July – December 2007



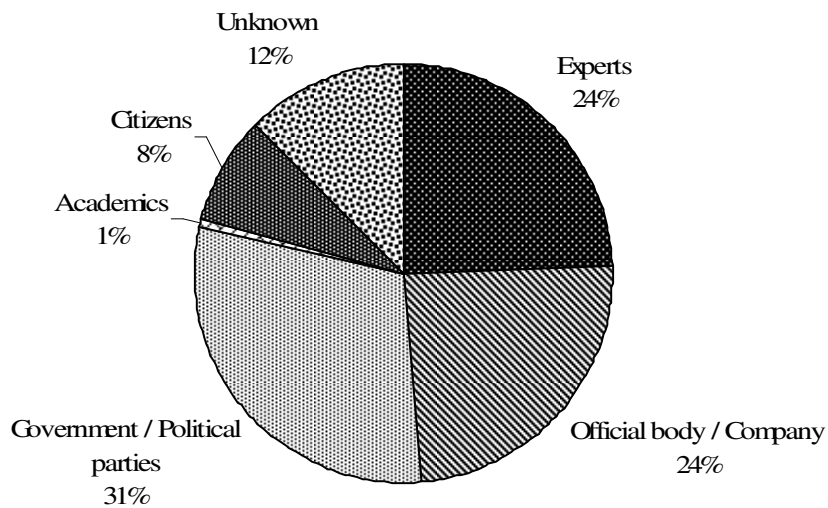
Experts are sourced the most within the economics theme, comprising 72 of 215 sources. Official body / company sources rank second, with 66 occurrences, followed by government / political parties with 42, citizens with 21, unknown sources with 11 and academics with three.

Figure 13: Breakdown of sources used in the HIV/AIDS theme in The Economist, July – December 2007



These findings present the most source categories utilised within the HIV/AIDS theme thus far. Five categories are utilised here, whereas three are utilised for *Time* magazine. Of these five categories, official body / company sources occurs the most – five times out of a total of 13. Experts follow with four, unknown sources with two and government / political parties and citizens both contribute one source each.

Figure 14: Breakdown of sources used in The Economist, July – December 2007



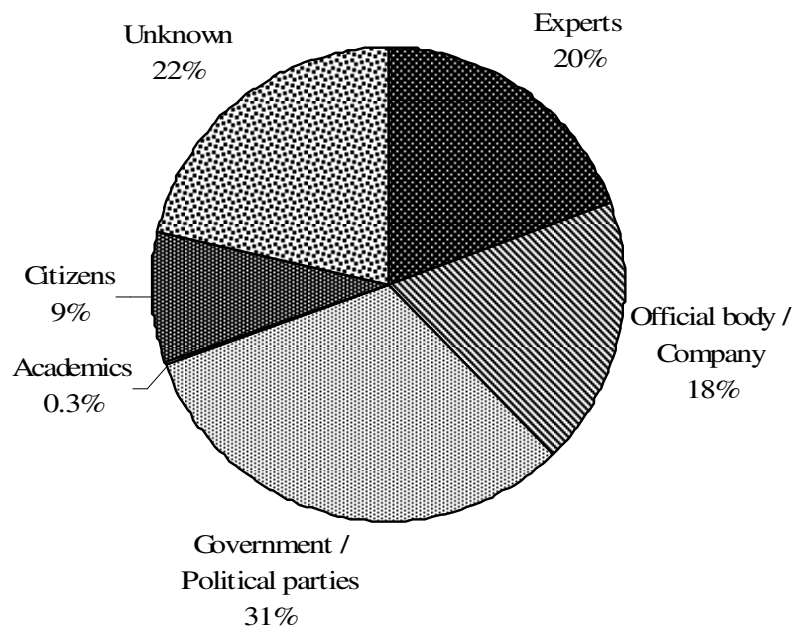
Government / political party sources are utilised the most here, making up 197 of 655 sources. Experts rank second with 160, official body / company sources rank third with 158, unknown sources fourth with 81, citizens fifth with 55 and academics sixth with four.

Table 32: Summary of sources used per theme in The Economist, January – October 2008

Source	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Experts	165	95	10	270
Official body / Company	154	96	8	258
Government / Political parties	268	49	2	319
Academics	4	3	1	8
Citizens	73	21	-	94
Unknown	182	36	1	219

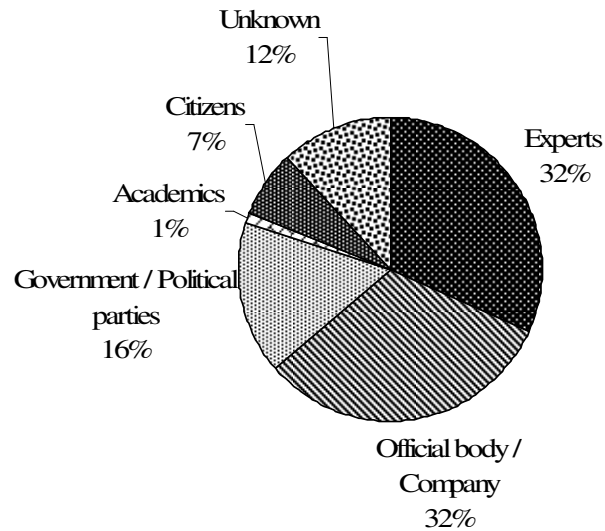
These findings present the most sources used thus far – 1168. This is nearly twice the amount of sources used between July and December 2007 in *The Economist*, more than five times the overall amount during *Time*'s 2007 time period and almost three times the overall amount used in *Time* between January and October 2008. Government / political parties are sourced the most, with 27%, followed by experts with 23%, official body / company sources with 22%, unknown sources with 19%, citizens with 8% and academics with 1%.

Figure 15: Breakdown of sources used in the politics theme in The Economist, January – October 2008



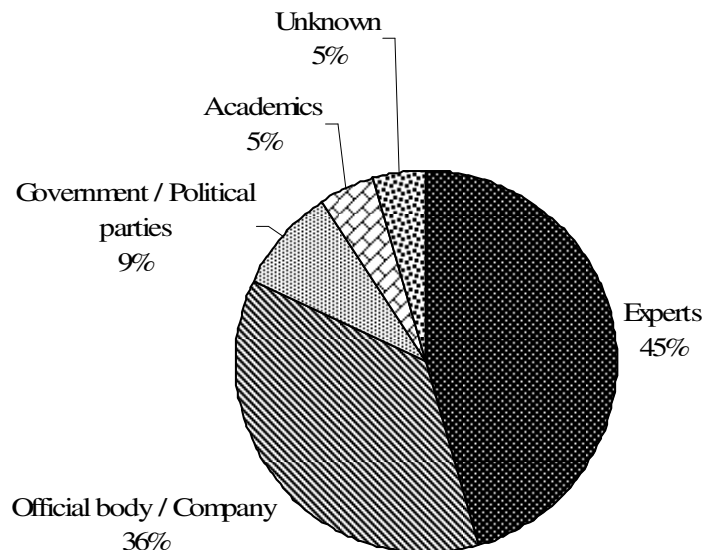
The findings for this theme indicate that government / political parties are sourced the most, 268 times out of 846. Unknown sources follow with 182, experts with 165, official body / company sources with 154, citizens with 73 and academics with four. Government / political parties are also the most sourced category within political events in *The Economist* for the 2007 time period, comprising 36%.

Figure 16: Breakdown of sources used in the economics theme in *The Economist*, January – October 2008



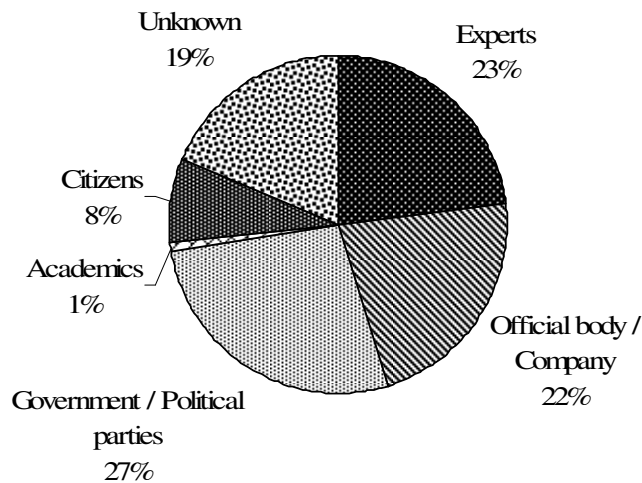
Official body / company sources are utilised the most within this theme, comprising 96 of 300 source occurrences. Experts follow closely behind, with 95. Government / political parties rank third with 49, unknown sources rank fourth with 36, citizens rank fifth with 21 and academics rank sixth with three.

Figure 17: Breakdown of sources used in the HIV/AIDS theme in *The Economist*, January – October 2008



This theme again features five source categories, which is consistent with the findings in *The Economist* for this theme during the 2007 time period. Of these five categories, experts are utilised the most – ten times out of a total of 22. Official body / company sources follow with eight, government / political parties with two and academics and unknown sources both contribute one source each.

Figure 18: Breakdown of sources used in The Economist, January – October 2008



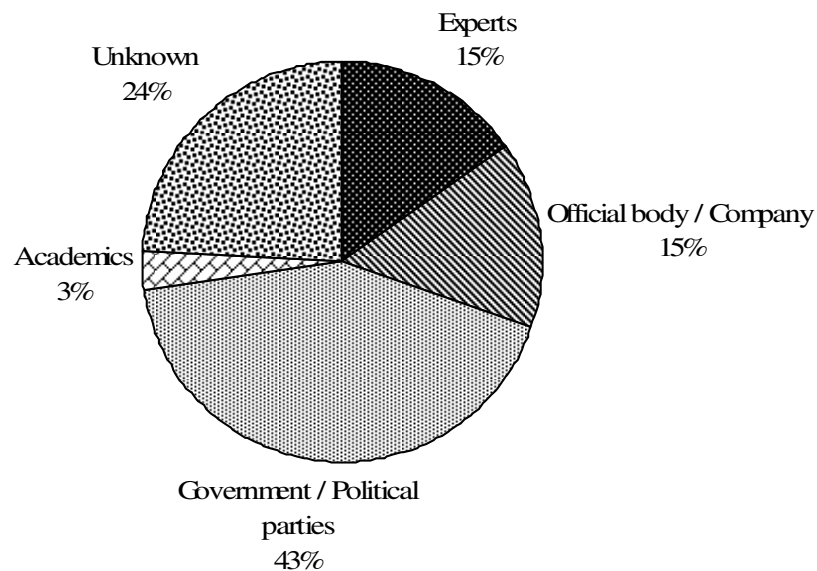
Overall, government / political parties are utilised most often here, making up 319 of 1168 source occurrences. Experts rank second with 270, official body / company sources third with 258, unknown sources fourth with 219, citizens fifth with 94 and academics last with eight.

Table 33: Summary of sources used per theme in Financial Mail, July – December 2007

Source	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Experts	5	106	17	128
Official body / Company	5	60	2	67
Government / Political parties	14	50	5	69
Academics	1	2	1	4
Citizens	-		1	1
Unknown	8	10	2	20

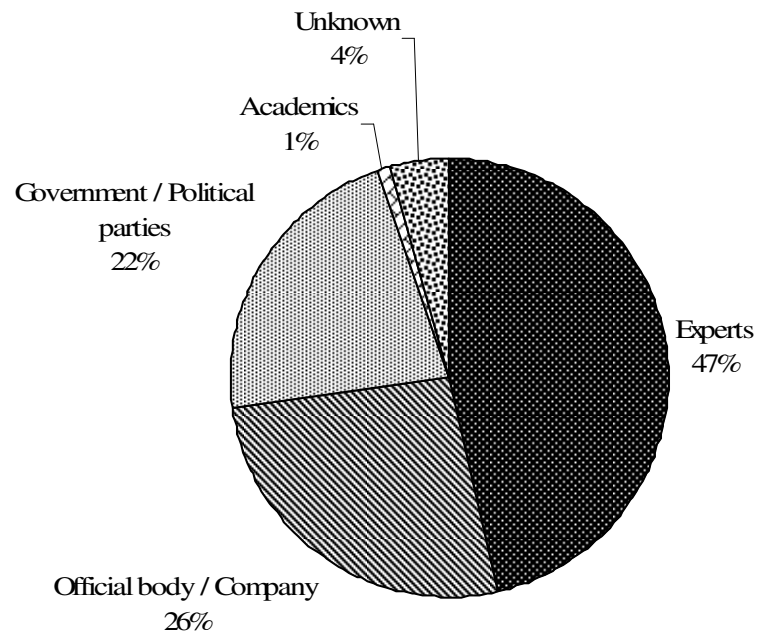
The findings for *Financial Mail* show that economics features the most sources, with 228 out of a total of 289, or 79%. Politics ranks second, with 33 sources used, comprising 11%. HIV/AIDS ranks last again, as is seen throughout the findings for the other two magazines. Twenty-eight sources are used within this theme, contributing 10%.

Figure 19: Breakdown of sources used in the politics theme in Financial Mail, July – December 2007



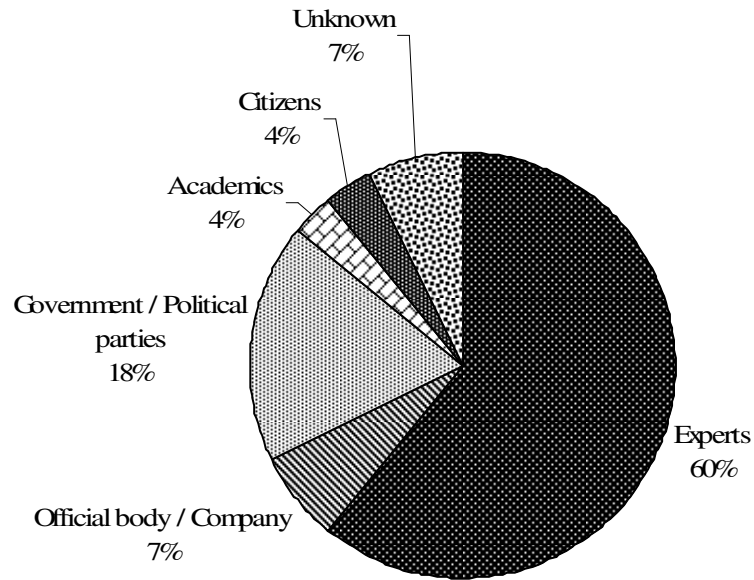
This theme's findings show that government / political parties are sourced the most; 14 times out of 33. Unknown sources contribute eight sources. Experts and official body / company sources both make up 15% of the overall sources used for this theme, with each utilising five sources. Academics make up one source, as is also seen with the findings for *Time* and *The Economist* during the same time period. This theme also contains only five source categories – no sources falling under citizens appear.

Figure 20: Breakdown of sources used in the economics theme in Financial Mail, July – December 2007



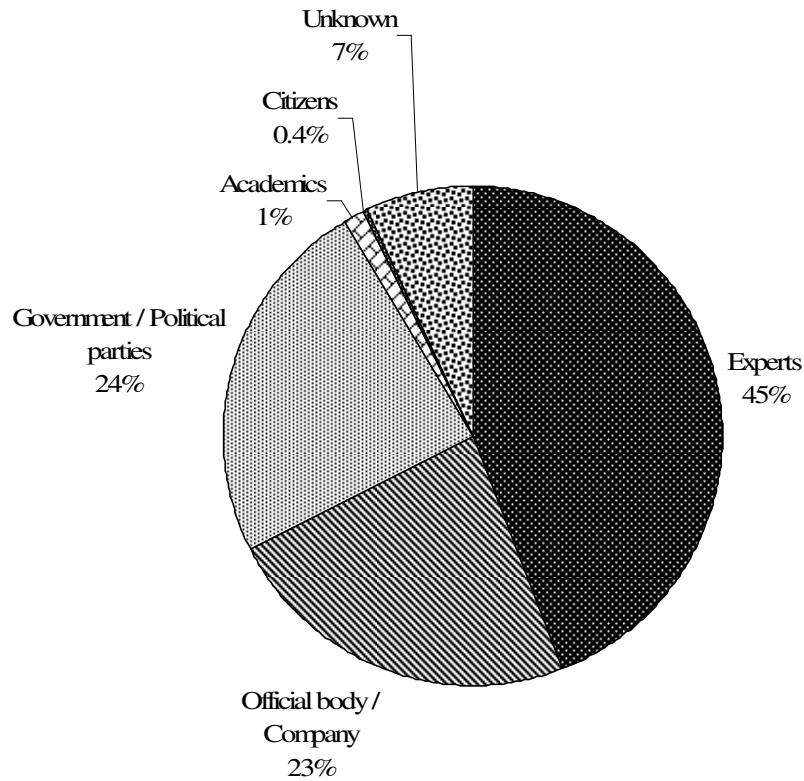
Experts make up nearly half of the sources utilised within this theme, with 106 occurrences out of 228. Official body / company sources follow, with 60 occurrences. Government / political parties rank third with 50, unknown sources rank fourth with ten and academics rank fifth with two. As is seen with political events, this theme only contains five source categories. The findings show that the categories of citizens have no source occurrences.

Figure 21: Breakdown of sources used in the HIV/AIDS theme in Financial Mail, July – December 2007



The findings for this theme indicate that all six source categories have source occurrences here – this is the most thus far for HIV/AIDS throughout all three magazines and both time periods. Experts are utilised the most; 17 out of 28 occurrences. Government / political parties rank second, with five; over three times less than the experts category. Official body / company and unknown sources follow, contributing two sources each. Academics and citizens rank last, each contributing one source.

Figure 22: Breakdown of sources used in Financial Mail, July – December 2007



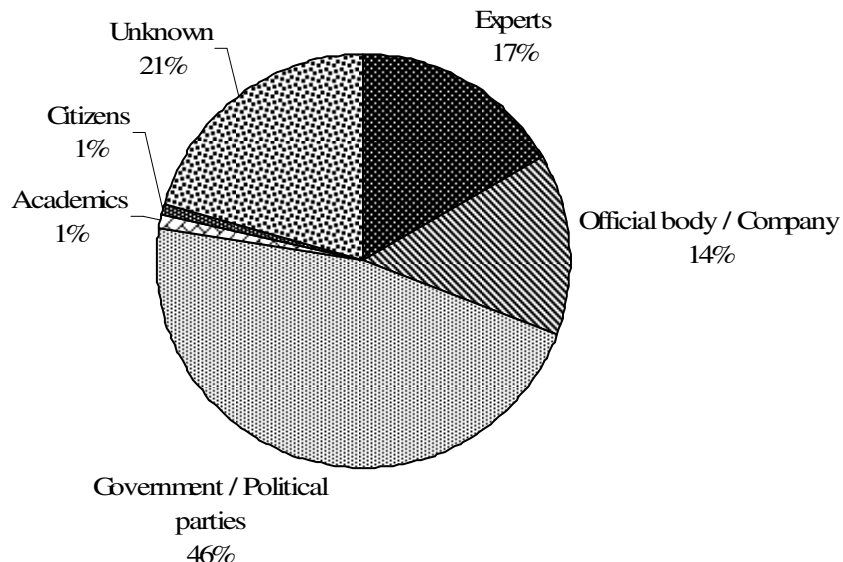
Experts contribute nearly half of the findings here, making up 128 of 289 source occurrences. Government / political parties rank second with 69 and are followed closely by official body / company sources with 67. Unknown sources rank fourth with 20, academics fifth with four and citizens sixth with one.

Table 34: Summary of sources used per theme in Financial Mail, January – October 2008

Source	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Experts	40	128	9	177
Official body / Company	34	99	5	138
Government / Political parties	111	51	8	170
Academics	3	2	-	5
Citizens	2	5	-	7
Unknown	49	24	2	75

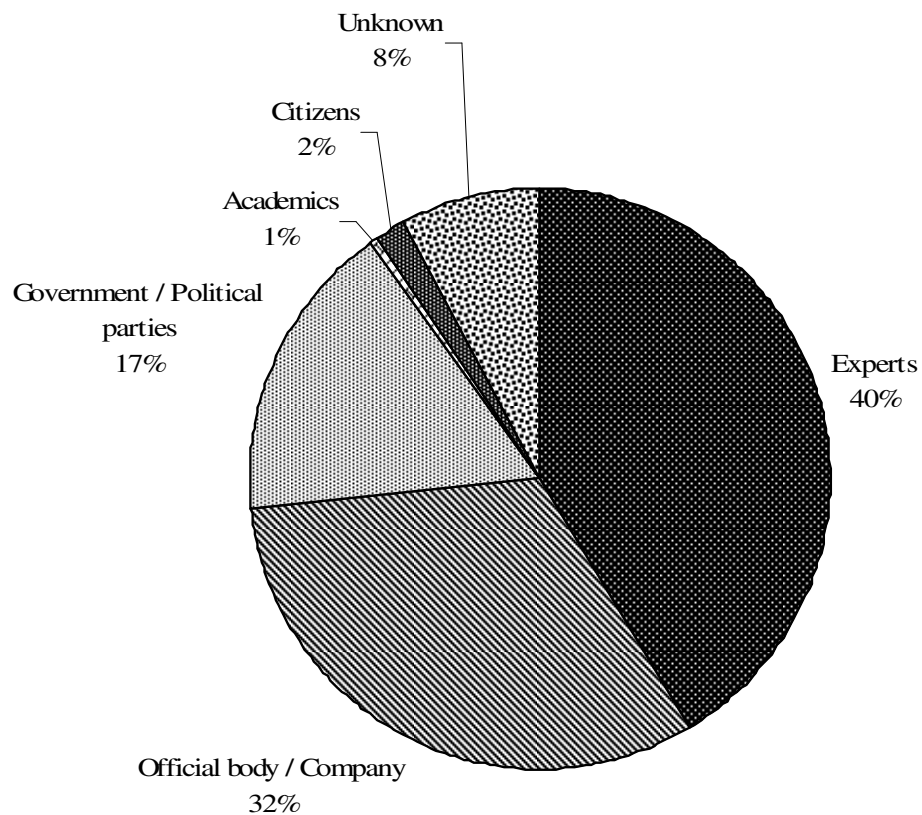
The 2008 findings for *Financial Mail* show that economics again feature the most sources, as is seen with the July – December 2007 findings of *Financial Mail*. This theme features 309 source occurrences, out of 572, or 54%. Politics follows with 239 sources used, comprising 42%. HIV/AIDS is ranked last again, which indicates that this theme is ranked last throughout the findings for all three magazines across both time periods. Twenty-four sources are utilised within this theme, contributing 4%.

Figure 23: Breakdown of sources used in the politics theme in Financial Mail, January – October 2008



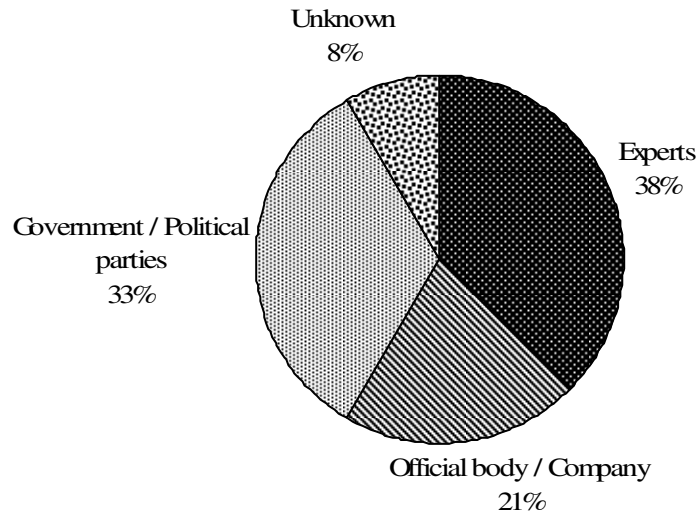
The source category of government / political parties features the most source occurrences, with 111 of 239. This category also sees the most source occurrences within this theme during the 2008 time period in *Time*, both time periods in *The Economist* and the 2007 time period in *Financial Mail*. Unknown sources rank second, with 49 sources; less than twice the amount of sources within the leading category. Experts rank third with 40; official body / company sources rank fourth with 34; academics rank fifth with three and citizens rank sixth with two.

Figure 24: Breakdown of sources used in the economics theme in *Financial Mail*, January – October 2008



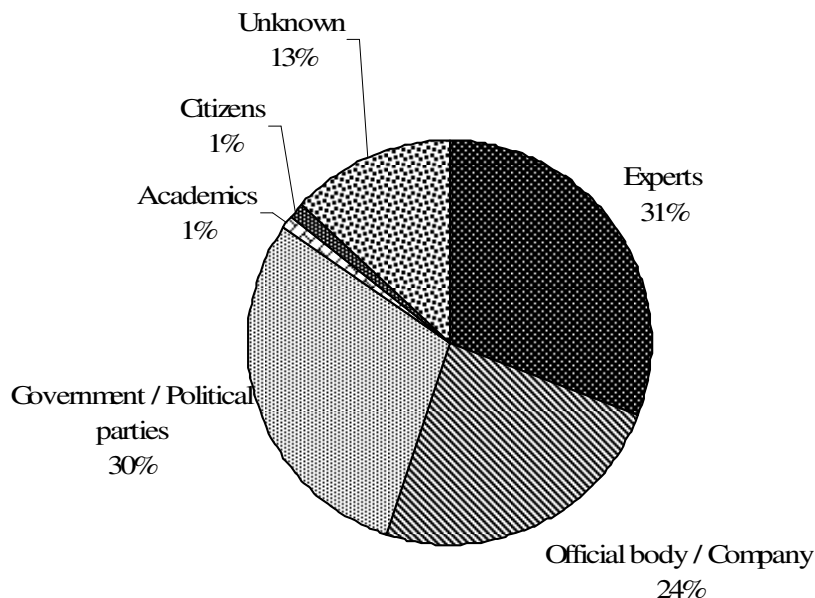
These findings indicate that experts make up the majority of source occurrences within this theme – 128 of 309. Experts also rank the highest within this theme in *Time* during the 2008 time period and in *The Economist* and *Financial Mail* during the 2007 time period. Official body / company sources follow with 99. Government / political parties then follow with 51, unknown sources with 24, citizens with five and academics with two.

Figure 25: Breakdown of sources used in the HIV/AIDS theme in *Financial Mail*, January – October 2008



This theme's findings indicate that four source categories feature source occurrences. Experts are featured the most, with nine out of 24 occurrences. Government / political parties rank second, with eight; three times less than the experts category, which is consistent with the findings for *Financial Mail* during the 2007 time period. Official body / company sources rank third, with five and unknown sources rank fourth, with two.

Figure 26: Breakdown of sources used in *Financial Mail*, January – October 2008



Overall findings show that experts are utilised as sources most often for this time period in *Financial Mail*, making up 177 of 572 source occurrences. Government / political parties rank second with 170, official body / company sources third with 138, unknown sources fourth with 75, citizens fifth with seven and academics last with five.

4.5 Images

The figures below indicate the overall occurrence of images within the three themes of analysis utilised in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*'s coverage of Africa.

Table 35: Overall occurrence of images for July – December 2007

Theme	Time	The Economist	Financial Mail
Politics	33	74	4
Economics	36	39	66
HIV/AIDS	4	3	11
Total	73	116	81

Table 36: Overall occurrence of images for January – October 2008

Theme	Time	The Economist	Financial Mail
Politics	89	135	34
Economics	94	62	103
HIV/AIDS	3	5	7
Total	186	202	144

The above findings show that *The Economist* features the most images throughout both time periods, comprising 43% and 38% of the overall amounts for July – December 2007 and January – October 2008, respectively. *Financial Mail* ranks second within the 2007 time period, with 30%, followed by *Time*, with 27%. This time period also sees the economics theme events featuring the most images, with 141 (52%), compared to politics with 111 (41%) and HIV/AIDS with 18 (7%).

The findings for January – October 2008 rank *Time* second among the overall figures, with 35% and *Financial Mail* last, with 27%. Economics again features the most images,

with 259 (49%), followed closely by politics, with 258 (48%). HIV/AIDS ranks third, with 15 (3%).

4.6 Breakdown of images

The figures below indicate the location of images used for each theme of analysis. Images that do not accompany text include instances where the text is only an image, with no accompanying literature, or where the image is the explanation for the literature, namely, the headline on a cover page of a magazine.

Table 37: Breakdown of images in Time, July – December 2007

Image type	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Accompanying text	31	36	4	71
Not accompanying text	2	-	-	2

These figures show that images accompanying text occur more than those not accompanying texts, by 97% to 3%. The economics theme features the most images, comprising 49%, followed by politics with 45% and HIV/AIDS with 6%. Politics is the only theme that features images that do not accompany text.

Table 38: Breakdown of images in Time, January – October 2008

Image type	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Accompanying text	89	94	3	186
Not accompanying text	-	-	-	0

These findings indicate that during the 2008 time period, *Time* only placed images with text. Economics again ranks first, with 50%, followed by politics with 48% and HIV/AIDS with 2%.

Table 39: Breakdown of images in The Economist, July – December 2007

Image type	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Accompanying text	74	39	3	116
Not accompanying text	-	-	-	0

These findings for *The Economist* are consistent with *Time's* findings during the 2008 time period in that images accompanying texts are the only ones featured when reporting on Africa. The theme with the most images is politics, with 64%. Economics follows with 33% and HIV/AIDS is again placed third with 3%.

Table 40: Breakdown of images in The Economist, January – October 2008

Image type	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Accompanying text	132	61	5	198
Not accompanying text	3	1	-	4

The overall amount of images featured here – 202 – is the most for all three magazines, covering both time periods. These findings also present the highest number of images that do not accompany text. Politics features the highest number of images, with 66%, followed by economics with 31% and HIV/AIDS with 3%. HIV/AIDS again contributes the least amount of images and is the only theme here that does not include images that do not accompany text.

Table 41: Breakdown of images in Financial Mail, July – December 2007

Image type	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Accompanying text	4	66	11	81
Not accompanying text	-	-	-	0

These figures show that economics features the most images for *Financial Mail* between July and December 2007. This is also seen with the findings for *Time* during both time periods. This theme comprises 81% of the overall number of images. HIV/AIDS ranks second, with 14% and politics third, with 5%. These findings also rank HIV/AIDS as the theme with the second highest number of images, which has not been observed before. This theme has previously been ranked third, with the least amount of images. These figures also indicate that no images that do not accompany text are featured within *Financial Mail* during the 2007 time period.

Table 42: Breakdown of images in *Financial Mail*, January – October 2008

Image type	Politics	Economics	HIV/AIDS	Total
Accompanying text	34	103	7	144
Not accompanying text	-	-	-	0

These findings align with those of the previous time period for *Financial Mail* in that images that do not accompany text do not occur. The economics theme contributes the most occurrences – 71%. Politics then follows with 24%. HIV/AIDS is placed third, with 5%. The position of HIV/AIDS as third, featuring the least amount of images, aligns with the overall findings for *Time* and *The Economist*.

4.7 Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate that political coverage of Africa dominates in the three magazines, with coverage of economics and HIV/AIDS ranking second and third. Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa and Africa receive the most coverage throughout the 16 months of analysis. Experts and political sources are sourced most often, with academics and citizens being sourced the least. *The Economist* features the most images throughout the 16 months of analysis. The Analysis follows, which will make use of literature found in the Theoretical Framework, apply it to the Findings presented here and so analyse the representation of Africa in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*.

Chapter Five

Analysis

Introduction

This study aims to analyse and compare representations of Africa in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*. As discussed in the theoretical framework, representations are constructions circulated by the media (Du Plooy 2001; Manning 2001; Williams 2003), through a process of selection and framing (Tuchman 1978; McQuail 2000). Therefore, the ways in which both foreign and local media represent the continent and its countries, the similarities and differences of these representations, the range of representations and the possible reasons for these representations are central to this study. The repetition of story foci, sources, language and often, the type of visual image, leads to stereotypes around Africa and its countries being perpetuated throughout each edition.

5.1 A typology of representation

Traditionally, representations of Africa focus on what Hawk names the big five: “poverty, famine, corruption, tribalism and, AIDS” (1994:3). The trends observed in the previous chapter support this view. Overall, representations analysed in this study demonstrate that a focus on political and economic issues in Africa and its countries is still the dominant manner in which the continent is framed, with an HIV/AIDS focus a distant third. The articles compiled from *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail* reveal a range of different types of representations. The range varies from negative to stereotypical, to the more positive and mixed representations.

5.1.1 Negative and stereotypical frames of meaning

Negative depictions of Africa and its countries dominate the coverage within the three magazines. The highest number of articles are on politics, indicating that Africa as a

continent and the countries that constitute it are still framed and identified through reports focusing on political issues, events and processes. War, conflict, unrest and corruption dominate. This pattern of representation is problematic, as it is similar to what Hawk (1994) argues is the dominant, negative way of representing Africa. Negative frames of meaning on Africa are evident through the sources, language and visual images used in the reports that constitute this theme. The source categories will be referred to as follows: experts; institutional sources (official body / company sources); political sources (government / political parties); academics; citizens and anonymous sources (unknown sources).

The negative and stereotypical manners in which Africa and its countries are represented imply that various countries have delusional, power-hungry leaders that are unable to allow peaceful elections to take place. Articles on coups d'état and violence during elections highlight the assumption that African governments cannot be maintained peacefully or successfully. Africans are also shown to be involved in illegal activities and various conflicts. Its citizens are unwell and ravaged by disease (HIV/AIDS), affected by poverty and unable to afford the basics necessary for survival. While development and investment opportunities exist, they are often presented against the negative aspects of Africa, thereby implying that investment in the continent is a major risk. In selecting these types of events to report on, the three magazines offer an inaccurate view of Africa and its countries.

5.1.1.1 The crisis-ridden continent

Articles focusing on war, conflict, unrest and corruption all add to the idea that Africa is a crisis-ridden continent. For example, Zimbabwe and Kenya are viewed as newsworthy African countries because of their unsuccessful elections, which led to political crises in both countries. Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, South Africa, Nigeria and Congo are also deemed newsworthy because of ongoing leadership crises and conflict. The common denominator in representations of these African countries is crisis. However, countries that are models of peace, with stable democracies and solid economies do exist. In

choosing to ignore these countries, including Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia and to a large extent, South Africa, the magazines imply that Africa consists of crisis-ridden countries.

Zimbabwe is the main example used by the three magazines to both highlight and illustrate the crises that abound in Africa. In selecting a country that is experiencing a political and economic crisis and presenting it to readers most often, certain representations of Africa are reinforced. *Time* selects language that carries negative connotations in reports on Zimbabwe. The magazine labels the country's leader, President Robert Mugabe, a "despot" and a "dictator". Headlines introducing Zimbabwe include:

- "A Despot's Cruel Resolve"
- "A Lion Meets His Winter: The last of a destructive generation loses his grip on power"
- "Zimbabwe's Democratic Dictator"

The Economist also refers to Mugabe as "the old man", a "tyrant", "dictator" and a "monster", which is repeated by *Financial Mail's* referral to him as a "despot", "autocrat" and "dictator". This language is typically used in articles on bad leadership. In focusing mainly on Zimbabwe's bad leadership, and ignoring countries being capably led, the magazines imply that bad leadership is the norm on the continent.

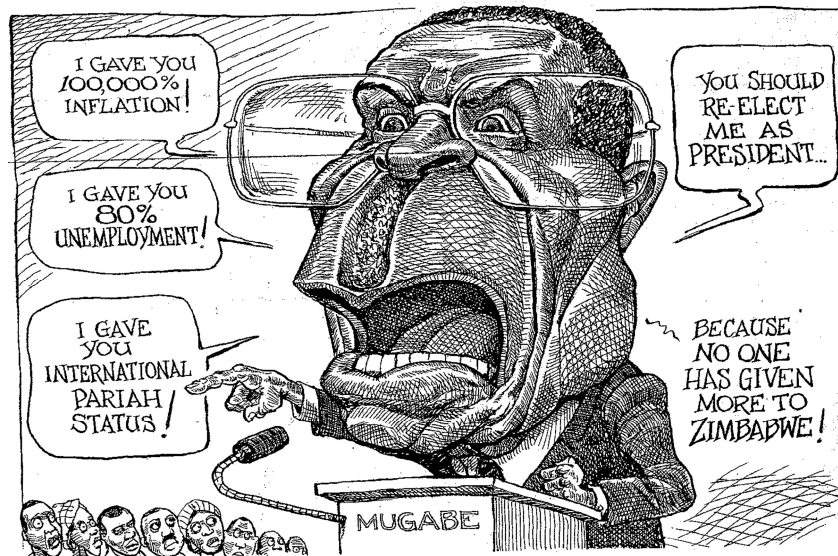
The language used in many of *Financial Mail's* headlines do not name the country referred to in the articles. The majority of these headlines are negative. By avoiding explicitly naming the country in the headlines, the headlines connote that a terrible crisis is at hand. For example, articles on Zimbabwe are introduced with the following headlines:

- "Multiples of misery"
- "Better the devil you know"

- “The devil’s in the detail”
- “Quadrillion and counting”
- “Helplessly hoping”
- “The silence that shames us all”
- “Anything but free and fair”

While none of these headlines explicitly name Zimbabwe, their connotations are negative. When the articles turn out to be about Zimbabwe, the language used in these headlines serves to reinforce notions of Africa as a continent of troubled or failed states. Zimbabwe also receives the majority of coverage in the *Financial Mail*, revealing that the magazine concentrates a lot of coverage on an African country in crisis. This concentration implies that all African countries are badly led and crisis-ridden, which is detrimental to any positive ideas of Africa that may have existed. *The Economist* connotes the same idea through its selection of cartoon, cover image and visual image foci.

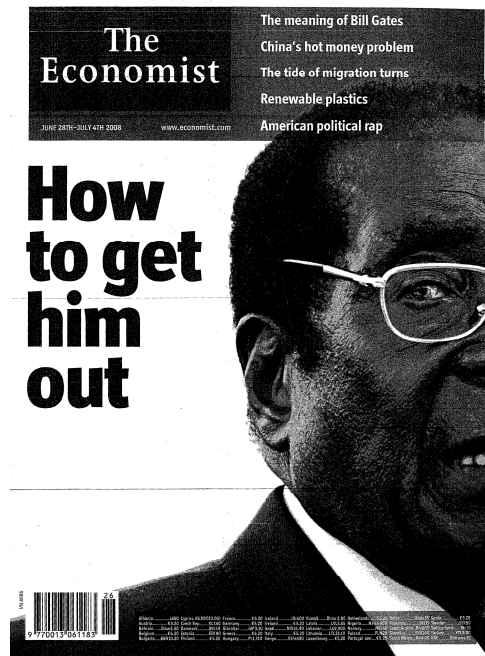
Image 1: Taken from The Economist, March 22 – 28, 2008



This cartoon is a caricature of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe addressing a group of people on why he should be re-elected as President. The image and message carries

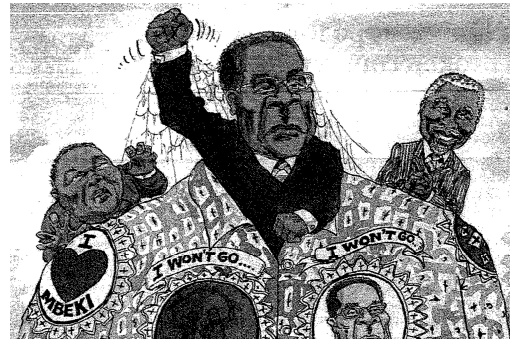
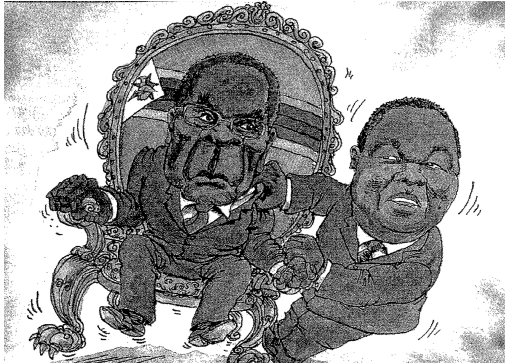
some of the stereotypical notions of African leadership. By choosing to focus on Mugabe in one of the few cartoons published, *The Economist* selects the typical dictator as the dominant image of Africa. This choice reinforces the ideas and images of Africa as a continent that is badly led, which has caused it to be classified as crisis-ridden. Mugabe also forms the focus of a cover image of *The Economist*.

Image 2: Cover of The Economist, June 28 – July 4, 2008



By depicting Mugabe and emphasising the need to “get him out”, this cover offers another example of the reliance on one troubled country to represent the entire continent. Mugabe is a dictator and should be gotten rid of, but by focusing so much on him, all three magazines tend to evoke Mugabe as typifying all African leadership. *The Economist* also includes many caricatures, based on the previous cartoon, of Mugabe and other actors implicit in the country’s situation as accompaniments to articles on the country.

Image 3 and 4: Zimbabwe's visual images in *The Economist*



In focusing illustrations on an African leader who refuses to go, and furthermore, showing that he has the support of another African leader in Mbeki, *The Economist* reinforces the notion of a crisis of African leadership. By adding Mbeki, a former fellow leader, into the image, the stereotype that all African leaders are corrupt and support one another in their endeavours for power is repeated.

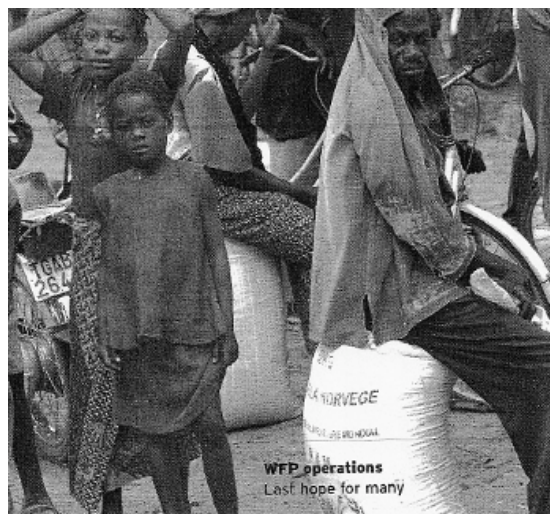
Articles on Sudan, Somalia and South Africa are introduced in a similar manner to those on Zimbabwe:

- “Darfur bleeds as talks fail” and “Pity the people of Darfur, pity the peacemakers too”. Darfur, a city, is often used to signify that the article is about Sudan, a country. This also connotes that a city’s crisis equates an African crisis.
- “That other war” and “Will the war start all over again?” in reference to Darfur, Sudan.
- Somalia: “Failed state, failed leader” and “Breaking into even smaller bits?”
- South Africa: “A Terror threat to the ruling party”.

Citizens often form the focus of images accompanying the articles. These images often show citizens fleeing from somewhere, fighting with someone or doing nothing. When these types of images accompany articles in the three magazines, a sense of fear,

desperation or helplessness is signified. When read in conjunction with the articles placing these people in Africa, a negative image of the continent is recycled.

Image 5, 6, 7: Negative images accompanying texts



5.1.1.2 The censored continent

Interestingly, *The Economist* features high numbers of anonymous sources in its reporting on politics, which raises the question of who was actually spoken to. The magazine always provides an explanation for the use of anonymous sources, usually by stating that they requested to remain anonymous out of fear of intimidation. This explanation serves to further support negative representations of Africa, as political intimidation is named as the key reason for the use of anonymous sources. Consequently, a stereotype around

Africa's freedom of expression is created, as the sources of information coming from these locations are viewed as feeling threatened and unsafe.

Furthermore, political sources are used the most in coverage of Africa and its countries. These sources all fall within the political realm and frame the rhetoric on most politically-motivated stories. McNair (1998), Curran (2000a) and Davies (2008) argue that the majority of news sources belong to elite groups within society, which form part of the authoritative domain within which many issues that are reported upon in the media fall (Gurevitch and Blumler 2000). When this is translated into coverage of Africa, freedom of expression is questioned. If political voices are the sources for Africa's political stories, then the question of whether any censorship of information took place must be raised.

5.1.1.3 The doomed continent

Time often compares both past and present events, placing emphasis on negative aspects of the past. Some headlines include:

- “Remember Somalia?”
- “Pain Amid Plenty: Despite years of aid from the West, millions of Africans are on the brink of starvation again. Why?”
- “The Demons That Still Haunt Africa: Violence in Kenya, one of its most stable nations, shows that the continent's old ills – poverty, corruption, tribalism – are far from cured.”

The language chosen or selected in these headlines, such as “Remember”; “again”; “Still Haunt” and “old ills” all evoke a past that is used to represent the present situation in Africa. On political events, processes and issues, Africa is almost always represented through its past, which the reporting implies persists into the present. A good example is an article on South Africa, which refers to the country's history of Apartheid: “Field of Broken Dreams: South Africa might just win the Rugby World Cup, but issues of race

still haunt its team.” It is necessary to note that *Time* has the least coverage of African countries overall, with the countries reported on most often displaying recurrent issues or themes of political conflict of some kind, which would be familiar to readers, as it has received much focus in the past. Hence, in focusing much of its reporting on Zimbabwe, Africa, South Africa, Kenya, Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia, previous, negative frames of representation of Africa and its countries form the basis of current, negative representations. These current constructions of Africa imply that the entire continent is doomed, due to its past.

Another interpretation of the doomed continent lies with the magazines’ representation of Africa’s reliance upon a Western country for assistance. For example, *The Economist* labels the United States of America (USA) as “Doing good, quietly” for Africa. The following cartoon illustrates Africa’s supposed reliance upon the USA for survival.

Image 8: Taken from The Economist, February 16 – 22, 2008



This image depicts former American President George W. Bush stepping off a plane in Africa and being greeted by two Africans waving American flags. By showing the two Africans receiving him, they are shown to be accepting him, despite the negativity surrounding him in his home country. This acceptance serves to recycle the stereotype

that Africa needs the West's assistance. Greenberg (2002:182) argues that images present readers with "condensed claims or mini-narratives about putative "problem" conditions and draw upon, and reinforce, taken-for-granted meanings of the world," supporting the stereotype that Africa is doomed without external assistance.

Time also offers three articles placing Bush as the assistance the Africa needs. Bush is called "The Healer" in one of these, again implying that Africa needs the West's help in fixing all its problems. The following image accompanies this article.

Image 9: Taken from Time, March 10, 2008



China's relationship with Africa is presented as "China's Healing Power", whereby the power to heal Africa is placed with an outsider; someone who is not African. An image in *Financial Mail* showing Jacob Zuma shaking hands with British Prime Minister Gordon Brown also introduces traditional, stereotypical ideas around the relationship Africa should have with the West, which is emphasised by the previous image of Africans surrounding their alleged saviour, Bush.

Image 10: Taken from Financial Mail, May 2, 2008



The Economist goes one step further than its previous image in posing many questions and at times, offering its own solutions as a basis for its reports on Africa. By offering advice, this foreign publication reiterates stereotypes around the salvation of Africa and how only outsiders can be of assistance to such a clearly troubled continent. The message that African countries are doomed without Western aid is also supported by the ranking of the economics sources used within articles. The previous chapter showed that experts and institutional sources ranked as the two most used source types within economics stories. In using experts' voices to explain, and thus, frame Africa's economic events, van Ginneken (1998), Allan (1999) and Louw's (2001) expectation that those deemed to be experts in a specific field will be used as prominent sources is fulfilled. These experts are rarely African, further supporting the stereotype that Africa cannot sustain or help itself; it needs external assistance to survive.

5.1.1.4 The dark continent

Numerous examples of the typical stereotypical descriptions of African countries can be found in the three magazines' coverage:

- Africa is twice referred to as a “dark continent”, the first in reference to widespread electricity shortages and the second in an article dealing with AIDS in Africa, where “dark” is spelt “DARC”, in reference to a gene implicit in AIDS research.
- South Africa is described as being in the “dark ages”, during the widespread load shedding experienced at the beginning of 2008.
- “The doves of war: Too many conflicts, too few decent armies to sort them out” in reference to conflict in Africa.
- “The world’s most utterly failed state” and “Nation-building for dummies” in reference to Somalia.
- “Another president booted out” and “Another president who won’t go” in Mauritania and Cameroon, respectively.
- “A very African coup” on Kenya’s election conflict of early 2008.
- The Central African Republic is described as being “beyond a failed state”.
- Ethiopia’s progress is questioned: “Will it ever be able to stave off starvation?”
- Zimbabwe is twice referred to as “Africa’s shame”.
- Africa’s ability to successfully manage itself is questioned when *The Economist* writes “Promises, promises”.
- “Optimisms and concerns” and “Where investors fear to tread” around foreign investment in Africa.
- On AIDS in South Africa: “Unsettling: SA needs urgent intervention to stop the carnage as Aids kills 500 000 people every year”
- On peacekeeping in Africa: “Too few to make a difference”

All of the above descriptions of Africa and its countries contain stereotypical undertones. By using these kinds of words and language, traditional stereotypes of Africa are perpetuated throughout. Another stereotype that is raised from this coverage is that Africa only has extremes – either extremely negative or positive scenarios, but very rarely anything balanced. Furthermore, these excerpts from reports on Africa also provide evidence towards another traditional view of Africa: there is always a crisis. Even when a potentially positive story is available, such as the one on foreign investment

in Africa, the need to raise concerns about the continent is clear. Africa is not Africa without a crisis, and so these magazines cater for this traditional idea of the continent.

5.1.1.5 The diseased continent

Reporting on HIV/AIDS supports the stereotype of Africa's anonymous suffering citizens. HIV/AIDS coverage includes reports on infection rates and the manner in which the virus spreads; government, scientific and medical action towards combating the virus and book reviews on books written on the subject. The majority of sources utilised in articles on HIV/AIDS are experts and institutional sources; citizens' voices barely feature. However, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail* use fairly high numbers of anonymous sources on this issue. HIV/AIDS is often a sensitive issue to report on and those affected by the virus may choose to remain anonymous if they are sources, which again place them as part of the now-silent, suffering masses of Africa.

Stories on HIV/AIDS fulfil many news values and are more often than not bleak in their outlook. Hartley (1982) and Allan (1999) name four news values that apply here: frequency, meaningfulness, continuity and negativity. Consequently, one would expect more stories on HIV/AIDS to feature, as the news value of negativity, which Africa is strongly associated with, dominates. Articles on HIV/AIDS are predominantly about the African continent, and not specific countries. Therefore, specific information on individual countries and their experiences with HIV/AIDS are ignored. HIV/AIDS then becomes a broad threat and issue, affecting all of Africa. Certain success stories and effective policy implementations have worked in some African countries, but the three magazines choose instead to paint Africa as a diseased continent.

5.1.2 Positive frames of meaning

Positive frames of meaning of Africa imply that the continent and its countries are presented in a positive manner, with none of the former stereotypes appearing. Completely positive representations of Africa hardly feature in *Time*, *The Economist* and

Financial Mail, especially in comparison to the number of articles in which there are negative and stereotypical frames of meaning.

Time features a cover page and feature on former South African President Nelson Mandela, entitled “A leader for the ages”. *The Economist* presents approximately four positive articles on Africa and its countries. The first, entitled “A politicians’ Oscar”, looks at the Mo Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership, which is awarded to African leaders who have promoted good leadership and governance throughout their time in power. Two very significant positive articles in this magazine also present the opposite of African stereotypes. *The Economist* once called Africa ‘the hopeless continent’ and while the abundance of negative representations within the magazine show that it has not necessarily shifted its stance, it features two articles on African development in late 2008, entitled “There is hope” and “Opportunity knocks”. The final article focuses on a “rare commodity”, a black man who has been appointed the head of Anglo American South Africa; a traditionally white-dominated company. In labelling him as “rare”, attention is focused upon South Africa’s past, where black people were discriminated against under Apartheid. However, the overall tone of the article is positive and it acknowledges that this is a big development for South Africa.

Financial Mail has the most positive coverage of Africa, especially focusing on economics. As the magazine often focuses specifically on investment, any positive opportunities or positive growth that has occurred because of past investments is reported upon. Some headlines include:

- “Can do in Angola”
- “Rooting for Africa”
- “Into Africa: Dubai World is becoming a major investor in Africa’s tourism sector”
- Investment in Africa is “Looking up”
- “Times are looking good” in Botswana.
- “African ambition”
- “A sparkling deal”

The language selected to construct these headlines demonstrates a shift in the traditionally stereotypical thinking around Africa and Africans. In using words and phrases such as “Can do”; “Rooting for”; “Looking up” and “looking good”; “ambition” and “sparkling”, positive connotations of the continent are reinforced. In the case of “Looking up” and “A sparkling deal”, the country reported on in the article is not named. When this type of representation introduces an article on Africa, a positive frame of meaning is created around the continent and its countries.

While *Financial Mail* is an African magazine, it has consistently contained negative coverage of the continent and its countries. The magazine also presents the only positive article on HIV/AIDS, which is traditionally a very negative African topic. *Financial Mail* is half owned by Avusa (formerly Johnnic Communications Limited); one of South Africa’s most prominent media companies (Wigston 2001). The other half is owned by The Business Media Company (BDFM), which is half owned by Pearson and Avusa. The inclusion of Avusa, an African media company, in the ownership structure of this magazine offers an explanation for its positive representations of Africa. The magazine is also partly owned by the owners of *The Economist*, so the abundance of negative representations is also explained.

5.1.3 Mixed frames of meaning

Mixed frames of meaning imply that the coverage of Africa is somewhat contradictory, offering both negative and positive representations of the continent and its countries. A good example is an article on Rwanda, which refers to the country’s 1994 genocide in its headline: “Seeds of Change: With coffee, wi-fi and corporate backing, Rwanda is moving out of the shadow of the past.” This article includes facets of Rwanda’s negative past to show the positive aspects of the future. Some other headlines include:

- “Angola’s Booming Economy” – the article first looks at the country’s past civil war before delving into the facts behind its now booming economy.

- “Two Sides of Africa’s Coin. Angola and Mauritius are both growing fast, but not everyone is sharing the wealth as African oil fuels an uneven boom.”
- “Selling Soweto’s Wine. Surprised to find that South Africa has black vintners, a couple turns distributor.”
- “The Candidate. Despite a colorful past, former Deputy President Jacob Zuma remains a top contender to succeed Thabo Mbeki in leading South Africa.”
- On Chad: “A regime saved, for the moment”
- On Nigeria: “The good, the bad and the president”
- “Hope and drawbacks”
- “Rebranding Rwanda” and “Rwanda’s vision”, which both refer to the 1994 genocide as a starting point for the now positive growth in the country.

In constructing Africa as a continent with both negative and positive facets, the three magazines shift away from completely negative representations of the continent and its countries. While these types of constructions still frame Africa as constantly informed by some form of negativity, the positive language inclusions, such as “booming”; “Selling”; “A regime saved”; “Hope”; “Rebranding” and “vision” serve to balance out the negativity, offering more contradictory statements on Africa. *The Economist* contains a cartoon that offers mixed representations of Africa.

Image 11: Taken from The Economist, September 27 – October 3, 2008

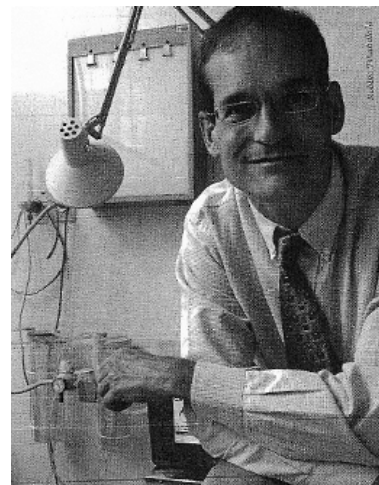
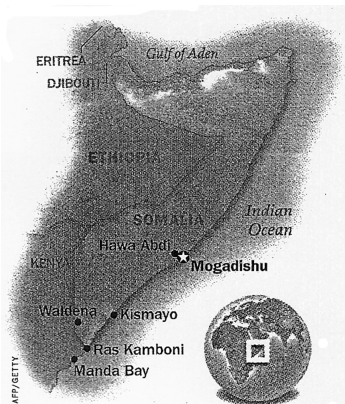
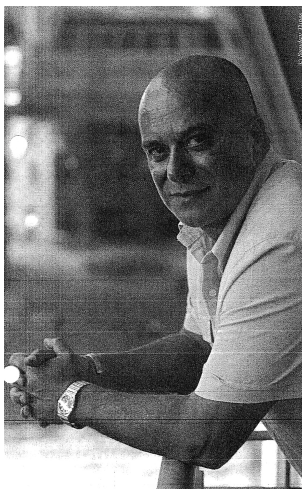


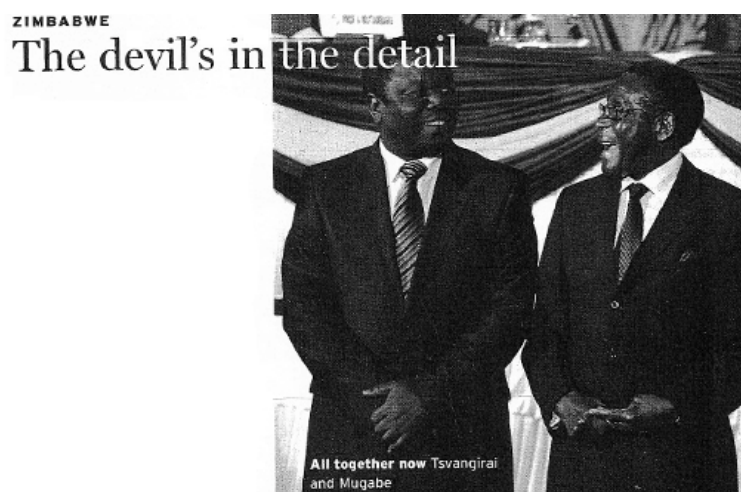
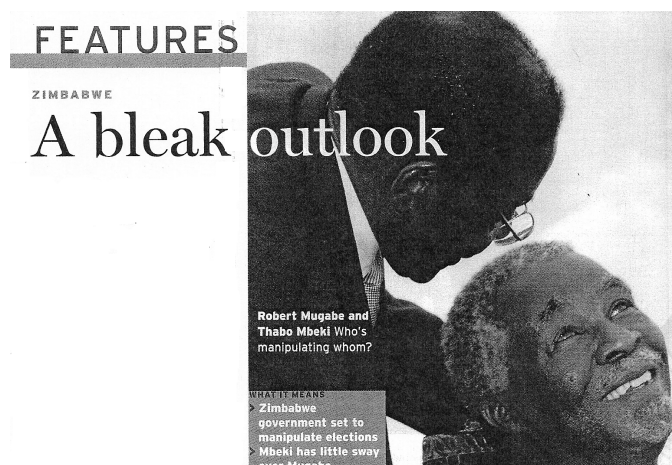
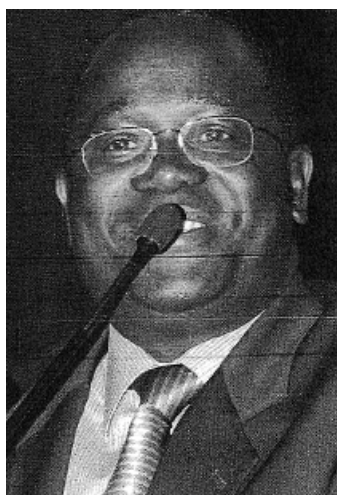
This cartoon is based on the recall of South African President Thabo Mbeki, which occurred in late September, 2008. The image depicts him walking away from a large pair of shoes, which the widely assumed next President, Jacob Zuma, is about to step into. The shoes also feature a label claiming them as “Property of Nelson Mandela”. Mandela is the first democratically elected President of South Africa, after the country transitioned into a democracy in 1994. Overall, this cartoon implies that neither Mbeki nor Zuma are able to fill the shoes of Mandela; neither of them is good enough to fulfil this role.

The exaggerated size of the pair of shoes, indicating that neither the past or future leader of South Africa will ever be a Mandela, offers a negative view of the country’s recent and future leaders and a positive view of its past leaders. However, Mandela can also be viewed as an African accident. Both Mbeki and Zuma are depicted as falling short, and many other negative representations of Africa’s leaders abound within the three magazines, so this cartoon is somewhat unusual in offering a positive representation of an African leader.

Overall, the most mixed representations within the three magazines are found to be some of the images used within the articles. Maps showing locations of coverage and images of people remain neutral, and usually positive, until they are interpreted in conjunction with the articles. Furthermore, many images of African leaders, politicians and experts, depict them as smiling and happy, while the article is completely negative. These contradictions in the representations of Africa indicate mixed frames of meaning.

Image 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17: Mixed images accompanying texts





The above images appear alongside articles with the following headlines:

- Image 12: “Rifts, splits and casualties. Negotiators are scrambling to contain the fall-out of the disastrous EU-SACU trade negotiations.”
- Image 13: “Remember Somalia? It’s back in the news, as Islamic extremists fight U.S. allies and the risk of a regional war in the Horn of Africa grows. Is this the next front on the war on terrorism?”
- Image 14: “Unsettling: SA needs urgent intervention to stop the carnage as Aids kills 500 000 people every year”
- Image 15: “Why rand plan will fail”
- Image 16: “A bleak outlook”

- Image 17: “The devil’s in the detail”

These headlines are all negative, yet are accompanied by positive images. The last three images and headlines refer to Zimbabwe, typifying the country as both negative and positive. This characterisation of the African country which receives the most negative focus in all three magazines does introduce positive elements to both it and Africa’s representation, but also serves to reinforce the negative constructions discussed earlier.

5.2 Conclusion

This analysis finds that negative, stereotypical representations dominate the coverage of Africa in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail*. These representations focus on framing Africa and its countries as crisis-ridden, censored, doomed, dark and diseased. One African country or leader is often used as the example of these representations, implying that all African countries and leaders exhibit the same characteristics. All three magazines present Africa in a predominantly negative manner, indicating that *Financial Mail*, as the only local magazine, also perpetuates traditionally foreign ideas of Africa. However, this magazine was also found to offer the most positive pieces on Africa, indicating that its ownership structure plays a relevant role in the representations it presents. Mixed frames of meaning were found, but are often linked more closely with negative representations, as they imply that the negativity of the past is still a major factor that should be remembered. In this manner, Africa is unable to shed its image as a continent of problems.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

This study found that Africa is still largely constructed around traditional, stereotypical frames of meaning in all three magazines. These representations include presenting Africa and its countries as crisis-ridden, censored, doomed, dark and diseased. A major issue with the conclusions of this research is that *Financial Mail*, the only local, African magazine included in this analysis, was also found to support these negative representations of Africa. A typical assumption is that only foreign media presents Africa in a bad light. These conclusions demonstrate that Africa and its countries are constructed in a traditionally negative manner throughout both foreign and local media.

This study analysed constructions of Africa within a typology of representation – negative, positive and mixed. The study found that the continent is painted as one of extremes – there is extreme negativity within Africa, with very few positive and mixed frames of meaning presented. This viewpoint is supported by the use of sources, language and visual images in the articles. Many negative stories on Africa are informed by authoritative sources and one African country or leader is often used as the example of these representations, implying that all African countries and leaders exhibit the same characteristics. Visual images also displayed this characteristic, whereby the cartoons and other images analysed generally use one negative African example to inform reporting on the 53 countries that constitute the continent.

Very few positive representations were found, with the most stories within *Financial Mail*. These positive stories focus on investment in Africa and so present the only strongly positive ideas around the continent. As an African magazine, the ownership structure of *Financial Mail* contributes to these positive representations of the continent. However, the magazine is half-owned by a South African media company, with the other half sharing ownership with *The Economist*. While much of *Financial Mail's* journalism is then informed by the West, the African aspect cannot be ignored. This facet of the

magazine's structure provides a strong explanation for the positive representations found in *Financial Mail*.

Mixed frames of meaning also did not rank highly within the typology of representation. Articles containing these representations were often contradictory, in that they first focused upon the negative past of a country and then developed into the current, positive aspects. Certain images accompanying texts were also found to offer mixed ideas of Africa. Often an image would be positive, but once interpreted in conjunction with the accompanying texts, they formed an extension of meaning from the articles, which led to certain negative representations filtering through. In doing so, mixed representations often supported negative representations of Africa, as these frames of meaning formed the basis for the positive representations.

There are various reasons for this abundance of negativity around reports on the continent. Traditionally, Africa was viewed as the "dark continent" and was pushed aside when it came to major news selection. When the continent was featured, coverage focused on negative aspects, thereby ensuring that African news had to fulfil the significant news value of negativity in order to be deemed worthy of inclusion on the news agenda. This study initially hypothesised that negative frames of meaning within both foreign and local publications would abound, and was proven correct. These observations demonstrate that modern news organisations still view Africa within the same traditional news values and so continue to place the continent as secondary to the rest of the world's news. Furthermore, *Financial Mail's* negative coverage also shows that Africans are representing themselves negatively, too. This highlights other issues within Africa's media structures. As these structures were initially inherited from our colonisers upon independence, it has been shown that shifts in their thinking and worldviews have not adapted to African circumstances over the years.

These observations open up avenues for further research within this field. While this study undertook a broad analysis of the representations of Africa within foreign and local publications, further research is required into how Africa's media structures have

developed since independence and why they are still perpetuating traditional ideas of Africa. In finding that these images are not much different from those offered by the foreign media, urgent questions around the state of African media are raised and must be pursued. As the findings of this study also aligns closely with findings of research conducted decades ago, research around the lack of change and development in Africa's representations is also required, especially from a foreign approach. Studies of this kind will also be strengthened if they choose to analyse more types of media. This study was limited to three magazines and so its conclusions only extend so far. Africa's current representations on radio, in television programmes, in newspapers, and perhaps on certain websites must also be considered and used to create a framework for the development and adjustments of traditional representations.

Further research can focus upon more themes of analysis, thereby offering a much broader overview of how Africa is represented in the media. This study also chose to focus on a typology of representations, namely negative, positive and mixed. These allowed for a holistic overview of Africa's representations to be observed and critiqued and should ideally inform further research into this field. By including various types of representations, future research will not be limited and closed off to other frames of meaning that define the continent.

This study sought to compare, analyse and critique the various representations of Africa in *Time*, *The Economist* and *Financial Mail* over a period of 16 months. This analysis showed that constructions of Africa in both foreign and local media are similar and have not experienced significant change over the past decades in which various African countries gained independence and developed their political and economic structures. In continuing the traditionally negative cycle of meaning around the continent, both in foreign locations and at home, media organisations ensure that Africa will never be presented in a fair and balanced manner.

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