COVERAGE OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN PAN-AFRICAN BUSINESS MAGAZINES:

EVIDENCE OF HIERARCHY IN REGIONAL NEWS FLOWS

by

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I declare that **COVERAGE OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES IN PAN-AFRICAN BUSINESS MAGAZINES: EVIDENCE OF HIERARCHY IN REGIONAL NEWS FLOWS** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

Miss FO Ubomba-Jaswa   14 October 2009

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To God be the glory

SUMMARY

This dissertation examines the flow of economic news in Africa, in order to investigate the potential existence of regional hierarchies in international news flow. The research was based on a framework of theories on international news flow. A quantitative and qualitative content analysis of a sample of news articles published in *Africa Investor*, *African Business* and *Business in Africa* during 2007 and 2008 was analysed. The quantitative results showed that South Africa received the highest level of coverage and was covered to a greater extent than any other African country. The qualitative results indicated that there was clear evidence of regional hierarchy in the coverage of African countries: South Africa received extensive coverage probably due to the fact that it is the largest, most advanced and influential economy in the continent. The study showed that inequality in news coverage is not only a global issue, but also a regional one.

Key terms

Africa, African Business, Africa Investor, Business in Africa, business magazines, dependency theory, economic news, international news flow, regional hierarchies, regional news flow, South Africa, structural theory of imperialism, world system theory.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Agence France-Presse
CASE	Cairo and Alexander Stock Exchange
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
ICTs	Information and communication technologies
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JSE	Johannesburg Securities Exchange
MNC	Multinational Corporation
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
SADC	Southern African Development Community
Sapa	South African Press Association
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PANA	Pan-African News Agency
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WTO	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND AND AIMS OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The international flow of information is highly debated in international communication, even leading to a worldwide debate at UNESCO in the 1980s as developing countries called for a greater balance in information flow – the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) – to ensure that all countries and regions in the world were represented in global information and particularly global news (McPhail 2006:12). News was the first media product to be packaged and sold as part of international trade, and it is still the most universal genre of media products (McQuail 2005:261). In the 21st century, the international flow of news continues to be characterised by the inequality and imbalance in the production of news. However, there has been a marked increase in the volume and variety of news (Robertson 1995:38).

Economic news is the fastest growing component of international news because other news stories have an economic component which leads to "market reactions" and "changes in investor confidence". The audience for business news has not only grown significantly, it has greatly evolved from being dominated by leading global companies to becoming the mainstay of ordinary households who have shares, stocks and other mobile and non-mobile investments (Millman, 2006:18, Simons 1999:56). Since individuals, businesses and governments invest in global companies, global economic news is critical. For example political events in the Gulf, affect oil prices, which in turn affect petrol prices and directly impacts on individuals and businesses alike.

Economic magazines fulfil the need for economic news. Globally, there has been a significant growth in the number of business magazines; many are investor oriented

whilst others focus on specific industries such as mining or banking (Millman 2006:23). The increase and diversity of the audience for business news has led to media organisations creating a greater capacity to deliver the most up-to-date news. Economic news magazines are particularly important because by virtue of their format and frequency, they tend to devote more space to analysis and tracking market movements. In addition, they often have special reports on varied economic issues, depending on the nature of the publication, which keep audiences updated on global economic trends. As the global economic climate changes all the time, regional changes are also taking place.

In 2008, the World Bank reported that 15 African countries moved into a second decade of annual economic growth rates of 5.3% - more than many industrialised economies (World Bank 2008); thirteen African countries are now considered as middle income countries. As more African countries have become relatively stable politically and economically, and the private sector in many countries has shown growth, more investors are coming into the continent. The increased economic interest in Africa necessitates an increase in economic news. Different media fulfil the demand for African economic news.

African economic magazines are a reliable source of African economic news. However, the news values of different gatekeepers, particularly publishers, advertisers, editors and journalists, determine which stories become news and which countries' economic issues and investment opportunities are discussed in these publications. News values also influence the type and amount of coverage each country on the African continent receives, in essence the international flow of information on the continent. Business journalism is heavily reliant on developments within the private equity sector and therefore countries which have a more established private sector are more likely to generate more news (Kariithi 2002:26). In the case of Africa, the country with the largest private economy is South Africa. Publications focusing on African economic interests may therefore be influenced by the size of the private economy in news selection.

Therefore, similar to the global inequality in the flow of news (and specifically business news), where developed countries are more likely to be covered in business news than developing countries, regional inequality in coverage may also exist on the basis of strong versus weak economies.

Galtung (1971:81) explains that within regions and nations there are also centres and peripheries which have unequal relationships. The regional or internal centres often are more closely aligned to the global centre than to the internal periphery. Regional centres are therefore given the attributes of the global centre. Galtung's study therefore allows for the analysis of centre-periphery inequality within a regional context.

Based on the fact that centre-periphery analysis is possible in a regional context, it is therefore possible that African centres and peripheries exist. Within the boundaries of dependency theory, Africa mainly consists of peripheral nations. However, the structural theory of imperialism shows that though the African continent may primarily be made up of peripheral countries, there can indeed be dominant centres within the continent which have a similar role to that of the global centre.

1.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to study the flow of economic news in Africa in order to investigate the potential existence of regional hierarchies in international news flow. A quantitative and qualitative content analysis of a sample of news articles published in *Africa Investor*, *African Business* and *Business in Africa* during 2007 and 2008 will be analysed. Based on the results of the content analysis, the study aims to draw conclusions on the existence of regional hierarchy in the coverage of African countries. The study aims to show that news content generation based on hierarchy is not only an issue between the developed and developing world, but coverage on the basis of perceived importance also occurs amongst developing countries.

1.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the assumption of world system theory that the flow of news is directly determined by the position and level of hierarchy of a country in the world system, it can be argued that, within a regional context, countries with strong economies will receive more coverage than countries with smaller economies (Chang 1998:529). Pan-African business magazines are therefore more likely to cover Africa's biggest economy, South Africa, in comparison to other African countries. In view of such arguments, this dissertation poses the following research questions:

- To what extent is South Africa covered in Pan-African business magazines in comparison with other African countries and what is the nature of the coverage?
- Does the level and nature of coverage show evidence of the existence of regional hierarchies?

1.4 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The examination of these research questions is founded on dependency theory, imperialism theory and world system theory.

Dependency theory introduces the concepts of the "centre" (or core) and the "periphery" which provides the basis for the underlying assumption of inequality in the international flow of news (Tomlinson 1991: 37). Since the production and distribution of news is based largely in the centre, peripheral countries are regarded as disadvantaged in the global flow of news and they receive less coverage. Though dependency theory has shifted out of focus in international communication theory, it is still relevant in the analysis of the global news system.

Dependency theory is also the basis of the structural theory of imperialism, which retains the division of the world into "centre" and "periphery" (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:26). However the structural theory of imperialism also focuses on the existence of

regional and local "centres" and "peripheries" within the global centre and global periphery. Therefore the structural theory of imperialism allows for the analysis of centre-periphery inequality within a regional context (Galtung 1971:81).

World system theory provides the basis through which hierarchy and the international flow of information can be examined and explained. Core countries tend to have more economic interactions with other core countries and with periphery countries. Periphery countries have less frequent economic interactions. Therefore core countries tend to receive higher levels of coverage (Chang 1998:532). Communication scholars, who examine hierarchy and international information flow, tend to focus on the economic and socio-political issues such as the determinants of coverage, access to information and the ability of states to develop their own media and information systems (Chang 1998, Lee 1980).

In this study, dependency theory, structural theory of imperialism and world system theory are used as the basis for exploration, analysis and explanation of the coverage African countries receive in Pan-African business magazines.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

Quantitative and qualitative content analyses were employed to examine and provide answers to the research questions. While the examination of the level of coverage and the nature of coverage that centres received mainly required a quantitative approach, examining evidence of hierarchy in coverage necessitated a qualitative approach. Sixty-six randomly sampled articles published in *African Business*, *Africa Investor* and *Business in Africa* during 2007 and 2008 were analysed. Selection of the three magazines was based on the fact that they are Pan-African business magazines, provide general economic news as opposed to sectoral business news and are in current circulation. It was also possible to access the back-issues of these publications either through print or

online. Descriptive statistical methods were applied during quantitative data analysis whilst qualitative data was processed and analysed thematically.

1.6 OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

The various segments of the study are documented in six chapters. Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter is a discussion of the theoretical foundations for the study of the international flow of information. Dependency theory, imperialism theory and world-system theory are discussed in relation to the flow of international news, highlighting the central assumption that global inequality in economic production influences the production of information and thus the flow of information. The third chapter deals with the international flow of economic news globally and more specifically in Africa. The relationship between economic status and news coverage is explored here. The fourth chapter is a comprehensive description of the research methodology employed. Data collection, sampling and data analysis are discussed. The fifth chapter is an overview of the results obtained from the study. The dissertation ends with the sixth chapter which provides concluding remarks and offers recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION FOR THE STUDY OF THE INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF INFORMATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The international flow of information is an important part of the study of global communication patterns. Looking at the flow of information enables us to delve into the analysis of media products such as international news which are important due to the relationships states have with one another. The study of the international flow of information leads to the exploration of the often unequal nature of international news coverage. This dissertation posits that regional hierarchies on the African continent exist and this affects the flow of information, specifically economic news. Such thinking requires a theoretical framework that explains the dynamics of international relations, particularly the flow of information and specifically the flow of news, from one country to the other. Firstly, there is a discussion of dependency theory focusing on the concepts of "centre" and "periphery" and the implications of these constructs for analysing the global news system. Secondly, the structural theory of imperialism is discussed with a focus on the concept of "imperialism" and the forms of imperialism, followed by an in-depth critique relevant to the international flow of information. Thirdly, world-system theory is explored focusing on the principle of hierarchy and its role in news flow.

2.2 DEPENDENCY THEORY

Dependency theory serves as a backdrop to the theoretical framework of this study because both world system theory and structural imperialism theory were developed from dependency theory (Chang 1998:530; Madikiza & Bornman 2007:26,28).

Dependency theory has its origins in the 1940s as economists within the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) started to turn their attention towards international capitalism as the source of underdevelopment (Lewellen 1995:60). They moved their focus from internal development within states (the use of capital and technology) to the position of developing countries in the world system. Later in the 1950s, under the directorship of Raúl Prebisch, the chair of ECLA, the dependency theory was developed with the aim of explaining the increasing poverty in already poor countries whilst industrialised countries were becoming richer (Ferraro 1996). These scholars stated that Third World countries were unable to improve their economic status because developed countries had already taken over their markets due to their ability to mass produce goods. Therefore relations between developed and developing nations remained unbalanced (Lewellen 1995:50).

Dependency theory again came to the fore in the 1970s with the demise of modernisation theory (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:24). Modernisation theory posits that with the movement of substantial amounts of capital and technological aid to developing countries, the economic, and thus also the political and social gaps, between rich First World countries and poor Third World countries would lessen and create relative equality between the developed and developing countries (Lewellen 1995:50). However the reality was that though capital and technology had been moved from richer nations to developing countries, the gap between the two was on the contrary becoming wider. Therefore, dependency theory seems to suggest that post-independent colonial structures and continued exploitation of developing countries by developed countries are responsible for underdevelopment. Industrialised nations determine the terms of trade and control the global market meaning that the sale of raw materials from developing nations is tightly bound to the decisions and consequent actions of trans-national companies. The rich countries therefore remain dominant and curb the development of poorer countries (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:25).

The dependency theory was an offshoot of the Neo-Marxist political economy approach which viewed the world as a "system of global capitalism" as opposed to a "collection of individual entities or nation-states". The main emphasis of neo-Marxism is on the integrative nature of global capitalism. Dependency theory also emphasises global structures and interactions between nation-states. However, dependency theory focuses on the implications of these interactions for Third World development with the understanding that these relationships maintain the status quo: Third World countries continue to be trapped in past colonial relationships (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:24-25). Therefore, the main aim of dependency theory is to give reasons for the escalating underdevelopment in Third World countries by examining inter state relations and determining whether inequality holds the balance in the international system (Ferraro 1996).

2.2.1 Defining the concepts "centre" and "periphery"

Dependency theory explains international relations by stating that there is a world system or global system that is divided into two sectors. The dominant "centre" is made up of a few developed, industrialised countries. These countries enjoy economic and political power (such as the United States, Western European countries and Japan). By contrast, the second sector, namely the dependent "periphery" is made up of the vast number of developing countries that have struggling economies and little input into world affairs (Tomlinson 1991: 37). Thus, the concepts "centre" and "periphery" are extremely important because they are the basis of subsequent theoretical frameworks which developed from dependency theory. Furthermore the division of the world into "centre" and "periphery" is the basis for inequality of countries in various relationships: political, economic, social and cultural, with a consistent dominant side and an equally consistent subservient side. While modernisation theory focuses on the state as a unit of analysis, dependency theory analyses the international system as a whole.

Dependency theory focuses on the relationships that countries had with one another not just the effects of these unequal relationships (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:24).

According to dependency theory, the centre countries hold sway over the economic activities of peripheral countries. A puppet-master relationship occurs where the centre pulls the strings and less developed countries have no control over their economic fate. The centre exercises its control through multi and trans-national corporations, controlling the prices of raw materials, providing or withholding aid to developing countries or by various other ways in which they can extend their control (Ferraro 1996). When viewed from an international perspective, development or underdevelopment is not only influence by internal occurrences but by external forces as well (Lewellen 1995:59). Dependency theory suggests that development relies on the position that states have in the international system. If centre nations continue to expand their markets to Third World countries, then the economic inroads that are made by these developing countries are stifled since the latter cannot compete with the production capacity of developed countries. In addition, capital and technology transfer is used by centre nations to further stifle development in the periphery. Since independence, many developing nations are poorer now than they were at independence even though many have adopted free-market policies for decades.

Dependency theory holds that unequal relations between dominant and dependent states are constantly reinforced because the impoverished condition of developing states continues to make them more reliant on capital injections from developed countries. As capitalism grew into a global phenomenon and more countries became industrialised, goods became more expensive, raw materials became cheaper and consequently developing countries became more dependent. Therefore there is a strong connection between dependency and historic economic and political actualities such as imperialism (Ferraro 1996). Increasing poverty, lack of skills and technology in the peripheral countries is viewed through the lens of colonisation and general

exploitation mostly brought about by trans-national corporations (TNCs). TNCs often have political and financial support from the governments of highly industrialised countries, forming an even stronger economic force which overpowers global financial markets (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:25). Therefore even though countries on the periphery may develop, the nature and rate of development is controlled by dominant centre nations causing a state of "dependent development" or "the development of underdevelopment". Credible development should be determined by the state rather than external actors. (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:25).

2.2.2 Dependency theory and the global news system

As previously mentioned, though dependency theory is originally an economic and development theory, it is now used in the analysis of international communication (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:18). Prior to the development of dependency theory, research and theories in international communication had largely leaned towards the upholding and maintaining of the goals of dominant states. On the contrary, within dependency theory, the concept of international communication is explained as communication between the centre and periphery or North and South (Volkmer 1999). The development of information systems and technology in Third World countries can be analysed by using dependency theory. Within the global news system, countries in the periphery are dependent on the centre for the production and distribution of news. Very often, state operated news agencies do not have the capability to produce or disseminate news as effectively as international news agencies which leads local news media to use international news agency reports even for local events and issues.

Within international communication theory, dependency has risen to the fore in the cultural imperialism debate and in international news analysis. The financial power and subsequent political control that news agencies had became a focal point in analysing Third World participation in the global news system. Dependency theory made it

possible to discover the challenges that new entrants into the global news market, such as regional news agencies, faced. It also allowed the relationship between news content and the economic and political power of news agencies and producers of content in general to be explored (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen 1998:9-10).

According to dependency theory, underdevelopment is caused by the influx of international information from multinational media conglomerates based in First World countries. These media companies have huge budgets that enable them to produce high quality products that can be sold and resold many times over. This is due to the fact that generally, finance is not a limiting factor for these conglomerates. By contrast, Third World countries do not have the same access to finance and infrastructure. Since it is more expensive to produce international information the only option is to buy it ready-made. Therefore lack of access to finance greatly stifles the development of local information systems. Local news agencies cannot compete with the large media conglomerates especially without state support (Mohammadi 1997:84).

According to dependency theorists, peripheral countries become dependent on the advanced technology of the centre and thus of their media products which are far more developed. Therefore developing countries import large quantities of media products from the centre. The importation of media products promotes a Western, particularly American lifestyle at the expense of indigenous culture within the periphery which is sidelined as more Western goods and products come in, leading to "cultural imperialism". The more information flows from the centre to the periphery, the more the periphery becomes more dependent on the centre and this in turn, stunts the growth of media in developing countries (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:25). In dependency theory, this type of cultural imperialism is specifically referred to as media imperialism.

Media imperialism however, has other dimensions apart from dominance which are important to the global news system (Boyd-Barrett 2006:22). The business model of a

company may lead to media imperialism. Whereas a news agency may focus on a specific type of news (say financial news or medical news), others may focus on extensive geographic coverage. Large news agencies are able to collect and disseminate news even about remote regions because they use stringers and lesser trained journalists to gather information (Boyd-Barrett & Rantanen 1998:8-9). For this reason developing countries that lack such resources may then find it cheaper to buy information even about their own country or neighbouring states from the large news agencies.

Professional values are another dimension of media imperialism. News is produced by gate keepers who each bring their professional and personal orientation in their selection of news. Journalists, news editors, advertising sales executives and media owners all play a crucial role in selecting the events and issues which eventually become news (McQuail 2000:341). If media systems in the periphery are controlled by the centre, it is more likely that "centre" events and issues will become news even in the periphery. Furthermore, peripheral issues are likely to be reported from the centre's perspective (Nossek 2004:345). Audience preferences are another important factor in media imperialism. Audiences in the periphery may be more inclined to opt for international news media rather than local news media. For example, many Africans view BBC as the most credible source of news, including news about Africa. Local media gatekeepers are likely to operate according to these preferences (Herbert 2001:59).

Developing countries also rely on technology from First World countries. Technology impacts highly on the international flow of news and has made the flow of world news to become much faster and better organised. News agencies have access to highly sophisticated communication equipment that enables them to transport and disseminate information rapidly. However, though global news has become faster due to technology it has not necessarily become more representative over the years (Rampal 1995:35).

Technology is a particularly sensitive topic with regards to development because it can either help (by aiding necessary changes that cultivate better information that can be used locally or internationally) or it can reinforce the subordinate nature of Third World countries (by making them to become a source of control for multinational companies). Dependency can be further entrenched if the cultural values that come with new and foreign technology are not compatible with those of the importing country (Mohammadi 1997: 84). Third World countries become more dependent on the centre because they import communication hardware, software, and the expertise needed to utilise the technology (Thompson 1995:79). Periphery nations therefore succumb to the economic, cultural and social control of multinational companies which facilitate the importation of technology (McPhail 2006:320-321). Technology contributes greatly to dependency because information processing, storage and transferral have all become electronic and are highly interconnected by complex communication systems

Although currently media and cultural dependency theories are no longer the focus of international news flow debates, the concept of imperialism, derived from dependency theory is still crucial when analysing the "colonisation" of communication space (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:26).

2.2.3 Critical evaluation of dependency theory

Dependency theory however has some major restrictions. Firstly, dependency theory places very little emphasis on internal factors that hinder development. Essentially, it severely downplays the role of the state and allows the underdeveloped state to almost shirk off any responsibility for the lack of development. Indigenous forms of production, mainly from the agrarian sector are not competitive enough to boost market share internally and in the global economy (Tomlinson 1991:106). However, the state is responsible for developing its production capacity and placing the needed subsidies in place that will encourage mass markets to buy local produce instead of cheaper

imported goods. Industrial countries, are heavily reliant on raw materials and indeed cannot manufacture and produce finished goods with out these essential products. Peripheral states therefore can focus on pricing strategies that work to their advantage by bringing in more foreign capital that can then be reinvested in local industries.

Secondly, dependency theory ignores the fact that development requires self-reliance and that regardless of external pressure development will inevitably have to come from within a state (Thomas 1997:458). Though dependency is right in acknowledging the fact that the international system does very little to pull up Third World countries, it does not point out that these countries too have the responsibility of counter-acting the status quo. In fact, development cannot occur within a state without a high level of self-reliance. This means that local markets cannot be left wide open to products from multinational corporations that provide short-term foreign capital. Instead, partial closure of markets should be effected in order to create great pressure on the state and on local investors to produce the needed goods. This creates an atmosphere of economic restructuring that leads to development.

Thirdly, dependency leans heavily on a class analysis of the international economy. As already mentioned earlier, the world is divided into the industrialised world (centre) which has the means of production (capital) and the underdeveloped world (periphery) which has raw materials and cheap labour. Similar to Marxist theories on class, the centre (multinational corporations, financial markets and institutions, independent states) because of its capital resources exploits the periphery by giving low prices for raw materials and paying cheaply for labour. Therefore, in order for growth to happen, the periphery (working class in Marxist analysis) has to find ways of getting better prices for their labour and raw materials (Frieden & Lake 2003:31).

Lastly, dependency theory is criticised because not all periphery countries have remained underdeveloped. Countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan have all become competitive industrialised nations.

2.3 STRUCTURAL THEORY OF IMPERIALISM

Galtung's (1971) structural theory of imperialism developed from dependency theory and can be regarded as a broadened and more succinct form of dependency theory. Imperialism theory is important to this study because it can be used to analyse the existing inequalities between regions, states and collectives (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:26).

Imperialism theory developed from Marxist analyses of global capitalism (Tomlinson 1991:4). Imperialism theory posits that several states have control over the means of production and therefore are able to dominate (have control of) the global economic system which leave states that do not have capital resources to be dependent on foreign manufactured goods. For global capitalism to continue, this state of economic affairs must persist, and there should be no other options available for developing states to create their own industries.

While this study focuses on hierarchy within African states, the very presence of hierarchy indicates inequality. Therefore it is important to discuss regional inequality as explained by imperialism theory and then proceed to discuss the occurrence of hierarchy. Galtung (1971) explains the reason for developing his imperialism theory from two key points: firstly, the huge inequality (of all aspects of living conditions) within and between nations; and secondly the persistence of this inequality (in spite of numerous efforts in development). Gleaning from dependency theory, the world according to imperialism theory is divided in to centre and periphery nations.

However, Galtung (1971:81) explains that within these nations there are also centres and peripheries which have unequal relationships. The internal centres often are more closely aligned to the global centre than to the internal periphery. This study looks at African economic news flow within a regional context. Galtung's study allows for the analysis of centre-periphery inequality within a regional context. Galtung's explanation also provides the boundaries for giving the regional centre attributes of the global centre. Whilst within dependency theory Africa consists of peripheral nations only, imperialism theory shows that though the African continent may primarily be made up of peripheral countries, dominant centres exist within the continent which have a similar role to that of the global centre. Therefore imperialism theory justifies the analysis of regional centre-periphery relations.

2.3.1 Defining the concept "imperialism"

Galtung (1971:116) defines imperialism as "a special type of dominance of one collective, usually a nation, over another." This dominance is usually formed by a cooperative understanding between the centre nation and the centre within the periphery nation or region. Invariably, the regional centre is closer to the global centre in terms of the type of cultural values it leans towards (Bornman & Madikiza 2007:26).

According to Galtung (1971), there are two dimensions of imperialism: interaction relationships and interaction structures. Imperialistic interaction relationships are formed because the centre produces goods and needs a market for these goods, whilst the periphery does not have the means to produce these goods and therefore purchases them from the centre. However a mere exchange of goods is not in itself imperialistic, rather the imbalance in benefits for both sides (where only the centre profits) and the unequal relationship between the two makes the relationship imperialistic. In the case of media products such as news the exchange also leads to

negative consequences such as a decrease in the amount of news from the periphery. The relationship therefore is more favourable for the producer of news.

Imperialistic interaction structures are said to be vertical because the centre is in a dominant position at the top and controls the periphery at the bottom. The structure is also feudal – the centre is in full control of all interaction in the system and exchanges only occur between the centre and periphery and not between peripheries (Galtung 1971). Within the regional context of this study, however, it does happen that rather than imperialistic asymmetrical structures, asymmetrical interdependence may occur where countries may still find that their relationship with the centre is unequal but they still have some level of control (Straubhaar 1991:39; Galtung 1971). Straubhaar argues that structural relationships are constantly evolving due to changes in technology and the development of independent cultural industries.

2.3.2 Forms of imperialism

Galtung (1971) discusses five forms of imperialism namely economic, political, military, communication and cultural. Economic imperialism deals with the exchange and production of goods and services. Peripheral countries produce raw materials which are purchased by centre countries that then produce finished or manufactured goods out of the raw materials. Very often, the centre then sells the finished goods to peripheral countries that provide large markets of consumers since they have no access to the means of production.

Economic imperialism provides the backdrop for political imperialism. As the centre gains control over trade, any economic decisions made in the centre greatly affect the periphery. The centre therefore gains control over the decision-making structures of the peripheral country and becomes responsible for crucial decisions that can affect economic, military, communication and cultural patterns of the periphery.

Military imperialism is a combination of economic and political imperialism. Centre countries, being more industrialised, since they focus on production rather than the sale of raw materials, are more likely to have the economic capacity to develop the machinery and other hardware and technological equipment used in territorial defence. Peripheral states become dependent on the producers of military equipment either for acquisition of these goods or for protection. Either way, the centre dictates the terms.

Communication imperialism can be clearly seen in global communication and transportation patterns (Galtung 1971:92). Like military capability, a high level of industrialisation is necessary to continuously produce communication technology which changes and improves rapidly. Whilst the centre moves with ease on to new developments, the periphery is often left with outdated technology and quite often second-hand equipment and hardware. Communication imperialism theory states that communication systems in developing countries are suffocated and destroyed by the communication capabilities of developed states. Poorer countries are therefore dependent on richer nations for their communication needs.

The media are one of the vehicles through which countries communicate. The media are at the centre of communication and at the source of cultural exchange (Tomlinson 1991:223-225). Once again, a more developed media system is dependent on an industrialised economy which can afford extensive communication technology. The media of countries in the centre are therefore able to penetrate and dominate the media systems of countries in the periphery. News media are in particular affected by imperialism. Because the centre is able to transmit information to the periphery through well-developed communication systems, centre news therefore tends to take up a large proportion of news. Furthermore because all the major news agencies are in centre countries, events in the periphery are only likely to become news if they are relevant to the centre (Servaes 1983:28). Invariably, there is a one-way flow of news - a symptom of media imperialism. Boyd-Barrett (1980) defines media imperialism as unequal

relationships between countries within the realm of media. It is important to emphasise however that media imperialism analysis should be conducted based on a variety of unequal relationships since there are many facets along the scale of dependence and dominance (Straubhaar 1991:41).

Media imperialism leads to cultural imperialism because media products have effects on indigenous culture (Rampal 2002:111-112). Imperialism theory has been extended to explain the uneven relationship between core states and developing states concerning the transfer of cultural products which include media products. Third World countries became more dependent because of the influx of cultural products and because of their inability to produce competitive products. By purchasing foreign media products, the cultural values, norms and attitudes of consumers in developing countries are very often displaced (Hesmondhalgh 1998:164).

Cultural imperialism was used to denote the fact that just as direct economic and political imperialism by Europe was ending, a new imperialism – indirect this time - was beginning. Rather than aiming for political control, the new imperialists (transnational corporations) wanted cultural control (control over the values, perceptions, attitudes and thereby the actions of people) by installing a need in non-Western people for Western cultural products. Subscribers of cultural imperialism theory explain that the economic power of developed states was further entrenched by their control of information and communication (Thompson 1995:167).

2.3.3 Critical evaluation of the structural theory of imperialism

Though Galtung (1971) provides an explanation for existing inequalities between and within countries, there has been widespread criticism of the structural theory of imperialism and more specifically of cultural imperialism.

General criticism against the structural theory of imperialism

Galtung's theory of imperialism is viewed as idealist because he employs a two-nation model of analysis to illustrate structural imperialism. This model is unable to explain the rise of newly industrialised countries (NICs) and is based largely on a simplistic understanding of dependency theory. Galtung's model essentially negates the possibility of industrialisation and development in the periphery. However, there is growing evidence to the contrary which suggests that the imperialism - Third World relationship is not the sole obstacle to development. There are certainly other internal factors that influence peripheral development. However, the main aim of structural imperialism was to provide a theoretical framework within which imperialism and dependency could be analysed rather than to provide real-time explanations for underdevelopment (Servaes 1983:30-31).

Secondly, the structural theory of imperialism is static. It fails to consider or explain changes in underdeveloped economies over time. The capitalist development process facilitates a dynamic relationship between the centre and the periphery. All the countries (both centre countries and peripheral countries) have unique histories, cultures, populations and resources. Peripheral countries have not remained stagnant – some have developed and even industrialised whilst some have regressed in their development. Though Galtung (1971) discusses three progressive phases of imperialism, namely occupation, organisation and communication, he does not actually explain why and how these stages succeed each other (Servaes 1983:30).

Thirdly, the structural imperialism theory does not include any analysis of the nature of class forces existing within peripheral countries which may hinder development (Servaes 1983:32). Though underdevelopment is caused by both internal and external factors, structural imperialism theory places all the attention and consequently the onus for poverty in the periphery, on the centre. However, to create strategies for development,

internal class relations in peripheral countries have to be considered in addition to the relations these internal classes have with the centre. Structural imperialism theory dismisses the ruling classes in developing countries as pawns of the developed world whose interests are constantly in line with the will of the centre. By ignoring the realities of these complex internal relationships, crucial elements of development are left without analysis (Servaes 1983:32).

The structural theory of imperialism, however, is still regarded as useful in analysing the capitalist nature of international information, particularly where inequality exists. Firstly, ownership of international information can be analysed to determine the extent to which capitalism affects the content of international information. With the ownership being largely in the hands of developed nations, it is easy for developed countries to pass on their cultural forms to developing countries. Secondly, the means of production and transferral (the sale of international information) demands large-scale capital resources. For developing countries to compete in the production of international information, their inputs have to be higher. Thirdly, the consumers of international information must have a high demand for it. Developed countries are able to make high levels of profit from the sale of international information to developing countries because the products simply do not exist and neither does the capital. Fourthly, imperialism is sometimes a temporary situation (Boyd-Barrett 2006:22). Some countries that were once under the control of a strong centre country are often able to develop their own media up to a level where they achieve regional dominance.

Critical evaluation of cultural imperialism

Cultural imperialism has been widely criticised for several reasons. Firstly, the concept of "cultural imperialism" is called into question. Critics claim that imperialism is used to simply denote an imbalance in the international economy and not in inter-cultural relations. Other theorists simply feel that the term generates too much debate often

unrelated to imperialism and rather to colonialism and neo-colonialism (Hesmondhalgh 1998:167). However supporters of the term claim it is justifiable because the two components of imperialism – invasion and imbalance - do exist in the cultural sphere (Boyd-Barrett 1977:118).

Secondly, cultural studies scholars, argue that cultural imperialism does not take into consideration that recipients of cultural products have a cultural background that will cause them to question the information they receive rather than accept all the information gullibly (Hesmondhalgh 1998:166). The third point of criticism is that cultural imperialism is really anti-Americanisation masquerading as imperialism. The dominant culture in the media is not just Western culture, but specifically the American culture, and cultural imperialism is therefore a way of justifying resistance to American cultural influence. Fourthly, cultural imperialism implies that the cultures and subsequent cultural products of developing countries are, by virtue of their indigenous nature, of a better quality than international cultural products. Critics claim that this assumption is based on suspicious beliefs that these products are fully representative of local culture and this is not always the case (Hesmondhalgh 1998:167).

Lastly, critics claim that the concept of cultural imperialism is outdated (this is typical of those who adhere to the globalisation approach). In concluding his discussion of cultural imperialism theory, Tomlinson (1991) says that in modern times, globalisation is what cultural imperialism used to be. Imperialism concentrates on interstate relations whereas the world has become increasingly globalised (Hesmondhalgh 1998:166). In a regional context, cultural imperialism is rather seen as a loss of culture in the face of cultural goods from more dominant nations as opposed to the imposition of culture (Tomlinson 1991:173). Tomlinson goes further to argue that in modern times, imperialism can be likened to globalisation since total economic and political control is not the driving factor for many global producers. Straubhaar (1991) calls for "more

flexible and complex paradigms" that can be used to grasp the workings of ever-changing national media and resultant global media flows.

2.4 WORLD SYSTEM THEORY

In 1976, Immanuel Wallerstein published the book called the *Modern World System* where he conceptualised the world system theory as a historical theory – explaining the development of the current international system. World system theory originated from dependency theory. Chang (1998:530), in a simplistic manner, explains world system theory as "an expansion and extension of the dependency theory". While dependency was based on examining different historic forms of economic dependency based on a global market made up of two-tiers, Wallerstein looked at the world system as one valid unit of analysis. In his world system, countries were located in three spheres: the core, the semiperiphery and the periphery which interacted on economic, political, social and cultural levels (Chang 1998:530). According to Wallerstein (1976), world system theory allows us to have a more thorough comprehension of inward and outward effects of modernisation and gives the frame through which it is possible to compare the process of modernisation in different parts of the world.

2.4.1 Defining the concept "world system"

The concept "world system" refers to the way in which all people of the world interact on an economic, political, social and cultural level. The world system encompasses individuals, households, regions, states, transnational structures, international regions and global structures (Chase-Dunn & Grimes 1995:358-359). The world system is an international structure which enables development to be analysed structurally using cores and peripheries. A world system may have a common political structure, where it becomes a world empire, or it may simply remain a world economy.

The concept of the 'world system' came from the need to analyse development in the modern world (Kandal & Martin 1989:3). Over time, interactions within the world system take on a predictive routine so that actors in the system form expectations based on a vast array of interconnections. All interactions in the world thus become a part of the "world system" and cannot be isolated from the world system. The argument is that within any system, all the elements are interlinked and affect one another – the world system is no different. In addition the world system in not affected by external changes as it is "self-contained" (Hobden & Wyn Jones 1997:130). Thus changes that take place in the system are a result of internal interactions. Since the world system encompasses all states in the world, no single area is outside of the sphere of interrelated links – there are no "outsiders". It is therefore possible to analyse the movement or transfer of capital, information, cultural values, ideologies etcetera from one location to the other because all parties involved are within the same system.

Since the 19th century there has only been one world system – the capitalist world economy which is controlled by a profit motive (Wallerstein 1989:25, Kandal 1989:25). In the capitalist world economy, international and interregional division of labour determines the production of goods and trade relations. Market trade and capitalism are direct results of the modern world economy. Therefore the current world economy and capitalism are synonymous (Wallerstein 2000:192).

2.4.2 Levels in the world system

According to world system theory, any capitalist market (including the global one) is maintained through robust competition. However, not all states have equal roles in the system; in fact the system works because there is an "international division of labour" where states perform different and specific functions. States are therefore divided according to their roles in the market into core, semi-periphery and periphery (Lewellen 1995:65). Due to their different economic roles, the three market zones have differing

interactions with regard to economic, political, cultural, media and technical relations (McPhail 2006:25).

International relations are therefore based upon the division of the world into three zones (McPhail 2006:24-25). Firstly, the core zone made up of a few developed countries that control the largest economies and contribute the most to the global economy, through expansive markets which primarily export finished expensive goods. Examples include the United States, the United Kingdom and Germany. The second zone is the semiperiphery made up of countries that have established economies and regional dominance and trade largely in semi-finished goods. Brazil, India and South Africa are examples. The semiperiphery has both core and periphery features and can always be found in an intermediate or mediatory position between the core and the periphery (Chase-Dunn & Grimes 1995:389). The third zone is the peripheral zone made up of the majority of the world's nations that contribute less than 2% to the global economy and are heavily dependent on raw materials for trade. Most African, South American and South Asian countries fall into this category.

These three divisions of nation states have differing interactions based on their position in the global economy. The main issue in world system theory is that these three zones have unequal economic relations which lead to inequality in other global interactions (McPhail 2006:25). Because countries in the core zone have greater control over the global economy, they also have the upper hand in economic relations with the semiperiphery and periphery countries. The core countries do not relate or interact with countries in the other zones as partners in the global economy but rather as markets for raw materials to use in manufacturing and as consumers to buy the finished goods (mass media products are part of these finished goods and reinforce inequality in the system and dependency). In addition, the core provides the other zones with technical equipment, the know-how and services thus creating a certain level of dependency for countries in the semiperiphery and the periphery.

Economic capacity and participation impacts on the type of relations that the zones have with one another – the core nations are in a superior position and determine market trends. Semi-periphery and periphery nations remain with little input into market behaviour.

2.4.3 The principle of hierarchy

In addition to the interaction levels in the world system, hierarchy is another important aspect of the world system, which permeates into political, economic and social relations of countries in the centre, periphery and semiperiphery.

Defining the concept "hierarchy"

All state-based world systems have an inter-social hierarchy. Hierarchy refers to the position or status of a country in the world system (Chang 1998:529). Hierarchical and spatial structures of the world system determine how developed a country is and its influence in international affairs. The hierarchical structure is one of the most important structures of the current world system where a power hierarchy, borne out of economic strength, exists between the core, the semiperiphery and the periphery. Powerful and wealthy core countries dominate and exploit weaker peripheral societies. Since the 19th century, most countries have generally retained their positions in the world system with a few exceptions where states either moved up or down in status (Chase-Dunn & Grimes 1995:389). The United States, for instance, went from being a peripheral country in the 19th century, controlled by the United Kingdom, to becoming a core state in the 20th century. Today the reproduction of the international power hierarchy is achieved more subtly through market mechanisms. Powerful states control the prices of goods, terms of trade and repayment terms for loans from global financial bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Economic power determines political power and status.

Hierarchy must be distinguished from the levels of interaction because not all relationships between the core and the periphery are exploitative. There are instances of equal relationships between the three levels often regarding political relations. Conversely, within the levels, dominance and exploitative relations occur such that a peripheral country can exploit another.

Hierarchy and international news flow

If the flow of news is analysed according to world system theory, then the direction and volume of news is directly determined by the position and level of hierarchy of a country in the world system (Chang 1998:529).

The commercialisation of news means that economic interactions are the single biggest factor in determining selection of international news (Wu 2003:20). Countries in the core tend to have more interactions with each other and with the periphery and therefore more information flowing between them. On the other hand, countries in the periphery do not have frequent economic interactions with the core and even less with each other and therefore receive far less media coverage. News therefore moves more frequently from high status countries to lower status countries rather than vice versa. Therefore countries in the periphery are not very visible in international news flows. Furthermore, news is most often produced and distributed by countries in the centre; therefore news from the centre makes up a large proportion of the news content internationally. Invariably, because there are varying status levels in the world system, there is an imbalance in the volume and type of coverage between developed countries and developing or underdeveloped nations (Chang 1998:532-533).

2.4.4 Critical evaluation of world system theory

An important strength of world system theory is its consistency regarding the world economy as a capitalist system. Capitalism according to world system theory refers to the continuous amassing of capital for the production of goods and services that will be sold for individual profit (Hobden & Wyn Jones 1997:130). World system theory is still used today because despite criticism of the nature of the 'system' and of the meanings of capital and the apparent marginalisation of periphery countries, the world is divided hierarchically, but still inextricably related.

World system theory has been widely criticised concerning its credibility as a theory at all. The concept of the world system has been criticised for making the distinctive features of countries by amassing them together in a system where the only distinguishing factor is their location within the system. Nations and regions regardless of their core or periphery nature still remain autonomous and have their own internal historical processes that affect the modern world system.

The first criticism rests with the world system definition of capitalism which posits that the concept "capitalism" refers to trading goods and services for a higher price than the original purchase (Hobden & Wyn Jones 1997:135). According to world system theory capitalist ideologies are central to the economic growth of core countries who aspire to spread capitalism to the semi-periphery and periphery zones (McPhail 2006:28). However, according to Marxists, capitalism is a form of production where there is a class of owners and one of labourers and this leads to conflict because labourers do not have access to the large profits the owners get (Hobden & Wyn Jones 1997:135). Without stating it explicitly, world system theory hints at the fact that the semi-periphery and periphery will gain more share of the market if they yield fully to capitalism and sell their products and services to core countries (McPhail 2006:28). However, this has proved to be unfounded as production plays a key role in securing market share.

Secondly, world system theory is criticised for being deterministic. All the various elements within the world system, whether social (families) or political (state bodies), are assumed to be products of the system. The actions and interactions of elements within the world system are predominantly moulded by their position within the world system, implying that all these different elements (especially states) have little control over their actions (Hobden & Wyn Jones 1997:135). Critics have greatly opposed determinism emphasising that sovereign states can determine their own policies and thus their system position.

The third point of criticism regards the need for distinguishing the semi-periphery zone. In the world system the semi-periphery is subordinate to the core but has a higher sphere of influence than the periphery. According to world system theory, the semi-periphery in international political relations acts as a buffer between the core and periphery. However, critics view the semi-periphery as the biggest threat to the stability of the world system, citing the Middle East as an example of this perceived volatility (Hobden & Wyn Jones 1997:135). Nevertheless, the semi-periphery is crucial in analysing regional hierarchies since semi-periphery nations are often regional core nations.

2.4.5 Relevance of world system theory for international communication

World system theory makes it is possible to analyse international interactions by using patterns of economic growth as an indicator of the types of relations that will occur between countries on other levels – political, social and cultural (McPhail 2006:25). World system theory is critical to international communication theory because it can be used to understand the following: industries that produce cultural products, the global mass media system, how technology moves from one area of the world to the other and how the actions of key players in the global economy (including media conglomerates) affect other regions. In addition, world system theory exposes the unequal flow of

information since the core countries are the centres of production of global news and other media content and flow, while peripheral countries are viewed by these media conglomerates as their consumers (McPhail 2006:31).

The rapid increase in international information can also be analysed using world system theory (McPhail 2006:27). Firstly, the increase can be attributed to the economic expansion of the core zone. The main media companies are based in the core. They manufacture cultural products and sell them to the other two zones for a profit, thus increasing their sphere of economic influence. The technology used and the cultural products are both sold by the core as finished goods to the semiperiphery and periphery (McPhail 2006:28). International communication requires software (for example programmes for editing video recordings) and hardware (such as printers for magazines, books and newspapers). Both hardware and software are made and sold by companies in the core (depending on the purchasing power of the particular country) to the semi-periphery and periphery. These companies are therefore able to infiltrate the other zones and make a profit. However, inclusive of purchasing these products from the core is the dislodging and replacement of cultural products that are indigenous. Core countries need more customers in the other markets in the periphery and semiperiphery. Therefore the capitalist core tailors its products to easily substitute what already exists (McPhail 2006:28).

Secondly, an increase in international information is due to the spread of capitalism. Most of the time inexplicitly, mass media (television, radio, magazines) are used by multinational media companies to promote (and change mindsets about) capitalism in the semi-periphery and periphery (McPhail 2006:28). This is achieved by: having company bases in the other zones where capitalism is openly practiced, tailoring marketing strategies to encourage capitalism and changing culturally significant industries like the arts to become profit-driven. Cultural products are advertised like other goods and advertisements are often reconstructed to suit the other zones and

ingrain capitalism in the particular society (McPhail 2006:28). Thirdly, increase in information is due to more persistent advertising. Most new commercial media companies formed in the core sometimes purely depend on selling advertising space to get revenue and make a profit. In order for these companies to be successful they need to garner as much advertising as they can (McPhail 2006:28-29).

International communication necessitates interaction therefore world system theory provides a practical avenue for tracking interactive exchanges between different countries (Chang 1998:532).

2.4.6 Examples of news flow studies founded on world system theory

Several news flow studies have been conducted based on world system theory. Chang (1998) used world system theory classification of countries to determine equality in international news coverage. More recently, Golan (2008) showed that world system theory could be used to predict coverage. Wilkin (2008) used world system analysis to explain global media interactions.

Chang (1998) based his case study of the coverage of the first World Trade Organisation (WTO) conference by *Reuters* news agency on world system theory. A content analysis was conducted using the official statements given by each country represented at the WTO meeting and *Reuters* daily news dispatches during the first four days of the conference. Countries were classified according to their location in the world system as either core countries, semi-peripheral or peripheral countries. Chang (1998) found that not every country has an equal chance of becoming news in international communication. In addition, coverage depends on where a country finds itself in the larger world setting. The *Reuters* stories were used as the unit of analysis rather than the countries themselves which meant that countries could be grouped together according to the stories they appeared in. It was thus possible to show that peripheral

countries appeared with core countries in a story and very rarely on their own (Chang 1998:548). Core nations of the world system were more likely to be covered than non-core countries at the conference. Semi-peripheral countries were reported on more often if they had several interactions with core countries (Chang 1998:555). Peripheral countries were only reported on if they had interactions with a core country (Chang 1998:546). Generally, countries in the periphery seemed to be highly irrelevant and insignificant to *Reuters*. Therefore a clear structural imbalance in news coverage of countries in the centre, semiperiphery and periphery can be noted from the study (Chang 1998:550). Chang's (1998:556) study supported earlier findings which suggested that the world system theory was an appropriate framework within which the determinants of international news flow and coverage could be found.

More recently, Golan (2008), investigated the coverage of African nations by four American newscasts between 2002 and 2004 and argued that Wallerstein's world system theory was a well-founded theoretical basis for examining news coverage. Golan supported Chang's (1998) argument that location within the world system (core, semi-periphery or periphery) could be used to predict the type and level of coverage a nation would receive. Golan's study also examined the nature of coverage, revealing that coverage focused on negative issues and events such as conflict and natural disasters. The study found that the prominence of nations is directly related to overall newsworthiness and regarding the determinants of international news flow coverage, gross domestic product and trade with the USA were two predictors of coverage.

Wilkin (2008) also used world system analysis, defending his use of the theory by highlighting the way in which world system theory views international communication as a competition of representation between varying social forces. The descriptive study focused on the Brazilian media corporation *Globo's* position in the context of the periphery and semi-periphery of the world system and the globalisation of communication (Wilkin 2008:93). The conclusions reached showed that analysis using

world system theory provided a more inclusive and dynamic approach to understanding global interactions and issues whereas traditional international relations theory focused mainly on the state as a unit of analysis (Wilkin 2008:112).

2.5 INTERNATIONAL NEWS FLOW PATTERNS

The two main factors in determining the direction and level of flow and the nature of content are hierarchy and structural inequality. These two factors are critical characteristics of the world system approach. According to world system theory, the status of a country in the global hierarchy allows for inequality in the volume and type of news that moves between developing countries and developed countries. Three distinct patterns of flow namely centre-periphery flow, north-south flow and triangular flow have developed from the world system approach.

2.5.1 Centre-periphery flow

While centre-periphery flow usually results in the vertical flow of information from the centre to the periphery, world system theory allows for the inclusion of the semi-periphery, thus changing the nature of news flow. World system theory distinguishes the differences in news flow between the centre and the semi-periphery and the centre and the periphery. Therefore in the world system centre-periphery model, international news coverage is determined by the centre; countries in the centre experience more equal coverage compared to the exchange between the centre and the periphery. However news content in peripheral countries is still dominated by news from the centre, whereas in the centre very little news coverage is given to the periphery. Furthermore, news exchange between peripheral countries is very infrequent. The semi-periphery therefore plays a crucial role in being a buffer between the centre and the periphery (Mowlana 1997:44-45). This model in a regional setting (in this study, Africa) could be used to show that the regional centre countries dominate news coverage and

there will be more exchange between the regional semi-periphery and the centre and little exchange between regional peripheral countries.

2.5.2 North-South flow

In North-South news flow, news moves between and within developed and developing countries. News flows vertically from North to South but also horizontally from North to North and South to South. Low volumes of news may also flow from South to North, often described as contra-flow as it moves against the normal vertical pattern. World system theory also allows for circular flow in the North-South model. Circular flow occurs when events and issues in the South are reported by journalists from news agencies in the North. These stories are then processed, packaged and distributed by news agencies in the North back to the South (Mowlana 1997:45). In a regional setting, vertical and horizontal flows between more developed countries and developing countries will occur. More developed countries will also have a greater capacity to collect, process and disseminate information, therefore circular flow is likely to occur.

2.5.3 Triangular flow

In triangular news flow, the geographic North is divided into East and West. The South is linked to the East and West separately and the East and West also maintain their own relationship. Eastern countries are likely to primarily exchange news with other Eastern countries as are Western countries. There is, however, more news exchanged between East and West than between East and South and West and South. On the contrary, news in developing countries (the South) is likely to be from the East and West. Within a regional context, the developed countries within the region are divided into East and West, with the West still containing the most developed countries and the East having countries which would typically be part of the regional semi-periphery (Mowlana 1997:46). In a study of regional news flow, it would therefore be critical to establish

countries that would be part of the regional North, and these could then be divided into regional East and West.

2.6 CONCLUSIONS

Dependency theory, imperialism theory and world system theory have been among the most notable theories used by international communication scholars examining information and specifically news flow patterns (Chang 1998:529). Communication theory has therefore borrowed from political economy, economic development theory and international relations theory in order to explain the exchange of global media products, more especially news (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:18).

Dependency theory introduces the concepts of the "centre" (or core) and the "periphery" which provides the basis for the underlying assumption of inequality in the international flow of news. Since the production and distribution of news is based largely in the centre, peripheral countries are disadvantaged in the global flow of news and they receive less coverage. Though dependency theory has shifted out of focus in international communication theory, it is still relevant in the analysis of the global news system. Dependency theory is also the basis of the structural theory of imperialism, which retains the division of the world into "centre" and "periphery". However imperialism focuses on the regional and local "centres" and "peripheries" within the global centre and global periphery. Therefore the structural theory of imperialism allows for the analysis of centre-periphery inequality within a regional context. It is therefore possible to analyse the flow of news within a region.

World system theory provides the basis through which hierarchy and the international flow of information can be examined and explained. Communication scholars, who examine hierarchy and international information flow, tend to focus on the economic and socio-political issues such as the determinants of coverage, access to information

and the ability of states to develop their own media and information systems (Chang 1998, Boyd-Barrett 1980, Lee 1980).

The theories discussed here all ascribe to the central assumption that global inequality stems from the differences in production capacity of countries. Information is part of the global economy and part of the production process. The flow of information therefore has a strong economic basis. This is the reason why the theories of dependency, imperialism and world system have persisted through changes in the patterns of the flow of information and continue to play an important role in the study of international communication. With this theoretical foundation it is now possible to discuss the flow of economic news globally and regionally.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERNATIONAL FLOW OF ECONOMIC NEWS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

With a background of international news flow theory, specifically one explaining the global imbalance of news flow and coverage, it is now possible to focus on the flow of economic news. This chapter is a discussion of the global flow of economic news and more specifically the flow of economic news in Africa. Firstly, the concepts economy, economics and economic news are defined in order to emerge with working definitions for this study. Secondly, global economic news flow is discussed with regards to sources of economic news, the market for global economic news and factors influencing economic news coverage. Thirdly, the flow of economic news in Africa is discussed with an in-depth focus on the determinants of coverage within a regional and an economic context.

3.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPTS "ECONOMY", "ECONOMICS" AND "ECONOMIC NEWS"

In order to fully understand the international flow of economic news, it is necessary to provide a broad definition of the term "economic news" (Kariithi 2005:152). Therefore it is important to first define the concepts "economy" and "economics".

3.2.1 Defining the concept "economy"

Udell, (1981:26) defines an economy as a system by which human activity devoted to the use of land and other natural resources, of labour, and of capital is organised to deliver a standard of living. Mohr & Fourie (1995:44) describe economy as a pattern of organisation that is aimed at solving three central questions: what should be produced, how should it be produced and who should it be produced for. In simpler terms, an economy is a social mechanism which organises production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. Every society needs this mechanism

because there are finite supplies of resources leading to a continuous state of scarcity in society. An economy therefore provides the parameters in which choices can be made regarding the use of limited resources.

3.2.2 Defining the concept "economics"

According to Mohr & Fourie (1995:44) economics refers to the activities and issues relating to the allocation of scarce resources – who controls the resources and what they do with these resources; who loses and who gains. According to Parker (1997), economics refers to the way in which resources are produced, distributed and consumed and all the issues and events that arise as a result. Whether directly or indirectly, economics affects all aspects of society since human survival depends on utilising and exploiting resources (Mogekwu 2005:62).

3.2.3 Defining the concept "economic news"

Economic news refers to news concerning the production, distribution and consumption of resources. It therefore encompasses business, financial and political events, issues and stories. Economic and business news is often narrowly defined to mean financial news only or reports on corporate "numbers". Financial reports often deal with earnings, dividends, financings, appointments, amalgamations, meetings, corporate developments, stock-market stories, management interviews and economic reports (Kirsch 1978:81). However financial news is only one part of economic news which provides a broad outlook on the global economy (Anderson 1981:5). Widening the definition, Kariithi (2005) describes economic news as any news that has economic significance.

Global economic news therefore relates to economic issues and events that impact on the world as a whole. Global economic news may begin as a national or regional story but end up having profound international implications. There are many facets of economic news that will make a story relevant to another country (Kariithi 2005:152). For example the closing down of two mines in Botswana in February

2009, on the surface, is a local story affecting mine employees in Botswana. However, the mine closures were due to the decline in diamond sales to European and American markets due to the global recession caused by the US credit crises (AFP 2009). Therefore the international trade in commodities (in this case diamonds) has been affected by domestic economic policies in the US, which in turn has affected the operational costs of an international mining company. The real effects are the need for the company to downsize, involving the retrenchment of employees in two of its operations in Botswana.

Financial and industrial expansion in the 19th and 20th centuries led to specialisation in economic news. In America, newspapers began to include separate sections devoted to economic news. Financial and economic stories very often have an underlying human interest angle. At the same time, non-economic stories also often have economic implications (Kirsch 1978:xxxi). The current growth of emerging markets and recession in the global economy requires even more comprehensive and widespread economic news.

Economic news is a direct product of the price system and market economy; both cannot function if they are not supported by a comprehensive information network. The spread of capitalism to all regions of the world has led to an expansion in the global economy and the nature of the information being exchanged has become more complex. In addition, the mode of information exchange and economic communications has become more sophisticated. With the adoption of capitalism by many states following the end of the Cold War, economic communication has subsequently grown to accommodate more markets. The market economy and the market for economic information and ideas are inseparable. As economies grow, the need for constant and accurate information becomes vital. The economy is fuelled by economic news because it strengthens the ideas, values, culture and language of the market economy. Without economic news it would be very difficult to bridge the gaps between the operations of industry and those of government and indeed the general public. Economic news therefore acts as the bridge between the market and

government and also provides a balance between economic thought and opinion (Parsons 1989:1).

3.3 PATTERNS IN THE GLOBAL FLOW OF ECONOMIC NEWS

Global economic news coverage is determined by the status of an economy. Countries which have larger economies, that is, contribute more to the global economy tend to be covered more, because their economic activity has a greater influence on the state of the global economy. Perceptions of the state of the global economy are developed directly from economic news coverage (Fogarty 2005:150-153). While some studies have shown that media coverage of the economy distorts reality (Bennett 1988, Shah et al 1999), other studies have shown that economic news coverage in fact accurately reflects the economy and adjusts to changes in the economy (Nadeau, Niemi, Fan & Amatto 1999). Global economic news coverage generally consists of stock and securities exchange reports, the international monetary system (foreign exchange rates), international economic affairs and economic summits and meetings.

Not all economic data becomes news, some data is highlighted and used by the news media while other is entirely neglected (Fogarty 2005:150). Developing regions do not have stock or securities exchanges that can measure up to the New York, London or Tokyo stock exchanges – the top three stock exchanges in the world. Therefore great gains on the stock markets in Africa will have little impact on world stock prices unless these companies are listed on bigger stock exchanges too.

The operation of the international monetary system is also another key factor in economic news coverage because it affects commodity prices depending on the market. Changes in currency value affect what is earned from exports and the cost implications of imports (Ellis 1981:258). Very few currencies of developing countries are traded outside their borders. Therefore reported rates in international reports only feature the currencies of a few major developed nations. For other currencies,

national media has to be consulted. Again this highlights the disparities in global economic news reporting.

International economic summits and meetings are also an important part of global economic news coverage (Anderson 1981:8). Very crucial decisions are often made which affect national economies positively or negatively. But within the coverage of summits and meetings, certain countries tend to receive more coverage. Chang (1998), in his study on the World Trade Organisation inaugural meeting, found that though most countries in the world participated in the meeting and had representatives speaking, only a select few, which tended to be developed countries, were covered in *Reuters* reports.

International economic affairs are very often covered in local media as a key component of international affairs. As world trade and its institutions have grown, they have become much more significant to economic and business news, locally and internationally. World trade and investment is the basis of many domestic industries and provides employment for millions around the world. International economic affairs have therefore become significantly intertwined with local and national affairs. International trade that allows every country to sell the goods or services that it can produce through the most efficient means, often translates into the improvement of living standards and increases the likelihood of global stability. As nations compete in the sale of their goods, world trade also both reduces and increases job opportunities. Trade may either make jobs redundant or create new employment opportunities. In many countries exports contribute significantly to the overall national economy while many countries are dependent on imports for the basic commodities such as food and energy. The importance of foreign trade illustrates why the focus of much international reporting has become economic (Ellis 1981:245-246).

Developing countries generally have a small impact on international economic affairs on their own due to low levels of trade (Ellis 1981:263). If they do have an impact, it usually involves an economic relationship with a developed country. For example,

many multinational corporations have manufacturing plants in developing countries. If these multinational corporations (MNCs) are in the news, then there is a great likelihood that the host country would be mentioned. However, the main thrust of the story still lies with the MNC. Developing countries are very rarely able to control or change market prices. Therefore even regarding the international trade in commodities which they produce, they are rarely covered (Ellis 1981:264).

However, the current emergence of underdeveloped nations as both economic and political forces in international affairs has had a significant impact on coverage. In the last decade countries like China, India, Brazil and South Africa have emerged as strong economic forces shaping the nature of coverage with more emphasis on Asian and South American market trends. Therefore, even though the economic aspirations of less developed nations and their demands often receive very little coverage they cannot be completely ignored. Furthermore, issues of war and peace often hinge on international economic affairs. Not only does it take considerable resources to finance wars (and peace efforts), but very often hostility is closely related to the production and distribution of resources. Therefore both locally and globally, the economics of aspiring developing nations will continually make news (Ellis 1981:266).

3.4 SOURCES OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC NEWS

Most global economic news stems from information that comes from corporations and companies, brokerage houses, and communication officers for government and international organisations (Kirsch 1978:82). Sometimes this economic information is made directly available to media, but most media organisations are likely to use international news agencies as their major source of global economic news.

3.4.1 International organisations

Both International economic cooperation and dissension have brought into existence several international organisations important to economic journalists (Ellis

1981:247). Examples of these include the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which are channels for foreign aid and structural loans, the European Union (EU), a regional economic body and the Organisation of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), a cartel which controls the production and price of oil. These organisations often organise conferences and meetings open to press coverage, thus providing journalists and editors with the opportunity to generate news stories.

3.4.2 National news agencies

However, the bulk of media concerned with global economic news do not always have the resources or capability to directly gather global news. National news agencies are also critical for governments because governments are able to use them to disseminate information. For example, the *St Petersburg Telegraph Agency* was originally formed to counter allegedly false reports being circulated about the state of Russia's economy. The news agency became a means by which the government could disseminate internal business developments about Russia to other countries (Rampal 2002:101). News agencies are therefore the most important source of international economic news.

3.4.3 Global news agencies

Global news agencies are heralded for providing a wide spectrum of economic news and analysis. However, it must be noted that economic factors are often analysed and interpreted for industrialised markets. Therefore it is often possible to find that the economic news gathered by global news agencies is often not relevant for developing countries. For developing countries, specifically African countries who receive news directly off the wire or from foreign media there is very little relevant analysis and interpretation. Global news agencies are crucial for local news media because they provide the essential elements from which local media formulate their own international news stories (Herbert 2001:41). Furthermore the global news agencies tend to concentrate on news from the biggest global markets often

sidelining crucial information from less developed economies that may have a considerable impact on the global economy. The majority of global news flow is controlled by Western news agencies, a great concern for developing countries. Since the 1970s, developing countries have raised concerns about the dominance of global news agencies over news exchange between developed and developing countries (Rampal 2002:111). The flow economic news is therefore heavily imbalanced with information predominantly from advanced Western economies.

Reuters

When *Reuters* began in 1851, it provided stock market quotations between Paris and London. By 1859 it was the main source of international economic news for the entire British press and other countries. Reports on battles lost or won, political crises, bad weather and so forth all affected market prices. Similarly news of market crises affected and changed political and social decisions (Rampal 2002:100).

Today, *Reuters* is still a major source of global economic news. *Reuters* spends the bulk of its resources on financial information. It provides information on global financial markets which consists of among others, real time financial data and collective investment data. *Reuters* provides data on 940000 shares, bonds and other financial instruments and information on over 40 000 companies. Over 5000 of its clients receive updates every second (Rampal 2002:104).

News agencies in developing countries are unable to keep up with the speed and efficiency of an agency such as *Reuters* due to their lack of access to capital and advanced technology. Therefore news organisations usually use national news agency as a go-between for international news. News organisations in 150 countries subscribe to the *Reuters* news service either directly or through national news agencies. Newer *Reuters* products such as *Reuters Inform*, an internet based service have been developed to assist market professionals make informed business decisions (Rampal 2002:105).

United Press International

Another major news agency for global economic news is *United Press International* (*UPI*) which has evolved from a traditional news wire service to producing what the company terms, "knowledge based products" for its internet clients. One such product is its specialised web newsletter, produced by business and financial experts. UPI's newsletter enable businesses to be equipped with privileged, hard-to-get information which is practical, specialised and contains expert guidance and analysis, insights, forecasts and trend alerts and predictions (Rampal 2002:103-104).

Agence France-Presse

Agence France-Presse (*AFP*) another news agency, has a separate economic wire called *AFX News*, which provides real time economic and financial news and has a subsidiary, *AFX Asia* specifically for the Asian market which has a very different business-cultural orientation from American and European markets (Rampal 2002:105).

Interfax

Russia's *Interfax*, offers general and financial news and is the preferred choice of many corporations, investment funds, brokerage houses, banks and government structures (Rampal 2002:107).

Supplemental news agencies

In addition to the major global news agencies, there are niche agencies that supply real time news to the business and financial community like the *Dow Jones Newswire* (Anderson 1981:11, Rampal 2002:108). *Dow Jones News Plus* is the online branch which services the international business community.

3.4.4 Radio and television broadcasts

Broadcasts are also another critical source of global economic news. The *Wall Street Journal Radio Network* gives hourly business and financial newscasts each weekday and has weekend reports while the *Dow Jones Money Report* provides news briefs on money news and consumer trade (Rampal 2002:109). Many international television and radio channels depend on these broadcasts for news if they are unable to have bureaus in different economic hubs around the world.

3.4.5 Print publications

Print publications also provide crucial global economic news. Global business daily, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Financial Times* of London are based in New York and London respectively, and both are major global economic centres (Rampal 2002:109). Periodicals such as the *Economist* and *Fortune* are also read globally. Periodicals developed as specialised publications emerged following the growth of individual industries for example mining and shipping. Periodicals generally offer more of a regional focus and are written either for general or very specific business audiences such as investors or people working within an industry. However many of these publications still rely on the general wire services for non-local business and economic reporting (Anderson 1981:11-14).

3.5 THE MARKET AND FUNCTIONS OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC NEWS

While most media audiences will be concerned about basic economic news affecting their country, the audience for global economic news is smaller and more knowledgeable of international affairs generally. The market for global economic news generally consists of businesses, shareholders, investors, international and regional organisations, governments, non-governmental organisations, economic and political analysts and research institutions. This market also tends to have a higher capability of understanding more technical financial and economic terms. Unlike other types of news, economic or business stories have their own language

and very specific vocabulary, terms, phrases and even colloquial expressions. Therefore the selection of global economic news is based largely on how news gatekeepers perceive the level of business and financial literacy of the audience (Doyle 2006:436). Countries which have larger audiences for business information are more likely to exchange global economic news. Furthermore, countries which are involved in foreign direct investment either through governments or private equity are also more likely to have larger markets for global economic news as opposed to those countries which are largely focused on internal investment.

Consumers, investors and governments cannot always get economic information first-hand and quickly (Wu, McCracken & Saito 2004:133). International economic news allows audiences to be constantly informed about the global economy. In addition, reports and analysis of the economy, allow people to make predictions about the global economy. Global economic news acts as a surveillance technique for its audience. Economic news not only comprises hard news and economic data, but also analysis and forecasts. Surveying the global economic environment will let those interested know where they stand. News media serves society with its surveillance function and fulfils the innate desire to detect threats in the environment (Ju 2008:238). The fact that the general public has access to economic information is integral to global economic trends because consumer behaviour greatly affects the performance of the global economy (Wu et al 2004:134).

3.6 ECONOMIC NEWS FLOW IN AFRICA

Following the discussion of global news flow, it is now possible to understand the flow of regional economic news within the African context. Though minimal research has been conducted on news flow in Africa there are still indications that African countries are increasing their production and exchange of news (Kariithi 2005:151).

3.6.1 Patterns of economic news flow in Africa

Economic news flow patterns in Africa are formed by several factors including geographic and cultural proximity, access to resources and economic climate.

Geographic and cultural proximity

In Africa, the flow of news is greatly affected by geographic and cultural proximity (Eribo 1999:159). Eribo's longitudinal study of global news flow in Nigeria showed that news coverage is dependent on the connections one country has with another. African countries are more likely to have international news stories from neighbouring states than from countries that are in another geographic region, even though they are within the same continent. As such, news does not flow very far on the continent. News flow in Africa is mapped according to geographic, linguistic and cultural lines which create distance between countries. Africa is divided into five main geographic regions: north, west, central, east and south. News is more likely to move between countries within these geographical regions than countries in different geographic regions. Therefore a news story in Nigeria is more likely to become news in Ghana than in Kenya if it is not a story with direct implications for Kenya or is not a major event. News is also more likely to flow between countries that share the same official language. The most written languages in Africa are English, French and Portuguese. News is more likely to move between Anglophone countries than from Francophone to Anglophone and vice versa.

Access to resources

The other major aspect is access to resources. Countries that have access to more resources are able to generate and receive more news. For example, South Africa has a large national news agency (in comparison to other African countries) and also has an international news television channel, SABC International, allowing the facilitation of more exchanges of news from other parts of the continent. During the

2008 presidential rerun in Ghana, the SABC had journalists not only in the capital, Accra, but also in remote regions of Ghana.

Africa's economic activity, however, provides a great source for news stories and African media has made economic news a huge component of their news reports (Kariithi 2005:153). In Africa, for example, political instability of a neighbouring country, a country within the region or a large trading partner will often be selected as news.

Economic climate

Another key aspect of economic news flow in Africa is the economic climate within a country. Doyle (2006:449) explains that more economic news is likely to be generated from countries that have deregulated economies and a burgeoning private sector. Therefore, African countries that operate within a free-market system are more likely to send and receive business news compared to countries under a utilitarian and state-controlled system. Countries that have a growing and active stock or securities exchange (like South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt and Ghana) will be in constant communication regarding their performance. Economic news is also more likely to flow between countries that have economists and specialised professionals such as econometricians, statisticians, market analysts and investor relations experts. Fewer experts often results in a smaller amount of news generated from a particular country.

Contra-flow in African economic news

National and regional news agencies are critical in shaping and directing the flow of news and bringing African news out of the dominant grasp of Western news agencies (Ndangam 2006:251). Very recently, more publications are being produced which are not locally based, but have a broadbased audience all over the continent and even outside of the continent. The news published is for a global rather than local audience connected by their interest in Africa and not by their geographic

location (Ndangam 2006:253). African media is now part of the growing trend of trans-national communication largely facilitated by rapid developments in communication technology, specifically the internet (Ndangam 2006:252). Most Pan-African publications have a strong online presence in order to reach their widespread audience.

3.6.2 Sources of economic news in Africa

Economic news in Africa comes from global and national news agencies and government departments. More recently, Pan-African publications have become an important source of news as well because they provide information on the continent as a whole and cover more countries.

Global and national news agencies

Africa has traditionally been dependent on Western news agencies for international news. Neighbouring countries often receive news about each other and about other African countries from news agencies like *Reuters*, *Associated Press* and *Agence France-Presse*. Since the late 1970s, African news agencies have been developing, some far more than others. Some African countries still do not have national news agencies. The *South African Press Association* (*Sapa*), however, is one of the largest suppliers of hard news on the continent and the primary supplier of global news to the South African media market and other markets requiring South African and African news (South African Press Association 2008). The *Pan-African News Agency* (*PANA*) was created in 1979 with the aim of generating African news content and minimising the reliance of African countries on Western news agencies. However, *PANA* continues to rely on national news agencies and therefore has not been highly successful in achieving its goals.

Pan-African news coverage

Since the establishment of the Pan African News Agency in 1979, there has been a concerted effort to gather news from an African perspective rather than relying predominantly on outside news agencies for African news and information (Ndangam 2006:251). The generation of African content has however been a very slow process until recently. Continental initiatives like the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) has however, contributed to the development of Pan-African publications as the interconnectedness of the continent has been strengthened through intensified economic, political and cultural relations. However, there still remains an imbalance in coverage as not all African countries are equally represented in Pan-African publications.

Pan-African publications are tailored mostly for people residing in key urban areas who are literate, affluent and business-minded. Therefore countries that have larger literate and affluent audiences are more likely to feature in Pan-African publications than countries with lower income and literacy levels (Ndangam 2006:253). Content providers are also crucial to Pan-African publications. These publications usually do not have the capacity or resources to send their own reporters to gather news, therefore they rely on news sources (as discussed in the previous section). Countries which have more established information networks will be seen as good sources of content and will be covered more often. The publications rely heavily on news content providers from all over the continent (Ndangam 2006:255).

Government departments

In much of Africa however, many economic news stories are derived from government departments (Kariithi 2005:154). Government sources tend to shroud information. Consequently, countries with transparent governments have a greater advantage in news gathering. Very few national institutions are considered sources for news because they either do not exist or they do not have the required information and inside knowledge. As mentioned before, expert knowledge is critical

to economic news. Government sources also tend to be used because many African economies are largely based on the public sector rather than the private sector (Kariithi 2005:155).

3.6.3 Determinants of economic news coverage in Africa

Most research on the determinants of news coverage focuses on the aspects that make a country newsworthy in international media (Golan 2008:43). Galtung and Ruge (1965) identified 11 variables used to predict coverage of international events. Golan (2008:44) found that out of the 11 variables, five are consistent in most of the prominent scholarship on determinants of international coverage: prominence of a nation within the hierarchy of nations, relevance, deviance, cultural affinity and geographic proximity. These five variables can then be used within an African context and within the limitation of economic news.

Prominence

Prominence occurs because of the inequality between states and collectives. Within collectives there are also centres and peripheries. Therefore in developing regions, countries can be separated into centre and periphery. Economically and politically dominant states make up the centre while poorer states make up the periphery. Countries that can compete with the centre in certain aspects, but resemble the core in other aspects, constitute the semi-periphery. A hierarchical order is therefore formed with the dominant countries becoming more prominent.

Within the context of economic news flow, prominence therefore refers to the status of a country in the regional (in this study the region is the entire African continent) economy. The African countries that contribute the most to the continent's economy (and not necessarily the countries with the highest GDP per capita) receive more coverage in regional economic news. These countries trade and invest more than other countries; therefore, their financial transactions and investment deals receive prominence in news content. Countries with larger

economies also tend to have a greater audience for economic news because there are more private businesses, corporate structures and organisations and ordinary citizens who have commercial interests in the state of the economy. Countries that are economically significant to the region also tend to use their financial strength to levitate them politically, which further increase their status within the regional hierarchy.

Prominent countries also have the means of exchanging and disseminating information to other countries. It is for example, easier to receive news about the Cairo and Alexandria Stock Exchange in Egypt than it is to find basic economic information about Mauritania. Prominent countries tend to be constantly covered in economic news, because they are constantly providing information that forms regional economic news. However, to become news, an economic event or issue must still have a high news value, determined by news media gatekeepers, in order for it to become part of the economic news flow within the region (Chang 1998:536).

Relevance

The first key determinant of international news coverage is relevance. Relevance relates to levels of trade – how relevant the event, issue or country is to Africa's economic position and the GNP of the continent. Trade is positively linked to the volume of news coverage a nation receives. In fact even outside of an economic news context, trade has been found to be a main predictor of news coverage (Pietiläinen 2006:218). Economic exchanges between nations increase the likelihood of coverage.

Whilst researchers have dealt with "relevance to the home nation", in the context of this study, relevance will be to audiences interested in African economic news. The elites within peripheral countries will be keen on reading economic news about their "centre", this is the most relevant international news for them (Galtung 1971:93). Economic interest propels people to learn about those countries that are more economically related than others that are not (Pietiläinen 2006:217). Studies about

the coverage of individual countries of equatorial and lower Africa in American media showed that coverage correlated highly with trade with the United States – effectively, countries that traded with the United States became relevant to an American audience (Pietiläinen 2006:218).

Trade is the principal predictor of news coverage about foreign countries in both the developed and developing world (Pietiläinen 2006:218). A country with a high gross national product (GDP) will be highly relevant to an audience interested in regional economics. GDP is an exclusive predictor of news coverage. Pietiläinen (2006) found that the correlation between trade and news flow is strong, in other words no trade generally means very little news coverage, particularly in the economic news arena. Conflict will be relevant because of the effect it has on trade. Foreign news and foreign trade are highly connected. For developing countries, the main trade flows are directed to the economic centre of the world. In a continental context, trade flows are directed towards the regional centre.

Trade is a systemic factor or determinant which influences the volume of information that flows between various parts of the world. When countries become involved in trade, economic and political relationships are formed between the countries. Therefore for Africa, these economic and political relationships are extremely important for the overall economy of the continent. African countries with tremendous economic and political clout dominate the continental press. Trading partners are important not only to governments or corporate organisations, but also to ordinary citizens (Wu 2003:19). Economic interest leads to coverage in economic news.

Deviance

Deviance relates to negative growth rates, slowing down of a country's economy and the effects of political and social conflict (such as civil unrest) on regional economic stability. Several studies have shown that economic news coverage is skewed towards negative news (Goidel & Langley 1995, Fogarty 2005, Soroka 2006). Fogarty

(2005) found that during an economic downturn, the *New York Times* over emphasised negative issues; yet when the economy was in an upswing, there was no evidence of over-reporting on positive economic activity. Invariably negative events such as the current economic recession provide opportunities for more analysis, more explanations and the concern of people who are not normally concerned with economic news. When oil prices surge for example, ordinary citizens are directly affected and want to understand the reasons behind price increases. Yet when the price of oil decreases, consumers are simply content with the good news and not the underlying economic reasons.

Africa presents a special case regarding deviance because only 13 countries on the continent are considered as middle income countries, the remainder are low-income countries with negligible GDPs and insignificant contributions to global trade. Therefore most of the continent's news-making issues are rooted firmly in struggling economies (Kariithi 2005:154). However, the availability of resources on the continent and increased political stability in some countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Ghana has also made the continent a destination for investors. Yet the interest of investors has been met with suspicion as many believe that resource exploitation lies at the root of increased investment in the continent. Negative issues such as the dominance of China in Africa have furthermore been given a lot of coverage in African economic news media.

Cultural affinity

The cultural relations countries have with one another affect the flow of news. Culturally, the Muslim (and predominantly Arab) North is far removed from Sub-Saharan Africa. In Africa, language further intensifies the already existing cultural divide. News is more likely to be exchanged between countries that share the same language. Therefore Francophone countries are more likely to cover news from other Francophone countries. Language also affects the geographic distribution of news, as most Francophone countries are in Central, West and North Africa while the majority of Anglophone countries are in East and Southern Africa. Cultural

affinity can be extrapolated to the cooperative work of regional economic bodies such as the African Union, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and others. The cultural affinity therefore has a considerable impact on bi-lateral and multilateral relations.

Geographic proximity

Countries that commonly trade with one another tend to be closer to each other. For example, Canada is the largest trading partner of the United States, similarly, South Africa's foreign economic policy is largely based on agreements it has within the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Therefore economic issues and events within the SADC region are more likely to have a direct impact on South Africa and are therefore more likely to make news. The current economic situation in Zimbabwe, characterised by abysmal inflation rates, unemployment and lack of infrastructure, impacts directly on South Africa's economy because Zimbabwe is one of its main trading partners, a neighbouring state and a member of SADC (Roelf 2009). The violent uprising after the 2007 Kenyan elections which led to temporary closure of businesses, on the other hand, mildly affected South Africa but Kenya's neighbouring (and landlocked) states like Uganda and Rwanda felt a great impact as they were cut-off from their trade network (Sango 2008). Therefore news media in East Africa would have had more a comprehensive coverage of the economic effects of election violence.

3.7 SOUTH AFRICA: THE CONTENT DRIVER FOR PAN-AFRICAN BUSINESS PUBLICATIONS

Africa's ten largest economies are South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria, Algeria, Morocco, Sudan, Angola, Libya, Tunisia and Kenya. There are also several medium-sized economies such as Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Botswana, Zambia, Uganda, Senegal and Gabon. However, the majority of African countries (over 30 countries) have a GDP of less than $10 billion. Nine countries in Africa: Burundi, Comoros,

Djibouti, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, São Tomé and Principe, Seychelles and Somalia all have a GDP of less than $1 billion (Word development Indicators ... 2008). Only 13 African countries are considered middle-income countries by the World Bank, but they contribute nearly half of the continent's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) even though they only make up 7.5% of the continent's population (Saleson 2007).

The South African economy contributes nearly 40% of Sub-Saharan Africa's GDP Within the global economy, the spill-over effect for regional neighbours when a country experiences economic growth of 1% is 0.4% for the bordering country. In contrast, for every one percent of growth South Africa experiences the entire Sub-Saharan region experiences a growth of 0.75%. Economic growth and development in South Africa therefore have crucial consequences for the economic health of the entire region. South Africa therefore acts as Africa's growth engine, comparable to the United States' role in the world economy. Therefore South Africa is likely to be a huge generator of economic news, and Pan-African publications are likely to publish stories relating to the continent's biggest economy. But there are other determinants to economic news coverage that also have to be taken into consideration such as declining economies and the effects of political events on the continent's economy (Saleson 2007).

South Africa is Africa's largest economy with a gross national income of $251.8 billion (South Africa – Data and Statistics 2009). It is the source of the majority of business transactions in Africa and between Africa and the rest of the world especially in private equity. South Africa therefore holds a dominant economic position in Africa. This economic dominance has also led to the extensive development of its media and information resources. South Africa has to a large extent been able to reach new markets in the rest of Africa quite successfully, particularly in English-speaking cities with large numbers of affluent individuals such as Lagos, Nairobi, Kampala and Accra. South Africa's media penetration has been effective in both the production of media such as printing and publishing and also in the spread of South African content (Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman & De Beer

2007:154). South Africa is therefore able to generate its own news very efficiently and sell it in other markets.

South Africa's economic status and highly developed media places it in a favourable position to receive extensive coverage from Pan-African business publications. Firstly, South Africa is a huge source of economic and business news not just about itself but also about its economic relations with other African countries and with the rest of the World. Secondly, it is able to provide a considerable audience for business publications because of the large number of operating private enterprises, organisations, institutions and individuals interested in business news from across the continent. Because of its well-developed infrastructure, key business events, both regional and global take place in the country; these events are crucial to business content as decisions and declarations with high impact are often made.

3.8 CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion can be drawn that almost all non-economic stories actually have an economic angle because they relate to the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. In a global setting, the flow of economic news is consistent with the flow of general international information: news flows from developed countries to developing countries. News agencies, based in the economically advanced nations of the world are the main sources of global economic news, and invariably focus on the world's biggest and dynamic economies. The flow of economic news in Africa mirrors global economic news flow patterns: only a few key countries which contribute significantly to the continental economy are consistently covered. Apart from deviance, the determinants of coverage are such that only large economies receive any considerable coverage. In Africa, South Africa's economic status places it in a position to receive widespread coverage in economic news. South Africa also has a well developed media infrastructure which enables it to collect and disseminate information about other African countries, placing it at the centre of regional news flows.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the research approaches, methodologies and techniques applied in this dissertation are discussed. Firstly, the research questions will be identified. Secondly, the research design will be discussed, explaining the use of both quantitative and qualitative content analysis. Thirdly, quantitative content analysis will be probed further, focusing on the population and sampling methods, the units of analysis, the categories of coding, the coding procedures and the analysis of data. Fourthly, there will be an explanation of the nature of quantitative content analysis applied specifically looking at prominence. The chapter ends with a critical evaluation of the study.

4.2 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is twofold:
- To determine the level of coverage that South Africa receives in Pan-African economic and business publications compared to other African countries.
- To describe how the publications cover South Africa and whether the nature of coverage shows a clear regional hierarchy in the international flow of economic news between African countries.

4.3 FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Two research questions were formulated. Firstly, to what extent is South Africa covered in Pan-African financial magazines in comparison with other African countries and what

is the nature of the coverage? And secondly, does the level and nature of coverage show evidence of regional hierarchies?

4.4 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative research designs are used. Quantitative research is mainly empirical or experimental and is based on the measurement of quantity or amount. Quantitative methodologies manipulate variables and attempt to control natural phenomena. Research questions are constructed and then tested against the facts of reality. Quantitative designs are used to achieve the highest possible level of objectivity and are therefore often criticised for removing facts from their original context. On the other hand, qualitative designs are based on the premise that objective reality does not exist and therefore cannot be quantified. Qualitative studies are therefore analytic and interpretive, and phenomena are observed in their natural context. Generally, quantitative designs are applied to numeric data and qualitative designs are used when data is verbalised (Lemon 1996:32-33).

When more than one research design is used in a study, it is known as triangulation. Triangulation decreases the occurrence of personal bias that often results from using one research design, thereby increasing the reliability of the study. In addition, using two types of research design ensures that that the shortcomings of one design are compensated for by the other (Babbie & Mouton 2001:275). Critical evaluations of quantitative and qualitative designs have shown that both designs have shortcomings which can be compensated by using the two designs together. Therefore, there is now a growing trend whereby the two designs are combined in one study (Leedy 1993: 143).

The quantitative design was applied to compare the level of coverage that South Africa received compared to other African countries and to discuss whether a pattern existed where countries with strong economies within the continent are covered more than

those with weak economies. In other words, the quantitative design showed whether a trend exists in which the level of coverage reflects a countries' economic status. The qualitative design was used to determine evidence of hierarchy and whether countries are described by their position in the region, by focusing on the words and phrases used during coverage that referred to the economic status of a country.

4.5 THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section explains the research methodology employed and the procedure for content analysis.

4.5.1 Quantitative and qualitative content analysis

Both quantitative and qualitative content analyses were used for this study. Neuman (2006:322) describes content analysis as a "technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text". Content analysis is best applied to studies involving mass media material like magazines (Welman & Kruger 1999:191). Therefore it is appropriate for studying the content of business and economic magazines. Furthermore, content analysis is essential in order to look for patterns and trends in coverage (Ellis 1994:152). Content analysis lets the researcher discover specific features in the content of large amounts of material (Neuman 2006:44).

Because the study focuses on the amount of coverage that South Africa receives compared to other African countries, quantitative content analysis must be employed. In quantitative content analysis, the units of analysis for the study are counted and recorded and presented statistically. Therefore content can be described in numerical terms and it is also possible to conduct a comparison across the whole body of content (Neuman 2006:323). It will be possible to compare one magazine's coverage of South Africa and other African countries to that of another. Quantification also allows for an

analysis of the prominence of a country in the specific magazine – how many articles appeared on the cover, or which ones were given prominent coverage such as special reports. However, the nature of coverage is also critical to this study; therefore qualitative content analysis must be employed. By looking at words and phrases, it is possible to note where the hierarchical status of a country is mentioned in the articles.

4.5.2 Defining the population

The initial target population for this study was all Pan-African business magazines distributed globally during 2007 and 2008. The main limiter was that the magazines had to be Pan-African publications (covering the entire continent) and not local or national publications. The second limiter was that the magazines had to be commercially available to the public for purchase or subscription. Academic and research journals were therefore not part of the population.

However, accessing all these publications through back-dated subscriptions is fairly expensive and communicating with editorial offices in African countries proved to be difficult. Therefore, a combination of print and online versions of the magazines was used. The most accessible publications – those that could be obtained directly from the publishers or that were available online were used for this study. From this accessible population, three Pan-African magazines were chosen. Magazines published in French were excluded from the accessible population because it would not have been possible to translate the articles within the time-frame given to complete the study.

4.5.3 The sampling procedure

There were three stages in the sampling procedure. Firstly, selecting the sample frame; secondly, the selection of the magazines; and thirdly, the selection of articles.

The sampling frame

The first step in the sampling process was compiling a list of Pan-African business magazines regarded as accessible – or compiling the sampling frame. The researcher superficially examined a comprehensive list of Pan-African business magazines from an African magazine distributor website. At this stage, French Pan-African business magazines were excluded from the accessible population as well as magazines that were no longer in circulation.

Sampling stage 1: The selection of a sample of magazines

A combination of a purposive known-group sampling and convenience sampling was used because the accessible population consisted of the 2007 and 2008 editions of African financial magazines. Therefore the most important sampling factor was to have an accessible and manageable population. Purposive known-group sampling was employed so that the sample would include magazines that have general economic content (not specialised content like *African Banker* magazine) and those that have been published consistently since they were founded. Convenience sampling was employed by selecting magazines published in 2007 and 2008 in order to make analysis feasible. Below is a detailed description of each magazine.

- *African Business*

African Business magazine is published by IC Publications, which is based in London. Edited by Anver Versi, *African Business* has set its sights to be the "most influential Pan-African business magazine". It is published monthly except for one combined issue during August and September. The bulk of the magazines content is business news, with country surveys and economic sector analyses making up the rest. Lifestyle and culture account for approximately 10% of the publication's content. Its main audience consists

of business people, government decision makers and politicians in Africa. *African Business* is distributed in over 100 countries and often plays a media partner role at the most important African events and conferences such as the annual summits of the African Union and the African Development Bank. Officials and delegations attending such events receive issues of the magazine (IC Publications 2009). Due to time and financial constraints, the 2007 and 2008 online versions of *African Business* were used rather than the print version.

- *Africa Investor*

Africa Investor is published bi-monthly by Africa Investor Ltd which has its headquarters in London and Johannesburg. It is distributed worldwide, with a core readership in Africa. Edited by Hubert Danso, the publication focuses on investment in Africa and has subsequently developed a strong reputation in the African business and specifically investment community. The articles published are steered towards the specific issues that executives investing in Africa face daily. It also gives a comprehensive description of the current investment climate on the continent, infrastructure developments, news about the tourism industry and extensive coverage of equities and capital markets. Readers also use it as a source for news and information on trade and investment opportunities in Africa. Decision-makers across the world read the magazine's extensive news, comment and analysis (Africa Investor 2008).

Africa Investor has a bi-monthly circulation of approximately 20 000 and a readership of more than 160 000 worldwide per issue. Very importantly, *Africa Investor* is a content partner to the World Bank, United Nations, Reuters and FDI Exchange (Africa Investor 2009). All the 2007 and 2008 print editions of Africa Investor were obtained from the publishers in Johannesburg for the study.

- *Business in Africa*

Launched in 1993, *Business in Africa* was the first Pan-African business magazine published on the continent. It is published in Johannesburg and until January 2009 was edited by Mark A Kwateng. Now under new ownership since March 2009, there have been several changes to its editorial staff. The magazine is read mainly in Anglophone African countries and abroad. Approximately 25 000 copies are circulated each month. *Business in Africa* is credited for its strong analytical edge; while it gives good feedback on positive economic and political developments in Africa, it also highlights barriers to progress on the continent (Business in Africa titles relaunched 2009). Nearly 70% of the magazine's readership consists of chief executive officers, senior executives and managers. The African Business Leaders Forum which is widely accepted as Africa's version of the World Economic Forum was developed on the back of this publication by its former publisher Everest Ekong (Administrator 2007). Four issues (two from 2007 and two from 2008) of *Business in Africa* were obtained for this study.

Sampling stage 2: The selection of articles

The final realised sample consisted of 38 issues of the three magazines. The unit of analysis for this study included all the selected and sampled individual magazine articles published in *African Business*, *Africa investor* and *Business in Africa* during 2007 and 2008. Selection criteria were applied for the articles chosen. According to the selection criteria, all editorials, letters to the editor, advertorials, opinions articles, and coverage of the magazine's events were not considered as news articles. The selection criteria were adopted to ensure that actual news articles were included and also to decrease the level of bias by the publisher in coverage. At the end of the selection process, the population consisted of 997 articles. Systematic sampling was then used to select the articles. A random number was chose between one and fifteen. The chosen article was included in the sample and every fifteenth article following it. The number of magazine

articles for analysis totalled 66. Table 4.1 shows the number of articles chosen for analysis from each magazine.

Table 4.1 Number of articles chosen for analysis for each magazine

Magazine	Number of articles selected		Total
	2007	2008	
African Business	9	9	18
Africa Investor	17	11	28
Business in Africa	11	9	20
Total	37	29	66

4.5.4 The coding schedule

The next step involved developing the categories, which enabled the researcher to code for content analysis. The theoretical frameworks discussed in chapters 2 and 3 formed the basis of formulating the coding schedule. In total 10 categories were developed.

1. Unique number
Each magazine article was given a unique number.

2. Name of the magazine
A distinction is made between the three magazines: *African Business*, *Africa Investor* and *Business in Africa*.

3. Year of publication
The articles spanned two years: 2007 and 2008.

4. Month of publication

The month of publication refers to the month in which the magazine was published. Bi-monthly magazines were published in the first month. For example a January-February issue would be considered to be published in January.

5. Major African countries covered

The term "major" referred to the African countries which were the main subject of the article. More than one country could be covered as the main subject or no country could be determined to be the main subject. Mention of capital cities and corporate groups based in the country for example, "Johannesburg" or "Absa", were considered as mentioning the country. This category has 29 subcategories (29 countries were covered as the main subject of an article).

6. Additional countries mentioned

In addition to the main countries covered, other countries could be mentioned as well in the article though they are not the focus of the article. Such countries are coded as additional countries and a maximum of three countries could be coded in this manner.

7. African countries used as examples

Apart from countries mentioned, countries may simply be referred to as examples in the article. For example, "Countries that have also experienced power shortage *such as* Ghana, Nigeria and South Africa" A separate category was made for such coverage. A maximum of five countries could be coded as examples per article.

8. Type of article

Six sub-categories were developed for the type of article: cover story, feature, interview, regular, snippet and special report. A seventh sub-category was named "other" to enable an exhaustive list. The six sub-categories are the most common type of articles found in business magazines, and give an indication of the nature of coverage. It was

possible for an article to be coded both as a cover story and as a feature or both as a special report and as an interview.

9. Main subject

Main subject refers to the main economic matters and themes discussed or described in the article. Ten sub-categories were developed for the main subject including: agriculture, bi-lateral or multilateral agreements, financial sector or banking, information and communication technologies, infrastructure, investment, monetary policy, resources and tourism and leisure. An eleventh category was left for any other main subjects that may have been discussed.

10. Reference to hierarchical status

The last category was an open-ended category for reference to the hierarchical status of a country. "Reference to hierarchical status", means that the article mentions the position of the country in the regional (African) economy; for example referring to a country as "rich" or "Africa's biggest economy".

4.5.5 Coding procedures

Following the development of categories, it was necessary to peruse the categories and also to perform an inter-coder reliability test.

Perusal of coding categories

Before the coding process began, 9 articles from the sample from different magazines were selected and coded by the researcher to test the categories and sub-categories developed. The researcher's study leader also perused the categories and several categories and sub-categories such as the year and month of publication were included, slightly altering the original coding scheme.

Inter-coder reliability

The coding of articles was performed by the researcher in order to avoid misconception of definitions of "major", "additional" and "example" and to ensure uniformity in coding for the level of coverage. An intra-coder reliability test therefore had to be conducted. Two coding sessions were held, one week apart. For each session the same 12 articles (a sub-sample from the larger sample) were used. Intra-coder reliability was measured using Holsti's formula:

$$CR = \frac{2(M)}{N1 + N2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions on which the coders agree and N1 and N2 are the total number of coding decisions made during each session. The test was performed on all the categories.

For example, for the category "African countries used as examples", M = 10 and N1 and N2 are both equal to 12 so the reliability coefficient equals 0.83. Though the minimum reliability is normally 0.90, reliability estimates are generally lower for coding that involves interpretation (Wimmer & Dominick 1997:145). The overall reliability coefficient was 0.88.

4.6 QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

Descriptive statistical methods were applied during quantitative data analysis. The coding results were organised and summarised using Microsoft Excel Software. The researcher was then able to generate subtotals and totals which provide the basis for arguments and assertions. Frequency distribution tables were then used to further summarise the data as well as to show and explain general trends in the data.

4.7 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

The open-ended category provided qualitative data which was processed and analysed conceptually (Babbie & Mouton 2001:493). Words and phrases depicting economies that were in a more favourable position than others such as "market leader", "most developed economy", "strong", and "success story" were noted and grouped together. On the other hand, phrases such as "economic meltdown" and "poverty stricken" and words such as "crises", "slipping" used to depict economies that are lower in the regional hierarchy were also grouped. The information captured could then be reported in the findings.

4.8 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE STUDY

4.8.1 Limitations

There were several limitations indentified in this study. Firstly, the use of online versions of *African Business* magazine was inconsistent with the use of print formats. A print format would have given a better sense of the space allocated to the articles in the magazine which could then have formed part of the coding categories. Secondly, not having all the issues of *Business in Africa* for the two years may have affected the sample. However because a small sample was chosen for analysis, it remained quite representative of all three magazines. Thirdly, French Pan-African business magazines were excluded from the sample. Fourthly, using a combination of convenience and purposeful known-group sampling for the magazines meant that not every magazine had the same chance of being included in the sample. Lastly, the focus on a very specific time frame (2007 and 2008) meant that coverage could not be separated from major economic events that occurred during those years. A longer time frame would have reduced the influence that economic events have on coverage.

4.8.2 Strengths

The study also had some strong points. Firstly, the reliability of the study was enhanced by triangulation – using both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. Secondly, having three categories for quantitatively determining the level of coverage differentiated the importance of the country within the article. Not every country mentioned had the same significance. Lastly, though the categories were exhaustive for this study, they provided a platform for more research into economic news flows, regional (African) news flows and Pan-African publications.

4.9 CONCLUSION

The quantitative and qualitative research designs used were appropriate in order to answer the research questions posed. Strict definitions of the population and the use of several sampling methods ensured that a manageable yet representative sample was selected for the study. Quantitative content analysis allowed for analysis of the level of coverage and the nature of coverage. Qualitative analysis enabled conceptual analysis of indications of hierarchy in coverage. Overall, the two research methods combined improved the reliability of the study. In the next chapter, the results of the study are discussed.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND FINDINGS OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to answer the research questions posed in this dissertation it was important to answer the following questions: Which countries have the highest level of coverage and what type of coverage do they receive? The attempts to answer these questions through quantitative and qualitative approaches are discussed. Firstly, the results of quantitative content analyses will be discussed. The discussion will include looking at the overall levels of coverage, coverage according to magazines and coverage according to the year of publication. Then the type of coverage will be discussed by looking at the results for the categories, namely, major African countries covered, additional African countries mentioned, and African countries used as examples. The last part will consist of a discussion of the types and subject matter of the article. In the following section, the results of the qualitative analyses will be discussed.

5.2 LEVEL OF COVERAGE

Quantitative content analyses was used to find answers to the questions regarding the level of coverage in order to find out the extent to which South Africa was covered compared to other African countries in the three Pan-African business magazines that were analysed. Quantitative analysis was also used to give indications of the type of coverage – whether the country was the major country covered, whether it was an additional country mentioned, or whether it was only used as an example.

5.2.1 Overall level of coverage

Combining the three categories: "major African countries covered", "additional African countries mentioned" and "African countries used as examples", South Africa received the highest coverage overall, appearing in 44 of the 66 articles. Nigeria received the second highest level, followed by Kenya and Egypt. Ghana and Tanzania received equal coverage. Table 5.1 shows the overall level of coverage for all the countries covered.

Table 5.1 Overall level of coverage

Country	Number of articles	Percentage
South Africa	44	66.7
Nigeria	21	31.8
Kenya	18	27.3
Egypt	15	22.7
Ghana	12	18.2
Tanzania	12	18.2
Morocco	9	13.6
Mauritius	9	13.6
Uganda	9	13.6
Democratic Republic of the Congo	8	12.1
Mozambique	8	12.1
Zimbabwe	8	12.1
Ivory Coast	7	10.6
Senegal	7	10.6
Tunisia	7	10.6
Angola	6	9.1
Rwanda	6	9.1
Cameroon	5	7.6

Libya	5	7.6
Namibia	5	7.6
Botswana	4	6.1
Mali	4	6.1
Chad	4	6.1
Sudan	4	6.1
Zambia	4	6.1
Burkina Faso	3	4.6
Burundi	3	4.6
Djibouti	3	4.6
Madagascar	3	4.6
Sierra Leone	3	4.6
Swaziland	3	4.6
Algeria	2	3.0
Gabon	2	3.0
Gambia	2	3.0
Guinea	2	3.0
Cape Verde	1	1.6
Central African Republic	1	1.6
Congo-Brazzaville	1	1.6
Equatorial Guinea	1	1.6
Ethiopia	1	1.6
Liberia	1	1.6
Niger	1	1.6

The results of the overall level of coverage are generally in accordance with the size of these countries' economies except for Ghana and Tanzania. North African countries, such as Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, and Southern African countries such as Botswana and Mauritius, which have far larger economies than Ghana and Tanzania

received lower levels of coverage overall. This trend shows that Pan-African publications are more likely to focus on news from sub-Saharan Africa and also are keen on new economic developments within African economies where opportunities for investment and development are increasing. Therefore a country like Botswana which has built its economy around its diamond resources, is not a hub of economic opportunity compared to a country like Ghana where new investment opportunities are rising (Tsikata 2007).

Out of the 54 countries that make up the African continent, 12 did not receive any coverage in the articles: Benin, Comoros, Eritrea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritania, São Tome and Príncipe, Seychelles, Somalia, Togo and Western Sahara. Apart from the Seychelles which has a vibrant and viable tourism sector, these countries have severely underdeveloped economies and are generally of very little interest to investors. Somalia, for instance, has been in political turmoil for the last two decades and therefore an investment environment has not been fostered. Of the 42 African countries covered in the articles, more than two-thirds received less than 10% coverage. Seven (16.67%) countries - (Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Congo-Brazzaville, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Liberia and Niger) were only covered in one article.

The results of the overall level of coverage indicate that South Africa is covered to a far larger extent than any other economy on the continent. A 34.9% difference exists between the level of coverage South Africa received and the level of coverage Nigeria received, even though Nigeria had the second highest level of coverage. The difference in level of coverage between Nigeria and Kenya (which received the third highest level of coverage) is only 4.6%. The results also show that relevance is a key determinant of news in Pan-African business magazines and therefore influences level of coverage. The levels of coverage for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (12.12%), Ghana (18.18%) and Zimbabwe (10.6%) are higher than the levels of stronger economies such as Botswana (6.06%), Gabon and Algeria (both 3.03%).

5.2.2 Level of coverage according to magazine

The levels of coverage for each country differed for each magazine. It was important to find out which countries received higher levels of coverage per magazine. The results show that for all magazines, South Africa was the country with the highest level of coverage. For all the magazines, South Africa was covered in more than half of the articles. There was also a substantial difference between South Africa's level of coverage and the second highest covered country in all publications. Table 5.2 shows the level of coverage according to the magazines for countries that received the highest overall levels of coverage.

South Africa had the highest level of coverage in *Africa Investor*. It was covered in 22 (78.6%) of the articles. Nigeria and Kenya also received their highest levels of coverage in *Africa Investor*. However, there was a 14.3% difference in the levels of coverage between Nigeria and Kenya. With a clear focus on investment, commodities, financing and infrastructure development, *Africa Investor* focuses on the interests of big economic players in regard to Africa. Being Africa's largest economy, with a gross domestic product of $467.6 billion in 2007, South Africa is not only an attraction for foreign investment but it is also a key investor in other African countries. Therefore much of the intra-continental investment in Africa includes financial backing from South Africa (SA sets up shop in Africa 2004).

South Africa had the lowest coverage level (55.6%) in *African Business*. *African Business* often has special reports and regularly gives "country files" which means that a greater variety of African countries are consistently covered per issue, decreasing the dominance of coverage that large economies would have in the magazine's content. The results indicated that Egypt received far less coverage in *African Business* compared to the other two magazines; it only appeared in one *African Business* article. The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mozambique and Tanzania all had higher levels of

coverage in *African Business* than Egypt, perhaps indicating the publication's interest in growing economies.

In *Business in Africa*, Nigeria had a slightly lower level of coverage (30%) than both Kenya and Egypt which received equal levels of coverage (35%). *Business in Africa* has more of a critical and analytical edge and therefore often covers political issues which have economic aspects or repercussions. Therefore small and weak African economies are often covered often to the same extent as larger economies. For example, 75% of the coverage Zimbabwe received was in *Business in Africa*. While more than 40% of the coverage that Morocco received and more than 50% of Tunisia's coverage was in *Business in Africa*.

Table 5.2 Level of coverage according to magazine for countries with highest overall levels of coverage

Magazine	Number of articles	South Africa		Nigeria		Kenya		Egypt	
		No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%	No. of articles	%
African Business	18	10	55.56	3	16.67	4	22.22	1	5.56
Africa Investor	28	22	78.57	12	42.86	7	25	7	25
Business in Africa	20	12	60	6	30	7	35	7	35
Totals	66	44	-	21	-	19	-	15	-

The results for countries covered per magazine indicate that Africa's largest economies received more coverage than smaller economies for all the publications investigated.

However, certain countries were more likely to be covered than others depending on the editorial direction of a publication.

5.2.3 Level of coverage according to year of publication

The sample included publications over the period 2007-2008. The results for level of coverage according year of publication show that a total of 38 articles were published in 2007 and a total of 28 articles were published in 2008.

Table 5.3 shows the level of coverage (percentage) per year according to the year of publication for the top six countries that received the highest coverage overall. South Africa also received the highest level of coverage in 2007 and 2008 with 73.7% and 57.1% respectively. Similarly, Nigeria was again the second most covered country with Kenya in the third position. In 2007, Egypt received 10.5% more coverage than Ghana. But in 2008, Ghana received 3.6% more coverage than Egypt. Over the two years, the level of coverage for Nigeria remained constant while the level of coverage in 2008 for Kenya decreased slightly by 4.0% and for South Africa decreased by 16.5%.

Table 5.3 Level of coverage according to year of publication (percentage)

Year	South Africa	Nigeria	Kenya	Egypt	Tanzania	Ghana	Mauritius	Morocco	Uganda
2007	73.7	31.6	29.0	26.3	21.1	15.8	55.6	77.8	44.4
2008	57.1	32.1	25.0	17.9	14.3	21.4	44.4	22.2	55.6

The results of the year of publication category show that coverage patterns do not remain constant over the years. An increase in the coverage Ghana received may be attributed to the discovery of oil on the Ghanaian coast in 2007 and a second discovery in early 2008. The majority of the articles in which Ghana was covered dealt with natural resources, including a feature on the implications of oil discoveries for that country. The

discovery of a natural resource of this magnitude spurs business interest in the country, not only in the trade of the resource but also in the areas of investment and infrastructure development (Rundell 2008b:19). Mauritius and Uganda which received the seventh highest overall level of coverage, showed opposite trends. Five of the nine articles in which Mauritius was covered were from 2007 and four were from 2008. Uganda's level of coverage was lower in 2007 at 44.4% put picked up to 55.6% in 2008. However, Morocco, which also received an equal overall level of coverage as Uganda and Mauritius, showed a marked decline of 55.6% in coverage between 2007 and 2008.

Table 5.4 shows the level of coverage of eight countries for each magazine over the two years. The three magazines showed a consistent decline in the level of coverage of South Africa from 2007 to 2008. The biggest decline in the coverage of South Africa was found for African Business. In 2007 66.7% of the articles in *African Business* covered South Africa compared to 44.4% coverage in 2008.

Table 5.4 Level of coverage according to year of publication for each magazine (percentage)

Country	African Business 2007	African Business 2008	Africa Investor 2007	Africa Investor 2008	Business in Africa 2007	Business in Africa 2008
South Africa	66.7	44.4	82.4	72.7	66.7	50.0
Nigeria	22.2	11.1	29.4	54.6	33.3	25.0
Kenya	22.2	22.2	23.5	27.3	50.0	25.0
Egypt	11.1	00.0	23.5	27.3	41.7	25.0
Ghana	11.1	00.0	17.7	27.3	16.7	37.5
Tanzania	11.1	11.1	17.7	9.1	33.3	25.0
Uganda	00.0	11.1	11.8	9.1	16.7	37.5
Zimbabwe	00.0	00.0	11.8	00.0	33.3	25.0

5.2.4 Major African countries covered

The category "major African countries covered" indicated the level of coverage where a country was mentioned as the main focus of the article. The results for this category are important in determining which African countries were the main generators of economic news and whether these countries are part of the continent's largest economies.

Table 5.5 shows the frequency of countries covered as the major country. South Africa received the highest level of coverage as a major country. South Africa was the only or one of the major countries covered in 35 out of the 44 articles (79.6%) in which it was covered. Nigeria was covered as a major country in 16 of the 21 articles (76.2%) in which it was mentioned, while Tanzania, which was covered in 12 articles, only received major coverage in 3 articles (25.0%). Only 6 articles (40.0%) of the coverage Egypt received were as a major country, even though it was covered in 12 articles.

Though Uganda was covered in a total of 9 articles, only 2 articles (22.2%) were as a major country. In all 5 (100.0%) of the articles Namibia was mentioned in, it was covered as a major country. Namibia's level of coverage as a major country is important in comparison to the lower coverage levels of larger economies like Mauritius. Countries which only had coverage in one article overall and one article as a major country, such as Ethiopia and Niger received 100% coverage; however, this result is not statistically significant.

Table 5.5 Frequency of major African countries covered

Country	Number of articles in which covered as major country	Total number of articles	Percentage
South Africa	35	44	80.0
Nigeria	16	21	76.2
Kenya	10	19	52.6

Egypt	6	15	40.0
Ghana	6	12	50.0
Namibia	5	5	100.0
Senegal	5	7	71.4
Mauritius	5	9	55.6
Rwanda	4	7	57.1
Morocco	3	9	33.3
Mozambique	3	8	37.5
Democratic Republic of the Congo	3	8	37.5
Tanzania	3	12	25.0
Tunisia	2	7	28.6
Uganda	2	9	22.2
Angola	1	6	16.7
Botswana	1	4	25.0
Burkina Faso	1	3	33.3
Cameroon	1	5	20.0
Ethiopia	1	1	100.0
Gambia	1	2	50.0
Guinea	1	2	50.0
Libya	1	5	20.0
Niger	1	1	100.0
Sudan	1	4	25.0

Though Egypt is Africa's second largest economy, it was a major country in only 6 (40.0%) of the articles it was covered in. The low level of coverage of Egypt as a major country and the coverage of Equatorial Guinea in only one article shows that though a high gross national product is important, it is not the only factor in high levels of coverage.

Table 5.6 shows the level of major coverage received according to region. The results indicate that Southern Africa received the highest level of coverage. West Africa, where Nigeria is situated, received the second highest level of major coverage. However, North Africa, though Africa's richest region, received the lowest level of major coverage. Southern Africa's level of coverage was obviously expected due to the high level of coverage that South Africa received. However, even if the top four economies (South

Africa, Nigeria, Kenya and Egypt) were removed from the calculation, the order of the results would still be the same.

Table 5.6 Level of major coverage received according to region

Region	Level of major coverage (percentage)
North	18.2
West Africa	47.0
East	31.8
Central and Southern	80.3

Geographic proximity also plays an important in receiving coverage as a major country. Though Pan-African publications intend to provide economic information about the whole of Africa, it is important for them to cover countries which indeed are impacting on the continent's economic climate. The majority of Africa's countries have very low GDP and are some of the world's poorest countries. Therefore countries which are showing economic growth and development and are surrounded by poor neighbouring countries are likely to receive higher coverage levels. These stronger sub-regional economies tend to receive coverage as a major country. For example Rwanda received higher levels (57.1%) of coverage as a major country compared to Uganda which had 22.2% coverage as a major country and Tanzania which had a 25.0% level of major coverage. Similarly in West Africa, Senegal and Ghana received coverage as a major country in 71.4% and 50.0% respectively of the articles in which they were covered.

Economic relations between African countries also had an influence on the level of coverage as a major country. Smaller economies were more likely to receive major coverage if they were covered with an economically stronger country. For example, Namibia was covered as a major country in all the articles it appeared in because of its close economic relations with South Africa. In 4 of the 5 articles (80.0%) it was covered in, South Africa was also covered as a major country. The newsworthiness of the

majority of the stories Namibia was covered in may therefore stem from the interest generated by South Africa's economic activity and the importance it has for the rest of the continent.

5.2.5 Additional African countries mentioned

The category "additional African countries mentioned" was a used to identify countries that were mentioned in the article but were not the main focus of the article. A total of 24 countries were covered as additional countries. Four countries: Burundi, Central African Republic, Djibouti and Madagascar, were only covered as additional countries. Table 5.7 shows the results for the category "Additional African countries mentioned".

Table 5.7 Frequency of additional African countries mentioned

Country	Number of articles in which country was mentioned as "additional country"	Total number of articles in which country was mentioned	Percentage
South Africa	8	44	18.2
Kenya	6	19	31.6
Uganda	6	9	66.7
Tanzania	5	12	41.7
Egypt	4	15	26.7
Ghana	4	12	33.4
Libya	4	5	80.0
Angola	3	6	50.0
Burundi	3	3	100.0
Djibouti	3	3	100.0
Democratic Republic of the Congo	3	8	37.5

Ivory Coast	3	7	42.9
Madagascar	3	3	100.0
Morocco	3	9	33.3
Nigeria	3	21	14.3
Zambia	3	4	75.0
Zimbabwe	3	7	42.9
Botswana	2	4	50.0
Cameroon	2	5	40.0
Chad	2	4	50.0
Mali	2	4	50.0
Mauritius	2	9	22.2
Central African Republic	1	1	100.0
Sudan	1	4	25.0

Countries which received high levels of coverage as major countries, received markedly lower levels of coverage as additional countries. South Africa was only covered as an additional country in 18.2% of the articles compared to 80.0% as a major country. Nigeria was covered as a major country in 76.2% of the articles it appeared in, but only in 14.3% as an additional country. Similar trends are seen in the coverage of Egypt (26.7%), Kenya (31.6%) and Ghana (33.3%); although the difference between levels of coverage as major countries and levels of coverage as additional countries were considerably smaller than in the cases of South Africa and Nigeria. However Tanzania and Uganda showed an increase in coverage as additional countries mentioned. Tanzania was covered as an additional country in 41.7% of the articles it appeared in compared to 25.0% as a major country. Similarly, 66.7% of the coverage Uganda received was as an additional country mentioned compared to the 22. 2% coverage it received as a major country.

Even though the coverage South Africa received as an additional country was low in comparison to its coverage as a major country, it nevertheless had the highest level of coverage as an additional country mentioned. South Africa's high level of coverage as an additional country mentioned may be a result of its influential position in the economic affairs of many other African countries, in the diversity of its economy or in the large private sector that exists. Furthermore, political occurrences in South Africa could also affect economic relations with other African countries and thus influence economic decision-making.

The results indicate that larger economies not only receive more coverage than smaller economies but also when they were covered, they were likely to be the main focus of the coverage. Smaller economies received high overall levels of coverage, but the coverage they received was not due to the fact that they were the main focus. Thus levels of major coverage received remain crucial in determining coverage and actually indicate the quality of coverage received.

Furthermore, some countries may only receive coverage because of their link to the country being covered. These links may be due to the subject of the article or due to geographic proximity. The coverage Djibouti received was linked to the subjects of infrastructure and tourism. In two of the three articles in which Djibouti was covered, South Africa was one of the major countries covered and in the third article Kenya was one of the major countries covered. The articles dealt either with tourism or infrastructure or a combination of tourism and infrastructure. Burundi's coverage was probably due to economic relations linked to geographic proximity. In two of three of the articles it was covered in, Rwanda was the major country covered and in the third one, Kenya was one of the major countries covered. Therefore its inclusion may have been due to its significance as a neighbouring country to the major country covered. Again this tendency probably relates to the trend that smaller economies receive coverage due to linkages with larger economies.

5.2.6 Countries used as examples

A separate category was used to identify countries that were used as examples. Some countries only received coverage as an example. As reported in Table 5.8, a total of 34 countries were covered as examples - a considerable increase compared to the total for major countries covered and additional countries mentioned. Eight countries: Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Algeria, Gabon, Cape Verde, Congo, Equatorial Guinea and Liberia were only covered in articles as examples.

Table 5.8 Frequency of countries used as examples

Country	Number of articles in which covered as "example"	Total number of articles in which country was mentioned	Percentage
Egypt	5	15	33.3
Tunisia	5	7	71.4
Mozambique	5	8	62.5
Ivory Coast	4	7	57.1
Tanzania	4	12	33.3
Zimbabwe	4	7	57.1
Kenya	3	19	15.8
Morocco	3	9	33.3
Rwanda	3	7	42.9
Sierra Leone	3	3	100.0
Swaziland	3	3	100.0
Algeria	2	2	100.0
Angola	2	6	33.3
Burkina Faso	2	3	66.7
Cameroon	2	5	40.0

Chad	2	4	50.0
Democratic Republic of the Congo	2	8	25.0
Gabon	2	2	100.0
Ghana	2	12	16.7
Mali	2	4	50.0
Mauritius	2	9	22.2
Nigeria	2	21	9.5
Senegal	2	7	28.6
Sudan	2	4	50.0
Botswana	1	4	25.0
Cape Verde	1	1	100.0
Congo (Brazzaville)	1	1	100.0
Equatorial Guinea	1	1	100.0
Gambia	1	2	50.0
Guinea	1	2	50.0
Liberia	1	1	100.0
South Africa	1	44	2.3
Uganda	1	9	11.1
Zambia	1	4	25.0

South Africa was only covered in one article (2.3%) as an example out of the 44 articles in which it was covered. Unlike the other two categories of coverage, South Africa was amongst the countries with the lowest levels of coverage. Nigeria and Kenya, which also had high levels of overall coverage, also had low levels of coverage as examples with 9.52% and 15.79% respectively. The trend of overall high coverage corresponding with low coverage as examples indicates that countries with large economies are more likely to be the focus of an article if they receive coverage.

5.2.7 Summary

In summary, results for the level of coverage show that South Africa received more coverage than any other country and to a large extent it was covered as a major country. Nigeria consistently held the position of the second highest covered country, yet the extent to which it was covered was not at the same level as South Africa. The conclusion can be drawn that South Africa holds a dominant position as Africa's economic centre. The coverage that North Africa received does not reflect the region's economic position; yet it does show that cultural affinity plays an important role in the level of coverage that a country receives. Even though the magazines were all Pan-African publications, they were clearly more focused on Sub-Saharan Africa. South Africa received the highest level of coverage for the first two categories (major countries covered and additional countries mentioned) but barely received coverage as an example. The decrease in South Africa's level of coverage in the example category showed that the coverage it received is foremost as a main economic force on the continent. Following from the world system model, South Africa can be seen as an African centre, the developed economies of North Africa as well as Nigeria and Kenya are the semi-periphery and the remaining countries, which are the majority, make up the periphery.

5.3 TYPE OF ARTICLE

Quantitative analysis also enabled the researcher to analyse the nature of coverage – whether the country was covered in the cover story, as a feature, in an interview, in a regular column, as a news snippet, or in a special report. The data in Table 5.9 indicate the frequency of various types of articles. The results regarding the type of article indicate what the nature of coverage was for South Africa compared to other African countries. Seven sub-categories were developed to distinguish between the types of articles: cover story, feature, interview, regular, snippet, special report and other. Cover

stories gave a snap-shot of the most prominent stories in a publication; they were very important in leading non-subscribers to purchase the publication. Of the 66 articles covered, the majority (39.4%) were feature articles, while only four articles (6.1%) were interviews.

Table 5.9 Frequency of type of article

Type of article	Number of articles	Percentage
Cover story	14	21.2
Feature	26	39.4
Interview	4	6.1
Regular	10	15.2
Snippet	13	19.7
Special report	14	21.2
Other	1	1.5

Table 5.10 shows the level of major coverage according to the type of article for the countries that received the highest overall level of coverage.

Table 5.10 Coverage as a major country according to type of article (percentage)

Type of article	South Africa	Nigeria	Kenya	Egypt	Ghana	Tanzania
Cover	35.7	28.6	7.1	14.3	7.1	7.1
Feature	46.2	23.1	19.2	7.7	11.5	3.8
Regular	90.0	40.0	20.0	30.0	10.0	0.0
Snippet	30.8	7.7	23.1	0	7.7	15.4
Special report	57.1	35.7	0.0	7.1	14.3	0.0
Interview	75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

5.3.1 Cover stories

A total of 14 articles (21.2%) were cover stories. South Africa was covered as a major country in 5 cover stories (35.7%) while Nigeria was a major country in 4 cover stories (28.6%). Though South Africa received the highest level of coverage as a major country in cover stories in terms of number of articles, in terms of its overall coverage as a major country, it was lower than Nigeria. Fourteen percent of the articles in which South Africa was a major country covered were cover stories while 25% of Nigeria's major coverage was in cover stories. Kenya, Ghana and Tanzania were only covered as a major country in one cover article even though they had high overall major coverage. The level of coverage for cover articles shows that South Africa and Nigeria have a higher level of prominence in African economic news, than any other African countries. The two countries can be identified as the most pertinent to economic decision makers across the continent and abroad.

5.3.2 Features

Most countries received high coverage levels as a major country in feature articles. Feature articles are an important part of magazines because they require extensive research, sometimes over long periods before the article can be published. The majority of articles in a magazine are feature articles and therefore it is expected that most countries will have high levels of major coverage in feature articles. South Africa received the highest level of coverage (46.2%) as a major country in feature articles although in terms of its overall coverage as a major country, features accounted for only 34.3% of its coverage. Nigeria had the second highest level of coverage as a major country at 23.1% although coverage in feature articles contributed 40.0% to its overall coverage as a major country. Significantly, 75.0% of Morocco's coverage as a major country was in feature articles.

5.3.3 Regulars

A total of 10 articles were regular articles. Regular articles appear in every issue of the magazine; their structure is retained in every issue, but their content changes. For example, *Africa Investor* has a "Commodities Watch" regular which appears in every issue. Very significantly, South Africa was the major country covered in 90.0% of the regular articles even though regular article coverage only contributed to 26.0% of its overall coverage as a major country. Similarly, regular article coverage made up 25.0% of Nigeria's coverage and 20.0% of Kenya's coverage as a major country. However half of Egypt's coverage as a major country was in regular articles. This trend indicates that overall, large economies will be covered in regular articles. However, the bulk of their major coverage does not come from these types of article.

5.3.4 Interviews

Only 4 of the 66 articles were interviews. In three of the four interviews, South Africa was a major country covered. Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, Ghana and Tanzania, which had overall high levels of coverage were not covered as major countries in any interviews. However, this tendency could be expected because of the low number of interviews in the sample. The Democratic Republic of the Congo however, was a major country mentioned in two interviews and Mauritius in one. The fact that despite the low number of interviews, South Africa still dominated coverage, confirmed that coverage of South Africa is consistently higher than any other country in Africa even those which are economically competitive.

5.3.5 Snippets

News snippets were present in all the investigated magazines. *Business in Africa*, in particular, had several pages of news snippets and each snippet had its own title.

Initially, *Africa Investor* had separately titled snippets but towards the end of 2007, and throughout 2008, the format changed and snippets were compiled under one title. Twenty percent of the articles analysed in the study were news snippets. South Africa again had the highest level of major coverage in the category of news snippets (30.8%). However, news snippets only accounted for 11.4% of the overall coverage of South Africa as a major country. Egypt was not covered as a major country in the news snippet category. Nigeria and Ghana were only covered as a major country in one news snippet each. Though Tanzania only had 15.4% coverage as major country in the news snippet category, 66.7% of its overall coverage as a major country was in this category. The results indicated that for all countries which had high overall levels of coverage as major countries, news snippets did not contribute highly to their overall level of coverage. However, these countries were still the highest covered countries in the category.

5.3.6 Special reports

Special reports are extensive reports on events, countries and different economic sectors. For example, in March 2007, *Africa Investor* had a special report in their investment section on Ghana's 50th anniversary of independence. Some special reports consisted of several separate articles, while others were one feature article. All magazines had special reports; in total 14 articles were special reports. Once again, South Africa had the highest level of coverage; 57.1% of special reports covered South Africa as a major country. Nigeria was covered as a major country in 35.7% of the special reports. Significantly, Kenya did not receive coverage as a major country in any special report. Coverage in a special report depends largely on the interest generated from the news – audiences want to know more about a particular occurrence in the economy.

5.4 SUBJECT OF ARTICLE

Quantitative methods also allowed for the main subject of the article to be analysed. Table 5.11 shows the frequency with which various subjects were covered. The subject of the article was an important category in determining whether some countries received high levels of coverage when articles were focused on certain topics compared to others. The most common subject, was infrastructure (31.8%) followed by investment (25.7%), resources and trade (both 21.2%).

Table 5.11 Frequency of subject of article

Subject	Number of articles	Percentage of total articles (N=66)
Bi-lateral/Multilateral agreements	10	15.2
Financial/Banking sector	13	19.7
Information and communication technology	10	15.2
Infrastructure	21	31.8
Investment	17	25.8
Resources	14	21.2
Tourism	11	16.7
Trade	14	21.2
Other	10	15.2

5.4.1 Bi-lateral and multilateral agreements

Bi-lateral and multilateral agreements only accounted for 10 (15.2%) of the articles. Table 5.12 indicates that only South Africa and Kenya received substantial coverage in this subject. All the other countries mentioned as major countries were only covered in

one article. Very importantly, nearly half of the articles concerning multilateral agreements dealt with agreements between neighbouring countries. For instance, the article "Gorilla fees harmonised" published in *Africa Investor* in January 2007, discussed a tourism agreement between Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. While "Breaking SADC trade barriers", published in *Business in Africa* in September 2008, analysed the current state of the Southern Africa Customs Union. The low figure may relate to the fact that African countries have more economic agreements with countries outside Africa than with other African countries. Once again South Africa had the highest coverage as a major country in this category, which could be due to its capacity to develop extensive and important economic relations with other African countries, which have repercussions for the rest of the continent.

Table 5.12 Countries with highest level of major coverage for the subject bi-lateral and multilateral agreements

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=10)
South Africa	5	50.0
Kenya	3	30.0

5.4.2 Financial/Banking sector

Table 5.13 shows that out of the 13 articles about the financial or banking sector, Nigeria received the highest coverage, most likely reflecting that country's tremendous development of its financial and banking sectors (Rundell 2008a:84-85). This was the only category in which South Africa received a lower level of coverage than another African country. Even though South Africa and Egypt have more developed financial systems than Nigeria, it appears that new and constant developments in Nigeria are probably considered more relevant and therefore newsworthy. In addition, Nigeria is also moving its financial institutions into other countries in West Africa, broadening its impact on the entire African financial landscape (Banking goes offshore 2008). South

Africa had the second highest level of coverage, followed by Egypt, Mauritius and Kenya; this ranking is a true reflection of the African financial sector, where these countries have the most established and well-developed financial and banking institutions on the continent (Hartland-Peel 2007:40).

Table 5.13 Countries with highest level of major coverage for the subject financial/banking sector

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=13)
Nigeria	7	53.8
South Africa	5	38.5
Egypt	3	23.1
Kenya	2	15.4
Ghana	2	15.4

5.4.3 Information and communication technologies (ICTs)

Fifteen percent of the articles dealt with information and communication technologies (ICTs). Table 5.14 shows that South Africa had the highest level of major coverage in this category (50.0%); although ICTs only accounted for 14.0% of the overall major coverage for South Africa. Nigeria had the second highest level of major coverage (40.0%) followed by Morocco and Ghana which both had major coverage levels of 30.0%. The results showed that South Africa is the leader on the continent in terms of ICTs, having the highest level of consumer usage as well as companies and expertise expanding into other African countries (ICT and electronics in South Africa 2008). In the West African sub-region, Nigeria is one of the key markets for ICTs and is a sub-regional base for several ICT companies.

Table 5.14 Countries with highest level of major coverage for the subject information and communication technologies

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=10)
South Africa	5	50.0
Nigeria	4	40.0
Ghana	3	30.0
Morocco	3	30.0
Kenya	2	20.0
Mauritius	2	20.0

5.4.4 Infrastructure

The sub-category for infrastructure indicates some noteworthy trends. Table 5.15 provides the results of the countries with the highest level of major coverage for infrastructure. Both Mozambique and Namibia were covered as major countries in three articles. In all the articles, in which Mozambique and Namibia were covered, South Africa was also a major country covered. South Africa is likely to have close economic relations with these countries because of geographic proximity. However, South Africa also plays an investor role and therefore will likely be a part of providing monetary input into infrastructure developments in neighbouring countries and further afield. Nigeria had the second highest level of major coverage in this subject (33.3%) followed by Kenya and Senegal (both 19.0%). In two of the four articles in which Senegal was covered, South Africa was also a major country covered. Ghana and Morocco were both covered in two articles (9.5%).

Table 5.15 Countries with highest level of major coverage for the subject infrastructure

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=21)
South Africa	14	66.7

Nigeria	7	33.3
Kenya	4	19.0
Senegal	4	19.0
Mozambique	3	14.3
Namibia	3	14.3
Ghana	2	9.5
Morocco	2	9.5

5.4.5 Investment

Countries that received major coverage in the investment category were either investing in Africa or were receiving investment from other countries. Either way, investment serves as an indication of active and growing economy. Therefore countries that received a high level of major coverage in this category were at the frontier of African economic growth and development. The results in Table 5.16 show that South Africa received the highest level of major coverage (64.7%). Furthermore, in 7 of the 11 articles in which South Africa was covered as a major country, it was the only major country covered. This tendency is an indicator that South Africa is both Africa's single largest investor and largest investment destination due to the size of its economy. In this category, Nigeria received the second highest level of major coverage (23.5%) followed by Senegal (17.6%). The 41.2% difference between the level of coverage that Nigeria and South Africa received in this category can be seen as another example of South Africa's prominent and exclusive economic position on the African continent.

Table 5.16 Countries with highest level of major coverage for the subject investment

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=17)
South Africa	11	64.7
Nigeria	4	23.5
Senegal	3	17.6

5.4.6 Resources

The results in Table 5.17 show that South Africa had the highest coverage as a major country in the resources category (71.4%). This tendency could be ascribed to the fact that South Africa not only has large quantities of minerals and other resources, but South African companies are greatly involved in the exploitation of natural resources in other African countries. Nigeria received the second highest level of coverage as a major country (35.7%). Nigeria is Africa's most important oil exporter. Quite importantly, of the six articles in which Angola was covered, four were in the resources category. Furthermore, in three of the articles in which Angola was covered, Nigeria was also one of the major countries covered. However, Angola was only covered as a major country in one article. Angola has also become a significant oil exporter and speculations are rife that its level of production may soon exceed that of Nigeria (Ford 2008b). Ghana, soon to be another oil exporter was covered in two articles (14.3%). It is also important to note that countries that received extremely low levels of coverage such as Ethiopia, Niger and Guinea were covered in articles dealing with resources. This tendency reflects the African economic context where many poor countries depend fully on exporting raw materials.

Table 5.17 Countries with highest level of major coverage for the subject resources

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=14)
South Africa	10	71.4
Nigeria	5	35.7
Ghana	2	14.3

5.4.7 Tourism/Leisure

Tourism is one of Africa's most important foreign exchange earners and forms the strongest part of its services economy (Lippman 2007:62). Though South Africa had the

highest overall individual level of major coverage for tourism (45.5%) as indicated in Table 5.18, East African countries (Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania) were covered in 6 articles (54.5%). Kenya was covered as a major country in four articles (36.4%) while Rwanda was covered as a major country in two articles (18.2%). These findings are most probably reflective of the economic importance of tourism for the bulk of East African countries. Conversely, only one article on tourism covered Nigeria as a major country. Nigeria receives very little of its income from tourism and is rather dependent on its natural resources, specifically oil. Tourism plays a very small role compared to its other income generators (Rundell 2008a:85). Only one North African country, Morocco, was covered as a major country in a tourism-related article.

Table 5.18 Countries which received major coverage for the subject tourism/leisure

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=11)
South Africa	5	45.5
Kenya	4	36.4
Namibia	2	18.2
Rwanda	2	18.2
Ghana	1	9.1
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1	9.1
Morocco	1	9.1
Tanzania	1	9.1
Uganda	1	9.1

5.4.8 Trade

South Africa received the highest level of major coverage in articles about trade (57.1%). As Africa's largest economy, this finding could be expected. Egypt received the second highest level of major coverage in this category (35.7%) also an expected result since it is Africa's second largest economy. However, overall Egypt received lower levels of

coverage than countries that have smaller economies. Nigeria had a low level of coverage as a major country in this category (14%), which can be attributed to the fact that the Nigeria Stock market is still growing and is not as developed as the Johannesburg Securities Exchange (JSE) or the Cairo and Alexander Stock Exchange (CASE). Furthermore Nigeria's dependence on oil exports limits its trade relations.

Table 5.19 Countries with highest level of major coverage for the subject trade

Country	Number of articles	Percentage (N=14)
South Africa	8	57.1
Egypt	5	35.7
Mauritius	3	21.4
Namibia	2	14.3
Nigeria	2	14.3

5.5 RESULTS OF QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

An open-ended category named "Reference to hierarchical status" was used to qualitatively determine evidence of hierarchy in the coverage that African countries received. In addition, the results of the qualitative content analysis serve to corroborate the results of the quantitative content analysis. The qualitative results gave clear evidence of hierarchy in the African region which clearly coincides with the coverage that countries receive in economic news. Firstly, South Africa was described as an imperialist and dominant country while other countries were relegated to a dependent position. Secondly, South Africa was referred to as the regional (African) centre, whilst other countries like Nigeria and Egypt were referred to as sub-regional centres. Thirdly, reference was made to the size of a country's economy and lastly a country was described as being in a different economic league than other African countries. The qualitative analysis also revealed that Pan-African business publications generally do not

emphasise weak economies. The low level of coverage of small economies meant that there was very little reference to the smaller, peripheral economies.

5.5.1 Reference to dominance and dependence

South Africa was described as both a dominant and, in fact, an imperialist country. Similar to the global dominance of Western countries, South Africa was described as being a dominant nation that could determine the economic progress of other African countries. The phrases "expansion beyond South Africa" (Nevin 2007:26) and "invasion of South African companies" (Dynes 2007:25) were used to describe the move of South African companies and organisations into other parts of Africa. The expansion of South Africa is also seen as an ongoing and extremely lucrative process. For example, South Africa was described as making a "string of high profile acquisitions in recent years, expanding into Namibia and Mozambique" (Ford 2008a). Furthermore, South Africa and South African companies were described as being able to change the economic climate or the economic situation in other African countries. For example, a "South African led consortium will invest $29 million to revitalise operations" (South African firm … 2007). In the aforementioned example, Kenya and Uganda are the subservient countries depending on empowerment from South Africa. South Africa was also described as having enough economic muscle to coordinate economic activities on a continent-wide basis. For example, South Africa's finance minister describing a "1.2 billion Pan-African infrastructure fund initiated by the South African government that would fund and coordinate an integrated approach to infrastructure rollout in the continent" (Ray 2007:45).

5.5.2 Reference to countries as regional centres

South Africa was referred to as the regional (African) centre, particularly as a regional leader. Phrases like "Sub-Saharan Africa, led by South Africa" (Siddiqi 2007); "True

Southern gateway to Africa" (Christianson 2007:55) and "The spin-off is to the rest of the continent as South Africa works with neighbouring countries," (Jacobsen 2008:20) all indicate that South Africa is the single most important economic leader on the continent.

Nigeria was described as a country striving to take on centre status as well. Descriptions like "plans to become one of the top 20 economies in the world by 2020" (Versi 2007) and "Lagos has sub-Saharan Africa's biggest and most liquid bond-market outside South Africa" (Rundell 2008a:84) show that though Nigeria has considerable economic influence on the continent, it still does not rival South Africa. Egypt was also described as "an established regional player" which shows that it has held this position on the continent for a long time, yet it is not at the top (Knight 2007:108).

Smaller economies like Ghana and Angola were described as making strides towards competing with larger economies. Ghana was described, in reference to the West African sub-region, as being "highly attractive to investors" (Dynes 2007:24) while Angola was seen as a credible challenge to Nigeria as "the continent's foremost producer of oil" (Ford 2008b).

5.5.3 Reference to size or growth in the economy of countries

Several references were made to the size and growth of African countries. South Africa was described as the "Africa's largest economy", indicating that its economic size is an important factor in coverage (Durham 2007:97). Nigeria's economy was described with reference to its economic position in the West African sub-region: "Nigeria now accounts for 50% of West Africa's GDP" (Rundell 2008a:84) and "easily the largest economy in the sub-region" (Regional air travel grows … 2008). In contrast, the Democratic Republic of the Congo was referred to as the "180th most heavily indebted country in the world with a per capita income of just $100" (The need for a genuine

Marshall Plan 2008). Ghana was called a "Pace-setter for economic recovery" showing that there is a growing interest in that country's economic development (Dynes 2007:24).

5.5.4 Reference to the exclusive economic position of countries

Several countries were described as being in a different economic league than the rest of the continent. South Africa, in particular, was separated from sub-Saharan Africa. For example, in an article about hotel sales, annual sales figures were described as "Sub-Saharan Africa ex-South Africa" because South Africa had high sales levels (Ward 2008:112). South Africa and Egypt, as the two largest economies in the continent, were separated as emerging markets: "African stock markets, as they grow will join the CASE and the JSE in the emerging market asset class" (Katanga 2008:103). South Africa and Tunisia were separated from the rest of the continent as having "efficient markets" with the assessment of other African markets being described as "bleak" (Blanke 2007:54).

Oil exporting countries were described as being in a separate league from non-oil exporting countries, probably due to the economic benefits from oil revenues. Ghana was therefore being elevated into "the coveted club of African oil exporters" (Rundell 2008b:18).

Communication was another factor that separated African countries. North African countries (Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia), Mauritius and South Africa were singled out for having broadband capability (Toure 2007:62). While Africa's telecommunication system was the "least developed in the world", South Africa was depicted as an exception to the rule (Versi & Ford 2007).

5.6 SUMMARY

The quantitative results indicated that South Africa received the highest overall level of coverage. Nigeria received the second highest level of coverage followed by Kenya and Egypt. The majority of African countries mentioned received very low levels of coverage; several African countries were not covered at all. In the levels of coverage categories, South Africa received the highest levels as a major country mentioned and as an additional country mentioned; however, it received very little coverage as a country used as an example. South Africa received the highest level of coverage in all the subject matters of the articles except financial/banking sector subject, where Nigeria received the highest level of coverage.

The qualitative results indicated evidence of regional hierarchies in the coverage of African countries. Several themes emerged from the analysis. Firstly, countries were described as either dominant or dependent; for example South Africa was described as a dominant country, while others such as Uganda were described as dependent. Secondly, countries were referred to as regional centres; for example South Africa was described as a leader in the continent, while Nigeria and Egypt were portrayed as leaders in their respective sub-regions. Thirdly, countries were described according to the size of their economies. Lastly, reference was made to the exclusive economic position some countries held; for example oil exporting countries were in an exclusive group.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study was to analyse the 2007 and 2008 editions of *Africa Investor*, *African Business* and *Business in Africa* in order to determine the existence and extent of hierarchies within African news flows. A quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the news articles of *Africa Investor*, *African Business* and *Business in Africa* was used. The results of the study showed that South Africa was covered to a greater extent than any other African country, indicating that regional hierarchy did exist in economic news coverage. This chapter concludes the study by providing a discussion of the theory used and the results gained as well as directions for further research on this topic. Firstly, there is a discussion of the hierarchy in regional news flow. Secondly, economic news flow in Africa is discussed with reference to the determinants of coverage that were apparent in the coverage African countries received. The chapter ends with several recommendations for further study.

6.2 HIERARCHY IN REGIONAL NEWS FLOW

The study was founded on the framework of international news flow theories: dependency theory, structural theory of imperialism and world system theory. These theories are used in an international communication context to explain the inequality that exists in the flow of news between regions and between countries (Chang 1998:529).

Dependency theory introduces the concepts "centre" and "periphery". The centre consists of a few developed countries which are economically dominant whereas the

periphery is made up of a large number of developing and economically weak countries (Tomlinson 1991:37). All developing countries according to dependency theory are part of the periphery. According to dependency theory, the production and distribution of news is mainly based in the centre. However, dependency theory forms the basis of the structural theory of imperialism which states that, within different geographic regions, "centres" and "peripheries" also exist (Madikiza & Bornman 2007:26). Therefore, as Africa's largest economy, South Africa can be regarded as the region's centre. Both *Africa Investor* and *Business in Africa* have headquarters in Johannesburg, South Africa. The choice of location for their headquarters may link to the fact that South Africa accounts for most of the continent's economic transactions and it is therefore likely that more economic news will come from South Africa. The result for the overall level of coverage South Africa received is therefore due to is dominant position in Africa. Therefore, within the context of Anglophone Pan-African economic magazines, the level of South Africa's coverage cements its location in the regional centre.

World system theory is the prism through which hierarchy in international news flow can be examined. In world system theory, a third zone, the "semi-periphery" is added to the centre and periphery divisions. According to world system theory, the flow and direction of news is directly related to the hierarchical position a country holds (Chang 1998:529-530). The qualitative results of this study indicated that there was clear evidence of regional hierarchy in the coverage of African countries: South Africa received extensive coverage probably due to the fact that it is the largest, most advanced economy and influences the economic activity of other African countries.

The quantitative results showed that South Africa received the highest level of coverage as a major country mentioned, which could be a reflection of its economic position. South Africa also received the highest level of coverage as an additional country mentioned, probably due to its diversified economy compared to many other African economies that are dependent on one major resource. Therefore, in terms of the world-

system theory model and within the limitations of this study, South Africa can be considered as Africa's centre. Other strong economies that received high levels of coverage - albeit not comparable to South Africa - such as Nigeria, Kenya and Egypt can be regarded to be in the regional semi-periphery zone. The rest - and the majority - of African countries which received little or no coverage, form the regional periphery. News coverage in Pan-African economic magazines therefore shows evidence of a regional hierarchy.

6.3 DETERMINANTS OF ECONOMIC NEWS FLOW IN AFRICA

Global economic news coverage is determined by the status of an economy (Fogarty 2005:153). Countries which have larger economies, that is, countries that contribute more to the global economy, tend to receive a higher level of coverage because their economic activity has a greater influence on the state of the global economy. Several determinants of coverage can be derived from the results of the current study.

6.3.1 Prominence

The first determinant is prominence. A country is likely to become prominent in economic news if its economic status far outweighs that of other countries (Wu 2003:20). The results for the type of coverage for the current study showed that South Africa received more prominent coverage than any of the other countries. In nearly 80% of the articles in which it was covered, it was either the main focus or one of several other countries. Furthermore, its prominence can be seen in the 30% difference between the level of coverage it received as a major country compared to what Nigeria received. South Africa also trades and very importantly invests in other African countries. South African companies such as MTN and Vodacom have expanded to develop an extensive presence in many African countries (SA sets up shop in Africa 2004). South Africa has probably also developed a high level of prominence, because it

is able to disseminate information to media organisations swiftly due to its own highly developed media systems. South Africa's prominence is probably further strengthened by its political and diplomatic presence on the continent especially in sub-Saharan Africa. The results also indicated that in the articles in which countries with smaller economies such as Namibia, Mozambique and Senegal were covered as major countries, very South Africa was also covered as a major country. These findings correspond with Chang's (1998) study, which showed that peripheral countries are more likely to be covered if they are discussed with core countries compared to if they are discussed with another peripheral country.

6.3.2 Cultural affinity

The results also indicate that though the magazines are all Pan-African publications, cultural affinity could have had a substantive effect on the level of coverage. North African countries such as Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia are all among Africa's largest economies (Africa's ten largest economies … 2008), yet their level of coverage was far lower than comparative economies like Nigeria and Kenya. Due to greater political and cultural affinity with the Middle East, North African economies tend to be covered with the Middle East region far more than with the rest of the African continent. In addition, several countries with large economies in Africa use French or Arabic as their language of business and therefore may receive relatively low levels of coverage in Anglo-phone magazines even though they have high GDP levels. In addition smaller Francophone countries such as Benin, Mauritania, Seychelles and Togo did not receive any coverage in the study compared to equally small Anglophone countries like Liberia and Sierra Leone.

6.3.3 Economic climate

The economic climate of a country also appears to be a determining factor in the level of coverage a country received. Though the size of Ghana's economy is considerably smaller than many countries in Africa, it still received a relatively high level of coverage. The economic developments in the country due to the discovery of oil have probably made it more important to investors globally, and therefore Ghana has become important in African economic news. Generally, countries that have a growing private sector and are attractive to investors are apparently more likely to be covered. On the other hand, countries experiencing economic difficulties were also covered. Zimbabwe received a considerable level of coverage compared to strong economies because the dire economic situation it currently faces is of great news value, particularly for neighbouring countries. The conclusion can therefore be drawn that marked changes in the economic climate of a country whether positive or negative will influence the level of coverage a country receives.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

There are several ways in which this study can be expanded. Firstly, a larger sample of magazines and articles should be used. Secondly, Francophone Pan-African economic magazines should be included. Thirdly, the coverage African countries receive in global economic magazines should be analysed. Lastly, a more in-depth analysis of the nature of the coverage that African countries receive in both Pan-African and global economic magazines, would be beneficial. These recommendations are briefly discussed below.

6.4.1 Using a larger sample of magazines and articles

In future studies of the coverage of African countries in Pan-African economic magazines, it would be beneficial to use a larger sample of magazines and articles, than

the size used in this study. More articles will probably ensure that a greater variety of countries are covered in the sample which will assist in determining trends in the coverage of African countries. For example, in this study Zimbabwe did not receive coverage as a major country which could be attributed to the small sample size. Furthermore, a substantial number of countries did not receive any mention at all which may also be attributed to the small sample.

6.4.2 Including Francophone publications in the study

Due to time constraints, it was not possible to include Francophone Pan-African economic magazines in this study since the researcher would have required translation of the articles. Including Francophone Pan-African economic magazines may change the overall levels of coverage some countries received - particularly Francophone countries. The results of a Francophone inclusive study may show that South Africa is not the only regional (African) core country. Francophone North African countries such as Algeria and Morocco which have the fourth and fifth largest economies on the continent respectively may also receive higher levels of coverage in a study that included Francophone Pan-African economic magazines (Word development indicators … 2008).

6.4.3 Analysing the level of coverage of African countries in major global economic magazines

While this study focused on the coverage African countries receive in Pan-African publications, it would also be interesting to look at the level of coverage African countries receive in global economic magazines such as *The Economist*, *Business Week*, *Global Investor* and the *Internationalist*. The levels of coverage of African countries can be compared with Pan-African magazines to see which African countries receive the highest level of coverage and what the nature of the coverage is. The results of such a study can then be compared with the results of this study in order to find out whether

South Africa is still covered to a far greater extent than any other African country, or whether there are other African countries that receive the same or greater level of coverage as South Africa does.

6.4.4 Analysing the nature of coverage of African countries in Pan-African and global economic magazines

A more in-depth analysis of the nature of coverage that African countries receive in both Pan-African economic magazines and global economic magazines would give a clearer indication of the imbalance and inequality in regional and global news flow, pertaining to Africa. While this study looked at the nature of coverage quantitatively in the type of article and subject matter categories, the qualitative analysis was limited to only one open-ended category. Examining the nature of coverage could include further analyses of the type of article, the subject of the article and how the countries are described.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Nearly 30 years after the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate and the McBride Report, inequality continues to be the main characteristic of the international flow of information. Though the NWICO is no longer on the global agenda, many of the issues raised by developing countries such as a lack of media technology and a one-way flow of information remain. This study however showed that inequality in coverage is not only a global issue, but also a regional one. Though Pan-African media claims to cover the whole continent, the results of the study show that to the extent of Anglophone Pan-African business publications, not all countries are covered equally; in fact there is a clear difference in the level and type of coverage that some African countries receive compared to others. Apart from being the largest economy in Africa, the high coverage levels South Africa receives could also be due to non-content factors such as access to better media infrastructure and technology which

makes it possible for South African news to have a much wider spread than other African countries. The need for equality in news coverage has therefore become more pertinent as a few African countries, led by South Africa, expand their economic reach into other African countries.

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Magazine articles selected and consulted

Articles from African Business magazine

Issue	Title
January 2007	Africa's mobile revolution – the second phase
February 2007	Gold tops glittering pile
March 2007	Global warming in Africa – power of diversity
April 2007	Insurance in Nigeria
May 2007	2010: Too much of a good thing
June 2007	World Economic Forum on Africa
August 2007	Nigeria's grand plan
October 2007	Chinese boost Kenya geothermal ambitions
December 2007	Who will lead South Africa after Mbeki
January 2008	The need for a genuine Marshall Plan
February 2008	Managing the crisis
March 2008	Rising tide of FDI reaches Africa
April 2008	Angola challenges Nigeria
May 2008	Moving into hi-tech
July 2008	Boom time for African construction
November 2008	Sasol hit with huge anti-competition fine
December 2008	Subscribers profit as mobile wars intensify
December 2008	A joined up transport strategy

Articles from *Africa Investor* magazine

Issue	Title of article
January-February 2007	Rules need not apply
January-February 2007	Gorilla fees harmonised
January-February 2007	Ai funds flow tracker
March-April 2007	Fantastic at 50
March-April 2007	China wants African holidays
March-April 2007	Itching for e-ticketing
May-June 2007	Business moves
May-June 2007	Banking stocks up
May-June 2007	Investor spotlight
July-August 2007	Terminal headache?
July-August 2007	Arabian nights in Africa
September-October 2007	Toronto in the top spot
September-October 2007	Africa's Singapore
September-October 2007	Storming the floor
November-December 2007	Sustainable profit

November-December 2007	Investment climate update: news in brief
November-December 2007	Small, but well-governed
January-February 2008	Building blocks make good
January-February 2008	Promoting Kwa-Zulu Natal
January-February 2008	Company profiles
March-April 2008	Rocky highs
March-April 2008	Report card
May-June 2008	Project finance round-up
May-June 2008	Taming the mega-city
September-October 2008	Managing the windfall
September-October 2008	Room wrangling
November-December 2008	Opportunity docks
November-December 2008	Beyond gorillas

Articles from *Business in Africa* magazine

Issue	Title of article
July 2007	Shell resumes oil production in Nigeria
July 2007	Nampower to get listed on stock exchange
July 2007	UAE ports to develop Senegal terminals
July 2007	Virgin to help build elephant corridor in Kenya
July 2007	Failed elections, failing state?
July 2007	Capacity – the missing links
July 2007	Growth sure but Africa's competitiveness lags the world
July 2007	ICT: forging a competitive edge
November 2007	FDI flows into Africa double over two years
November 2007	Kempinski Hotels Worldwide to open more hotels in Kenya, Namibia and Tanzania
November 2007	Crisis talks falter
November 2007	South African firm to invest in Kenya's 'Lunatic Express'
September 2008	Parliament seals GT/Vodafone deal
September 2008	Breaking SADC trade barriers – who stands to gain
September 2008	Regional air travel grows on the cheap
November 2008	Rwanda, Tanzania least corrupt in East Africa
November 2008	Mphanda Nkuwa negotiates with South Africa's Eskom
November 2008	Bancassurance: the future of banking in Africa
November 2008	Ripples of the US financial crisis
November 2008	Tanzania: maturing into greatness

Coding sheet

1. Unique number of article

2. Magazine

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3. Year of publication

| 2007 | 1 |
| 2008 | 2 |

4. Month of publication

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5. Major African countries covered

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Rwanda	19
Senegal	20
South Africa	21
Sudan	22
Tanzania	23
Tunisia	24
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None	99

6. Additional African countries mentioned

Country	Code
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Botswana	02
Burundi	03
Cameroon	04
Central African Republic	05
Chad	06
Djibouti	07
Democratic Republic of Congo	08
Egypt	09
Ghana	10
Ivory Coast	11
Kenya	12
Libya	13
Madagascar	14
Mali	15
Mauritius	16
Morocco	17
Nigeria	18
South Africa	19
Sudan	20
Tanzania	21
Uganda	22
Zambia	23
Zimbabwe	24
None	99

7. African countries used as examples

Country	Code
Algeria	01
Angola	02
Botswana	03
Burkina Faso	04
Cape Verde	05
Cameroon	06
Chad	07
Congo	08
Democratic Republic of Congo	09
Egypt	10
Equatorial Guinea	11
Gabon	12
Gambia	13
Ghana	14
Guinea	15
Ivory Coast	16
Kenya	17
Liberia	18
Mali	19
Mauritius	20
Morocco	21
Mozambique	22
Nigeria	23
Rwanda	24
Senegal	25
Sierra Leone	26
South Africa	27
Sudan	28
Swaziland	29

Tanzania	30
Tunisia	31
Uganda	32
Zambia	33
Zimbabwe	34
None	99

8. Type of article

Cover story	1
Feature	2
Interview	3
Regular	4
Snippet	5
Special report	6
Other	7

9. Main subject

Bi-lateral/Multilateral agreements	01
Financial sector/Banking	02
Information and communication technologies	03
Infrastructure	04
Investment	05
Resources	06
Tourism/Leisure	07
Trade	08
Other	09

8. Reference to hierarchical status

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