MORE OF THE SAME: THE FLOW AND FRAMING OF AFRICAN NEWS ON THE

WEB SITES OF FIVE WESTERN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS AND AN AFRICAN

NEWS AGGREGATOR

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SITES OF FIVE WESTERN NEWS ORGANIZATIONS AND AN AFRICAN NEWS

AGGREGATOR (104 pp.)

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African countries have long censured the Western media for dwelling on negative news and ignoring positive news from the continent. During the 1970s and 1980s, they called for an international order that would compel Western media outlets to provide more balanced coverage of Africa. The Western media stridently opposed the move, citing their press freedom rights. The issue spawned controversy, which died down in the late 1980s. However, the concerns expressed by African countries are still relevant today, as millions of people get news about Africa from the Web sites of major Western news organizations.

This study examined the reporting of African news on five Western news Web sites and an African news aggregator. It used scholarship on international news flow and framing theory to examine the flow and framing of African news on the sites. The study found that African news items constitute a small percentage of the news reports on the home pages and world news pages of the Western news sites. Also, the study found that African news items on the sites mainly focus on clashes, conflict and crises, thus providing more of the types of negative news items that have riled African countries over the years.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

International news bolsters relations between various nations and their citizens. It expands people's knowledge about issues and events in different regions of the world and shapes their perceptions about those regions. Masmoudi (1979) observes that information plays a paramount role in international relations, both as a means of communication between peoples and as an instrument of understanding and knowledge between nations.

Wu (1998) notes that international news has become increasingly important in a shrinking world where international affairs tend to engage lots of dissimilar citizens from various countries. Knowledge of issues and events occurring throughout the world is becoming increasingly crucial to success, even survival, in the modern world (Fryman & Bates, 1993). International news is important not only as "news" but as an avenue for the exchange of information upon which people make key decisions. Fryman and Bates note that this phenomenon carries substantial implications for the role of news flow between and among differing economic and political blocs in the emerging world order.

As purveyors of international news, the news media play a crucial role in molding their audiences' perceptions of the different regions of the world. McCombs (2005) notes that the press influences citizens' focus of attention, providing many of the facts and opinions that shape perspectives on the topics of the day. Western media outlets are particularly influential due to the political and economic power of the countries in which they are based, their huge audiences and their domination of the reporting and distribution of international news. Markham (1961) notes that most people in the United States learn about world events through the mass media rather

than by direct contact; hence international news coverage can have a great influence on international relations. The same can be said of people in other Western countries.

The Internet has emerged as a major platform for relaying information to audiences across the world. It offers Western news media an avenue to enhance their unmatched power to determine the flow and framing of international news across the world. The Internet has become the most important source of current information for users in the United States (Center for the Digital Future, 2004) and other developed regions of the world. In late 2007, more than seven in 10 Americans (71%) said they went online for news (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2008).

The Internet has made it possible for news media to deliver news faster to wider audiences across the world at the same time. Western news media can distribute and redistribute international news much more effectively through the Internet because unlike traditional forms of media, the Internet has fewer geographical, temporal, spatial and monetary constraints that can hinder news flow across countries. The Internet has provided news media audiences with a larger volume of news, images, sounds and perspectives on world affairs. For audiences with Internet access, information is just a few clicks away.

<div align="center">Significance of the Study</div>

For years, Western news media have come under searing criticism for their reporting of developing countries. A number of scholars note that Western news media underreport events and issues in developing countries (Alozie, 2006; Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Gerbner & Marvanyi; 1977; Giffard, 1989; Hachten, 1998; Larson, 1979; Miske, 1971; Peterson, 1980; Wu, 1998). Others criticize Western media for their crisis-oriented coverage of developing countries (Marthoz, 2007).

Most studies on Western media's reporting of issues in such developing regions as Africa have focused on traditional forms of media. Little research has been done on the reporting of Africa on the Web sites of Western news organizations. This issue requires consideration, hence the need for this study, which provides insights into the flow and framing of African news on Western news Web sites and an African news aggregator.

Western media's reporting of African news shapes Western audiences' perceptions of Africa. Also, it influences relations and dealings between Africa, the West, and other regions of the world. Owing to globalization and interdependence among the world's nations, African events and issues have a bearing on the rest of the world. Yet the continent largely remains an unknown quantity to vast media audiences in the West and elsewhere in the world. The news media play a key role in shaping these audiences' views about Africa and its inhabitants. These factors underscore the need to examine Western – and African – reporting and coverage of African news online.

This study examines the flow and framing of African news on the Web sites of major news organizations in three Western countries – the United States, the United Kingdom and France. The Western news sites are: www.bbc.co.uk, www.cnn.com, www.france24.com, www.guardian.co.uk, and www.nytimes.com. The study also examines the framing of African news on the Web site of an African news aggregator, www.allAfrica.com.

It determines the prevalence of certain news frames and analyzes the framing of African news on the sites. It also examines the dominant tone, African countries and news topics covered by the Web sites. In addition, the study determines the sizes of the Web sites' audiences and the geographic locations of visitors to the sites. The study also illuminates the gatekeeping role of the sites' African news editors.

Theoretical Framework

The researcher was concerned with the flow and framing of African news on the selected sites. He based the study on scholarship on international news flow and framing theory. Additionally, the study highlights research on agenda setting and gatekeeping.

International news flow studies examine how information flows from the source to the audience, focusing on the issues surrounding the movement of information from one part of the world to the other. Most research on international news flow has focused on Western news media's reporting of foreign news in traditional media, especially news about underdeveloped and developing regions of the world (Hachten, 1998; Larson, 1979; Lent, 1977; Masmoudi, 1979). This study builds on this scholarship by examining the flow and framing of news from Africa to the rest of world through the Web sites of leading news organizations in the U.K., U.S., France and an African news aggregator.

Framing theory uses frames to analyze social issues. News frames provide insights on how the media report issues, while audience frames focus on how audiences understand, interpret and react to media frames. Entman (1993) says the media identify various issues and construct meanings for those issues based on the public's existing opinions, hence encouraging the public to view certain issues in certain ways. Audiences use the frames that exist in their minds to understand and interpret news. Gitlin (1980) notes that framing refers to patterns that emerge in the way the media select, organize, emphasize, present, and ignore certain aspects of news over others. According to Fredin (2001), frames incessantly repeated in news can have considerable control over how people think about various issues and events.

This study examined the prevalence of the following news frames in the sampled African news items posted on the six Web sites: conflict, attribution of responsibility, economic

consequences, disaster, human interest, progress and morality. These frames have been identified in previous studies (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Iyengar, 1991; Li and Izard, 2003; Neuman et al., 1992; Patterson, 1993: Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Agenda-setting research points out the news media's power to determine what audiences think about (McCombs, 2005), while gatekeeping research suggests that news selection is determined by various factors, which include the intensity of an issue, the magnitude of its effects, audiences' level of interest, political and trade relations between countries, among others (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Wu, 1998).

This study employed quantitative and qualitative content analysis to determine the flow and framing of African news on five Western news sites and an African news aggregator. Analysis of content was important because it determined the volume of African news on the Web sites and the prevalence of certain frames in African news items on the sites, both of which shape the sites' audiences' perceptions of Africa. The examination of news flow also highlights the Internet's key role in the distribution of international news and reviews previous scholarship on the flow of African news to the rest of the world through traditional Western news media. Analysis of African news framing on the Web sites determines the way Africa is portrayed to Western Web audiences and the rest of the world.

Africa is the world's second-largest continent and the second most populous, after Asia (Fick, 2002). It has 54 independent countries – 48 on the mainland and six island states. The continent's population is expected to exceed 900 million by 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008) and make up 20 percent of the world population by 2050 (Fick, 2002). Resource-rich Africa provides vast amounts of agricultural produce, minerals, oil and other natural resources that drive the world's economy.

An accurate understanding of issues and events in Africa is important to all media audiences across the world. It is particularly important for audiences in developed countries, whose policies often influence activities in developing regions such as Africa. Also, Western audiences' understanding and perceptions of Africa are important for the continent as it strives to improve its standing in the global family of nations through disparate economic, political, cultural, and social undertakings.

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to examine how Africa is portrayed online by Western media outlets and an African news Web site. To execute this purpose, the study used quantitative and qualitative content analysis to examine the volume of African news on five Western news sites and the framing of African news on the sites – and an African news aggregator. The study also involved e-mail and telephone interviews with editors of African news on the selected Web sites.

The study examined the following research questions:

RQ1: What is the volume and flow of African news on the selected Western news sites?

RQ2: What are the statistics and geographic locations of visitors to all the Web sites?

RQ3: What is the framing of African news on the selected Web sites?

RQ4: What African news topics and countries receive the most coverage on the selected Web sites?

RQ5: What is the dominant tone of African news on all the Web sites?

This research focused on the Web because it is a vanguard player in Western – and African – news media's daily reporting and distribution of African news. The researcher wished to study if the Web has led to comprehensive and balanced reporting of African news by the Western media.

Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on the importance of international news and the role of Western news media and the Internet in international news distribution. In addition, it highlighted the concepts of news flow, framing, gatekeeping and agenda setting. It also explained the importance of accurate reporting of African news. This chapter also spelled out the purpose of this study and the research questions. Chapter two of this thesis reviews literature that discusses previous research related to this study. Chapter three outlines the methodology used to conduct the study, chapter four provides the results, while chapter five discusses the findings and makes recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis examined the flow and framing of African news on five major Western news Web sites – www.bbc.co.uk, www.cnn.com, www.france24.com, www.guardian.co.uk and www.nytimes.com – and an African news aggregator – www.allAfrica.com. The study determined the volume of African news on the Western news sites and the framing of news on those sites in comparison to news framing on the African news aggregator.

The following literature review explores the role of the Internet in international news flow, discusses scholarship on news flow, illuminates framing theory, agenda setting and gatekeeping; examines previous scholarship on Western media's reporting and framing of African news, and poses five research questions that guided this study.

The Internet

The Internet refers to a worldwide connection of computers that allows any user on the network to access information from anywhere else on the network, while the World Wide Web, or the Web, is the set of technologies that places a graphical interface on the Internet, allowing users to explore the network (Foust, 2005). Carey (1998) describes the Internet as the first instance of a global communication system, while Wu (2006) says the Web has emerged as a global medium that can tackle the unmatched mission of receiving and disseminating international news to every corner of the world, narrowing the gigantic discrepancy between the news world and the real world.

One of the Web's advantages over older media is its ubiquity and its ability to embrace all the capabilities of the older media, which include text, images, graphics, animation, audio,

video and real-time delivery (Pavlik, 2001), all of which have given rise to multimedia reporting of local and international news.

The Internet has changed news delivery. Provision of multimedia news through the Internet has become a standard practice among the news media across the world. Their audiences have become accustomed to getting news online in a multimedia format. Multimedia content integrates text, graphics, sound, voice, and both still and moving images into a common digital form. The Web also allows interactivity between news providers and their audiences.

The Web has a bottomless news hole. It provides an opportunity for Western news media to provide a limitless repertoire of international news to the rest of the world. It offers an avenue for them to enhance their international reporting and flow of African news to the rest of the world. Wu (2006) notes that thanks to the Internet, the excuse of limited space in newspapers or broadcast media – the most common reason of unbalanced international news flow in the past – does not exist any more, thus offering more space for (Western) news media to report stories about countries that were rarely caught on the radar screen of conventional outlets.

The Internet has not only provided space for unlimited content, but also democratized access to this content. Now virtually all international news reported by Western news media is available to the masses across the world, and the most popular way to find it is through Google (Burke, 2007). Burke notes that search engines like Google make it incredibly simple for anyone to find anything, adding that Google's and Yahoo!'s news aggregation services have taken this step further by dedicating their search engines to news content. Most of Google's and Yahoo!'s news content is produced by Western news media outlets, especially news agencies and leading print and broadcast outlets.

Hester and Dougall (2007) note that increased reliance on online news consumption brings with it many opportunities for mass communication research. Rich sources of text and images fundamental to mass communication research have never been more accessible, and data can be gathered relatively easily. This study examines how five Western news organizations and an African news aggregator report African news on their Web sites.

<div align="center">News Flow Scholarship</div>

Previous studies on international news flow have examined news reporting across geographical regions. Most studies have focused on Western media's reporting of foreign news, especially news about such developing regions as African countries. Hachten (1998) notes that news flow out of Africa to America and Europe is characterized by parachute journalism. In this brand of reporting, whenever crises occur in African countries, Western journalists troop to those countries in great numbers, cover the story and shoot pictures, and leave. Hachten argues that this kind of reporting fails to provide needed context and follow-up that such stories require. Louw (2004) notes that such journalists regularly misinterpret such foreign contexts as Africa. They often reinforce stereotypes because they lack the time to address issues comprehensively.

Western stereotypes about Africa have been entrenched by years of media coverage. Hachten (1998) notes that in the 1950s, when most African countries gained independence, the continent received notable Western media coverage not only for the political transitions that took place in its newly independent countries, but also for the persistent political instability that rocked their early years of self-rule. Hachten adds that during 1960s and 1970s, Africa received attention in the Western press for reasons other than crises: Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Tanzania, and others were exciting new nations with promising futures that were playing a prominent role in the rise of the developing world.

The Cold War competition between Western nations and Soviet bloc in the 1960s and 1970s, in which Africa was caught in the crossfire, also pushed the continent to the limelight as both the West and the Soviet bloc sought African friends and allies. With the end of the Cold War, less and less news came out of Africa (Hachten, 1998). The little that was reported about Africa was deemed on the continent to be "negative" because it mostly focused on conflicts and crises.

Debates on International News Flow

In the 1970s, developing nations sparked confrontational debates at international communications conferences when they complained against Western news media's hegemony over the global flow of news. They argued that Western news media's reporting on issues and events in developing countries was inadequate and unbalanced. They charged that Western media underreported developing countries in comparison with the rest of the world and their reporting was mostly "negative" (Peterson, 1980).

Developing countries complained that major international news agencies projected a negative image of developing countries, while emphasizing the positive in their coverage of industrialized nations, and particularly of the countries in which they are based (Giffard, 1984). A study by Giffard found a qualitative difference in coverage of the more-developed and less-developed countries. Giffard found the composite picture of developing countries to be that of internal conflicts and crises, armed conflicts and disasters. He noted that although the same categories of news dominate the news coverage of the industrialized world, the difference is that other kinds of news help leaven the mix.

One of the developing world's vociferous advocates was Mustapha Masmoudi of Tunisia. Masmoudi (1979) pointed out the brazen quantitative information imbalance between developing

and developed countries, caused by the disparity between the volume of news and information emanating from the developed world and intended for the developing countries and the volume of the flow in the opposite direction. Masmoudi noted that most of the world news flow came from Western news agencies, on which the entire world – including developing countries – depended for information. Masmoudi noted that these agencies were oblivious to the real concerns of developing countries and sold news to them like any other commodity.

Masmoudi (1979) took issue with Western media's emphasis on unfavorable news about poor nations – crises, coups, civil wars, terrorism, street demonstrations, among others. Masmoudi said the Western media were selective in what they reported about developing countries and the criteria used were based on the political and economic interests of the transnational system and Western countries. He said the Western media ignore important news and situations unfavorable to the interests of their countries of origin. Instead, they transmit to developing countries news that they have filtered, cut and distorted, thus imposing their own way of seeing the world upon developing countries. Masmoudi noted that the Western media disregard the impact of their news beyond their own frontiers. He said the Western media are indifferent to the problems, concerns, and aspirations of developing countries. He argued that their coverage enshrines a form of political, economic, and cultural colonialism.

Masmoudi's assertions encapsulated the views of many in developing countries. They demanded a new information "order" that would redress the imbalance in information flow and "decolonize" news by taking a more objective approach to the aspirations and concerns of developing nations. Hachten (1981) notes that proponents of the new "order" wanted to restructure the world's media systems to help achieve a more just and equitable economic system and help achieve social justice. They clamored for more "positive" reporting by Western media

and called for a New World Information Order (NWIO), in which "much more attention would be given by the (Western) media to development news rather than violence and conflict" (Roser & Brown, 1986, p. 115).

On their part, some Western countries dismissed the idea of a new information "order" as a cynical effort to politicize international news and gain international respectability for government control of news and censorship. They opposed proposals to implement a new "order" because it would involve forms of state regulation or press controls, which were eschewed in the West, where the media are largely privately owned (Hachten, 1981). Western news media opposed attempts to control their reporting of issues and events in developing countries, citing their press freedom rights. However, Hachten observes that many thoughtful journalists and others conceded some of the concerns of developing countries. They agreed that real disparities in news flow existed and that Western news media should report more non-Western news and do it with more understanding and regard for the views of other nations.

Following a number of heated debates and international communication conferences, in 1978, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) addressed the concerns of the developing nations by adopting the "UNESCO Media Declaration," which called for the correction of the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries. UNESCO noted that this would be conducive to the institution of a just and lasting peace and to the economic and political independence of the developing countries (Nordenstreng, 1984). UNESCO's declaration was aimed at urging Western news media to provide more "positive" coverage of developing countries. It was touted as a victory for developing countries.

UNESCO further established an international commission to study the global problems of communication in light of the standoff between developing and developed countries. The commission, officially known as the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, was headed by Sean MacBride and became widely known as the MacBride Commission.

<div align="center">*New World Information and Communication Order*</div>

The commission acknowledged the presence of imbalances in international communications, or media influence, especially between industrialized and developing countries (MacBride Commission, 1980) and called for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), which would address information flow issues and the problematic Western media reporting of underdeveloped and developing countries (Giffard, 1989).

The MacBride Commission produced a report titled *Many Voices, One World*, which called for this new order in global communications. The report accepted developing countries' concerns about the "colonial domination" of news distribution, but also called extolled press freedom, which was favored by the West. The report received mixed feelings from both sides of the debate because it offered little new, politically or substantially, beyond pooling various earlier ideas and proposals (Nordenstreng, 1984). It was criticized by both sides because they felt it did not resolve the contentious issues (Hachten, 1981).

Western countries resolved to fight UNESCO's efforts to set up a new information order to redress the imbalances alleged by developing countries. They urged the organization to abandon its attempts to regulate news content and formulate rules for press conduct (Hachten, 1981). The U.S. opposed NWICO because it deemed it to be inimical to press freedom and the interests of American media companies. Stridently opposed to the prospect of having an

organization run by governments at the head of controlling global media, the U.S. found itself on

a collision course with UNESCO, from which it withdrew in 1985. Britain followed suit. These

diplomatic rows diminished the controversy over a new information "order." The collapse of

communism in Eastern Europe and the end of the Cold War in 1989 also quieted the controversy

because the Soviet Union and its allies in developing countries had been outspoken backers of a

new information "order" (Hachten, 1981).

Hachten notes that the controversy dissipated as the concepts of press freedom, human

rights, democracy and market economies took root in developing countries in the late 1980s. But

Harley (1993) argues that all sides to the debate came to realize that the relationship between the

free flow of information and a better balanced flow of information "requires that the developing

world acquire the skills and equipment it needs to produce such a balance" (p. 222).

Although some proponents still champion the NWICO cause, it is no longer a serious

international issue (McPhail, 2006). Some scholars (Alozie, 2006; Hachten, 1981; D'Haenens,

2003; McPhail, 2006) believe that news flow disparities still exist. They contend that the

NWICO debates and the efforts of UNESCO and the MacBride Commission neither redressed

imbalances in the flow of news volume and content between developed and developing countries

nor yielded the positive reporting for which developing countries clamored.

This study uses the aforesaid scholarship on international news flow between developed

and developing countries to examine the flow of African news to the rest of the world through

the Web sites of leading Western news organizations. It also investigates the framing of African

news on those sites and an African news site.

Framing Theory

This research uses framing theory to examine the news frames found in the African news reported on the Web sites of five leading Western news organizations and an African news aggregator. Framing theory enables researchers to understand how the media influence public perceptions of the social world and set agenda for societies. A number of scholars have used the theory to study the social role of the media, especially how the media portray various issues, groups and regions, among other things in the society, and how audiences or media users interpret media messages.

Many scholars use the theory to explain how the media play a crucial role in the construction of the social world. They posit that the media select and highlight certain things or issues, pushing them to the front burner of society. Consequently, those things or issues gain prominence and occupy the minds of people in a given society or shape their thinking. The way journalists present their news determines how audiences remember and make sense of the news, proving the media's power to construct social reality.

"Frames" are at the heart of framing theory. A frame is a device for organizing material that emphasizes some aspects of an issue, event or situation and downplays or ignores others (Fredin, 2001). Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define a frame as a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them.

Framing theory dates back to early 1970s when Bateson (1972), used the term "frames" to refer to schizophrenics' tendency to take messages out of context, misinterpret metaphors, and confuse fantasy from reality (Lowry & Xie, 2007). Bateson likened "frames" to picture frames that tell a viewer what to look at while ignoring anything outside them. Tuchman (1978) brought

the idea of framing to communication research and argued that framing in mass communication is in fact how media construct reality.

A number of follow-up studies have advanced framing as a theoretical perspective in mass communication research. Entman (2004) defines framing as "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution" (p. 5). Entman considers salience and selection as key elements of framing. Salience foregrounds a message, making it noticeable, meaningful or memorable. Selection involves choosing some aspects of news and ignoring others.

To Entman, the aspects that are ignored carry as much weight as the ones that are included because the excluded ones reinforce the included ones by depriving the audience of information needed to forge alternative perspectives. The things that Western news sites don't report about Africa are as important as the ones they report about because both help shape audiences' perceptions of the continent. Entman implies that framing is a kind of second-level agenda setting in the sense that it makes certain aspects of an issue more salient in such a way as to promote a particular perception.

In mass communication, framing is inevitable and essential to effective communication because journalists have to fit stories and other media content into limited space or time and present them in a way that can help the audience to categorize, label, interpret, and evaluate information (Lowry & Xie, 2007). Gitlin (1980) notes that media framing refers to patterns that emerge in the way the media select, organize, emphasize, present, and ignore certain aspects of news over others. Norris, Kern and Just (2003) postulate that news frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments.

In the case of Western news sites' reporting of African news, news frames are derived from the headlines, story text, photos, audio and video that are used by the sites to cover African news.

Media frames have a bearing on public opinion. Entman (1993) says the media identify various issues and construct meanings for those issues based on the public's existing opinions, hence encouraging the public to view certain issues in certain ways. This contention chimes with Lippmann's (1922) oft-cited thesis that public opinion is based upon the pictures inside people's heads, which come from media's framed reality of events in the world. Scheufele (2000) posits that media framing is a cognitive process of both mass media and their audiences. While Entman implies that the effect of framing is likely to be intentional, Scheufele argues that framing is based on subtle nuances in wording and syntax so that the effect of framing is most likely unintentional.

Agenda Setting

Walter Lippman (1922) introduced the idea that people respond to "pictures" in their heads rather than dealing directly with their environments. People often get those "pictures" from the media. Cohen (1963) notes that media outlets may not always be successful in telling people what to think, but they are often successful in telling audiences what to think about. This power of the media is known as agenda setting. Agenda-setting studies by scholars such as McCombs and Shaw (1972) suggest that the media tell audiences the important issues of the day. The more salient an issue becomes in the media, the more important it seems in the public eye.

Framing is considered to be a second level of agenda setting. Shah, Domke, and Wackman (1996) note that framing focuses on the ability of communication texts to influence individuals by enhancing or downplaying specific aspects of the media. Cappella and Jamieson (1997) note that exposure to frames in news media coverage can shape the beliefs and opinions

of audience members. Fredin (2001) says that people often have frames that are in many ways quite similar to the frames found in news. Hence, the news frames in African news purveyed by Western news Web sites are likely to be similar to the frames developed by their audiences. Reese (2001) notes that the significance of frames lies in their persistent and routine usage over time. When a frame or perspective used on an earlier event is used again for a later event that appears to be similar, it shapes audiences' understanding and perception toward the news items and subjects. In other words, the way Western news sites report African news today will predispose their audiences to apply the same frames when interpreting African news in the future. This underscores the power of the Western media to determine their audiences' enduring perceptions of Africa.

Frames are shaped by mental categories known as schemas. Schemas are psychological templates of sorts that function as efficient ways to quickly interpret events in daily life (Fredin, 2001). They guide people toward what to look for in various people and situations. Fredin notes that schemas are triggered by labels, phrases or images in a news story. Repeated use of the same frames in news stories would encourage frame-to-schema matching because a frame would include information and material that audiences would come to expect. Pan and Kosicki (1993) define an audience frame as a schema of interpretations that enables individuals to perceive, organize, and make sense of incoming information.

<center>Framing Analysis</center>

Framing analysis provides a way to understand how news media structure messages and people's perceptions of those messages. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) note that news frames can be analyzed either inductively or deductively. The inductive approach involves analyzing a news story with an open view to attempt to reveal the array of possible frames in it. They note

that although this approach can detect the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed, it is labor intensive, often based on small samples, and can be difficult to replicate.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) explain that a deductive approach involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news. Under this approach, a researcher needs to have a clear idea of the kinds of frames likely to be in the news. Semetko and Valkenburg note that this approach can be replicated easily, can cope with large samples, and can easily detect differences in framing between media.

Based on previous scholarship on news frames, this study adopted the deductive approach and examined the presence and occurrence of seven news frames in African news items prominently featured on five Western news Web sites and an African news aggregator. The frames examined in this study were identified by previous studies about news framing by Western media outlets.

News Frames

A number of studies on Western news coverage of issues in Western countries (e.g., Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Iyengar, 1991; Neuman et al., 1992; Patterson, 1993: Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) have found that the conflict frame, economic consequences frame, human interest frame, morality frame and the attribution of responsibility frame recurrently occur in news items. This study builds on this scholarship by examining the occurrence of these frames in Western news media's coverage of African news. Additionally, this study examined the occurrence of the disaster frame, identified by Li and Izard (2003), and the progress frame, identified by Gamson and Modigliani (1989).

According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the conflict frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions. This frame occurs in news items that highlight

tension, disagreement or clashes between individuals, parties, groups, countries and regions. This frame is frequently used in the media's coverage of political news (Patterson, 1993). This study examined the prevalence of this frame in African news covered by the selected Web sites.

The economic consequences frame occurs in a story that highlights the potential or actual financial or economic consequences of an event or an issue. Such consequences may affect an individual, group, institution, country or region (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The economic impacts of political events are often featured front and center of news items (Graber, 1993) as the media seek to make such events relevant to their audiences.

Neuman et al., (1992) describe the human interest frame as the "human impact" frame. This frame occurs in stories that provide human examples or give an emotional angle to an issue. In such stories, the writer may descriptively word the story in such a way as to spark readers' emotions and retain audience interest (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

According to Semetko and Valkenburg, the morality frame puts an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. They note that the professional norm of objectivity leads journalists to make reference to moral frames indirectly, for instance through quotation or inference. Due to the objectivity standard, this frame is not as common in news reporting as it is in the minds of audiences (Neuman et al., 1992).

The attribution of responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to put responsibility for causing or solving a problem to an individual, group, or institution (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). This frame is featured in studies by Iyengar (1991), who broadly categorizes media frames as episodic or thematic. Iyengar argues that news formats that cover problems in terms of an event, instance, or individual (episodically), rather than in terms of

the broader historical and social context (thematically), encourage people to attribute responsibility for problems to individuals and not the social factors that cause them.

The disaster frame occurs when a news item covers a natural or man-made occurrence or issue that causes causing widespread destruction, distress and suffering. The news can focus on the event or its subjects. This frame featured prominently in a study by Li and Izard (2003), an analysis of how eight major U.S. newspapers and five television networks covered the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001.

The progress frame, which has not featured in many studies, occurs in news items that focus on human achievements, improvements and leaps in economic, social, political or cultural fields, among others. In a study that examined U.S. media discourse on nuclear power between 1945 and the 1980s, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identified the progress frame, used by the media to show society's commitment to technological development and economic growth. They found that the progress frame resonated in the American society, which puts a premium on technological innovation and economic expansion.

The aforesaid frames were examined by earlier studies in analyzing the (traditional) Western media's coverage of events and issued in the West. This study expands this scholarship by examining the prevalence of these frames in African news items on Western news sites and an African news Web site.

Gatekeeping and News Values

Gatekeeping is the process of selecting news items to be presented to audiences. It plays a key role in the creation of news frames. White (1950) was the first scholar to apply the gatekeeping concept to journalism when he studied the decisions made by a newspaper wire

editor in selecting stories that should be published. White found that most of the decisions were based on purely subjective reasons, including personal values.

A number of studies (Gieber, 1964; Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Tuchman, 1978; Shoemaker et al, 1987) have since focused on gatekeeping theory and identified various individual and institutional factors that influence news selection. These factors are broadly referred to as news values. News values determine the amount (flow) and nature of coverage (framing) of an event or issue by the media. They color editorial decisions on the African news items that are posted on Western news sites and elsewhere. Much as no editor actually uses a checklist to determine a story's news value, most consider the same factors in making that determination (Harrigan & Dunlap, 2004).

According to Harrigan and Dunlap (2004), those factors include impact (the number of people affected by the story), proximity (the geographical closeness of an event to the news media's primary audience), timeliness (the newness of the story), prominence of the subjects involved, presence of conflict, novelty and community interest. Shoemaker, Chang, and Brendlinger (1987) note that the following conditions make people or events more newsworthy: novelty or oddity; conflict or controversy; interest; importance; impact, or consequence; sensationalism; timeliness; or proximity.

News values are not universal. They vary across cultures. Galtung and Ruge (1965) analyzed news stories in four Norwegian newspapers to determine news framing of crises in the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus. They came up with the following news values: negativity (bad news is favored more than good news), proximity, impact, timeliness and currency (stories that have been in the public eye for sometime are deemed valuable). The others, also identified by other studies, are: continuity (events that are likely to have a continuing impact have a high value),

uniqueness or deviance (unusual events get more coverage), simplicity (the media like simple storylines), human interest (the media favor stories with a "human face"), the predictability of the event, prominence of the subjects and exclusivity of the story.

Wu (1998) found that such gatekeeper factors as traditional newsworthiness, sociocultural structure and organizational constraints over news professionals and the agenda-setting impact of international news services all influence international news flow. Also, logistical factors such as a country's financial resource and economic development, volume of trade, regionalism, population, geographic size, geographic proximity, political/ economic interests of host countries, 'eliteness', communication resources and infrastructure and cultural affinity play a crucial role. In light of these factors, Wu argues that the everyday representation of the world by the news media is far from a direct reflection of global realities. Wu says the state of international news production and distribution remains different from the idealist objectives that the NWICO advocated. This study involved e-mail and phone interviews with editors (gatekeepers) of the selected Web sites to establish some of the news values and factors that they consider in their selection of the African news items prominently featured on their sites.

African News Coverage

Little research has specifically focused on Western news media's coverage of Africa. Most research on this issue has broadly focused on Western media's coverage of developing countries as a group. Many scholars referred these countries as the "Third World," a phrase that gained currency after the Second World War. Today the phrase is considered derogatory. The phrases "underdeveloped countries," and "developing countries," are more acceptable in academic circles and hence widely used to refer to countries in such regions as Africa. In keeping with this nomenclature, this study used these descriptors instead of "Third World."

African countries have long chafed at the way they are portrayed in the Western media. They have characterized Western media's reporting of Africa as inadequate, negative and mainly focused on crises or disasters that occur in those countries. A number of studies that have examined the Western new media's framing of international news vindicate this claim.

American media outlets have been examined and critiqued the most, ostensibly due to their preeminence in the global media industry. Chang and Lee (1993) note that U.S. news media have long been singled out for criticism by proponents of the new world order as being "biased and imbalanced" in their coverage of foreign news (p. 304).

Lent (1977) notes that in the U.S., mass media news from developing nations is often crisis-oriented. Larson (1979) analyzed international news on U.S. television networks between 1972 and 1976 and noted that underdeveloped and developing countries received less coverage than developed nations. Coverage of underdeveloped nations contained a higher proportion of crisis stories than the coverage of developed nations.

Aggarwalla (1977) says that most of the news in the U.S. media about developing and underdeveloped countries deals with subjects such as famine, shortages, national disasters, political and military intrigue. A study by Charles, Shore, and Todd (1979), which examined how the *New York Times* covered 18 nations of Equatorial and Lower Africa, found that reports by the newspaper were limited to economic ties with a few of these nations, noting that violence got the most front-page attention. Hatchen and Scotton (2007) note that 50 percent of American television's foreign coverage portrays violence.

Various scholars have also censured the British media over this issue. In a study of British media's coverage of developing countries, Golding and Elliot (1974) found that news from developing nations focused on repetitive crises and military conflicts. In examining the

reporting of Africa in the British press, Williams (1971) noted that most reporting emphasized disaster rather than achievement. He noted that there was too much superficial reporting of African events, and too little analysis and background. And in a comparative analysis of two British papers with opposing ideological positions, Brookes (1995) found that Africa was stereotypically portrayed as a homogenous block with violence, helplessness, human rights abuses and lack of democracy as its main characteristics.

Miske (1971) pointed out the invisibility of Africa on French print and broadcast media outlets. Miske noted that the French media ignore events in Africa and gave examples of ignored events in Mauritania and Congo. In the Mauritanian incident, soldiers opened fire on strikers and killed several of them. The French media ignored it. However, when the Mauritanian embassy in Paris was occupied by students, the media covered it because it took place in Paris. Miske takes issue with this kind of news selection, noting that strikes in Europe always attract attention even if no one is killed or injured. Further, Miske charges that sections of the French media distort African news.

Giffard (1984) says news agencies, which provide the bulk of international news to Western media and influence the flow of international news, evaluate developing countries in terms of Western values, and disseminate abroad a more favorable image of the industrialized world than of the developing countries. International agencies' influence is so great that Wu (1998) notes that the agencies can either decide the amount of coverage a country receives or determine the topics or issues that will be emphasized if that country is covered at all. Wu says despite the fundamental, technological advantages of the Internet, the news professionals in the Web department appear to be still under the reign of international news agencies as their colleagues of traditional media.

In an analysis of foreign news coverage in the dailies of nine nations representing capitalist, socialist, underdeveloped and developing countries, Gerbner and Marvanyi (1977) noted that Africa was one of the regions of the world that was barely visible in the world press of 1970. The study found that the U.S. press allocated only three percent of its coverage to Central and Southern Africa. In a content analysis of 33,159 *Wall Street Journal* articles that dealt with international news from 1990 to 1992, Paik (1999) found that Western Europe dominated international news with 37 percent of coverage, followed by Asia with 24 percent. By comparison, Africa received relatively no coverage, with only 3% of the overall coverage. Golan and Wanta (2003) also found that Africa ranked last in coverage in their analysis of U.S. network news coverage of international elections. They found that none of the elections that were held in Africa during the sample period were covered by more than one U.S. television network.

Using a case study to illustrate how news events in two African nations, Ghana and Tanzania, were reported in American and British press between 1965 and 1982, Hachten and Beil (1985) found that the reporting was mostly crisis-oriented. Hawk (1992) and Onyedike (2000) contend that Western media's reporting of Africa is often negative, crisis-oriented and stereotypical. Chang, Shoemaker, and Brendlinger (1987) describe Western news media's coverage of underdeveloped and developing nations as limited and often negative, thus reinforcing stereotypes against those nations.

Giffard (1984) conducted a study that found that even after UNESCO's attempts to foster more positive reporting of developing countries, the Western media still portrayed developing countries as being relatively more prone to internal conflicts and crises. Although developed nations were not portrayed as being immune to these afflictions, other kinds of news about them leavened the mix. Developing countries did not receive this kind of balanced reporting.

A study by Wu (1998) found that among the Western Europe, Latin America and Africa continents, Western Europe often gets a decent chunk of total foreign newshole in the U.S. media, while little news originate from Latin America and Africa. A comparison of the findings of a study by Alozie (2006) with those published since the turn of the century found no appreciable shift in African news coverage. Alozie notes that African news "is sparse in the Western press" (p. 27).

Years after the heated debates of the 1970s over the NWICO, Western media's coverage of African news still inordinately focuses on crises (Hawk, 1992; Onyedike, 2000), thus perpetuating stereotypical notions about Africa. Hawk observes that although most Americans have never – and will never – visit Africa, the continent's image in the American mind is an image of a "dark continent" that needs help. Hawk argues that this image has been created by the American media's reporting of African news. Alozie (2006) notes that Western media still portray Africa as a dark continent where tradition and socioeconomic and political mindset inhibits progress. African news on the pages of Western newspapers, the broadcast airwaves of Western media and the wires of the world press agencies are scarce and mostly bad, negative, crisis-oriented and violent, often taken out of context (Hawk, 1992; Onyedike, 2000; Sung & Jang, 2003).

In an analysis of selected issues of *Time* magazine's news and related coverage of Africa between 1979 and 1986, Alozie (2006) found that African reports were accentuated by political events. The magazine had no account of sports, arts and entertainment. "Various economic and social projects, such as irrigation, mineral exploration, housing, medicine, and manufacturing going on in Africa were not reported; rather, economic news emphasized the famine in Sudan

and Ethiopia" (Alozie, 2006; p. 23). This lends credence to the allegation that Western news coverage of Africa still neglects social and economic development on the continent.

In a study of the coverage of African nations by four U.S. television newscasts between 2002 and 2004, Golan (2008) found that despite the fact that African nations faced many newsworthy events during the period, American television newscasts did not view the African continent to be newsworthy. The study found that a dozen or so African nations accounted for the majority of U.S. coverage, while the majority of African nations received limited to no coverage. Golan also found that the majority of stories about African nations focused on negative and highly deviant issues such as conflict and disasters, both natural and human caused.

Marthoz (2007) posits that coverage of Africa is particularly influenced by the classic reflexes of the U.S. press, which needs a storyline and such labels as "ethnic war" and "ancestral traditions," onto which individual or complex elements can be grafted. Marthoz notes that since the fiasco of the U.S. intervention in Somalia at the beginning of the 1990s and the Rwandan genocide in 1994, the version of African reality provided by the major Western media organizations, "has proceeded from the war of the Great Lakes to the implosion of Cote d'Ivoire, from the confrontations in Liberia to the conflict in Darfur, moving through compassion, cynicism and despair" (p. 221).

According to Marthoz, from time to time, Western newspapers have tried to present a less one-sided image and therefore closer to the reality of Africa, by promoting economic achievements, calm electoral processes, rural development initiatives, or the courage of human rights defenders, but this journalistic effort that aims to illustrate the complexities and specificities of the continent remain the exception.

This study sought to establish the validity of the arguments advanced by Marthoz and other scholars who have taken issue with the Western media's coverage of Africa. It examined the flow and framing of African news on five Western news Web sites and an African news aggregator. In doing so, the study addressed the following research questions:

RQ1: What is the volume and flow of African news on the selected Western news sites?

RQ2: What are the statistics and geographic locations of visitors to all the Web sites?

RQ3: What is the framing of African news on the selected Web sites?

RQ4: What African news topics and countries receive the most coverage on the selected Web sites?

RQ5: What is the dominant tone of African news on all the Web sites?

The following chapter will discuss the method used in this study to determine the flow and framing of African news on the selected news Web sites.

Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted the role of the Internet in today's reporting and distribution of international news and examined literature on international news flow and framing theory. It revisited the heated international news flow debates that rocked the global communications industry in the 1970s and led to the creation and adoption of the NWICO. In addition, spotlighted scholarship on Western news media's reporting of news about Africa and other developing regions of the world. The next chapter is a discussion of the research method used to determine the flow and framing of African news on selected Web sites. It includes a definition of the type of research used – content analysis – and details of the sample population, units of analysis, coding protocol and data analysis.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This thesis examined the flow and framing of African news on five major Western news Web sites – www.bbc.co.uk, www.cnn.com, www.france24.com, www.guardian.co.uk and www.nytimes.com – and an African news aggregator – www.allAfrica.com. The study determined the volume of African news on the Western news sites and the framing of news on those sites in comparison to news framing on the Africa news site. In this study, African news was operationally defined as news about events and issues in countries located in Africa.

This chapter outlines the methods that were used in the study and the procedures followed by the researcher to examine the research questions posed in chapter two.

Content Analysis

Content analysis is the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico; 1998). This thesis utilized a content analysis to code all sampled African news from selected Web sites. The study involved both qualitative and quantitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis entails identifying and explaining patterns within a collection of texts (Berg, 2001)**.** Berg notes that qualitative content analysis allows a scholar to explore the ideological mindset, themes, topics, and symbols revealed in an artifact. Quantitative content analysis is defined as the systematic collection and objective interpretation of communication with the goal of determining the manifest content (Kerlinger, 1986).

Content analysis is crucial to the study of any theory that deals with the impact or antecedents of content. For this study, the researcher conducted a content analysis of African

news items prominently featured on the "top news" and "latest news" sections of the selected Web sites, which routinely provide African news.

<div align="center">Sample</div>

The Web's vastness and the lack of a comprehensive tool for searching all of the Web sites available there make it unlikely for any study to identify a full population of any kind of site (Stern, 2004). Consequently, there is no list of all news sites – Western and non-Western – that regularly provide African news. Hence the researcher created a purposive sample of five leading Western news sites and an African news site that regularly report African news.

The researcher analyzed content collected from the six selected Web sites during four constructed weeks in a population of 12 weeks between February 12, 2008 and May 5, 2008. Hester and Dougall (2007) note that sampling requirements for online news content are somewhat different from those of traditional media. They contend that stratified sampling that yields constructed weeks has been the most convincing response to the problem of systematic content variation in such dynamic outlets as news Web sites, which are updated round the clock. They say constructed week sampling is more efficient than simple random sampling or consecutive day sampling in the study of online news content.

According to Hester and Dougall, while a single constructed week allows reliable estimates of content in a population of six months of newspaper editions, at least two constructed weeks, and as many as five constructed weeks, are needed to accurately represent online news content gathered during the same period, depending the type of variables being analyzed. This study chose four constructed weeks out of a population of 12 weeks. The creation of constructed weeks reduced the researcher's bias in the selection of the dates included in the study.

The Web sites

The researcher used a purposive sample of top-ranked sites according to independent ratings companies and studies. Among U.S. media, the researcher analyzed African news on the sites of the *New York Times*, www.nytimes.com, and CNN, www.cnn.com. *The New York Times*, which is regarded in the U.S. as the paper of record, has been the subject of many studies on international news (Barnhurst, 2002). The newspaper was first published in 1851. It is one of the few nationally distributed U.S. newspapers in print, and its Web edition is among the most frequently consulted sites on the Internet.

Newsknife (2007), a New Zealand-based software development organization, ranked www.nytimes.com as the top news sites of 2007 in an analysis of listings by news sites at Google News during 2007. In addition, Newslink (2007) and the Project for Excellence in Journalism (2006) also listed it among the most linked-to news sites. Also, *PC Magazine* (2007) ranked the site as a leading news site, while Cyberjournalist (2008) ranked it among the top five news sites in the U.S. for April and May 2008, according to Web ratings firm Nielsen Online. Cyberjournalist (2008) ranked the CNN digital network, which includes all CNN offerings on the Web, second among the top news sites in the U.S. for April 2008 and third among the top news sites in the U.S. for May 2008, according to Web ratings firm Nielsen Online. In addition, Newsknife and *PC Magazine* also consider www.cnn.com a leading news site.

Among British media, this study analyzed African news on the sites of *The Guardian*, www.guardian.co.uk, and the BBC, www.bbc.co.uk, which are leading news sites according to PC Magazine (2007) and Nielsen-NetRatings (2007). The site www.guardian.co.uk is the online presence of *The Guardian* newspaper, which was founded in 1821, and its sister publication, *The Observer*, founded in 1791.

Unlike the *New York Times*, which is owned by a commercial entity, The New York Times Company, *The Guardian* and *The Observer* are owned by a non-commercial entity, the Scott Trust, named for CP Scott, one of *The Guardian's* early editors (The Guardian, 2002). In line with his wishes, all profits are ploughed back into the company. Its site routinely provides a wide range of British and international news content, including African news, in a multimedia format.

The BBC's Web site, www.bbc.co.uk, benefits from the huge resources of its parent company, the British Broadcasting Corporation, a media behemoth that describes itself as the largest broadcasting corporation in the world (BBC, 2008). Unlike CNN, a private company, the BBC is a public service broadcaster, established by a Royal Charter and funded by the license fee that is paid by UK households. The BBC uses the income from the license fee to provide services that include eight national TV channels plus regional programming, 10 national radio stations, 40 local radio stations and an extensive Web site, www.bbc.co.uk.

The BBC World Service broadcasts to the world on radio, on TV and online, providing news and information in 33 languages. It is funded by a government grant, not from the license fee. The BBC is governed by the BBC Trust, which represents the interests of license fee payers and sets the overall strategy. The BBC has a commercial arm, BBC Worldwide, which operates a range of businesses including selling programmes around the world and publishing books, DVDs and merchandise. Its profits are returned to the BBC for investment in new programming and services (BBC, 2008).

France 24, the newest of the Western news organizations whose sites are examined in this study, describes itself as the first French international news channel to broadcast on a 24-hours-a-day-seven-days-a-week basis (France 24, 2008). Its programs are broadcast in three languages

– English, French and Arabic. Its Web site, www.france24.com, also has news content in these three languages.

The BBC, CNN and France 24 broadcast their programs on TV and via the Internet. Their Web sites are well-known and respected Western news media outlets that regularly provide African news. These sites are run by established Western media organizations that have correspondents and stringers in Africa. They also feature African news items from internationally recognized news agencies.

This study also analyzed content from www.allAfrica.com, a Web site that aggregates African news and feature stories provided by more than 130 African news organizations (AllAfrica, 2008). The site has entered into arrangements with African newspapers and other content providers. It aggregates all the content it receives from its affiliates. The site is among the leading providers of regular news reported by African media organizations. It is one of the largest electronic distributors of African news and information worldwide. Ndangam (2006) says the site can be located within broader historical attempts to reform international news flows. The site offers news content in English and French, thus ensuring comprehensiveness in its coverage of the continent. It reflects an endeavor to let the news from different African countries tell the story of events happening in their part of the continent.

Ndangam notes that the site's strength lies in the extensiveness of its content providers – the African newspapers and online news agencies that have voluntarily or contractually agreed to supply their content to the site – rather than in a comprehensive knowledge of events, issues and perspectives across all of Africa. It is a model of telling the African story without relying on Western news agencies. This form of news distribution makes the site particularly interesting for international communication research (Ndangam, 2006).

The researcher conducted a quantitative analysis of prominently posted English-language African news items – those that were featured in the "top news" and "latest news" sections – on the selected Western news sites to determine the volume of African on the sites. In addition, the researcher conducted a qualitative analysis of prominent African news items on all the six sites to determine the framing of African news on the sites. The researcher compared framing of African news on the Western news sites and on www.allAfrica.com. The researcher analyzed two types of content – manifest content and latent content. Babbie (2007) refers to manifest content as the "visible surface" content that is easily observable. Latent content is the underlying meaning of communication. Analysis of both types of content enabled better determination of the framing of African news by the sites.

Units of Analysis

To determine the flow of African news on the five selected Western news sites, African news featured on the "top news" and "latest news" sections of the home pages and world news pages of those sites during the study period constituted the units of analysis. To determine news framing on all the sites, African news items featured on the "top news" and "latest news" sections of the home pages, world news pages and African news pages of the sites during the study period constituted the units of analysis. For each Web site, coded content for framing analysis ranged from one to four stories every day. Previous scholarship on online news has mostly focused on home pages, but in this study, the world news pages and Africa news pages were equally important because most Western news Web sites post African news on those pages.

Procedure

The home pages, world news pages and Africa news pages of the selected sites were gathered every day between 4 p.m. and 7 p.m. U.S. Eastern Standard Time. The content was

gathered at this time so as to capture most of the updates posted on the sites throughout the day. Data obtained from the sites was classified in a coding frame developed by the researcher. To determine news flow and volume, the researcher counted African stories on the "top news" and "latest news" sections of the Western news sites and expressed their volume as a percentage of the total number of stories on those sections.

To find out news framing, the researcher examined the headline, abstract, body, hyperlinks, related links, photos, captions, audio, videos, interactive features and other multimedia aspects of each gathered story and multimedia package. For each story, the researcher coded the following variables: headline of the story, date of posting the story on the site, name of the Web site, byline, dateline, primary country of focus, secondary country of focus and presence of multimedia. For a story to be included in the study, it had to be posted on the sites during the study period. This operational definition was needed since sometimes out-of-date stories were left on the sites.

The researcher determined the prevalence of the following news frames, which have been identified in previous studies: conflict frame, economic consequence frame, human interest frame, morality frame, attribution of responsibility frame, disaster frame and progress frame. The frequency of each frame was ascertained. The study also examined the affective attributes such as tone (Chyi & McCombs, 2004) and issue attributes (primary and secondary topics) of the gathered stories. Further, the researcher gathered statistical data from the Web sites and other independent sources to determine the sizes, and where possible, geographical locations of the audiences reached by the various sites.

The researcher also conducted telephone and e-mail interviews with editors of www.allAfrica.com, www.cnn.com, www.france24.com and www.nytimes.com to get their

perspectives on their Web sites' coverage of African news. The editors talked about their Web sites' objectives, their newsgathering practices and their gatekeeping roles. The editors of www.bbc.co.uk and www.guardian.co.uk were not available for interviews.

Coding Protocol

The coding protocol defines the study in general and the coding rules applied to content in particular (Riffe, Lacy & Fico; 1998). The researcher prepared a coding protocol that set down the rules that guided the process of defining and measuring news flow on the selected Western news sites and news framing of the gathered African news items published by the six Web sites.

The coding protocol, attached herewith as Appendix A, ensured that all the gathered stories were coded in the same way throughout the study period. The protocol explained the process of determining news flow and news framing on the Web sites in this study. The protocol specified the study's conceptual and operational definitions and the ways they were applied in the study. It explained how the African news items on the Web sites were coded and how the content was analyzed. An unambiguous and complete coding protocol plays a crucial role in eliminating individual differences among coders.

Reliability and Validity

A study's reliability refers to whether or not its results can be replicated when examined by different researchers (Babbie, 2007). Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998) note that reliability measurement is crucial in content analysis. The researcher ensured intercoder reliability by presenting the coding protocol in a coherent and organized manner. Also, the researcher worked with trained coders who understood the categories and subcategories that were relevant to the study's goals.

Validity refers to a study's effectiveness in measuring what it sets out to measure (Babbie, 2007). This study placed a premium on "face validity," which examines whether a particular measure of a concept makes sense "on its face." The researcher also ensured concurrent validity by correlating the data gathered from the selected sites with the findings of previous studies on Western news media's reporting of African news.

Data Analysis

The researcher conducted a quantitative content analysis by calculating the percentage of African news out of the daily volume of foreign news prominently reported on the Western news sites during the study period. This provided an indication of the flow of African news on those Web sites. In addition, the researcher conducted a qualitative content analysis of prominent African news stories gathered from the sites. This offered an indication of the framing of African news on the Web sites. The researcher provided descriptive statistics of the gathered data.

Chapter Summary

This chapter outlines the methodology used to conduct the study. It gives information about the sample, the data gathering process, the units of analysis, the coding protocol, the content analysis process and the data analysis process. Chapter four provides the results, while chapter five discusses the study's findings and makes recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This study examined the flow and framing of African news on the Web sites of major

news organizations in three Western countries – the United States, the United Kingdom and

France. The sites are: www.bbc.co.uk, www.cnn.com, www.france24.com, www.guardian.co.uk,

and www.nytimes.com. The study also examined the framing of African news on the Web site of

an African news aggregator – www.allAfrica.com.

It determined the prevalence of the following news frames: conflict, economic

consequences, human interest, morality, attribution of responsibility, disaster and progress. The

study also examined the dominant tone and topics covered in the African news items

prominently featured on the Web sites.

The findings of this study show the volume of African news featured prominently on the

"top news" and "latest news" sections of the Western news sites and the framing of African news

on all the sites. Although the news Web sites exhibited differences in their volume and framing

of African news, similarities were also found in some areas.

News Flow on Western News Sites

A quantitative content analysis of the home pages and world news pages of five Western

news Web sites – www.bbc.co.uk, www.cnn.com, www.france24.com, www.guardian.co.uk and

www.nytimes.com – was conducted to determine the flow and volume of African news items

that were featured on the "top news" or "latest news" sections of those Web pages. The African

stories featured on these prominent sections of the news pages were counted, coded and

expressed as percentages of the total number of stories on those sections. The volume of African

news on www.allAfrica.com was not calculated because the site specializes in aggregating,

producing and distributing only African news, hence its volume of African news amounts to 100% at all times. Related stories, blogs, editorials and sports stories were not included in the study.

Two trained graduate students and two trained undergraduate students counted the stories and coded them in accordance with the guidelines provided in the coding protocol. A pretest was conducted using a week's worth of stories from the five Western news sites. The percentage of agreement between coders ranged from 88% to 100% using Holsti's formula (Holsti, 1969) for the stories on the home pages and 90% to 100% for the stories on the world news pages.

Cumulatively, African news items made up 10.7% of the news stories featured on the "top news" or "latest news" sections of the home pages and world news pages of the five Western news sites during the study period. The Western sites altogether featured 300 African news items out of a total of 2,791 coded news items, as shown by Table 1.

Table 1

Number of stories featured on the "top news" and "latest news" sections of Western sites

Web site	Home page		World news page	
	Total stories on "top news" or "latest news" section	African stories on "top news" or "latest news" section	Total stories on "top news" or "latest news" section	African stories on "top news" or "latest news" section
www.bbc.co.uk	102	19	294	39
www.cnn.com	509	8	280	40
www.france24.com	227	42	227	42
www.guardian.co.uk	272	22	269	31
www.nytimes.com	318	14	293	43
Totals	1428	105	1363	195

News Flow on Western Sites' Home Pages

Percentages of the volumes of African news items featured by each Web site – including

www.allAfrica.com – on the "top news" or "latest news" sections of its home page are shown in

Table 2.

Table 2: Percentages of African news items on all sites' home pages

Web site	Percentage of African news items on the top section of the home page
www.allAfrica.com	100%
www.bbc.co.uk	18.62%
www.cnn.com	1.57%
www.france24.com	18.50%
www.guardian.co.uk	8.08%
www.nytimes.com	4.40%

African news aggregator, www.allAfrica.com, had the highest percentage of African

news on its home page, a finding that was expected since the site only provides African news.

Among the Western news Web sites, www.bbc.co.uk had the highest percentage (18.62%) of

African news items on its home page, while www.cnn.com had the lowest (1.57%). The

differences show the percentages of African news that each site prominently placed on its home

page during the study period. The differences can be attributed to disparities in the volume of

African news offered by the sites and stylistic design differences on their home pages.

The researcher accessed the Web sites from the U.S. The Web sites of CNN and the BBC

provided the option of switching between their various editions. The BBC Web site's default

home page was tagged "international edition," but the site also had the option of a user switching

to the "UK edition." CNN's Web site's default home page was the "U.S. edition," but the site

also had the option of a user switching to the "international edition." The researcher opted for the

default home pages of both sites. The other sites in the study did not have different editions of

their home pages.

News Flow on Western Sites' World News Pages

The percentages of African news items prominently featured on the "top news" and

"latest news" sections of the world news pages of the Western news sites produced a somewhat

different pattern from the percentages reported on the home pages. France24's percentage

(18.50%) remained unchanged because the site's home page also serves as its world news page.

The world news pages of American news sites www.cnn.com (14.29%) and www.nytimes.com

(14.68%) had higher percentages of African news than those of the two British news sites (BBC

- 13.27%; *The Guardian* - 11.52%). This finding is partly attributable to differences in the

designs of the Web pages and disparities in the volume of African news offered on the world

news pages of the sites. Table 3 provides percentages of African news items on the top news

sections of the world pages of the six news Web sites.

Table 3: Percentages of African news items on Western sites' world news pages

Web site	Percentage of African news items on the "top news" or "latest news" section of the world news page
www.allAfrica.com	100%
www.bbc.co.uk	13.27%
www.cnn.com	14.29%
www.france24.com	18.50%
www.guardian.co.uk	11.52%
www.nytimes.com	14.68%

User Statistics for All Web sites

According to an editor at www.allAfrica.com, the site garnered about 25,000 unique

visits every day in April 2008 (B. Kennedy, personal communication, April 7, 2008), or 750,000

monthly unique visits. Unique visitors are the number of inferred individual people within a designated reporting timeframe, with activity consisting of one or more visits to a site. Each individual is counted only once in the unique visitor measure for the reporting period (Web Analytics Association, 2007). The site had more than 12 million monthly page views (allAfrica.com, 2008). Page views refer to the number of times a page (an analyst-definable unit of content) is viewed.

According to www.abce.org.uk (2007), the home page of www.bbc.co.uk received an average of 8,026,875 unique visits every day between March 1, 2007 and March 31, 2007 and a monthly total of 90,076,709 unique users. The global audience of www.bbc.co.uk far outstrips that of the other British news Web site, www.guardian.co.uk, which registered a total of 18,546,017 unique visits between April 1, 2008 and April 30, 2008 (Abce, 2008).

The CNN digital network, which comprises the home page of www.cnn.com and its sub-domains, generated 33.4 million unique users during the month of April 2008 (J. Martin, personal communication, May 27, 2008), according to the statistics received by CNN from Nielsen Online, an Internet media and market research firm. Additionally, the network registered 1.3 billion total minutes, the amount of time visitors spent on the site, in April 2008.

In April 2008, www.france24.com had 3,327,000 monthly unique visits (S. Leblanc, personal communication, June 9, 2008). Staff at www.nytimes.com did not provide statistics of unique visitors to the site's home page due to proprietary rights. However, www.quantcast.com, a Web site that provides audience estimates, noted June 6, 2008, that www.nytimes.com garnered 12 million monthly unique visits from U.S.-based users (Quantcast, 2008). Cyberjournalist (2008) noted that the site garnered 17,911,000 unique visitors in April 2008 and

21,340,000 unique visitors in May 2008, according to ratings firm Nielsen Online. This

represents an increase of more than three million unique users within a month.

A *New York Times* editor noted that in April 2008, its world news page registered

2,411,638 unique visits, according to the statistics it received from WebTrends, a firm that

provides Web analytics (G. Winter, personal communication, May 14, 2008). The site's Africa

news page got 706,350 unique visits, a much lower number compared to visits to the following

regions' news pages: Europe (2,370,070), The Americas (1,536,718), Asia/Pacific (4,125,951)

and Middle East (3,504,239).

According to statistics gleaned June 6, 2008 from www.alexa.com, a Web site that

computes Web traffic rankings using diverse traffic data sources, the highest percentage of

visitors to the British Web sites predictably came from the United Kingdom, while the highest

percentage of visitors to the American Web sites came from the U.S. The French Web site,

www.france24.com and the African news aggregator, www.allAfrica.com, did not follow this

trend, seeing that most of their visitors came from the U.S. (Alexa, 2008).

Only www.allAfrica.com had African countries listed among the top five geographic

locations of its visitors. Information from www.nytimes.com, the only site that provided data of

the geographic locations of its visitors, differed from the information provided by

www.alexa.com. As of June 6, 2008, www.alexa.com listed the top five geographic locations and

percentages of visitors to www.nytimes.com as: United States. (69.0%), China (3.1%), United

Kingdom (2.8%), Canada (2.8%) and India (2.8%).

However, a *New York Times* editor provided a different order of geographic locations and

percentages, according to statistics compiled by Omniture, a firm that provides Web analytics

(G. Winter, personal communication, May 14, 2008). The editor noted that the top five

geographic locations and percentages of visitors to www.nytimes.com were: United States

(75.8%), Canada (4.0%), United Kingdom (1.8%), China (1.6%) and Germany (1.6%). Table 4

shows the top five geographic locations and percentages of visitors to the six sites according to

www.alexa.com as of June 6, 2008.

At more than 90 million monthly unique visitors, www.bbc.co.uk was the most visited

site of the six news Web sites in this study. African news aggregator www.allAfrica.com, which

garnered less than a million monthly unique visitors, was the least visited site.

Table 4: Top five locations of visitors to the sites

Web site	Top five locations/ countries of visitors				
www.allAfrica.com	United States (21.8%)	South Africa (15.2%)	Nigeria (7.3%)	United Kingdom (6.4%)	Kenya (5.0%)
www.bbc.co.uk	United Kingdom (37.9%)	United States (19.9%)	India (3.1%)	Canada (2.5%)	China (2.2%)
www.cnn.com	United States (74.2%)	Canada (3.7%)	China (2.5%)	United Kingdom (1.9%)	India (1.6%)
www.france24.com	United States (19.3%)	France (15.5%)	United Kingdom (6.5%)	Germany (5.5%)	Italy (5.2%)
www.guardian.co.uk	United Kingdom (31.9%)	United States (29.4%)	India (4.1%)	Canada (2.9%)	Germany (2.7%)
www.nytimes.com	United States. (69.0%)	China (3.1%)	United Kingdom (2.8%)	Canada (2.8%)	India (2.8%)

African News Framing on All Web sites

To analyze the framing of African news items prominently featured on the six sampled

news Web sites, this study listed seven news frames identified by previous studies and analyzed

the stories for the prevalence of those frames, the dominant affective attributes, and topic or issue

attributes.

. The African news aggregator – www.allAfrica.com ($n = 97$) – and five Western news Web sites – www.bbc.co.uk ($n = 82$), www.cnn.com ($n = 44$), www.france24.com ($n = 69$), www.guardian.co.uk ($n = 35$) and www.nytimes.com ($n = 62$) – altogether prominently featured 389 African news items on their home pages, world news pages and African news pages.

Framing Variables

This study sought to determine the prevalence of the following news frames identified by previous studies: conflict frame, economic consequences frame, human-interest frame, morality frame, responsibility frame, disaster frame and progress frame. Trained coders read through the African news items included in the study and coded for the presence and absence of the above-mentioned frames in accordance with the guidelines provided in the coding protocol. The presence of the frames was determined by textual and visual content. Ten percent of the content was recoded for an intercoder reliability check. Intercoder reliability was established at between 88% and 96% across all categories, using Holsti's formula (Holsti, 1969).

The conflict frame was present in a news item if the story highlighted tension, disagreement or a clash between individuals, parties, groups and countries. Alternatively, the conflict frame was present in a story if it referred to two or more opposing sides to an issue or underscored the actions of an individual/ group versus the actions of another. It emerged as the most common frame. It was present in 81.0% of the news items analyzed in this study.

Table 5 shows the prevalence of the conflict frame in the news items analyzed from each Web site.

Table 5: Prevalence of the conflict frame

Web site	Number of stories with the conflict frame	Number of stories without the conflict frame	Total number of stories
www.allAfrica.com	77	20	97
www.bbc.co.uk	64	18	82
www.cnn.com	38	6	44
www.france24.com	60	9	69
www.guardian.co.uk	28	7	35
www.nytimes.com	48	14	62
Totals	315	74	389

The economic consequences frame was identified in a news item if the story mentioned costs and financial or economic implications of an issue or event to an individual, group or country. This frame was found in 27.2% of the stories analyzed in this study. Table 6 shows the prevalence this frame in the analyzed African news items.

Table 6: Prevalence of the economic consequences frame

Web site	Number of stories with the economic consequences frame	Number of stories without the economic consequences frame	Total number of stories
www.allAfrica.com	32	65	97
www.bbc.co.uk	21	61	82
www.cnn.com	10	34	44
www.france24.com	13	56	69
www.guardian.co.uk	8	27	35
www.nytimes.com	22	40	62
Totals	106	283	389

The human-interest frame was identified in a news item if the story provided a human example or "human face" or an emotional angle to an issue or event in an African country. Such stories often included descriptive words or images presented in such a way as to spark emotions

of visitors to the news sites. The human-interest frame was present in 20.1% of the stories

analyzed in this study. Table 7 shows its prevalence in the analyzed news items.

Table 7: Prevalence of the human-interest frame

Web site	Number of stories with the human-interest frame	Number of stories without the human-interest frame	Total number of stories
www.allafrica.com	15	82	97
www.bbc.co.uk	10	72	82
www.cnn.com	12	32	44
www.france24.com	16	53	69
www.guardian.co.uk	8	27	35
www.nytimes.com	17	45	62
Totals	78	311	389

The morality frame's presence was noted if the news item touched on values, morality

and ethical issues in an African country. This was the least common frame, seeing that it featured

only in 6.2% of the analyzed news items. Table 8 shows the prevalence of the morality frame in

the stories analyzed in the study.

Table 8: Prevalence of the morality frame

Web site	Number of stories with the morality frame	Number of stories without the morality frame	Total number of stories
www.allafrica.com	5	92	97
www.bbc.co.uk	11	71	82
www.cnn.com	4	40	44
www.france24.com	0	69	69
www.guardian.co.uk	2	33	35
www.nytimes.com	2	60	62
Totals	24	365	389

The responsibility frame was identified in a news item if it presented an issue or problem

in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving a problem in an African country

to the government, an institution, an individual or to a group. The responsibility frame was the second most common frame, present in 71.0% of the stories analyzed in this study. Table 9 shows the prevalence of the responsibility frame in the stories analyzed in the study.

Table 9: Prevalence of the attribution of responsibility frame

Web site	Number of stories with the responsibility frame	Number of stories the responsibility frame	Total number of stories
www.allafrica.com	64	33	97
www.bbc.co.uk	64	18	82
www.cnn.com	34	10	44
www.france24.com	51	18	69
www.guardian.co.uk	24	11	35
www.nytimes.com	39	23	62
Totals	276	113	389

The disaster frame was identified in a news item if the story highlighted a natural or man-made occurrence or issue that caused widespread destruction, distress and suffering to people in an African country. The disaster frame was the third most common frame in the stories analyzed in the study. It featured in 48.1% of the stories. Table 10 shows the prevalence of the disaster frame.

Table 10: Prevalence of the disaster frame

Web site	Number of stories with the disaster frame	Number of stories the disaster frame	Total number of stories
www.allafrica.com	43	54	97
www.bbc.co.uk	40	42	82
www.cnn.com	22	22	44
www.france24.com	31	38	69
www.guardian.co.uk	16	19	35
www.nytimes.com	35	27	62
Totals	187	202	389

The progress frame's presence was noted in a news item if it focused on the improvement of a situation in an African country. Examples included stories that highlighted an improvement of the economic, social, political, cultural, environmental or humanitarian situation in an African country. The progress frame featured in 21.3% of the stories analyzed in this study. Table 11 shows the prevalence of this frame.

Table 11: Prevalence of the progress frame

Web site	Number of stories with the progress frame	Number of stories the progress frame	Total number of stories
www.allafrica.com	23	74	97
www.bbc.co.uk	15	67	82
www.cnn.com	8	36	44
www.france24.com	16	53	69
www.guardian.co.uk	7	28	35
www.nytimes.com	14	48	62
Totals	83	306	389

The conflict frame was the most common frame used by the six Web sites in their presentation of African news items. It featured in 81.0% of the news items, followed by the responsibility frame (71.0%), disaster frame (48.1%), economic consequences frame (27.2%), progress frame (21.3%), human-interest frame (20.1%) and morality frame (6.2%). Most news items had more than one news frame. In such cases, the presence of each frame was coded.

The conflict frame was as common on www.allAfrica.com's stories as it was on the stories featured by the Western news Web sites. Indeed, it's instructive to note that the conflict, responsibility and disaster frames featured as prominently on www.allAfrica.com's stories as they did on the stories of the Western news Web sites. This can be attributed to the fact that the site's Western editors play a key role in deciding the news items that are given prominence on

the site. Their gatekeeping decisions are colored by their Western perspective, which is likely similar to the perspectives of the editors of the Western news sites analyzed in this study.

Also, it's worth noting that www.allAfrica.com provided a higher percentage of stories with the progress frame. This can partly be attributed to the fact that more stories were gathered from the site (n=97), and partly be ascribed to the contribution of African news sources and journalists to the site. Their contribution enables the site to complement its conflict-centered stories with news items that capture progress in Africa.

Table 12 shows the distribution of the seven coded news frames across the six Web sites in this study. The percentages show slight differences in African news framing across the sites. The American news organizations, CNN and *The New York Times,* had higher percentages of disaster-oriented framing and human-interest reporting of African news, while the British organizations, BBC and *The Guardian,* and the French outlet, France 24, had a higher percentage of stories with the attribution of responsibility frame.

Table 12: Distribution of news frames across all Web sites

Frames	Web sites and percentages of news items with the selected news frames					
	allAfrica	BBC	CNN	France24	*Guardian*	*NY Times*
Conflict	79.4	78.1	86.4	87.0	80.0	77.4
Economic consequences	33.0	25.6	22.7	18.8	22.9	35.5
Human interest	15.5	12.2	27.3	23.1	22.9	27.4
Morality	5.2	13.4	9.1	0	5.7	3.2
Attribution of responsibility	66.0	78.0	77.3	74.0	68.6	62.9
Disaster	44.3	48.8	50.0	44.9	45.7	56.5
Progress	23.7	18.3	18.2	23.2	20.0	22.6
	n = 97	n = 82	n = 44	n = 69	n = 35	n = 62

The Dominant Tone of African News on All Web sites

The study also determined whether the dominant tone or slant of the African news items posted on the Web sites was positive, negative, neutral or difficult to tell. A positive tone or slant was present in a news item if it framed an issue or event in an optimistic manner and presented it using logical, sensitive and non-inflammatory language. A negative tone or slant was identified if a story framed an issue or event in a harsh, judgmental, hostile, aggressive language, offering pessimistic or sarcastic evaluations of the topic or those involved. News items with a neutral slant or tone presented statements of fact in a non-evaluative way and didn't provide any judgment on the issue or the people involved in it. In cases where the coders felt they could not tell the tone or slant of a story, they indicated as much.

The neutral tone was the most common affective attribute across all the sites. It featured in 59.1% of the 389 coded stories, while the negative tone was present in 18.3%, the positive tone in 11.8% and it was difficult to tell the tone or slant of 10.8% of the news items analyzed in the story. There were slight differences in the percentages across the six Web sites, partly due to the uneven number of stories coded from each site, and differences in their reporting of African news during the study period. Table 13 shows the distribution of tones across the Web sites.

Table 13: The tone or slant of African news across all Web sites

Tone	Web sites and percentages of stories with selected tones						
	allAfrica	BBC	CNN	France24	*The Guardian*	*New York Times*	Total
Positive	18.6	7.3	11.4	8.7	14.3	9.7	11.8
Negative	17.5	19.5	22.7	10.1	14.3	25.8	18.3
Neutral	57.7	69.5	52.3	65.2	48.6	51.6	59.1
Difficult to tell	6.2	3.7	13.6	15.9	22.9	12.9	10.8
	n = 97	n = 82	n = 44	n = 69	n = 35	n = 62	n = 389

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Top Issues and Countries on All Web sites

The study also determined the topics or issues and African countries that received the most coverage on the six Web sites. The researcher developed the following 25 topics or issues from news categories listed on the six Web sites, and categories identified by previous studies: agriculture, arts, conflict, crime, culture, economic issues, education, environment, foreign relations, gender issues, health, human rights, humanitarian issues, media, military affairs, natural disaster, natural resources, peacekeeping, politics, religion, science, social relations, sports, technology, and tourism or travel. Coders identified the primary and secondary topics of the 389 stories analyzed in the study. Of the top 10 primary topics or issues covered by the Web sites, politics received the most coverage. It was the primary topic in 43.2% of the analyzed stories. Of the top 10 secondary topics, conflict received the most coverage (36.4%). Table 14 provides the percentages of stories that focused on the top 10 primary and secondary issues coded in the study.

A list of 54 African nations and territories was used to determine the African countries that received the most coverage on the Web sites. The list was developed using the membership of the African Union, a continental organization consisting of 53 African nations. The organization covers the entire African continent except Morocco, which is not a member of the union because it opposes the membership of Western Sahara as the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic. Morocco was included in the study anyway because it is an African country, hence the 54 countries.

Coders identified the primary and secondary countries covered by the stories analyzed in the study. The primary country was the main African country covered in the story, while the secondary country, where applicable, was a second African country mentioned in stories that

touched on more than one country. Of the top 10 primary countries covered by the six Web sites, Zimbabwe received the most coverage. It was the primary country of focus in 22.4% of the analyzed stories. Of the top 10 secondary countries, Chad received the most coverage (19.0%). Table 14 provides the percentages of stories garnered by the 10 primary and secondary countries covered by the Web sites.

The percentages of stories that focused on the top 10 most-covered issues and countries were not substantially different across the six Web sites.

Table 14: The top issues and countries covered by all Web sites

	Top 10 primary issues	Top 10 secondary issues	Top 10 primary countries	Top 10 secondary countries
1.	Politics (43.2%)	Conflict (36.4%)	Zimbabwe (22.4%)	Chad (19.0%)
2.	Conflict (18.0%)	Politics (19.4%)	Kenya (20.4%)	Kenya (15.5%)
3.	Crime (10.8%)	Foreign relations (8.7%)	Sudan (9.0%)	Sudan (13.8%)
4.	Economic issues (7.7%)	Humanitarian issues (8.1%)	Somalia (8.0%)	South Africa (13.8%)
5.	Humanitarian issues (3.1%)	Peacekeeping (5.1%)	Uganda (5.2%)	Rwanda (6.9%)
6.	Human rights (2.8%)	Economic issues (4.8%)	Nigeria (4.4%)	Zimbabwe (3.4%)
7.	Natural disaster (2.6%)	Crime (4.2%)	South Africa (3.9%)	Cameroon (3.4%)
8.	Military affairs (2.6%)	Social relations (3.9%)	Chad (3.4%)	Liberia (3.4%)
9.	Foreign relations (2.6%)	Military affairs (2.7%)	Morocco (3.1%)	Zambia (3.4%)
10.	Peacekeeping (1.8%)	Human rights (2.1%)	Liberia (2.6%)	Malawi (2.1%)

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study examined the flow and framing of African news on six news Web sites. It used scholarship on news flow and framing theory to examine the volume of African news on five Western news sites – www.bbc.co.uk, www.cnn.com, www.france24.com, www.guardian.co.uk and www.nytimes.com – and the framing of African news on the Western news sites and an African news aggregator – www.allAfrica.com.

The study determined that, cumulatively, African news items make up slightly more than 10 percent of prominently featured news reports on the home pages and world news pages of the Western sites. The study also found that most African news items featured on the six Web sites focused on political or social conflict, crises, and the affected countries or regions. The study determined that African news framing by the Western news sites was not significantly different from news framing by the African news aggregator.

Research Question #1

RQ1: What is the volume and flow of African news on the selected Western news sites?

This study showed that African news items comprise a small percentage (10.7%) of the total news prominently featured on the home pages and world news pages of the Western news sites. The British and French Web sites had more African news featured on their home pages than the American news sites. The American news sites highlighted more U.S.-related news and features on their home pages. The volume of African news on the world news pages of all the Western news sites was more or less the same. Of the five Western sites, only www.guardian.co.uk did not have a specific Web page for African news. The study found that all the sites updated their African news pages regularly – daily, sometimes several times a day.

However, the study also found that the sites often kept old stories on their African news pages for a couple days, mainly to fill space whenever they did not have much news from Africa.

The presence of African news pages on four Western news sites in this study supports the assertion by Wu (2006) that thanks to the Internet, the excuse of limited space in newspapers or broadcast media – the most common reason of unbalanced international news flow in the past – does not exist any more, thus offering more space for news media to report stories about countries that were rarely caught on the radar screen of conventional outlets. Unlike traditional media, which don't have the luxury of allocating specific pages or airtime exclusively for African news items, Western news Web sites have unlimited space for African news items.

However, even on the Web sites, African news items are only given prominence when they focus on clashes, conflict or crises. The few African news items that don't necessarily focus on conflict or crises are hidden on the African news Web pages, which don't attract as much user traffic as the home pages and world news pages of the Western sites. The cumulative percentage (10.7%) of African news items prominently featured on the home pages and world news pages of the Western news sites seems puny when one considers that Africa's population accounts for 14.3% of the world population (Internet World Stats, 2008). Wu (2003) notes that trade, population, news agencies and geographic proximity emerge as conducive factors to transnational news flow. Africa's population should secure for the continent more coverage on Western news Web sites, but it does not.

The small volume of African news on the home pages and world news pages of the Western sites supports previous studies (Allen, 2005; Alozie, 2006; Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Gerbner & Marvanyi; 1977; Giffard, 1989; Golan, 2008; Larson, 1979;

Peterson, 1980; Wu, 1998) on news flow, which found that Western news media underreport

developing countries in comparison with the rest of the world.

Inadequate coverage of African news precludes the Western news sites from providing a

comprehensive and inclusive picture of the continent to visitors to their sites who may only look

at their home pages and world news pages. The existence of African news Web pages on some of

the Western news sites is only a baby step toward improving the flow of news from Africa. The

Western news sites can further ameliorate the situation by featuring more African news items on

their home pages, the entry points to their sites, and their world news pages, which boast higher

audience traffic than the African news pages.

From the foregoing, it is safe to argue that the balanced news flow that developing

countries demanded during the NWICO debates remains a pipe dream. This study bears out

McPhail's (2006) contention that the balance for which developing countries have yearned over

the years may not be attainable after all because international news flow is inherently

unbalanced. The mere existence of the Internet, which has democratized the global flow of

information, doesn't guarantee a balanced flow of news from developing countries to the rest of

the world.

Global mass media work in an environment in which certain factors dominate the

gatekeeping process, which virtually guarantees that certain news and regions will be covered

extensively whereas other news and regions will be almost ignored (McPhail, 2006). McPhail

suggests that Western gatekeeping ensures that "negative" news on events such as coups and

earthquakes in developing countries receive a lot of coverage while "positive" news items do not

see the light of day. McPhail adds that logistical factors such as economic connectedness,

cultural affinity, such as being a former colony, speaking the English language, or regionalism,

play a role in determining the amount of coverage accorded to a developing country by Western

media outlets.

According to McPhail, news from developing nations only reaches the front pages or

television sets (and Web sites) of major industrialized core nations when it is bad news (McPhail,

2006). This study found that news items about clashes, conflict, and crises in such countries as

Zimbabwe, Kenya, Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and Chad, hogged most of the space on the Western

news sites' home pages and world news pages. The sites mostly focused on these six countries

out of Africa's 54 countries and territories, with stories that McPhail would characterize as "bad

news."

It appears that the Web has merely offered Western news organizations an avenue to

provide more of the same "bad" African news and images that have earned them the censure of

African countries over the years. Their reporting of African news portrays the continent as a

crisis-ridden place typified by conflicts, clashes and suffering. This brand of reporting not only

provides Western audiences with an incomplete picture of Africa, a diverse land humming with a

vast array of economic, cultural and social activities, but also stymies the continent's efforts to

bolster its image internationally and fruitfully engage with the rest of the world on economic,

social, academic, and cultural endeavors.

<div align="center">Research Question #2</div>

RQ2: What are the statistics and geographic locations of visitors to all the Web sites?

This study found that most of the visitors to all the six Web sites are located in Western

countries. With more than 90 million monthly unique visitors (March 2007 figure), the BBC

boasts the largest audience, thanks to its preeminent role as a global news organization. CNN,

which garners more than 30 million monthly unique visits, leads the pack of American news

organizations' Web sites with the greatest reach. And with more than three million monthly unique visits, France24's Web site has the least reach of the Western Web sites examined in this study. However, it's worth noting that France24 is a relatively new media outfit that has been in existence for less than two years. This may be one of the factors behind its smaller audience.

With regard to consumers of African news on these sites, this study only obtained the statistics of the visitors to the African news page of the *New York Times* Web site. The statistics showed that the African news page of the site received fewer visitors than the other foreign news pages (G. Winter, personal communication, May 14, 2008). The site's Africa news page got 706,350 unique visits in April 2008, a much lower number compared to visits to the following regions' Web pages: Europe (2,370,070), The Americas (1,536,718), Asia/Pacific (4,125,951) and Middle East (3,504,239). The low number of visitors to the African news page on www.nytimes.com shows that the site's audience has less interest in African news. Unlike the *New York Times* Web site, the other Western news sites in this study could not provide the statistics of visitors to their African news pages because they don't track it.

Thanks to improved technology, it is also possible to determine the geographic locations of the visitors to the news Web sites. This study found out that the Web sites of American and British news organizations get more visitors from the U.S. and the U.K. respectively, a finding that was expected. The U.S. also produces the highest number of unique visitors to www.allAfrica.com and www.france24.com. This can be attributed to the African and French diasporic communities in the U.S., and the country's high number of Internet users. According to Internet World Stats (2008), 71.4% of the U.S. population has access to the Internet.

Also, the Western news sites have many unique visitors from India and China, a finding that can be ascribed to the two countries' high number of Internet users. China has more than 200

million Internet users, or 41.1 % of Internet users in Asia, while India has 60 million users, or 13.0% of Internet users in Asia (Internet World Stats, 2008). Asia accounts for the highest number of the world's Internet users (37.6%). Europe has 27.1 %, North America 17.5 %, Latin America/Caribbean 9.8 %, Africa 3.6 %, Middle East 3.0 % and Oceania/Australia 1.4 %. Only www.allAfrica.com has African countries among the top five geographic locations of its unique visitors. As an exclusive African news site, it would naturally appeal more to an African-based audience.

These statistics provide an indication of the numbers of people who are likely to read, watch or listen to African news on the Web sites examined in this study. This information expands the scholarship on news flow and framing, because many previous studies have not included information about the audiences of the news outlets that they have examined.

Research Question #3

RQ3: What is the framing of African news on all the Web sites?

This study investigated the presence of seven news frames identified by previous studies: conflict, economic consequences, human-interest, morality, attribution of responsibility, disaster, and progress frames. The conflict frame, the classic news frame, emerged as the commonest, occurring in 81.2% of the news items analyzed in this study. This frame was present in a news item if the story highlighted tension, disagreement or a clash between individuals, parties, groups and countries. Alternatively, the conflict frame was present in a story if it referred to two or more opposing sides to an issue or underscored the actions of an individual/ group versus the actions of another. It featured in 81.0% of the news items, followed by the responsibility frame (71.0%), disaster frame (48.1%), economic consequences frame (27.2%), progress frame (21.3%), human-interest frame (20.1%) and morality frame (6.2%).

The conflict frame was often accompanied with the attribution of responsibility frame, as the Web sites held individuals, institutions and groups responsible for various instances of social or political conflict. For instance, in their coverage of political violence in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Sudan, the sites mainly heaped blame on the governments of the three countries for instigating or triggering conflict. The disaster frame also emerged strongly in 48.1% of the analyzed news items, especially in the sites' coverage of such man-made disasters as massive displacements and scarcity of food, which were caused by political crises and conflicts in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Sudan, Chad, Uganda and Somalia. Such natural disasters as famine in parts of Somalia and floods in Mozambique were also covered prominently. The economic consequences frame, featured in 27.2% of the analyzed stories, mainly arose when the Web sites highlighted the economic difficulties of people in the aforesaid countries or neighboring nations as a result of political conflict and disasters. They particularly focused on economic woes triggered by political crises in Zimbabwe and Kenya.

The prominence of the conflict frame is consistent with the finding of many previous studies on Western news media's coverage of Africa (Charles, Shore & Todd, 1979; Hatchen & Scotton, 2007; Lent, 1977; Peterson, 1980; Roser & Brown, 1986). Although these studies did not use news frames to analyze Western media coverage of Africa, they noted that most Western media's coverage of Africa is crisis-oriented and focuses more on conflict and violence. The prominence of the disaster frame also supports many previous studies' contention that Western media coverage of Africa focuses a lot on disasters (Aggarwalla, 1977; Alozie, 2006; Golding & Elliot, 1974; Golan, 2008; Hachten & Beil, 1985; Hawk, 1992; Marthoz, 2007; Onyedike, 2000; Sung & Jang, 2003). The Web sites' inordinate focus on political and ethnic conflicts and exclusion of non-crisis news strongly support the contentions of previous studies on this issue,

and show that Western media coverage of Africa hasn't changed over the years. Not only does the if-it-bleeds-it-leads mantra hold true in Western media's coverage of Africa, it seems to be the overriding factor.

Moeller (1999) notes that it is difficult to find news in the American media about sub-Saharan Africa unless the United States is involved or something horrific has happened. "It isn't called the 'Dark Continent' for nothing" (p. 22). Hitchens (1994) contends that nearly all reporting on Africa is a pastiche of Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop* and Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, books that negatively cast Africa as a dark and dangerous jungle rife with conflict and suffering. The predominance of the conflict and disaster frames on the selected news Web sites reporting on Africa provides more of the same gloomy images of the continent.

The dominance of the conflict and disaster frames bolsters Mwenda's (2007) argument that the Western media are not telling the whole truth about Africa. Mwenda posits that despair, civil war, hunger and famine are part and parcel of the African reality, but they are not the only reality. Mwenda considers these issues the smallest reality of life in Africa. He notes that the Western media only focus on the African countries that are in the grip of conflict and ignore the rest. The findings of this study support Mwenda's contention.

Marthoz (2007) says the accent placed on "negative events" is regularly condemned by analysts from developing countries, who point a finger at the latent racism that allegedly pervades Western news desks. Marthoz argues that in their coverage of Africa, the Western media often look for a storyline and such labels as "ethnic war" and "ancestral traditions," onto which individual or complex elements can be grafted. This was true in the sites' coverage of a political crisis in Kenya following the country's flawed presidential elections in December 2007. The political crisis, which came to a head during the course of this study, was marked with

ethnic killings of tens of people and displacement of thousands. Although the crisis was mainly

caused by institutional failures in the country's electoral commission, which bungled the

elections, many Western news stories about the crisis focused on ethnic strife, which was only a

small part of the larger story of flawed elections in Africa.

The findings of this study show that the Internet may have increased the volume of

African news on Western news outlets, but it has not changed Africa's image as a "dark

continent" that needs help in Western eyes (Hawk, 1992). The Western media portray it as a sad

continent laid waste by conflict, famine, disease and ill-luck. Hunter-Gault (2006) pans the

Western media's fixation on what she calls the four D's of the African apocalypse — death,

disaster, disease, and despair. Noting that *The Economist* magazine not long ago called Africa

"The Hopeless Continent," Hunter-Gault presents another perspective — that of an American

journalist who has shifted her home base to Africa. She challenges facile assumptions that Africa

is a dark, hopeless continent, and notes that Africa has new realities often ignored by the Western

media. She says the continent has made several strides that hold out the promise of the most

dramatic development in Africa since the end of colonial rule beginning some 40 years ago.

Magombe (2006) says the stereotyping and misrepresentation of non-Western societies

and peoples by contemporary Western media is but an unpleasant tradition whose roots cannot

be easily de-linked from the dark and disgraceful history of colonialism. The Western media's

gloomy portrayal of Africa is linked to the dark experiences of colonialism and slavery, in which

Africans suffered at the hands of Western brutality and exploitation.

Media framing of issues and events affect the way individual readers and listeners

interpret the news. Conflict- and crisis-driven framing of African news perpetuates among

Western audiences stereotypical notions about Africa. This denies Africa vital investment from

people who may be interested in doing business on the continent or foreign exchange from some people who may wish to visit the continent. Consequently, the dominance of conflict- and crisis-driven news frames precludes the continent from achieving its full economic, social, cultural and political potential.

However, as this study shows, the conflict frame was not limited to the Western news sites. Africa news aggregator, www.allAfrica.com had the conflict frame on 67.0% of the stories that it posted prominently on the site. This shows that even African news sources give prominence to stories with the conflict frame. This finding can also be partly attributed to the gatekeeping function of the site's Western editors. Their gatekeeping decisions are colored by their Western perspectives, which consider social conflict to be a major news value. However, www.allAfrica.com leavened its mix of conflict-centered stories with a high percentage of stories with the progress frame. The progress frame was present in 23.7% of the site's stories. The site offered stories that touched on "the other side" of Africa. They included stories that focused on economic development in various African countries, falling HIV/Aids prevalence rates, infrastructural development, and other forms of socio-economic progress in various countries.

These progress-centered stories were mostly provided by African journalists. Unlike most of their Western counterparts, African journalists report not only on conflict on the continent, but also on socio-economic development, progress and improvement on the continent. The heavy contribution of local African journalists enables www.allAfrica.com to provide a more balanced portrayal of the continent through its mix of development or progress-related stories and conflict- or disaster-related stories. The site plays a key role in attempting to redress the imbalance in the flow and framing of African news on the Web and fills the void left by Western sites.

This study shows that African journalists have a crucial role in plugging the content gaps left by Western journalists in their framing of African news. Thanks to the Internet, African journalists can present a comprehensive picture of the continent to the rest of the world by contributing both "negative" and "positive" news reports to various African, Western and non-Western news Web sites. Currently, "positive" news from Africa is drowned out on the Web by the avalanche of "negative" news purveyed by the Western media. Hunter-Gault (2006) calls for a "renaissance" in both Western and non-Western media coverage of the continent – balanced and comprehensive reporting of African news. She notes that however hobbled the work of African journalists may be now, they are an integral part of this "renaissance."

Also, bloggers and Internet users from Africa can bolster balanced framing of African news through their blogs and posts to such popular social networking and media sharing sites as Facebook and YouTube. The Internet has placed more powers in the hands of audiences, giving users the means to challenge the traditional role of editors as gatekeepers of news and information. Trammell and Perlmutter (2007) note that bloggers guard the guardians: they are an army of fact questioners, a vocation now moribund in many major media. Trammell and Perlmutter note that bloggers are a diverse group – with many languages, backgrounds and interests. They are very likely to catch blunders, misquotes, and goofs that the monocultural journalist might not.

African bloggers can fill the void left by Western journalists and give the global public a more balanced picture of the continent by covering both its struggles and achievements. However, their influence is currently hamstrung by the low numbers of Internet users on the African continent. According to Internet World Stats (2008), only 5.3% of the African population has access to the Internet. Africa accounts for only 3.6% of the world's Internet users.

This number is likely to increase as Internet penetration improves on the continent. Meanwhile, Western news reports and images of Africa hold sway online.

<center>Research Question #4</center>

RQ4: What topics and countries received the most coverage in the African news items on the Web sites?

Such topics as politics, conflict, crime, humanitarian issues, human rights and peacekeeping, which were invariably linked to conflicts and crises, received the most coverage on the Web sites. And of the top 10 primary countries covered by the six Web sites, Zimbabwe and Kenya, which were in the throes of strife during the study, got the most coverage. Zimbabwe was the primary country of focus in 22.4% of the analyzed stories, while Kenya was the focus in 20.4% of the stories. Of Africa's 54 countries, the strife-torn ones, their neighbors, or those recovering from conflict received the most news coverage.

The findings of this study lend credence to the assertions that Western news coverage of Africa neglects social and economic development on the continent. They reinforce the argument that the Western news media cover politics, conflicts and crises in Africa more than anything else. In an analysis of selected issues of *Time* magazine's news and related coverage of Africa between 1979 and 1986, Alozie (2006) found that African reports were accentuated by political events. The magazine had no account of sports, arts and entertainment. "Various economic and social projects, such as irrigation, mineral exploration, housing, medicine, and manufacturing going on in Africa were not reported; rather, economic news emphasized the famine in Sudan and Ethiopia" (Alozie, 2006, p. 23).

Although politics receives the most coverage in the mainstream media the world over, this study found that African political events that are linked to crises or conflicts get more play,

while ordinary political events are ignored. For instance, most elections-related news items analyzed in the study focused on Zimbabwe and Kenya, whose elections were either marred with violence or resulted in conflict. Botswana, which experienced a smooth transfer of power during the study period, did not receive much play. Also, news items with the economic consequences frame often focused on the economic consequences of a crisis or conflict. Although the World Bank (The World Bank, 2008) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF, 2008) released reports that showed impressive recent economic growth in a number of African countries, such news did not feature on the Western news Web sites. In contrast, news aggregator www.allAfrica.com had a few stories that highlighted economic progress in some African countries.

Ghanem (1997) notes that the public's perceptions about issues and news subjects are shaped by media coverage of those issues or subjects. The issues that are prominent in the press frequently become prominent among the public and government officials (McCombs, 2005). The more coverage an issue or an African country gets in the Western media, the more important it seems to the audience. McCombs (2005) notes that the agenda-setting role of the press is "the inadvertent outcome of the necessity of the news media, with their limited capacity, to select a few topics for attention each day" (p. 156).

Visitors to the Western sites in this study would mainly associate Africa with conflicts and crises because those issues receive the most coverage. The focus on political conflict and crises chime with the findings of Horvit (2003), who did a comparison of international news in 10 U.S. daily newspapers with circulations under 250,000 and found that most of the international news concerned combat and political violence. One can therefore conclude that Western media outlets have not used the limitless space afforded by the Internet to diversify their

coverage of African news. They provide more of the same content by giving more play to conflicts and disasters on the continent.

Aside from the "if-it-bleeds-it-leads" factor, the Western media's foreign news coverage is also determined by such historical ties as colonial connections (Wu, 1998). This study confirms this as evidenced by the news coverage trends and patterns of the two British Web sites, www.bbc.co.uk and www.guardian.co.uk, and the French news site, www.france24.com. The U.K. and France have deep colonial connections in Africa. The British sites provided more coverage to their former colonies such as Kenya, Sudan and Zimbabwe, but not as much coverage to former French colonies such as Algeria, Chad, Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritius and Mauritania, which were duly covered by www.france24.com.

The economic and political interests of their home countries also came into play in the Western sites' coverage of Africa. The BBC focused a lot on the plight of white farmers affected by a land dispossession campaign spearheaded by Zimbabwe's president, Robert Mugabe. It also focused on the economic effects of political violence in Kenya and its adverse effects on the trade between Kenya and the U.K. France24.com gave prominence to the fate of French citizens in Chad during an uprising in the country. Also, the site immensely focused on a luxury yacht carrying French tourists, which was hijacked in Somalia, among other stories that involved French citizens in Africa.

The American media outlets, CNN.com and NYTimes.com, gave prominence to events that concerned America. For instance, in their coverage of political violence in Kenya, the two Web sites underscored Kenya's strategic importance to America's anti-terrorism efforts in the Horn of Africa. Also, when an American diplomat was killed in Sudan, both sites gave the story a lot of focus. The same prominence was accorded to stories on President George Bush's visit of

five African nations in February 2008. This style of covering international news is an attempt by

Western media outlets to bring closer to their audiences events unfolding in far away lands.

Unfortunately, in their efforts to do so, their emphasis on conflicts and crises in Africa ends up

reinforcing stereotypes because they lack the time and space to address issues comprehensively.

Research Question #5

RQ5: What was the dominant tone of African news on all the Web sites?

This study found that although many of the analyzed news items had conflict and disaster

frames, which previous studies have characterized as "negative" news, they were presented as

statements of fact in a non-evaluative way and didn't provide judgment. Hence, according to this

study's operational definition of the tone variable, most news items had a neutral tone, which

featured in 59.3% of the stories. The negative tone was present in 18.3%, the positive tone in

11.6% and it was difficult to tell the tone or slant of 10.8% of the news items analyzed in the

study. The dominance of the neutral tone demonstrates good reporting that is devoid of

judgmental and evaluative language. It could also be attributed to the fact that the study did not

analyze the opinion pieces and editorials that were posted on the sites about events and issues in

Africa.

According to agenda-setting studies (Tedesco, 2001; Kiousis, Bantimaroudis & Ban,

1999), the media not only tell the public what to think about, but also how to think about it.

These studies suggest that the attributes linked to news subjects by the media influence the

attributes that members of the public link to those subjects. The tone of a news item is an

important affective attribute in media framing and agenda setting because it influences audience

members to think a certain way about a particular issue.

Although this study made a distinction between news topics (issues) and the manner of reporting (tone), it's worth noting that tone and news topic are closely linked. A story with a neutral tone and a topic that is considered negative may still be viewed by some scholars and audiences as a "negative" news item. It's also important to note that this study found a high number of stories (18.3%) with the negative tone. The more negative news stories a nation receives, the more negatively it would be viewed by the public, and vise versa.

Other Findings

Bylines

The study also sought to find out whether the African news content on the Web sites was prepared by the sites' staff writers or reporters, news agencies or a combination of the sites' own staff and news agencies. The study found that majority of the stories were credited to the sites' own staff, although there was heavy reliance on news agencies, which have traditionally played a key role in the gathering and distribution of international news. The *New York Times* Web site had the highest percentage (80.6%) of stories done by its own staff based in Africa. This demonstrates the site's commitment to covering news from the continent.

The BBC Web site did not have bylines in most of its stories (53.7%). On some of its stories, the site quoted its own reporters and correspondents in different parts of Africa instead of conventionally indicating their bylines at the beginning of stories. This is a distinct stylistic difference between the BBC and the other Web sites. France24.com mostly used stories from news agencies, while allAfrica.com mainly published stories from its content providers. *The Guardian's* Web site mostly used stories jointly done by its staff and news agencies.

The importance of news agencies in the production and distribution of international news has been heightened by many Western news organizations' cut backs on foreign bureaus and

international news gathering. Livingstone (2007) bemoans this trend and argues that American

news organizations need to reopen foreign bureaus and reinvest in a cadre of foreign

correspondents who are trained in the languages, politics and culture of the places they cover.

This is unlikely to happen in the near future due to the tough times facing most news

organizations, but if it does, coverage of African news is likely to improve.

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Datelines

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The study found that most of the stories (55.8%) were done from within Africa, 38.0%

had no datelines, and 6.2% had non-African datelines. African news aggregator,

www.allAfrica.com had the most stories done from Africa, largely because most of its stories are

sourced from African news organizations and journalists. Of the Western sites, the *New York

Times* had the highest percentage of stories with African datelines (85.5%), which further

demonstrates the site's commitment to covering African stories from within the continent.

Although the BBC also has a large number of Africa-based journalists covering the continent

from within, most of its stories on the Web did not have datelines, hence making it difficult to

determine their writers and their locations. This is yet another stylistic difference between the

BBC Web site and the rest.

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Multimedia

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Regarding the use of multimedia, the study found that most (72.4%) news items were

simply text stories without any multimedia. The use of video was most common on the Web sites

of France24, BBC and CNN respectively, which are primarily broadcast outlets. The relatively

low use of multimedia in the coverage of African news on the sites could either be due to the

Web sites' lack of resources to produce multimedia packages on Africa or a sign of low regard

for stories from the continent. In addition, it shows that the sites are yet to fully tap the Internet's limitless newshole, which provides immense room for multimedia content.

Interviews with Editors

This study also included phone and e-mail interviews with editors of four of the selected sites. Editors from the two British news organizations, www.bbc.co.uk and www.guardian.co.uk were not available for interviews regarding their sites' coverage of African news.

www.allAfrica.com

An editor at www.allAfrica.com said the site has contracts with African newspapers and content providers with whom it shares advertising revenue from the site (B. Kennedy, personal communication, April 7, 2008). He said almost all of the site's reporting comes directly from news providers on the continent. The site also has a small reporting staff. The editor said the site, which seeks to be the site of record for Africa, partners with news providers that are professional and provide quality reporting. He said content providers go through a great deal of scrutiny before securing a contract with the site. Once the site signs up providers, it puts up all of their news items online. The site's editors do not edit or censor the stories from their sources. The site's editors update its home page two times per day. Its staff based in Cape Town, South Africa, updates it early in the morning, and the Washington, D.C. staff early afternoon. News flow also determines the frequency of updates. The site has a staff of five, and everyone plays a role in updating its home page. Three staff members are based in Cape Town, and two in Washington, D.C.

www.cnn.com

A CNN editor explained that in the site's coverage of African news, as with news from other regions, its editors identify stories that resonate across the world and explain why events in

one country will have an impact on others (N. Wrenn, personal communication, April 29, 2008).

He noted that the site receives more visitors from Europe, Asia and North America, but CNN has

a strong pick-up of its mobile service in Africa, hence making African stories very important to

them.

He noted that the Web site is updated any time the editors receive a relevant update on an

existing story or a new story. CNN's editors work across all of the sections of the Web site. They

are based in London, Hong Kong, and Atlanta. The site's team also includes TV reporters and

TV producers who supply content and also work on the Web site. The editor noted that CNN

prepares its own stories whenever possible, sourced by CNN staff and affiliates, but also uses

stories from the Associated Press news agency. The editor explained that the site mixes

"heavyweight geo-political issues like Darfur, Kenya and Zimbabwe" with lighter stories and

lifestyle stories, including those reflected in the TV network's weekly TV show, "Inside Africa,"

which focuses on African news and issues.

The editor said most of the African stories on the CNN Web site are covered on TV as

well, sometimes with video and a script, sometimes with packaged reports from CNN

correspondents and sometimes with guest interviews. He said as much relevant content from TV

is digitized for CNN's online video service. He also said sometimes CNN gives more play to

African stories on the Web than on TV, usually when the issue is strong but they don't have

pictures to use. CNN is trying to use the Web to reflect longer pieces that it doesn't have time to

run on TV, like interviews in full and behind-the-scenes background stories. The editor also

noted that CNN is committed to promoting the best of journalism from within Africa. The CNN

African Journalist of the Year award is now in its 13th year and draws thousands of entries from

many countries across the continent, reflecting terrific diversity in language and journalistic

disciplines, the editor said.

www.france24.com

France 24 offers a French perspective on world events. It was launched in December

2006. The editor-in-chief of France24's Web site said the outlet primarily uses text stories from

such news agencies as Agence France-Press, whose content is complemented with reports from

the site's correspondents based in various parts of Africa (D. Thomson, personal communication,

April 7, 2008). The editor said France24 is primarily a video (TV) medium, so most of its news

products are video news, necessitating its heavy reliance on news agencies for text stories for its

Web site. All the video news content that is posted on the site is also broadcast on France24 TV.

The site's journalists update it twice a day – 7 a.m. and 3 p.m. Their busiest time is

between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m., during which they conduct major updates on the site. The editor said

the site receives a lot of traffic through the search engine Google, but he did not have the

statistics. He also said the site puts a premium on audience-generated content. It provides a

forum dubbed "Observers" through which its users (non-journalists) contribute comments or

blog on the big stories occurring in their countries or regions. They also contribute such

multimedia content as pictures and video.

The bloggers are identified by the site's editors. Also, whenever a big story unfolds in

Africa – and elsewhere – for a number of days, the site's journalists and editors prepare special

multimedia packages that focus on the ongoing story and prominently promote the packages on

the site's home page under a special banner. For instance, during the study period, the site

prepared such packages on political crises in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Comoros Island. The site

also allows its users to react to stories by posting comments to stories online.

www.nytimes.com

The Africa editor of the *New York Times* explained that the site primarily publishes African news items from its own multimedia reporters based in South Africa, Senegal, Kenya and Egypt, who cover their respective regions of the continent (G. Winter, personal communication, May 14, 2008). The site also sources stories from news agencies. The Web site's African news page is constantly updated by a New York-based six-member team that edits and rewrites foreign news as new content becomes available throughout a 24-hour news cycle.

The editor said most stories are updated several times a day, thus producing various versions of a story throughout the day. The editor said the *New York Times* has specific people who manually update the site's home page, world news page and regional news pages. The home page is usually updated first, followed by the world news page and the regional news pages respectively. The editor said the site is deeply committed to providing foreign news, including African news.

The editor said the kinds of African news items featured on the *New York Times* Web site are determined by the size of the African country involved in the news item, the issue or topic, the number of people affected by the issue and the role of the country in its sub-region or on the entire African continent. Stories on events and issues that affect many people or more than one country get more play on the site. During the study period, examples included the difficult political and economic environment in Zimbabwe, the political instability that beset Kenya, the humanitarian crisis in Darfur and the instability in Somalia.

The site's Africa-based correspondents regularly discuss with their New York-based editors the stories they cover on the continent to agree on angles and the stories' contents. The editor said this ensures better investment of the correspondents' time and resources. Virtually all

of the stories written by the site's correspondents are posted on the site. Some of the stories make it to the *New York Times* print edition, others don't, mostly due to lack of space.

Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the flow and framing of African news on six news Web sites. It offered information and analysis regarding news flow, gatekeeping, news framing, topic or issue agenda setting, tone of African news, editors' perspectives on their sites' coverage of African news, and other journalistic aspects of African news coverage by the selected Web sites. The cumulative volume of African news on all the Western news sites was 10.7%, a finding that is consistent with the thesis of previous studies (Alozie, 2006; Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Gerbner & Marvanyi; 1977; Giffard, 1989; Larson, 1979; Peterson, 1980; Wu, 1998) on news flow, which contend that Western news media underreport underdeveloped and developing countries in comparison with the rest of the world.

The advent of the Web has led to the introduction of African news pages on some Western news sites, but on their home pages and world news Web pages, the volume of African news still remains low. Also, the Web sites' mainly feature conflict- or crisis-related stories from Africa, another finding that is consistent with the contention of many previous studies that most of the Western media's coverage of Africa is crisis-oriented and focuses more on conflict and violence. Western news sites are essentially offering more of the same content that has become the hallmark of Western news media's coverage of Africa for decades.

The infinite space and ubiquity offered by the Web provides an opportunity for Western news media organizations to provide comprehensive coverage of such regions of the world as Africa. Unfortunately, the findings of this study show that Western news organizations' reporting of African news remains incomplete and unbalanced. African news items by Western news

media are still colored by conflicts and crises, which are only a small part of the African reality.

It would be futile to revive the debates that raged in the 1970s over this issue because the earlier

debates did not achieve much. The gap in Western news media's reporting of Africa can be

plugged by African journalists and media users. The Web offers them a global platform to do so.

Presenting a comprehensive picture of Africa to the rest of the world has never been easier.

Africans have to rise to the occasion and offer the news that the Western media will not.

Limitations

While this study offered valuable information on the flow and framing of African news

by Western news Web sites, there were some limitations. This study limited itself to the selected

Web sites, hence its findings cannot be generalized to all Western news sites. Also, the flow and

framing of African news on traditional print and broadcast media of the same Western news

organizations may have yielded different results, especially with regard to the flow of African

news. The six Web sites whose news frames were analyzed in this study were uneven, with

www.allAfrica.com making up the most stories (n = 97), followed by the following in

descending order: www.bbc.co.uk ($n = 82$), www.france24.com ($n = 69$), www.nytimes.com ($n = 62$), www.cnn.com ($n = 44$), and www.guardian.co.uk ($n = 35$). As such, this may have

affected results.

The study's use of the content analysis methodology limited its frame of reference to the

African news items featured on the selected Web sites. Also, the study only concerned itself with

five major Western news sites and seven news frames, thus limiting its ability to assess the

cumulative flow and framing of African news on Western new sites in general. Only when

research attention has been directed to as many Western news sites as possible, mainstream and

alternative, and as many news frames as possible will we begin to develop a clearer

understanding of how Western news Web sites cover the vast continent and frame African news to their audiences.

In addition, since frame analysis is flexible, open-ended and subject to individual interpretation, the researcher's interpretation cannot be generalized. Additionally, framing theory and frame analysis cannot address the absence or presence of effects; hence the study was not able to determine the effects of the Western news sites' framing of African news. The study could not explain how audiences of the selected Web sites decoded and interpreted the framing of the African news items on the sites. Finally, although the researcher made conscious attempts to reduce bias, the Web sites, the topics examined in this study, and the news frames were at his discretion, hence creating some room for bias.

Future Research

The results of this study offer various opportunities for future research. Future studies should compare the flow and framing of African news on Western news sites and traditional Western news outlets. In addition, future research should examine how the flow and framing of African news on Western media outlets compares with the flow and framing of news from other parts of the world. Future research could also use different research tools such as surveys to measure the perceptions of Western online news audiences toward Africa. It would be important to know the effects of the Western media's crisis-oriented reporting of African news.

Future research should use a larger sample and examine African news flow and framing over a longer period of time. It should also investigate why Western news sites frame Africa the way they do. In addition, future research should examine the framing of Western news in African media outlets and draw comparisons with framing of African news by Western media outlets, for this would give a good picture of how each of the two sides of the world views the other.

APPENDIX A

CODING PROTOCOL

This coding protocol is aimed at facilitating the coding of content for a study that examines the flow and framing of African news on the Web sites of major news organizations in the U.S., the UK and France, and the framing of African news on those sites and the site of an African news aggregator. The study is geared toward establishing the volume of African news on the Western news sites and the framing of African news on all the sites. The following information provides guidance and direction on how to code the content under study.

THE FLOW AND VOLUME OF AFRICAN STORIES

To code the volume of African news items on the selected Web sites, please note the following details:

Web site: Please indicate the Web site that you are coding for the volume of African news. Pick from the following options: (1.) www.bbc.co.uk (2.) www.cnn.com (3.) www.france24.com (4.) www.guardian.co.uk (5.) www.nytimes.com

Date: Please write the date indicated on the homepage of the site. Use a three-digit code. (Example: February 12 is 212.)

Total news items on the top news section of the home page: Please indicate the total number of news items posted on the "top news" or "latest news" section of the homepage of the site.

Number of African news items on the top news section of the home page: Please indicate the number of African news items posted on the "top news" or "latest news" section of the homepage of the site.

Total news items on the top news section of the world news page: Please indicate the total number of news items posted on the "top news" or "latest news" section of the world news page of the site.

Number of African news items on the top news section of the world news page: Please indicate the number of African news items posted on the on the "top news" or "latest news" section of the world news page of the site.

THE FRAMING OF AFRICAN NEWS

To code the framing of African news items on the selected Web sites, please note the following details.

Unit of Analysis: The unit of analysis is a text news item that focuses on an event or an issue in Africa or an African country and is published on the home page, world news page or Africa news page of a particular Web site.

Please read through the news item and code it using the printed coding sheet.

Coder: Please write your name to indicate that you are the one coding the item.

Headline: Please write the headline or title of the news item.

Date: Please indicate the date that the story was published. Use a three-digit code. (Example: February 12 is 212.)

ID name: Please write the item's identity name in the following format: date of posting the article on the site and the first three words of the headline (Example: 212 - Kenya economy suffers).

Web site: Please indicate if the article you are coding was published on: (1.) www.allafrica.com (2.) www.bbc.co.uk (3.) www.cnn.com (4.) www.france24.com (5.) www.guardian.co.uk (6.) www.nytimes.com

Byline: Please indicate the source that is credited for the article. Pick one of the following options: (1.) Site's own staff (2.) News agency (3.) Site's own staff and news agency (4.) Not indicated

Dateline: Please write the location from which the story was done. Pick one of the following options: (1.) Africa (2.) Outside Africa (3.) Not indicated

Countries: Please write the name of the primary African country featured in the story and where applicable, a second African country noted in the first four paragraphs of the story.

Multimedia: Please indicate if the news item also has any of the following: (1) Audio (2) Video (3) Photo slideshow (4) Audio, Video & Slideshow (Two or more) (5.) None

FRAMES
Please indicate the presence or absence of the following news frames in the news item you are coding by marking each question as: (1) Yes or (2) No.

Conflict frame
The conflict frame is present in a news item if the article highlights tension, disagreement or clashes between individuals, parties, groups and countries. Please mark 1 (for Yes) if the answer

is "yes" to any of the following questions: Does the story focus on or highlight conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions? Does the story cover an event or issue that pits various individuals or groups against one another? Does the story present two opposing sides to an issue?

Economic consequence frame
The economic consequence frame is present in a news item if the story highlights financial concerns, expenses and economic consequences of an event or situation. Please mark 1 (for Yes) if the answer is "yes" to any of the following questions: Does the story focus on or highlight the financial consequences of an event or issue? Does the story spotlight economic woes of individuals, groups or institutions? Does the story focus on the possible economic ramifications of an event or issue?

Human-interest frame
The human-interest frame is present in a news item if the story provides a human example or "human face" or an emotional angle to an issue. This could be the story of one person or a group in a prevailing situation. (Example: The story of a child displaced in conflict in Sudan). In such stories, the writer may descriptively word the story in such a way as to spark readers' emotions. Please mark 1 (for Yes) if the answer is "yes" to any of the following questions: Does the story focus on individuals affected by an event or issue? Does the story present anecdotes from individuals or groups affected by an issue?

Morality frame
The morality frame is present in a news item if it touches on values, morality and ethical issues. Please mark 1 (for Yes) if the answer is "yes" to any of the following questions: Does the story focus on a moral dilemma? Does the story highlight immorality? Does the story present the moral aspects of an issue or event? Does the story focus on individuals or groups arrayed on opposites of a moral debate?

Attribution of responsibility frame
The responsibility frame is present in a news item if it presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving a problem to the government, an individual or to a group. Please mark 1 (for Yes) if the answer is "yes" to any of the following questions: Does the story point to the culpability of an individual or group in a certain situation? Does the story heap praise on an individual or group for an outcome of an event? Does imply that an individual or group can improve or worsen an existing situation?

Disaster frame
The disaster frame exists when a news item covers a natural or man-made occurrence or issue that causes causing widespread destruction, distress and suffering. Please mark 1 (for Yes) if the answer is "yes" to any of the following questions: Does the story focus on a natural or man-made event or issue that causes widespread suffering to a large number of people? Does the story point to the gravity of a situation that has affected a large number of people?

Progress frame
The progress frame exists when a news item focuses on the improvement of a situation. Examples include stories that highlight an improvement of the economic, social, political,

cultural, environmental or humanitarian situation in a country. Please mark 1 (for Yes) if the answer is "yes" to any of the following questions: Does the story highlight breakthroughs or improvements in an existing situation? Does the story spotlight a successful venture in any field? Does the story focus on the achievements of individuals, groups or institutions?

AFFECTIVE ATTRIBUTES
Please note the tone or slant of the story by indicating if it is (1) positive, (2) negative, (3) neutral or (4) difficult to tell.

A story with a positive tone or slant frames an issue or event in an optimistic manner, and presents it using logical, sensitive and non-inflammatory language. A story with a negative tone or slant frames an issue or event in a harsh, judgmental, hostile, aggressive language, offering pessimistic or sarcastic evaluations of the topic or those involved. A story with a neutral slant or tone presents statements of fact in a non-evaluative way and doesn't provide any judgment.

TOPIC OR ISSUE AND SUB-ISSUE ATTRIBUTES
From the provided list, please pick a primary and secondary topic or issue covered by the story.

APPENDIX B

CODING SHEET

THE FLOW AND VOLUME OF AFRICAN STORIES

1.) Web site: (Please circle one)

(1.) www.bbc.co.uk

(2.) www.cnn.com

(3.) www.france24.com

(4.) www.guardian.co.uk

(5.) www.nytimes.com

2.) Date: _____

3.) Total news items on the top news section of the home page: _____

4.) African news items on the top news section of the home page: _____

5.) Total news items on the top news section of the world news page: _____

6.) African news items on the top news section of the world news page: _____

APPENDIX C

CODING SHEET

THE FRAMING OF AFRICAN NEWS

1.) Coder: _____

2.) Headline:

_____

_____

3.) Date: _____

4.) ID name: _____

5.) Web site: (Please circle one)

(1.) www.allafrica.com
(2.) www.bbc.co.uk
(3.) www.cnn.com
(4.) www.france24.com
(5.) www.guardian.co.uk
(6.) www.nytimes.com

6.) Byline: (Please circle one)

(1.) Site's own staff
(2.) Wire service
(3.) Site's own staff and wire service
(4.) Not indicated

7.) Dateline:

(1.) Africa
(2.) Outside Africa
(3.) Not indicated

8.) Primary country: _____

9.) Secondary country: _____

10.) Multimedia:

(1.) Audio
(2.) Video
(3.) Photo slideshow
(4.) Audio, Video & Slideshow (Two or more)
(5.) None

FRAMES

11.) Conflict frame:

(1.) Yes
(2.) No

12.) Economic consequence frame:

(1.) Yes
(2.) No

13.) Human interest frame:

(1.) Yes
(2.) No

14.) Morality frame:

(1.) Yes
(2.) No

15.) Attribution of responsibility frame

(1.) Yes
(2.) No

16.) Disaster frame

(1.) Yes
(2.) No

17.) Progress frame

(1.) Yes
(2.) No

AFFECTIVE ATTRIBUTES

18.) Please select the <u>one</u> choice that represents the most dominant tone or slant of the news item.

(1) Positive
(2) Negative
(3) Neutral
(4) Difficult to tell

TOPIC OR SUB-ISSUE ATTRIBUTES

19.) Primary topic of story: (Please pick the corresponding number from the list below.)

  _____

20.) Secondary topic of story: (Please pick the corresponding number from the list below.)
_____

1. Agriculture
2. Arts
3. Conflict
4. Crime
5. Culture
6. Economic issues
7. Education
8. Environment
9. Foreign relations
10. Gender issues
11. Health
12. Human rights
13. Humanitarian issues
14. Media
15. Military affairs
16. Natural disaster
17. Natural resources
18. Peacekeeping
19. Politics
20. Religion
21. Science
22. Social relations
23. Sports
24. Technology
25. Tourism/ Travel

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONS FOR EDITORS OF THE WEB SITES

1.)   How many average unique visits does your site's homepage receive every day? What are the geographic locations (countries or regions) of the unique visitors?

2.)   How many average unique visits does the African news section of your site receive every day? What are the geographic locations (countries or regions) of the unique visitors?

3.)   How many average unique visits do the other foreign news sections of your site receive every day? Please list the figures for each foreign news section. What are the geographic locations (countries or regions) of the unique visitors?

4.)   Where does your site get its African news items? Please state whether they are provided by your staff journalists, correspondents, news agencies, etc.

5.)   Please explain how you choose or select the African news items and multimedia packages that you post on your site. Kindly explain the factors that you consider when selecting the African news and the circumstances under which you would turn down African news items.

6.)   How many average unique visits does the international news section of your site receive every day? What are the geographic locations (countries or regions) of the unique visitors?

7.)   When (what times of the day) do you update your site, especially the African news sections?

8.)   What percentage of the African news items on your Web site is also published or aired on your mainstream outlet (newspaper/TV) if applicable?

9.)   Are there circumstances under which you would produce or publish African news items exclusively on the Web? If yes, please list and explain the circumstances or factors that would determine such a decision. How does the text, audio and video content on your Web site differ from that of your mainstream outlet (newspaper or radio or TV)?

APPENDIX E

Table 15: Sampled dates of four constructed weeks

Mondays	Tuesdays	Wednesdays	Thursdays	Fridays	Saturdays	Sundays
2-25-08	2-12-08	2-20-08	2-14-08	2-22-08	3-15-08	2-17-08
3-3-08	2-19-08	3-5-08	2-21-08	3-14-08	4-5-08	2-24-08
3-10-08	2-26-08	3-12-08	2-28-08	3-21-08	4-12-08	3-30-08
4-7-08	4-29-08	3-19-08	4-3-08	4-4-08	5-3-08	4-14-08

APPENDIX F

LIST OF CODED AFRICAN COUNTRIES

1. Algeria
2. Angola
3. Benin
4. Botswana
5. Burkina Faso
6. Burundi
7. Cameroon
8. Cape Verde
9. Central African Republic
10. Chad
11. Comoros
12. Congo – Brazzaville
13. Dem. Rep. Congo (Zaire)
14. Djibouti
15. Egypt
16. Equatorial Guinea
17. Eritrea
18. Ethiopia
19. Gabon
20. Gambia
21. Ghana
22. Guinea Bissau
23. Guinea
24. Ivory Coast
25. Kenya
26. Lesotho
27. Liberia

28. Libya
29. Madagascar
30. Malawi
31. Mali
32. Mauritania
33. Mauritius
34. Morocco
35. Mozambique
36. Namibia
37. Niger
38. Nigeria
39. Rwanda
40. Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
41. São Tomé and Principe
42. Senegal
43. Seychelles
44. Sierra Leone
45. Somalia
46. South Africa
47. Sudan
48. Swaziland
49. Tanzania
50. Togo
51. Tunisia
52. Uganda
53. Zambia
54. Zimbabwe

Source: African Union

APPENDIX G

APPROVAL TO USE HUMAN RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

KENT STATE.
U N I V E R S I T Y

March 12, 2008

Daniel Teng'O
Journalism and Mass Communication

> **Re:08-390 : "The Flow and Framing of African News on Key Western News Web Sites and an African News Site"**

Dear Mr. Teng'O:

I am pleased to inform you that the Kent State University Institutional Review Board has reviewed and approved your Application for Approval to Use Human Research Participants as Level I research. This application was approved on March 12, 2008 and is effective until the project end date of August 31, 2008.

HHS regulations and Kent State University Institutional Review Board guidelines require that any changes in research methodology, protocol design, or principal investigator have the prior approval of the IRB before implementation and continuation of the protocol. If it becomes necessary to extend your project beyond the indicated end date, please submit a change form indicating the request for this extension. The IRB further requests an annual review/progress report and a final report at the conclusion of the study.

Kent State University has a Federal Wide Assurance on file with the Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP); FWA Number 00001853.

If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at 330-672-2704 or tfreder2@kent.edu.

Sincerely,

Tonya Frederick, R.N., B.S.N.
Research Compliance Administrator

cc: Max Grubbs, Ph.D.

APPENDIX H

Statistics of Coded Data

Table 16: Statistics of news flow data

Web site	Number of stories coded from the home page		Number of stories coded from the world news page		Totals
	Total stories on the top section of the home page	African news stories on the top section of the home page	Total stories on the top section of the world news page	African news stories on the top section of the world news page	
BBC	102	19	294	39	454
CNN	509	8	280	40	837
France 24	227	42	227	42	538
The Guardian	272	22	269	31	594
The NY Times	318	14	293	43	668

Table 17: Statistics of news framing data

Web site	Number of coded stories from home page, world news page and Africa page
allAfrica	97
BBC	82
CNN	44
France 24	69
The Guardian	35
The NY Times	62
Totals	389

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http://www.alexa.com/data/details/traffic_details/cnn.com

http://www.alexa.com/data/details/traffic_details/france24.com

http://www.alexa.com/data/details/traffic_details/guardian.co.uk

http://www.alexa.com/data/details/traffic_details/nytimes.com

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