

UNIVERSITÄT  SIEGEN

**The Sub-Saharan African Image in the German Elite  
Press 1979 – 1999**

**A Case Study of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süd-  
deutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, and *Neues Deutschland***

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## ABSTRACT

**It is not the literal past, the ‘facts’ of history, that shape us, but images of the past embodied in language . . . . .**

**We must never cease renewing those images, because once we do, we fossilise.**

*(Brian Friel, Translations (1981):Parry,1994:172)*

The Sub-Saharan African region had an image. Her image was as old as the sub-region itself. However, when cultures comes close to one another, relate to one another through social, economic and political activities, the presence of an old image becomes appropriated in the new socio-cultural contacts.

The Sub-Saharan African cultures' contact with the Western World was first marked by the Western explorations. Those explorations led to cultural narratives about the Sub-Saharan African region in the Western thought. The narratives constructed by the Western traveller / explorer, or the *Entdecker* as known in Germany, form the basis against which future images stemming from slave trading and colonialism were built.

Although slavery and colonialism have become historical fossils, there is the belief that the old narrated image still lingers on in contemporary newsmaking narratives and international news coverage. The contemporary image and its associated news narrative led to various criticisms by the Third World countries against the Western press in the 1970s. Those various critiques led to extensive research within international communication.

This present research is an attempt to assess how a Western culture like Germany constructs and projects a Sub-Saharan African image in her press – newspapers. To achieve this research goal, the Sub-Saharan African image is traced across colonial landscapes, international politics of communist and capitalist ideologies. Theoretically, international communication, newsmaking theories, and quantitative media content analysis were employed. Furthermore, this present research developed three main hypotheses around which the research’s problem was built. The hypothetical formation was intended to gain an insight into the trend of the Sub-Saharan African image between 1979 and 1999.

Hopefully, the study on the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press for the period of twenty years would assist in academic debates, and international relation discussions on the coverage of Third World countries by the Western press.

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## **DEDICATION**

To Mawulawoe Mawugbe,

**A beloved sister,  
whose sacrifice towards my education has brought me this  
academic achievement.**

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION: Definition of Research

This current project opens up with literal rhetoric - What is an image?

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), an image is a mathematical relationship:

**An Image is Mathematical.  
It is a set formed by mapping  
from another set.<sup>1</sup>**

The mathematical meaning of an image connotes an idea of a constructive process. Symbolically, the mathematical idea of ‘mapping out sets’ also suggests the binary of a *mapper* (The Subject) who maps out symbolic cultural images in relation to the object being *mapped* (The Object).

This binary of a *mapper* and the *mapped*<sup>2</sup> is shared by Niklas Luhmann. Luhmann believed that an object’s image can only be presented through a predefined frame mapped out by social and cultural *distinctions of this and that*.<sup>3</sup> According to Luhmann, ‘communication is not a direct transmission of meaning between persons’, it is rather a formulation of closed systems in socio-cultural environments, or what he termed as *operational closer*.<sup>4</sup> If Luhmann’s argument holds, then we may go further to establish that national, international, communal, and individual images are constructed along the relations of a *mapper* and the *mapped* one. Since images are a mapped out identity, the extent of an image to be either harmonious or vice versa, depends on the ‘cultural affinity’ between the mapper and the mapped. According to Al Hester, cultures present one another along the cultural perceptions of affinities existing between them (Hester, 1976: 245). A reference to Kenneth Boulding<sup>5</sup> throws more light on Hester’s view on ‘affinity’ in image construction.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a reworded definition of an Image from the OED. The idea of ‘mapping’ and ‘sets’ remains central to this project. It clearly touches on the title of this present research- A developed Western Economic Power (Germany) and An Undeveloped Third World (Sub-Saharan Africa). ‘Map’ and ‘Mapped Sets’ reinforces or touches subtly on the binary of the ‘colonizer’ and the ‘colonized’ under Bismarck’s Berlin Conference of 1884 -5 (see: Oliver and Atmoore, 1994, **Africa Since 1800**).

<sup>2</sup> It is my attempt to interpret OED’s mathematical definition of an Image within cultural concepts. Hence, the attempt to look at the idea of ‘mapping’ out ‘sets’ through the lenses of semiotics and cultural symbolisms. This form of analysis provides a coherent meaning to the international communication theories of Dependency and Cultural Imperialism theories to be discussed under Chapter 3. The idea of a mapper and the mapped forms the epic of this project as shall be seen in the subsequent chapters.

<sup>3</sup> Niklas Luhmann: Arnoldi, 2001, p.1 and p.6.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.6

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Boulding, (1961), **The Image**: remains the very basic ground of ideas for this current project. Thus, the general arguments related to mediated image perspectives would be built around Boulding’s work. Bould-

According to Boulding, an ‘image is shared by people who are also part of that image’ (Boulding, 1961:14). The idea of an image being a ‘shared belief’ suggests that images are not just cultural constructs, but communicative constructions aimed at reconfirming a culture's beliefs and aspirations. Consequently, images are not built out of cultural, social, economic and political vacuums. Rather, images are cultural constructions and an integral ‘part of the culture or the subculture in which they are developed’ (Boulding, 1961: 16). Boulding’s way of looking at an image within cultural terms calls us to digress and acquaint ourselves with what culture means. To define culture comprehensively on this page is not possible. We may however, attempt to define culture as a ‘social process by which meanings are produced, circulated and exchanged’ (Thwaites, et al, 1994). If Boulding maintains that an image is embedded in the fabric of a culture or subculture, based on Thwaites’ and his group’s meaning of culture, we may with certainty conclude that an image is culturally related to nationality, community, cultural groups and individual identity.

Again, the identity of a particular image depends on the ‘mapping out’ process (OED, 1995:667), the ‘cultural affinity’ (Hester, 1976:245), and the ‘shared cultural beliefs’ (Boulding, 1961: 14) existing between the *mapper’s sets* and the *mapped sets*. To describe an image as a cultural identity conforms to Boulding’s definition of an image within the contexts of ‘shared beliefs’. Boulding’s ideas on image as an identity are supported by the cultural theorist Stuart Hall. He contends that cultural identity ‘reflects common historical experiences and shared cultural codes, which provides people as one people with a continuous frame of reference and meaning’ (Hall, 1990: Williams and Chrisman, 1993: 392). Hall’s definition of cultural identity touches on Hester’s ‘affinity’ and Luhmann’s phenomenon of *distinctions*: ‘this’ and ‘Other’ (Luhmann, 1997: Baecker, 2001). To sum up, OED’s definition of an image as a ‘mapping’ of social, cultural, political and economic ‘sets’ of identities is influenced by the ‘codes of cultural references’ (Hall, 1990), ‘shared beliefs’ (Boulding, 1961) and the cultural ‘affinity’ (Hester, 1976) existing between who *maps* and the set being *mapped*.

Furthermore, an image as a ‘mapped set’, hones in the idea of framing. In its simplest meaning, we may describe an image in relation to the map / mapping concept as a *frame*. For instance, Luhmann’s ideas of ‘operational closer’ can be interpreted to mean that an ‘object’ or a ‘set’ is given a new image or a new frame of cultural representation. Images are framed in the contexts of common ‘affinity’ (Hester, 1976), common ‘cultural codes’ (Hall: Williams

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ing’s image-related concepts would be transcribed into newsmaking and international communication perspectives. In short, Boulding’s work remains the first and the central literature of this project. His views will run from the introductory page to the conclusive chapters.

and Chrisman, 1993) and a 'shared culture' (Boulding, 1961) to determine the socio-cultural sets of inclusiveness and exclusiveness. Consequently, an Object or a Subject's image is its constructed frame and identity. It was established in the preceding paragraph that an image is a constructive meaning. Consequently, Bismarck's 'declaration of German protectorates in Togo, Cameroon, East Africa and South West Africa' (Oliver and Atmore, 1994: 106) in the late 19th century depicts a notion of cultural framing, or colonial 'sets' or a foreign culture to *fit* into the German colonial and cultural image.<sup>6</sup> To frame an image, on the other hand, suggests the notion of construction to fit as expressed above. According to Entman, to frame 'is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular interpretation' (Entman, 1993: McLeod and Detenber: 1999:4). The intended symbolic interpretation of a communication process would therefore determine how an object may be framed to depict a particular line of image. It may further be deduced from Entman's ideas that an image of a nation, society, community and an individual, is not a *wholesome identity* but a *constructed whole*. Thus in summary, an image is not just a 'mapped set' but also a culturally appropriated frame. Besides the constructive and framing notions about image, an image could be looked at as a narrative paradigm.

An image as a narrative evolved from the premise of culture. Thwaites et al's definition of culture as a 'production of meanings' opens up a debate as to how *cultures* are selected and framed to produce a new image of predefined cultural 'codes' (Hall, 1990), and common cultural 'affinities' (Hester, 1976). Boulding consented to the narrative meaning of an image. According to Boulding, an image is a narrative 'transcript' (Boulding, 1961: 64), and a narrative 'record, handed down from generation to generation' (Boulding, 1961: 64). Thus, we may equally establish that an image can be either a 'transcribed record' or an oral record in written and oral cultures respectively. The Australian Aborigines' oral records as depicted by Bruce Chatwin expose to some extent how images about *culture* are passed on from generation to generation through song. (Chatwin, 1987). Boulding's narrative definition of an image touches on the anthropological contexts of an image. The anthropological<sup>7</sup> theses may urge us to look at the relationship between Western thought and Sub-Saharan Africa from Elizabethan

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<sup>6</sup> To say Germany frames her colonies to fit the German Image should not be understood as the French's Assimilation system which intended to turn Africans into French – African men (Afigbo, *et al*:1986). According to Prof. Brunschweig, Germany's 'colonial policy was distinct from internal and foreign policies. (Iliffe, John 1969: 45).

<sup>7</sup> It might be of interest to know why I have introduced anthropological tendency in this current project. It is the belief of this current project that understanding the image and percept ional relationship between the Western world (Germany) and the Third World (Sub-Saharan Africa) calls for the appreciating of the ethnographic rep-

traditional polarities. A cultural narrative was mapped during this epoch to invoke the symbolic meaning of 'light' and 'night' representing the Western and the African cultures respectively. (Berghahn, 1977: 4).

In addition, Boulding's 'records' and 'transcript' view on image, may take a cue from The Bible. According to Winthrop Jordan, The Bible has symbolic polarities of black and white<sup>8</sup> which 'created a backwash of fixed impressions and attitudes difficult to efface' (Jordan, 1971: Berghahn, 1977: 4). The 'backwash' could be the recorded cultural 'code' (Hall, 1990) against which images continued to be constructed in contemporary international news coverage. Consequently, The Bible can be described as a narrative 'record' and a coordinated transcript.<sup>9</sup> Besides The Bible, travel narratives also throw light on Boulding's 'recorded' and 'transcribed' form of an image. The travel-writer actually travels to 'map' cultures, which are further transcribed to fit the 'sets' of the home culture. An example is Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* verses which reinforce the cultural difference between the Western and African image. For instance, Defoe's experience not only explicates the Western imagery of 'good' and 'pure' (Berghahn, 1977: 4) but establishes the cultural codes of civilised and savage. He remarks 'the approach of night, had been ... that of falling into the hands of cannibals and savages' (Defoe, 1981:176).

Furthermore, an image is not what it represents but the differences it represents. I would like to suggest that an image of a *thing* is not the mirror reflection of the *thing* but the actual identity of the *thing* which it is not. It might not be out of place to interpret an image as a cultural difference. Consequently, a 'mapped' out 'set' is a mathematical representation of difference. Boulding enriched our idea of differences attached to an image with his biological perspective on image. He likened an image to a Paramecium's perception of an image in the universe. The Paramecium, according to Boulding, 'is capable of recognizing food and non food', this mechanism 'clearly depicts an image of the universe as a binary' of 'food and not food' (Boulding, 1961: 38 – 39) in other words, opposites.

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resentation and presentation of Africa as a whole. Such ethnographic representations are anthropologically inclined.

<sup>8</sup> 'Black and White' should not be looked at in the strict sense of racism. This current project is not a racial project, it is a news-content analysis. The reason for this is to refer to The Bible as 'record' and a 'transcript' against Boulding's view. I am using The Bible to throw more light on how Images are culturally appropriated from certain 'recorded' and 'transcribed' cultural (*spiritual*) data.

<sup>9</sup> I plead that my reference to The Bible as a *narrative*, *transcript* and a *record* is not intended to question the spiritual meanings inscribed in the Bible. The usage is from a purely academic background of anthropology. This current project has no religious intentions.

Boulding also referred to an image as a social context. According to Boulding, an image is the society and the society is the image. Hence, the 'image does not only make society, society continually remakes the image' (Boulding, 1961: 64). The social context of an image is affirmed by Hall. According to Hall, all social institutions or social settings are symbolic and 'cultural codes' (Hall, 1990), common cultural 'affinities' (Hester, 1976: 245) as conformity to expected cultural relations.

Moreover, an image is interpreted as a cultural discourse. According to James Paul Gee, 'discourses are always embedded in a medley social institutions, and 'props' like books and magazines, laboratories, classrooms, objects and various technologies' (Gee, 1999: 18). Gee's view of discourse as something embedded in 'social institutions and props' equally suggests that constructions and representations such as images emanating from such institutions are discursively inclined. Therefore, an image, which is a social construct, can be referred to as discourse. The discursive concept of an image urges us to look at the discursive codes and its image presentations and representations. Van Dijk related discursive codes to an image. Van Dijk maintained that discourse is like a terrain where 'meanings and ideologies are produced for cultural manifestations' (van Dijk, 1985: 5).

All the outlined concepts on image would assist this project to further conceptualise the Sub-Saharan African image and its relationship to Western thought and the relevant historical experiences. Issues related to the Sub-Saharan African image will be looked at in chapter six. Before I move on to relate the image concepts to international communication and newsmaking concepts, it would be appropriate to briefly introduce the concepts touching on the Sub-Saharan African image.

In summary, the basic idea underlying the OED's definition of an image as 'mapped' out 'sets', and the supporting views from Boulding, Entman, Hall, Hester and Luhmann, connote an economic, cultural, and political worldview of cultural 'opposites'. This worldview is what Berghahn refers to as 'thinking in dualities' (Berghahn, 1977: 5). Harry Levin, on the other hand, refers to this worldview as a 'union of opposites' (Levin, 1958; Berghahn, 1977: 5). These views of 'dualities and opposites' were the discourses against which the Sub-Saharan African image was developed. It can be deduced from Berghahn and Levin's views that images at all levels are constructed, framed, narrated, and mapped out to generate symbolic cultural codes which are coherent to the continuity of the binaries of 'dualities' and 'union opposites'. As a reminder, these worldviews are what I attempted to conceptualise as *subject* and *object*, *'mapper'* and *'mapped sets'*, *exclusive* and *inclusiveness* in the preceding pages.

To be precise, Boulding's view on an image as a 'shared culture' (Boulding, 1961: 16) and the OED's definition of an image as a mathematical relation of 'mapped' out 'sets' (OED: 677) conform to the views of 'dualities' and 'union opposites' as expressed by Berghahn (1977) and Levi (1958). These ideas of 'dualities' and 'union opposites' lead us to access an image in the context of this present work, within the binaries of opposites. With reference to Levi's idea, cultures with common 'affinity' (Hester, 1976) would and may forge a 'union image'. On the other hand, cultures without such affinity and a 'shared cultural' image (Boulding, 1961) experience repulsion from an image formed under a common 'shared culture'. The repulsion attached to an image determines how an image would be constructed, framed, narrated, and mapped to fit a given cultural sets of codes. The Sub-Saharan African image, like any other international, national, and communal image, hinges on these 'dualities' of 'opposites'.

Perhaps, a case study of how these 'dualities' and 'union opposites' concepts operate would help this project to present a practical operation of the concepts related to image. For the Sub-Saharan African image, we may turn to look at a Sub-Saharan African image from the Elizabethan<sup>10</sup> view as incorporated in the popular works of William Shakespeare. According to Guy Hunter, Shakespeare's *Othello* was successful due to the colour bar the 'Elizabethan audience attached to the Moor<sup>11</sup> on the stage' (Hunter, 1967: Hartman and Husband, 1974:21). Knowing Shakespeare and his usage of language allows us to access the meaning of a 'Moor' and its connotations from a reductivist account of a metaphor. Based on Aristotle's view, Shakespeare's 'Moor' might be interpreted as a *moor* with reference to the Old English and the Germanic meaning. In Aristotle's view, 'metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else' (Aristotle, 1984: Hagberg: Gaut and Lopes, 2001:285).

We might therefore deduce from Aristotle's reductive account on metaphor that Shakespeare, who was confronted with cultural 'dualities' and 'union opposites', might have employed the 'Moor' not as the African *personality* but an 'uncultivated upland' (OED: 882) image of wilderness. A glimpse of Iago's remark to Brabantio, the Senator of Venice, concerning her daughter Desdemona, supports Shakespeare's usage of the word 'moor' to highlight cultural dualities of opposites:

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<sup>10</sup> This marks the time of Queen Elizabeth I (1558 – 1603) or Queen Elizabeth II (1952 - ), See OED, p.439: This current project is more interested in the time marking 16 and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>11</sup> The OED supplies five meanings of 'Moor' and 'moor':

1. A member of people of mixed Berber, inhabiting the North West of Africa,
2. Uncultivated land (OED: 882).

**Iago:**           *Sir, you're robbed.  
An old black ram  
Is tugging your white awe.*

(Shakespeare, 1991: 821)

Brabantio's meeting with the Moor also touches on this binary of 'dualities' and 'union opposites', which brings out the cultural image attached to the Moor and his African continent. The following drama followed:

**Brabantio:**   *So opposite to marriage that she shunned  
The wealthy curled darlings of our nation  
Run from her guardage to the sooty bosom*

(Shakespeare, 1991: 823)

Brabantio clearly drew a line between the cultural sets of 'affinity' (Hester), and 'shared cultural' (Boulding, 1961) image. He 'mapped' out the Moor's African image into a dual 'set' (OED: 677) of 'sooty' and 'wealthy' (Shakespeare, 1991: 823) as a means of reinforcing the 'opposite' borders between the subject's (European) and the object's (African) image. This relation of 'dualities' (Berghahn, 1977) acts as the cultural barometer against which Sub-Saharan African images were constructed, framed, narrated and projected. The dramaturgical construction and framing of the African image through the Moor confirms Boulding's social dimension of an image.

Boulding maintains that an image is 'public', it is the society, and the society is the image. (Boulding, 1961: 64). Boulding's idea reflects on Iago's and Brabantio's aesthetic construction of the Moor as a public view of the society and not their private view of the Moor. Boulding's 'public' view of an image also touches the theatrical medium itself. The Shakespearean theatrical construction, framing, narration and projections,<sup>12</sup> to some extent, throw light on the public view of an image as suggested by Boulding. According to James Hamilton, 'theatrical performances are presented to an audience; whilst the audience – actor dual relationship, gives the social dimension' (Hamilton, 2001: 558) or the public dimension to the theatrical medium. Since Boulding has asserted in the preceding pages that an image is the society and the vice versa, or with his 'hen and egg' (Boulding, 1961: 64) relationship, then

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<sup>12</sup> I am not using the terms construction, framing and narrative from the strictest view of the postmodernist rejection of the Enlightenment's 'Grand Narratives' (Livingston, 2001: 275). I am using these terms loosely to create a context within which this current project can build its arguments and thoughts.

presentations from the theatrical stage are not the private or individual voices of Iago and Brabantio but Western Culture's 'public' way of 'mapping' out the Moor's African image.

Another source of reflecting on the Sub-Saharan African image is the travel narratives of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Daniel Defoe's *Robison Crusoe* and *Friday* (Defoe, 1981) depicts how images were constructed to fit cultures which reside in the *peripheral* fringes of the *central* culture. The dramatic piece weaved into the novel marks the Sub-Saharan African image as in the Western thought at the time. My attempted reconstructed dialogue between Crusoe and Friday might read:

**Crusoe:** I asked him one time, who made him?

**Friday:** Old Benamuckee.

**Crusoe:** The poor creature did not understand me at all, I observed they *are*<sup>13</sup> ignorant pagans in the world

(Daniel Defoe, 1981: 194 – 195).

Crusoe and Friday's dialogue confirmed Boulding's image concept of 'shared culture', and Hester's common 'affinity' principle towards the mapping out culturally of a 'union of opposites' (Levi, 1958). The metaphor of paganism, connotes a binary symbol of a civilised person (Crusoe) and a heathen (Friday). This relationship conforms to Boulding's view of image, which is influenced by common 'shared cultural' (Boulding, 1961: 14) values in a given culture. Besides, Defoe's narration of the African image also touches on Boulding's 'paramecium' principle of 'difference' (Boulding, 1961: 38 – 39) in image building. In summary, Crusoe and Friday's dialogue reminds us of the mathematical meaning of an image which I operationalise to be 'mapper' and a 'mapped set', *Subject* and *Object*, *exclusiveness* and *inclusiveness*. All these binaries or 'opposite dualities' (Berghahn, 1977:5) could be summed up in Niklas Luhmann's system theory of *inclusive* and *exclusive* meanings (Luhmann, 1997: Baecker, 2001: 67). It also confirms Said's concepts on *cultural representation* (Said, 1985).

The preceding paragraphs touched on the presentation of African image from a general European perspective. However, there are other sources depicting how certain related media in Germany construct and present the African image. One of these sources worth looking at is the school textbook. The textbook is noted as an arena for encoded meanings and images.<sup>14</sup> The school textbook as a medium for construction, framing and presenting images is an accepted norm. Susanne Diestel describes the role of school textbooks in image formulations in

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<sup>13</sup> Italics are my own addition.

the simplest form as: ‘*Daß Schulbücher den Ablauf des Unterrichts beeinflussen, ist unbestritten*’ (Diestel, 1978: V)<sup>15</sup> According to David D. Perlmutter, the textbook is the ‘last officially endorsed guide to the ordering and meaning of world history and society’ (Perlmutter, 1997:69). Perlmutter’s idea of ‘ordering’ suggests that textbooks act as a cultural arena where images are ordered along ‘shared cultural’ (Boulding, 1961: 14) values and predefined ‘mapped out sets’ (OED: 677) of history. Furthermore, Perlmutter’s application of ‘meaning’ (Perlmutter, 1997: 69) may be taken further to throw light on how images are fashioned in textbooks. According to Klaus Peter, ‘meaning characterises a specific culture and provides it with a distinct value’ (Müller, 1995:43). Ultimately, in textbooks, images of communities, individuals, nations, and cultures are presented as a way of reinforcing the cultural binaries of ‘opposites’ (Levi, 1958) *subject* and *object*, *exclusives* and *inclusiveness*, the *mapper* and the *mapped sets*. An African image in German school textbooks confirms the role of textbooks in presenting cultural images. Hagen Wieneke noted that the African image in the German textbook is guided by a cultural norm or what he states as ‘Der Mechanismus ist einfach: Ausgrenzung<sup>16</sup> und Beherrschung’<sup>17</sup> (Wieneke: Mergner and Häfner, 1989: 73)<sup>18</sup>. Kallbach K., a school director, confirms Wieneke’s observation of the African image in German textbooks. According to Kallbach, the African image is portrayed through the Robinson Crusoe – Friday<sup>19</sup> relationship. Kallbach describes this relationship as ‘Herr-Diener-Verhältnis’<sup>20</sup>. Further reading on the construction and the presentation of the African image in German textbooks is found in the following sources in the footnote<sup>21</sup>.

In summary, the views raised by Diestel, Wieneke and Kallbach depict how the African image is defined and presented in German school textbooks. These depictions throw further light

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<sup>14</sup> David D. Perlmutter, 1997:70.

<sup>15</sup> Trans. my own: The textbook’s role in projecting images of cultures is indisputable.

<sup>16</sup> ‘Ausgrenzung’ – This German word which simply means excluding, to some extent, conforms to Boulding’s ‘shared culture’ principle in the formation of sociocultural images. The idea of Ausgrenzung also connotes my interpretation of the OED’s definition of an image along the ‘mapper’ and the ‘mapped out sets’ analogies.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Beherrschung’ – This word basically means the idea of ruling over something. It has a political tone, which suggests that the interpretation of an African image under such idea throws light on the past experience of colonialism and its politics. Consequently, it might be argued that the colonial experience continues to guide the presentation of the African image in the European literatures and other mass media. This assumption remains to be tested in this current project.

<sup>18</sup> Trans. my own: The African image is guided by the principles of a ruled or a colonized continent which does not *belong* to the peripheral part of the German cultures.

<sup>19</sup> Please refer to Daniel Defoe (1991:194) for further reading on the Robinson Crusoe – Friday relationship.

<sup>20</sup> Trans. is my own: Kallbach’s view could be translated to mean the Subject - Object , Coloniser - Colonised, Master - Servant, and Centre - Peripheral relationships.

<sup>21</sup> Nationale Kommission für das Internationale Jahr des Kindes, (ed.), (1979), **Die Dritte Welt in Schule und Jugendarbeit**, Bonn, Haag + Herchen.  
Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit, (ed.) (1973), **Dumm, Faul, Arm, Entwicklungsländer in deutschen Schulbüchern**, Bonn, Weltblick.

on Boulding's assertion that all images are defined within the parameters of common and 'shared cultural beliefs' (Boulding, 1961: 14) or Hester's common cultural 'affinity' (1976: 245). Consequently, the lack of common cultural affinities, shared values, and 'codes of cultural references' (Hall, 1990) renders the African image in the context of 'opposites' (Levi, 1958) described by Kallbach as the 'Herr – Diener' or the Subject – Object relationship.

Besides those media highlighted above, the mass media are being identified as one of the important arenas where national, international, communal and individual images are formulated and presented to the mass public. I will introduce briefly what constitutes the African image in the press. Academic debate on the African image in the Western press started about three decades ago<sup>22</sup> and continues into the 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>23</sup>. Among these debates is the assertion that the African or the Sub-Saharan African image in the press is fashioned around the 'dualities' (Berghan, 1977) of cultural, economic, and political 'opposites' (Levi, 1958). Such dual opposites have resulted in images stemming from the 19<sup>th</sup> century perception of the continent. The 19<sup>th</sup> century view of the African image was clearly marked by George Alagiah, a BBC Africa correspondent. According to him, 'there is an awful lot of historical baggage to cut through when reporting on Africa: the 20<sup>th</sup> century view of the continent is, even now, infected with the prevailing wisdom of the 19<sup>th</sup> century' (New Africa, 2000: 17). International news coverage critics describe the 19<sup>th</sup> century view in the 20<sup>th</sup> century reporting of Africa in the Western press as negative and sensational<sup>24</sup> news, depicting the African continent through the lenses of coups and earthquakes<sup>25</sup>. Dieter Bielenstein's observation of the African image in the German press also shared the view of 19<sup>th</sup> century orientated image formulations. He believes the African image is sensational and negatively orientated. He remarked; '*Berichte über Afrika in deutschen Massenmedien sind überwiegend krisenorientiert*' (Bielenstein, 1976: 1)<sup>26</sup>. Perhaps, the question to be asked is why Africa's image is portrayed under the mentioned negative news reports.

The answer takes us back to Boulding's concepts on image. We have already established from Boulding's image concepts that image formulations and projections are guided by the principles of cultural 'differences' (Boulding, 1961: 38 – 39) and 'shared cultural beliefs' (Boulding, 1961: 14) and values. It is important to note that, since the African continent does not

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Engel, J., (1972), **Afrika im Schulbuch unserer Zeit**, Hamburg, Fundament – Verlag DR. Sasse & Co.

<sup>22</sup> See Seam MacBride (ed.) (1980), **Many Voices, One World**, p.37.

<sup>23</sup> See, **Reporting Africa**, In New Africa, July / August 2000, No. 387, pp. 16 – 24.

See, **Home Truths by European Journalists**, In New Africa, July / August 2001, No. 398, pp. 36 – 38.

<sup>24</sup> See Bosompra, K., (1989) **Africa News in The World press**, p.60.

<sup>25</sup> See Rosenblum, M. **Coups and Earthquakes**, In Rihstand, J., and Anderson, M. H. (1981).

share a common cultural belief, ‘codes of cultural references’ (Hall: 1990), nor any cultural ‘affinity’ (Hester, 1976: 245) with European culture or Western cultures, it is therefore assumed her image would be constructed along the ‘dualism of opposites’ (Berghahn: 1977).

Although, some of the above assumptions on the African image in the Western (German) press were produced from systematic empirical analysis, one needs to grasp the factors which have contributed to this trend of image building. This calls for placing Boulding’s concepts into the context of mass communication, international communication and newsmaking. Thus, relating the basic concepts underlying image formulation and projection as described by Boulding to the theories of international communication and newsmaking would assist this current project to analyse how the mass media reinforce Boulding’s image-related concepts and the Sub-Saharan African image. This analysis will be looked at in chapter six. Furthermore, appraising the image-related concepts in the context of mass communication provides a scientific base for systematic and replicable hypothetical tests.

In summary, the preceding paragraphs have established and expanded the basic meaning of an image as put forward by the OED. The OED’s definition has been further developed through the authoritative image concepts put forward by Boulding. In much the same way, we have looked at the African image from a retrospective point dating from the Elizabethan across the various media of travel narratives, Shakespearean drama to the 21<sup>st</sup> century mass media – the press. However, none of the above image-related concepts of ‘mapper and mapped out sets’ (OED: 677), ‘shared cultural beliefs’ (Boulding, 1961), ‘opposite dualities’ (Berghahn, 1977), common ‘codes of cultural references’ (Hall, 1990) and my developed ideas of Subject and Object relations touches on image from the mass communication point of view. Certainly, theatrical and written literature suggests a mass mediated function of an image, but it is worth giving it a detailed look within the relevant theoretical concepts of communication. I must however establish that the basic idea of Subject and Object relations, which I attempted to deduce from the image concepts put forward by Boulding, will remain central to this current project. That is, all related arguments and theoretical concepts of international communication and newsmaking through to the hypothetical assumptions will hang on this dualism of Subject and Object relations. Consequently, the symbolic relationship between the Subject and Object remains the central thought of this current project and acts as the background against which all the related analysis will be carried. Hence, the project title, **The Sub-Saharan African**

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<sup>26</sup> Trans. my own: News reports on Africa are predominantly negatively oriented.

**Image in the German Elite Press**, should be understood from a theoretical or conceptual point of view as: *The Object's Image in The Subject's Press*.

In other words, Germany and Western allies symbolise the Subject and Sub-Saharan Africa as the vice versa of the Subject. I must give credit to Edward W. Said for his interpretation of the Subject – Object relation in his work ‘Orientalism’ (1995). My usage of the Subject and the Object is embedded in Said’s work which was grounded in the separation of the ‘Self and Other’ as applied in ‘Orientalism’ (Williams and Chrisman, 1994: 127). Said’s work has inspired this current project a great deal. Said basically embarked on how the West theorises the ‘Orient’ from a socio-cultural point of view. This current project from a novice’s hand attempts through the theories of international communication, newsmaking and news content analysis, to assess how the Western nations (Germany) have theorised the Sub-Saharan African image from 1979 to 1999 in the elite press. Interestingly, the Subject and the Object relational positions are not static. For instance, although it is a general belief that the Sub-Saharan African region conforms to the ‘Object’s’ position, we may however notice a different picture where certain countries in the sub-region would assume a temporal but striking position of the ‘Subject’. The new shifts will be seen in Chapter Seven touching on the hypothetical operations.

Due to the many interpretations associated with my usage of Subject and Object relations, I would like to give it further clarification and relevancy to ensure a continuity of thought and understanding in this current project. To mention just a few, Said (1995) portrayed the Subject and Object as ‘Self and Other’ (Williams and Chrisman: 127), Mikhail Bakhtin grounded the Subject - Object relationship in his linguistic theories as ‘dialogics and monologues’ – the speaker and the listener relationship (Bakhtin, 1968). Michael Foucault on the other hand, in his psychoanalysis of how the modern world constitutes the identity of the ‘Self’ / Subject and ‘Other’ / Object, propounded the concepts of ‘mad / sane’, ‘sick / healthy’ (Foucault, 1965, 1973, 1977b: Barry Smart, 2000:633) as his way of operationalising the Subject – Object relations. Furthermore, Harry Levin also transcribes the Subject – Object relation in what he termed as the ‘union of opposites’ (Levin, 1958: Berghahn, 1977: 5). Again, from the politics of postcolonial contexts, Frantz Fanon repositioned the Subject - Object in his concept of ‘Either / Or’ (Fanon, 1967: Homi Bhabha, 1994: 45).

Finally, from the international communication point of view, Johan Galtung<sup>27</sup> plunged the Subject and Object binary into a new popular international communication concept of dualism known as ‘*Centre and the Peripheral*’ (Galtung, 1971: Thusu 2000:64 - 65). For a sense of relevancy, the current project will stick to Galtung’s Centre - Peripheral relationship. Galtung’s concept in itself touches on Boulding’s principles of ‘difference’ (Boulding, 1961: 38 – 39). Boulding’s thought of *difference* on image has been confirmed in the above enumerated works of Said (1995), Levin (1958), Foucault (1965, 1973, 1977b), Fanon (1967), and Galtung (1971). We may, therefore, allege from the above that image formations are actually shaped along the basic socio-cultural principles of ‘difference’ (Boulding, 1961) and ‘affinities’ (Hester, 1976: 245). For the sake of coherency, this current project will dwell on one of the above binaries as the spring board for the interpretation and appreciation of the Sub-Saharan African image in the German elite Press. We shall, therefore, witness Galtung’s concepts of ‘Centre’ / Subject and ‘Peripheral’ / Object relations running through this current project from its introductory chapters to the closing chapters. I will briefly move on to introduce image, as understood earlier, into the context of communication and how Boulding’s image concepts influence the art of communication. The following paragraphs will therefore introduce the image-related concepts into the context of mass communication, international communication and newsmaking concepts. Although mass communication suggests the idea of conventional print, visual, audio and the contemporary new media, this current project’s concern is with the printed press, thus the German newspapers. Where necessary, other media will be mentioned.

From the above, image can be summed up to mean an act of representation and presentation in communication processes. For instance, Boulding with his biological<sup>28</sup> view on image maintained that the paramecium’s ‘behaviour is a response to an image’ (Boulding, 1961: 43). Boulding’s biological view to some extent suggests that images are laden with communication symbols. Thus, an image is meant to cause a degree of communication in a selected time and space. Boulding’s communication view of an image is supported by Nick Lacy who believes that ‘images are created in order to communicate a message’ (Lacy, 1998:5). The communication aspect of an image has caused certain communication theorists

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<sup>27</sup> Johan Galtung’s concepts of *CENTRE* and *PERIPHERAL* relations expounded in his studies of international communication remain the second basic literature in which this current project is grounded. We will therefore be experiencing two core authors in this project. The first is Kenneth Boulding, (1961) followed by Galtung (1977). These two authors’ concepts form the central thought around which all other concepts, arguments would be developed from the opening chapters to the closing chapters.

<sup>28</sup> See Boulding, 1961: 32 – 63.

to place image within the context of mass communication concepts of analysis. Image, as a communication concept, suggests its dynamic nature in any communication process. An image in a communication process is aesthetically based, and aesthetic is defined as ‘the contents of the experience or targets of attitudes’ (Goldman, 2001: 181). From the aesthetic point of interest, an image in communication is shaped by historical and temporal experiences. The aesthetic aspect of an image in a communication process is shared by Boulding who believes that images are formulated within historical ‘records and transcripts’ (Boulding, 1961: 64) to meet certain existing and predefined socio cultural ‘affinities’ (Hester, 1976). Daniel J. Boorstin confirms the communication and the aesthetic attributes of a given image. According to him, an ‘image is an important feature of the communication process and a product of the media created with certain presentation techniques’ (Boorstin, 1980: Guirguis, 1988: 1). Boorstin’s view on image in a communication context suggests that the ‘presentation techniques’ geared towards a targeted image depend on the ‘shared cultural values’ (Boulding, 1961: 14) between the audience and the communicator. At this point, we all know that our usage of image does not refer to a colourful pictorial drawing, but anything that can be referred to as the news in the printed press – the newspaper. Sven Windahl, Benno Signitzer, and Jean T. Oslon, throw more light on Boulding’s common ‘shared cultural values’ view of an image. According to them, the news, or what they refer to as the message, ‘is what the communicator and the audience have in common, what they share’ (Windahl, *et al*, 1992: 133). Hence images as a communicative symbol (Lacy, 1998) are always governed by the binaries of common ‘cultural code of references’ (Hall, 1990) embedded in a predefined socio-cultural *Centre – Peripheral* relationship. Boulding, Boorstin and Lacy’s views on image as a concept of communication confirms the basic meaning of an image from the cultural perspective, as the ‘means by which we make meaning, and with which we make the world meaningful to ourselves and ourselves meaningful to the world’ (Cohen, 1993: Müller, 1995: 43). Lacy affirmed that images are created in order to communicate, hence images as news are intended to create meanings. Consequently, the meanings attached to a mediated image depend on the shared cultural values (Boulding, 1961) attached to the message by the audience and the communicator. Consequently, Boulding, Lacy, and Boorstin’s views on image as a mediated concept confirm the basic principle of an image in a mass communication context. Their view also throws light on an image as a material source for communication and an end product of a communication process.

Secondly, the communication perspective of an image suggests a cognitive context. According to Boulding, an image, although part of society, is also something found 'in the minds of individuals' (Boulding, 1961: 54). It might be fairly argued that the cognitive tendency attached to an image by individuals in a particular socio-cultural environment makes it convenient for the communicator to communicate effectively with his audience or the 'individual'. The image 'in the mind of the individual' is an image which has been passed onto the individual by the society through genealogical 'records' and 'transcripts' (Boulding, 1961: 64) of beliefs, and values. Hence, the communicator's role reinforces particular genealogical values and beliefs already known to a society and its people.

This view of the communicator as reinforcing an already established cognitive image is better explained by Maxwell McCombs and Lee B. Becker. According to them, the 'media (*communicator*)<sup>29</sup> transmit the social heritage from generation to generation by communicating values and social norms to members of that society' (McCombs and Becker, 1979: 107). The ideas raised by McCombs and Becker are affirmed by Janet Woollacott. From her interpretation of symbolic mediated messages, she asserted that 'the messages (*mediated image*)<sup>30</sup> in the media are composed and interpreted in accordance with certain signifying codes or rules' (Woollacott: Gurevitch, Bennet, Curran and Woollacott, 1982: 92). Simply, mediated images or messages are 'composed' to meet predefined cultural 'codes of reference' (Hall, 1990) embedded in the cognitive terrain of an individual. From this I may say the messages or the images produced by the media are mirror reflections of cognitive thoughts harboured by individuals in a specific time and space. Consequently, the mediated messages are specifically 'composed' (Woollacott, 1982) and organised as cognitive systems to enhance the cultural stimuli from an embedded 'image in the minds of the individuals' (Boulding, 1961: 54). The assumptions on mediated messages as cognitive organised systems are supported by Kelman Herbert. According to Herbert, an image or a mediated message are the signifying practices of an 'organised representation of an object in an individual's cognitive system' (Kelman, 1981: 42). If an image is theorised to mean an 'organized system' as expressed in Kelman's thoughts, then it reflects and confirms the media's sociological role as a mechanism for selection<sup>31</sup> and composition of images in society. The media's role as mechanism for selection and composing images or messages can not be understated. For instance, it is a shared belief that

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<sup>29</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>30</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>31</sup> Gaye Tuchman, 1978.

'the picture (*image or messages*)<sup>32</sup> that one gets from the world is the product of the communicator's bias' (Cassata and Molefi, 1979: 80).

The above role of the media is further confirmed by Harold Innis. According to Innis, the mass media as a communication tool assists in the 'shaping and projection of images'. (Innis, 1964; Guirguis, 1988: 1). Innis' theory implies what Boorstin and Lacy expressed about an image as a communication process 'organized' to achieve certain degrees of socio-cultural 'projections'. The media, as a social and cultural set up<sup>33</sup>, perform the role of 'offering the public an item of news or *images*<sup>34</sup> as a way of conferring public legitimacy' (Schudson, 1995: 19). Since image formulations are guided by the principles of common 'shared cultural beliefs' (Boulding, 1961) and symbolic 'codes of references' (Hall, 1990), the media are therefore obliged to legitimise these shared cultural beliefs, 'in the minds of the individuals'. (Boulding, 1961: 54). Perhaps, it would not be too hasty to personify the media as a system with pictures of and about the world in its mind. This idea may hold if we turn to support Boulding's view that 'the image not only makes society, society continually remakes the image' (Boulding, 1961: 64).

Furthermore, the cognitive conception and the perception of an image by an individual, society, nation and tribes within and across time and space, determines how mediated images are projected to fit cultural dualisms of 'opposites' (Levin, 1958) enshrined within the binaries of Subject / Centre – Object / Peripheral relations. Kelman throws further light on the cognitive aspect of the mediated image as to how the cognitive attitudes of people, nation, tribes, race, etc. can affect the 'mirror reflection and refraction' of an object's image. The 'cognitive attitude' also reinforces how society perceives and relates to the general character of a projected image. According to Boulding, the behaviour of an individual or a cultural community is a response to a projected image. (Boulding, 1961: 43). Hence, an image is selected, and framed<sup>35</sup> to appeal to accepted meanings of cognitive symbols and codes. The cognitive processes outlined above throw light on the media as a mechanism for processing social images and as a tool for reinforcing attitudes within society. Kenneth Boulding also advanced the two theses put forward by Kelman and Innis.

Boulding believes that an 'organized' and 'projected' image by the media does not only trigger individual attitudes, but a general feedback behaviour in relation to the projected image.

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<sup>32</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Schudson: Curran, J. and Gurevitch, M. (ed.), 1991: 141 – 156.

<sup>34</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>35</sup> See, Ervin Goffman, In Fine, A. G., and Manning, P., In ed. Ritzer, p. 477.

(Boulding, 1961: 42). Thus, society relates to the embedded beliefs and codes in the individuals' cognition. The media also do not act in 'opposite dualism' (Levin, 1958), but act in unison with the accepted and 'shared cultural beliefs' (Boulding, 1961) and 'codes of references' (Hall, 1990) already existing in society's cognitive terrain. Michael Schudson explicates the cognitive relationship between newsmen and society further. He noted that '*news or images*<sup>36</sup> are not fictional, but are conventional and made to fit the social world of readers and writers' (Schudson, 1995:55). If Schudson confirms that news is made to 'fit' accepted social and cultural norms and conventions, then, we may equally applaud Boulding. To Boulding, images emanate from 'shared cultural beliefs among people in a given space and time. The ideas raised by Boulding and Schudson suggest that in any communication process the mediated messages are fashioned to favour the social, economic, political and cultural segments which share the same beliefs, conventions, referential codes<sup>37</sup>, signifying practices<sup>38</sup> and affinities<sup>39</sup>. Therefore, opposing segments would receive less favourable images or news from the newspaperman whose cognitive values are in conflict with that socio-cultural segment.

The current project's basic concern is on how and what shall constitute the Sub-Saharan African in a cognitive terrain of the German, whose cultural, social, economic, and political values are not in concert with African socio-cultural values. It might be an academic fallacy to conclude that the Sub-Saharan image evolving from the German cognitive cultural terrain would be less favourable; hence, the primary goal of this current project is to evaluate how the Sub-Saharan African image has been formulated and projected. This current project will therefore, analyse the Sub-Saharan African image by relating the above image-orientated concepts and their communication attributes such as: image as a 'shared cultural belief' (Boulding, 1961), image as an 'organized cognitive system' (Kelman, 1981), image as a way to communicate (Lacy, 1998), and image as a technical creation and presentation (Boorstin, 1980) and how they are related to the processes of newsmaking.

The basic assumptions running through all the above enumerated concepts are that 'the media shapes and projects an image irrespective of its structure and content' (Innis, 1951) due to the 'dualism of opposites' (Levin, 1958) guiding the newsmaking processes. Innis' ideas suggest that, regardless of journalism's professional constraints posed by the three basic theories<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>37</sup> Hall, 1990.

<sup>38</sup> Wollacott, J., 1982: 92.

<sup>39</sup> Hester, 1976: 245.

<sup>40</sup> Due to limited space in the introductory chapter, the three basic theories ( Political – Economic, Social and Cultural, related to newsmaking) as indicated above, would be analysed in detail under Chapter 4. Newsmaking

underlying newsmaking processes – political and economic, social and cultural (Schudson, 1991: 177) – the media's role in 'shaping' and 'projecting' images in society can not be overlooked.

Walter Lipmann in a further study confirmed Innis' assessment of the media as a social system for 'shaping' and 'projecting' images within cultures. According to Lipmann, the media influence public opinion significantly, and can help shape policymakers' views on domestic and foreign issues by forming pictures - images in people's minds. (Lipmann, 1922: Goodman, 1999: 394). Lipmann's idea suggests that the media's constructed meanings assist societies and individuals in making their mental meanings of such projected images. The influential power of the media in forming pictures in the minds of individuals seems possible due to society's limited access to available information from which the individual can select and compare his meanings. Lipmann on the individual's limited environment stressed that the 'environment's reality is too big and too complex to be easily managed and understood by the individual' (Lipmann, 1922: Mousa, 1981:44). Consequently, to Lipmann, the press acts as the intermediate environment between the individual and his unseen environment. (Lipmann 1922, Mousa, 1981: 44). Lipmann refers to this intermediary environment of the media in a news-making environment as a 'pseudo-environment' which enables the media to create pseudo-realities in the minds of individuals (Lipmann 1922: Mousa, 1981:44). Lipmann suggested that mediated images or news are guarded by cultural conventions, codes, shared beliefs and affiliated relations. As a result of these assumptions, the newsmakers' end product turns out to be just pseudo-reality or a 'picture of reality on which men can act'<sup>41</sup>. Consequently, Lipmann implies that the mediated messages or images projected are not the truth about an image. The reason is, 'news and truth are not the same thing . . . . The function of news is to signalise an event, the function of truth is to bring a hidden fact ..' (Lipmann, 1965:226)<sup>42</sup>. Tuchman, in support of Lipmann's view of pseudo-reality, also asserts that mediated messages are more 'constructed realities than a picture of reality' (Tuchman, 1972: 1).

Lipmann, Epstein and Tuchman's views are also shared by Erving Goffman in his Frame Analysis (1974). Goffman, in his frame analysis, evolved two environmental principles or frames. His first environment is the 'natural frame environment' and the 'social frame environment' (Goffman, 1974: Fine and Manning, 2000: 477). In the natural environment, events

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processes are influenced by these theories. It will be relevant under this current project to discuss the theories affecting news production. Newsmaking theories would assist in understanding how the news items about Sub-Saharan Africa might be selected, constructed and produced.

<sup>41</sup> Edward J. Epstein, 1975: Guirguis, 1988:22.

occurred naturally whilst in the social environment, events turned out to be humanly manipulated. It may be deduced from the social environment, where the media operate, that events are 'fabricated' to let them seem 'real' (Fine and Manning, 2000: 477) like the shared image embedded in the individual's or the audience's mind. (Boulding, 1961). Since natural happenings in the 'physical environment' are processed to 'fit' a social reality<sup>43</sup>, it follows that events in both environments are projected through a constructed 'transparent view of reality'<sup>44</sup> in line with a 'shared cultural belief.'

Boorstin also shares the socially constructed views<sup>45</sup> on mediated messages. He believes that the media's pseudo-environmental attributes enable them to produce 'packaged' and pseudo-orientated news events (Boorstin 1980: Guirguis, 1988:26). In addition, Boorstin asserted that the media are able to project a world image into society as a result of the 'packaged news it produces' (Guirguis, 1988:26). Boorstin's assertion is also shared by Bernard Roscho. He described the media's role from the social perspective. According to Roscho, 'news content is the end product of a social process that results in some information being published while other information is ignored or discarded' (Roscho, 1975:4).

In summary, the ideas raised by Innis, Lipmann and Boorstin, Tuchman, and Roscho remain paramount to this current study. Their views confirm Boulding's claim that images are a creation of 'shared beliefs' (Boulding, 1961:14). Therefore, in the processes of any mediated image, the image needs to be selected, constructed, and presented in agreement with society's codes of references. In so doing, an artificial dualism of opposites would be created along the binaries of *Centre – Peripheral* relations. However, it is maintained that, besides Boulding's image-related views, newsmaking factors also affect how an image is selected, formulated and projected.

All the above concepts on image maintain that the media act as a social system for constructing image with social, political, economic, and cultural meanings. The media as a social system have already been established by the sociologist Niklas Luhmann. Luhmann observed that the media are a social system whose activities are influenced and determined by social forces. He further asserted that the social position of the media enables society to make meaning from the socio-cultural materials processed and disseminated through the media (Luhmann, 1995: Arnoldi, 2001: 4).

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<sup>42</sup> Lipmann:1965, In Bernard Roscho, 1975:15.

<sup>43</sup> Gaye Tuchman, 1978.

<sup>44</sup> Fine and Manning, 2000: 477.

<sup>45</sup> Harrod Innis: 1951, Walter Gieber:1964, Bernard Roscho:1975, Gaye Tuchman:1978.

Secondly, Innis, Lipmann, Tuchman and Boorstin's references to the media as a terrain for making constructed meaning reinforce the cultural role of the media in societies. Cohen also contended the cultural aspect of the media. Assuming we tend to look at the media in a cultural context, we might then lean again towards Cohen's definition of culture as a system that 'provides the means by which we make meaning, and with which we make the world meaningful to ourselves, and ourselves meaningful to the world' (Cohen, 1993:196). Cohen's views echo Boulding's cultural thoughts on image.

Boulding's 'shared beliefs' (Boulding, 1961:14) perspective suggests that images induce cultural meanings, which maintain the values of a 'shared culture'. Schudson also maintains the cultural context attached to mediated images. According to Schudson, 'the news is produced from a cultural reservoir of stored cultural meanings and patterns of discourse' (Schudson, 1995: 14). Schudson's assumption implicitly supports Boulding's view on image as recorded beliefs handed down from generation to generation<sup>46</sup>. Cohen's ideas imply that in understanding a foreign culture during international communication, any society would be influenced by the society's codes and symbolic references and the extent to which the foreign culture shares the home country's existing cultural symbols about a foreign culture. It is worth stating that, besides the social and the cultural views expressed, there are many theories underlying the relationship between the media and image projections. For instance, the mediated image could be looked at from economic and political perspectives. These perspectives would be looked at as newsmaking processes in chapter four of this current project. This introductory chapter would not permit me to elaborate extensively on these theories.

In summary, Boulding's assertion that images, individual, communal, national and international, or political and economic, are influenced by a common idea of 'shared cultural beliefs' (Boulding, 1961). These beliefs, consequently, act as the socio-cultural yard stick against which newsmaking men select and construct Economic, Political, and Cultural realities as expressed by Lipmann:1922, Roscho:1975, Tuchman:1978, and Boorstin:1980. The idea of 'shared cultural beliefs' also reinforces a cultural base line of 'opposite dualism' (Levin: 1958). Thus an image is assumed to be part of shared cultural codes and beliefs or considered to be outside a set of shared cultural beliefs. Hence, the societies sharing common values are alleged to be the occupants of its *Centre* position and those with fewer values

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<sup>46</sup> Boulding, 1961:64. Boulding's usage of genealogical terms suggest and confirm what Schudson refers to as 'cultural reservoirs'. We may develop this assumption to be the Robinson Crusoe and Friday image which could be handed down from generation to generation. Hence, it may be assumed that the Sub-Saharan African media image may be drawn from such a cultural reservoir.

remain in the *Peripheral*. This analogy remains to be tested within the German elite newspapers along newsmaking and international communication perspectives. The following pages will introduce international communication and the theories regarding newsmaking processes and how they affect image formulation and its projection as put forward by the listed views on the mediated image.

According to Michael Schudson, 'news is a form of culture and a social force and as a social force, news acts as the background through which and with which people think' (Schudson, 1995:3,16) and relate to the existing cultural schema<sup>47</sup> of image passed down onto them from generation to generation<sup>48</sup>. Schudson's definition of news as a 'social force' confirms Innis' reference to the media as a *force* in 'shaping and projecting' socio-cultural images in news contents (Innis, 1951: 1). Schudson's social view of the media and its production of mediated images or messages are acclaimed by Roscho who thinks 'the press's content reflects the society from which it emerges' (Roscho, 1975:5). Roscho's remark is further echoed by Windahl and his group, who see the media as an integral part of the society in which it operates. Hence, the media's mediated messages are 'what the communicator and the audience have in common' (Windahl, et al., 1992: 133). However, this shared social bondage does not guarantee news audiences with their anticipated news values. The reason is, 'the media provides their audience with images, stories are sometimes according to anticipated needs and sometimes guided by its own purposes' (McQuail, 2000: 67). Therefore, the media's social role is actually the 'mediation of reality' (Westley and MacLean, 1957: McQuail, 2000: 67 – 68). The enumerated role of the media suggests that mediated news and images are social, cultural, political events which are 'gathered' (Manheim: 1998: McQuail, 2000:278 - 9) and processed to depict an anticipated 'reflection of reality' (Fishman, 1980: McQuail, 2000: 279).

To appreciate the dynamics of news in the context of social and cultural forces is one of the bases upon which this current project attempts to formulate its two basic theories from Boulding's image concepts and Galtung's international communication theory of *Centre* and *Peripheral*. Evaluation of the social and cultural aspects of the mediated news and images calls for the expansion of Schudson's ideas to incorporate the theoretical concepts underlying newsmaking in general. Schudson identified three broad theories influencing newsmaking and the projected images. He identified the first theory to be the political economy theory. This theory stresses how the media formulates news values in an 'economic organisation, and how

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<sup>47</sup> Frederic Charles Bartlett, 1932, shares the beliefs that 'new information is organised by existing schema': Larsen, Stephen In (ed.), Akiko Saito, 2000:91.

<sup>48</sup> Boulding, Kenneth (1961).

it relates to the political structures in the state<sup>49</sup>. Secondly, Schudson contends that the factors determining news values in newsmaking processes are influenced by the ‘social organisation of a newsmaking institute, and the professional attitudes of the journalist under that particular set up’. (Schudson, 1991: 177). Finally, he conceived newsmaking within a cultural theory. According to Schudson, news is ‘produced within a cultural system and out of a reservoir with stored cultural meanings and symbols’. (Schudson, 1995: 14). Schudson’s newsmaking concepts may be substantiated with Jarol Manheim’s assertion of newsmaking factors. According to Manheim, ‘media economics, the sociology of the newsroom, and the professional training of journalists, are common to all forms of reporting’ (Manheim: Graber, *et al.*, 1998: 95) and the presentation of mediated messages and images. Herbert, J. Gans, in addition to Manheim, shares similar views with Schudson. According to Gans, ‘when journalists make news judgements, many organizational considerations, ranging from political and commercial pressure, come into being’ (Gans, 1980: 93).

Schudson’s newsmaking theoretical leanings and the supporting views from Manheim and Gans suggest that the formulation and presentation of mediated images is not absolutely influenced by ‘shared cultural beliefs’ (Boulding, 1961: 14), but external institutions and the organisational set up of a particular media set up<sup>50</sup>. Consequently, the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press would be influenced by the stated newsmaking theories and all the related conceptual facets. I must however, admit that there are many sub-theoretical facets<sup>51</sup> (Gate keeping theory, Galtung’s theory, Agenda setting theory, Narrative theory) which are embedded in the general assumptions related to newsmaking mediated image processes as expressed by Boulding, 1961, and Schudson, 1995. Although Schudson’s ideas assist this present project in understanding newsmaking processes and how it ‘shapes and projects images’, it does not touch on newsmaking within the international communication context. It is therefore, desirable, to introduce a reflection of how the media and its news content shape socio-cultural images of nations, individuals and people across international communication perspectives.

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<sup>49</sup> Graber, D., McQuail, D. and Norris, P., throws more light on the Schudson’s political economy theory (ed.), Graber, McQuail and Norris, 1998: 1.

Herman, Edward S. and Chomsky, N. (1988), also depict the political economy perspective in their work: **Manufacturing Consent**.

<sup>50</sup> Gans, 1980: 93 – 115.

<sup>51</sup> The above listed theories would be discussed in detail, since their presence are very relevant to this present project. It throws light on how image-related events are selected, processed and disseminated to the audience. Thus, Boulding’s concepts on image formation and Galtung’s *Centre – Peripheral* relations would be better understood under these theoretical facets related to newsmaking. These integral theories of the newsmaking theories would be discussed in detail under Chapter Four.

International communication is defined simply as a ‘communication across national frontiers’ (Maletzke, 1976:410). This present research is not absolutely conceived in the context of international communication. The reason is, this present research is taking a step forward to look at international communication processes from an intercultural position. As observed by Maletzke, ‘intercultural communication corresponds more to sociological and anthropological realities’ (Maletzke, 1976:410). Grounding this present research absolutely in international communication thought could be achieved by exemplifying the political at the expense of sociological and cultural leanings. This present project, therefore, is not drawing comparative studies between communication systems as may be understood under international communication studies<sup>52</sup>. We are rather looking at international communication from its international frontier perspectives. The project’s central idea of ‘opposite dualism’ (Levin, 1958), grounded in Galtung’s theory of ‘Centre – Peripheral’ relations (Galtung, 1971), would be better perceived from the level of intercultural communications. Moreover, the intercultural perspectives of this present project have already been mentioned with reference to ‘Othello’ during the Elizabethan era and the anthropological discourse of ‘Othering’<sup>53</sup> expounded by Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* and *Friday* as far back as the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

Also, the anthropological view of travel narratives, as according to Sara Mills, ‘travel writing presents a clear notion of the difference between *Europe*<sup>54</sup> as a race, of whom the narrator is a representative, and the nation which is being described’ (Mills, 1991: 88). Since this present research is attempting to plunge Galtung’s theory into cultural paradigms of ‘Othering’, it is appropriate to approach international communication with cultural interpretations<sup>55</sup>. The intercultural perspectives of this current project will be developed around the views projected by Gerhard Maletzke (1976) Michael H. Prosser (1976) with other supportive works from cultural and post colonial writings. Therefore, this current work needs to be looked at from an intercultural studies perspective with international communication leanings. This view will run throughout this study.

The introduction of international communication as a field of communication processes calls for a brief reference to the work of Daya K. Thussu. Thussu traces international

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<sup>52</sup> Maletzke:1976, makes it clear that international communications entails ‘comparison between communication systems’, whilst intercultural communication touches on ‘the relation between peoples of different cultures’

<sup>53</sup> See, Mills, S. (1991:88). As Said noted, ‘Othering’ is a process of regarding one race as superior to the other.

<sup>54</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>55</sup> The cultural interpretations should not be perceived as the cultural studies perspectives on international communication from the Gramscian theory of hegemony championed by Stuart Hall and his ‘Birmingham School’

communication to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, touching on pioneering work from Harold Laswell and Walter Lipmann in the field of mass communication research grounded in how the media constructs national propaganda and shapes public opinion respectively<sup>56</sup>. Historically, mass communication research could be traced to the works in the field of social sciences which sprang up after the First World War. Early social science researches were concerned with the role of ‘mass communication in propagating economic and military objectives’ (Thussu, 2000:54) as a way of justifying the wars which were central under political debates of the time. The war-orientated debates led to Lipmann’s studies on ‘public opinion’ to ascertain how the media induces society to legitimise socio-political issues (Lipmann, 1922: Thussu, 2000:54). Laswell also conducted systematic studies on how the media acted as a propaganda machine across cultural boundaries during the First World War. (Laswell, 1927: Thussu, 2000:54).

Two other international communication theories also emerged after the Second World War. The first theory engages in the political economy aspect of news, with its roots in the capitalism critique. The advocates of the political economy theory were concerned with the pattern of ownership and production in the media industries. (Thussu, 2000:55). This first paradigm is also referred to sometimes as the ‘communications and development’ which emerged in the late 1950s and the early 1960s out of ‘developmentalist thinking’ on the part of independent colonial states in Asia and Africa who blamed the West for their low pace of development which resulted from high interest rates from the World Bank and its affiliated bodies. (Sreberny, 2000:94). The ‘developmentalist’ view was, however, ignored by a new thinking grounded in the ‘Third World Modernization Theory’ (Thussu, 2000:56) which believes the low pace of development of the Southern hemisphere was due to their reluctance in doing away with ‘traditional attitudes’ (Sreberny, 1991:120) which impedes modern developments. The Third World Modernization Theory was spearheaded by Daniel Lerner. Lerner (1958), claimed that the media is the tool to help in a transitional process from ‘traditional’ society to a ‘modernized’ (Thussu, 2000:56) state.

A third paradigm in the field of international communication is referred to as the ‘dependency paradigm’. This theory, grounded in the ‘imperialist critique’, was put forward by Gunder Frank, 1964. The dependency theory was initially developed in Latin America in the late 1960s and 1970s. (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1991:120, Thussu, 2000:60). Central to the de-

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(Thussu, 2000: 72). What I mean by cultural interpretations is from the perspective of ‘difference’ as presented by Sara Mills (1991), Said (1995), Hester (1976), Maletzke (1976), Prosser (1976) and Levi-Strauss (1973).

<sup>56</sup> See Thussu, 2000: 54

pendency theory is the notion that transnational corporations (TNCS) in the northern hemisphere dominate the southern states by setting the terms of international trade (Thussu, 2000:61). This model of unequal economic relationship has caused 'under-development' in Third World countries due to their spiral dependency on the northern hemisphere (Grunder Frank, 1969; Thussu, 2000).

A fourth theory developed out of the economic dependency theory. This fourth theory concerned itself with the imbalanced development communication hardware and the imbalanced flow of communication software between the North and the South. (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1991; Thussu, 2000) A central figure to the cultural dependency theory is Herbert Schiller. He noted that the dependence on *Western*<sup>57</sup> communications technologies and investment has led to 'transnational corporate cultural domination' (Schiller, 1992: 39; Thussu, 2000) of Third World Countries by the West.

Herbert Schiller's cultural dependency theory was further expanded as the Structural Imperialism theory by Johan Galtung in the 1970s. Galtung shares the view that the world consists of developed 'Centre' states and underdeveloped 'Periphery' states. At the heart of Galtung's theory is the notion that the World is structurally divided along 'vertical' and 'feudal' lines. This structure determines the flow and the degree of communication contents between the 'peripheral' and the 'centre' nations. (Thussu, 2000: 64-67). There is also the notion that there is a harmonious relation between the 'centre' nations with common economic, military and shared cultural values. These factors determine the extent of communication between the 'periphery' and the 'centre'. Among all the theories of international communication Galtung's theory remains the central theory to this current project. Sub-Saharan African states represent the underdeveloped 'peripheral' and Germany as the developed 'centre' state. Galtung's theory will be discussed extensively through other viewpoints touching on image and news-making perspectives.

After the exposition of image, newsmaking and international communication perspectives, we might turn to look briefly at the selected medium for this project. Newspapers were selected for this project to enhance the intercultural perspective of this current project. A newspaper's news 'reflects the society from which it emerges' (Roscho, 1975:5). Hence, we can ascertain Germany's perception and conception of Sub-Saharan Africa as a cultural, political, economic and military 'Other' through the news they publish about the sub-region in their newspapers. In addition to Roscho's social view of the published news, there are Niklas Luhmann's

thoughts on society and communication. According to Luhmann, ‘all communications about society are conditioned by society’ (Luhmann, 1999:149). Luhmann’s view suggests that a newspaper’s content may be assessed as a society’s view towards other societies. Furthermore, the newspaper has distinctiveness over other forms of cultural communication. The newspaper is more orientated to the individual reader with its orientated reality. (McQuail, 2000: 20). Since there is a perception of reality attached to the newspaper’s content, it therefore serves as a platform to appreciate what the newspaper publishes as reality – an image of nations, communities and individuals.

Gerald W. Hoppole proposed that ‘newspapers are among the key sources of information about the world for the public as well as leaders’ (Hoppole, 1982:61). The above attributes assigned to the newspapers support their selection for this current project. In addition, the selected newspapers were chosen for their elite qualities. For instance, Hans Baumgarten and his group<sup>58</sup> distinguish the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ) from newspaper tabloids. They stated that ‘FAZ ist kein Sensational-und Boulevardblatt’<sup>59</sup> (Baumgarten, *et al*, 1974:7). It is therefore important to study elite newspapers for the images they carry as the public’s opinion. Elite newspapers, according to De Sola Pool, are newspapers read by ‘public officials, journalists, scholars and business leaders’ (De Sola Pool, 1952:1). A further description of the FAZ as a public opinion newspaper or ‘das Meinungsblatt’<sup>60</sup> confirms De Sola Pool’s views on elite newspapers. The editorials<sup>61</sup> in the selected newspapers about Sub-Saharan African countries will be analyzed through content analysis to ascertain their portrayal of the sub-region's image. Moreover, in chapter eight, an extensive discussion of the selected newspapers, within the perspectives of the German newspaper landscape before and after the Second World War will take place.

Finally, Sub-Saharan Africa’s colonial legacies will be mentioned. The colonial perspectives will throw more light on the hypotheses to be developed under this current project around Galtung’s theory of ‘centre’ – ‘peripheral’. A geographical description of the sub-region in addition to the colonial perspectives will be presented. (See also maps in Appendix 3 and 4.)

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<sup>57</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>58</sup> Edts. Hans Baumgarten, Erich Dombrowski, Karl Korn, Paul Sethe, Erich Welter , *Alles Über Die Zeitung*, 1974.

<sup>59</sup> Trans. my own: FAZ, is neither a sensational nor a tabloid newspaper.

<sup>60</sup> Trans. my own: Public Opinion, (Baumgarten, *et al*: 8).

## JUSTIFICATION OF RESEARCH TITLE:

This present research's title was formulated to meet the research objectives and to contribute to the ongoing studies on international communication and international news coverage in general. The selected period of 1979 to 1999 has an enormous significance in German political history. This period can be further divided into two main phases: 1979 to 1989, this phase throws light on a divided Germany along the political ideologies of Communism and Capitalism. The eastern part of Germany and the western part practised Communism and Capitalism respectively. From the third of October 1990, the former two German states became united under a new Germany with capitalist ideology<sup>62</sup>. (Roberts, 2000:26).

Political economic theory of newsmaking assumes that there is a partisan relation between newsmen and the political institutions in a society. This partisan relation influences editorial decisions during newsmaking processes. (Schudson, 1991). Daniel Hallin rebuffed the partisan role on the part of newsmen. He stated clearly that 'journalists need to move from conceiving their role in terms of mediating between political authorities and the mass public ..... [I]t might be time for journalists themselves to rejoin civil society and to start talking to readers rather than' (Hallin, 1994; Schudson, 1998:138) ascending to political heights. Hallin's partisan views were also supported by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky. They recognise the inevitable political affiliations between newsmen. According to them, the partisan role is due to newsmen trying to avoid 'liable threats' that can shatter news organizations' economic fortunes. (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:19) Contrary to the partisan view, McQuail contended that the partisan paradigm was a 19<sup>th</sup> century thought about the press<sup>63</sup>. McQuail stated, the 'party newspaper has lost ground to commercial press forms, both as an idea and as a viable business enterprise' (McQuail, 1994)<sup>64</sup>. On the other hand, Thomas E. Patterson looked at journalist partisan leanings from the perspective of 'journalist political beliefs' rather than from an organisational level. According to Patterson, 'partisanship in the media is not only a question of news organizations, there is also news decisions which are affected by hidden political beliefs' (Patterson, 1988: 19). Patterson conducted a test based on the 'hid-

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<sup>61</sup> 'In a newspaper, everything other than advertising is called editorial' (Bell, Alan, 1991:13).

<sup>62</sup> I must say capitalist ideology is used loosely here for the sake of marking differences and not in a strict sense of political sciences.

<sup>63</sup> Thomas E. Patterson, (1998) Political Roles of the Journalist, p.18.

<sup>64</sup> In Patterson, p.18.

den political beliefs' views. He found out that 'German journalists were the most partisan' (Patterson, 1988:20) among their colleagues from USA, Sweden, Britain and Italy.

If we accept the suggested political economy and its partisan view idea, then the German media under the two different political ideologies could be influenced by their respective state ideologies and individual 'hidden political beliefs'. Consequently, these ideologies would affect the selection of news values related to Sub-Saharan Africa with Communism and Capitalism outlooks. These assumptions justify the selected dates of 1979 – 1990 and 1990 – 1999. During the Cold War era, the Sub-Saharan African countries were simultaneously partitioned among the super powers of communism and capitalism. Olusengun Obasanjo noticed the division among African states along communist and capitalist leanings during the Cold War era. He observed that African leaders could not pursue a common international objective due to the East - West ideological divide and its polarisation effect on the African continent. (Obasanjo, 1996:16).

Festus Eribo conducted international news coverage studies in 1993 which reflected on the assumptions raised by Obasanjo. Eribo confirmed in his studies that international news coverage during the Cold War Era was reported along politically ideological leanings at the time. These findings primarily suggest that Eastern German and Western German newspapers' international news coverage on the Sub-Saharan African countries would be tilted towards Communist and Capitalist leanings from 1979 to 1989 respectively. Eribo content analysed the Russian Newspapers – Pravda, Izvestia, Trud and Selskaya Zhizin from 1979 – 1987. He concluded from his findings that the coverage of the Sub-Saharan region was influenced by the Soviet cultural ties existing at the time. This consequently resulted in 'ideological prejudice in favour of former pro-Soviet countries'. (Eribo, 1993). We may deduce from Eribo's findings that all mediated images about Sub-Saharan Africa would be ideologically framed. This assumption could be validated with Boulding's image concept. Boulding noted that 'the image not only makes society, society continuously makes the image' (Boulding, 1961:64). Furthermore, the political economy theory and its partisan views, and how it could influence image formulation across international frontiers, as noted by Boulding, brings Galtung's Structural Imperialism theory to a hypothetical debate of some sort. Perhaps this project could argue that the 'Centre' – 'Peripheral' relation is a social, cultural, economic and political process – it is not static. As Eribo noted, during the Cold War era, a 'Centre' – 'centre'<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> My usage of the two 'centres' is established that the centre represented in the small cap is a centre mapped out for convenience sake - perhaps, a temporal centre.

relation was conceived between Western Communist and Capitalist blocks with their affiliated Sub-Saharan African countries. This 'Centre' – 'centre' relation was noted by Bernard von Plate during the late 1960s. He stated:

*Bis zum Ende der sechziger Jahre war in Afrika die große Mehrheit der ehemaligen Kolonien selbständig geworden. Damit war eine Vielzahl neuer Staaten als Partner für die außenpolitische Interessenswahrnehmung der DDR entstanden*<sup>66</sup>.

(Bernard von Plate, 1979:657)

Eribo's studies justify this present research title to some extent. It is therefore clear that the formulation of this research's title, to analyse news contents from German newspapers during the Communist Era, explains the selection of *Neues Deutschland* and the Capitalist newspapers. These different newspapers give this project an intercultural perspective geared towards the 'exchange of meanings between cultures and across cultures' (Maletzke, 1976: 410). Another striking feature of the research title is that it allows an objective and comparative study of *Neues Deutschland* and *FAZ, Süddeutsche, Die Welt* of the Western German press landscape from 1979 to 1989 and from 1990 to 1999. Such a comparative analysis will provide a landscape on the Sub-Saharan African image during Communist and Capitalist political systems and the trend of it as the political systems change from 1989 onwards. In addition, these comparative political perspectives also give this project an international communication outlook as 'communication that takes place on the level of countries or nations' (Maletzke, 1976:410).

Secondly, the research title can be justified in terms of its international nature. A review of the research's literature suggested that most of the earlier studies concentrated on a particular country. For instance, Karin Böhme – Dürr studied the *German Image in the American Press* (Böhme-Dürr, 2000), Sonia Adly Guirguis content analysed the *Image of Egypt in the New York Times* (Guirguis, 1988), Issam Suleiman Mousa researched into *The Arab Image in the US Press* (Mousa, 1984) and Daniel Glass also conducted research on *The Ideological Coverage of the Third World in the German Press* (Glass, 1979). Although all of these studies touched on international news coverage, this current project on the other hand attempts to draw comparative news coverage of a tri-partite Germany: the German Democratic Republic (GDR), Federal Republic of Germany and a new German Republic. The political history of

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<sup>66</sup> Trans. my own: Many colonial independent African states emerged during the late 1960s. These independent states became of great interest to the international foreign policies of the German Democratic Republic (GDR).

Germany may give this current project its peculiarities and distinguish it as an international study from the works listed above<sup>67</sup> and the hope it will add new ground on international news coverage within the paradigms of Cold War ideologies.

Furthermore, the selected medium, 'elite newspapers' (the newspapers selected) also calls for a brief justification<sup>68</sup>. The print medium has been selected for this research due to its impact on the way society makes sense of the world through the psychological process that takes place during the reading of newspapers. McLuhan contrasted for instance the print medium with electronic media. According to McLuhan, the print medium has a profound impact on society's psyche due to its linear standardisation, rationality and individualism 'in processing the news content by the individual'. Electronic media on the other hand, is 'all-at-once-ness' and lacks this linear development. (McLuhan: Berger, 1995:57). McLuhan's way of contrasting the two media reinforces that the symbolic meanings produced by the print medium may be perceived as authentic due to this linear operation of the psyche. It has further been asserted that the print medium, thus the newspaper, is an indispensable source of information' (Guirguis, 1988:15) and serves as a platform for the interpretation of the "serious world of public affairs" (Berelson, 1949:117). If the newspaper serves as an "indispensable source of information" and for interpreting 'important world affairs', then the newspaper medium scores a point as a source for analysing a country's world affairs and consequently the world affairs' image about Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, the selected newspapers were selected for two reasons: The first is their daily appearance, which is very relevant to this project. A daily newspaper is supposed to have a universal character of news and timely political news or, as noted by Walter J. Schutz, an authority on the German print media landscapes, "als *Tageszeitungen* werden alle Periodika bezeichnet, die mindestens zweimal wöchentlich erschienen und einen aktuellen politischen Teil mit inhaltlich unbegrenzter (universeller) Nachrichtenvermittlung enthalten" (Schütz, 1996:324)<sup>69</sup>. The daily appearance of the selected newspapers is justifiable due to the constructive day sample methodology<sup>70</sup> decided on by this present project.

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<sup>67</sup> Unlike the other works, Böhme –Dürr's work was set within Cold War Political perspectives.

<sup>68</sup> Extensive discussion on the newspaper in general, the elite press and German print media would be conducted under chapter eight, since the definition I have provided for the newspaper does not even contrast it with other media – the radio or the TV.

<sup>69</sup> Schutz's description of the newspapers explicates the elite nature of the newspapers and their daily appearance. These qualities are relevant to this project on two counts; the availability and the methodological purpose, and the quality of news published.

<sup>70</sup> Constructed week sampling is the methodology adopted for the selection of the sample units – the newspapers for the content analysis. This methodology assumes that the 'news does flow equally throughout the week' (Guido H. Stemple III, in an e-mail sent to me on 15.11.2000).

In addition the newspapers were selected for this project due to their supremacy over other media, especially the television<sup>71</sup>. Robert D. McClure and Thomas E. Patterson recognise the supremacy of the print media, and noted the following: “Newspapers succeed where television fails because newspapers can clearly demonstrate the significance they attach to a given story. Newspapers have at their disposal the traditional means of indicating emphasis and significance ----- long stories, short stories, stories with pictures, stories without pictures, large headlines, small headlines; front page, back page, above the fold, below the fold”. Thus the print medium gives readers a strong, lasting, visual indication of significance.<sup>72</sup>

McClure and Patterson’s view reflects on Schudson’s cultural view on newsmaking and James W. Potter’s social construction of news.

Schudson describes newspapers’ content in cultural terms as ‘a form of culture incorporates assumptions about what matters, what makes sense, what time and place we live in, what range of considerations we should take seriously’ (Schudson, 1995:14). Potter on the other hand interprets the news as a social construction ‘encompassing what is to become the focus of the story and how the story should be told’ (Potter, 1998:111). Both views from Schudson and Potter are in support of how the newspaper creates McClure and Patterson’s ‘significances’. In a similar vein, the newspapers’ ‘significance’ construction processes remind us of Niklas Luhmann’s social view of mass communication as a ‘production of bifurcation of acceptance and rejection’<sup>73</sup>. We may deduce from the above assumptions that the newspaper contents are social, cultural, and economic constructions intended to ‘map out what’<sup>74</sup> is ‘significance’ and those that are not. Luhmann reminds us that these ‘significance’ constructions are meant to achieve socio-cultural disparities embedded in the ‘union of opposites’<sup>75</sup>, touching on ‘acceptance’ and ‘rejection’. Consequently, Sub-Saharan Africa, which does not share any *strong* ‘cultural and historical affinity’<sup>76</sup> or any ‘shared cultural beliefs’<sup>77</sup> with Germany, may have her mediated image highly tilted towards Luhmann’s pole position of ‘rejection’. These basic hypothetical thoughts justify the selection of the newspaper medium and Germany’s role in projecting international images along Luhmann’s binaries of ‘acceptance and rejection’ or Galtung’s ‘Centre – ‘Peripheral’ concept.

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<sup>71</sup> Guirguis, 1998:19.

<sup>72</sup> McClure and Patterson, 1976, In Guirguis, 1998: 19.

<sup>73</sup> Niklas Luhmann, Trans. by David Roberts, In Anthony Eliot (edt) (1999), p. 148.

<sup>74</sup> OED, 1998:677.

<sup>75</sup> Levin, 1958, In Berghahn, 1977:5.

<sup>76</sup> Hester, 1976: 247

<sup>77</sup> Boulding, 1961: 14.

Again, the American newspapers have been more extensively studied under international news coverage than any other country's press in the world<sup>78</sup>. Hiromi Cho and Stephen Lacy, who conducted an international news coverage study on the Japanese press, observed that studies on international news flow has emphasised coverage by the United States of America news media and not coverage by media of other countries. (Lacy and Cho, 1999:2). Lacy and Cho recommended that future international news studies should be directed towards countries other than the USA. This present research, with its focus on Germany and her press, is an academic response to Lacy and Cho's recommendations<sup>79</sup>.

Finally, this current project could be justified with reference to Robert L. Stevenson's parameter for international communication research. He suggested that, as a general rule, in any study in the field of international communication, any research that 'invokes nation or culture as the basis of explanation, needs a second data point in another nation or culture to demonstrate concomitant variation' (Stevenson, 1992: 546). This current project title which touches on Sub-Saharan African countries, the former German Democratic Republic (1979 – 1989), the Federal Republic of Germany (1979 – 1989) and finally a United Germany (1990 – 1999), is an attempt to meet the international communication parameter<sup>80</sup> recommended by Stevenson. In summary, I might say that this current project could be justified on the above discussed assumptions.

## **RESEARCH PROBLEM:**

Galtung maintained that the relationship between the '*centre*' (Western / Germany) and the '*peripheral*' (Sub-Saharan Africa) nations is disharmonious due to its highly sophisticated 'vertical' 'feudal' structure. (Galtung, 1971:Thussu, 2000: 65 - 66). The 'vertical' relation principle suggests that more news and quality news<sup>81</sup> flows between '*centre*' nations than the '*centre*' nations and the '*peripheral*' nations. The '*feudal*' relationship also suggests that a less amount of news flows from the '*peripheral*' to the '*centre*'. News flow in this project's context could be perceived as the amount of news space and the type of news given to the '*peripheral*' in the '*centre*'s' news domain – the print media. I have established that the '*centre*' - '*peripheral*' relation is a dynamic process. Hence, we may assume certain countries

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<sup>78</sup> See Cho and Lacy, 1992.

<sup>79</sup> Extensive materials would be provided in the main research's writing on the justification of the research title under chapter one.

<sup>80</sup> Stevenson, L. R., 1992:543.

within the Sub-Saharan African region being accorded with a *small* 'centre' attribute by the *big* 'centre' during news coverage. Galtung's 'centre' - 'peripheral' relationship touches on the central argument of this current project, grounded in the socio-cultural binaries of 'union opposites'<sup>82</sup> or in Luhmann's terms 'a bifurcation of acceptance and rejection'<sup>83</sup>. It is a shared belief among the works I have referenced<sup>84</sup> that the mass media construct and project national, international, and communal images along these binaries. Consequently, Sub-Saharan African cultures perceived as 'opposite' may receive news coverage conforming to 'centre' - 'peripheral' relationships of either a 'rejected' or an 'opposite' image. These basic assumptions mark the central problem in this current research.

For the purpose of a comprehensive discussion and analysis, this project will formulate its research problem within Galtung's theory of *Centre - Peripheral* relations as the developed *centre* - Germany - and the underdeveloped *peripheral* - Sub-Saharan African states. Underlying these two relationships are disparity factors like economic, political, military, cultural beliefs and values. It is against these disparities that newsworthiness is measured as 'unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, continuity and negative' (Galtung and Ruge, 1965) for an expected media image.

Briefly, Galtung's theory has been expanded within the studies of international communication. For instance, the *centre - peripheral* dichotomy evolved the Dependency Theory (Cultural Imperialism Theory) in the field of international communication. At the heart of Dependency Theory is the assumption that the northern hemisphere - *centre* nations - exercise economic control over the Southern hemisphere - *peripheral* nations. (Thussu, 2000). As a result of such control from the North, the *peripheral* South has become resource-dependent on the developed *centre* nations. (Gunder, 1969). Although the economic issues raised within the Dependency Theory may be worthy of mention, it does not play a significant role in this current research. However, the cultural aspect of Dependency Theory remains a key to the formulation of the present research's problems. Herbert Schiller, within his neo-Marxist leanings, developed the cultural aspect of Dependency Theory to be what he termed Cultural Imperialism Theory: According to Schiller, the cultural values of the underdeveloped - *peripheral* - nations of the South are ignored and undermined as the - *centre* - Northern nations pursue their economic, political and military policies in the South. (Schiller, 1976). Schil-

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<sup>81</sup> Quality News as indicated here should be looked at in terms of the opposite of Negative News. I have already defined what constitutes negative news. See Bosompra, 1989.

<sup>82</sup> Levin, 1958; Berghahn, 1977:5.

<sup>83</sup> Niklas Luhmann: ed., Anthony Elliot, 1999:148.

Schiller's Cultural Imperialism theory was further interpreted within the field of international communication. The cultural imperialism theses within the field of international communication contend that the peripheral nations unequally receive more news or media products from the North – *centre* – than vice versa. Again, the *centre* nations and their media ignore the complexities of the Third World – *peripheral* – cultures in their media coverage. Such ignorance results in distorted media coverage and an image of the *peripheral*. (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997).

To define this, cultural imperialism advocates sharing the following beliefs. They share the view that the asymmetrical relationship between the *centre* and the *peripheral* has resulted in a skewed amount of news coverage of the *peripheral* by the *centre's* media. (Schiller, 1978:35-48). The critiques against the skewed news coverage by the *centre* in the 1970s allege that about 80% of international news in the *centre's* media was about the *centre* nations whilst events about the *peripheral* Third World were ignored. (Masmoudi, 1981). James Potter put the hypothetical allegation mounted by the cultural imperialism school to an empirical news content analysis on newspapers in the USA. He content analysed eight prestige newspapers (New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Atlanta Constitution, Miami Herald, Los Angeles Time, and Christian Science Monitor). Potter recorded 3,469 front-page stories. 1,515 stories (43.7%) were international news. Among the 1,515 international news, 113 (7.5%) were dedicated to the *peripheral* nations and 1,100 news items were *centre* nation orientated. (Potter, 1998: 75 –76). His conclusion was in support of the cultural imperialist thesis. Potter asserted that newspapers with much larger international news space presented a much smaller proportion of *peripheral* news whilst the *centre* nations were given more international news coverage or a broader image and 'significance'<sup>85</sup>. (Potter, 1998:76). The arguments raised within the imperialist theses in terms of disparities in international news coverage between the *centre* and the *peripheral* constitute the first research problem of this current project. That is to say, the *peripheral* nations received less international news coverage in the *centre's* media. The first identified research problem suggests that Sub-Saharan African *peripheral* nations would receive less coverage in the *centre's* press – German newspapers.

It was further argued within the cultural imperialist thesis that the *centre* nations ignored the complexities of the *peripheral* cultures in pursuit of their economic and political interests in

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<sup>84</sup> Boulding, 1961; Boorstin, 1980; Innis, 1951; Lipman, 1922.

<sup>85</sup> Shoemaker, Pamela, *et al*, 1991: 784

the Southern hemisphere. (Sreberny – Mohammadi, 1991). Cultural imperialist theorists maintained that the *centre's* lack of understanding of the complexities underlying the *peripheral* cultures leaves the *centre* to filter the *peripheral's* issues through the lenses of the developed – *centre's* media system. (Thussu, 2000: 65 - 66). Such filtration processes on the part of the *centre's* media have caused what the cultural imperialist thesis claimed to be the superficial and sensational presentation<sup>86</sup> of the *peripheral's* media image. Salman Rushdie, an advocate of the cultural imperialism theory, maintained that information about Africa – *peripheral* – reaches the *centre* (West), 'through a series of cultural filters which reduces the vast continent to clusters of emotive slogans, which succeed in denying the centre's audience any sense of complexity, context, and truth.' (Rushdie,1991:201). In spite of the truth Rushdie's assertion might carry, its relevance to this present project needs to be supported with the necessary empirical research findings. Daniel Riffe and Eugene Shaw's empirical studies in this field may be a point of reference to this effect.

Riffe and Shaw carried out a newspaper content analysis in the USA within the cultural imperialism theses of the international communication theory. They conducted a comparative analysis of Third World – *peripheral* – news in the *centre's* print media. The selected newspapers were the New York Times and the Chicago Tribune from 1970 – 1979. It was noticed in their findings that the western media – *centre* – projects the Third World with news accounts which focus primarily on the Third World's conflicts and upheavals, to the exclusion of positive aspects of the *peripheral's* developments and cultures. (Riffe and Shaw, 1982: 617).

Riffe and Shaw's conclusive phrase 'the exclusion of positive aspects' suggests that the *centre's* media projection of the *periphera*, is negatively tilted. I would take the pain here to describe what constitutes negative news in international news coverage. Kwadwo Bosompra, who conducted a comparative study of international news and content analysed newspapers from Britain and Ghana in 1989, defined negative news in his project as "those items reporting social conflicts and disorganization, international tensions, conflicts between nations – military, political and economic, civil disruptions, political, economic or social conflicts between groups, crime and vice, accidents and disasters" (Bosompra, 1989:63). The arguments raised by the cultural imperialist theses, and the supported research findings, establish to some extent that the *periphery's* media image would be framed and negatively projected by the *cen-*

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<sup>86</sup> W. James Potter, 1998:78.

*tre's* media. This claim forms the second major problem for the present research. For graphic examples of this *negative* media image, see Appendix 1 and Appendix 2.

In summary, the cultural imperialist theorists claim that the *peripheral* gets less news coverage and is negatively projected. These two main conceptual claims can be defined as the basic research problem to be addressed under the project title: Sub-Saharan African Image in the German Elite Press 1979 – 1999. Other related research problems may be developed from the main problem to read: the Sub-Saharan African image is sensationally and distortedly projected due to less news space, news items categorised as conflict, natural and human epidemic and economic decadence<sup>87</sup>. I must state categorically that the primary goal of this research is not to measure 'negative' news. The word negative is beyond the measurable scope of this singlehanded project. However, the intent of this project is to deduce from news categories a presumed Sub-Saharan African image. At the end, such articles could be described as the German media's agenda.

The research problem will be addressed through the following chapters. Chapter One will provide the definition of the research and its problem, the purpose of the research, and the justification of the research title and Chapter Two provides the historical perspectives on Sub-Saharan Africa. This chapter will also trace the colonial relationship which existed between Germany and Sub-Saharan Africa. Chapter Three touches on the theories related to international communication. It will trace international communication theories to their respective historical perspectives. This chapter remains the key to this present work for two reasons. It will provide a frame within which the project can formulate its research problem and also it will form the basis for the research's hypothesis. Chapter Four will deal with theories relating to newsmaking. These theories will assist this research to ascertain the factors that are likely to influence media image. Chapter Five will review the research literature within the theories of international communication (international news coverage), and literature on news media and image, and Sub-Saharan Africa in the German media. Chapter Six is a formulation of the research's framework. It will basically touch on the media and its image construction, colonial discourses and image formulations. The framework will throw light on how this research formulates its hypothesis. In Chapter Seven, a detailed theoretical approach will be given to the research, and an operationalisation of research hypotheses to meet the time frames of 1979 to 1989 and 1989 to 1999. Chapter Eight provides an overview on newspapers and their relevance to this project, and an exposure of the German media landscapes, before 1989 and after

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<sup>87</sup> Bosompra, 1989; Riffe, Daniel and Shaw, F. Eugene:1982; Franz J. T. Lee, 1972.

1989, and a presentation of the selected newspapers. Chapter Nine touches on selected methodology. It provides historical perspectives on mass communication research, and the present methodology. In Chapter Ten, the data enhanced through the methodology will be analysed and discussed in relation to the established hypotheses. In Chapter Eleven, the research draws its conclusion from the findings. The conclusion will be related to the hypothetical theories. It ends with the researcher's recommendation for future research in the selected field.

### **PURPOSE OF RESEARCH:**

The primary purpose of this research is an attempt to find theoretical answers to the stated research problems under the research project title – The Sub-Saharan African Image in the German Elite Print Press.

These research problems have been defined as Sub-Saharan African countries receiving less news coverage and at the same time negatively orientated news<sup>88</sup>. In finding a socio-scientific answer to the above-defined research problems, this present project will be analysing certain selected newspaper's contents. It might be appropriate to briefly define what newspaper content analysis entails. Out of the abundant scholarly definitions on content analysis, due to limited space, I will limit myself to a few and expand the rest in detail under chapter ten on methodology. As a point of historical inference, Harold Laswell, Daniel Lerner and Ithel de Sola Pool defined content analysis as a technique which aims at describing, with optimum objectivity and precision, what is generally said on a given subject in a given place at a given time (Laswell, Lerner and de Sola Pool, 1952: 34). The above definition of content analysis certainly touches on the purpose of this present research: to *objectively analyse* Sub-Saharan African news content in a given *place* (Germany and the elite print press) at a *given time* (1979 – 1999). Laswell and his group's definitions to some extent do not stress specifically the quantitative aspect and the replicability of content analysis which mark the purpose of this present research. Quantitative analysis and the replicability of scientific data is paramount in any field of social science for the following reason. It checks personal idiosyncrasies and biases of the researcher (Wimmer and Dominick, 1997: Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998:21). It is a shared belief that scientists sometimes allow their personal views and beliefs to influence their research findings. Therefore, the purpose of this present research is not to analyse the Sub-

Saharan African image in the German press from my African point of view, but along the quantitative, systematic, replicable lines of statistical content analysis as defined by Riffe *et al.* According to Riffe and his group, content analysis can be defined as the ‘systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods in order to describe the communication and draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication its context, both of production and consumption’ (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998: 21).

In summary, the purpose of this research can be described as an attempt to infer from available statistical data how the Sub-Saharan African image has been shaped and presented in the German print media from 1979 to 1999. Secondly, to depict how two different political systems under Communist Germany<sup>89</sup> and Capitalist Germany<sup>90</sup> influenced the presentation of the Sub-Saharan African image. These inferences will be examined in respect of type of news allotted to Sub-Saharan African news. Established data on news categories would assist in an efficient and objective way in describing the Sub-Saharan African media image and its trend in the selected years.

To conclude this introductory chapter, this current project is an international and intercultural communication project. Its basic aim is to analyse the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press. This project will lean towards Boulding’s image concepts and newsmaking theories, Luhmann’s ‘acceptance and rejection’ communication principle and Galtung’s structural imperialism theory as the central theory of this project. These theoretical concepts will assist the methodological application to establish what constitutes the Sub-Saharan African media image and the trend of the image in the German print press from 1979 to 1999.

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<sup>88</sup> The theoretical perspective relating to the formulated research problem would be discussed under international communication theory, newsmaking theories grounded in Boulding’s image-related concepts.

<sup>89</sup> German Democratic Republic (1979 – 1990).

<sup>90</sup> Federal Republic Germany (1979 – 1990), and Unified Germany (1990 – 1999).

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES: Sub-Saharan Africa

#### Definition of Sub-Saharan Africa

The area of Sub-Saharan Africa used in this current research work is mapped along the following geographical lines. To the northern part are the Sahara Desert and the national boundaries stretching from the north eastern part of Western Sahara to the north eastern part of Sudan. On the southern side is the Indian Ocean, to the West is the blue stretch of the Atlantic Ocean whilst the Eastern part is marked by the Red sea, demarcating the thin-stretched landmass popularly know as the Horn of Africa and Yemen<sup>1</sup>. Geographically, Sub-Saharan Africa ‘stretch(es) from the fringes of the Sahara through the rain forests of Central Africa to the southern edge of the Kalahari Desert covering 48 or so countries and island nations<sup>2</sup>.’

In the northern belt of Sub-Saharan Africa is a plain of vegetation which flourishes in the rains caused by the equatorial winds from the Atlantic. A stretching savannah belt demarcates desert-prone vegetation to the north and the dense rain forest, popularly called the West African rainforest in the south. The West African rainforest stretches across Equatorial Guinea into Zaire forming one of the world’s largest tropical rainforests<sup>3</sup>. A fairly continuously marked vegetation belt pattern is very peculiar to the northern stretch of the Sub-Saharan region. Thus Sub-Saharan Africa consists of a fairly arid belt, sandwiched with a savannah belt and an evergreen rainforest to the south west.

On the eastern side of the Sub-Saharan region are the Ethiopian highlands. They have volcanic soil which enriches the Egyptian farm lands along the Nile. Rainfall is very high, with very cool and human-friendly temperatures. Due to its cool temperatures, the ‘Greeks regarded Ethiopia as the earthly residence of the gods’, others also refer to it as ‘paradise on earth’<sup>4</sup>. To the south of the sub-region is a stretch of plateau with its highest point in the Ruwenzori Mountains. On the western part of the Ruwenzori Mountains are the Zaire and the Kasai river basins. Stretching to the east of the Ruwenzori highlands are the Great Lakes of Victoria, Tanganyika, and Malawi and many more. Further south is a climate influenced by the southerly latitude and the winter months of June and July. This southern part, unlike the

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<sup>1</sup> Afigbo, A. E., ; Ayandale, E. A., and Omer-Cooper, J. D., 1988:4

<sup>2</sup> Louise M. Bourgault, 1995, p.

<sup>3</sup> Afigbo, *et al.*, 1988:3

<sup>4</sup> Afigbo, *et al.*, 1988:4.

rainforest belt, is malaria-free and not prone to tsetse fly. This feature in the southernmost part marks this region for animal husbandry, especially cattle ranching<sup>5</sup>.

Politically, the following countries can be marked within the Sub-Saharan African region. The Sub-Saharan African countries are made up of Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Cameroon, Chad, Congo, Cote-d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Eritrea, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zaire (Democratic African Republic), Zambia, and Zimbabwe<sup>6</sup>.

### **THE PEOPLE SOUTH OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:<sup>7</sup>**

Below the Sub-Saharan belt, the land stretching to the southernmost part was occupied by a dark-skinned race. The origin of the dark-skinned race is not yet known, although there are adequate theories and debates<sup>8</sup>. This race of people belonged to the San people of Bantu origin who occupied Eastern, Central and Southern Africa and presently certain parts of South Africa<sup>9</sup>. Difficult though it remains, a shared historical assumption is that, besides the dark-skinned people, there were the Caucasoid who occupied Uganda and Ethiopia<sup>10</sup>.

Linguistically, all the dark-skinned people occupying the south of the Sub-Saharan belt speak very 'closely related languages of a single subfamily called Bantu' (from the common word *muntu* a man; plural *Bantu* people)<sup>11</sup>.

### **PRE – COLONIAL LEGACY: The Traditional Societies.**

#### **The Indigenous<sup>12</sup> Community:**

In the Western discursive frame of 'Othering', the traditional Sub-Saharan African society, before the advent of the paradigms of Colonialism and Christianity has been referred to as a

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<sup>5</sup> Afigbo, *et al.*, 1988:4 – 5.

<sup>6</sup> This research concentrates on the news items related to countries below the Sahara belt to the Southern part of Africa. To minimise the research's scope, islands are excluded with the exception of Madagascar.

<sup>7</sup> I must admit that this current project does not claim competence in African history, and hope some of the historical presentations can be assessed in such a context.

<sup>8</sup> Afigbo, *et al.*, 1988:13.

<sup>9</sup> Afigbo, *et al.*, 1988.

<sup>10</sup> J.D. Fage, 1988: 11.

<sup>11</sup> Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, 1994:16.

<sup>12</sup> *Indigenous* is preferred to Jean Suret-Canale's 'primitive' phrase: Suret-Canale, 1984: 4.

‘primitive’<sup>13</sup> community. This temporal significance reference always marks the source of analysis of the traditional Sub-Saharan Africa. This epoch was marked with hunting and gathering which partly remained ‘till the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the Pygmies of the equatorial forest and among the Bushmen of South Africa’<sup>14</sup>. This type of society was more communal in nature and due to its low production did not allow for the individual exploitation of the other.

The hunting and gathering stage was followed by a more highly productive dynamic which was embedded in the use of agricultural tools such as the hoe, axe and matches. Livestock production was also common to this period<sup>15</sup>. These new methods of agriculture resulted in high production and surplus products. As Jean Suret-Canale noted, surplus products led to ‘opposing class formation’ (Suret-Canale, 1988) aimed at appropriation of the surplus product. A third feature of this traditional society is the class society which emerged due to extensive production and surplus management. The appearances of aristocracies and privileged classes remain to this day.

From the religious perspective, the Sub-Saharan African social life was bound to a cosmological system. John Mbiti throws more light on Sub-Saharan African cosmic beliefs. According to Mbiti, there is the belief in a single creator together with a host of deities. (Mbiti, 1971;Bougault,1995:4).

## **COLONIAL LANDSCAPES – An Overview:**

### **INTRODUCTION: The Transition.**

A reflection on the colonial landscape and its legacies calls for a brief introduction to the transitional period between the abolition of slavery in the 1880s<sup>16</sup> and the beginning of colonialism during the 1900s<sup>17</sup>. During this transitional phase, colonialism was hardly thought of. A new trade politics emerged as the Sub-Saharan Africans who were once “*a mere commodity*, now became producers of commodities for sale” (Boahen, 1987: 5). In the West African belt, commercial resources such as copal, cloves, beeswax, honey, wild coffee, pea-

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<sup>13</sup> Edward W. Said (1995); Johannes Fabian (1983); Levi-Strauss (1973) and Mills (1991) remind us that the ‘primitive’ usage was a discursive project embarked on by anthropologists, writers, travellers to cause an ‘Othering’ among cultures. A reference to the phrase ‘primitive’ is relevant to this current project. It reinforces Niklas Luhmann’s idea of society and communication as a ‘bifurcation system of acceptance and rejection’:In ed., Anthony Elliot, 1999:148.

<sup>14</sup> Suret-Canale, 1988: 4 – 5.

<sup>15</sup> Suret-Canale, 1988:6.

<sup>16</sup> Herbert S. Klein, 1999:183.

<sup>17</sup> A. Adu Boahen, 1987:27.

nuts, cotton and the most essential among them all, rubber, were the traded goods<sup>18</sup>. In the Eastern, Central and Equatorial regions, an important export was ivory. It was noted that by ‘the 1860s, the ivory moving down the Congo amounted to a sixth of all the ivory that was marketed in London to the value of 3 million pounds’ (Boahen, 1987:4).

Since most of the traded crops were not commercially cultivated, but picked in the wild by any community member, it brought an equitable distribution of wealth across aristocratic boundaries in the Sub-Saharan African communities. Thus, the *gathering economy* as it was called, unlike the slave trade which consolidated wealth in the aristocratic ruling class, the *gathering economy* brought a new distribution of wealth for all<sup>19</sup>. The new economy eventually engulfed the sub-region into the capitalist economy which was later intensified by the colonial system<sup>20</sup>.

From the political perspective, the *gathering economy* ushered in an attempted modernisation and a constitutional process. For instance, modernisation could be marked with the printing press in Portuguese Luanda in 1841, and Ghana in the 1870’s. Modernisation was also witnessed in the military field. Menelik of Ethiopia replaced his army with a more professional paid army<sup>21</sup>.

On the constitutional front, educated Africans set out demands in the native administration with demands for schools and other social amenities. Among some of the constitutional reform associations were the Fante Confederation formed in Ghana in 1868<sup>22</sup>. Just as the *gathering economy* increased wealth, demographic changes were also witnessed. It is assumed that the abolition of the slave trade and the free economy ushered in an increase in population from ‘about 104 million in 1840 to 120 million in 1880’ (Boahen, 1987:13).

Another cultural landscape in the transitional period was in the field of Christianity. Christianity sprang up in the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century along the fringes of the coastal landscape. Three missionary posts could be located in West Africa in the name of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), the Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS), and the Glasgow and the Scottish Missionary Society (GSM). According to Richard Gray, the SPG was founded in 1701 to ‘assist our loving subjects in foreign parts who were in danger of falling into atheism, infidelity, popish superstition and idolatry’ (Gray, 1980:14). To the southern

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<sup>18</sup> A. Adu Boahen, 1987:4.

<sup>19</sup> A. Adu Boahen, 1987:4.

<sup>20</sup> A. Adu Boahen, 1987:5.

<sup>21</sup> Boahen, 1987:9.

<sup>22</sup> A. Adu Boahen, 1987: 9 – 10.

part of the Sahara in South Africa were the Moravian Mission and the London Missionary Society<sup>23</sup>.

The 1840s saw an increase in the missionary societies to more than fifteen in the West Africa region and eleven in South Africa<sup>24</sup>. Besides biblical work, the missionary societies promoted education such as in elementary schools, secondary schools, and training colleges and general western literacy. Educational promotion led to the establishment of the Fourah Bay University in 1827. They also promoted local trades like, carpentry, printing, tailoring and other skills<sup>25</sup>.

The above accounts depict the Sub-Saharan African region before European colonisation. The following paragraphs will look at colonialism briefly under the British and French, whose colonial architecture will assist us to understand some of the German colonial policies. The actual concentration will be on German colonial trends in Sub-Saharan Africa. This current project will concentrate on German colonial policies. It is assumed that German colonial exposure may throw light on how the German print media reports the Sub-Saharan African image along former colonial lines.

### **The European Colonial Powers:**

By 1879, Sub-Saharan Africa was ruled by Africans. However, this national and political right did not last, with the introduction of the European colonial powers. It is noted that, by the beginning of 1900, Sub-Saharan Africa lost its ruling right over its own territories to the foreign powers<sup>26</sup>. It might be worth qualifying the use of European colonial powers during the early decade of colonial rule.

During the nineteenth century, France and Britain were the only recognised powers. This could explain why Britain and France were the first countries to establish colonial holdings in the Sub-Saharan African region<sup>27</sup>. According to Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, Germany and Italy did not exist as nations during the first sixty-five years of the nineteenth century; hence they could only join the colonial partitioning of the sub-region at a later date. (Oliver and Atmore,1994). However, between 1880 and 1900, all the sub-region 'except Liberia and Ethiopia was seized and occupied by the European imperial powers of Britain,

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<sup>23</sup> A. Boahen, 1987:15.

<sup>24</sup> A. Boahen, 1987:15.

<sup>25</sup> See Boahen , 1987.

<sup>26</sup> Roland Oliver and Anthony More, 1994:100.

France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy; and Africans were converted from sovereign and royal citizens of their continent into colonial and dependent subjects' (Boahen, 1988:26). Britain and France were noted for their dominant role in the colonisation which gave them more colonies than any other western colonial power<sup>28</sup>. The above overview presents a picture of western colonial power. In view of its relevance, however, this current project will stick to Germany's colonial landscape in Sub-Saharan Africa.

### **The German Colonial Landscape:**

Germany's entry into the seizure of territories in Sub-Saharan Africa is always linked to German political history. After a great political and economic revolution during the 1850s and 1860s in Germany, the single Germanic-Prussian states became one state under the leadership of Bismarck<sup>29</sup>. The unified new Germany under Bismarck was able to defeat France in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1. The defeat of France and Germany's acquisition of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine are marked out as what propelled Germany's colonial ambition in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Germany's ambition for colonies after her defeat of France was to position herself among the world powers at that time and to draw France's attention from her lost provinces to Germany<sup>30</sup>. This ambition could be witnessed in Bismarck's role in the Berlin Conference of 1884- 5. This conference marks the official partitioning of Africa among the European powers. Germany's colonial protectorates were Cameroon and Togo. Germany, however, lost her Togo and Cameroon colonies to the French and British after her defeat in the First World War<sup>31</sup>. Other German colonies to be recognised were South West Africa (Namibia)<sup>32</sup> and to the eastern part of Africa was the Tanganyika protectorate (Tanzania), which was later handed over to the Portuguese in 1919<sup>33</sup>.

To sum up, the colonial landscape as described above provides a historical background to this current project and shows how such a historical perspective could affect image-building and newsmaking processes. It is the belief of this project that colonial landscapes will assist in

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<sup>27</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 1994:100.

<sup>28</sup> Boahen, 1987, Afigbo, et al , 1988, and Oliver and Atmore, 1994.

<sup>29</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 1994:106.

<sup>30</sup> Oliver and Atmore, 1994: 106 –107.

<sup>31</sup> Afigbo, et al 1986:1.

<sup>32</sup> The Germans refer to it as 'Deutsch-Südwestafrika', Udo Kaulich (2000). The German occupation started in 1884 till probably the early part of the twentieth century. See Udo Kaulich.

<sup>33</sup> Andrew Roberts (edt), 1990:5.

ethnographic (qualitative) analysis of the trend in news coverage and the image projections of certain countries in the German print media. For instance, are we going to witness the German press reporting more on its former colonies than former British colonies? Such an analysis will be appraised within the theoretical contexts of international communication and newsmaking perspectives.

Perhaps reminding ourselves of what colonialism as a social process is, other than an economic and political ambition, would help us to relate it as a narrative discourse which can transcend into newsmaking<sup>34</sup>. As Hira Singh noted, 'colonialism set the pattern of historiography'. Ethnicity and a lack of understanding of an alien and complex society on the part of the colonisers' simplistic models of evolutionary and functionalist anthropology prepare the cultural frame in which a colony (Sub-Saharan African) can be identified (Singh, 1998: 35). Singh's view reinforces Salmon Rushdie's view as expressed in the preceding chapters. In addition within the narrative paradigms of newsmaking (Bird and Dardenne, 1988), it is believed that such an ethnological assessment of a culture could be passed on as a narrative source for image-building and newsmaking processes. Boulding also supports the view that historiography narratives affect image building. For instance, Boulding sees an image as social, economic, political 'transcripts handed from generation to generation' (Boulding, 1961:64). These cultural views on colonial historiography opened up much academic research and debates in the field of international and intercultural communication in the 1970s. An example of such a reference could be seen under the Third World countries' New International Communication Order (NWICO) debates. According to these debates, 'the Western press gives inadequate and superficial attention to the realities of developing countries, often infusing coverage with cultural bias' (Rosenblum, 1981:223).

Furthermore, the colonial economic theorists asserted that 'colonial capitalism destroys all the elements of pre-capitalist structures of the colonies and develops a new mode of production which is capitalist' (Singh, 1998:44), which has rendered the colonies over-dependent on the colonial master's capita. In the field of international and intercultural communication, this dependent perspective is popularly identified as the dependency theory put forward by Grunder Frank, 1976, and 1979.

The next paragraphs will throw more light on the international communication theories as mentioned above.

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<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne, 1988.

## CHAPTER 3

### **International Communication: A Definition**

Communication in its classical form or even as it is today in certain cultures such as Kentinkrono, a suburb in Kumasi, Ghana, can be understood as a simple process of beating the talking drum or the gong to signal a communal meeting. International and intercultural communication on the other hand suggest dynamic communication processes across national borders in a given place and time. Robert L. Stevenson defines international communication within its dynamic attributes. According to him, international communication is ‘foreign, comparative, international or intercultural, and global’ (Stevenson, 1996:182).

Other authoritative definitions suggest the following. According to Gerhard Maletzke, international communication can be interpreted within two perspectives, as a communication process across geographical landscapes and as an exchange of symbolic meanings. He defines international communication in his two perspectives, first as intercultural communication “that takes place between people belonging to different cultures, and who in many respects live with different frames of reference” (Maletzke, 1976:412). Secondly he describes international communication as a ‘communication process between different countries or nations across frontiers’ (Fischer, 1976:9). Heinz-Dietrich Fischer also confirms Maletzke’s definitions of international communication. For Fischer, international communication entails ‘cross-national expressions of all kinds’ (Fischer, 1976:11), in other words how nations perceive one another and relate to one another .

If Maletzke's definition implies that international communication takes place between international cultures and we take culture to be the total life of a people in a given time and space, then we are inclined to look at international communication as political, economic, cultural and military relationships between countries and how such relationships produce symbolic cultural meanings and images. The reason is that the contemporary world is shaped by the meanings produced in international communication processes along economic, political, cultural and power (military) relations (Fortner, 1993:Thussu, 2000). Meanings produced from international communication processes help in formulating national and international policies. Fortner contends with the role of international communication in policy issues. With respect to Fortner, international communication can be used to foster international diplomacies and also to influence policies of other nations. (Fortner, 1993).

From the above definitions of international communication, it can be concluded that this current project seems to be going in the right direction by plunging this study into international and intercultural communication. Thus, the communication and cultural processes between the German press and Sub-Saharan Africa will be determined by how cultural symbols or materials (politics, economics, military, social, and *culture*) are ensembled<sup>1</sup> to project a particular image, relation, and a policy. The international communication perspectives of this project will therefore throw light on how Germany perceives the Sub-Saharan African image and the degree of perception. The assumption that perceptions about nations are reflected in communication can not be denied. Sean MacBride and his group affirmed this. According to them, international communication is a means by which a nation's 'collective identity' is constructed (MacBride, et al.,1980). We may also 'pin down' the historical development of international communication processes and how their developments shape the communication process in the field.

### **INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION: Historical Perspective**

International communication as a communication process can be looked at from as far back as the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC as noted by Daya Kishan Thussu<sup>2</sup>. This current project however, as a Third World study, will use the mid 1950s as its historical reference point. The belief that international communication processes, as indicated above, can frame national and international images during international relations remains paramount to this current project.

A glimpse of international communication politics between the Third World, Western and Eastern blocks during the Cold War era in the 1970s<sup>3</sup> reveals how international communication was used in framing the Third World, along Western and Eastern ideological images. The historical perspective of Third World international communication can be traced from the international politics of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)<sup>4</sup> of the mid 1950s through to the

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<sup>1</sup> Tony Thwaites et al., defines culture as an 'ensemble of social process by which meanings are produced' (Thwaites, et al., 1994:1)

<sup>2</sup> Thussu, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> There are abundant materials relating to International Communication during the Cold War era. Considering the research title with respect to the Third World calls for a general look at Third World International Communication politics. This current project would limit the historical development of international communication politics to the Third World's international communication politics from the late 60s. These developments would throw light on the historical background of some of the research's hypothetical formulations. This would be carried out in chapter three.

<sup>4</sup> The Cold War divided the world into hostile East – West blocks. Third World (the phrase 'Third World' evolved from the Cold War – it was coined by a French economic historian, Alfred Sauvy, in 1952 when the world was split into First World – capitalism – and Second World – communism. The Third World was concep-

New International Economic Order (NEIO)<sup>5</sup> and the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)<sup>6</sup> of the 1970s.

The Non-Aligned Movement, influenced by the ‘colonial capitalist mode of production’ (Singh, 1998:44), maintained that their economy was over-dependent on the imperialist masters. As a result of these economic disparities, the Non-Aligned Movement petitioned the United Nations for a ‘democratic interdependent economic order’<sup>7</sup>. This economic demand was invariably linked to the Third World international communication reform which surfaced in the late 1970s in the name of the New World International Communication Order (NWICO)<sup>8</sup>.

In addition to the Non-Aligned Movement’s economic demands, there were the NWICO demands which were geared towards communication. According to the advocates of this, the Third World countries of the South were ‘heavily dependent on the North for both software and hardware in the information sector’ (Thussu, 2000:43). The NWICO group further argued that the South’s dependence on the North for their communication software has led to already processed and distorted information about the South<sup>9</sup>. These agitations from the NWICO arena led to the UNESCO’s formation of the MacBride Commission to find how best Third World international communication could be addressed. In spite of the laudable recommendation made by the Commission, the industrialised West viewed it as ‘government control’ on information. (Roach, 1987:Thussu, 2000:47 – 48).

To sum up, the arguments raised under the NEIO and the NWICO concepts confirm the earlier suggestion that international communication is shaped by underlining factors like politics, economics, culture and power (military) which invariably formulate a country’s image on the international stage<sup>10</sup>. These factors not only shape international communication processes but

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tualised to be countries outside these blocks. This suggest that it is academically appropriate to draw faintly on Cold War contexts, if possible, whenever the Third World is invoked as an academic concept) countries who wanted to avoid the block politics at the time, (Thussu, 2000:39) decided on a neutral course and formed the Non-Aligned Movement as a banner for neutral politics. The Non-Aligned movement has always served as a point of reference in Third World International Communication politics. (MacBride, et al.,1980)

<sup>5</sup> This was a democratic economic order put forward by Third World countries and non-aligned states to gain equal access to the world’s economic resources controlled by the West – East blocks. (Hamelink, 1979).

<sup>6</sup> The economic argument put forward under the NIEO agenda was further expanded to solicit for equal access to International Communication resources flowing between the Northern and the Southern hemispheres. (Nordenstreng, 1986).

**NOTE:** I must stress that the aim of this current project is not to build this research within the NWICO arguments, but to use it as a historical background for the sake of international communication analysis.

<sup>7</sup> Thussu, 2000:39

<sup>8</sup> Thussu, 2000., Cees J. Hamelink, 1994:196 – 204.

<sup>9</sup> Masmoudi, 1979.

<sup>10</sup> Fortner, 1993

have evolved international communication theories along the concepts of politics, economics, and culture. A brief review of the theories relating to this current project will throw more light on these factors.

### **Theoretical Landscapes:**

As a brief introduction, international communication theory dates back as far as the Industrial Revolution in Europe when the impact of communication on the growth of capitalism and the empire became very necessary<sup>11</sup>. In the twentieth century, communication was not geared to empire and capitalism structures, but was focused on the role of propagating propaganda sentiments and how such propagation affected political and military leanings in society. The twentieth century theories are attributed to Walter Lipmann (1922) and Harrod Laswell (1927)<sup>12</sup>.

In addition, other theories were developed after the Second World War. These theories were more concerned with the 'new developments in technology and media and their relationship to cultural and economic integration' (Thussu, 2000:54). The two outlined theories which emerged after the Second World War were referred to as political economy theory. They touched on the political power and economic relationships underlying communication<sup>13</sup> and the cultural studies paradigms directed towards how communication affects cultural values and meanings in society (Thussu, 2000: 54, Golding and Murdoch, 1977; During, 1999). Certainly, a review of the current research's literature brought many theories<sup>14</sup> on international communication to light. However, due to limited space, I will limit myself to the theories most relevant to this current work.

### **Structural Imperialism Theory:**

This theory is attributed to Galtung and Ruge . According to Galtung, the world is partitioned along the binaries of *centre-peripheral* relations. The *centre* nations are the developed nations, for example, (USA, Canada, Germany, Britain, and France) and the *periphery* consisting of under-developed nations (Africa, South America, and Asia - excluding Japan).

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<sup>11</sup> Thussu, 2000:53.

<sup>12</sup> Thussu, 2000:54.

<sup>13</sup> Thussu, 2000:54.

<sup>14</sup> Thussu, 2000: Identified eleven theories on international communication. Although each theory might be equally important, not all are relevant to this current project. See Thussu, 2000:53 – 81.

Galtung further expressed that there exists a complementary and a harmonious relationship between *centre* nations, whilst the relationship between the *periphery* and the *centre* is asymmetrical (Galtung, 1971). Moreover, this theory is very relevant to this project in two ways. It acts as the central theory in this current project and assists this project to appreciate how international news is selected, constructed and projected as an international image of a nation.

If the relationship between *centre* nations is harmonious, then it confirms Maletzke's thoughts on international communication. He theorised that international communication does not necessarily occur between countries per se, but as a communication process constructed along the lines of common interests, aspirations and values. (Maletzke, 1976).

In addition, Maletzke's view reflects Niklas Luhmann's interpretation of communication within his system theory as a 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann: Eliot, 1999:148). It is asserted that Luhmann's concepts of 'acceptance and rejection' as related to Galtung's *Centre – Peripheral* relation is intended to maintain the 'common interest and values' (Maletzke, 1976) of a given country / culture.

It follows from Galtung, Maletzke and Luhmann's arguments that international newsmaking processes will be constructed along the notion of common socio-cultural paradigms shared by nations. This idea presupposes that in constructing national images about countries, the print media will select and frame news within this context of common cultural paradigms or a common 'frame of reference'.

Furthermore, Galtung, Maletzke and Luhmann's ideas can be supported with what communication can be. According to Prosser, "communication and culture are so closely bound together that virtually all communication engaged in by humans is culturally linked" (Prosser, 1976:417). Hence communication is determined by cultural values and meanings embedded in 'privileged positions' (Hall, 1973: Woollacott, 1982:92) and the 'dual opposites' (Levin, 1958) of *Centre-Peripheral* relationships in the field of international communication. We may further argue that Galtung's structural imperialism theory may be possible due to common cultural values shared by certain segments of human society. It is against these 'shared common cultural values and beliefs' (Boulding, 1961) that images are constructed and projected in the media.

To sum up, Galtung's theory remains paramount to this research for two reasons. First, it allows this research to speculate on its hypothetical framework. For instance, it provides the theoretical context in which one can debate on the Sub-Saharan African image (*a peripheral*

*culture*) in the German elite press (*a centre nation*). What sort of an image projection should we expect in this *centre – peripheral* news coverage? I leave the answer to the data analysis and findings in chapters ten and eleven.

Secondly, Galtung's theory will provide an insight into understanding how news is *selected*, *constructed*, and *framed* (Patterson, 1998: 17)<sup>15</sup> to project a culture's image. That is, what should constitute news values in projecting the *Centre's* image and the *peripheral* on the other hand? And is news going to be determined by the dichotomy of *centre – peripheral* colonial relations? If Galtung's theory holds, along with Maletzke's ideas on communication as a process according to 'common' social, political, economic and military values, then we may be inclined to expect the coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa by the German press exhibiting this partisan relationship. Again, we may speculate that the *Neues Deutschland* newspaper will give more news space to Angola (a communist leaning: ref. Eribo, 1993) than Ivory Coast with a *capitalist leaning* from 1979 to 1989 in this same period; we may expect the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, *Süddeutsche*, *Die Welt* to exhibit opposite signs to *Neues Deutschland's* press coverage.

For critical reasons, I must present other academic views to the structural model above put forward by Galtung. That is, to maintain what the structural theory is and what it is not. From the explanation above, one is inclined to assert that there is no communication flow between the *peripheral nations* themselves but the answer would be no. Rather, the *centre* (e.g., the West, or Germany) acts as the intermediary for most economic and communication transactions among its former African colonies - *peripheral nations* (Meyer, 1991). The assumption is that news from former German African colonies comes to Africa via the Deutsche Presse-Agentur (DPA - the German wire service). William Meyer conducted an empirical test on the Galtung theory. He conducted his test on selected daily newspapers from Africa and Latin America in the 1980s. He noticed from his data that 68% of all news about Latin America as reported in the dailies came through the Associate Press (AP) or the combination of United Press International (UPI). A similar pattern was also common to former British and French colonies. 49% of all stories regarding the British sphere came through Reuters, and 47% of all stories regarding the French sphere came via Agence France-Presse (AFP). From this data he concluded that Galtung's *feudal interaction* between North and South posited by Galtung's structural theory does exist. (Meyer, 1991:235). This current project, with its lim-

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<sup>15</sup> These phrases, *select*, *construct*, and *frame*, are very relevant in the newsmaking process, which calls for further explanation. I would be discussing the theories guiding news selection, construction and framing under chapter 4.

ited resources, will attempt to portray what constitutes the sources of Sub-Saharan African news for the German press in chapter eight.

To summarise, this current project formulates some of its basic hypothetical frames within Galtung's theory. This theory also remains vital to any international news coverage studies involving *peripheral nations* (Third World countries) and *centre nations* (Developed industrial countries). Furthermore, Galtung's theory is also relevant to the theories of newsmaking. For instance, newsmaking theories within the concept of Gatekeeping<sup>16</sup> are believed to be conducted along Galtung's *peripheral* and *centre* relations. Galtung's theory is also subtly linked to dependency theory, which remains relevant to this current research for the following reasons.

### **Dependency Theory:**

Dependency theory can be looked at under two basic headings. The first is the economic aspect, and the second is the cultural aspect. The economic aspect of dependency theory was conceived in the context of the post colonialism and its effects. As noted by Annabelle Sreberny, Third World countries in their post colonial milieu argued against the Western economic structure of mimicry, which does not recognise the autonomous control of indigenous development<sup>17</sup>. Thusso interprets Sreberny's view in a more pragmatic light. According to Thusso, Third World countries contended that 'transnational corporations (TNCs), most based in the North, exercised control with the support of their respective governments, over the developing countries of the South by setting the terms for global trade' (Thusso, 2000:61). The economic aspect of this theory in practice can be traced to international relation politics that emerged between Latin American countries and the US in the 1960s and 1970s. The base line of this international politics were complaints put forward by the Latin American countries that their economy was over-dependent on the US economy due to an unequal flow of economic resources between the two continents. (Gunder Frank, 1969: Thusso, 2000). The arguments raised by the Latin American countries were actually peculiar to the arguments put forward by the Third World non-aligned economic debate under the New International Economic Order (NIEO) in 1974 (Hamelink, 1994). At the centre of the NIEO

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<sup>16</sup> Gate keeping is a newsmaking theory accredited to Kurt Lewin (1947). According to Pamela J. Shoemaker, gate keeping entails decisions on news production and dissemination. Simply put, which news should be selected and which shouldn't. (Shoemaker, 1996). This concept would be explained in detail under chapter 4 – Newsmaking theories.

<sup>17</sup> Sreberny, 2000:95.

debate was also concern about the economic disparity between the developed Northern hemisphere and the under-developed South.

Although the economic aspect of dependency theory helped in the development of its cultural aspects, this current research is not setting out to reflect methodically on it. Herbert Schiller, who is credited with the Cultural Imperialist, theory assumes that the industrialised North in pursuit of its economic, political, cultural and military interest is likely to undermine the cultural autonomy of the Southern states. (Schiller, 1976: Thussu, 2000: 61). The current project is more interested in the cultural aspect of dependence theory. Central to cultural dependency theory or Cultural Imperialism theory as it is sometimes called is the view that communication relationships between the North and the South were skewed to the disadvantage of the Southern cultures. (Hamelink, 1994). Underlying cultural imperialist theory was the Third World countries' intent to question the effect of Western media products on the 'authenticity' of their 'indigenous' culture (Sreberny, 2000:96).

It was further maintained within dependency cultural critique that the skewed information created one side of the media's presentation of the South, which only depicts the South distortedly at the expense of developmental news. For instance, the advocates of cultural imperialism theory contend that the West or the *Centre* presents 'sensational and negatively slanted images' about Third World countries (McPhail, 1987; Ogan & Fair, 1984: Strubhaar, *et al*, 1992:90).

Back to Galtung's theory, the harmonious relationship between the *centre nations* and the disharmonious relationship between the *centre* and the *peripheral nations* may be said to have resulted in skewed communication relationships. Hester on cultural dependency theory hypothesised that the communication relationship between the *centre* and the *periphery* is a liaison determined by cultural and economic affinities. He insisted that the absence of such affinities affects the type and the degree of information flow and consequently the projected image. (Hester, 1976). Hester's view is actually shared by Maletzke (1976), who also believes that effective (balanced) communication between countries can only be determined by a common cultural frame of reference.

To summarise, this current project may also hypothesise with the help of dependency theory that coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa may be processed along the concepts of common cultural, economic, political affinities. Thus, where these common factors are absent we may speculate about the trend of negatively skewed mediated images of the Sub-Saharan African regions. This hypothesis remains to be tested under the research findings. This theory of cul-

tural and economic dependency suggests that media-related images about countries are selected, constructed, and disseminated to meet certain values of socio-cultural affinities. Hence the absence of cultural affinity might mean a projection of an image which does not have a point of reality, or as Boorstin suggested, a 'packaged and a pseudo image'.

If international communication is conducted along affinities as proclaimed by Galtung, Schiller, Maletzke, Prosser, and Hester, to project images about nations or cultures, then we need to consider how news is produced to meet these values of affinities. Therefore this project will look at the theories underlining newsmaking processes.

## CHAPTER 4

### NEWSMAKING: Theoretical Perspectives

#### Introduction:- What is News

Before settling on the theoretical aspects of news, let me briefly describe what constitutes news. The Oxford English Dictionary defines news in terms of important, interesting, and recent events. It goes further to ascertain that, before an event qualifies as news, it must be noteworthy. (OED, 1998) The Oxford's definition suggests that not all events can qualify as news, before events do they must have certain characteristics to qualify. Since this current project is on international news, it would be appropriate to touch on the factors that determine foreign news, and not dwell on the general determinants of news. These factors are grounded in newsmaking theory described by Pamela Shoemaker, Lucig Danielian and Nancy Brendlinger as the theory of newsworthiness. (Shoemaker, Danielian, and Brenlinger, 1991). This theory acts as the base for any news construction process. According to Shoemaker *et al*, the underlying concepts of the newsworthy theory are that certain indicators determine foreign news. These indicators are what they identified as: timeliness; proximity; importance, impact or consequence; interest; conflict or controversy; sensationalism; prominence; and novelty, oddity, or the unusual. (Shoemaker, *et al*, 1991:783). The enumerated indicators are further broken down under three basic concepts of newsworthiness commonly referred to as the deviance theory, which touches on newsworthiness in terms of novelty / oddity / unusual, which are referred to as (statistical deviance)<sup>1</sup>, prominence (normative deviance), sensationalism (nominative or pathological deviance)<sup>2</sup>, and conflict or controversy (normative deviance). (Shoemaker *et al*, 1991: 783)

Secondly, Shoemaker *et al* also conceived newsworthiness as the social significance of an event. They refer to this social significance as the social significance theory<sup>3</sup> considering newsmaking events along the lines of social importance / impact / consequence and interest

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<sup>1</sup> Statistical Deviance: is defined as the extent to which an event is unusual, given the context of how common such events are in the world. An event is coded as extremely deviant statistically if the number of times the event occurs proportionate to the number of times it could conceivably occur is extremely small. (Shoemaker, et al: 1987, In Shoemaker *et al*, (1991:783).

<sup>2</sup> Pathological Deviance: Referred to as Potential Deviance, it is defined as the extent to which the event threatens the status quo in the country in which the event occurs. (Shoemaker *et al*, 1987: 1991:783).

<sup>3</sup> Social Significance Theory: Is defined as the extent to which the event is important (or has impact or consequence) on a particular country or nation. – It is assumed journalists would always use their own country as reference points. (Shoemaker *et al*, 1991:784)

surrounding the news (Shoemaker *et al*, 1991). The third dimension of newsworthiness as proposed by Shoemaker's group is the timeliness and proximity of an event. This perspective assumes that the attention given to news events is influenced by the varying location of the medium and where the event is being staged. Proximity may be looked at in terms of economic, cultural, geographical distance, and social proximity. (Shoemaker *et al*, 1991:783).

We may be inclined to ground Shoemaker's newsworthy perspective in the views expressed by Boulding, Maletzke, Levin and Luhmann. Boulding shares the view that an image of a nation, community or individual is determined by 'shared beliefs' (Boulding, 1961) and a common 'cultural frame of reference' (Maletzke, 1976). Consequently, the shared beliefs existing between cultures of *Centre – Peripheral* (Galtung, 1971) nations determine the values of 'timeliness and proximity' (Shoemaker, 1991) attached to a particular news item. This analogy suggests that, although news proximity may exist, its usage and interpretation depends on how a culture's image is placed under the binary of 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann, 1999) or social, cultural, political and economic 'opposites' (Levin, 1958). To some extent, Shoemaker's newsworthiness model conforms to Boulding's image concepts as expressed earlier in previous pages. This current project, in relation to the above perspectives of newsworthiness, shares the belief that the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press may be appropriated under Shoemaker's newsworthy model and projected along the views expressed by Boulding, 1961; Maletzke, 1976; Luhmann, 1999; and Levin, 1958.

The mentioned newsworthy theories will assist this research work to formulate its research hypothesis within the dimensions of proximity, social and deviance. Such an approach will be in chapter seven. Besides the brief discussion of newsworthiness theory, the next basic question to be addressed is: how are events given attributes to become news and how do journalistic attitudes affect the noteworthiness of an event?

### **News – A Mediated Perspective:**

James Potter coined news as a "creation resulting from the active selecting and interweaving of images into a processed reality" (Potter, 1998:111). Potter's definition in concert with the OED suggests that newsworthy (*noteworthy*) events need to be first identified as such, selected and processed to create an expected image embedded in the relationship of *Centre –*

*Peripheral* (Galtung,1971) and aimed at reinforcing social, economic, political, and cultural ‘bifurcation of acceptance and rejection’ (Luhmann, 1999).

Thomas Patterson, whose definition is more or less in line with Potter’s context of *construction*, also defines news as a “construct and a version of reality“ (Patterson, 1998:17). Patterson’s claim suggests that events can only be called news after they have been constructed and given a new form of reality – identity.

Michael Schudson refers to news as a ‘form of culture which incorporates assumptions about what matters and what makes sense’ (Schudson, 1995:14). Schudson’s definition in relation to Potter and Patterson’s touches subtly on news construction, but his emphasis is on the cultural modes which affect the selection and construction processes of news. This cultural view of news conforms to Boulding’s analysis of image in the context of cultural beliefs. According to Boulding, national, international and communal images are culturally constructed and projected along certain predefined ‘beliefs and conventions passed down from generation to generation’ (Boulding, 1961). Furthermore, Schudson’s view throws more light on the cultural perspectives of international communication as an intercultural process. This perspective is affirmed by Prosser who shares the view that “all communication engaged in by humans is culturally linked”. (Prosser, 1976:417). Hence news coverage of the Sub-Saharan African image is not just an international communication process, but are culturally constructed mediated images. This suggestion reminds us of Maletzke’s cultural views on international communication. Maletzke contended that international communication is embedded in ‘cultural dispositions’ intended to create ‘images, attitudes, prejudices, and stereotypes’ in society (Maletzke, 1976: 412 – 413).

Timothy Cook, who moved expansively from both the *construction* and *cultural* contexts of news, defines news as an organisational institution. (Cook, 1998). Cook shares the belief that news can not only be defined in terms of selection, constructive and cultural models; but also the professional values, and the social organisation under which news is identified, selected and constructed to meet certain predefined cultural axis and a particular form of mediated reality. Cook’s ideas go further to stress the dynamics of journalistic professional values and the organisational structures which influence the selection processes of news-related events. Professional values bring home the idea of how news and its making may influence the way journalists (news makers) relate themselves professionally to other political institutions – in their daily routines. The organisational institution of news also suggests the economic and social structures underlying newsmaking. Herbert J. Gans confirmed the professional and

organisational aspect of news. For instance, he maintained that news is a political and economic construct since the 'economically and politically powerful has easy access to, and are sought out by journalists' (Gans, 1980:81) for news-related events. Therefore, there is the tendency that mediated images touching on foreign cultures may be projected to meet certain political and organisational partisan tendencies<sup>4</sup>.

Finally, Niklas Luhmann interprets communication as a social system since 'all communications about society are conditioned by society' (Luhmann, 149). He went further to assert that 'communication produces a bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann, 1999:148). Luhmann's view seems to sum up the social perspective of news which depicts news as a constructive social reality<sup>5</sup>. We may logically maintain that, since communication processes produce a 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection', consequently any intended mediated image needs to be socially constructed in order to meet Luhmann's binary of 'acceptance and rejection'. I must stress that, although news is socially constructed, it might not just be 'what the newspapermen want it to be'<sup>6</sup> but due to factors determining news as expressed by Shoemaker, *et al*, 1991. Thus news coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa in the German press would be constructed along certain preconditioned schemata other than just what the newsmen perceived as the reality of the image. Hester refers to this schema which might influence the construction and the projection of the Sub-Saharan African image in international communication as 'cultural affinity' (Hester, 1976:245). The above definitions of news suggest that news is socially, politically, economically and culturally constructed to conform to the social perspective of communication as prescribed by Luhmann.

These exposures of news remain paramount to the general context of the current project. Thus, the exposure of what constitutes news and its making processes would go a long way in influencing how this project theorises its research problems and hypotheses. That is, if news is culturally induced as suggested by Maletzke, Prosser, Hester and Schudson, and the projection of mediated images are constructs evolving from the 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann, 1999), then we may speculate on similar trends in Galtung's *centre – periphery* relations involving Germany and Sub-Saharan Africa. Answers to these speculations will be enhanced in the present research's literature review chapter.

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas E. Patterson, 1998:18 – 23.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Schudson, 2000:174. Schudson provides an overview of news as a social construction paradigm. He touches on renowned scholars of this paradigm (Walter Gieber, 1964; Fishman, 1980; Cohen and Young, 1973; Gaye Tuchman, 1976; White, 1950).

<sup>6</sup> Leo C. Rosten, *The Washington Correspondents*, 1937, In Timothy E. Cook, 1998:63.

To sum up, the economic, political, and cultural concepts, which influence international communication theories, as discussed earlier on, continue to shape newsmaking and its relevant theories. The theories related to newsmaking can not be cramped into this limited space. Hence, a broader scope of the theory will be looked at and its relation to this current project will be looked at from four basic perspectives: The Political Economy Theory, The Social Perspective Theory, The Narrative Perspective Theory, and The Cultural Perspective Theory. Each of the theoretical perspectives has its own related facets of concepts which will be discussed accordingly. These theoretical perspectives are intended to throw more light on how newsmaking factors influence the construction and the presentation of mediated images.

### **Theoretical Perspectives:**

#### **The Political Economy Perspective:**

The advocates of the political economy theory of newsmaking share the belief that the economics of the newsmaking process is linked with the state's economy, which in itself is linked to the political structure of the state. (Schudson, 1991). Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman on the economics of newsmaking contend that economics of scale dictate news. Hence news organisations concentrate their limited resources where significant news often occurs and in order to meet their economic goals. These sources are government sources like the Pentagon, The White House, and the German Bundestag<sup>7</sup>. (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:18). These economies of scale turn to strengthen the bond between the official (state) sources of news and the news organisations. The bond becomes so strong that Mark Fishman is inclined to describe it as "the principle of bureaucratic affinity" (Fishman, 1980:143). It seems the relationship between state and news organisation is inevitable in any human society. Fishman's view is supported by Graber et al, who believe that the relationship between newsmen and the political textures in the society could be described as Kenneth Boulding's 'hen and egg'<sup>8</sup> bond. That is, the political structure and newsmen are dynamically integrated into each other for survival. Graber, McQuail and Norris also noted that 'what happens in political life - is influenced by the media' (Graber, et al: 1998: 1) and vice versa.

A cue from John Merrill's ideas on news organisation and the state's relations maintains that the news media as an organisation reflects the political philosophies in which it functions. This implies, according to Merrill, a nation's journalistic functions are intrinsically linked to

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<sup>7</sup> Trans. my own: German Bundestag refers to the German Parliament.

the powers and interests of the state. (Merrill, 1976). According to Karl Popper, the interest of the state was recognised by Plato who believed that the relationship between state and society is measured by a standard of interest. According to Plato, anything “good and virtuous and just” should be in the interest of the state and anything the vice versa of this virtue is considered bad. (Popper, 1930: chpt. 6 – 8). Gaye Tuchman, who tried to find the answer behind news organisation and the state, subscribed to the view that the relationship may not be organised along authoritarian orientation. Rather it is due to the news organisation’s search for objective news materials. Tuchman contends that objective materials protect news organisations from unnecessary libel suits, which can affect their reputation and also drag them below the bottom line of business profits. (Tuchman, 1972).

Herman and Chomsky further argued that government (political) bureaucracies do not just act as sources, but seek to make newsgathering easy for the news organisations. They provide facilities in which to gather and give journalists advance copies of news. (Herman and Chomsky, 1988:22). Herbert Gans, in support of Herman and Chomsky’s view, maintained that due to the economies of staff and time, newsmen turned to ‘pursue only a small number of regular sources’ and are passively reluctant to look to other sources (Gans, 1980:116).

Based on the arguments provided under the political economy theory of news, it may be deduced that it conforms to Galtung’s theory to some extent. Both the political structure and news organisations could be described as a relationship between two *centres* who relate to each other interdependently for survival. This interdependent relation is what is termed by Fishman as ‘bureaucratic affinity’. Consequently, an effective communication<sup>9</sup> between political set ups and news organisations is enhanced by the common ‘frame of reference’<sup>10</sup> values shared by the news organisation and the official sources.

Considering the scope of the present research’s title, the political economy theory will throw more light on how news organisations under the German Democratic Republic and Federal Republic of Germany from 1979 – 1989 were organised with respect to the different political philosophies of the time. For instance, Niklas Luhmann sees communication as a social system which functions through the process of ‘acceptance and rejection’<sup>11</sup>. If we submit to

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<sup>8</sup> Boulding, 1961:64

<sup>9</sup> Maletzke, 1976:414, asserted that there exist “vertical barriers” between two cultures: the news organization and the official source. This vertical barrier however loses its presence when the cultures share what Prosser, 1976 calls common values. These common values strengthen the bond, which gives room for effective communication.

<sup>10</sup> Maletzke, 1976:413

<sup>11</sup> Luhmann, 1999:148

Luhmann's views, then we may equally assert that the selected newspapers in concert with their national political systems and beliefs from 1979 to 1999 would give coverage to the Sub-Saharan African region in line with Luhmann's views. Thus, the African countries with common political beliefs embedded in Communism or Capitalism assume *centre* or *peripheral*<sup>12</sup> positions accordingly. Although the impact of the relationship underlying the political economy theory cannot be measured in the current project, it adds to Galtung's theory and assists this current project to formulate its hypothesis along these political lines.

### **The Social Perspective:**

The social perspective of newsmaking theory is grounded in the belief that the 'media constitute a separate social institution which is subject to definition and limitation of the wider society' (McQuail, 2000: 5), hence the study of news from the social scientist's point of view. Under the social sciences, news and its making is recognised as a social process. The critique from the social perspective is directed towards how newsmaking materials are selected and constructed and projected as 'one dimension of reality' (Molotch and Lester, 1969: Cook, 1998: 127). It is also asserted that newsmaking as a social process is not only influenced by selection and construction models, but the social set up of news organisations and the professional values of the newsmen in the newsmaking process. (Schudson, 1991:141). The social perspective advocates belief that the above factors determine the end product of what newsmakers disseminate to the public as news or the mediated image of a foreign culture. It follows from the above enumerated factors that the social perspective of news can be pursued further through the selection model, construction model, professional values model and finally the social relations model. All these models are geared towards Luhmann's 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' and the reinforcement of Galtung's *centre – peripheral* binary.

### **The News Selection Model:**

The news selection model in its simplest definition entails how newsworthy materials are selected and processed as news and reselected for dissemination. Theoretically, Mary Cassata and Molefi Asante refer to it as the "information control theory" (Cassata and Asante, 1979: 79). This theory assumes that newsmen consciously or unconsciously select messages, filter them and amplify them for their audience. (Cassata and Asante, 1979). These ideas of selec-

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<sup>12</sup> See Galtung, 1971, in: Thussu, 2000: 64 – 65.

tion and filtration processes as expressed by Cassata and Asante, are made possible through the news selection concept popularly known as gate keeping. The contemporary meaning of gate keeping strikes home the feeling of a guard stationed at a gate – it could be a policeman at a presidential gate or a prison warder at a prison gate. If we take the gateman’s responsibility as filtering incoming guests, then we can look at news selection in a similar light. To be precise, Pamela Shoemaker defines gate keeping as a process of reducing countless messages to a few through the decisions of – what to write, what to include and what to leave out, and how the selected issue should be shaped and presented. (Shoemaker, 1996:79).

Gate keeping is originally credited to the late Kurt Lewin (1947). Lewin devised his *gatekeeper*<sup>13</sup> theory from the field of social science, and as a means of studying widespread social changes in a community. (Shoemaker, 1991). To say gate keeping or news selection is socially inclined and relevant to this present research is an undisputed fact. In cueing from the social theorist perspective of newsmaking in the names of Molotch and Lester, 1974 and Tuchman, 1978, I may, if permitted, assert that news is social because it evolved from human interactions in society, whilst news selection is simply what I will term as the selection of human social experiences with an intent of making it into a new social understanding.

On the relevance of gate keeping theory to the current project, Tsan-Kuo Chang and Jae-Won Lee in 1992 conducted a national survey on editors in the US. The study was meant to test the influence of gate keeping on US news editors’ selection of foreign news. Their study confirmed that editors applied gate keeping in their selection of foreign news. The study concluded that “newspaper editors did not regard American trade relations, physical distance and the economic development of a country as important factors in their selection of foreign news.” They rather considered them as a “threat to the US as selection criteria.” (Chang and Lee, 1992). This suggests that newsmakers do posit gate-keeping ideology in their selection of foreign news. It might be possible to draw on Chang and Lee’s inference from available data on the trend of Sub-Saharan African coverage in the German press. Gate keeping research cannot be enhanced within the limited resources of this current research; rather, the trend of news types may form speculation on the use of gate keeping as a concept. The basic idea enhanced from the above is that gate keeping is a mechanism for news construction in the communication process. We learnt earlier on from Luhmann that the communication process is guarded by the principle of ‘acceptance and rejection’ (Luhmann, 199:148). Bould-

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<sup>13</sup> The gatekeeper theory has been applied to many research problems in the field of communication. Although it can not absolutely be tested in this current project, it throws light on how mediated images are constructed in relation to certain predefined assumptions and beliefs.

ing also asserted that a mediated image is influenced by ‘common cultural beliefs’ (Boulding, 1961:14).

We may therefore conclude that the essence of gate keeping is to filter news materials through cultural filters of ‘cultural affinities’ (Hester, 1976: 245) and a ‘common cultural frame of references’ (Maletzke, 1976:413). This filtration process enables newsmen to achieve an ‘effective communication’ (Prosser, 1976:418). The effective communication enacted out of the gate keeping process is embedded in a mechanism of cultural disposition along the binaries of *Centre – Peripheral* socio-cultural relations (Galtung, 1971:Thussu, 2000) and ‘beliefs, values, prejudices, and shared attitude’ (Prosser, 1976:418). These cultural dispositions lead to an end product which becomes the image or the cultural symbol assigned to a nation, community, and cultures. Consequently, gate keeping is a narrative construction aimed at reinforcing old paradigms of ‘transcribed images passed down from generation to generation’ (Boulding, 1961:64) demarcating the ‘Self’ from the ‘Other’ (Said, 1995) – in other words, the *Centre* nations from the *Peripheral*. We shall take a brief look into what news and mediated image construction entails.

### **News Construction Model:**

I have attempted to assert that news evolved from human interaction, and news selection is a process of selecting certain human events to create a new form of understanding in accordance to certain predefined ‘beliefs, values, and attitudes’ handed down from generations to generation in the society. Perhaps the question needing to be answered is, why do newsmakers partly select human events, and why the intent to create a new understanding? This current project will take refuge in the ideas supplied by the news construction advocates.

According to Walter Lipmann, “journalists point a flashlight rather than a mirror at the world”. Consequently, “the audience does not receive a complete image of the political scenes; it gets a highly selective series of glimpses instead”. In short, the actual reality behind the selected event becomes a new form of human understanding, which can only be described by Lipmann as a distorted reality or a “tainted reality”. (Lipmann, 1922: Graber, 1994:37). If the end product from newsmen is described as a “tainted reality”, then one is inclined to say it is not the selected news events that are *tainted* but how the materials are constructed to achieve the end product – news either as an ‘accepted’ or ‘rejected’ image. Basically, this is what news construction advocates from the social sciences are engaged with – the problem of

news reality. Maxwell McCombs on the news construction concept affirmed Lipmann's tainted reality concept. According to McCombs, the media selects news events from spheres of natural reality, and creates a new reality with them. He termed this reality as a “second-hand reality”. (McCombs, 1996:93).

Chibnall, in support of McComb's ‘second-hand reality’, believes that the newsman does not ‘go out gathering news, picking up stories as if they were fallen apples, he *creates* news by selecting fragments of newsmaking materials and organizes them into an intended reality’ (Chibnall, 1977: Shoemaker, 1991:15). Implicitly, newsmen select certain fragmented news materials in order to create their news and images to meet certain *pre-transcribed*<sup>14</sup> attitudes, beliefs, and values<sup>15</sup>. The created news therefore reinforces international and national images grounded in the ‘bifurcation of rejection and acceptance’ (Luhmann, 1999: 148) in line with the *Centre – Peripheral* structures proposed by Galtung. Creating news and mediated images in the binaries of ‘dual opposites’ (Levin, 1958) of *Centre – Peripheral* becomes possible due to the cultural dispositions along ‘common cultural beliefs’ (Boulding, 1961).

Robert Entman on the other hand described news construction in terms of *framing*. According to Entman, to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and present them as a whole reality, image, or the truth. (Entman, 1993). All the arguments presented of news construction by McCombs, Entman, Lipmann, and to add just a few, James Potter, in support of the construction view, and McCombs' ‘second-reality’, assert that newsmen create a ‘mirror of reality’ by selecting and interweaving images into a processed reality’ (Potter, 1998:111). In addition, Michael Schudson, who termed ‘second-reality’ constructions of news as a ‘making-it-fit’ process, believes that as much as news is not ‘gathered as apples on the street’ it is also not ‘fictional’ but rather conventional constructions intended to ‘reinforce certain assumptions about the world’ grounded in *centre – peripheral* relations (Schudson, 1995: 55).

Gaye Tuchman, in confirmation of Potter's view, thinks that newsmen in making their news ‘fit’ create a reality which is just ‘a picture of the reality’ embedded in the event itself (Tuchman, 1978: Pleijter and Renckstorf, 1998:84). Walter Gieber, who summarises news construction theses, shares the view that newsmen do project certain tangents of news and mediated reality. Of this he said, ‘news is what newspapermen make it’ (Gieber, 1964: Pleijter

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<sup>14</sup> Boulding, 1961:64

<sup>15</sup> Prosser, 1976:418

and Renckstorf, 1998:83) and how they choose to make it 'fit'. He shares the belief that newsmen construct a social reality other than the perceived reality.

On the other hand, there are different views to the construction theory of newsmaking. Among these critics of the selection and the construction paradigm believe this is due to organisational constraints<sup>16</sup> on newsmaking. Mc Luhan on the organisational paradigm asserted that 'the message is determined by the technology of the medium'<sup>17</sup>. Secondly, Molotch and Lester also believe that the news material newsmen receive is prefabricated news which has been 'shaped by the sources' (Molotch and Lester: Gans, 1979:79). In addition, Herbert Gans also shares the view that newsmen are 'susceptible to pressure from groups and individuals' (Gans, 1979: 80) whose intention is to influence the content of the product produced by newsmen. Gans describes these external pressures as tugs of war and an exercise of power over news interpretation<sup>18</sup>.

All the same, it is believed that newsmen have a purpose in constructing news reality as a means of establishing what is referred to as newsmaking theory as an agenda. To put it in a simpler way, newsmen in their newsmaking process as expressed by Lipmann, help in establishing a particular social, cultural, political, and economic agenda. That is, the press may set an agenda by directing social perception through the extent of coverage given to events. The notion of whether newsmen set an agenda remains an exploratory subject theorised as the Agenda-Setting Theory<sup>19</sup>, which remains paramount in newsmaking theories. We may concede that newsmen do set agendas. The fact is, if we subscribe to the view that intercultural communication is conducted along the relations of 'cultural affinity' (Hester, 1976:245), common 'cultural frames of reference' (Maletzke, 1976:414) and common 'beliefs, attitudes and values' (Prosser, 1976: 418), then news selection will be carried out in a way that reinforces certain socio-cultural agendas underlying the above binaries. Most of all, reflecting on Niklas Luhmann's view on communication as 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann, 199:148) and Galtung's *Centre – Peripheral* relationship, suggests that each of these views connotes an agenda which is invariably shared by the media organisation and newsmen who are an 'integral part of society' (Rachlin, 1988:12).

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<sup>16</sup> Herbert Gans, 1979: 78

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 79.

<sup>18</sup> Gans, 1979: 81.

<sup>19</sup> The Agenda theory has been tested by certain scholars (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, Brosius & Keplinger, 1990), It was established that the media do set agendas. Agenda-setting cannot be tested within the limited resources of this current research. However, it acts as a point for theoretical reference in understanding the newsmaking processes in general. This theory would be expanded further in the main work.

To summarise, if it is affirmed by the news construction theory that newsmen can select events and frame them to achieve a particular reality, then we may presume from Maletzke's thesis that common cultural values existing between nations will determine the extent of the news framing and projected media image accorded foreign nations. In addition, Galtung's structural theory suggests that the framing of a *centre's* image by another *centre's* media will not be as tainted as when the centre frames the *peripheral*. This is *due* to the different levels of 'cultural affinities' and the extent of the 'frames of references' existing between the *centre* – *peripheral* relationships. This trend will be discussed in the chapter on discussion and analysis. A brief switch in professional values in the newsmaking process might explain the critique put forward by Gans, Molotch and Lester, who argue against the news selection and construction paradigms.

### **Professional Values Model:<sup>20</sup>**

According to Edward Herman, 'professional values' involve concepts: This model suggests professional objectivity in news coverage. Secondly, it suggests newsmen apply their professional values in deciding what is newsworthy without the pursuit of any partisan agenda. (Herman, 1999: 58). Besides Shoemaker's foreign news determinants, the professional values attached to news events in certain cultures of *centre - peripheral* may influence how news is framed and projected for public consumption. Generally "professional values should not permit the use of language, in which "snarl" words are applied to disfavour people, groups, and countries, whereas "purr" or neutral language is applied to those looked upon with favour". (Herman, 1999: 60). This statement from Herman assumes that news framing will be conducted to favour certain cultures, depending on the 'cultural affinity' and a common 'cultural frame of references' between nations and cultures. This present project may also deduce from Maletzke's ideas on international communication that, if professional values are applied to common political beliefs, then we may witness *Neues Deutschland* from 1979 to 1989 reporting more news on former Soviet blocks in the Sub-Saharan region, whereas other selected newspapers would accord Soviet blocks less news. Such an assertion may hold since professional values shared by newsmen are integrated<sup>21</sup> in the values shared by that society .

William Henry furthermore interprets the professional values of newsmen as patriotism. According to him, 'all journalism is patriotism' (Henry, 1981: Rachlin, 1988:5) and journalists

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<sup>20</sup> 'Professional values' implies the relationship between journalism as a profession and socio-cultural values.

<sup>21</sup> Rachlin, 1988: 12.

and newsmen 'express their patriotic devotion' (Rachlin, 1988:5) toward institutional values and social order. Consequently the patriotic flavour attached to news selection and construction may affect how mediated images are projected along the *centre – peripheral* relationship put forward by Galtung.

To summarise, assessing the extent of professional values in newsmaking is beyond the scope of this research. It contributes, however, to this present research, which uses certain theories for its data analysis. Besides professional values, the organisational set up under which newsmen perform their duties does affect how they select and construct mediated images and meanings. In addition the social relationship between newsmen and society in general influences how the news is framed and projected with the intent of reinforcing the binaries of *centre – peripheral* relationships (Galtung, 1971), or the 'dual opposites' (Levin, 1958) or 'acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann, 1999) for an 'effective intercultural communication' (Prosser, 1976).

### **Social Organisation Perspectives:**

Social organisation perspectives mark the last aspect of social perspectives of the newsmaking theory. This concept assumes that the bureaucratic relationship between government officials and newsmen influences news framing. The advocates of this concept reject the 'objectivity assumptions' (Schudson, 1991: 182) mentioned by Herman under the "professional values" model. Some opposing scholars of the objectivity assumption can be identified as Molotch and Lester. For Molotch and Lester, newsmen reflect not the world 'out there' but the 'practices of those who have the power to determine the experiences of others'. (Molotch and Lester, 1974: Schudson, 1991: 182). Mark Fishman tested the assumption put across by Molotch and Lester. Fishman carried out an observation study of a middle-sized Californian newspaper to ascertain how journalists are in tune with the official bureaucracies of government. He asserted from his findings that the world is bureaucratically organised and structured along certain official lines for the journalist (Fishman, 1980:51: Schudson, 1991).

Timothy Cook, in support of the bureaucratic affinity idea established by Fishman, established that news organisation is not a diverse organisation but 'a single social institution' (Cook, 1998:64) whose integral role in society is to 'systematize the enduring principle' and values of wider society.

Summing up, this project agrees with the assumption that newsmen are influenced by the bureaucratic structures under which they perform their daily news gathering, construction and projection of socio-cultural images. I must admit that this project is not set up to delve into how bureaucratic structures affect news values. However, this discussion is meant to throw light on how mediated images are constructed and influenced by the intercultural communication 'affinities', and *Centre – Peripheral relations* to project the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press. The next phase is to briefly assess how cultural influences may affect the newsmaking process.

### **The Cultural Perspective Theory:**

The advocates of cultural perspective theory in newsmaking share the belief that newsmaking as a human process of communication is "culturally linked" with the society in which it operates. (Prosser, 1976:417). For instance, Schudson maintains that the newsmaking process has close links with the cultural systems in society. According to Schudson, "news is produced within a cultural system, and out of a reservoir of stored cultural meanings and pattern of discourses". (Schudson, 1995: 14). According to Thomas Steinfatt and Diane Christopher, culture can be 'passed on to persons and generations only through communication' (Steinfatt and Christophel, 1996: 318). It might be asserted that mediated symbols and meanings are extensions of 'meanings stored' in cultural reservoirs which are passed on to generations in that society. This view has been supported by Kenneth Boulding in his interpretation of image. He maintains that images are cultural constructs produced from 'transcribed' conventional records which are handed on from 'generation to generation' (Boulding, 1961).

The cultural paradigm of newsmaking suggests that newsmen and newsmaking are an integral part of a large cultural system. For instance, Paul Hartman and Charles Husband affirm that since a newsmaking organisation 'operates within a cultural system, it is obliged to use cultural symbols' within it. (Hartmann and Husband, 1973: Schudson, 1991:152). The newsmen in their news selection and construction process engage themselves not in newsmaking but rather the reinforcement of certain cultural values and beliefs. This view is shared by Marshall Sahlins. According to Sahlins, news material or news 'events are not just happenings in the world but rather events to be re-related to certain symbolic systems' (Sahlin, 1985: Schudson, 1991:151). As Hester noted, the relationship between a symbolic meaning and its audience is influenced by 'cultural and historical affinity' (Hester, 1976:247). Consequently where the cultural and historical affinity is not strong, communication will be less active and

result in the breakdown of symbolic cultural meaning (Prosser, 1976). John Fiske also stressed how cultural bondage leads to effective communication. According to Fiske, ‘when the text and the audience are the members of a tightly knit culture or subculture, the interaction is smooth’ as ‘texts are drawn to fit closely’ (Fiske, 1990:164).

The assumptions asserted by Fiske and Hester conform to the cultural theses attached to Galtung’s *Centre – Peripheral* relations. Thus, where nations, either *Centre* or *Peripheral*, are ‘tightly knit’ (Fiske, 1990), with common ‘values, beliefs, attitudes’ (Prosser, 1976) and common ‘cultural frames of reference’ (Maletzke, 1976), an effective communication prevails. When these common values are missing however, as in the case between *Centre* (Western, developed nations: Germany) and *Peripheral* (Third World – underdeveloped nations: Sub-Saharan Africa) one may expect an ‘ineffective communication’ (Prosser, 1976), termed in international and intercultural communication as ‘Third World bias’ news coverage (Riffe and Shaw, 1982) or sensational images. This is popularly called ‘coups and earthquakes’ coverage (Rosenblum, 1981: 223).

To expand this argument further, if news is produced out of ‘cultural reservoirs’ then the framing of news will be framed along cultural discourses and conventions underlining the opposing differences between *peripheral* and *centre* relations. If the relationship between the peripheral and the centre in respect to this current project is marked by the cultural differences enshrined in colonial conventions, then one may argue that colonial conventions act as the ‘cultural reservoir’ in framing the *peripheral’s* image in the German media. Maletzke has confirmed the assertion relating to cultural conventions in newsmaking processes. Maletzke argues that the newsmaking process involving cultures across international frontiers is conducted along cultural conventions of “pre-dispositions”. Pre-dispositions determine the content, forms, and attitudes in framing foreign cultures in news coverage. (Maletzke, 1976: 412). Maletzke’s view presupposes that Galtung’s *Centre – Peripheral* relationships are pre-‘transcribed’ and ‘recorded’ (Boulding, 1961) cultural conventions employed by newsmen in order to mark the cultural positions of ‘acceptance and rejection’ (Luhmann, 1999).

To summarise, the cultural perspective theory of newsmaking enables this present research to appreciate Shoemaker’s concepts on foreign news. That is, Schudson and his cultural concept of newsmaking leads this current project to hypothesise on “what kinds of things pass for facts and what geographical area and sense of time are inscribed as where” (Schudson, 1995:14) in the coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa by the German press. Answers to these ques-

tions, may be found in the chapter on literature review, and the final analysis of the research findings.

### **News Narrative Perspective:**

The idea expressed by Schudson and Boulding, that news and mediated images are social constructs<sup>22</sup> and culturally positioned, brings home the idea of a narrative process of news. I will establish that news as a social construct needs to be seen as a narrative scheme which is guarded by predefined cultural schemata. The schemata act as the yard stick for the selection, construction and the narration of a mediated image or news. This narrated view of newsmaking is shared by McQuail and others.

According to McQuail, 'news accounts are typically cast in narrative forms with a beginning, middle and end' (McQuail, 2000:346). Maxwell McCombs and Lee Becker, who supported Boulding, 1961, linked the narrative aspect of newsmaking to the general media system. According to them the media is a narrative machine which 'transmits the social heritage from generation to generation by communicating values and social norms to members of the society' (McCombs and Becker, 1979:107).

Schudson, in support of McCombs, Becker, and McQuails' narrative view, maintained that news is a 'story and an account of the real world' (Schudson, 1995: 38). He stressed his view in affirmation of the social selection and construction paradigms of newsmaking. According to Schudson the news, as much as a narrative account, is equally a 'transcription', 'transformation', 'simplification' and 'reduction' (Schudson, 1995) of reality. Schudson's idea suggests that newsmaking is a cultural process intended to reinforce a certain cultural *reality* over the other, it is made to 'fit' (Fiske, 1990:164) cultural values, beliefs, and affinities (Hester, 1976). Image building in newsmaking is a repetition of cultural values and conventions handed down from generation to generation. (Boulding, 1961).

Elizabeth Bird and Robert Dardenne, who drifted away from the 'important' and 'interesting'<sup>23</sup> as newsmaking factors, contended that news as a narrative suggests that in the newsmaking process 'the facts, names, and details change almost daily, but the framework into which they fit - the symbolic system - is more enduring' (Bird and Dardenne: Carey, 1988:69). Bird and Dardenne's narrative concept of the news touches on the established view

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<sup>22</sup> Gaye Tuchman, 1978.

<sup>23</sup> See for example, Bird and Dardenne, in: James Carey (1988), (ed), p.69.

that symbolic mediated images are 'handed down from generation to generation' and are made to 'fit' the predefined framework of *Centre – Peripheral* relationships.

Other views in support of Bird's maintain that 'news is part of an age-old cultural practice, narrative and story-telling that seems to be universal' (Rayfield, 1972; Scholes, 1982; Turner, 1982; Bird and Dardenne, 1988:70). Ricoeur also asserted that 'news like history, endows past events with artificial boundaries' (Recoeur, 1981; Bird and Dardenne, 1988:70). These enlisted views reaffirm Schudson's assertion that news is produced from a 'reservoir of stored cultural meanings'; hence the narrative process is the art through which a 'made-to-fit' communication process can be achieved. Based on the narrative view, this project may assert that the presentation of the Sub-Saharan African image will be narrated through certain historical meanings which are embedded in colonialism. Although this assertion is difficult, an inference can be drawn based on the narrative paradigms of newsmaking.

## CHAPTER 5

### REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH LITERATURE

#### An Overview: A Theoretical Grid

Any discussion on the related literature should first establish the contextual background. Such a contextual background will mark a continuous line between the past and the trend in recent literature. To start with, this literature review will touch on international news coverage of the Third World, using three models of international and intercultural communication. The first model is grounded in the classical model presented by Galtung and Ruge: the 'structural imperialism' paradigm of *Centre - Peripheral* relationships, where the developed Western cultures are said to dominate the peripheral nations (Galtung and Ruge, 1965: Hopple, 1982: 62). The advocates of this paradigm contend that 'about two-thirds of foreign news in the Third World press originates in the major wire services of the Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), and Agence France' (Schramm, 1980). This trend of news or information flow, as noted by Schramm, has been described by Third World media critics as a one-way flow and an imbalanced communication between the North (*centre*) and the South (*peripheral*)<sup>1</sup>. The one-way information flow led to the popular debate of the 1970s under the New World Information Communication Order claiming that Third World countries (Sub-Saharan African) are negatively represented with a sensational image in the Western press<sup>2</sup>. Although the NWICO debate was dismissed as 'intuitive' and lacking in scientific data, (Lent, 1976: Bosompra, 1989:58) it led to certain studies which analysed the *type of news* accorded to the *Peripheral* countries. These *types of news* studies form the first group of literature to be reviewed in this project.

A second research study evolved from Galtung's *Centre-Peripheral* theory. This study was concerned with the amount of news space allotted to Third World countries in the Western press. The advocates of this study maintained that 'all people are equally newsworthy yet the Western media devote only 20 to 30 percent of news coverage to the developing countries despite the fact that the latter account for almost three-quarters of mankind'<sup>3</sup>. The main concern of this second paradigm is that the Western media single out the developing world with inaccurate and unfair coverage. For instance India's late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi re-

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<sup>1</sup> Bosompra, Kwadwo 1989:60.

<sup>2</sup> Bosompra, p.60.

marked, 'we want to hear Africans on events in Africa; it is astonishing that we know so little about historians, editors of various Asian, African, and Latin American countries' (Ghandi, 1976: Richstad and Anderson, 1981:10). The advocates of the unfair coverage view suggest that geographical, cultural, political and economic proximities are the determinants for the style of coverage.

Finally, a third international news model emerged from the second paradigm grounded in proximity assumptions. This second theory is popularly known as: 'bad news' or 'coups and earthquakes' (Rosenblum, 1981:223). The supporters of the 'coups and earthquakes' view under the banner of NWICO argued that 'the Western media tend to project a distorted image about Africa, which is marked with 'inadequate, slanted, crisis-orientated and generally negative' images (Ganzert and Flournoy, 1992:376).

In summary, the above mentioned perspectives on international news coverage studies form the basis upon which this project's literature review is built. For instance, the three perspectives have generated various research models such as geographical proximity, cultural proximity, spatial proximity and the types of news coverage models. Hence, to ascertain how the Sub-Saharan African image has been presented in the Western press calls for a review of the above related literature. I will provide a brief historical background of the development of the research literature.

### **Third World Literature Review: A Historical Development.**

There has been extensive research work on the portrayal of the Third World's image in the Western media since the 1950s<sup>4</sup>. The peak of this research can be marked as during the early 1970s when Moustapha Masmoudi led Third World countries to put forward the international debate under NWICO agitating for more positive news coverage of the Third World. (Masmoudi, 1981).

In spite of extensive research work in this field, the NWICO concept has not received proper *attention*. The reason is that most of the research in this field was labelled as 'intuitively' orientated and with empirical inefficiency (Lent, 1976:181). Such a critique against this research work was noted by Colin Legum and John Cromwell. According to them, the studies

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<sup>3</sup> Moustapha Masmoudi, 1979: 173

<sup>4</sup> Scott M. Cutlip, Journalism Quarterly, 1954.

carried out by the NWICO were 'narrowly focused' and could be described as 'small pieces in a very large puzzle' (Legum and Cornwell, 1978).

All the same, there are emerging studies confirming Masmoudi's assertion and Rosenblum's 'coups and earthquakes' paradigms<sup>5</sup> of the Third World image in the Western (German) media. A review of the current research suggests that there are no *adequate research* findings on a particular African country or a segment of Sub-Saharan Africa. All the works related to Africa seem to be grouped under Third World international news coverage<sup>6</sup>. Hence, a review of the literature on Third World coverage could be replicated for this present research.

The research work dating from the 1950s has been basically done within Galtung's structural model theory leading to facets of the studies which are easily described as the bad news model and proximity paradigms. The present research will be reviewed within the contexts relevant to this project. These contexts are marked as: Spatial Coverage, Type of News, Geographical, Economic, and Cultural Proximity literature.

### **Spatial Coverage Perspective Literatures:**

In respect of news space accorded the Third World in the Western media, Scott Cutlip content analysed Associate Press (AP) news in 1954. He concluded in his findings that only about 5% to 10% of the analysed wire copy dealt with Third World news (Cutlip, 1954: Potter, 1998:73). Two decades after Cutlip's findings, George Gerbner and George Marvanyi analysed the *New York Times* in the 1970s to determine news space allotted to foreign news content in general. They concluded that only 16% of the total news was given to foreign news content. (Gerbner and Marvanyi, 1977: Potter, 1998:73).

In spite of these findings, other literature depicted the contrary. These critics contended that there has not been a remarkable increase in news space allotted to Third World news in the Western press as claimed by Gerbner and Marvanyi. For instance, Masmoudi claimed that 80% of international news is about the 'developed world' whilst events in the Third World, the peripheral countries, are 'virtually ignored' (Masmoudi, 1981: Richstad and Anderson: Potter, 1998:73).

Kwado Bosompra's findings supported Masmoudi's claim. Bosompra conducted a comparative content analysis on *The Daily Graphic* (Ghanaian elite newspaper) and the London

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<sup>5</sup> Bosompra, Kwadwo, 1989, p. 60

<sup>6</sup> See for example: Riffe, Daniel and Shaw, Eugene (1982), Hague, S. M. (1983), Stevenson and Shaw, 1984.

*Times*. He analysed all editions issued in September 1988. His findings revealed that, *The Daily Graphic* carried 177 news items on Africa whilst the *Times* carried 86 news articles. (Bosompra, 1989)

In agreement with Bosompra's findings, Andrew K. Semmel also content analysed four prestige newspapers – *The New York Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Miami Herald*, and *The Los Angeles Times* in 1978. Semmel concluded that 67 nations of the Third World yielded 15% news-space whilst the 'developed' nations were given between 47% and 65% of all the international news items. (Semmel, 1976: Potter, 1998:74).

James W. Potter expanded Semmel's research data from four to eight prestige newspapers. He analysed the news content of eight prestige newspapers – *New York Times*, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Miami Herald*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Christian Science Monitor*. Semmel collected a total of 3,469 front page stories. Out of the total news articles, 43.7% were international news. He found out that 7.5% of international news was devoted to the Third World, whilst 72% of news items were Western World orientated. (Potter, 1998:75-76). Potter further concluded from his findings that 'newspapers with much larger international news space presented a much smaller proportion of Third World news in that space' whilst newspapers with a smaller proportion of international news space tended to devote a higher proportion of space to Third World news.

There are other studies refuting the 'scanty news space concept' as described above. David Weaver and Cleveland Wilhoit analysed Associate Press (AP) and United Press International (UPI) wire services in 1979. They reported that, out of 339 stories, 139 (41%) referred to the more developed countries, whilst 197 stories referred to less developed countries. (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1954: Stevenson and Shaw, 1984:158). Mazharu Hague also analysed the front page of three elite newspapers: *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*. He analysed the day's news content of the selected newspapers in 1979. He concluded in his findings that 82% of all foreign news was dedicated to the Third World (Hague, 1983: Potter, 1998:74).

Daniel Riffe and Eugene Shaw's studies also supported the research findings from Hague, Weaver and Wilhoit that Third World countries were not given less news space as Bosompra, Masmoudi and others maintained. Riffe and Shaw conducted a comparative study of international news coverage in the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* from 1970 to 1979. Their studies maintained that between 35.9% and 41.5% of all international news stories dealt with the Third World. This finding was described as higher than the developed countries'

news which was rated with 10.8% and 13.2% . They therefore concluded that there was a general balance of news space between the Third World and the developed nations (Riffe and Daniel, 1982).

To summarise, Potter in 1998 agreed that there might be an increase in the news space allotted to the Third World countries as depicted in the above findings. However, he contended that an increase in news space does not necessary increase the quality in the type of news coverage. Consequently, the Third World is presented with a scanty news space with an ineffective image.

### **‘Type of News’ Literature:**

The evaluation of existing literature suggests that researchers have been addressing Potter’s 1998 statement on the trend of type of news content accorded to Third World countries. To this Potter made this rhetorical remark at the end of his research findings; ‘has the type of news content on the Third World changed over time?’ (Potter, 1998:74). Advocates of the type of news content model can be traced back to the NWICO discussions of the 70s<sup>7</sup>. General criticism mounted against the type of news content about Third World countries in the Western media. It asserted that the Third World received negative<sup>8</sup> orientated news coverage (Korzenny and Ting-Toomey, 1992:90). According to Weaver and Wilhoit, the media coverage of the Third World countries tends to be ‘crisis oriented and drawn to sensation and atypical happenings’ (Weaver and Wilhoit: Stevenson and Shaw, 1984:160).

Subsequent research studies also concluded that Third World countries (Sub-Saharan Africa) received negative media coverage. Roger Tatarian maintained that the Western media devote greater attention to Third World in times of ‘disaster, crises, and confrontations’ (Tatarian, 1977: Stevenson and Shaw, 1984, 160). In addition, Narinder Aggarwala also stated that ‘most of the Third World news is negative and deals with such subjects as famines, natural disasters, and political and military intrigues’ (Aggarwala, 1977: Stevenson and Shaw, 1984:160). The early studies in the 70s have been confirmed by Mort Rosenblum. Rosenblum, on international news coverage of the Third World, stated that Third World countries

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<sup>7</sup> See for example, Masmoudi in: Richstad and Anderson, 1981.

<sup>8</sup> Bosompra, K. (1989) defines negative news as ‘those items reporting social conflicts and disorganization, international tensions, conflicts between nations – military, political and economic, civil disruptions, political, economic or social conflicts between groups, crime and vice, accidents and disasters’ p. 63.

received negative orientated news which he described as 'bad news', grounded in 'coups and earthquakes' (Rosenblum: Richstad and Anderson, 1981:223).

Straubhaar, Joseph *et al*, (1992) empirically analysed and compared television news casts in eight countries of the West, Socialism, and the Third World. They 'videotaped the major national evening news casts for one full week in China, India, Italy, Japan, Western Germany and the Soviet Union in 1984. Data from six news casts were gathered from this study. They concluded that Western countries' coverage was more 'sensational', this is assuming that sensational news is understood as 'accidents, disasters'. For instance, their study established that 'at least 20% of American, Italian and Japanese news stories featured disasters or crime as the primary topic' (Straubhaar, et al: Korzenny and Ting-Toomey, 1992:89).

Robert Stevenson and Garry Gaddy also set out an empirical question within the news content model. They hypothesised: 'do Western media single out the Third World for negative coverage?' They content analysed 'sketchy data'<sup>9</sup> from all parts of the world. They concluded in their findings that 'these tables do provide the arguments that the Third World gets heavier coverage of bad news' (Stevenson and Gaddy: Stevenson and Shaw, 1984:89).

In addition, James Potter selected eight prestige newspapers. He analysed the newspapers to ascertain the news space and the type of news coverage on the Third World. His findings revealed an increase in news space coverage, but 'more than half of all Third World coverage was categorized as belonging to one of the sensational sub-categories'. Potter then concluded, 'Third World coverage in the Western media is skewed towards sensational news types' (Potter, 1998:78). Potter's finding were supported by Daniel Riffe and Eugene Shaw. They conducted a comparative analysis of Third World news on the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* from 1970 to 1979. They concluded that 'Western readers are exposed to news accounts that focus primarily on Third World conflict or upheaval to the exclusion of positive aspects of developing cultures' (Riffe and Shaw, 1982:617).

Furthermore, Waltraud Morales in 1984 conducted a study under the title: 'Latin America (Third World) on Network TV'. The research aim was to study the U.S. network coverage of Latin America during the years 1970 to 1973 and 1978 to 1979. Morales found out that Cuba, Nicaragua, Chile and Panama were the most covered countries during the period of research. It was concluded from this research that stories about these countries were negative news of violence and disasters. (Morales, 1984: Ganzert and Flournoy, 1992: 190). For Paul Ansa,

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<sup>9</sup> See for example, Stevenson and Gaddy in Steveson and Shaw (eds) 1984, pp. 88 – 97.

the Western media prefer disaster-orientated news to developmental news. He noted that ‘the year 1979 saw the ousting of three of the most blood-thirsty leaders in Africa – Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, Nguema Macias of Equatorial Guinea, and Jean-Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic.’ According to Ansah, ‘these events had all the elements of drama and made ‘good’ copy; hence the Western press devoted considerable space to the fallen leaders’ misdeeds’. However, at the same time, ‘two West African countries – Ghana and Nigeria – were preparing for elections for a return to representative civilian government’; the democratic event was given comparatively little attention (Ansah, 1984:85).

All the above enumerated studies confirm the position held by the NWICO advocates, or as maintained by McPhail in 1987 and Ogan and Fair in 1984, that ‘Western industrialized countries cover the wrong issues – that is, sensational failures, accidents, and disasters instead of social progress; conflict instead of stability and military affairs instead of economics’ (in, Korzenny and Ting-Toomey, 1992:90).

Contrary to the views grounded in NWICO, Robert Stevenson and Walker Smith content analysed news items about Mexico and Lebanon. News stories about these countries were collected from *Newsweek* in 1979. They analysed the first two paragraphs of each story about these countries. They assert in their findings that the news about these countries is more ‘good’ than ‘bad’. Hence they concluded that ‘there is no evidence to support the argument that these two countries as Third World countries are negatively covered’. (Stevenson and Smith: Stevenson and Shaw, 1984:98 – 105). Although Stevenson and Walker’s views might withstand the NWICO debates, it seems the ‘bad news’ debate lingers on, and the editor of *New Africa* still maintains that ‘the Western media reports negatively on the African continent’ (*New Africa*, August 2000 and *New Africa*, August 2001 – see Appendix 1 and 2).

### **Geographical Proximity Literature Review:**

Geographical proximity has been noted by many scholars<sup>10</sup> as the reason for the aforementioned ‘bad news’ coverage of the Third World in the Western media. The proponents of this theory believe that physical proximity existing between nations influences international news coverage. Literature on this can be traced as far back as the 40s. George Zipf, for instance, asserted that the physical distance between two countries determines the news coverage as-

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<sup>10</sup> Pamela Shoemaker, et al, *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 68, 1991.  
See for example, Maclean, Jr. And Pinna, *Journalism Quarterly*, 1958.  
See for example, Zaharopoulos, *Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 67. 1990.

signed to the related country. Zipf devised a formula which expresses information or news between two populations as a function of the product of population sizes, divided by distance between populations. (Zipf, 1946: Hicks and Gordon, 1974:639).

In 1958, Malcom Maclean and Luca Pinna expanded Zipf's geographical proximity function with an empirical analysis. In their study they found that physical distance is a very important factor in determining the coverage and type of news items. They came to this conclusion after a study of an Italian village where a high correlation of .88 was found between these two variables. (Maclean, Jr. and Pinna, 1958: Hicks and Gordon, 1974:639). In further studies, Karl Rosengren studied the foreign election coverage by three elite newspapers. His intention was to ascertain the determinants for foreign news coverage. He asserted that 'gross national product, trade data, population and geographical distance accounted for between one-third and two-thirds of the coverage in the elite press.' (Rosengren, 1974: Ahren, Stevenson and Shaw, 1984:217).

Sunwoo Nam, however, asserted a contrary view to Rosengren, 1974; Maclean and Pinna, 1958; and Zipf, 1946. Nam argued that 'physical distance is not so important in determining international news coverage as its *functional distance*.<sup>11</sup> According to Nam, two nations involved in the same event will report each other's actions in spite of the geographical distance between them' (Nam, 1970: Hicks and Gordon, 1974:639). In support of Nam (1970), Hicks and Gordon (1974) analysed all the international news covered by three Israeli and one American newspaper in 1973. They content analysed editions from February 9, 1973 to April 29, 1973. They concluded that international news coverage does not depend so much on physical distance as was established in previous studies; but rather it depends on the 'functional distance as maintained by Nam' (Hicks and Gordon, 1974).

In addition, Garry Gaddy and Enoh Tanjong examined 110 earthquakes occurring in 1982 and 1983 all over the world. Sixty-six of these were covered by the *New York Times* and the *London Times*. They established that neither the magnitude of the earthquake nor the human casualties influenced the report in the Third World and the Western world. They concluded that 'regions of the world do not contribute to the prediction of the number of reports and the space devoted to news coverage in newspapers' (Gaddy and Tanjong, 1986: Eleanor Singer, et al, 1991:48). In a further analysis, Eleanor *et al* replicated the findings from Gaddy and Tanjong. Eleanor *et al* systematically monitored news reports from September 1 to December

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<sup>11</sup> Italics are my own.

31 1984. They concluded that ‘geographic location does influence the space and time devoted to news items in the press’ (Eleanor, *et al*, 1991:48).

In another study, Jim Hart conducted an international news coverage content analysis on 8 newspapers from July 5, 1964 to January 5, 1965. Four of these newspapers were from the U.S. and four from Britain. He pulled 30 foreign news items from each newspaper, totalling 240 issues. Out of 42, 186 column inches of the news space of British newspaper coverage on Africa amounted to 13.6% whilst 27.9% was given to Western Europe. American newspapers on the other hand gave Africa 6.4% whilst giving Europe 22.4%. Hart concluded in his findings that ‘the geographical nearness of England to Western Europe probably accounted for a large proportion of the foreign news allotted to it’ (Hart, 1966:442 – 448).

In summary, the proximity issue discussed above suggests why Third World countries received less news coverage and the type of news accorded it. There is extensive literature on the geographical proximity factors affecting international news coverage. Due to limited space, I will switch to cultural proximity which affects news coverage. This view has already been established by Hester in 1976 and has been covered in the preceding chapters. This view suggests that ‘cultural affinity’ between nations influences the efficiency of international communication processes.

### **Cultural Proximity Perspective Literature:**

Among the cultural proximity advocates is Thimios Zaharopoulos. He content analysed two mainstream Greek newspapers. This study was intended to establish whether cultural proximity affected international news coverage and examined the Greek press’s coverage of the American 1988 presidential election. He selected *Eleftherotypia* a best-selling left-wing newspaper. The second newspaper was *Eleftheros typos* a right-wing newspaper. He noticed in his data analysis that the Greek newspapers, although ideologically different, both gave more coverage to Dukakis, a Greek American than his opponent Bush. He therefore concluded that ‘cultural proximity played a role in the way the two major newspapers covered the event’ (Zaharopoulos, 1990: 191 – 194).

In another study, Festus Eribo content analysed the Russian newspapers *Pravda*, *Izvestia*, *Trud* and *Selskaya Zhizn* for the period 1979 to 1987. The objective was to establish how Soviet newspapers cover Africa south of the Sahara. He concluded from his findings that the coverage of the sub-region was influenced by the Soviet cultural ties existing at the time.

Eribo then maintained that the coverage was ‘culturally and ideologically in favour of the former pro-Soviet countries.’ (Eribo, 1993:51)

An early study, which might have influenced the works by Zaharopoulos and Eribo, was conducted by Johan Galtung and Hombolt Ruge. Galtung and Ruge studied four Norwegian newspapers under three international crises – Cuba 1960, Congo 1960, Cyprus 1964. Their study revealed that ‘the more culturally distant a nation is, the greater is the tendency to give it coverage’ (Galtung and Ruge, 1965: Hicks and Gordon, 1974: 639).

To summarise, culturally orientated news coverage conforms to the views shared by Maletzke and Hester on intercultural communication. They asserted that ‘common cultural frames of reference’ (Maletzke, 1976) and ‘common cultural and historical affinity’ (Hester, 1976) influence the ‘effectiveness of the communication’ (Prosser, 1976) either in maximum news space or the type of news coverage. This cultural affinity between nations is not absolutely embedded in cultural beliefs but how nations imagine the other. Einer Ostgaard refers to this imaginary relation as ‘imaginary hierarchy’. According to him, ‘the Western media treat the cultures of the industrialized nations as superior and place them at the top of an imaginary hierarchy, while the cultures of the developing nations are placed at the bottom of the hierarchy’ (Ostgaard, 1965: Ebo, 1992:22). We may equally assert that this imaginary hierarchy towards nations could be grounded in economic hierarchies. For instance, Hester noted that ‘economic relationship generates the flow of information between nations, and lack of economic relations retards the trend of communication’ (Hester, 1976:247). This economic view takes us to review literature related to economic proximities.

### **Economic Proximity Perspective Literature:**

Pamela Shoemaker *et al* conducted a content analysis on four elite newspapers in the U.S.A. This study hypothesised that ‘the more economic significance a country has to a nation (U.S.A), the more prominently its event will be covered in the U.S. media.’ They established in their findings that economic significance or the ‘gross domestic product’ of a country partially affect the news coverage given to it (Shoemaker, *et al*, 1991:787). Karl Rosengran also maintained that the economic significance of a nation does affect how a country’s image in the Western media is selected and presented. (Rosengren, 1974: Zaharopoulos, 1990:190). Jim Hoagland, with reference to the new international political landscape after the collapse of the Cold War, maintained that the ‘restructuring of Eastern Europe and the social cost of aus-

terity programs has shifted Western economic attention from Africa to Eastern Europe.’ This shift according to him means Africa can be perceived as a secondary story because it is becoming increasingly irrelevant economically to the rest of the world (Hoagland: Hawk, 1992:228).

On the other hand, Tsan-Kuo Chang and Jae-Won Lee conducted a national survey of 540 daily newspapers from mid-December 1987 to early March 1988. Their questionnaire was intended to ask editors to rate 12 factors determining foreign news selection. Newspaper editors concluded that ‘economic development of a country didn’t matter much in an editor’s decision-making towards news selection’. According to Chang and Lee, these findings from their data suggest why ‘economic progress in the Third World countries rarely finds its way into Western news’ (Chang and Lee, 1992:554-561).

### **Literature on: The Third World in the German Media:**

There has been much concern about the German media’s coverage of the Third World since the 1970’s during the NWICO international debates. This concern has drawn both intellectuals and government institutions alike. A 1976 international conference on Germany’s coverage of Africa points to these debates. For instance, from 17 to 28 October 1976 the Institute for International Encounter on Press and Information (Institut für Internationale Begegnungen des Presse- und Informationsamtes)<sup>12</sup> organised a conference. The aim of this conference was to draw comments on the coverage of Africa and the presentation of the continent’s image in the German press – which they describe as ‘*überwiegend krisenorientiert*’ (crisis-orientated) and ‘*zu wenig human-interest-story, und wenn, dann öfter im Negativen*’ (lack of human-interest stories, and when present, always tilted towards negative news). (Bielenstein, 1976:1). Deliberations from this conference maintained that the coverage of Africa in the German press was Eurocentric, which presents Africa with a ‘distorted image’ – *verzerrte Darstellung* (Bielenstein, 1976:2).

In the 1960s Ernst Thiele conducted a study on Asian and African news reports in German newspapers. His aim was to ascertain how the press reports on development news about African and Asian countries. He studied newspapers from 1 March to May 1961 as his representative for the year. In all, 23 newspapers<sup>13</sup> in Germany were selected for this research. This study, although it might seem extensive in nature, does not actually mention any trends

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<sup>12</sup> See for example, Dieter Bielenstein, 1976, *Afrika – für die massenmedien nur ein krisenherd?*, p.1.

in the news coverage of the African continent. What it did achieve, however, was to paraphrase news reports about each selected country in all the 23 selected newspapers. (Thiele, 1962). It did not apply any theoretical application and analysis to the news articles. This study could be compared to many of the research studies at the time which were conducted with little empirical data<sup>14</sup>. All the same, this study reminds us that the study of German press coverage of African news is not new.

Among the studies to be noted in the 70s was an extensive content analysis conducted by Daniel Glass. He analysed Third World news coverage in the German press. The aim was to assess how Third World coverage is influenced by ideological leanings. He content analysed seven newspapers and magazines (*Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Neue Post, Bunte, Neue Revue, Quick, Das Neue Blatt, Wochenende*) for the year 1975. He concluded in his analysis that the Third World was represented with a negative image as a *Recipient* whilst Germany was presented as a *Donor*<sup>15</sup> with the highest industrial development. He maintained that the general image about the Third World is portrayed through news items grounded in a distorted image of underdevelopment (*ein falsches Bild von Unterentwicklung*)<sup>16</sup> (Glass, 1979).

Unlike Glass' systematic content analysis, Franz Lee analysed the coverage of Africa on West German TV (*ARD* and *ZDF*). The aim of the research was to relate African news coverage to colonial perspectives<sup>17</sup>. Although this study did not present any systematic and empirical methodology, it maintained from its analysis of news reports that the African image is presented with a lack of objectivity. He remarked '*im allgemeinen leiden Afrika-Reportagen an einem Mangel an objektiver wissenschaftlicher Information*' (Lee, 1972:8). To Lee, Africa was presented as an 'object' or 'raw material' (*Die Afrikaner wurden hauptsächlich als Objekt betrachtet – Rohstoffe*) (Lee, 1972:8).

In summary and appraisal of the literature related to this research, it has thrown light on the theoretical arguments mentioned before. From the historical perspective, this research's literature review has revealed literature on international news coverage since the 1950s through to the heated 1970s and the NWICO agitations. The historical context marks the

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<sup>13</sup> See list of newspapers in Thiele, 1962: 8.

<sup>14</sup> See for example, Daniel Glass, 1979:7

<sup>15</sup> See Glass, 1979:322.

<sup>16</sup> See for example Glass, 1979:324.

<sup>17</sup> See for example Franz Lee, 1972:5

landscape depicting the factors and theoretical issues leading to the studies on international news coverage and national image coverage by the media.

This literature review has also unearthed the literary problems a researcher is likely to encounter in an attempt to evaluate the field of international news coverage on Africa south of the Sahara.

These problems could be expressed in terms of a few composite research studies touching solely on Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>18</sup>. However, there are enough research studies on Africa as a whole. The encountered problems could however be eliminated by placing Sub-Saharan African studies in Third World literature<sup>19</sup>. To some extent, the reviewed literature will help this project in formulating its hypothetical considerations and a conceptual framework of media and image building.

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<sup>18</sup> See for example Festus Eribo, 1993.

<sup>19</sup> See for example Stevenson and Shaw, 1984.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

#### Media and Image

The media have been established as part of the human cultural system and produce symbolic cultural images in society. A reference from Paul Hartman and Charles Husband confirmed this. According to them, the “media operate within the culture and are obliged to use cultural symbols” belonging to that society (Hartman and Husband, 1973: 274). This implies that the news is not just a story but a cultural symbol intended to legitimise, differentiate, and install values through the projection of selected and constructed images. Consequently, the images projected by the media reinforce patterns of cultural relationships under the opposing binaries of Galtung’s *peripheral* and *centre* relations. Schudson shares the view of the media’s role in legitimising or delegitimising images. Schudson describes the media in this sense as being able to “add something to every story they run. When the media offers the public an item of news, they confer upon it public legitimacy”. (Schudson, 1995:19). To ascertain the relationship between the media and image production, we need to refer to how Boorstin describes this relationship.

For Boorstin, image is a “public portrait, personality profile of an individual, institution, corporation, product or service”. (Boorstin, 1980: Guirguis, 1988:26). Boorstin believes that an image is bestowed on an individual, institution, corporation or nation through manipulative functions performed by the media. According to Boorstin the media creates “pseudo-events” which consequently form the “world’s images” (Boorstin, 1980: Guirguis, 1988:26) of cultures in the minds of people. The media’s responsibility for forming images of cultures in the minds of the people may not be denied, since the media is said to construct social reality<sup>1</sup> or a picture of reality.

Boulding also argued that the media do induce the mind to accept images. Such a claim is reflected in how he defined his view on image. He says that “an image of the society itself is in the minds of the individual” (Boulding, 1961: 54). This suggests that the image the media puts in the mind of the people becomes the public’s conception and perception of nations, institutions, personalities and organisations.

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Gaye Tuchman, 1978.

Boulding's cognitive view of an image is supported by Herbert Kelman. For Kelman, an image is an 'organized representation of an object in an individual's cognitive system' (Kelman, 1956; Mousa, 1984:43). Hence, the way the media select and produce images influences the 'way a nation's citizens view that country' (Zaharopoulos, 1989:188). Consequently, the way a country's citizens perceive another country's image depends on how the media direct the attitudes of the individuals in a society. Kelman also argues how such attitudes could be used to reinforce images 'handed down to them from generations to generations' (Boulding, 1961). The media's role in forming and directing attitudes can not be understated. William Buchanan and Cantril Hadley contended that the 'media must bear some responsibility for the stereotypes held by members of their audience' (Buchanan and Hadley, 1965; Maslong, 1971:518). Perhaps we need to understand the basic meaning of attitude in order to appreciate how it is formed by individuals, cultures, and foreign nations.

G.W. Allport, in 1935, defined an attitude as 'a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a direct or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related' (Allport, 1935; Hartman and Husband, 1974:52). We may assert that the media's organisation of news selection and its production does 'exert a direct influence' on how a community, individuals or a nation should 'relate' to external images grounded in the social "bifurcation of rejection and acceptance" (Luhmann, 1999:148).

Hartman and Husband have considered attitude from three componential perspectives – cognitive, affective and connotative (action tendency)<sup>2</sup>. Thurstone defined attitude against the cognitive component as 'the degree of positive or negative affect associated with some psychological object'<sup>3</sup>. In addition, Sarnoff defined an attitude as 'a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects'<sup>4</sup>. Finally, Rokeach defined an attitude in terms of organisational dispositions. For Rokeach, attitude is an 'organization of several beliefs focused on a specific object . . . or situation, predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner'<sup>5</sup>.

Rokeach's definition of an attitude reminds us of the extent to which the media may contribute in organising beliefs as way of reinforcing certain preferential assumptions. Since the media are an integral part of a society and share that society's 'cultural affinity' (Hester,

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<sup>2</sup> See for example Hartman and Husband, 1974:53.

<sup>3</sup> L. L. Thurstone, 1946 in Hartman and Husband, 1974:53.

<sup>4</sup> J. Sarnoff, 1962 in Hartman and Husband, 1974:53.

<sup>5</sup> M. Rokeach, 1968 in Hartman and Husband, 1974: 53

1976) and ‘frames of reference’ (Maletzke, 1976), it would therefore shape the attitude of people by reorganising the old ‘transcribed’ and predisposed records about certain foreign cultures or countries ‘handed down from generation to generation’ (Boulding, 1961:64). The media or the press do this reorganisation of attitudes by *selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient , in such way as to promote a particular<sup>6</sup> image* either favourable or unfavourable. The media, as an integral instrument of society, is also influenced by that society, since ‘people often prefer to gather and select information that confirms rather than disconfirms their hypothesis about people, *nations<sup>7</sup>* and events’ (Holly and La Marca, 1990:295)<sup>8</sup>.

Consequently, the media oversimplify national images and present a partly factual<sup>9</sup> image of foreign nations to fit into the predefined attitudes among news recipients. At the same time, the media’s oversimplification of national images is meant to reinforce cultural coherency and consistency embedded in the open or the rigid image of a nation<sup>10</sup>. According to Isa Suleiman Mousa, images of other nations are categorised either as rigid or as open. Thus, the ‘rigid image’ has a fixed quality and it is much like a stereotype which causes people to react rigidly along certain predefined cultural dispositions. The open image on the other hand ‘allows a person to react to a nation as it might become’ (Mousa, 1984:44).

The rigid attitude, which is more common to this research, is in line with Kenneth Boulding’s description of an image as ‘a transcribed record handed down ... from generation to generation’ (Boulding, 1961). Since an image is a ‘transcribed record’ and a stereotyped inscription about foreign cultures, it could be recorded and handed down to the public as ‘homogeneous, polarized and a fixed’<sup>11</sup> identity accorded a nation. This transcribed processing of identities is intended to achieve the ‘bifurcation of acceptance and rejection’ (Luhmann, 1999:148) embedded in the beliefs of ‘centre and peripheral’ (Galtung, 1971) relationships. Richard Carter, for instance, expressed that homogeneous dimensions attached to foreign identities are intended to reinforce the stereotypical aspect of an image perceived as a social and mediated reality (Carter, 1962: Mousa, 1984:45). Besides the homogeneity and the polarised and fixed dimensions of a mediated foreign image, other researchers noted a fourth dimension which contributes to Boulding’s ‘transcribed’ process of an image. Keith Stamm and his research

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<sup>6</sup> See for example Entman, R. M. (1993), in McLeod and Detenber, 1999:4.

<sup>7</sup> Italics are my own.

<sup>8</sup> See Doris A. Graber, 1988:130 for a similar assertion of how people relate to mediated images.

<sup>9</sup> See, Mousa, Issam Suleiman, 1984:43.

<sup>10</sup> See Mousa, 1984:43-44.

<sup>11</sup> See Mousa, 1984:45.

group suggested a fourth process termed as 'reification'. Reification implies the process of 'assigning common characteristics or attributes to a group of people equally, so that they all look alike' (Stamm, *et al*, 1973: Mousa, 1984:46). Consequently, nations and cultures are 'reified' to meet a predefined 'cultural frame of reference' (Maletzke, 1976) and social, cultural, political and economic 'affinities' (Hester, 1976) disposed within Galtung's centre – peripheral relations. Hence, the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press may be influenced by the four dimension processes of homogeneity, polarisation, rigidity and reification in order to reinforce the paradigms of *centre – peripheral* relations.

The media (the print press) as a medium of communication in society can not be denied its role in projecting national and international images along the dimensions listed. According to Gerhard Maletzke, 'images and attitudes determine the content and form of journalistic reports on foreign countries' (Maletzke, 1977:413). Maletzke's view suggests that the media does mediate predefined and transcribed images and attitudes about foreign nations. Zaharopoulos, whose assertion supports Maletzke's view, argued that 'what a nation's press reports about another country influences the way the nation's citizens view that country' (Zaharopoulos, 1989:188). This implies that the press does indeed help create and project 'pictures in the heads' (Lipmann, 1922: Zaharopoulos, 1989:188) of the recipients which leads to the 'homogenised', 'polarized', and 'fixed' images and attitudes towards a particular country. The fixed image accorded to foreign nations and cultures does not allow 'differentiated thinking' (Hartman and Husband, 1974:56); rather, it entrenches the 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann, 1999) grounded in the 'centre – peripheral' (Galtung, 1977) dichotomy. Crispin Maslog, in support of Lipmann's view about the media, asserted that the 'media of communication obviously must bear some responsibility for the stereotypes held by members of their audiences' (Maslog, 1971:519).

Since the media plays a role in disseminating attitudes and stereotyped perceptions about cultures, it is worth studying the German press's coverage of the Sub-Saharan African region to establish the trend of image building in its news coverage. Boulding maintained that image is 'transcribed' belief, values and attitudes handed down from generation to generation. This assumption suggests that mediated images have historical sources and are influenced by certain predefined historical dispositions. These historical assumptions may hold if we share Michael Schudson's view that 'news is produced within a cultural system, a reservoir of stored cultural meanings and patterns of discourse' (Schudson, 1995:14). Consequently, this

assumption calls for the mention of the 'pattern of colonial discourses' which shaped the Sub-Saharan African image in the 'heads' of European or German media audiences.

### **Colonial Discourse as a Mediated Image**

The mention of colonial discourse<sup>12</sup> in relation to Sub-Saharan Africa reminds us of the imposition of Colonial architecture which took place during the 1900s<sup>13</sup> in the sub-region. Since colonialism was an imposed political paradigm by Western cultures on certain foreign cultures, 'it enabled the production of a range of knowledge about other cultures' (Williams and Chrisman, 1993:8). However, the 'lack of understanding of an alien and complex society on the part of the colonizers led to simplistic models' (Singh, 1998:35) of description of the colonised culture.

These 'simplistic models' are embedded within two main colonial discourses which 'concentrate on the discourse of the civilised other and the discourse of the savage' (Hulme, 1986: Mills, 1991:87). It is worth stating at this point that the 'civilised' and the 'savage' discourses form the background of the mediated image about the Sub-Saharan region. These discursive assumptions may hold should we subscribe to Schudson's view that 'news is a historically situated category' (Schudson, 1995:38). Consequently, since the news is 'historically situated' it makes it possible for news or mediated images to be 'passed on from generations to generation' as the 'transcript' (Boulding, 1961:64).

Appreciating an image from the discursive perspective is stressed by Boulding. According to Boulding, the 'public' or the outward image assigned to a society or a country is a 'product of a universe of discourse' (Boulding, 1961:132). The 'universal discourse' propounded by Western cultures during colonial expansion led to a reformulation and the re-appropriation of an old history and an existing public image. Implicitly the mediated image assigned to former colonial cultures by the Western press may be a reinforcement of a 'constructed reality'<sup>14</sup> embedded in a colonial history and disposition. Hence an image, as noted by Boulding, is the 'history of the image itself' (Boulding, 1961:6) which is rooted in an old history. Boulding's

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<sup>12</sup> I must stress that the usage of colonial discourse should not be perceived in the general usage of colonial discourse which seeks 'to dislodge the construct of a monolithic and deliberative colonial authority by demonstrating the disperse space and power' (Thomas, Nicholas, 1994:50). Rather, this current project tends to look at colonial discourse as a mechanism for the construction of an appropriated 'scientific image of Africa' (Bergahan, 1977:9) and how the 'transformation, transcription and the simplification' (Schudson, 1995:38) are used to write a new 'news text of the already coded discourse' (van Dijk, 1988:96 – 97).

<sup>13</sup> See Adu Boahen, 1987:27.

<sup>14</sup> Tuchman, 1978.

views on image as a historically grounded concept are shared by Ankomah. According to Ankomah, 'the Western media still sees Africa through the eyes of the explorers of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries' (Ankomah, 2000:37).

Schudson also throws more light on the historic perspective of an image as expressed by Baffour Ankomah. According to Schudson, mediated information as an image is a 'transcription, and any transcription is a transformation, a simplification, and a reduction' (Schudson, 1995:38). Consequently, the 21<sup>st</sup> century image or news mediated about Sub-Saharan Africa is a 'reduction and a simplified' version of realities constructed to meet the colonial discourse which 'concentrated on the civilised other and the savage other' (Hulme, 1986: Mills, 1991:87).

Walter Benjamin also shares the view that the meanings attached to an image are historically disposed. To him, an image is 'that in which the past and the now flash into constellation' (Benjamin, 1973: Williams and Chrisman, 1994:10). Benjamin's assertion reminds us that an image is a 'continuous and a dialectical' (Benjamin, 1973: Williams and Chrisman, 1994:10) relationship developed by the coloniser who 'entirely possessed the power and discourse' (Said, 1978:94: Thomas, 1994:46) during the era of colonialism. Foucault, in line with Said's views, also maintained that since the coloniser 'entirely possessed the power and the discourse' (Said, 1978:94), it could 'describe other people, cultures, nations from a particular position' (Foucault, 1980a:74: Mills, 1991:87) to reinforce the 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejection' (Luhmann, 1999:149).

To sum up, the general discourse which came with various Western colonial policies, maintained a monolithic and a stereotyped meaning around the colonised people and their cultures. The intention of this project is to establish a framework within which the stereotyped meanings assigned to Sub-Saharan African cultures during the colonial era could be related to 21<sup>st</sup> century newsmaking processes.

The media's role in repackaging an old discourse into a new media reality can not be absolutely disputed on the following grounds. The news is basically regarded as 'culturally constructed narratives' (Bird and Dardenne, 1988:67). The news as a narrative is a temporal construction intended to 'fit an enduring symbolic system' (Bird and Dardenne, 1988:69). Bird and Dardenne's narrative concern about news construction touches on Boulding's views on image as a 'transcribed record handed down from generation to generation' (Boulding, 1961) in order to maintain the *difference* as assigned to Galtung's *centre – peripheral* relations.

In conclusion, placing this project in a discursive framework is in support of van Dijk's assessment of the study of news or mediated images. According to him, news should not only be analysed from the content point of view but also from the contextual place of the mediated messages. Thus, the 'exact relationship between text and context of the news' (van Dijk, 1985:74) needs to be established.

## CHAPTER 7

### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA IN THE GERMAN ELITE PRESS: A HYPOTHETICAL APPROACH

#### Introduction: Conceptual Approach to Hypothesis

Since Germany has gone through a history of political disunity and re-unification, it is appropriate to design a research hypothesis to reflect this political climate as the research title suggests. This current research will therefore frame its hypothesis under two political epochs. The first part is the disunity epoch from 1979 - 1989, and the second is the re-unification epoch from 1989 to 1999<sup>1</sup>. This means that the application of the relevant hypothetical theories would be placed under these two time frames.

Galtung's Structural Imperialism theory, 1971, maintained that the relationship between *centre* nations is more harmonious than between *centre* and *peripheral* nations<sup>2</sup>. Maletzke 1976 confirmed Galtung's view. To expand on this briefly, Maletzke shared the view that the inter-frontier communication process is not actually between nations per se, but something embedded in common interest and aspirations. At the heart of Maletzke's ideas is that communication between *centre* nations is harmonious due to 'common interest' and the common 'frame of reference' which binds them together. (Maletzke, 1976:412). The disharmonious communication between the *centre* and the *peripheral* may be due to a lack of common interest. Hester refers to this idea of common interest as a 'power hierarchy'. That is, nations align themselves to a 'power hierarchy' which is measured along variables such as 'geographic size, population, history and politics, and economic development'. The closer nations see themselves in this hierarchy the better the 'affinity' between them. For Hester, 'lack of such affinity retards the flow of communication'. (Hester, 1976:247). Hester argued further that the 'lack of cultural and historical affinity' between nations not only retards the flow of communication but also renders it more ineffective. Hester's 'affinity' view is supported by Michael Prosser. According to Prosser, the more the 'differences in attitudes, beliefs, values, stereotypes, the more ineffective and distortional communication becomes'. (Prosser, 1976: 418). These views suggest that temporal communications are guarded by certain predefined historical dispositions. Thus, the communicator (the newsmaking agent)

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<sup>1</sup> See Geoffrey Roberts, 2000, **German Politics Today**, p.1

<sup>2</sup> See Daya Thussu, 2000, **International Communication**, p.55

unconsciously filters his news to fit a schema of ‘shared presuppositions’ grounded in historical values, beliefs and aspirations (Schudson, 1995:15). Consequently, where news values do not match up with the historically disposed ‘pictures in the mind’<sup>3</sup> of the newsmaker and the ‘gatekeeper’ the new image is ineffectively constructed and distortively mediated as ‘reality’. The above assumptions form the background for this current project’s hypothetical construction.

### **Operationalisation of Hypothesis: 1979 – 1989**

The operationalisation of the above ideas put forward by Maletzke, Hester and Prosser within Galtung’s theory calls for the definition of the following terms: Maletzke’s ‘common interest’ can be operationalised to mean common political ideology, common political aspirations, common cultural perceptions, common economic ambition, and common social values between nations. This common interest is highly subjected to the temporal dispositions of time and place. That is, due to the dynamics of place and time, Maletzke’s ‘common interest’ may not operate strictly along Galtung’s asymmetrical *centre – peripheral* relation. The common interest is an idea of what I may term as a shift, it is here and there, it can be stronger (harmonious, effective) between even *centre* and *peripheral* nations whilst weaker (ineffective, distortional) between two *centre* nations. This implies that the ‘common interest’ shared by cultures has a relative perspective, due the influence of cultural, political and social dynamics in the human environment. The intention here is not to dispute Galtung’s *centre – peripheral* absolutely, but to assert that centre and peripheral positions are not *absolute* cultural, economic, political and military poles. They are polysemial poles subjected to time and space.

Secondly, to operationalise Hester’s ‘cultural and historical affinity’<sup>4</sup> suggests that common history, cultural values, beliefs and aspirations urge nations to pursue a common cause towards the future. Nations in pursuance of common cultural beliefs and aspirations engage in effective communication in order to attain their common cultural goals and aspirations. Furthermore, Hester’s ‘power hierarchy’<sup>5</sup> may also be operationalised within common economic power, political power, military power and strength, cultural power, geographical state and its influence in a global arena.

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<sup>3</sup> Walter Lipmann, 1922: Mousa, 1984:44.

<sup>4</sup> Hester, 1976:245.

<sup>5</sup> Hester, 1976:245.

In addition, Prosser's 'beliefs and values'<sup>6</sup> as indicators for effective international communication or news coverage could be operationalised to be the sum of the variables underlining 'affinity and power', and 'common interest' as expressed by Maletzke and Hester. With the operationalisation in place, a hypothetical assumption could be drawn in line with Galtung's structural theory.

### **Hypothetical Presentations: 1979 - 1989**

The period of 1979 – 1989 was marked by *centre – peripheral* relationships embedded in communist and capitalist ideologies. Each ideological block perceived the other as the *peripheral* or the *different other*<sup>7</sup>. Since we acknowledge that the media are an integral part of a cultural system and the news and mediated image in that society are extensions of a 'reservoir of stored cultural meanings' (Schudson, 1995:14), then consequently, the communist and capitalist cultures in pursuance of their respective common cultural interests and beliefs would project mediated images reflecting certain dialectical meanings and presuppositions stored in their 'cultural reservoirs'. If we accept the 'common interest' concept from Maletzke to be something like common political ideology and aspirations then we can deduce the following hypothesis to meet the time frame from 1979 to 1989:

If the 'common interest' concept holds as a common political ideology, and we adhere to the newsmaking concept that selection and construction of news is influenced by common interest between nations, then we may hypothesise the following:

### **Hypothesis (H1) on: *Neues Deutschland* 1979 – 1989:**

#### **Theoretical Assumption**

Based on Galtung's structure of *centre – peripheral* relation and Maletzke's 'common interest' and 'common frame of reference' (Maletzke, 1976:413) assumptions, the *Neues Deutschland* as an integral part of the communist cultural and political system during the Cold War era from 1979 to 1989 would construct mediated images grounded in communist cultural beliefs and aspirations. This basic assumption suggests that news reports on the Sub-Saharan African region may be slanted towards Communist orientated countries. Eribo's finding (1993) confirmed this line of news coverage. According to Prosser, communication is linked

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<sup>6</sup> Prosser, 1976:418.

with culture, and communication between nations is influenced by the common cultural values shared by the nations. (Prosser, 1976:417). Consequently, communism, which is not just a political ideology, but a form of culture with its underlying values and beliefs, is likely to bring communist nations closer than capitalist nations and vice versa in the period 1979 – 1989.

### **Operational Hypothesis**

Due to common communist ideological interest, *Neues Deutschland* would cover communist orientated nations in Sub-Saharan Africa with more positive types of news other than the negative ‘sensational, disasters and epidemic orientated news coverage commonly termed as coups and earthquakes’<sup>8</sup>. Consequently, a positive media image would be accorded to the countries which share the common cultural affinity embedded in communist leanings. As much as a positive image would be projected about the communist-orientated countries, the general international communication processes between the *centre* – German Democratic Republic – and the *peripheral* – Sub-Saharan African countries – would be ‘effective’ due to this common ‘affinity’ (Hester, 1976:245).

On the other hand, Michael Prosser asserted that the ‘more our patterns of attitudes, beliefs, values and prejudices differ, the more ineffective international communication becomes’ (Prosser, 1976:418). We may therefore deduce from Prosser’s view that *Neues Deutschland* reported negatively about capitalist-orientated states in Sub-Saharan Africa which did not share any common cultural affiliation or beliefs and values. The capitalist block was perceived as the *peripheral*, an entity outside the *centre* – communist ideology. Hence the media image of such *peripheral* countries was negatively tilted since the communication process was ‘ineffective’ due to the ‘lack of common cultural affinity’ (Hester, 1976:245) and the absence of a common ‘cultural frame of reference’ (Maletzke, 1976:413). On the other hand, the international news coverage of Sub-Saharan African countries with capitalist leanings would receive disharmonious coverage as suggested by Galtung in his structural theory. (Galtung, 1971: Thussu, 2000:55).

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<sup>7</sup> See Edward Said, **Orientalism**, 1995.

<sup>8</sup> Mort Rosenblum: Richstad and Anderson, 1981, p.223.

## **Hypothesis (H2) on: *FAZ, Die Welt, Süddeutsche* 1979 – 1989:**

### **Comparison with Operational Hypothesis (H1)**

Due to the common ideological interests embedded in capitalist leanings, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)*, *Die Welt*, and *Süddeutsche* newspapers from 1979 to 1989 gave capitalist-orientated countries in Sub-Saharan Africa positive media coverage. That is, more news in the categories *positive (Education, Economics and Science / non sensational news)*. Consequently, a positive media coverage would lead to a positive mediated image.

According to Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, ‘the media operate within the culture and are obliged to use the cultural symbols’ (Hartmann and Husband, 1973; Schudson, 1991:152). The cultural symbols in a given culture could be interpreted to mean the culture’s values, beliefs, aspirations and attitudes. McQuail, on the cultural perspective of the media, asserted that the media within the cultural context ‘expresses a culture’s shared identity’ (McQuail, 2000:4). We may hypothesise from McQuail’s assertion that the media expresses its communicative role effectively with cultures whose identity they share more than those further away from a shared identity. For instance, capitalist-orientated cultures have a common and ‘shared identity’ more so than with communist-orientated cultures. If this assumption holds, then *FAZ, Die Welt* and the *Süddeutsche* newspapers, which are ‘obliged to use the cultural symbols’ of capitalist Western Germany from 1979 to 1989, would perceive capitalist Sub-Saharan African countries as culturally closer. Hence adequate news coverage would be allotted to such capitalist-orientated countries due to the envisaged cultural proximity. We may further deduce that an envisaged cultural proximity may lead to an effective and a positive mediated image.

Since *FAZ, Die Welt* and the *Süddeutsche* newspapers are not an integral part of the communist-orientated cultures of Eastern Germany from 1979 to 1989, they are not ‘obliged to use the cultural symbols’ (Hartman and Husband, 1973) embedded in the communist thought. If the capitalist newspapers are not obliged to the communist-orientated cultures, then they would perceive those cultures as cultures further away from the capitalist cultural domain. Implicitly, cultures like communist-orientated Sub-Saharan African countries perceived to be further away would be given ineffective media coverage and an ineffective image presentation by *FAZ, Die Welt* and the *Süddeutsche* newspapers.

Hester hypothesised that ‘where economic relationships are strong, more information flow will be observed between nations than when only a weak economic relation prevails’ (Hester,

1976:245). Since economic trade was fashioned strongly in line with communist and capitalist blocks during 1979 – 1989, we may equally hypothesise that *FAZ*, *Die Welt* and the *Süddeutsche* would give more news coverage to capitalist-orientated economies in Sub-Saharan African countries. The more effective the information flow, the more positive the mediated image would turn out to be.

The capitalist-orientated newspapers would be more inclined to promote common capitalist economic values and aspirations than communist-orientated economic values. If this assumption holds, then *FAZ*, *Die Welt* and the *Süddeutsche* newspapers would report less on communist-orientated economies in Sub-Saharan Africa. The lack of effective news coverage due to differences in economic values and beliefs would lead to the mediated image related to the sub-region to be partially distorted.

Since the capitalist leanings do not share any common affinity with communism, the press coverage of the communist-orientated Sub-Saharan African countries by *FAZ*, *Die Welt* and the *Süddeutsche* would be negatively tilted. Hence, the tendency for a negative media image.

### **Hypotheses (H3 and H4) on: *FAZ*, *Neues Deutschland*, *Die Welt*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 1990 – 1999:**

#### **Theoretical Assumptions**

The two previous Germanys – East and West – officially united as one nation on the third of October 1989<sup>9</sup>. Schudson 1991, Chomsky and Herman 1988, contended that newsmaking is linked to the official political structures in a country. This assumption is interpreted in the political economy theory of newsmaking as the interdependent relationship between political institution and the news organisation. This relationship affects news selection, construction and its dissemination. (Schudson, 1991: 143-47, Chomsky and Hermann, 1988: 18-22). The political relation should not absolutely be seen as a partisan dualism. Partisan dualism between news organisations does not exist in a strict form. According to Denis McQuail, such partisanship has lost its ground to ‘commercial press reforms and viable business enterprise’. (McQuail 1994: Patterson, 1998: 18). However, partisanship in terms of journalists’ political beliefs does exist to some extent. A survey of journalists from Germany, France, Sweden, and Britain in the early 1990s did confirm political belief partisanship. In this survey, German journalists were classified as the ‘most partisan with a particular political ideology’. (Patter-

son, 1998: 18-20). If German newsmakers are found to be partisan, and we subscribe to Prosser's view that newsmaking is 'culturally linked' (Prosser, 1976: 417), and support it with Schudson's view that news is produced out of cultural systems (Schudson, 1995: 14), then a new national political change in Germany would consequently affect the nation's cultural landscape and its news organisations for that matter.

This assumption suggests that if *Neues Deutschland*, from 1989 to 1999, joined the league of *FAZ*, *Die Welt*, *Süddeutsche* it would have to operate under a new cultural and political climate where political democracy and business enterprise dictates newsmaking processes. Similarly, the loss of the ideological warfare between communism and capitalism would invariably affect international news coverage and image projections. It is therefore practical to argue that the political change in Germany, which came about as the result of the collapse of communism in the world at large (*excluding Cuba, North Korea, and China*), has created a new 'common interest' in nation building between *Neues Deutschland* and its counterparts. According to Maletzke, international news is shaped by 'common interest' shared by a nation's culture. Consequently, one may not witness the hypothetical pattern extended from 1979 – 1989. This assumption leads to the formulation of a new hypothesis to meet this *political wind of change* as described by the rock band *The Scorpions*, which blew over united Germany on that emotional and democratic evening of the third of October 1989.

Galtung (1971) maintained under his imperialist structural theory that the communication between *centre* nations is more harmonious than between *centre* and the *peripheral*. The assumption put forward by Galtung can be interpreted within Jakobson's model of a communication process. According to Jakobson, messages (news) have a 'referential function', which relate to the newsmaker's environment. (Berger, 1995: 15). To take this further, nations with common references in politics, economics, cultures, conventions, values, beliefs, and aspirations would enact an effective communication relationship. In such a situation, effective communication would assist the nations involved to enhance the common socio-cultural, economic, and political goals they share and refer to. I may say that the referential function is how newsmakers map nations along socio-cultural references of their own beliefs, conventions and ideologies.

Hence, nations which do not fall within the common referential cache would experience inactive communication. Inactive communication here suggests what Entman might term a poor 'framing status' accorded nations without the common referential function. The poor framing

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<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Roberts, 2000:1.

allows only an aspect of an event or an image to be selected and projected as news reality. (Entman, 1993: Perlmutter, 1998:7). Consequently, nations outside the common referential point shared by *centre* nations may receive poor news framing and imbalanced image presentation. Based on Galtung's assumption, Germany can be categorised as the *centre* nation, and Sub-Saharan African countries as the *peripheral*.

Indeed, these two continents do not share Jacobson's 'common referential function.' The only referential point is mapped in a media discourse of a *coloniser* and *colonised* relationship. Colonisation in itself was a *centre* and a *peripheral* relationship, where colonisers assumed the *centre* pole, with the colonised at the *peripheral* pole. As much as colonisation was constructed along *centre* and *peripheral* power relations, was it also constructed in a similar vein to demarcate the *centre's* cultural values, beliefs, aspirations, and conventions from the *peripheral*? During the demarcation process as noted by Edward Said, the *peripheral* was politically, ideologically, sociologically, and culturally reconstructed to meet the coloniser's (*centre*) imagination, imagery, vocabulary, reality, and thought. (Said, 1995: 3-5). In an attempt to construct the *peripheral*, Hira Singh observed that the *centre's* 'lack of understanding of the alien complex society' resulted in a simplistic description and perception of the *peripheral's* cultural reality. (Singh, 1998: 35).

Furthermore, the already simplistic constructed sociocultural image continued to serve as what might reflect Michael Foucault's idea on 'subjective sociocultural and a political discourse' out of which decisions related to what news item or image should be foreground and background are processed. According to Foucault, 'in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed'. (Foucault, 1972: 216). Foucault's idea reinforces newsmaking theories of selection and construction through the concepts of gate keeping and agenda setting as expressed by Boorstin, Entman, Gans, Gieber, Lipmann, Rocho, and Tuchman. On the other hand, the colonial discourse which reconstructed Singh's "*peripheries*' complex alien cultures into simplistic cultural, political and social meanings" does influence media coverage and image projections related to the *peripheral*. This view is concurred to by Maletzke and Schudson, whose ideas take into recognition Foucault's discourse.

Maletzke shares the belief that international news is selected, constructed and organised along the perspectives of existing cultural reference. He termed this reference as a 'frame of reference'. Consequently, Galtung's harmonious communication between the *centre* and the *peripheral* actually depends on the extent of Jacobson's 'referential function' or Maletzke's

‘frame of reference’. Referential function and frame of reference in this context can be interpreted within Rushdie’s cultural filtration process. That is, peripheral news coverage or its images are filtered through an already constructed historiographical cache of stored cultural meanings and symbols. Schudson supports Maletzke and Jakobson’s referential concepts in his attempt to describe news within cultural paradigms. According to Schudson, ‘news is produced from a cultural reservoir of cultural meanings and patterns of discourse’. (Schudson, 1995: 14).

In summary, if we subscribe to Singh’s ‘simplistic’ construction of the alien’s cultural identity in colonial relations, Jacobson and Maletzke ‘frame of references’, Schudson’s cultural reservoir and Rushdie’s cultural filtration processes, then we may equally hypothesise that communication processes between the *centre* (Germany – a former colonial power in the Sub-Saharan African region) and the *peripheral* (Sub-Saharan Africa – a former colonised region) may not follow a harmonious pattern. Hence the following hypothesis could be deduced from the above discussion as a means of testing the type of news coverage and its relevant image projection using Galtung’s structural theory.

### **Operational Hypothesis (H3)**

If the relationship between Germany and Sub-Saharan Africa accords with Galtung’s *centre – peripheral* relationship, and it is asserted that newspapers are culturally and politically linked to their nations, then one will expect the selected newspapers to project Sub-Saharan Africa between 1990 and 1999 under ‘simplistic’ type of news. The idea of *simplistic*, cued from Singh, may reflect negative news coverage as expressed by Third World countries. According to Mort Rosenblum, ‘the Western press gives inadequate and superficial attention to the realities of developing countries, often infusing coverage with cultural bias.’ The traditional emphasis on the emotional and the amusing – coups and earthquakes (Rosenblum, 1981:223) – leads to negative image projection in the German press.

There are, however, exceptional assumptions. Hester once hypothesised that ‘information flows between nations having active economic relationships will be greater than the flows between nations not having such economic ties’. (Hester, 1976: 248). Hester’s view is shared by Maletzke and Jacobson’s concept of common reference. That is, the economic tie between *centre* nations serves as ‘affinity’, which contributes to effective and harmonious economic communication. This assumption within Galtung’s structural theory suggests that more eco-

conomic news coverage or economic image projection may be more active between *centre* nations than between the *peripheral* and the *centre*. If one subscribes to this assumption of economic news coverage, then the following hypothesis could be put forward.

The Sub-Saharan African *peripheral* economy is dependent on the Western *centre*. Since the dependency relation between the *centre* and the *peripheral* does not ensure a common reference frame, nor confirm Hester's assumption of 'affinity', then a hypothesis could be drawn to say the Sub-Saharan African countries would receive less economic news coverage in the selected newspapers.

On the other hand, it could be hypothesised further that countries like South Africa, with extensive foreign investment and German companies' presence there, could draw more economic news coverage of South Africa. Nigeria, with its multinational oil companies, could also attract economic news coverage. This hypothesis does not operate in the strict sense of Galtung's structural theory. However, it tries to posit itself in the ideas put forward by Maletzke, Hester, and Jacobson. At least, there is a bit of 'affinity' between the *centre* (Germany) and the *peripheral* (Nigeria and South Africa).

It follows from hypothesis **H3** that positive types of news (*Education, Economics, Science*) would receive less news coverage. Hence a positive media image of Sub-Saharan Africa from 1989 to 1999 would be relegated to the background.

#### **Operational Hypothesis (H4)**

Since the Sub-Saharan African countries belong to Galtung's peripheral, with less common interest in the centre's values, beliefs, economic, military, and political power, they would be given less news coverage, just as they are being given a simplistic projection.

According to Shoemaker *et al*, the cultural proximity between nations affects the extent of international news coverage. That is, the more nations feel they are closer, the more effective is the communication process. (Shoemaker *et al*, 1991). Shoemaker's idea on the other hand could be interpreted as geographical proximity. Countries might be not only culturally connected but share geographical proximity – European countries may feel closer to one another geographically than to Sub-Saharan African countries, and also culturally. Maletzke on international news coverage and culture maintained that 'international communication does not take place between countries in *Toto* but rather between cultures'. (Maletzke, 1976: 414). Since the relations between Sub-Saharan Africa and Germany were once fashioned along co-

lonial lines, it could be argued that the cultural ties between ex-colonies may affect news coverage and image projection as such. Should we adhere to this assumption, as Eribo, 1993 once proved in his studies on the Russian press, then one may formulate the following hypothesis.

It could be hypothesised that news coverage may be tilted towards former German colonies rather than countries once tied up with the British or French. This hypothesis reinforces the idea that former German colonies may have more news coverage, extensive spatial coverage. Non-former German colonies would receive less news coverage and less spatial news coverage.

Finally, *Neues Deutschland* would depict a similar pattern in the coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa under **H4** to the other selected newspapers.

#### **AIM OF RESEARCH:**

Third World countries in league with the non-aligned movement pushed for international communication reform during the 1970s. The concern of the Third World countries was to promote a new world information order between the northern and southern hemisphere countries. In pursuing their arguments, Third World countries put forward through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) an international communication concept entitled New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). What then is NWICO?<sup>10</sup> NWICO was the quest by the Third World countries to correct what they believed was an imbalance in forms of communication. They referred to imbalance in terms of unequal information technology, information flow between the North and the South, and finally unequal representation of the South in the North's media. (Masmoudi, Moustafa: 1991)<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> The term NWICO, is vaguely applied to 'communication' and 'information'. According to Kaarle Nordenstreng, the original sponsor of the new order, the non-aligned movement uses the term 'information', sometimes accompanied by 'mass media' or 'mass communication'. However, it depends on the contextual usage of the term. This present project, would look at NWICO from the mass media perspective: news media.

See Kaarle Nordenstreng, Defining the New International Information Order in *World Communications: A Handbook*, eds. George Gerbner and Marsha Siefert, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1984, in Joon-Mann Kang 'The politics of NWICO', diss. Wisconsin – Madison Univ., 1988.

<sup>11</sup> Among the Third World spokesmen, Masmoudi, from Tunisia, was the single influential person challenging the consequences of the Old Communication Order. His views were sometimes considered radical and controversial. These controversial descriptions continue to undermine the NWICO project in many directions. See eds. Rischstad and Anderson, **Crisis in International News**, 1991.

The NWICO advocates put forward their arguments through various perspectives. One of these perspectives is the political perspective. The argument under the political perspective touches on what information is and what it is not. In this respect, it was maintained that 'information is not a commodity but a social need' and as such, in the processes of newsgathering, editing, selection and dissemination, the colonial tendencies that may be attached to news types must be eliminated. (ed. Richstad and Anderson, 1991: 86).

Legal perspective marks the second perspective of the NWICO debate. According to this perspective, 'all countries should enjoy the same opportunities of access to sources of information as well as to participate in the communication process.' (Richstad and Anderson, 1991: 91).

The final perspective of the NWICO arguments was the technical aspect of international communication. The technical viewpoint turns to focus on communication infrastructures that would promote a balanced flow of information exchange between the North and the South. (Richstad and Anderson, 1991).

On the other hand, Robert Stevenson and Richard Cole had other views towards the NWICO theses. According to them, the arguments in the debate are 'confusing, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory.' The reason for this is that the debate is sometimes between East and West, or between North and South. Stevenson and Cole summarised the issue under three main contentions; 1. The imbalance of information flow between East and West and between North and South. 2. The content of the flow in each direction. 3. The control of flow. (Stevenson and Cole, 1984: 8 – 9).

Of the three issues enumerated by Stevenson and Cole, the second aspect, the 'content and its direction', remains relevant to this current project. The news content perspective aspect of the NWICO debates touched on the presentation of the Third World or the South in the North's media. The *content* issue was further interpreted within certain theoretical paradigms such as Herbert Schiller's dependency theory. The advocates of the dependency theory assumed that neo-colonial structures in the form of multinational economic forces had made the Southern countries economically over-dependent on the North. (Schiller: Thussu, 2000). Other scholars also believed that the economic dependency concept has a cultural effect on the South. The advocates of the cultural paradigm of dependency theory proposed the cultural imperialism theses. These theses touch on communication products, content and its dissemination. They contended that in pursuing her economic interest the North neglects the complexity of

the Southern cultures and rather presents them in simplistic terms of sensational news coverage. (Thussu, 2000).

The NWICO, in its debate for a new order within the cultural and dependency theory, put forward the following argument against the Northern industrialised countries and their media through the UNESCO. They stated that ‘the criteria governing selection of news are consciously or unconsciously based on the political and economic interest of the transnational system and of the countries in which these systems are established.’ (Masmoudi, 1979: 174). In respect to the imperialist cultural theory, the following argument was formulated: ‘ When indeed they show interest in them – it is in the most unfavourable light, stressing crises, strikes, street demonstrations, putsches, etc., or even holding them to ridicule ..... The present-day information system enshrines a form of political, economic and cultural colonialism which is reflected in the often tendentious interpretation of news concerning the development countries.’ (Masmoudi, 1979: 174).

Empirically, the issues raised under the NWICO debate have been tested with related views either in support or against. These studies will be revealed and presented in the literature review chapter and will be cited here during the final presentation. However, the basic notion still exists within the cultural imperialist theory that the Third World countries are still marginally represented in the Western media. Such theses always synthesise themselves through Galtung’s popular structural theory of *centre* and *peripheral* relations. Currently, the NWICO debate seems dead in this era of Globalisation and with the fall of the Eastern block and the non-aligned movement. To some extent, the “ghost” of NWICO still lingers on, although new studies do not directly plunge into the old debate, but it continues to serve as an academic springboard in many international news coverage studies.

The basic aim of this research is not to revive a dead international communication debate<sup>12</sup> as Kofi Annan once maintained. This project presents the NWICO debate as a historical context for international news coverage. What then is the aim of this current project?

First, to ascertain the projection of the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press, and how the different international politics of cold war and communism might have affected the image projection from 1979 to 1989 in the German elite press.

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<sup>12</sup> UN. General Secretary, Kofi Annan, maintained in an interview that, ‘I think that concept, that approach, died a long time ago. But as far as I am concerned, the concept is dead and there is no desire or intention to revive the concept and run it.’ (Balkan Media, Vol. vii, / 2 /, summer 1988, p.4)

Secondly to access the Sub-Saharan African image in the German Press from 1989 to 1999. It is believed that the disparities in the political phases would depict the trend of the Sub-Saharan African media image.

Theoretically, the aim of this project is to apply international communication theories – Galtung’s Structural Theory, The Dependency, The Cultural Imperialist, and Newsmaking theories, Political Economy Theory, The Social Organisation Theory and the Cultural Perspective Theory – to understand how and why the projection of the media image of Sub-Saharan Africa in the German press may take a certain trend.

Again, in terms of theory, to mark off this current research project from existing work in this field, this current project would attempt to interpret colonial discourses as a Third World news coverage discourse. Indeed previous scholars have established within the cultural paradigms of newsmaking theories that ‘public communication systems are part of the cultural industries, and what they manufacture – the newspapers – play a pivotal role in organising the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world’ (Golding and Murdock, 1991: 15). Schudson in theorising newsmaking as a cultural system maintained that news ‘is produced from a cultural system, a reservoir of stored cultural meanings and patterns of discourses.’ (Schudson, 1995: 14). To dwell on these few cultural ideas, it will therefore be appropriate to understand and appreciate the discourses which defined the Sub-Saharan African image during the early contact between the African continent and the European continent – Germany. Here a brief cue may be taken from the colonial theorist Edward Said, who, in interpreting the Western and the colonial relation to the Orient, maintained that ‘Orientalism can be analysed as the Western way of making statements about it, authorising views of it, describing it, teaching it, settling it, or in short the Western style of restructuring it.’ (Said, 1995:3). Said’s view on the Western structuring of the Orient to meet Western thought is applauded by Nicholas Thomas, who believes that ‘power and discourse is possessed by the colonizer.’ (Thomas, 1994: 46). The Orient and the Sub-Saharan African region might not share a common culture today, but they shared a historical legacy of colonisation. Both the Orient and Sub-Saharan Africa had their indigenous cultural values, beliefs and the total fabric of their society appropriated, with a new texture of Western discourse. In this new operational form of discourse, as Thomas argues, the coloniser had the power of the discourse, hence a new form of sociocultural image was enacted within the colonial ‘Othering’ and *differencing*.

According to Said, 'Othering' is an in-built psychological mechanism, which nations use to construct other nations' images, which they perceive to be in conflict with their own identity (Said: Mills, S., 1991: 88). Levi-Strauss also shares the view that 'Othering is something which comes to the fore especially at certain historical moments, particularly in colonial expansion.' (Levi-Strauss: Mills, 1991: 88). Levi-Strauss' view suggests the appropriation of the colonial indigenous image through Western discourses. These discourses acted as a mechanism for colonial expansion.

Underlying the 'Othering' processes was always an in-built discourse to present the (colonised) object in terms of the *difference* to predefined objects in the colonial (subject's) home country. This idea may be further expanded to mean that colonial discourses were set to confer new images on the colonial identity or what Boorstin refers to as a 'pseudo image' or Lipmann's 'mirror of a reality'. The intention of this appropriation of image, within Maletzke's intercultural concepts, could be analysed as a project embarked on by the colonisers to create a new 'frame of reference' for the colonial image. This new frame would then act as Schudson's cultural reservoir from which news about the colonised continent could be drawn and interpreted. I would like to draw the relation between colonial discourse and the processes of newsmaking briefly further.

News, within the cultural perspective, according to the Glasgow University Group, 'is not merely a series of facts but rather cultural product and the accounts and description of the world which it gives are produced from within a specific interpretative framework', (Glasgow Univ. Group, 1980: 5). If news is not a series of facts, then it could be what Schudson describes as 'story' and at the same time as 'cultural forms produced historically to reinforce structures and values of a particular social world.' (Schudson, 1995: 15). The idea put across by Schudson suggests that in performing its cultural role news turns to reinforce certain values of life. To digress briefly, Schudson contended that news is produced from 'a cultural reservoir of stored cultural meaning'. It might be argued further that such a cultural reservoir could be likened to already constructed discourses. These predefined discourses, such as colonial discourses, may act as the cultural reservoir from which post colonial images, either individually or collectively, would be drawn and repacked to meet time and place in newsmaking.

Although this project would touch on colonial discourses, it can only infer qualitatively from the general data at hand. The aim is to draw a relation between colonial discourse and news-

making processes related to the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press from 1979 to 1999.

To fulfil the research aim, a content analysis of the selected newspapers will be carried out.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE GERMAN PRINT PRESS: A LANDSCAPE

#### The Early Print Press

This current project is concerned with the press landscape of the *Bundesrepublik Deutschland* from 1945 onwards, as implied in the introductory pages on the aim of this research. However, it would be appropriate to briefly throw light on the press in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as a historical back-drop to the general press landscape. Historically, the German print press is always marked with the evolution of the book printing associated with Johannes Gensfleisch zur Laden (popularly called Gutternberg) in 1445 (Pürer and Raabe, 1994:13). The introduction of Gutternberg's printing methodology influenced the German press drastically as noted by Thomas Schröder, '*an erster Stelle ist die Erfindung des Drucks, die rationelle Druckproduktion ermöglichte*' (Bialowons, 1969; Schröder,1995:4).

Although the print press is linked to the 15<sup>th</sup> century book printing era, the actual presentation of the newspaper is traced to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1609<sup>1</sup>, the first newspapers, weeklies, were developed. These weeklies were called the *Relation*, founded in the Strassburg region and *Aviso* in Wolfenbüttel, in the German language speaking zones<sup>2</sup>. *Relation* and *Aviso* form the basis of the German daily press to this day (Schröder, 1995:1). Since 1609, the quantity of the newspapers has increased drastically, from 200 newspapers in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries to the mass produced newspapers in 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>3</sup>.

It is worth noting that the German press history dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century could not be mentioned without touching on the general press landscape of the time. According to Thomas Schröder, the printed newspaper should always be linked with other forms of (not printed but hand written) letters regarded as *newspaper or a form of newspaper*. Schröder stressed the link between the unprinted news forms and the printed newspapers as '*die Geschichte der geschriebenen Zeitung kann somit als Geschichte einer gemeinsamen Wurzel von geschrie-*

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Schröder, **Die ersten Zeitungen**, 1995:1.

<sup>2</sup> I must state that the Germany we know today was not the Germany in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Before the first German unification in 1871, Germany was made up of different Germanic states – 'Prussia, Hannover, Bavaria, and Austria ruled by kings, princes, dukes, even archbishops' (Roberts, 2000:2). This explains the usage of the German speaking areas.

<sup>3</sup> See Schröder, 1995:1.

*benen und gedruckten Zeitungen gelesen werden*<sup>4</sup> (Schröder, 1995:13). Basically, the print press landscape could be drawn with reference to the unprinted newspapers and the conventional printed newspapers. Among the unprinted newspapers were three noted forms. Thus, the handwritten letters were foot noted with the latest issues in the society. These handwritten news reports were personal in character and were called ‘Brief – Nova’<sup>5</sup>. The second form was newspaper cuttings and strips, of issues cut out from other literatures which were sent along with personal letters. This was also referred to as ‘*Zeitungsbeilagen*’<sup>6</sup>. Finally, the ‘*Zeitungsbriefe*’<sup>7</sup> were handwritten news inscribed with second and third recipients after the first person had completed reading. Unlike the printed news, with a mass readership, the handwritten news forms were not intended for general readership. For instance, Sporhan-Krempel confirmed the limited readership of the handwritten news forms; ‘*diese geschriebenen Zeitungen waren kein Lesestoff für die Allgemeinheit ...ein Zeitungsabonnement .... war für den kleinen Mann geradezu unerschwinglich*’<sup>8</sup> (Sporhan-Krempel, 1968; Schröder, 1995:12). In effect, the handwritten form of news and the printed newspaper forms the press landscape of Germany during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The press landscape in Germany has been influenced by the changes in the political climates before the first German unification of 1871 under Otto von Bismarck, the Weimer constitution – the Weimer Republic of 1919 – 1933, till the Nazi era and the period after the Second World War (Roberts, 2000:2-7). Among all these political eras, the Nazi era has been marked as the major turning point in Germany’s press history. For instance, according to Geoffrey Roberts, ‘under Nazism, the society and economy of Germany underwent extensive change’ – The reason for this extensive change was ‘the policy of *Gleichschaltung* (nazification) (which) meant that all social institutions – *example the press*<sup>9</sup> – were subjected to Nazi ideas and control’ (Roberts, 2000:8). The dramatic influence of Nazi politics on the German social and economic institutions has rendered the period from 1933 – when Adolf Hitler was given chancellor responsibility by President Hindenburg – to 1945<sup>10</sup> and thereafter an interesting reference point any time German press history is invoked. For instance, before Adolf Hitler took over the Chancellorship, there were about 4,700 daily and weekly newspapers in 1932,

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<sup>4</sup> Trans. my own: *The unprinted newspapers as roots to the press history should be studied in conjunction with the printed newspapers.* (Schröder, 1995:13).

<sup>5</sup> Schröder, 1995:10.

<sup>6</sup> Schröder, 1995:10.

<sup>7</sup> Schröder, 1995:10.

<sup>8</sup> Trans. my own: *The handwritten news forms were not generally accessible due to their high selling cost.*

<sup>9</sup> Italics are my own emphasis.

<sup>10</sup> See Roberts, 200: 7.

however, by the end of 1944, there were only 900 daily and weekly newspapers<sup>11</sup>. The reason for such a drastic change in Germany's press landscape was due to the undemocratic media politics introduced by Hitler's National Socialist Party<sup>12</sup>. It is against the background of this undemocratic media manipulation by the National Socialist Party between 1933 and the end of 1944 that the year 1945 is described as the new phase in the German press landscape. The importance of the era around 1945 as a reference point in German press history is confirmed by Jürgen Wilke. According to him the period after 1945 marks a new beginning in German press history – '*das Jahr 1945 bedeutete einen Neubeginn, sowohl politisch als auch wirtschaftlich und kulturgeschichtlich ..... einen Neuanfang brachte das Jahr auch für die gesellschaftlichen Kommunikationsmedien, also für Presse (Zeitung, Zeitschrift), Rundfunk and Film*'<sup>13</sup> (Wilke, 1999:15). The assertion made by Wilke leads this current project to look at the German press landscape from 1945 onwards. Such a historical context would provide the following phases; the press landscape of Eastern and Western Germany and the present one after the political unification of 1990.

#### **The Allied Forces Press License Phase: 1945 – 1949.**

Politically, from 1945 to 1949 marks the period between the allied forces occupation of Germany and the first election to the *Bundestag* – the lower legislative house – on 14 August 1949 under the Chancellorship of Konrad Adenauer<sup>14</sup>. The allied forces split Germany into four zones. The north-western part and the Ruhr were controlled by the British; the south-western part (Bavaria, Hesse, Baden-Württemberg) was entrusted to the USA; the French occupied the southern borderline of the river Rhine; the Soviet Union also occupied the eastern part of Germany (Roberts, 2000:10).

The principle underlying the allied forces occupation of Germany was to apply the *Big Three Ds*<sup>15</sup> formulated under the Casablanca Conference (January 1943), Teheran (November 1943), and the Jalta Conference (February 1945). At these conferences, according to Heinz Pürer and Johannes Raabe, modern Germany was initiated through '*Demilitarisierung* (demilitarisation) – *Denazifizierung* (denazification) – *Demokratisierung* (democratisation)' (Pürer and Raabe, 1994:92).

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<sup>11</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:63.

<sup>12</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:63.

<sup>13</sup> Trans. my own: The year 1945 marks the beginning of political, social, economic and as well as media developments in Germany.

<sup>14</sup> Roberts, 2000:13.

<sup>15</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:92.

With respect to the German press, as noted by Geoffery Roberts, the application of the *three Ds* also meant the construction of a new press system under a ‘Licensed System in order to ensure that the press systems were being led by non-Nazi, reliably democratic persons’ (Roberts, 2000:10). This early phase of the Press system in 1945 was popularly called the *Lizenzpressepolitik* and the newspapers which were produced were also referred to as the licensed newspapers – *Lizenzzeitungen*<sup>16</sup>. Under the new license press system, the basic aim of the allied forces was to develop a new press system which would be used to educate and imbibe the German population with democratic values, principles, and beliefs. This educational process was popularly formulated under the name *Umerziehung*<sup>17</sup> – re-education. Peculiar to the re-education system was that former workers linked to the old Hitler media outfits were prevented from taking any role in the new press system<sup>18</sup>. Based on the license system, the following newspapers were developed under each allied controlled area from 1945 onwards<sup>19</sup>. Within the American controlled zone, a licence was given for the setting up of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* newspaper on the 1.8.1945. This was followed by a second licence which led to the creation of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on the 6.10.1945<sup>20</sup>. On the British side were the *Westfälische Rundschau* (Dortmund), the *Neue Ruhr-Zeitung* (Essen), the *Kölnische Rundschau*, the *Rheinische Post* (Düsseldorf)<sup>21</sup>. Unlike the American and the British zones, in the Soviet Union controlled zone, licensed newspapers were more politically party-orientated. The noted politically party-orientated newspapers were *Das Volk* and the *Neues Deutschland* which were linked to the SED<sup>22</sup> political party (Pürer and Raabe, 1994:99). The newspapers associated with the French zone were the *Neue Saarbrücker Zeitung*, and *Badener Tageblatt*. These newspapers operated as independent newspapers without any political leanings<sup>23</sup>.

Like any other press landscape, the Allied newspaper (press) landscape had its own characteristics. The newspapers’ contents needed allied forces’ censorship before publication and the newspapers were directly controlled by the allied forces. For instance, Pürer and Raabe confirmed this with ‘*die Zeitungen konnten folglich ihre Leser weitergehend nur so*

<sup>16</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, 1994:97, Wilke, 1999:31.

<sup>17</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, 1994:92.

<sup>18</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, 1994:92.

<sup>19</sup> I must also state that the Allied forces in Germany after 1945 not only established newspapers, but also news agencies to feed the newspapers with the necessary news materials. For instance, the *Allied Press Service (APS)* was established by the British and the Americans (Schutz, Walter:Pürer and Raabe:94).

<sup>20</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, 1994:98.

<sup>21</sup> See Pürer and Raabe, 1994, p.98.

<sup>22</sup> SED : - Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) , for transl. see Roberts, 2000:xiv.

*informieren, wie es die Alliierten wünschen'* - the newspapers could only inform their readers with information approved by the Allied forces - (Pürer and Raabe, 1994:100).

To summarise, 1945 marks the beginning of a new press landscape in Germany. A press landscape which was shaped by the Allied forces and their respective ideologies. Hence, it is always appropriate to touch on Germany's press landscape by reflecting on the press politics introduced by the new military occupation. Since Germany underwent ideological demarcation in 1949 when both the Federal Republic of Germany (West) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) enacted Basic Law and the GDR constitution respectively<sup>24</sup>, it is therefore appropriate to throw light on how such ideological differences led to different press landscapes before the German Reunification.

### **Federal Republic of Germany Print Press Landscape: 1945 – 1989.**

The Allied forces' licensed newspapers, as discussed earlier on, marked the first phase of the restructuring of the press landscape in Germany after the Second World War. The restructuring phase (*Aufbauphase*) is associated with the period 1945 to 1954 when the number of newspapers increased from 165 to 600<sup>25</sup>. The second phase, after the restructuring, was followed by the reconcentration of the press (*Phase der Pressekonzentration – 1954-1976*)<sup>26</sup>. Finally, from 1976 to 1985 came the consolidation phase (*Phase der Konsolidierung*)<sup>27</sup>.

### **The Print – Press Concentrated Phase: 1954 – 1976**

According to Kurt Koszyk and Hugo Karl, the German phase of press concentration should be looked at in terms of product management and costing efficiency<sup>28</sup>. Thus, the high cost of printing newsprint, labour, and the cost of high printing technology<sup>29</sup> led to the concentration phase, led to a loose form of cooperation and organisation between journalism (news) and publishing houses<sup>30</sup>. The concentrated form had its own characteristics. These were *horizontale Konzentration* - concentration enacted through the agreement on common media products, *vertikale Konzentration* – this is a concentration with the intention of concentrating

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<sup>23</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994: 99.

<sup>24</sup> Geoffrey Roberts, 2000:18.

<sup>25</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:108.

<sup>26</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:108.

<sup>27</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:147.

<sup>28</sup> Koszyk, Kurt and Karl, Hugo 1981:Pürer and Raabe, 1994:114.

<sup>29</sup> Ronenberger, Franz:Pürer and Raabe, 1994:114.

on many diversified products ranging from paper production to an end product (newspaper), and *diagonale Konzentration*<sup>31</sup> – this type of concentration involved the correlation of capital intensive resources from diversified companies to produce chains of media products<sup>32</sup>. In its basic terms, as noted by Elizabeth Noelle-Neueman, the *Presskonzentrationsphase* in Germany should be understood from three perspectives, thus, as *publizistische Konzentration* – the concentration of newsmaking / news production in a concentrated editorial structure. Secondly, as *Verlagskonzentration* – a process of reducing the number of newspaper / media publishing houses to form a few concentrated publishing houses. At the external or the international level, this form of concentration was referred to as the *Medien-Multis*. The third form of the concentrated structuring was referred to as the *Auflagekonzentration* – this implies the concentration of newspaper editions in a few concentrated publishing houses. An example of such a structure is the concentration of *Bild*, *Welt*, and *B.Z.* under the Axel Springer publishing house. (Noelle-Neueman, 1968; Pürer and Raabe, 1994:115). On the other hand, the structural concentration also has a geographical aspect. That is, the *Medien-Multis* concentration model is intended to secure both profit orientation from the management point of view as well as geographical expediency within national and international parameters<sup>33</sup>.

Underlying these concentration processes was the aim of production cost minimisation and profit maximisation. As a result of this business objective, the structural concentration brought about a variety of effects on the general landscape of the German press. A case to be noted was the reduction of the daily newspapers in Germany from 225 to 121 between 1954 and 1976. The most affected newspapers were the local newspapers which decreased from 121 to 30 between 1954 and 1976 (Pürer and Raabe, 1994:123).

In addition, the concentrated structuring affected the extent of newspaper circulation in most of the small localities. According to a daily newspaper research conducted by Walter Schütz, before the concentrated restructuring was introduced, 8.5 percent of Western German inhabitants were linked to one circulated newspaper. Thus, there were about 85 localities with one daily newspaper in 1954. However, with the introduction of the concentrated restructuring activities, 156 localities were linked with one daily newspaper. (Schütz, 1976: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:124).

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<sup>30</sup> Gabel Wirtschafts-Lexikon:Pürer and Raabe:1994:114.

<sup>31</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:116.

<sup>32</sup> Arndt Helmut, 1967: Pürer and Raabe, 1994: 117.

<sup>33</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:117.

### **The Print - Press Consolidation Phase: 1976 – 1985 and Present**

The third period in the German press landscape after the Allied Forces License phase in 1945, and as a second phase after the popularly known *Pressekonzentration* in 1954, is the *Konsolidierungsphase* from 1976 to 1985 – the consolidation process was another form of concentration which was linked not just to print press but to other media forms<sup>34</sup>. During this phase, the daily newspapers increased from 19 million in 1983 to 20 million in 1985. This increase was actually a change of about 1 million from 21 million<sup>35</sup>. Besides the newspapers, there was a decrease in the number of newspaper publishing houses.

Although the number of general newspapers depicts a partial decrease from 1976 to 1985, the number of circulated newspapers per readership saw a larger increase than recorded under the concentration phase of 1954. Walter Schütz noted that, by the end of 1989, 1000 inhabitants were linked to 400 daily newspapers. This record proved better than Germany's neighbours; France and Italy had 200 and 115 daily newspapers to 1000 inhabitants respectively<sup>36</sup>.

A reflection on the data presented by Walter Schütz on the German daily newspaper landscape shows that a high number of daily newspapers was recorded in 1954, during the *Konzentrationsphase*, with a decrease of 119 during 1989, however, a sharp increase of 158 in 1991 after the German Unification. This increase did not last, due to the further concentration and consolidation processes. Since this current project's hypothesis touches on Germany before and after the political unification, it will be worth briefly exposing the press landscape in the former German Democratic Republic from 1945 to 1989.

### **German Democratic Republic Press Landscape: 1945 – 1989**

The press landscape under the German Democratic Republic is always linked to the Soviet Union occupation after the Second World War (1945). For instance, the Soviets established the *Sowjetisches Nachrichtenbüro* (Soviet News Agency) in 1946 in Berlin under Soviet Military control. Like her partners in the Allied forces, the Soviet Union granted licences for the development of the *Deutsches Volkszeitung* and *Neues Deutschland*. (Raabe and Pürer, 1994). Due to the undemocratic political atmosphere under the German Democratic Republic, the press was controlled and made dependent on the state apparatus – '*SED-Herrschaft*'<sup>37</sup>. The

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<sup>34</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:147.

<sup>35</sup> Diederichs, Helmut H., 1985:Pürer and Raabe, 1994:148.

<sup>36</sup> Schütz, Walter, 1989: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:158.

<sup>37</sup> Geißler, Rainer:Pürer and Raabe, 1994:352.

state – partisan relation exerted on the press was expressed by Elmar Dieter Otto. According to Otto, the press under the SED was just there to serve the purposes of the state's ideologies and to imbibe the public with the state's agenda – (*Die Presse war notwendig als Transmissionsriemen, deren sich die Partei bediente, um ihre Beschlüsse, Werte und Verhaltensvorschriften der Bevölkerung mitzuteilen* – Otto, 1979:Pürer and Raabe, 1994:352).

Since the press under the GDR was controlled by the state, unlike the German Federal Republic, it had a single news agency - *Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtendienst* (ADN) established in 1953. This agency sprang from the 1946 Soviet Union news agency – *Sowjetisches Nachrichtenbüro* (SND) established by the Soviet Union during the allied occupation. By 1952, all press related issues were entrusted in the hands of the SED.<sup>38</sup> The status enjoyed by the SED led to the establishing and the structure of the press landscape at the time..

Historically, 1945 marked a beginning of the redevelopment of the Soviet-controlled section of the former Germany and its related press landscapes during the *Re-education* era. The first newspaper to be recognised was the *Tägliche Rundschau*. A second newspaper – *Deutsche Volkszeitung* (DVZ) – followed the first in June 1945. By July and August 1945, further newspapers were introduced, *Das Volk*, *Neue Zeit* and *Der Morgen*<sup>39</sup>.

It must be stressed that the majority of the newspapers in the GDR were controlled and published by the SED party. For instance, the SED published 17 editions of the 39 daily newspapers at the time. Among the 17 newspapers, the *Neues Deutschland* was regarded as the central mouthpiece of all the other newspapers. Besides, the SED-orientated newspapers dominated about 70 percent of the daily newspaper market in the GDR<sup>40</sup>.

As a comparison between the GDR and the Federal Republic Germany, the GDR daily newspapers published Sunday editions (*Sonntagsausgaben*). This publication went on till the mid 1970s. The publication seven days a week was however short lived due to an acute shortage of news print after the mid 70s. As a result, they were published till Saturdays. All the same, the Saturday editions were supplemented with Sunday news<sup>41</sup>.

By 1988, the following newspaper landscape could be noticed under the GDR. The press landscape consisted of 39 daily newspapers with 9.7 million editions, 30 weekly and monthly

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<sup>38</sup> Holzweißig, Gunter, 1993:Pürer and Raabe, 1994:370.

<sup>39</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:372.

<sup>40</sup> Grubitzsch, Jürgen 1988: Pürer and Raabe, 1994: 375.

<sup>41</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:374.

newspapers, also with a circulation of 9.5 million, 667 SED company related newspapers and 4 district newspapers<sup>42</sup>. Besides the SED sponsored and controlled newspapers, other newspapers worth notice were the *Kirchenpresse* (The Churches' Press or newspapers). These newspapers constitute the oppositional press, whose aim was to challenge the SED's policies. These newspapers sprang up during the mid 1980s. The church newspapers did not enjoy a free status, with the exception of *Daches* which was recognised by the SED<sup>43</sup>. As a result of this undemocratic press control, the churches were forced to produce newspapers in confinements within churches and circulated by 'unconventional' means. This method of production and the distribution of the newspapers gave it its name –*Untergrundpresse* (The Underground Press). It was 'underground' because of its unconventional existence and operation<sup>44</sup>.

### **The New (Unified) German Press: 1989 – 1999**

The press landscape began to experience a drastic change from 1988 onwards. For instance, agitations for a democratic free press based on *Article 19 of the UN Charter on Freedom of Opinion* were demanded<sup>45</sup>. The public's demands and the political climate at the time seem to have propelled the change in the GDR's press landscape. Thus by the end of 1989 (approaching the end of the SED rule), the newspaper landscape began to witness a new change in the newspaper titles and sub-titles<sup>46</sup>. Such a practical change could be witnessed between November 1989 and May 1990 when West German publishing houses began to take up their places in the GDR press market. This new change in the press landscape increased the former 39 registered daily newspapers to 48<sup>47</sup>.

Generally, the new press landscape brought about by the acquisition of press houses by the West German publishing houses affected the general press landscape in the unified Germany. This form of change takes us to an overview of the new press landscape in Germany after the Unification. Walter Schütz noticed that the general newspaper landscape ranging from the elite press (*überregionale Tageszeitungen*) in the old West Germany – *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, *Frankfurter Rundschau* – were increased to seven due to the new elite newspapers – *Neues Deutschland*, *Junge Welt*, and *Neue Zeit*, add-

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<sup>42</sup> Grubitzsch, Jürgen, 1988: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:373 – 374.

<sup>43</sup> Herding, Richard and Krohn, Dörthe, 1993: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:386.

<sup>44</sup> Herding and Krohn, 1993: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:386.

<sup>45</sup> Kresse, Herman, 1992: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:411 – 412.

<sup>46</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:418.

<sup>47</sup> Müllerleile, Christoph and Schulze, Volke, 1990: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:420.

ing new experience to the fold (Schütz, 1991: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:484). Although the number of 'quality press' had increased in number, the readership did not increase<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> Schütz, Walter, J. 1991: Pürer and Raabe, 1994:485.

## CHAPTER 9

### METHODOLOGY

#### Historical Perspective

Quantitative content analysis could be traced to the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Sweden. Dovring (1954 – 1955), a Swede, analysed the content of 90 hymns from unknown authors entitled *Songs of Zion*<sup>1</sup>. The Swedish studies led to other field works in Germany.

In 1903, Loebel devised a scheme for analysing the ‘inner structure’ of newspaper contents. Although his study was a contribution to the on-going empirical inquiries at the time, it did not ‘stimulate the empirical investigation’ it was meant to achieve. (Loebel, 1903: Krippendorf, 1980:13). Max Weber (1911) followed Loebel with another content analysis scheme. His did not take ground either<sup>2</sup>. Although the above studies were not welcomed in certain academic circles they did contribute to the general *quantitative newspaper analysis* of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century empirical, like the studies put forward by Street, who measured newspaper columns to ascertain the extent of the truth journalists attached to their contents (Street, 1909:Krippendorf, 1980: 14). Wilcox also proposed a methodology for analysing the effect of newspaper presentation on crime. (Wilcox, 1910: Krippendorf, 1980:14). In addition, Willey (1926) content analysed the *Country Newspaper* of Connecticut (USA) for ‘its circulation figures, changes in subject matter, and how it influenced the social role’ (Willey, 1926: Krippendorf, 1980:14). Willey’s studies continued to influence content analysis through the 1930s till the present, in the study of textbooks, comic strips, speeches and advertising<sup>3</sup>.

A second phase of content analysis emerged in the field of social sciences. These studies were much concerned with the newspaper and its direction of public opinion. For instance, Lipmann (1922) accessed the newspaper’s role in the creation of social ‘stereotypes’, Simpson (1934) content analysed newspapers in Philadelphia to establish how they presented the Negroes<sup>4</sup>. Other studies also content analysed the newspapers from the psychological perspective. These studies dwelled on how the newspaper affected ‘attitudes’<sup>5</sup>. Political

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<sup>1</sup> Krippendorf, Klaus 1980:13.

<sup>2</sup> Max Weber,1911: Krippendorf, 1980:13.

<sup>3</sup> See Krippendorf, 1980:13 – 14.

<sup>4</sup> Krippendorf, K. 1980:14.

<sup>5</sup> Janis and Fadner (1965): Krippendorf, K. 1980:15.

perspectives were also added to the already existing disciplines in content analysis. McDiarmid (1937) 'analysed 30 U. S. presidential inaugural addresses for historical references, national identity, and the fundamental concepts of government' (McDiarmid, 1937: Krippendorf, 1980:15).

Another form of content analysis worth mentioning is propaganda analysis. Harold D. Lasswell and his colleagues are always credited with this type of analysis<sup>6</sup>. Like any other study, propaganda analysis had its own drawbacks. It was criticised for the following four reasons. First, it was maintained that 'content is not absolute or objective quality of communications; in other words, content which is shared by all communicators is relatively insignificant to the understanding of the political process involved'. Secondly, 'qualitative newspaper analysis had made inferences, but failed to relate them to situations'. Thirdly, that 'quantitative indicators are shallow in providing political insights' and finally 'content analysis had viewed mass communication as isolated units, while propaganda analysis responded to their systematic nature' (Krippendorf, 1980:17).

A third phase of content analysis in the domain of communication research evolved after World War II. As Krippendorf (1980) noted, content analysis spread to numerous disciplines other than the 'exclusively empirical domain'. Works noted in this phase were Lasswell's study of 'political symbols in French, German, British, Russian, and U.S elite press editorials and key policy speeches'. His concern was to 'test the hypothesis that the world revolution has been in study progress' (Lasswell, et al., 1952: Krippendorf, 1980:18). Gerbner (1969) also content analysed the 'television program for the 10<sup>th</sup> consecutive year from the cultural perspective'. His aim was to trace how 'various groups, women, children, and the aged were portrayed on U.S. television' (Gerbner et al., 1979: Krippendorf, 1980:18). Another form of content analysis worth mentioning is the computer text analysis in the 1950s<sup>7</sup>. According to Krippendorf, the first 'computer-aided content analysis was reported by Seboek and Zeps (1958) in their analysis of 4000 Cherokee folktales'<sup>8</sup>. Hays (1960) also 'explored the possibility of designing a computer system for analysing political documents'<sup>9</sup>

To summarise, the above highlights on general content analysis have 'evolved into a scientific method that promises to yield inferences from essentially verbal, symbolic or communicative data' (Krippendorf, 1980:20). The scientific methodological aspect of mass communication

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<sup>6</sup> Krippendorf, 1980:16.

<sup>7</sup> Krippendorf, 1980:19.

<sup>8</sup> Seboek and Zeps, 1958: Krippendorf, 1980:19.

<sup>9</sup> Hays, 1960: Krippendorf, 1980:19

research in the form of newspaper content analysis forms the empirical approach of this current project. We might therefore take a brief glance at what scientific newspaper content analysis entails and how such methodology could be conceptualised and operationalised to realise this current research's goals.

### **Newspaper Content Analysis – A Definition:**

Content analysis can be credited with extensive definitions<sup>10</sup> within the field of mass communication. I would however streamline the definitions to meet the current research's context.

Klaus Krippendorff (1980) defines content analysis as a 'research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context'<sup>11</sup>. Krippendorff's definition, which touches on *reliability* and *validity* could be described as an improvement on Weber's definition which states that 'content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from texts'<sup>12</sup>.

George Gerbner defines content analysis in terms of the mass media analyst as 'to scientifically gather and test inferences about content that may involve generally unrecognised or unanticipated consequences, to isolate and investigate consequential properties of content which escape ordinary awareness or casual scrutiny' (Gerbner, 1964:Guirguis,1998:41). Gerbner's definition suggests scientifically testing gathered data for an inferred or latent meaning related to the contents and context of a message. Gerbner's view is also shared by Carney who believed that content analysis should be critically orientated and digress from the commonly known approach which seeks manifest meanings rather than latent ones. Hence, for Carney, critical content analysis is 'the search for basic, unseen, underlying assumptions'<sup>13</sup>. Although these definitions might be a contribution towards Krippendorff's definitions, they lack the *validity and replicability* concepts which are paramount in any social science research. The drawbacks related to critical content analysis are highlighted by Issam Suleiman Mousa. According to him, 'difficulties arise in achieving satisfactory reliability when applying critical content analysis' (Mousa, 1984:54).

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<sup>10</sup> For further reading on Content Analysis, See:

Krippendorff, K., 1980.

Riffe, Daniel et al, 1998.

Altheide, L. David, 1996.

Wimmer, D. Roger, 1983.

Lemert, B. James, 1989.

Silverman, David, 1993.

<sup>11</sup> Krippendorff, 1980:21.

<sup>12</sup> Weber, R. P.,1990: Riffe et al, 1998:18.

<sup>13</sup> Carney, T. 1970: Mousa, I. S. 1984:54.

Holsti (1969) also took Gerbener's and Carney's *inferences* further by including a systematic approach to news content. According to Holsti, content analysis is 'any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics'<sup>14</sup>. Berelson (1952), on the other hand, shares the view that content analysis should not only be systematically posited, rather it should depict how content *manifests meaning*. This assumption led Berelson to define content analysis as 'a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication' (Berelson, 1952:Riffe et al,1998:19).

On the contrary, Kerlinger (1973) believed that content analysis should not be grounded in *how content manifests itself in a communication* process. To Kerlinger, content analysis should be approached as a system for 'observing people's behaviour'<sup>15</sup> or as 'a method of observation'<sup>16</sup> rather than the content analyst 'asking questions of the communications'<sup>17</sup>. Based on his view of content analysis, Kerlinger proposed the following definitions for content analysis. According to him, content analysis is 'a method of studying and analysing communications in a systematic, objective, and qualitative manner to measure variables' (Kerlinger, 1973:525: Riffe et al, 1998:19).

As Riffe (1998) and his group noted, all the above enumerated definitions have contributed immensely towards social science as a research tool<sup>18</sup> by touching on the objectivity and systematic aspects of content analysis<sup>19</sup>. In spite of how the previous definitions have contributed to content analysis, Riffe and his group also believed that content analysis should be grounded in theory and quantitative measurement as prescribed below:

'Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption' (Riffe Daniel et al, 1998:20).

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<sup>14</sup> Holsti, 1969:Riffe et al., 1998:19

<sup>15</sup> See Riffe Daniel et al., 1998:19.

<sup>16</sup> Kerlinger, 1973:Riffe Daniel et al., 1998:19.

<sup>17</sup> Kerlinger, 1973:Riffe Daniel et al., 1998:19.

<sup>18</sup> For Krippendorff (1980), 'content analysis is a tool', p.21.

<sup>19</sup> Riffe Daniel et al., 1998:19.

This current research's usage of content analysis as its research tool for the present investigation would place its methodology in the context of Riffe and his group's definition of content analysis.

### **Present Research in the Context of Content Analysis:**

In relation to Riffe's 'symbols of communication' this research has analysed Sub-Saharan African news in the selected newspapers from a thematic perspective. Since news is a socially and culturally 'selected and constructed'<sup>20</sup> 'bifurcation of acceptance and rejections'<sup>21</sup>, a thematic analysis of the news items would throw more symbolic light on the reported news. The symbolic context of communication had already been touched on by Hall in his remark, 'we must recognize that the symbolic form of the message has a privileged position in the communication exchange' (Hall, 1973; Woollacott, 1982: 92).

Secondly, the thematic approach to the Sub-Saharan African news would give meanings to the latent manifestations of the 'symbolic communications' related to the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press. For Berelson, the theme is an 'assertion about a subject matter' and is 'among the most useful units of content analysis particularly for the study of the effect of communications upon public opinion' (Berelson, 1952:Mousa, 1984:54). Thematic analysis of news content, although not critically absolute<sup>22</sup>, exposes the latent meanings around 'statements, propositions, ideas, arguments and issues'<sup>23</sup> in all symbolic communications related to the Sub-Saharan African countries. In addition, the advocates of news as a 'culturally constructed narrative'<sup>24</sup> also maintain that 'news is part of an old – cultural practice, narrative and story telling that seems to be universal' (Rayfield, 1972; Scholes, 1982; Turner, 1982: Bird and Darden, 1988:70). In this regard, news content can not only be critically analysed through systematic established values, rather through thematic applications which could unveil the latent meanings embedded in the 'narrated news'.

Furthermore, Bud et al. maintained that thematic analysis of 'symbols of communication' depicts 'the trend of direction'. The trend of direction of the Sub-Saharan African image is achieved by systematically counting and measuring the occurrence of themes in the news contents. Bud and his group noted that thematic analysis is the process of 'objectively determining the direction' of symbolic message by 'merely counting listed assertions' (Bud et

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<sup>20</sup> Gieber (1964), Cohen and Young (1973), Tuchman (1976) and Fishman (1980); Schudson, 2000:176.

<sup>21</sup> Luhman, 1999:148.

<sup>22</sup> T. Carney (1970) refers to thematic analysis as 'critical content analysis': Mousa, 1984 however asserted that critical content analysis is not reliable for satisfactory reliability (Mousa, 1984:54).

<sup>23</sup> Berelson, 1952:Mousa, 1984:54.

al, 1967: Mousa, 1984:55) . Bird and Darden also noted that, ‘news does a great deal of chronicling and recording newsworthy events in a routine fashion’ (Bird and Darden, 1988: 75). Tuchman confirmed the narrative role of the news in this regard as ‘the routinization of the unexpected’ (Tuchman, 1974: Bird and Darden, 1988:75). All these narrative attributes of news are in support of Bud et al.’s views that news has a ‘directional’ perspective. Hence, the thematic analysis of the Sub-Saharan Africa-related news content would depict the latent construction of the sub-region’s image within the historical chronicles between 1979 and 1999. A thematic approach to the Sub-Saharan African news in the German press shows how the historical chronologies of the Cold War era and after the German Unification have contributed to the trend of the sub-region’s image.

To summarise, thematic analysis is an essential tool for news content analysis. It is an integral part of systematic content analysis. Thematic analysis unveils latent meanings underlying news constructions and establishes the trend in latent meanings of news content. From the ‘news construction’ paradigm, it might be asserted that thematic analysis of news assists this present research to understand how a constructed and a symbolic cultural image has been ‘put in the mind’<sup>25</sup> of the German elite newspaper readership. For this present research to establish the manifested themes, all the news related to Sub-Saharan Africa would be coded thematically. That is, all news reports on Sub-Saharan African countries which constitute a Sub-Saharan African theme would be coded and the thematic units of the news content would be established. As already established by Carney (1970), an efficient and a satisfying result may not be achieved in the application of thematic content or “critical content analysis” (Carney, 1970: Mousa, 1984:54) to newspaper contents. In this regard, Riffe et al.’s ‘numeric and statistical methods’ (Riffe et al.:1998) would be integrated with thematic content analysis. Such a methodology calls for a brief exposure of the newspapers selected for the analysis. Basically, these newspapers were selected for their role in constructing and shaping national and international images of nations. According to Robert Entman, “the media / *the newspaper*<sup>26</sup> frame a person, an issue, or an event by selecting it for coverage ; limiting or expanding the amount of coverage; suggesting its status and relative associations” (Entman, 1993:Perlmutter, 1998:6). The subsequent pages would expose with the help of systematic statically methodology, ascertain how the German press, within the contexts of Entman’s thought, manage to construct and portray the Sub-Saharan African image in Germany.

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<sup>24</sup> Bird, S. E. and Darden, W. R. (1988:67).

<sup>25</sup> Walter Lipmann, 1922:Mousa, 1988.

<sup>26</sup> The italics are my own emphasis.

## THE NEWSPAPERS:

As Riffe and his group asserted, daily newspapers have traditionally received more attention in mass media content analysis due to their ‘dominance as a mass medium’<sup>27</sup>. The newspaper has been given many attributes. Drawing from other thoughts, Guirguis maintained it is ‘an indispensable source of information about the world’<sup>28</sup>. According to Bernard Berelson, the newspaper serves as a source for ‘interpretation of the ‘serious’ world of public affairs’ (Berelson, 1949: Guirguis 1988:15). The newspaper’s opinionated role in the society has made Gerald Hople refer to it as ‘the key sources of information about the world for publics as well as leaders’<sup>29</sup>. Robert E. Park asserted that the newspaper is ‘not merely printed, it is circulated and read; otherwise it is not a newspaper’. He also maintained that ‘it is the tribune of the people’ (Park, 1960:10). Ithiel De Sola Pool also confirmed the universal attribute of the newspaper and the power exhibited through it by governments and the general public. He asserted that ‘both in totalitarian and liberal states, the elite have accepted the obligation and desirability of stating its policies through the newspaper medium’ (Sola Pool, 1952:12)<sup>30</sup>.

Sola Pool described ‘a prestige newspaper’ as a paper read by public officials, journalists, scholars and business leaders and also a ‘good index of behaviour’<sup>31</sup>. The selected newspapers for this current research are referred to as *public opinion newspapers*. For instance, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* presents itself as an opinion paper (*Meinungsblatt*)<sup>32</sup>. The prestige of the selected newspapers is not the only reason for their selection. Newspapers present themselves as a supreme medium<sup>33</sup> over other media for projecting national and international issues related to image formulation. To this end, Robert D. McClure and Thomas E. Patterson confirmed the supremacy of newspapers thus: “Newspapers succeed where television fails because newspapers can clearly demonstrate the significance they attach to a given story. - - Thus the print medium gives readers a strong, lasting, visual indication of significance”<sup>34</sup>. The assertion made by McClure and Patterson explains to some extent why the newspaper medium has been selected for analysis.

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<sup>27</sup> Riffe et al, 1998: 97.

<sup>28</sup> Guirguis, Sonia 1988:15.

<sup>29</sup> Hople, G. W., 1982:Guirguis, 1988:15 – 16.

<sup>30</sup> Sola Pool in Guirguis, 1988:16.

<sup>31</sup> Sola Pool in Guirguis,1988:1

<sup>32</sup> Rüdiger Dohrendorf, 1990:15.

<sup>33</sup> Guirguis, 1988:19.

<sup>34</sup> McClure and Patterson, 1976, 23 – 28 in Guirguis, 1988:19.

### **FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (FAZ)<sup>35</sup>:**

Historically, the *FAZ* takes its precedence from the former *Frankfurter Zeitung (FZ)* which was banned by the Hitler government due to an article published in April 1943. The *FZ* was finally banned by the end of August 1943<sup>36</sup>. The *FAZ* was among the German daily newspapers which were ushered into circulation after the Second World War by the Allied Forces' Licensing under the American forces controlled area<sup>37</sup>. The first edition of this newspaper was printed on the 01. 11. 1949 in Frankfurt am Main and sold at 20 Pfennig<sup>38</sup>, the current price being 1.40 €. *FAZ* belongs to the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH (a limited liability company). It has a daily circulation of 407,100<sup>39</sup>.

The *FAZ* is described as a newspaper for the public from all walks of life – “Zeitung für Deutschland” – and maintains a non-partisan role in Germany. It is an elite newspaper with international status and read by “opinion leaders” and compared to elite newspapers such as *Le Monde* (France) , and the *Times* (London). With this comparison, one is compelled to describe *FAZ* as a serious newspaper – *Die seriöse Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung ist wie Le Monde und die Londoner Times* – (Dohrendorf, 1990:12). Furthermore, it was asserted by the European Businessmen Readership Survey in 1986 that about 68% of business leaders in Germany were reading *FAZ*<sup>40</sup>. It is also described as a newspaper read by highly educated people – *Die Leser sind Gebildete*<sup>41</sup> . All the mentioned attributes accorded the *FAZ* qualify it as an elite newspaper.

### **THE NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND):**

*ND* is a daily newspaper. It was first published on the 23<sup>rd</sup> April, 1945 (Holzweißig: Wilke, 1999). It is also associated with the political restructuring that took place in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1952. *ND*'s basic aim was to project and entrench communist political ideologies. *ND* was an integral part of the SED political party and its instruments, and remained the main mouthpiece of the communist government (Pürer and Raabe, 1994). It maintained its communist identity until the German Reunification in 1989. Currently, *ND* is owned by the *Partei des demokratischen Sozialismus* (PDS: Party of Democ-

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<sup>35</sup> See: *Alles Über die Zeitung*, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt, 1998.

<sup>36</sup> Hermannus Pfeiffer, 1988:31

<sup>37</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:91.

<sup>38</sup> Pfeiffer, 1988:33

<sup>39</sup> Horst Röper, 2000:306.

<sup>40</sup> See Rüdiger Dohrendorf, 1990:12.

atic Socialism). In addition to the change in ownership, *ND*'s publishing philosophy could be described as leaning towards a capitalist social economy, as practised in today's Federal Republic of Germany.

### **THE SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG (SZ):**

The *SZ* was established on the 6.10.1945 under the American controlled area during the Licensing. It was the first newspaper in the Bavaria region<sup>42</sup>. The *SZ* newspaper belongs to the *Süddeutsche* Publishing House and Friedman group. Its daily circulation is around 427,300<sup>43</sup>.

*SZ* is critical in its news coverage<sup>44</sup>, a non-partisan newspaper with a social and liberal political perspective<sup>45</sup>. It is asserted that about 8500 decision makers in various fields of businesses read the *SZ* and it is compared to *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* as a quality and elite newspaper<sup>46</sup>. *SZ* is an internationally recognised newspaper and used frequently by other journalists – “nach dem Spiegel wird die *SZ* unter den deutschen Pressorganen von Journalisten am meisten genutzt” (Wilke, 1999:312). These brief assertions concerning the *SZ* align it with elite newspapers as described.

### **DIE WELT (DW):**

*DW* was first published on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 1946 under the British military zone and remained under military control<sup>47</sup> until 1953. It was initially established as an independent and a non-partisan newspaper. The basic aim of this newspaper was to contribute to the Allied Forces' re-education (*Umerziehung*) programme at the time. Thus, *DW* was to inculcate democracy among its readers, or as Heinz-Dietrich Fischer put it: “*Demokratisierung mit Hilfe der Massenmedien*”<sup>48</sup>. The ownership of the newspaper was passed on to the Axel Springer publishing house on the 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1953. Currently, the newspaper's daily circulation amounts to a 910,000 readership daily<sup>49</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> See Rüdiger Dohrendorf, 1990:12.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Segal, 1981:220.

<sup>43</sup> Horst Röper, 2000:306.

<sup>44</sup> Pürer and Raabe, 1994:167.

<sup>45</sup> Wilke, 1999:312

<sup>46</sup> Wilke, 1999:312.

<sup>47</sup> Wilke, 1999:310.

<sup>48</sup> Fischer, 1978: 29.

<sup>49</sup> Wilke, 1999: 310 – 312.

## SAMPLING PROCESS:

This current research's sampling population is the sample units (newspapers) published from 1979 to 1999 in Germany. Each of these years was represented in the construction of the sampling population. This idea was first to ensure that the research's sampling population could meet the political atmosphere of Cold War politics – from 1979-1989 and thereafter. Secondly, to ensure that all years, months, weeks and days were systematically represented. It is a premise of this current project that such a representation would present a coherent and a comprehensive inference from the available data. Although the research had a twenty-year range, the sampling was efficiently made possible by the constructed week sampling procedure proposed by Daniel Riffe, Stephen Lacy, and Frederic G. Fico (1998).

Sampling procedures in the field of mass media content analysis are too many to be listed in this project. However, Klaus Krippendorf (1981) has mentioned Random, Stratified, Cluster, Varying Probability, Multistage, and Systematic Sampling. He settled for a systematic sampling procedure in newspaper content analysis, that is “when data stem from regularly appearing publications, sequences of string like order of writing”<sup>50</sup>. Krippendorf cautioned that “the interval of length  $k$  is constant and will create biased samples if it coincides with natural rhythms like seasonal variations and other cyclic irregularities” (Krippendorf, 1981:67).

Practically, daily newspaper sampling has seen a vast progress since 1949<sup>51</sup>. Mintz (1949) sampled daily newspaper headlines from the 194 editions of *Pravda*. He drew various forms of sample sizes - every third day, whole week, etc - on a one-month population. He asserted that a sample pulled every sixth day and every other day (15 days) did not show any significant variation from the mean<sup>52</sup>. This methodology, according to its critics, assumed that “the number of headlines was not subject to weekday cycles”<sup>53</sup>.

In 1951, Guido Stemple conducted analysis on photos appearing in a six-issues-a-week newspaper from Wisconsin (USA). In a comparative mean analysis he calculated issues for one year with sets of ten samples. Based on a random selecting point, and selecting every  $n$ th issue, he arrived at sampled sets ranging from six, twelve, eighteen, twenty-four, and forty-

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<sup>50</sup> Krippendorf, 1981:67.

<sup>51</sup> Mintz, 1949 in Riffe et al, 1998:92.

<sup>52</sup> See Mintz, 1949 in Riffe et al, 1998:97.

<sup>53</sup> Riffe et al, 1998:98.

eight issues. In his comparative mean analysis, he found out that twelve days – in two constructed weeks – were sufficient to represent the year<sup>54</sup>.

In another sampling test in 1951, James Davis and Lester Turner conducted a test on a six-day sampling of crime news in four US newspapers with Sunday editions. They drew six six-day samples from each of two available months. It was revealed in their analysis that the six six-day samples drawn from each of the four newspapers showed no significant difference between samples and population means in the forty-eight samples<sup>55</sup>.

Robert James and Roy Carter (1959) set out to test news holes in four US newspapers. They constructed samples randomly (one randomly selected Monday, one randomly selected Tuesday, one randomly selected Wednesday, one randomly selected Thursday, and one randomly selected Friday) and arrived at thirty separate weeks from a research sampling population of twenty-one days. After repeating “120 tests of the samples, 85% of the tested tests were within 2% of the newspapers’ “true” population holes” (Jones and Carter, 1959: Lacy et al, 1995:337).

Riffe et al. (1993) in another research sampling assessment conducted a more detailed and replicable analysis of Stemple’s sampling methodology. Riffe and his group used 6 months of local stories in a daily newspaper with a 39,000-circulation. For effective and efficient sampling, they conducted a meta-research by comparing simple random sampling, constructed-week sampling and a consecutive-day sampling. Riffe and his group further constructed for each method 7-, 14- and 28-day samples. They took 20 samples each for each method. In their analysis, they asserted that “if 68% of the 20 sample means fell within plus or minus one standard error relation of the population mean and 95% of the sample means fell within plus or minus two standard errors of the mean, then that particular sampling method could be described as efficient” (Riffe et al., 1998:98). They further asserted that one needed 28 days of editions for simple random sampling to be adequate whilst consecutive-day sampling could not represent the population mean. On the other hand, one constructed week adequately predicted the population mean and two constructed weeks worked even better<sup>56</sup>. They concluded that:

“For a population of six months of editions, one constructed week was as efficient as four, and its estimates exceeded what would be expected based on probability theory. By extension,

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<sup>54</sup> Guido Stemple, 1952 in Stephen Lacy et al, 1995:337.

<sup>55</sup> Davis and Turner, in S. Lacy et al, 1995:337.

<sup>56</sup> Riffe et al., 1998:98

two constructed weeks would allow reliable estimates of local stories in a year's worth of newspaper entire issues - -" (Riffe et al., 1998:98)<sup>57</sup>.

Based on the sampling methodology discussed above, this current project decided on two-constructed-week sampling as a form of stratified sampling. Stratified sampling is a process of "breaking a population into smaller groups and sampling from within the groups"<sup>58</sup>. That is, the total population for a single newspaper (for example *FAZ*) of 312 newspaper-circulated days in a year for 20 years totals 6,240 newspaper-circulated days<sup>59</sup>. Based on the stratified sampling methodology, the 6,240 newspaper-circulated days drew up for each newspaper, was broken into 'smaller groups' (years: 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999) for each of the four selected newspapers (*FAZ*, *SZ*, *DW* and *ND*). Furthermore a two-constructed-week sampling as proposed by Riffe and his group was used as a sampling mechanism to 'sample within the selected groups' each year (312 newspaper-circulated days). Sampling "within the groups" allowed this research to reach sampled units which were representative for each group (1979, . . . . . 1999) as highlighted below. In addition, Guido Stemple confirmed a two-constructed-week sampling for this current work.

Secondly unlike previous newspaper sampling which did purposive sampling<sup>60</sup>, this current research sampled each of the years from 1979 to 1999. The reason for this research's sampling is to efficiently cover all the years during the Cold War and thereafter. Furthermore, the basic aim of this research is to project the Sub-Saharan African image in the selected 20-year period. Sampling each single year allowed this research to present a 20-year trend in the construction of the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press.

The sampling population is the total population of the 4 daily newspapers for the 20-year period. For each newspaper in each year, a two-constructed-week sampling was constructed (two Mondays, two Tuesdays, two Wednesdays, two Thursdays, two Fridays and two Saturdays, plus two other random days). From the two-constructed-week sampling, a sampling set of 14 daily newspapers was drawn. In the sampling process, holidays, or absence of newspapers due to strikes, were represented by the day before or after. The 14 daily newspapers in

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<sup>57</sup> See also Lacy et al., 1995:337.

<sup>58</sup> Riffe et al., 1998:92.

<sup>59</sup> Not taking national holidays and strikes into consideration.

<sup>60</sup> Issam Suleiman Mousa, 1984, Glass, 1979, Guirguis, 1988.

each year yielded for each newspaper (*FAZ*, *SZ*, *DW* and *ND*) 294 selected samples. The total of the selected samples was 1176 daily newspapers<sup>61</sup>.

Theoretically, based on the daily newspaper sampling theorem of Riffe and his group, the 1176 is a total representation of the population of daily newspapers for the research's range from 1979 to 1999. A two-constructed-week sampling, which is a form of stratified sampling, is applicable in this current research for this theoretical reason. Thus, a two-constructed-week sampling as a form of stratified sampling "increases the representativeness of a sample and avoids over-sampling and under-sampling"<sup>62</sup>. Since the two-constructed-week sampling allows efficient representation, this current research had no other daily newspaper sampling choice than to adapt the current sampling methodology in this field.

### **THEMATIC ANALYSIS:**

Thematic analysis as applied here should be understood as a news content classification and categorisation process. Classification as defined by Riffe et al., 1998, is a "collection of category definitions that assign values to recording units"<sup>63</sup>. In this present research, the classification process involved assigning values that touched on the countries which constituted a Sub-Saharan African country in particular news content and what news qualified as a Sub-Saharan African news item and those which were not. Categorisation implies breaking composite Sub-Saharan African news contents as published in a selected daily newspaper sample into *nominal categories*, *subcategories* and *multivariable categories*<sup>64</sup>. This system of categorisation was defined by Deese (1969) as 'grouping' contents according to their 'shared attributes'<sup>65</sup>.

To ascertain the Sub-Saharan African image as presented through news themes, the following categories were enlisted for the thematic analysis:

#### **Nominal Categories:**

Twelve themes were developed as news themes. These themes are nominal because they formed the primary themes which were further developed for sub- and multivariable categories within particular news content. The nominal categories of this research were:

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<sup>61</sup> The selected daily newspaper samples are available on request.

<sup>62</sup> Riffe et al., 1998:93.

<sup>63</sup> Riffe et al., 1998:72.

<sup>64</sup> See Riffe et al., 1998:70.

<sup>65</sup> Deese, 1969:Riffe et al., 1998:73.

1. International Politics
2. Domestic Politics
3. Economics
4. Social Conflict
5. Social Welfare
6. Education
7. Military
8. Disaster
9. Agriculture
10. Culture
11. Science
12. Sports

**Subcategories:**

To subcategorise, this current project split each of the 12 nominal news themes into their relevant categories. This allowed each subcategory to qualify as either a variable to be included or not to be included<sup>66</sup> in a nominal category related to all Sub-Saharan news items. The following subcategories were developed under the 12 listed nominal categories:

***International politics:***

Political activities between a Sub-Saharan African country and another African country.

Political activities between a Sub-Saharan African country and any country outside.

***Domestic Politics:***

All political activities in a given Sub-Saharan African country.

***Economics:***

Nationally geared economic activity in a Sub-Saharan African country.

Economic activity between a Sub-Saharan African country and an external country.

Economic issues related to businesses in a Sub-Saharan African country.

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<sup>66</sup> See Riffe et al., 1998:70.

Economic activity at an international level.

***Social Conflict:***

Activities which disturb the socially accepted order of a human environment in a Sub-Saharan African country:

Crime (killing, murder, death)

Accident

Legal Issues (imprisonment)

Strikes (workers, students, interest groups negotiating for rights)

Racism (racial conflict)

Gender issues (gender conflict, female circumcision).

***Social Welfare - General Perspective:***

All socially related issues which do not fall within the social conflict domain:

Health

Development projects (child development support, drug abuse programmes).

***Education:***

All issues related to education in a Sub-Saharan African country.

All educational pacts between Sub-Saharan African countries.

Educational initiative at international levels (e.g. an educational facility, or programme from an international donor country or initiated by the UNESCO: the recipient should be a Sub-Saharan African country).

***Military:***

Military-related issues in Sub-Saharan Africa (nationally declared military agenda such as war).

Exchange of military pacts between Sub-Saharan African countries or with another African country.

Military equipment purchases, for national defence.

Common military initiative between a non-African country and a Sub-Saharan African country.

Military aid received by a Sub-Saharan African country.

***Disaster / Epidemic:***

Disease outbreak (ebola, cholera) in a Sub-Saharan African country.

Destructive rainstorm in a Sub-Saharan African country.

Flood (running water) in a Sub-Saharan African country.

Famine in a Sub-Saharan African country.

***Agriculture:***

Any agriculture-related issue in a Sub-Saharan African country.

International agricultural relief programmes related to a Sub-Saharan African country.

***Culture / Human interest:***

Entertainment-related stories in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Culture-related issues (fine arts) in a Sub-Saharan African region.

Festivals in a Sub-Saharan African country.

Religious issues in a Sub-Saharan African country.

A Sub-Saharan African culture exported outside the sub-region.

***Science and Technology:***

All science-related issues in a Sub-Saharan African country.

All science-related activity between Sub-Saharan African countries.

Any scientific activity between a Sub-Saharan African country and a non-Sub-Saharan African country.

***Sports:***

All activities that could be identified as sports in a Sub-Saharan African country.

All sports activities between Sub-Saharan African countries.

All international sports activities (World Cup, Olympics) involving a Sub-Saharan African country.

### **MULTIVARIABLE CATEGORIES:**

Due to the nature of the news categories, multivariable categories were permitted for multivariables were necessary for an efficient coding process and multiple coding.

To determine the multivariable categories, the first paragraph of each news item was read. Sometimes, the identification of the news categories was a problem. Although all the selected newspapers had pages categorised according to their news items – for instance, all the newspapers had common structures such as “Wirtschaft” (*Economics*), “Politik” (*Politics*), and “Auslandsbericht” (*Foreign news*) – , most Sub-Saharan African news identified as economic news was found under politics. This problem was solved by reading each news item if necessary, or at least the first two or three paragraphs.

The following scheme was developed for multivariable assessment:

- Whenever a primary news category has its roots in another subcategory or even in another primary category. A case is, news item touching on famine in Ethiopia is categorised as a social conflict. However, where the famine is caused by the Military, multivariable category is permitted.
- In the case of economic sanctions against South Africa during the apartheid regime, such news was identified as economic and as social conflict. It was identified as social conflict due to its negative impact.

### **DEFINITIONS OF CATEGORIES**

To ensure an effective coding process and efficient reliability, the news categories were further defined. Primarily, the news categories were operationalised along the lines: news type, news source, and news attribute. The category operation yielded the following definitions:

- For a news item to qualify as Sub-Saharan African news, it should have the following attributes: the news should involve a Sub-Saharan African country or the Sub-Saharan African country should be main news actor. That is, news items referring to Africa as a whole should not be identified as Sub-Saharan African news.

- Many of the Sub-Saharan African countries from 1979 to 1999 had changed their names after gaining their political independence. For instance Zimbabwe was known in the late 70s as Rhodesia. All such names were identified to enhance proper coding purposes.
- A Sub-Saharan African personality qualifying for news should be a personality with political stature. A Sub-Saharan African personality representing her / his country, for example, at an international tournament qualifies as such. However, an individual residing in Germany does not pass for Sub-Saharan African news.
- News identified as international politics should be internationally and politically orientated. That is, the presence of a Sub-Saharan African country should be an active actor: for instance, a Sub-Saharan African country hosting an OAU or ECOWAS meeting.
- Furthermore, news sponsored by Sub-Saharan African governments should not be identified as a news category. For instance, government-sponsored advertising to boost tourism or invite investors was not identified as a news category.
- All *Letters to the Editor* mentioning Sub-Saharan Africa were not identified with any news category.

After identifying the news categories and the relevant categories' operations, the following coding protocol was developed.

### **CODING PROTOCOL:**

Coding protocol is paramount in any content analysis. It enables effective coding results to be reached. In addition, the coding protocol serves as a source of critique for other researchers to replicate<sup>67</sup> the research findings. Werner Früh also confirmed the importance of coding protocol. He remarked that “*Die Codierschulung schließt mit einer quantitativen Gültigkeits- und Verlässlichkeitskontrolle*”<sup>68</sup> (Früh, 2001:173). As much as the coding protocol is very important in content analysis, value should also be laid on the formulation itself. Riffe et al 1998 suggested coding protocol should be precise and unambiguous as far as possible. This view is shared by Früh. According to Früh coding protocol should be “*völlig klar*”<sup>69</sup> – involving consistency and precision. Based on the coding protocol principles, the following protocol was

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<sup>67</sup> Riffe et al, 1998:109

<sup>68</sup> Trans. my own: Coding protocol ensures the validity and the reliability of the research findings.

<sup>69</sup> Früh, 2001:174

developed<sup>70</sup>. For this project, three coders were selected from the department of Media Planning at the University of Siegen. Each of the coders was trained and a given the necessary coding sheet and a coding protocol for references.

## **CODING PROTOCOL FOR: Sub-Saharan African Image In The German Press:**

### **Introduction:**

Identify all Sub-Saharan African news as defined under the category definitions. Each of these criteria should be applied to all the selected newspapers. As a guide, look for the following characteristics in determining Sub-Saharan African news:

### **Type of News:**

All news pertaining to a Sub-Saharan African country, all news items with a Sub-Saharan African country as the main actor. Exclude government-sponsored advertising. Exclude letters to the editor.

### **News Attributes:**

News attributed to Sub-Saharan African political figures, or personalities who can be collectively identified with a Sub-Saharan African country – for example, a group of people representing a Sub-Saharan African country.

### **News Source:**

Any news identified as Sub-Saharan African should have two main source attributes: the first is that the news should take place in a Sub-Saharan African country. Secondly, news taking place outside the Sub-Saharan African region can only be included when a Sub-Saharan African country is a major news actor. For instance, a Sub-Saharan African country participating in a foreign / international conference should be identified as Sub-Saharan African news. The event should determine the news category.

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<sup>70</sup> See Appendix 6.

### **Multivariable Categories:**

Attention should be given to all news with multivariable categories. Nominal categories with multivariable subcategories can be identified by reading the first two to three paragraphs of a news item.

### **Country:**

To ascertain the authenticity of a Sub-Saharan African country, a list of all Sub-Saharan African countries is provided for coders to refer to. Countries with a name change due to political independence should be identified with their current names.

### **Scheme:**

Attention should be given to the following scheme in the evaluation of a news content for the appropriate category:

For all Sub-Saharan African countries, names should be given.

The name of newspaper should be given.

The date of newspaper should be given.

Coders should identify themselves with names.

Coders' comments should be entered. This is necessary for coding discussions whenever coding disagreement occurs.

For the coding process, the following values should be given:

**C** stands for all the nominal news categories / variables ranging from 1 – 12. The nominal categories had already being identified as:

**C1** International Politics

**C2** Domestic Politics

**C3** Economics

**C4** Social Conflict

**C5** Social Welfare

**C6** Education

**C7** Military

**C8** Disaster

**C9** Agriculture

**C10** Culture

**C11** Science

**C12** Sports

## CHAPTER 10

### ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The primary aim of this research was to ascertain the presentation of the Sub-Saharan African countries' image in the German press from 1979 to 1999 – with a total of  $N = 39$  countries (100%). The research time frame was divided into two parts – Part 1: 1979 – 1989 and Part 2: 1990 – 1999, to meet post-Second World War politics and thereafter. To establish the extent of the projection of the Sub-Saharan African image calls for the analysis and discussion of the data constructed against the 4 formulated research hypotheses. The 4 hypotheses were operationalised within the context of the Type of News perspective, and Economic and Cultural proximity perspectives. The data obtained on *Neues Deutschland* marks the beginning of the research's data analysis for H1 to H4 from 1979 – 1999:

#### **Hypothesis (H1) on: *Neues Deutschland* 1979 – 1989**

It was hypothesised, based on Hester's cultural affinity<sup>1</sup> concept, that the *Neues Deutschland* as a communist newspaper would give more positive / harmonious news coverage to communist orientated countries which it considered as its *centre* from 1979 to 1989.

Table 1 shows the overall news categories according to  $N = 28$  (71.79%) countries from 1979 – 1989 in the *ND*. The total news for the 10-year period was  $N = 306$  (100%) news articles. Amazingly, South Africa, a non-communist orientated country with a capitalist political system had the highest news coverage with  $N = 77$  (25%)<sup>2</sup>. The degree of news coverage given to South Africa does not, however, alter the hypothesis formulated under H1. Rather, from the type of news category perspective, it is a confirmation of the research hypothesis.

With reference to what Kwado Bosompra described as negative<sup>3</sup> news, a close look at the distribution of *ND* news suggests that more positive news coverage was given to communist-orientated countries. For instance, within Rosenblum's sensational news of *earthquakes and coups*<sup>4</sup>, news categories like economics, education, agriculture, science and sports are consid-

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<sup>1</sup> Hester, 1976:245.

<sup>2</sup> All statistical data presented is corrected to the approximated whole numbers.

<sup>3</sup> See Bosompra, (1989) p.60

<sup>4</sup> See Rosenblum, in Richstand and Anderson (1981).

ered *non-sensational* news, hence with a positive image exposition. Although South Africa had the highest news coverage, it was not covered with a single news item in the *non-sensational* categories. However, identified communist-orientated countries received more coverage in the direction of *non-sensational* news. According to Bernard von Plate, “*in Westafrika waren dementsprechend Ghana, Guinea und Mali, in Ostafrika und südlich der Sahara Tanganyika, Sansibar, Somalia, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Angola und die Volksrepublik Kongo Schwerpunkt der DDR-Aktivität*” (Bernard von Plate: Jacobsen et al, 1979:659)<sup>5</sup>. The political relation is what Hester referred to as ‘cultural affinity’ in the influence of international communication, international news coverage and image presentation. This view is clearly confirmed by the *non-sensational* coverage given to Ethiopia and Mozambique. Ethiopia received total news coverage of  $N = 34$  (11%) out of the  $N = 306$  (100%) of the period 1979 – 1989. Ethiopia’s news coverage was distributed across economic  $N = 6$  (18%), education  $N = 1$  (3%), agriculture  $N = 2$  (6%), culture  $N = 1$  (3%), science  $N = 1$  (3%) and sports  $N = 1$  (3%). A similar picture can be seen under the coverage given to Mozambique. Mozambique received  $N = 29$  (10%) of the total news coverage from 1979 – 1989. The  $N = 29$  news accorded to Mozambique was distributed across economic  $N = 5$  (17%), education  $N = 1$  (3%), agriculture  $N = 2$  (7%), and culture  $N = 1$  (3%).

The degree of *sensational* news accorded to Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola is worth analysis. Mozambique received coverage thus: military  $N = 2$  (6%) and social conflict  $N = 2$  (6%) whilst Ethiopia received social conflict  $N = 3$  (9%), military  $N = 1$  (3%), and Angola, a communist-orientated country, received the highest percentage of social conflict news categories among her total news  $N = 40$  (100%). Angola was accorded with  $N = 10$  (25%) of social conflict news. In spite of this data, it may be argued that with  $N = 15$  (17%) from a total social conflict news of  $N = 88$  (100%) the sum of *sensational* news received by Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola in the social conflict category is very insignificant in comparison to South Africa. South Africa, a capitalist-orientated country, received  $N = 51$  (55%).

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<sup>5</sup> Trans. my own: According to Bernard von Plate, the former German Democratic Republic maintained effective political relations with the countries mentioned.

To summarise, the analysis confirmed that communist-orientated countries were perceived as communist centre nations with a common political 'affinity'. As a result of the communist affinity the communist-orientated Sub-Saharan African countries were covered with less sensational news types. Consequently, this finding confirms the argument raised under H1 against Hester's cultural affinity concept.

On the other hand, this data also confirmed the theory posited under H1 by Prosser and Maletzke that *Neues Deutschland* would present non-communist countries in the sub-region as *peripheral nations*, hence, with more sensational news and consequently a sensational media image. They argued that international communication becomes ineffective<sup>6</sup> when nations lack a common cultural frame of reference.<sup>7</sup>

See following Table 1 (*ND 1979-1989*: tables 1a and 1b).

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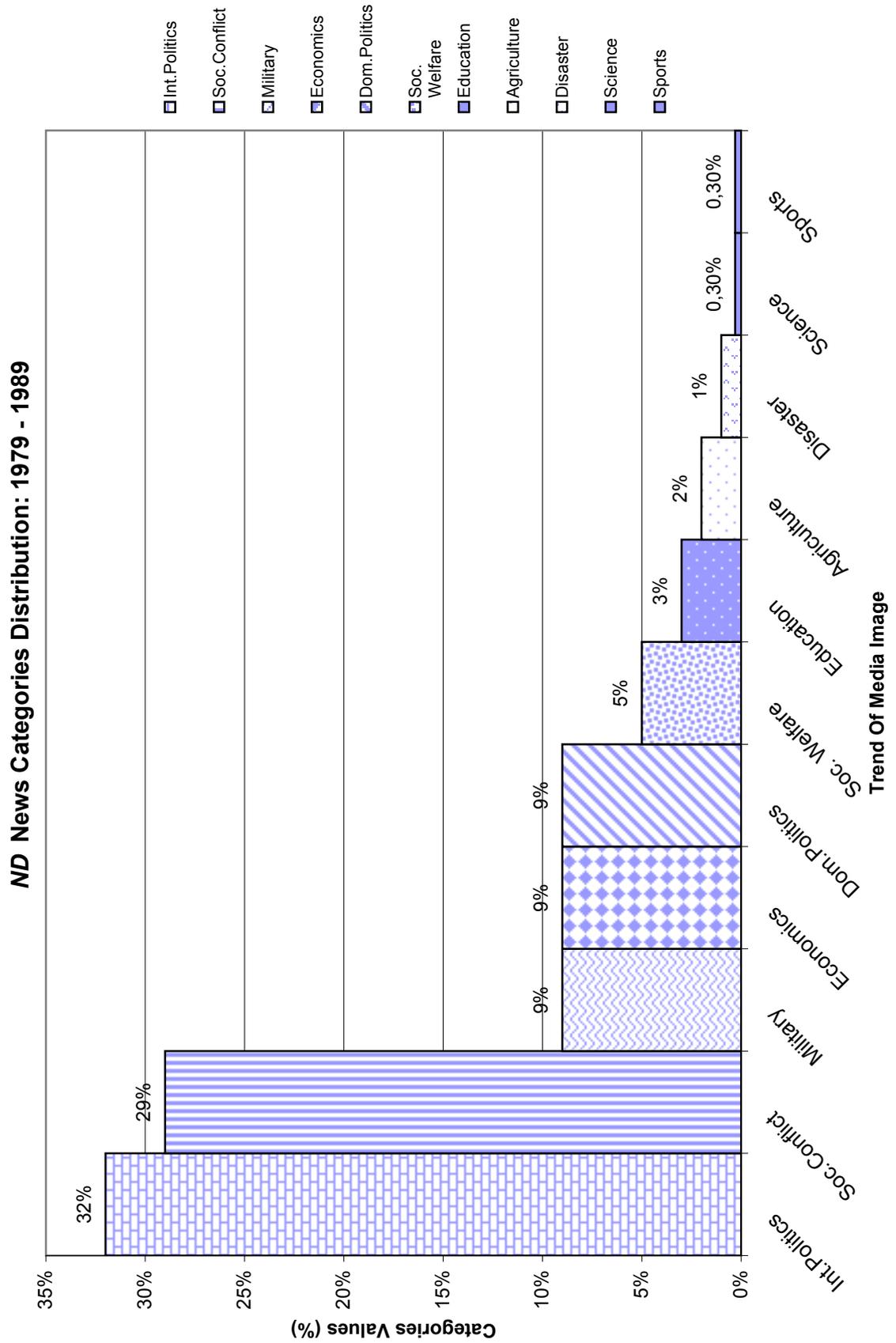
<sup>6</sup> Prosser, 1976:418

<sup>7</sup> Maletzke, 1976:413.

Table 1a (ND 1979 - 1989)

NEWS CATEGORIES DISTRIBUTION FROM: 1979 - 1989											TOTAL	Percentage		
	Int. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Social Welfare	Social Conflict	Military War	Education	Disasters	Agriculture	Culture	Science	Sports		
ANGOLA	15	3	1	1	10	6	3		1				40	13%
BEASO						1							2	1%
BOTSWANA	2		1		1	1							5	2%
CHAD	1	1				1							3	1%
CAMEROON	1					1							1	0%
CONGO	3	1		1									5	2%
ETHIOPIA	5	4	6	9	3	1	1		2	1	1	1	34	11%
GABON		1											1	0%
GHANA	1		1		1								3	1%
GBISSAU	1												2	1%
LESOTHO	2		1		1	1							5	2%
LIBERIA		1						1					2	1%
MALI	1		1		1								3	1%
MALAWI	1												2	1%
MAUTANIA			1						1				1	0%
MOZAMBIQUE	9	5	5	2	2	2	1		2	1			29	9%
NIGERIA	2	1	3				1		1				8	3%
NAMIBIA	12	3	1	2	6	4	1						29	9%
RUWANDA	1												1	0%
UGANDA	1		1		2								4	1%
S.LEONE		1											1	0%
SENEGAL	1												1	0%
S. AFRICA	19				51	7							77	25%
TANZANIA	3		1										4	1%
ZIMBABWE	10	4	1		7	2			1				25	8%
ZAMBIA	4	2	2	1	1	2	1						13	4%
ZAIRE	1					1							2	1%
ZWAZILAND	1		1										3	1%
													306	100%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>306</b>	
Percentage	32	9	9	5	29	9	3	1	2	1	0	0	100	

Table 1b (1979-1989)



## **Hypothesis (H2) on : *FAZ, Die Welt, Süddeutsche Zeitung 1979 – 1989***

It was hypothesised that due to a common cultural affinity, a common economic frame of reference as expressed by the Galtung thesis, Prosser (1976) and Maletzke (1976), the *FAZ*, *DW*, and *SZ* from 1979 – 1989 of the Cold War era would give more news coverage to capitalist-orientated Sub-Saharan African countries than their communist counterparts. Bernard von Plate (1979:659) identified the following countries: Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Angola, Congo Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Somalia, Zanzibar. Based on Prosser's and Maletzke's 'affinity' assumptions, *FAZ*, *DW*, *SZ* would give more *sensational news*<sup>8</sup> to the identified communist-orientated countries. The capitalist-orientated countries like South Africa would be accorded news in the categories of *Education*, *Economics*, and *Sciences*.

See following Table 2 for hypothesis (H2) on *FAZ 1979-1989*.

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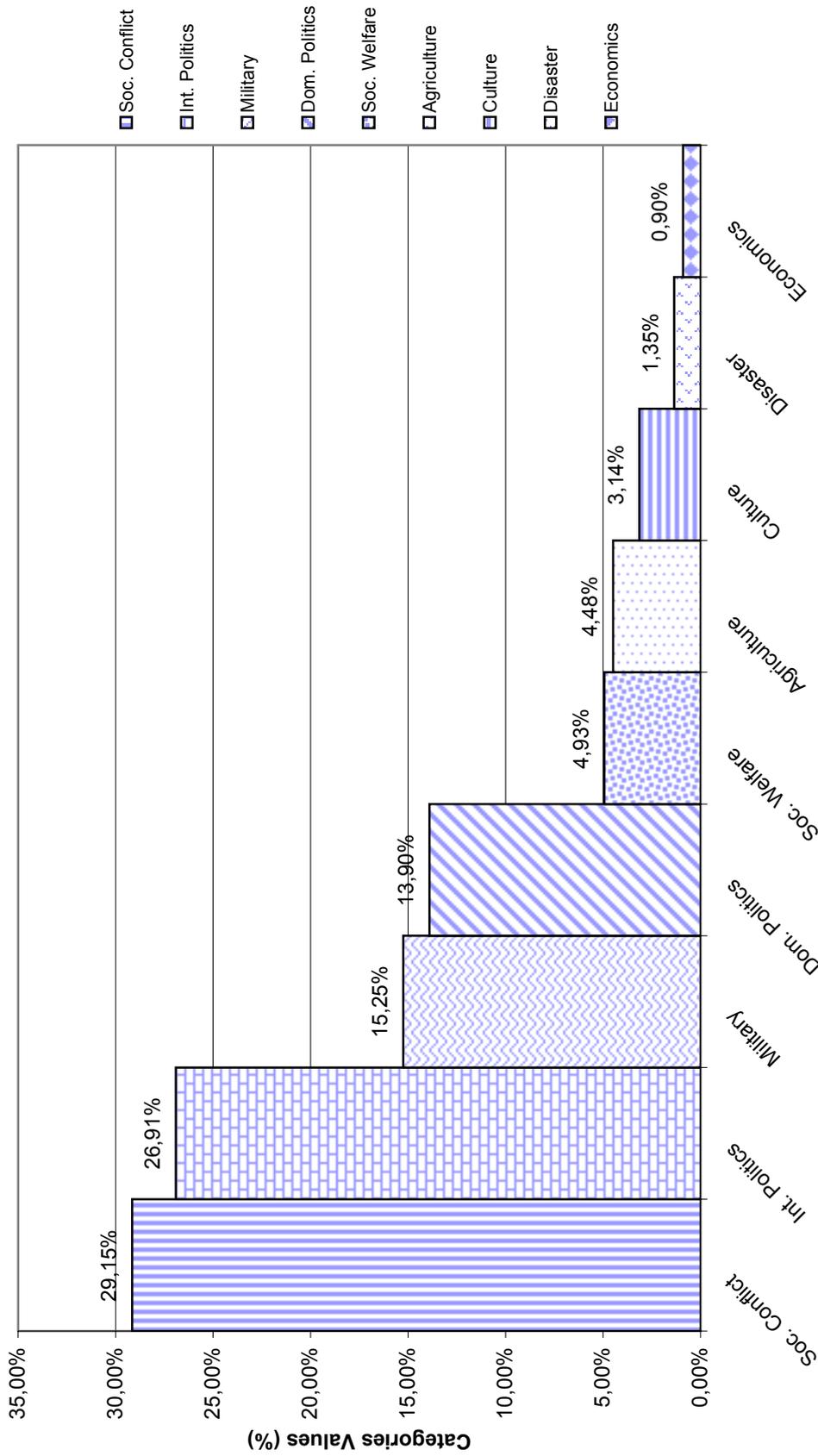
<sup>8</sup> See Bosompra (1981), p.60.

Table 2a (FAZ 1979 - 1989)

FAZ 1979 - 1989	NEWS CATEGORIES DISTRIBUTIONS FROM 1979 - 1989											TOTAL	Percentage
	Int. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Soc. Conflict	Soc. Welfare	Military / War	Education	Agriculture	Culture	Disaster	Sports		
ANGOLA	1		1		1		3					6	2.69
BENIN	1											1	0.45
CAMEROON			1				1					2	0.90
CHAD	2				1		6					9	4.04
CONGO		3			1		1					5	2.24
ETHIOPIA	1	1			1		2	2				9	4.04
ERITREA							1					1	0.45
GHANA					1							1	0.45
IVORY COAST	1				1			2				4	1.79
KENYA	4	2		3	2			2	1			14	6.28
LIBERIA	1				1							3	1.35
MADAGASCAR	0								1			1	0.45
MALI	0								1			1	0.45
MALAWI	0								1			1	0.45
MAURITANIA	0								1			1	0.45
MAURITIUS	2			2				1				6	2.69
MZAM'QUE	4	5		2	1			1				12	5.38
NAMIBIA	1			2	1		2					6	2.69
NIGERIA	2	3		4			2					11	4.93
UGANDA				2								2	0.90
SENEGAL					1							1	0.45
SOMALIA	3			1			3					7	3.14
S. AFRICA	21	11		33	3		5	1		3		78	34.98
SUDAN	1						3					4	1.79
TANZANIA	3		2		2			1				9	4.04
TOGO		1										1	0.45
ZAIRE	1			1			1					3	1.35
ZAMBIA	2			2	1				1			6	2.69
ZIMBABWE	9	1		5	1		3					19	8.52
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>15.25</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>223</b>	<b>100.00</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	26.91	13.90	0.90	29.15	4.93	15.25	0	4.48	3.14	1.35	0	223	

Table 2b: (FAZ 1979-1989)

FAZ News Categories Distribution 1979-1989



Trend of Media Image

Table 2 shows the total news categories accorded  $N = 28$  (71.79%) out of the total  $N = 39$  (100%) countries from 1979 –1989 by the *FAZ*.

The total news for the 10-year period was  $N = 223$  (100%) news articles. South Africa, a capitalist-orientated country, recorded the highest units of news with  $N = 78$  (34.98%) of the total news. South Africa was followed by other capitalist-orientated countries – Zimbabwe with  $N = 19$  (8.52%), Kenya  $N = 14$  (6.28%) and Namibia, a former German colony and capitalist-orientated country, allotted with  $N = 12$  (5.38%) news categories.

In terms of general news distribution, *FAZ*'s news coverage in relation to the *ND* is tilted towards capitalist-orientated countries. For instance, Angola received  $N = 6$  (2.69%), Mozambique recorded  $N = 6$  (2.69%), Mali  $N = 1$  (0.45%) and Ghana  $N = 1$  (0.45%). The total news allotted to these four communist-orientated Sub-Saharan countries represents the total news  $N = 14$  (6.28%) allotted to Kenya, a capitalist-orientated country. The data distribution here affirms Galtung's *centre – peripheral* assumptions, Prosser's and Maletzke's 'affinity' and 'common cultural frame of references' in international news coverage.

On the other hand, this data does not strongly adhere to the hypothesis formulated under H2: Thus, *FAZ* would accord non-capitalist (*peripheral*) countries with *sensational* news categories as defined by Bosompra. Unlike the *ND*, which strongly depicted this trend of news coverage and with its even distribution of news across the various categories, the *FAZ* fairly digressed. Out of the total news items ( $N = 223$ ) recorded by the *FAZ* the highest news category was recorded under *Social Conflict*  $N = 65$  (29.15%). *International Politics* and *Military and War* categories recorded  $N = 60$  (26.91%) and  $N = 34$  (15.25%) respectively. The lowest recorded news category is on *Economics*  $N = 2$  (0.90%) of the total news. South Africa received the highest *sensational* news (*Social Conflict*)  $N = 33$  (50.76%) and the second highest in the *War and Military* category  $N = 5$  (14.70%).

Furthermore, *FAZ*'s news category distribution does not necessary conform to Galtung's hypothesis and Prosser's and Maletzke's thesis as formulated. The *FAZ*, unlike the *ND*, gave more *sensational* news categories to capitalist-orientated countries than anticipated. The only *Economic* news category which was recorded during the 10-year period (1979 – 1989) was

accorded to Tanzania (a communist-orientated Sub-Saharan African country).<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the appropriate interpretation of *FAZ*'s data would be to look at the occurrence of a country as a determinant of the international communication thesis put forward by Galtung, Prosser and Maletzke.

In conclusion, it could be said that in the distribution of its news coverage on the Sub-Saharan African region the *FAZ* did not conform to the hypothesis formulated under H2.

See following Table 3 for hypothesis (H2) on *SZ 1979-1989*.

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<sup>9</sup> See Bernard von Plate, (1979) p. 659.

Table 3a: (SZ 1979-1989)

UNITS OF NEWS CATEGORIES FROM: 1979 - 1989													
SZ	Int. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Social Conflict	Social Welfare	Military / War	Education	Agri-culture	Disaster	Culture	Sports	TOTAL	Percentage
ANGOLA	9			4	1	3						17	6.30
BOTSWANA			1									1	0.37
B. FASO				1		1						2	0.74
BURUNDI				1								1	0.37
CAMEROON		1		2								3	1.11
CHAD	3			1	1	7			1			13	4.81
ETHIOPIA	2			6	1	1			3			13	4.81
ERITREA					1							1	0.37
E. GUINEA				1								1	0.37
GHANA	1		1									2	0.74
GAMBIA						1						1	0.37
GUINEA				1								1	0.37
I. COAST	2			2								4	1.48
KENYA	4			1		1					1	8	2.96
LESOTHO				1								1	0.37
LIBERIA		1		1								2	0.74
MALAWI	1			1								3	1.11
MAURITANIA				1								2	0.74
MOZAMBIQUE	2			7		2						11	4.07
NAMIBIA	10			1		1					1	15	5.56
NIGERIA	2		1	2								8	2.96
UGANDA	3		1	7		3						16	5.93
RUANDA	1											1	0.37
S. LEONE												1	0.37
SENEGAL				1		1						2	0.74
SOMALIA				1								1	0.37
S. AFRICA	18	5	6	41		7						77	28.52
SUDAN	5	1	1	4		2						13	4.81
TANZANIA	3		1	1								6	2.22
TOGO	1					1						2	0.74
ZAIRE	3		1			1						5	1.85
ZAMBIA	2			1								3	1.11
ZIMBABWE	1	5		25		1					1	33	12.22
TOTAL	73	23	15	115	5	32	0	0	4	2	1	270	100.00
Percentage	27.04	8.52	5.56	42.59	1.85	11.85	0	0	1.48	0.74	0.37	270	100.00

Table 3b: (SZ 1979-1989)

SZ News Categories Distribution: 1979 - 1989

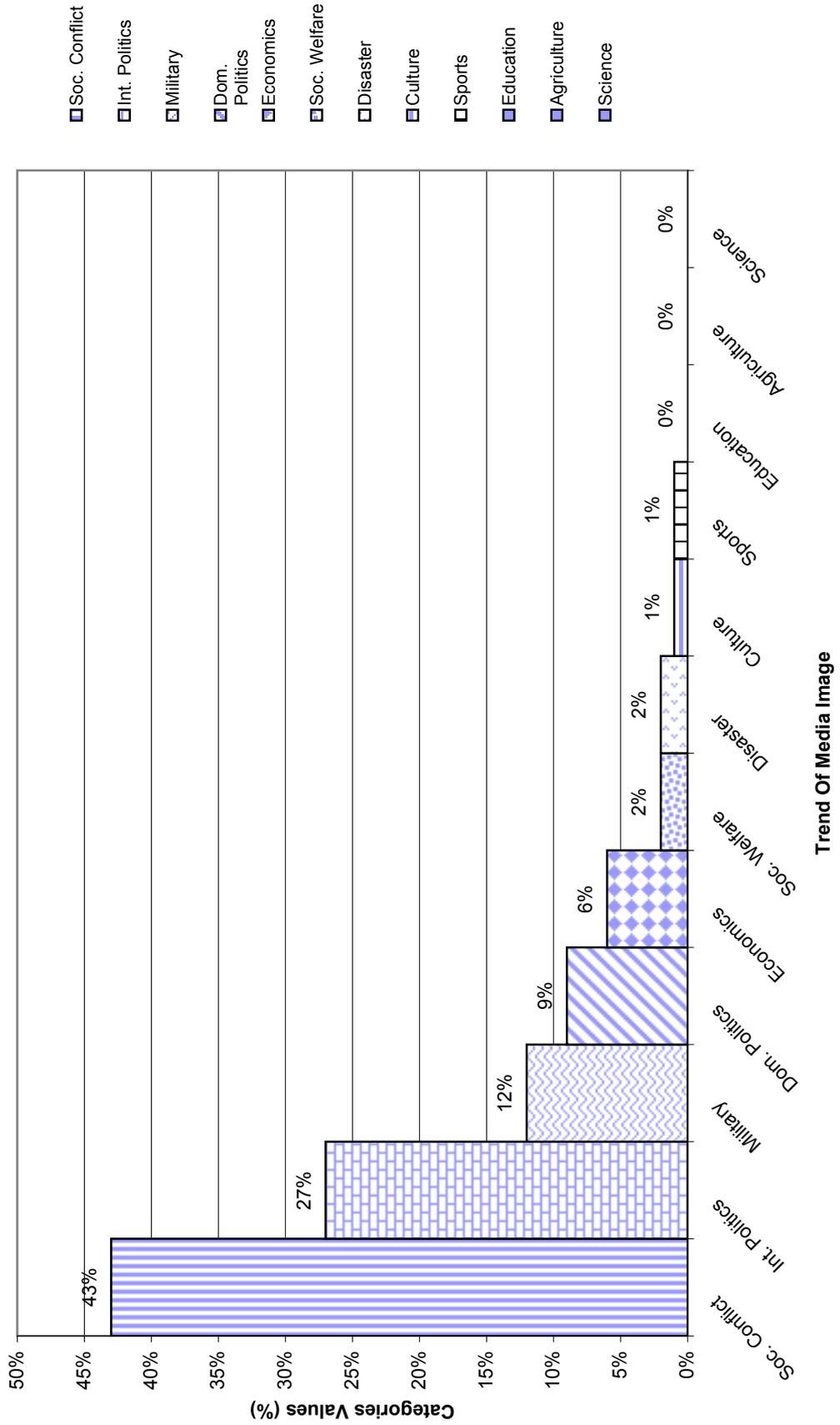


Table 3 shows the total news categories allotted to  $N = 33$  (84.61%) countries. Comparatively, SZ covered the highest number of Sub-Saharan African countries in its international news coverage from 1979 – 1989. It also recorded the highest total  $N = 270$  (100%) number of news articles, second to *ND*. Based on the hypothetical assumptions raised under H2, SZ, a capitalist-orientated newspaper, would give more *sensational* news coverage to communist-orientated Sub-Saharan African countries. The interpretation of news category distribution by the SZ depicts the following:

The trend of the news distribution can be marked with South Africa receiving the highest  $N = 77$  (28.52%), Zimbabwe  $N = 33$  (12.22%), Angola  $N = 17$  (6.30%), Uganda  $N = 16$  (5.93%), Namibia  $N = 15$  (5.56%). The lowest number of recorded news articles were for Ghana  $N = 2$  (0.74%), Guinea  $N = 1$  (0.37%), Somalia  $N = 1$  (0.37%). According to Bernard von Plate (1979), Somalia, Guinea and Ghana were categorised as communist-orientated countries. Although Angola, a communist-orientated Sub-Saharan African country, recorded the third highest value in the news distribution, the relation between South Africa, Zimbabwe, Uganda, Namibia and Somalia, Guinea and Ghana suggest that SZ tilted towards capitalist-orientated countries in its international news coverage of the Sub-Saharan African region.

*SZ*, like the *ND* and *FAZ*, has *Social Conflict* as the highest news category with a total of  $N = 115$  (42.59%) and *Sports* receiving the least  $N = 1$  (0.37%). Generally, the capitalist-orientated Sub-Saharan African countries recorded the highest *sensational* news in the category *Social Conflict*. South Africa was allotted the highest *sensational* news (*Social Conflict*)  $N = 41$  (35.65%), Zimbabwe  $N = 25$  (21.73%). Identified communist-orientated countries such as Mozambique and Somalia received 1.73% and 0.86% of *Social Conflict* news respectively. This data does not absolutely reflect the hypothetical assumptions formulated under H2. However, in allotting the highest frequency of *Economics* category news  $N = 6$  (40%) to South Africa and  $N = 1$  (6%) to Angola affirms Prosser's (1976) 'affinity' concept and Maletzke's (1976) views on the 'common frame of references'.

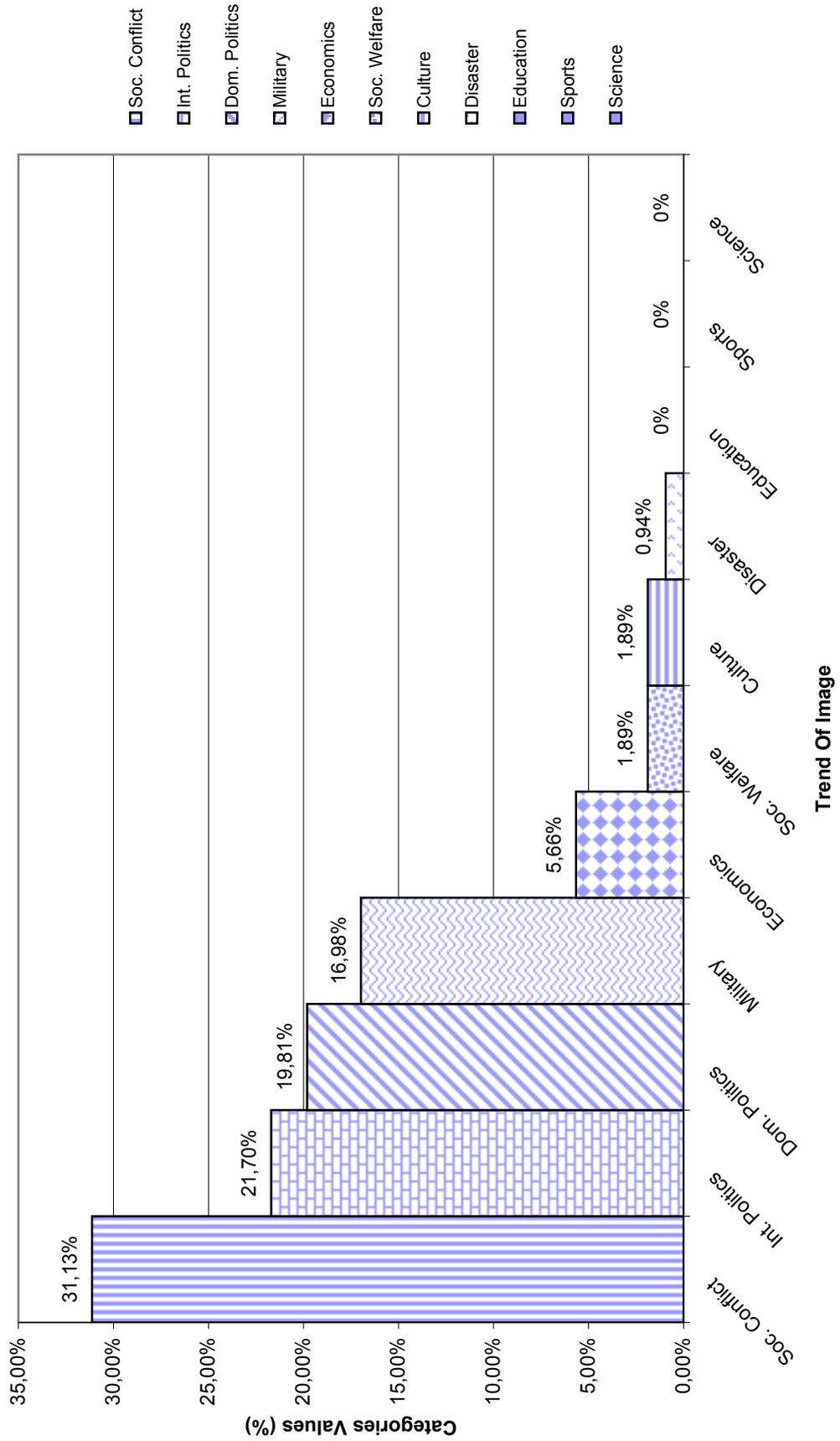
To summarise, it can be said that SZ tilted partially towards capitalist-orientated countries in its *non-sensational* news.

See following Table 4 for hypothesis (H2) on *Die Welt 1979-1989*.



Table 4b: (DW 1979-1989)

DW News Categories Distribution: 1979 - 1989



Among all the four selected newspapers, *DW* recorded the lowest number of news items  $N = 106$  (100%) and covered only  $N = 23$  (58.97%) countries out of the  $N = 39$  (100%) Sub-Saharan African countries from 1979 – 1989.

Similarly, the most frequently recorded news category is the *sensational* news category, with *Social Conflict*  $N = 33$  (31.13%), *International Politics*  $N = 23$  (21.70%), *Domestic Politics*  $N = 21$  (19.81%), *Military and War*  $N = 18$  (16.98%) and *Economics*  $N = 6$  (5.66%). The least recorded are *Education*  $N = 0$  (0%), *Sports*  $N = 0$  (0%). *DW* accorded South Africa the highest number of news items at  $N = 35$  (33.02%), Zimbabwe  $N = 13$  (12.26%), Namibia  $N = 10$  (9.43%) and Angola  $N = 11$  (10.38%).

The distribution of news items depicts the highest number being allotted to capitalist-orientated countries like South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. This exposure of the Sub-Saharan African countries affirms the hypothesis formulated under H2.

With respect to the distribution of news categories, the highest frequency of *sensational* news in the category *Military and War* was allotted to Angola and Chad. Each of these countries received  $N = 6$  (33.33%) of the total news on *Military and War*. Although the *non-sensational* news like *Economics* was evenly distributed, the percentage of *Military News* allotted to Angola and Chad could be interpreted as a conformity to the hypothetical assumptions raised under H2.

### **News Distribution As Image Presentation: *ND, FAZ, DW, SZ* 1979 – 1989**

Since the present research aim is to depict the portrayal of the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press, it is appropriate to establish data representing the news reports about the Sub-Saharan African region as a composite cultural entity during the Cold War era. It has been established that “what a nation’s press reports about another country influences the way the nation’s citizens view that country”<sup>10</sup>. Table 5 (following) presents the trend of news categories allotted to the Sub-Saharan African region and the pictures<sup>11</sup> these news stories created in the minds of the German public from 1979 – 1989.

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<sup>10</sup> Zaharopoulos, 1989:188.

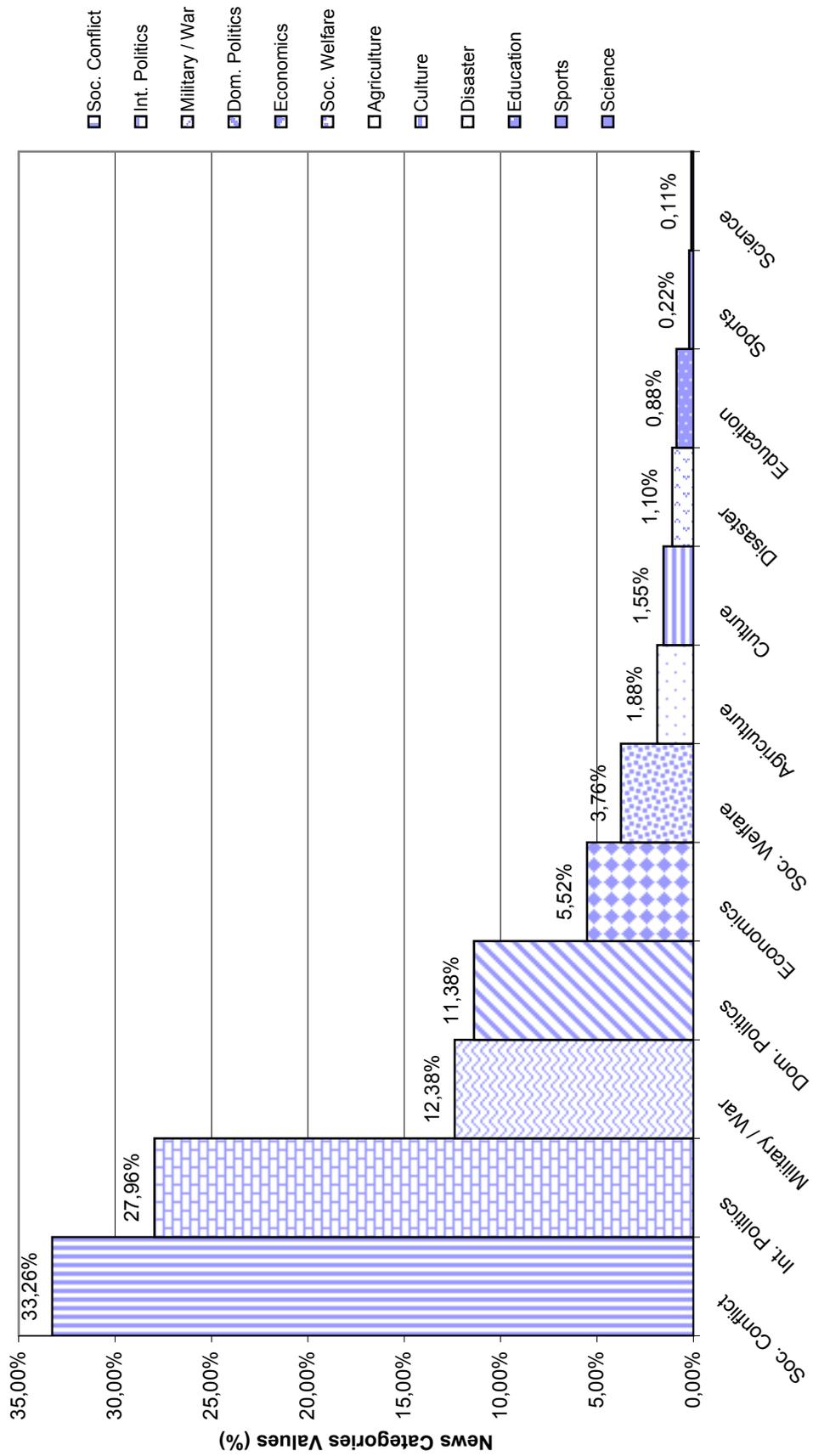
<sup>11</sup> Lipmann, 1922: see Zaharopoulos, 1989.

Table 5a: Overview of first decade (ND, FAZ, DW, SZ : 1979-1989

<b>(FAZ, ND, DW, SZ) NEWS CATEGORIES DISTRIBUTION FROM 1979 - 1989 AS IMAGE PRESENTATION:</b>													
Newsletters	Inter. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Social Conflicts	Social Welfare	Military War	Edu- cation	Agri- culture	Disaster	Culture	Sports	Science	Total
<i>SZ</i>	73	23	15	115	5	32	0	0	4	2	1	0	270
<i>DW</i>	23	21	6	33	2	18	0	0	1	2	0	0	106
<i>FAZ</i>	60	31	2	65	11	34	0	10	3	7	0	0	223
<i>ND</i>	97	28	27	88	16	28	8	7	2	3	1	1	306
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>905</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	27,96	11,38	5,52	33,26	3,76	12,38	0,88	1,88	1,10	1,55	0,22	0,11	

**Table 5b: Overview of first decade (ND, FAZ, DW, SZ : 1979-1989**

**(FAZ, ND, DW, SD) News Categories Distribution: 1979 -1989**



**Sub-Saharan African Image (1979-1989)**

### **Hypotheses (H3 and H4) on: *FAZ, Die Welt, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Neues Deutschland* 1990 – 1999**

#### ***Neues Deutschland (ND)***

It was hypothesised that, since messages have referential functions,<sup>12</sup> *ND* as an old communist newspaper can only function *properly* by relating effectively to its new newsmaking environment. That is, the absence of Cold War politics and its related communist leanings would no longer be a factor in determining *ND*'s international news coverage. Consequently, *ND* coverage of Sub-Saharan Africa would be reported along Galtung's *centre – peripheral* axis. Based on Galtung's *centre – peripheral* relation, *ND* with a new identity of a *Western Centre* would present the sub-region with more sensational news and a more sensational image.

Comparatively, the total news dropped by  $N = 81$  (26,47%) from  $N = 306$  in 1979 – 1989 to  $N = 225$  for the period 1990 – 1999. South Africa remained the country with the highest news items with  $N = 51$  (22,67%) of the total news. In terms of the composite news allocation, Angola  $N = 15$  (6,57%), Ethiopia  $N = 15$  (6,27%). With the decrease in the total news coverage, this data to some extent supports the hypothesis raised under H3 that *ND* coverage of the sub-region would be tilted towards the general coverage practised by *FAZ, DW, and SZ*.

A change in the trend of *ND*'s news category distribution also supports the hypothetical assumptions under H3. *ND* recorded the highest *non-sensational* news – *Economics*  $N = 27$  (9%) and the highest *Economics* news allotted to Ethiopia  $N = 6$  (22,22%) and Mozambique  $N = 5$  (18,51%), *Education*  $N = 8$  (3%), *Science*  $N = 1$  between 1979 – 1989 compared with *FAZ, SZ* and *DW*. However, a different picture is portrayed between 1990 – 1999. During this second phase of the post-Cold War politics of German unification, *ND* recorded only 0,44% of *Economics* category news, and made no recordings for *Education, Agriculture* and *Science*.

This trend of coverage by the *ND* conforms to the projected hypothesis under H3 that *ND* would follow the trend of coverage by the *FAZ, DW, SZ, and the data in Table 6* (following), depicting how *ND* distributed its news categories for the period 1990 – 1990, indeed demonstrates that *ND*'s news coverage of Sub-Saharan African countries has been influenced by Cold War politics. This interpretation also confirms two basic theorems: political proximity<sup>13</sup> theory and Galtung's *centre – peripheral* theory<sup>14</sup> in international news coverage.

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<sup>12</sup> See Jakobson:Berger,1995:15.

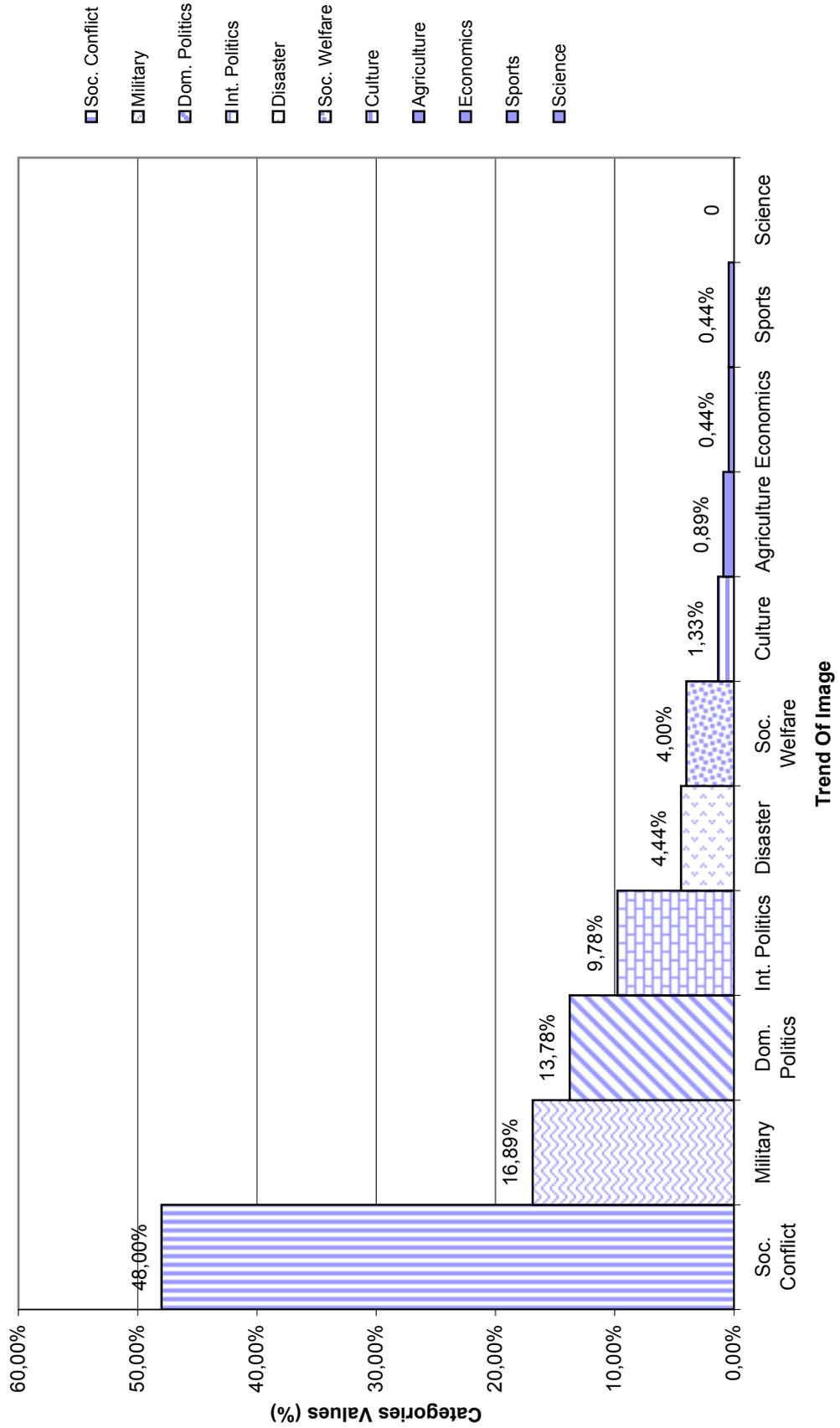
<sup>13</sup> See Zaharopoulos, 1990:190.

<sup>14</sup> See Galtung and Rudge: Hopple, 1982: 62.



**Table 6b: (ND 1990 - 1999)**

**ND News Categories Distribution: 1990 -1999**



***Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, and Die Welt (FAZ, SZ, DW)***  
**1990-1999**

Hypothesis (H3) was on how the former communist newspaper could be affected by the new political landscape in Germany. Table 6 strongly depicted this assumption.

*FAZ, DW, SZ* continued to cover Sub-Saharan African countries along Galtung's *centre – peripheral* axis, and Hester's 'affinity' concepts. All the three newspapers allotted the highest news frequency to the *Social Conflict* and *Military / War* categories as indicated in Tables 7, 8 and 9. *FAZ: Social Conflict N = 68 (33%), Military / War N = 29 (14,15%); DW: Social Conflict N = 43 (35,83%), Military / War N = 20 (16,67%); SZ: Social Conflict N = 121 (42,01%).*

Furthermore, this data also conforms to the hypothetical assumption under H3 that economic proximity due to the foreign investments of Western companies in certain Sub-Saharan African countries could influence international news coverage. The *Economics* news category allotted to South Africa could be interpreted as a confirmation of this assumption.

South Africa maintained the highest rank on *Economics* news items. It also confirms South Africa's economy as the strongest economic block within the Sub-Saharan African region. Again, this trend of economic coverage towards South Africa and the highest news coverage it received for the 20-year period also confirms Hester's view that 'economic relation is a determinant for information flow' (Hester, 1976:245) in intercultural and international communication.

**Table 7a: (FAZ 1990 - 1999)**

NEWS CATEGORIES DISTRIBUTION FROM: 1990 - 1999 (FAZ)														
	Int.Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Social Conflict	Social Welfare	Military War	Education	Agriculture	Culture	Disaster	Sports	Science	TOTAL	%
ANGOLA	1				4						1		7	3,41
BENIN													1	0,49
BOTSWANA		1											1	0,49
BUJUNDI													2	0,98
BFAZO													1	0,49
CAMEROON													1	0,49
CHAD							2						3	1,46
CONGO					2								2	0,98
DJIBOUTI													1	0,49
ETHIOPIA	1						1			2			4	1,95
ERITERIA					2								3	1,46
GABON							1						1	0,49
GHANA													1	0,49
KENYA		5	2		7	1				1			17	8,29
MADAGASCAR							2						2	0,98
MALAWI													1	0,49
MOZAMBIQUE							2						2	0,98
NAMIBIA	1												4	1,95
NIGERIA	2				5								10	4,88
NIGER													1	0,49
UGANDA							2						2	0,98
RUANDA							2						4	1,95
SENEGAL													1	0,49
S. LEONE													3	1,46
SOMALIA	1						8						18	8,78
S.AFRICA	11	26	13		22		2						80	39,02
SUDAN					3								3	1,46
TANZANIA													2	0,98
TOGO													4	1,95
ZAIRE							2						2	0,98
ZAMBIA													8	3,90
ZIMBABWE													1	0,49
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2,44</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>0,98</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>100,00</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>9,27</b>	<b>21,46</b>	<b>11,22</b>	<b>33,17</b>	<b>0,49</b>	<b>14,15</b>	<b>0,49</b>	<b>2,44</b>	<b>6,34</b>	<b>0,98</b>	<b>1,00</b>	<b>1,00</b>	<b>100,00</b>	

**Table 7b: (FAZ 1990 - 1999)**

**FAZ News Categories Distribution: 1990 -1999**

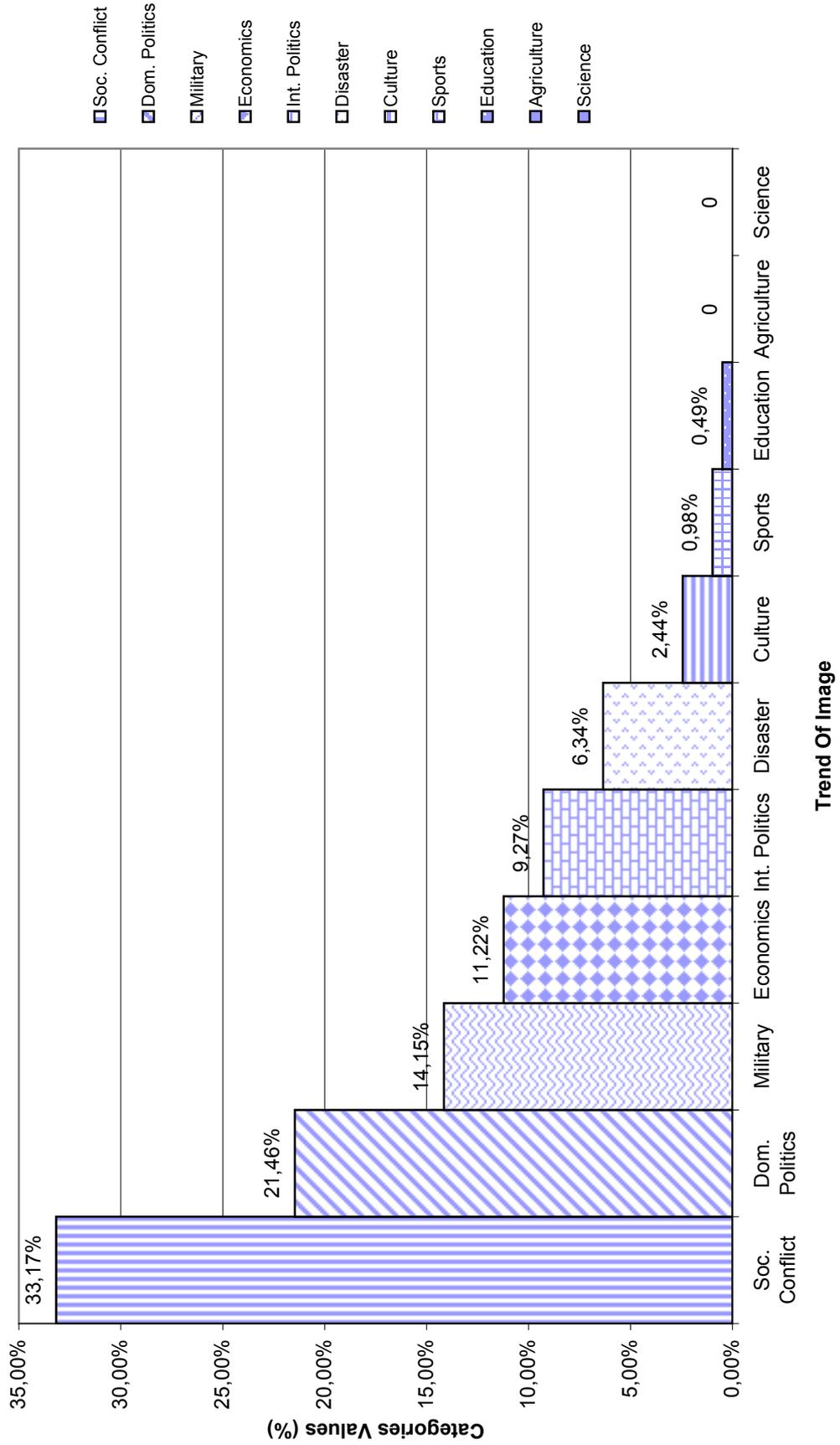


Table 8a: (SZ 1990 - 1999)

News Categories Distribution: 1990-1999														
SZ	Int. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Social Conflict	Social Welfare	Military War	Education	Agriculture	Disaster	Culture	Sports	Science	Total	Percentage
	3	2	1	6			4						15	5.21
ANGOLA														
BENIN			1						1				3	1.04
BURUNDI				6			2						8	2.78
CONGO				3									3	1.04
CAMEROON		2		1			1						4	1.04
CHAD	1			3									4	1.39
ETHIOPIA	2	3		5		1	3						14	4.86
ERITREA										1			2	0.69
GABON	1												1	0.35
GHANA	2	3				1							7	2.43
GAMBIA			1	1									2	0.69
GUINEA		1					1						3	1.04
IVORY COAST		1	1	3									5	1.74
KENYA	1	2		5						1			10	3.47
LESOTHO	2			1									3	1.04
LIBERIA	1			1			8						10	3.47
MADAGASCAR		3											4	1.39
MALAWI		1		2									3	1.04
MZAMQUE	1	1		4			1						8	2.78
NAMIBIA	1			2									4	1.39
NIGERIA	1	4	2	11		1	1						21	7.29
NIGER			2										2	0.69
UGANDA		1		1									2	0.69
RUANDA				11			7						18	6.25
S. LEONE				2			2						4	1.39
SENEGAL			2										3	1.04
SOMALIA	1			14			8			1			26	9.03
S. AFRICA	6	28	1	23			1						64	22.22
SUDAN	1			6			2						13	4.51
TANZANIA	1								2				3	1.04
TOGO													1	0.35
ZAIRE		2		7			6						15	5.21
ZAMBIA													1	0.35
ZIMBABWE	2												3	1.04
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>288</b>	
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>9.38</b>	<b>20.83</b>	<b>2.78</b>	<b>42.01</b>	<b>2.43</b>	<b>16.52</b>	<b>0.35</b>	<b>2.78</b>	<b>2.08</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>0.69</b>	<b>100.00</b>		

Table 8b: (SZ 1990 - 1999)

SZ News Categories Distribution: 1990 -1999

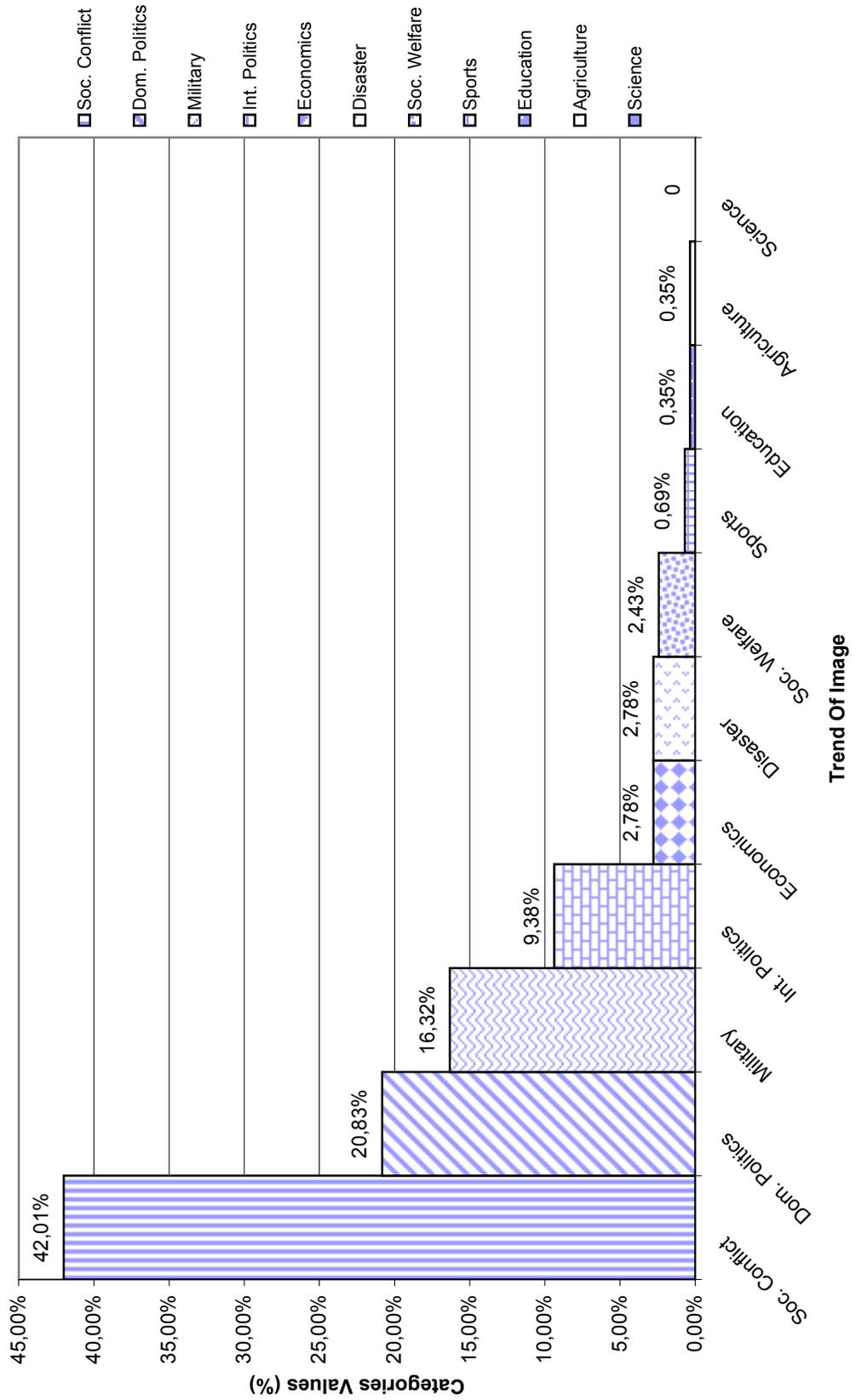
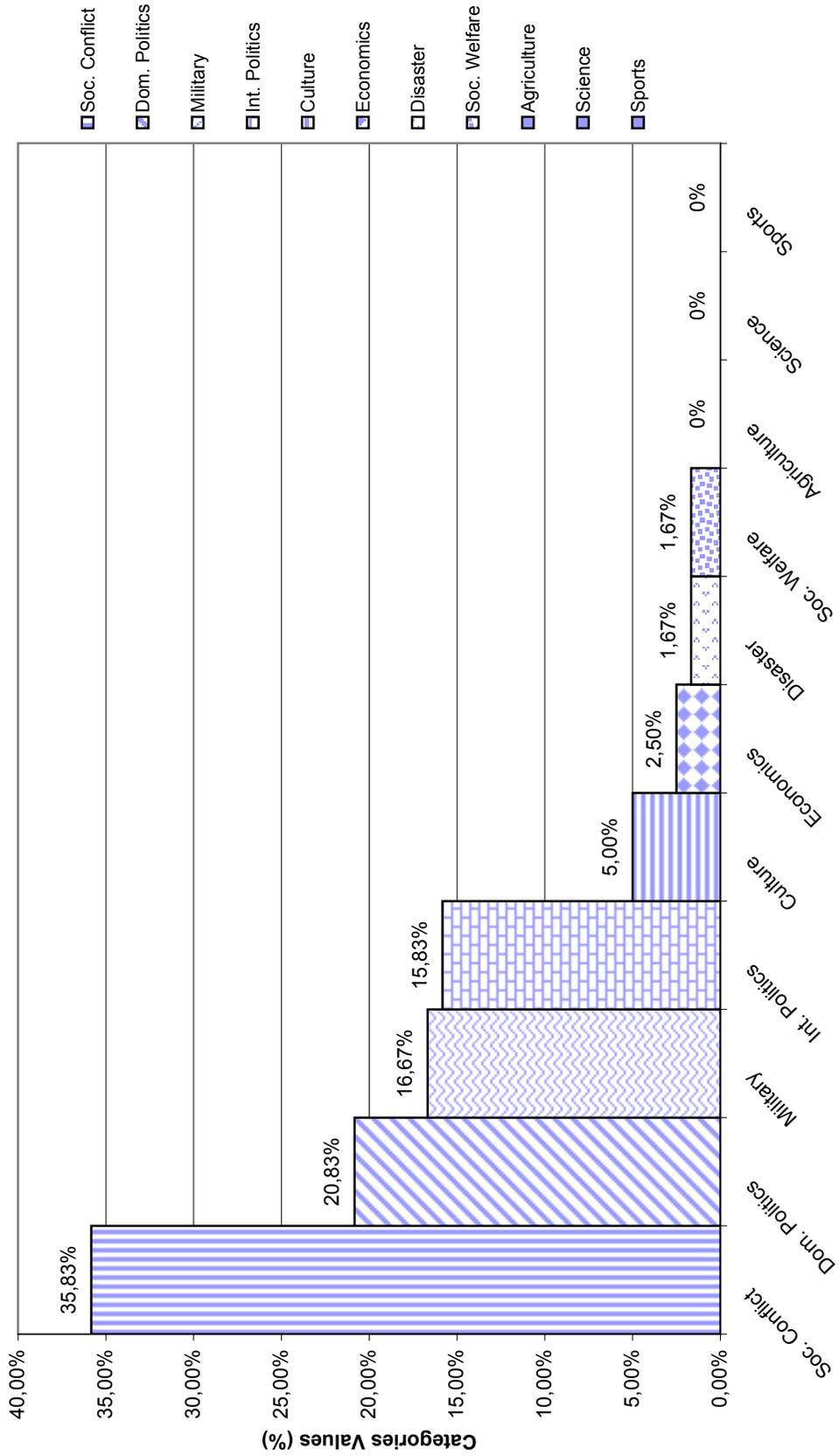


Table 9a: (DW 1990 - 1999)

<i>NEWS CATEGORIES DISTRIBUTION FROM: 1990-1999</i>													
<i>DW</i>	Int. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Social Conflict	Social Welfare	Military War	Edu-cation	Agri-culture	Culture	Disaster	Sports	Science	Total %
ANGOLA	1			4			2						7 5.83
BURUNDI						1							1 0.83
B. FASO	1												1 0.83
CHAD	1			2									3 2.50
ETHIOPIA			2	2									4 3.33
ERITERIA							1						1 0.83
GABON						1							1 0.83
GHANA		1							1				2 1.67
IVORY COAST				1									1 0.83
KENYA		2		4	1				1				8 6.67
LIBERIA						2							2 1.67
MOZAMBIQUE													1 0.83
NAMIBIA	1			1					2				4 3.33
NIGERIA	1		1	4									6 5.00
UGANDA							1						1 0.83
RUANDA		1					6						7 5.83
SENEGAL	1												1 0.83
S.LFONE				1									2 1.67
SOMALIA	1			2		1							7 5.83
S.AFRICA	8		11	3	15				1				38 31.67
SUDAN	2		1	2									5 4.17
TANZANIA					1				1				2 1.67
ZAIRE			4		3								10 8.33
ZAMBIA			1										1 0.83
ZIMBABWE	2			1									4 3.33
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>120 100.00</b>
<b>%</b>	<b>15,83</b>	<b>20,83</b>	<b>2,50</b>	<b>35,83</b>	<b>1,67</b>	<b>16,67</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5,00</b>	<b>1,67</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>100</b>

**Table 9b: (DW 1990 - 1999)**

**DW News Categories Distribution: 1990 -1999**



## **News Distribution As Image Presentation: ND, FAZ, DW, SZ 1990 – 1999**

Generally, the coverage of the Sub-Saharan African countries could be said to be *sensationally tilted*. This is depicted under **Table 10** (following).

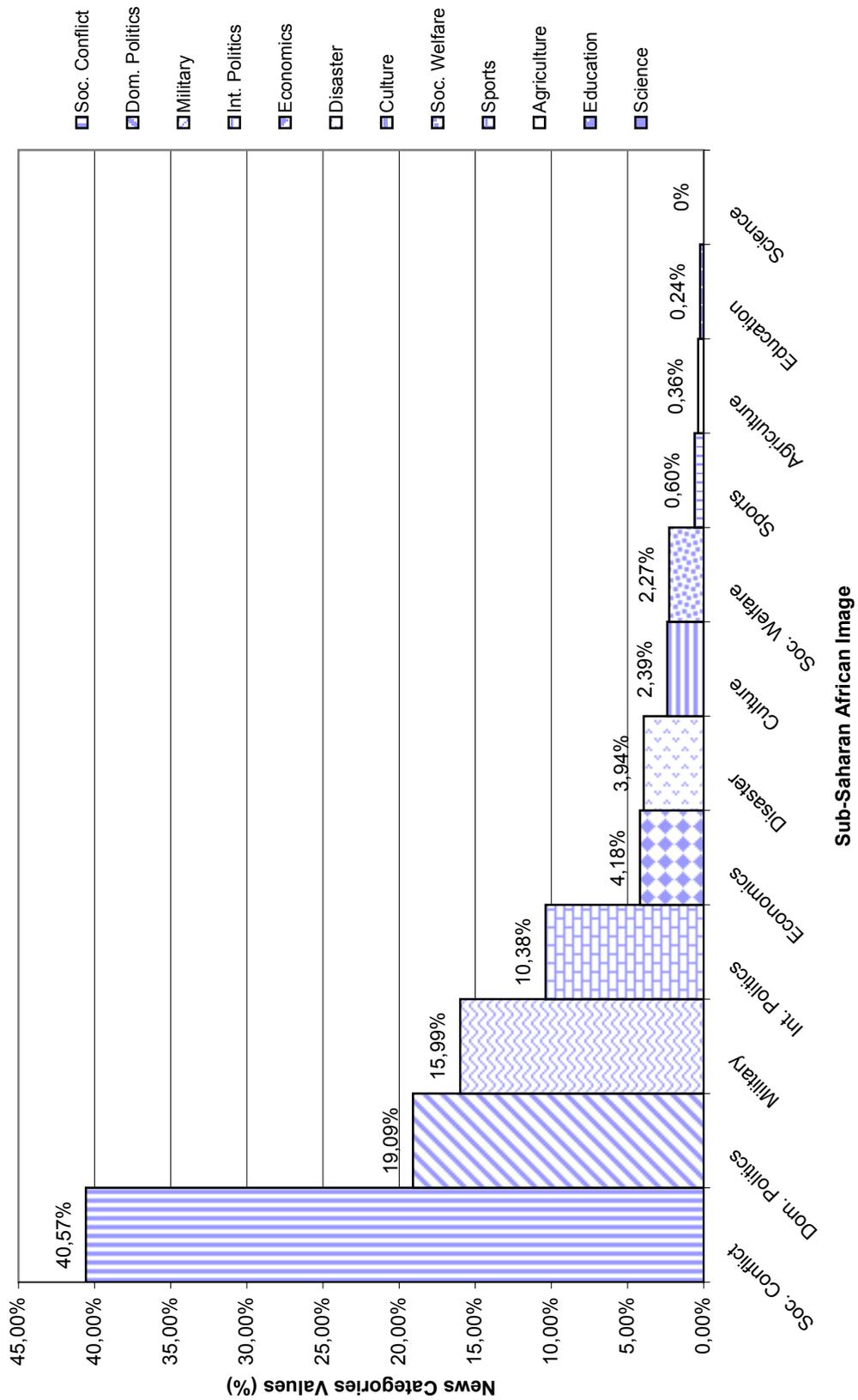
It can be asserted that the Sub-Saharan African image in the German newspapers has been presented through *sensational* news categories of *Social Conflict*.

Table 10a: (Overview of second decade: ND, FAZ, DW, SZ 1990 - 1999)

News Categories Distribution FAZ, SZ, ND, DW: 1990 -1999													
	Int. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Social Conflict	Social Welfare	Military War	Education	Agriculture	Culture	Disaster	Sports	Science	Total
DW	19	25	3	43	2	20	0	0	6	2	0	0	120
ND	22	31	1	108	9	38	0	2	3	10	1	0	225
FAZ	19	44	23	68	1	29	1	0	5	13	2	0	205
SZ	27	60	8	121	7	47	1	1	6	8	2	0	288
TOTAL	87	160	35	340	19	134	2	3	20	33	5	0	838
(%)	10,38	19,09	4,18	40,57	2,27	15,99	0,24	0,36	2,39	3,94	0,60	0	0

**Table 10b: (Overview of second decade: ND, FAZ, DW, SZ 1990 - 1999)**

**(FAZ, DW, SZ, ND) News Categories Distribution: 1990 -1999**



**News Distribution As Image Presentation: ND, FAZ, DW, SZ (Overview of the two decades 1979 – 1999)**

In conclusion, the Sub-Saharan African image as hypothesised within the various theoretical assumptions discussed has been confirmed by the research findings.

Accordingly, the Sub-Saharan African region was presented along Galtung's popular *centre – peripheral* international and intercultural theory. Since news items transmitted by the press about a foreign country could help construct a country's international image, it can be said that the pictures the German press put into the heads<sup>15</sup> of its readers about the Sub-Saharan African image is *sensational news (Social Conflict)*; in another words, a sub-region impregnated with social conflict, war, and unstable political landscapes.

See following Table 11 for overview of the two decades 1979 – 1999 (ND, FAZ, DW, SZ).

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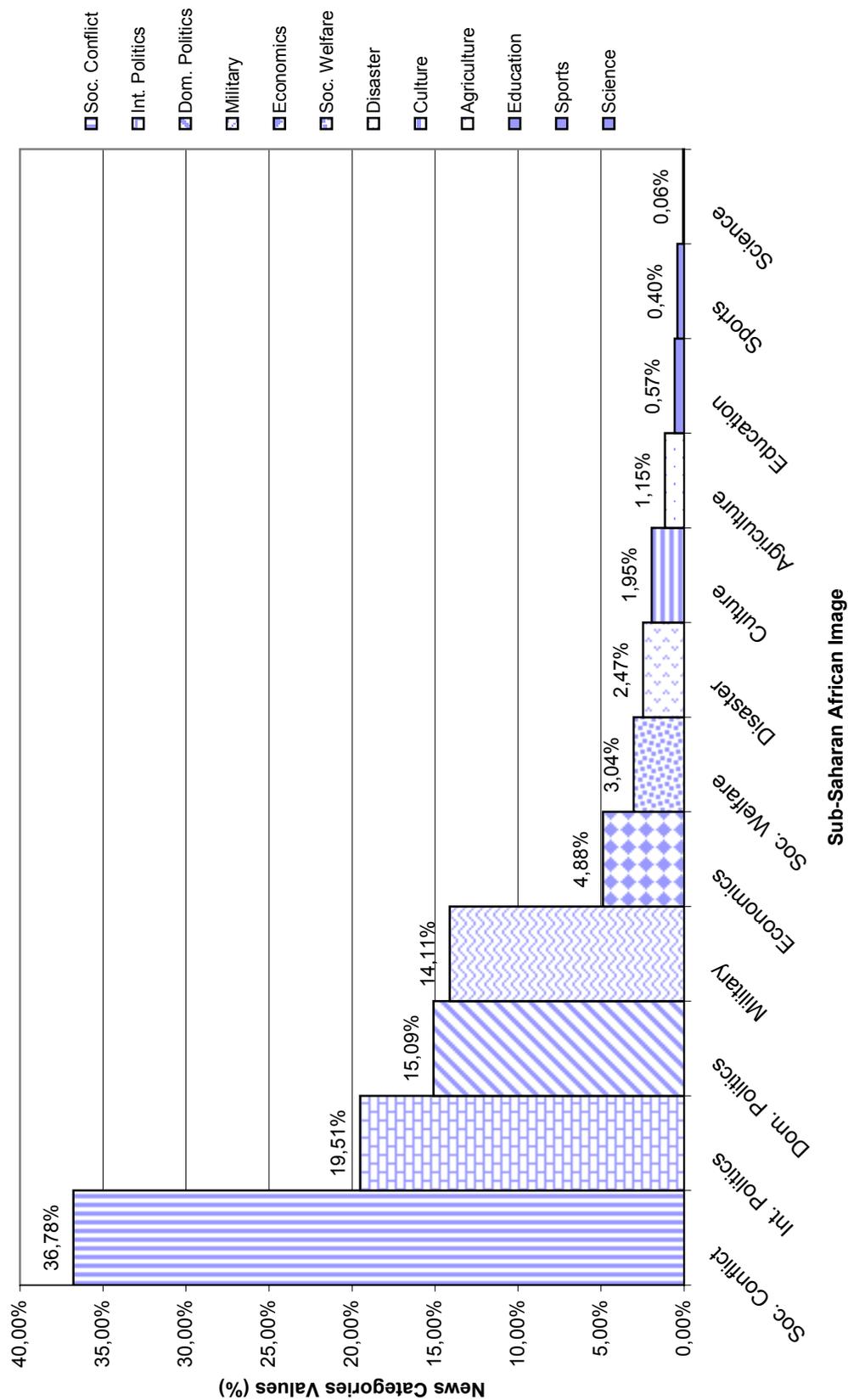
<sup>15</sup> Lipmann, 1922.

Table 11a: (Overview of the two decades: ND, FAZ, DW, SZ 1979 - 1999)

<i>FAZ, DW, SZ, ND:</i>		News Categories Distribution: 1979 - 1999											
	Int. Politics	Dom. Politics	Economics	Soc. Conflict	Social Welfare	Military / War	Education	Agriculture	Culture	Disaster	Sports	Science	TOTAL
<i>DW</i>	42	46	9	76	4	38	0	0	8	3	0	0	226
<i>ND</i>	119	59	28	196	25	66	8	9	6	12	2	1	531
<i>FAZ</i>	79	75	25	133	12	63	1	10	12	16	2	0	428
<i>SZ</i>	100	83	23	236	12	79	1	1	8	12	3	0	558
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>641</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1743</b>
Percent %	19,51	15,09	4,88	36,78	3,04	14,11	0,57	1,15	1,95	2,47	0,40	0,06	

Table 11 b: (Overview of the two decades: ND, FAZ, DW, SZ 1979 - 1999)

(FAZ, ND, SZ, DW) News Categories Distribution: 1979 -1999



## CHAPTER 11

### CONCLUSIONS

#### **Trend of Coverage**

Basically, this present research has presented the trend of the Sub-Saharan African image across the different international political ideologies of communism and capitalism. Also, through the analysis of international news coverage, this research has primarily presented the perception of the Sub-Saharan African image among the German society and the international relation between Germany and the Sub-Saharan African countries for a 20-year period.

The present research has been able to establish how historiographic cultural perceptions continue to affect the trend of international news coverage of the Sub-Saharan region by the German press.

Generally, the portrayal of the Sub-Saharan African countries has been grounded in sensational and the popularly known *coups and earth quakes* style of coverage. It is worth touching on the detailed and comprehensive implications of this research's findings, the contribution of this research, and the present research's implication for future study.

First and foremost, the research's selected time frame of 1979-1999, the selection of newspapers with different political ideologies, has thrown light on how international landscapes of political ideologies of Communism and Capitalism could affect the portrayal of a country's international image. Implicitly, a country's image in the international media / press can be assessed through existing political beliefs and values. Again, this research's findings have also establish that journalism is an intergral part of a society. Consequently, the journalist's integral role in the society is to project its society's political ideologies through international news constructions and projections.

#### **Major Contribution Of This Study:**

This present research's contribution to the field of international news coverage can be appraised under three main perspectives peculiar to this project. Generally, this present research has attemptd to explore interdisciplinary fields of Cultural Studies and Mass Communication, Intercultural and Internatioanl Communication, in studying the portrayal of international media images of foreign cultures.

The first major contribution of this present study is marked by its interpretation of cultural narrative as a determinant of international news values. Unlike previous research on international news coverage of the Sub-Saharan African region, this present research has attempted to trace the source of the international media image to historiographic narratives, conceptions and perceptions. This present research has established the historical relation between the Sub-Saharan African (Africa) and the Western cultures (Germany). It has achieved this by touching on the Elizabethan epoch and its presentation of the *Moor* in a Shakespearean drama. Furthermore, the colonial background to this research also contributes to how historiographic narratives or discourse could affect international newsmaking values.

Secondly, this research has also contributed to the existing proximity theories in international news coverage. Previous studies had established how various forms of proximity concepts affect international news coverage and consequently national and international media images. This present research achieved this by placing the trend of the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press within two international political debates of communism and capitalism. A remarkable contribution of this project towards the proximity theories is depicted through the strong influence of the German political landscapes of 1979 – 1989 and 1990 – 1999.

Also, the results yielded from the research data have also contributed towards the political economy theory of newsmaking. That is, the trend of the Sub-Saharan African image against the two political landscapes in Germany during the Cold War and thereafter reinforces the integral relation between the media (press) and society in their political and economic functions.

Furthermore, although certain Sub-Saharan African countries were studied in the German press, this present research contributes immensely to the fields of Germany's international press coverage. Unlike the previous studies on Sub-Saharan African countries in the German press, this present research extends the scope of such studies by looking at the whole Sub-Saharan African region rather than selected countries. The research's systematic twenty-year study is also a remarkable contribution to the study of the German press's international news coverage and the presentation of the Sub-Saharan African image.

In addition, as much as this study has contributed to the study of the German press, it has also added a new dimension to the old and abandoned international communication debates in the 1970s. It is not the intention of this present research to revive the old *New World and International Communication* (NWICO) debates. However, a systematic twenty-year study of the

Western press and its portrayal of a Third World region (Sub-Saharan African countries) has revealed that, after three decades, the arguments raised during the 70s still linger on in the contemporary coverage and the presentation of the Sub-Saharan African image in the German press. This internationally mediated image projection of the Sub-Saharan African region may suggest Germany's perception of the Sub-Saharan African region and her attitude towards Africa in Germany's international relations and politics.

Finally, the change in trend of coverage by the *Neues Deutschland* (1979-1989 and 1990-1999) depicts the media as an interface between political-economic structures and the society as a whole. This trend is a contribution to the existing 'critical political economy' study of news within the social science paradigms.

On the other hand, the trend of *Neues Deutschland* also suggests that news is not made or constructed as prescribed by the news construction advocates. It is not my intention to refute the existing theories, but to contribute to them. This present study's findings suggest that news is an outcome of a social system trying to reproduce itself. Therefore, this present research would not necessarily support the view that the Sub-Saharan African image was constructed by the German newsmen. The reason is that this study believes that news is an ancestral repetition. Therefore, the role of newsmen in international and intercultural communication is to *passively* repeat an ancestral system-mode. The German word for news (*Nachrichten*) can be split into two syllables (*Nach*) and (*Richten*), and taken together the two syllables denote the *direction of a thing*. Connotatively, *Nachrichten* suggests the sense of system-direction. News can be simply described as an amoebic metamorphosis. The mediated image (news) is then not *new*, but rather a systematic amoebic rotation meant to keep systems on their predefined social, cultural and political axis.

### **Drawbacks of this Study**

The research's hypothesis, formulated using the two international political phenomena of Cold War (communism) and Post Cold War (capitalism), assisted in the projection and the analysis of the Sub-Saharan African image and yielded remarkable results. However, this current research's results between 1979 –1989 and 1990 – 1999 call for a self-critique.

Firstly, the presence of South Africa in this research is worthy of special mention. South Africa, unlike most of the Sub-Saharan African countries, suffered under the racial segregation of apartheid until her national independence in the mid –1990s. This suggests that the highest

news category assigned to South Africa was meant to draw international attention to the human suffering under Pretoria's apartheid politics. On the other hand, the highest sensational news accorded South Africa could be debated on two grounds: firstly to question the ability of the locals to govern themselves and the justification of the apartheid system, and secondly to seek an international audience. Consequently, the projection of South Africa in the German press before their national independence should not be absolutely looked at from a *sensational news analysis* perspective.

Secondly, between 1979 –1989, most of the *sensational news* coverage by the *Neues Deutschland (ND)* was intended to project the communist ideologies rather than just report negatively on Sub-Saharan African countries as presumed under international and intercultural communication theories.

In spite of the enumerated drawbacks, this current research can be described as successful on the following basic grounds. The research set out to present what constitutes Sub-Saharan African news in the German press. Consequently, what type of an image could be deduced from the total units of news categories assigned to Sub-Saharan African countries by the four quality German newspapers from 1979 – 1999. This basic aim of the current project has been attained through the available statistical findings.

### **Implications for Future Research:**

The above mentioned drawbacks could be minimised in future research of a similar kind. For instance, an extended form of the research data could be carried out by looking at international news using discursive analysis instead of the pure categorisation of news. That is, future studies on Sub-Saharan African news in the Western press should be an integrated form of quantitative and discourse analysis. The study of international news as a narrative discourse would permit news to be studied with respect to their macro and micro structures. This type of study may throw a detailed light on the projection of a country's image.

Secondly, since colonial relations may affect international news coverage, it would be worthwhile in future studies to also access the sources of Sub-Saharan African news. That is, which international news agencies covered news on the Sub-Saharan African region. Perhaps, a suggestive form of future study could be based on the distribution of German media correspondents in Sub-Saharan African countries. This trend of research study may assist in appreciating the *simplistic coverage* of the Sub-Saharan African region.

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## APPENDIX

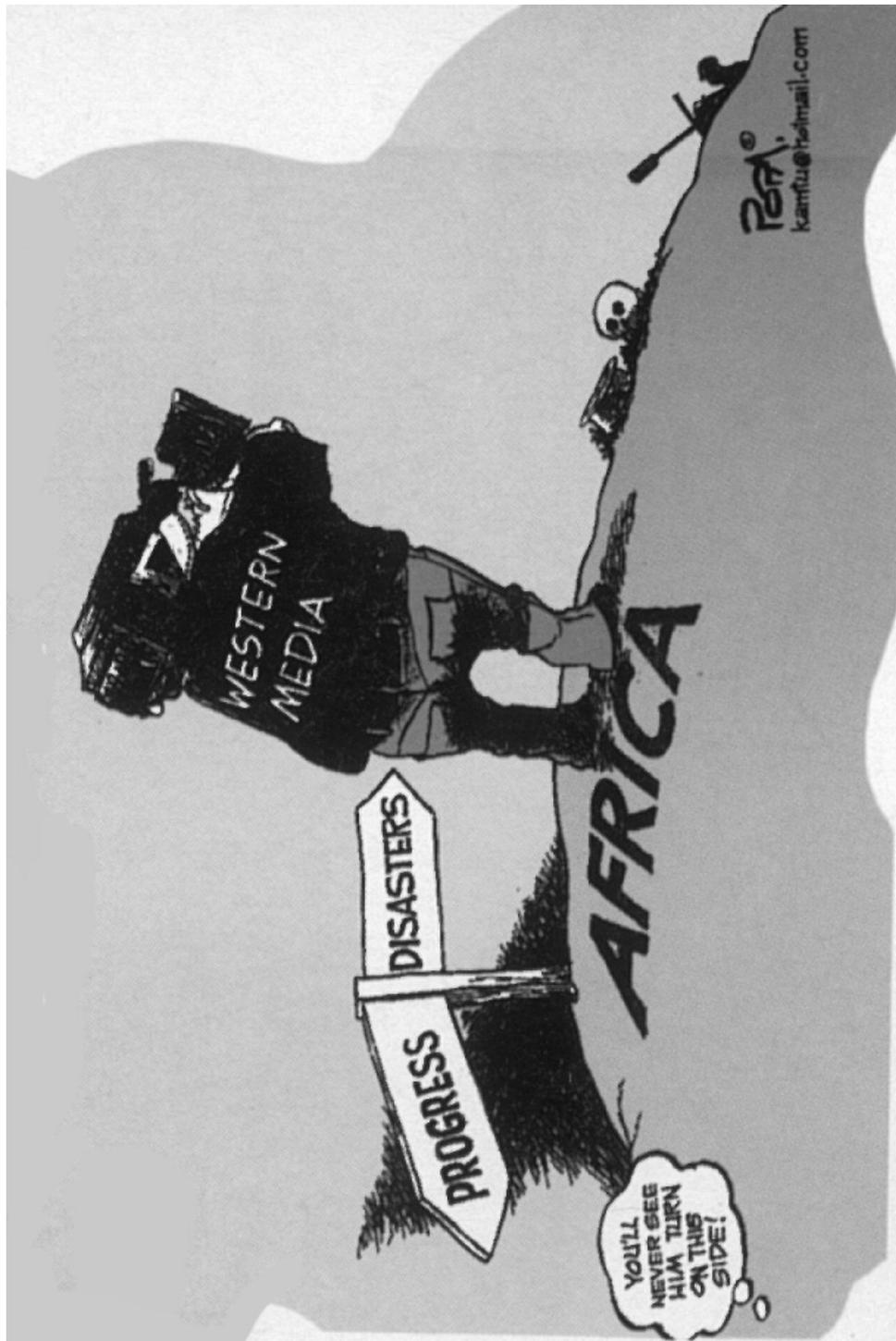
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## APPENDIX 1: Examples of the Sub-Saharan African image in the Western media



From: Ankomah, B., (ed.), **Reporting Africa**, New African, No. 387, July / August, 2000, p. 1.

APPENDIX 2: Caricature on Western media coverage



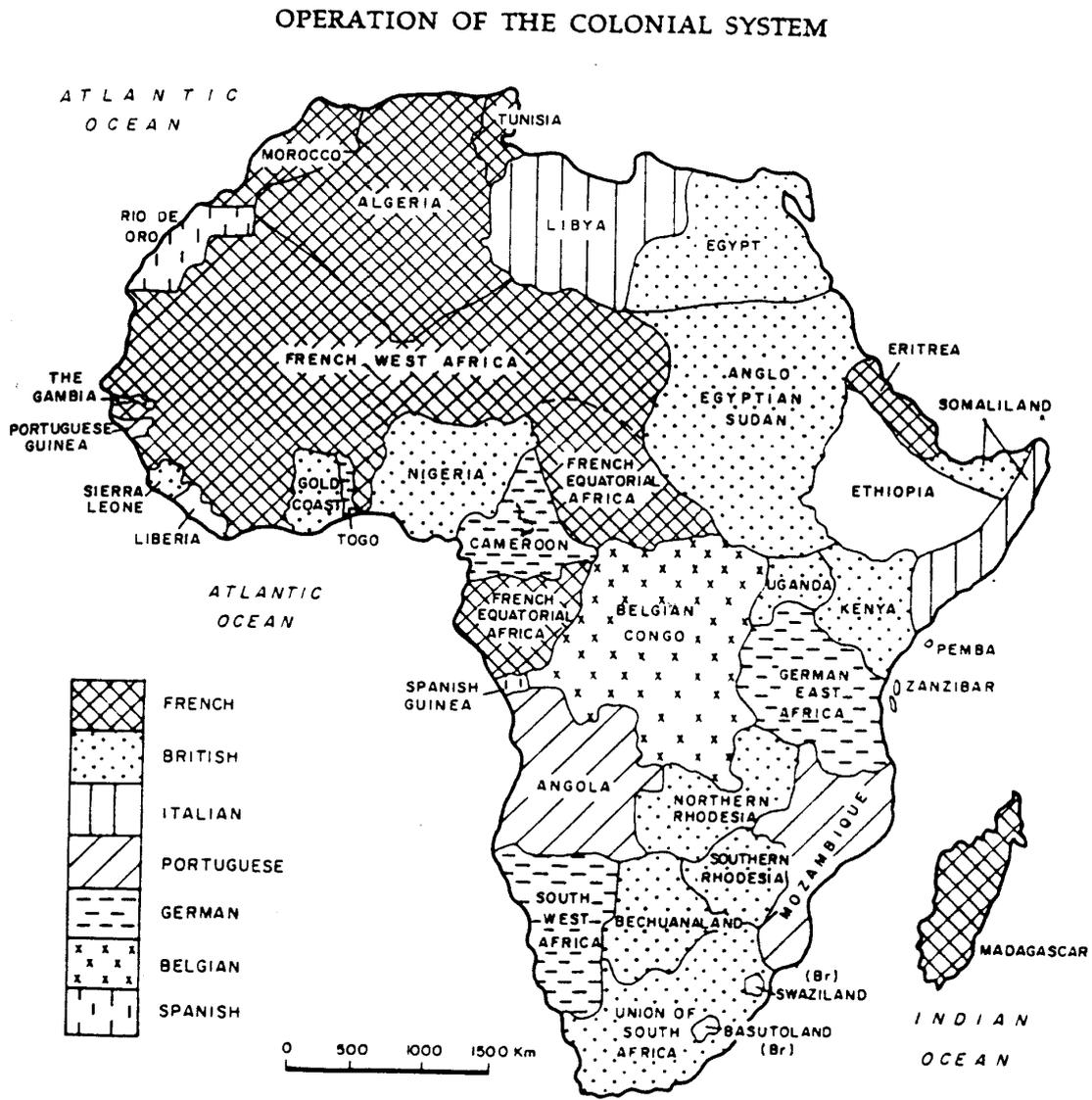
From: Ankomah, B., (ed.), **Reporting Africa**, New African, No. 387, July / August, 2000, p. 5.

APPENDIX 3: Map of African Peoples and States on the Eve of Partition and Conquest



From: Boahen, A. (1987), African Perspective on Colonialism, Baltimore, p.3.

# APPENDIX 4: Map of Africa under Colonial Rule



From: Boahen, A. (1987), *African Perspective on Colonialism*, Baltimore, p. 61

**APPENDIX 5: Research Sampling Matrix**

<b>SAMPLING TABLE FOR EACH NEWSPAPER (FAZ, DW, ND, SZ)</b>													
<b>DAYS SELECTED FROM EACH OF THE MONTHS (MONDAY - SATURDAY) FROM 1979-1999</b>													
<b>YEARS:</b>	<b>JANUARY*</b>	<b>FEBRUARY</b>	<b>MARCH</b>	<b>APRIL</b>	<b>MAY</b>	<b>JUNE</b>	<b>JULY*</b>	<b>AUGUST</b>	<b>SEPT.</b>	<b>OCT.</b>	<b>NOV.</b>	<b>DEC.</b>	<b>Days</b>
1979	22	6	21	12	14	2	16	7	28	4 & 5	30	1 & 8	14
1980	7 & 25	12	19	24	30	28	17	19	24	6 & 30	7	13	14
1981	5	19 & 24	7	25	6	16	28	12	24	10	30	3 & 15	14
1982	25	16	3 & 26	29	5	14	23	11	1	30	8 & 11	17	14
1983	25	5	3 & 11	29	9	14	27	1	7	28	8 & 11	17	14
1984	30	3	14	7 & 19	25	6	24	17	6 & 26	11	23	14	14
1985	7	26	29	18	3 & 24	22	12	15 & 26	6	23	1	18	14
1986	31	25	24	17	22	14	23 & 17	19 & 22	4	20	12	16	14
1987	5	10	26	29	27	1	6	1	25	1	26	1 & 14	14
1988	4	10 & 13	28	19	30	2	29	3 & 5	24	17	14	8	14
1989	31	10	17	29	16 & 12	14	5	9	2	28	9	4 & 5	14
1990	10	10	19 & 20	12	12	13	26 & 4	8	19	1	16	4	14
1991	14	16	27	4	3	21	4	6 & 7	11	31	1	7	14
1992	6	4	4	2 & 9	8	27	6	4	30	1	6	12	14
1993	4	16	3 & 10	1	7	5	5	3	1	7	5	4 & 11	14
1994	3	1	30	7	6 & 13	4	4	27	7	6	25	3 & 6	14
1995	2	7	29	6	5	24	3 & 10	1	27	5 & 12	3	2	14
1996	8	6 & 13	6 & 13	4	3	4	8	6	27	10	1	7	14
1997	13	4	26	3	2	7	7	5	17 & 24	9	7 & 14	6	14
1998	5	3	4	30	8 & 15	6	27	4 & 11	30	1	13	5	14
1999	4 & 11*	2	17	1	28	12	12	3 & 10	22	7	26	4	14
													<b>294</b>
	THIS TABLE IS BASED ON (Riffé et al, 1998) TWO CONSTRUCTED WEEK SAMPLING:												
	NOTE: January to June represents (Monday to Saturday)												
	July to December represents (Monday to Saturday)												
	*The randomly repeated days allowed for the expected 14 sampling days in a year.												
	*This Table is meant to assist in the future replication of this current research.												



## APPENDIX 7: Coder Reliability Tests: A Necessity

Content analysis in any form is never completed unless a coder reliability test is carried out. Coder reliability processes takes place after a systematic coding protocol has been established with the help of a *Coding Sheet*. Reliability tests simply mean ‘that repeated measurement of the same material will result in similar decisions or conclusions’ (Wimmer and Dominic, 1983:152). On the other hand, reliability tests assess ‘agreement between coders as a result of chance and not the protocol rules’ (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998:123), prescribed under coder-training or on the coding sheet. Reliability tests are therefore necessary to measure quality, validity, and to standardise research. This view is shared by Früh. He maintained that coder reliability as a validity standard is ‘*ein inhaltsanalytischer Qualitätsstandard, der angibt, ob die Codierungen (also die produzierten Daten) den in der Forschungsfrage anvisierten Bedeutungsgehalt treffen*’ (Früh, 2001:183). Although reliability tests ensures quality, their paradoxical perspective needs to be stated. According to Holsti, ‘reliability is a necessary condition for valid inquiry, but paradoxically, the cost of some steps taken to increase reliability may be a reduction in validity’ (Holsti, 1969:142).

Before coder-reliability tests can proceed, a specific and a reliable amount of the total units of content need to be selected and established as relevant, standard for a subsequent inter coder reliability analysis. The unit is the ‘smallest element of content analysis, but it is one of the most important’ (Wimmer and Dominic, 1983:146). Consequently, attention is attached to the ‘total number of units to be coded, the precise degree desired of confidence in reliability assessment’ (Lacy and Riffe, 1996: Riffe, et al., 1998:125).

Concerning the proportion to be selected from a total content population, scholars share diverse views. Wimmer and Dominick (1997) suggest that between 10% and 20% should be selected for the test. Kaid and Wadsworth (1989) suggested that between 5% and 7% is desirable. Cohen (1960), on the other hand, suggests that random selection of proportional content units is not a necessity. In spite of all the above diverse views, statistical approach to the selection of content units for coder reliability remains paramount in any standardised, quality and valid content analysis research, such as the present research.

To determine the amount of units, a pilot test was carried out at the very beginning of this research. However, to ensure a standardised and quality assessment, the following mathematical standard formula as prescribed by Riffe and his group was used to determine the total unit of contents needed for the coder reliability tests:

$$n = \frac{(N - 1) (SE)^2 + PQN}{(N - 1) (SE)^2 + PQ}$$

where: N = The population of content units in the study: the total population (N= 1743) of Sub-Saharan African news in the four selected newspapers from 1979 -1999.

P = The population level of agreement. (The standard is between 95% and 99% confidence level)

Q = (1 - P)

n = The unit of contents for reliability assessments (coder reliability tests)

Based on the above standardised formula from Riffe *et al.* (1998), the current research set its minimum confidence level at 85% reliability agreement between the coders. *P* was therefore equated with an assumed standard level of 90%.

This current research's data resulted in a total of *N*= 1743 News Items (content units) from 1979 – 1999 for the four selected newspapers. Hence, the following operation was done to ascertain the units of content reliable for coder reliability assessments:

$$n = \frac{(1743 - 1) (0.0009) + 0.09 (1743)}{(1743 - 1) (0.0009) + 0.09}$$

*n* = 96 units of content.

The value of  $n$  therefore suggests that the 90% agreement by the three coders in coding  $n$  from the research variables  $C1 - C12$  would yield a confidence agreement of 85% or higher (please see coding sheet in Appendix 6).

Establishing the standard content units for a coder category reliability test is not enough to make content analysis. As Riffe et al. (1998) noted, 'content analysis should report both a simple agreement figure and the appropriate statistical formula' (Riffe, et al., 1998: 128) as above.

Simple agreement plotting is necessary to control and measure the possibility of chances among coder agreements. The following simple agreement table was plotted from a total of 288\* coding decisions from three independent coders who coded variables with values ranging from  $C1 - C12$ .

\* The total coding decision stem from coding 96 content units.



## APPENDIX 9: Intercoder Reliability Test (Test for Chance Agreement)

To ascertain the quality, valid and standardised research outcome, as suggested by Früh (2001), the necessary intercoder reliability test was required. This test seeks to test for validity by taking chance into consideration. The data gathered from the simple agreement table was further operationalised to assess chance agreements. There are many probability methodologies designed for this purpose. Holsti (1969) established the measurement of nominal reliability data in terms of percentage agreement as:

$$\text{Reliability} = \frac{2M}{N1 + N2}$$

where: M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively. (Wimmer and Dominic, 1983:154).

Krippendorff (1980: Riffe et al, 1998: 132) developed a coefficient, *Alpha*, as a probability instrument in measuring chance agreement. He presented his methodology as follows:

$$\text{Alpha} = \frac{1 - D_n}{D_c}$$

where:  $D_n$  = observed disagreement between coders.

$D_c$  = expected disagreement between coders.

A further methodology was developed by Scott (1955: Wimmer and Dominic, 1983:154), the *pi index*, which addresses the number of categories used and the probable frequency. His formula was presented as:

$$Pi = \frac{\% \text{ observed agreement} - \% \text{ expected agreement}}{1 - \% \text{ expected agreement}}$$

Früh (2001) also suggested the following operation in measuring for chance agreement:

$$CR = \frac{2\ddot{U}}{C1 + C2}$$

Where: CR = Coder-Reliability

$\ddot{U}$  = Coder Agreed Outcome

C1\* = Total Coding Outcome From Coder 1

C2\* = Total Coding Outcome From Coder 2

\*Note: Früh's formula is assumed for 2 coders and can be operationalised for further coders.

Each of the above formulae can be used to calculate the Coder Reliability Agreement.

This present research settles for a version of Scott's *Pi* as in Riffe, *et al* (1998):

$$Pi = \frac{\% OA - EA}{1 - \% EA}$$

where: OA = Observed Agreement

EA = Expected Agreement (The Expected Agreement for this current research was based on 90% = 0.90)

Based on Scott's *Pi*, the following expected validity agreement standard was reached:

$$Pi = \frac{0.90 - 0.26}{1 - 0.26} = \frac{0.64}{0.74} = 0.87$$

According to Früh (2001), Böhmer-Dürr (2000), Riffe et al, (1998) and Wimmer and Dominic (1983), it is suggested that the generally accepted Coder Reliability Test should report a figure between the standard range of 0.80 to 0.90. This current research's Coder Reliability Test report of 0.87\* falls within the standard accepted range depicting quality, validity, and a standardised coder reliability test which eliminate chance. The result of .87 also suggests the agreement reached between coders and the results accruing from the definitions of categories coded by the three coders.

\* The above *Scott's Pi* result (0.87) was reached by the operations carried out systematically through the following self-developed matrixes. Please see tables on *Simple Coder Agreement Matrix* (Appendix 8), *Simple Coder Percentage Agreement Matrix* (Appendix 10), *Simple Coder Percentage Agreement Matrix as a square of the variables C1 ... C12 (C1 ... C12)<sup>2</sup>* (Appendix 11).

## APPENDIX 10: Simple Coder Percentage Agreement Matrix

Note: This table resulted from Appendix 9.

<b>Reliability Test: SIMPLE PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT MATRIX:</b>												
<b>Coders Identified As: (Hurui, Jörg, Matilda):</b>												
<b>News Categories Variables (C1 - C12)</b>												
<b>Total Coded Agreement For the Paired Coders:</b>												
<b>H&amp;J (N = 72 Agreed Units)</b>												
<b>H&amp;M (N = 68 Agreed Units)</b>												
<b>M&amp;J (N = 74 Agreed Units)</b>												
<b>Coders In Pairs:</b>												
<b>News Categories Variables (C1 - C12) and Percentage Outcome</b>												
	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	C9	C10	C11	C12
<b>H&amp;J</b>	8	10	7	10	7	10	8	7	6	10	7	11
<b>H&amp;M</b>	10	7	7	10	7	10	9	4	6	10	6	12
<b>M&amp;J</b>	10	10	8	10	8	10	8	5	7	10	5	11
<b>Note:</b> The percentage values of the paired coders' agreement provide the factors needed to calculate the reliability of agreement as prescribed by Früh (2001), Riffe et al (1998), Wimmer and Dominic (1983).												
<b>Note:</b> The percentage matrix is followed by the squared values of C1, C2, C3, - - - C12 for the total coders: see next table marked Percentage Agreement Values <sup>2</sup> .												



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