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Exploring a paradigm shift: The New York Times' framing of sub-Saharan Africa in stories of conflict, war and development during the Cold War and post-Cold War eras, 1945-2009

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EXPLORING A PARADIGM SHIFT: *THE NEW YORK TIMES*' FRAMING OF
SUB- SAHARAN AFRICA IN STORIES OF CONFLICT, WAR AND
DEVELOPMENT DURING THE COLD WAR AND POST-COLD WAR ERAS,
1945-2009

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DEDICATION

To my late father Azalia Opero, whose determination, commitment and sacrifice inspired and enabled me to reach where I am today: Papa, you are my eternal hero. To my late mother Seresi Akumu Opero, whose love filled me with hope and lit my way with her pervasive smile and motherly assurance. To my wife Stella, who bore my absence with unflinching love and devotion and encouraged me to soldier on. To my children Betty, George, Christian and Jemimah to whom I pass on the baton.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigated *The New York Times*' framing of sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War and post-Cold War eras. The aim was to determine whether a journalistic paradigm shift has taken place in the way Western news media cover Africa following a change in the world view system from the Cold War to the post-Cold War. To look for frames, the research examined how *The New York Times* portrayed sub-Saharan Africa in stories of conflict, war and development.

Framing analysis methodology was used to examine the stories and to search for frames. Findings showed that *The New York Times* used violence as means of survival, dependence on foreign intervention solution, inept and incapable governance, recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa's development, territorial protection of sovereign borders horrendous crimes against humanity and global war on terrorism as frames for portraying Africa. These frames largely cast Africa in a negative light.

The study found that foreign intervention solution is the overarching frame in *The New York Times*' coverage of sub-Saharan Africa because it was found in all the three categories of stories – conflict, war and development – and depicts Africa as needing foreign intervention to be able to manage its public affairs. Additionally, the study found a political paradigm shift in the U.S.-Africa relations, and a journalistic paradigm shift in the U.S. news media coverage of Africa in the post-Cold War era.

PREFACE

As a young journalist from a Third World country in sub-Saharan Africa, I visited the United States in 1980 and in 1991. During these visits, I was amazed to find that most Americans I interacted with had scant knowledge of Africa. This was baffling to me, since I assumed that people in developed countries were very knowledgeable in world affairs. I expected Americans to know about Uganda in great details. Some said Uganda was the capital of Nigeria; others thought it was a port in South Africa.

Many years later, I reflected on my visits and cultural experiences after being introduced to and studying the body of scholarly mass communication literature on Africa's representation in the Western news media. I came to an understanding of why American news media typically do not get the African story right, leading to criticism that American news media misrepresent and distort the reality of Africa. To further understand this misrepresentation and distortion, I decided to focus in this dissertation research on one leading American newspaper, *The New York Times*, and its coverage of Africa before and after the Cold War. The results should enable scholars and researchers of American news media coverage of Africa to better understand how American news media cover Africa.

I was born and raised in Uganda in sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War period; and I was a newspaper journalist in Uganda during the same period and in the first decade of the post-Cold War. For my journalism work, I traveled to the Soviet Union and United States – the Cold War Superpowers – during the two eras. This experience privileges me as an “insider,” which some scholars argue compromises his impartial analysis. Most qualitative research scholars defend the first-hand experience and contend that in a qualitative study such as the present one, it provides the researcher with direct and subtle experiences in his role as the primary data collection instrument and research analyst (Merriam, 2002).

In qualitative research, the researcher is considered an instrument because he uses his lived experience, and data are examined through his eyes to make sense of the research process (Hays, 2004). To perform his/her role successfully, the researcher is characterized as both an insider and an outsider in the research process (Venegas-Garcia, 2010; Merriam, 2002; Hays, 2004). From an insider’s vantage point as a journalist during the Cold War and post-Cold War, and from sub-Saharan Africa, I will use my knowledge and lived experience to conduct the research in the best way possible without getting compromised or swayed by bias. I will ensure that facts, dates, names and African realities are correct. I will remain composed while deeply involved in eliciting and ferreting relevant information for the research. Balancing the insider-outsider role will help the project in achieving trustworthiness.

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND OF PROBLEM

Throughout the modern era, a copy of *The New York Times* – the leading American newspaper in the coverage of the Third World – has carried reports and opinion pieces focused on the African continent (Bonnah-Koomson, 1991; Karnik, 1998). As this dissertation was being written, *The New York Times* (April, 16, 2012) won two prestigious Pulitzer Prizes, the highest award in American journalism, for investigative reporting of Africa. It would, therefore, suggest that an American public, (at least those who read *The New York Times* or are exposed to other news media that carry the stories), would have some knowledge about Africa. Beyond that, the reality of Marshall McLuhan's concept of a global village, defined as the contracted global space using technology to bring people together (McLuhan and Powers, 1989), and the globalization phenomenon further facilitating interconnectedness of nations and people (Keohane and Nye, 2001; Friedman, 2000), would also suggest that the American public might be expected to have some level of awareness of the continent of Africa. But personal experience of the author, who is African, and a bevy of scholarly studies suggest Americans are largely uninformed when it comes to the reality of Africa and its people (Chari, 2010; Ebo, 1992; Osunde, 1996; Hawk, 1992). Either they know little about Africa or their knowledge is full of stereotypes and myths. A significant reason for the

low level of awareness of Africa's reality ironically may be U. S. news media and the way they cover the continent (Michira, 2002; Millner, 2005; Hawk, 1992).

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate how American news media, specifically *The New York Times*, covered and portrayed sub-Saharan Africa in two eras – the Cold War and the post-Cold War periods – *to address whether news media might have contributed to America's knowledge about Africa*. The two timeframes were chosen because portrayal of the continent might be expected to be different following a political paradigm shift from the Cold War era to the post-Cold War era. The thesis of this dissertation is that a journalistic paradigm shift would accompany the political paradigm shift from the Cold War to the post-Cold War, which would be reflected in constructs *The New York Times* uses in stories about sub-Saharan Africa. Paradigm shift theory stipulates that old and new paradigms are “incompatible,” “incommensurate” and different (Kuhn, 1970). The rationale, therefore, is that Africa would be seen differently in the new political paradigm, thus it would also be seen differently in the new journalistic paradigm. Journalists, then, will use different approaches, values and norms to cover Africa. Consequently, if media coverage of Africa under the old paradigm contributed to Americans having little knowledge of Africa and that knowledge being full of stereotypes and myths, different – and by implication, improved – coverage under new political and journalistic paradigms might improve Americans' knowledge about Africa which could influence U.S. foreign policy toward Africa (Swain, 2003).

Broadly speaking, the Cold War politics perceived the world as bipolar – either communist or capitalist – in which people viewed themselves as friends or enemies (Moorcraft and Taylor, 2008; White, 1997; Friedman, 2000). The journalistic paradigm at the time, also perceived the world with the same lens, as supported by Moorcraft and

Taylor's (2008, p. 77) contention that during the Cold War "journalism was couched in old-fashioned jingoistic nation-superior style." With the international political change from the Cold War to the post-Cold War, that perception shifted from bipolar to multipolar, unipolar or other (Holm and Sorensen, 1995; Matlock, 2009; Moorcraft and Taylor, 2008). Four years after the end of the Cold War, Henry Grunwald, a former *Time* magazine editor stated: "The press is now searching for a different organizing principle – North-South tensions, religion versus secularism, nationalism versus internationalism.... The Cold War could turn anything into an issue of national interest if communism was somehow implicated. That link is gone" (Grunwald, 1993, pp. 14-15). This observation recognizes the journalistic paradigm shift taking place from the Cold War period to the post-Cold War period in which, it is expected, Africa will be perceived anew and reported differently.

The notion of paradigm shift this dissertation uses as its theoretical framework is adopted from Thomas Kuhn's (1970) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Although Kuhn's "paradigm" is based on methods of science, paradigms and paradigm shifts are now universally applied across disciplines to explain changes. Detailed perspectives of paradigms will be discussed in the literature section. It is sufficient here to note that this dissertation conceptualizes journalistic paradigm, one type of a paradigm, as a belief system framework that provides journalists with agreed-on standards, values and practices for approaching and conducting their professional work (Berkowitz, 2011) in a prevailing worldview such as under the Cold War or the post-Cold War eras. Journalists do their work based on the belief system framework which stipulates the norms of the paradigm in which they operate; hence, the contention that journalistic frames in the post-Cold War should be different from those in the Cold War because each of these

eras had its own belief system framework.

In this dissertation, sub-Saharan Africa is defined as that part of the African continent south of the Sahara Desert. North Africa is excluded because countries comprising it – Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt – are linked by history, religion, culture and ethnicity to the Middle East. U. S. policy in North African countries is substantially different from U. S. policy in sub-Saharan countries (Clough, 1992). South Africa is also excluded as part of the present research because its economic and social structure, history and politics are different from that of the rest of the African countries. Sub-Saharan Africa is home to some of the poorest and least politically powerful countries, thus making it a part of what is considered the Third World (Clough, 1992; Thomas, 2009).

Africa has been fixated in the “Dark Continent” metaphor – perceived as “a continent where violent and irrational people live, or that the continent is a lost cause because of its constant struggle with violence, famine, and disease” (Kothari, 2010, p. 1). And, yet, the world system is not static, as witnessed by the shift of the worldview from the Cold War to the post-Cold War. In light of this change in the world system, the present study seeks to examine the frames American news media used to represent events and issues in Africa during and after the end of the Cold War, with the expectation that the representation should be different in each period. If different, the representations during post-Cold War period would be expected to be less stereotypical. Therefore, Americans’ knowledge of Africa’s reality would be expected to be different than myths and stereotypes.

Entman (1991) and Gamson and Modigliani (1989), among others, contend that public opinion is shaped by how the news media frame events and issues. Therefore, it is

important to investigate the frames American news media use in representing Africa because those frames could have a bearing on how Africa is viewed internationally and determine the interaction between countries of Africa and those of other continents.

In the 1970s and 1980s, leaders and other stakeholders in Third World countries vigorously complained that the structure and power of the world news media system was dominated by Western-owned global news media agencies like *Reuters* (British), the *Associated Press* and *United Press International* (American), and *Agence France-Presse* (French) (Grosswiler, 2004). The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) documented fundamental imbalances in the world press system, and noted that coverage of Africa was dominated by these agencies that used Western cultural and news values to filter and construct stories about Africa (UNESCO, 1977; 1980-1981). Third World governments viewed this global news media structure and dominance as unfair and contended that it often fostered a one-sided information flow— in amount and content – rather than the exchange of information between the developed countries and the Third World (UNESCO, 1977). Under this news media system, most of the news and information that circulated around the world was mainly from the industrialized countries in the West, which Third World nations branded as Western cultural imperialism (Ojo, 1996; Galtung and Vincent, 1992). Governments in Third World countries sought a radical overhaul of the world communication system so that it could reflect the diversity and equality of all human races and their cultures (Grosswiler, 2004; de Beer, Serfontein, Naude, and Steyn, 1996; Ojo, 1996; Osunde, 1996).

Attempts were made by the Third World countries in 1974 and 1976, under the auspices of UNESCO, to rectify this imbalance by changing the structure of the Western-dominated global news media through establishing a new arrangement that served the

interests of the developing countries as well (Mehra, 1986). They came up with the “New World Information and Communication Order” (NWICO) in the late 1970s, as an alternative solution (Ojo, 1996; Grosswiler, 2004). Through the NWICO, the Third World governments proposed a communication global system that would see to it that issues and events in the Third World were correctly reflected in global media.

This effort led to the MacBride Commission in 1980, but the commission’s proposals were rejected by the United States, the most powerful member of UNESCO. Among other things, the Commission had proposed government control of media institutions, which is anathema to the free world. Leading American news publications like *Newsweek* and *The New York Times* took the same side in rejecting the proposals (de Beer and Merrill, 2004). Then, African countries, under the auspices of their continental body, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), on July 20, 1979, established their own alternative structure, the Pan African News Agency (PANA) based in Dakar, Senegal, to cater to their cultural and communication issues as well as try to counter the information flow imbalance from the West (Ojo, 1996).

Importance of American News Media Coverage of Africa

The relationship between American news media and Africa most likely started with Henry Morton Stanley, an American journalist and explorer working for *The New York Herald* who ventured into Africa in the nineteenth century to look for the British missionary and explorer, David Livingstone. He used “Dark Continent” in the title of his two-volume book and in his narrative to describe what Africa was like (Stanley, 1890). From then on, American news media have used this motif, shadow or undercurrent of darkness to construct stories about Africa.

The Cold War, characterized by the Communist ideological rivalry of the Eastern

bloc against capitalism of the Western bloc from 1945 to 1989, also influenced how American news media covered and represented events and issues in Africa (Fair, 1992). African nations that espoused communism or aligned themselves to the Soviet Union generally received negative coverage in American news media. A case in point is coverage of the Ethiopian famine that ravaged the country in mid 1980s. The American news media generally attributed the famine to the country's Marxists policies that did not take into account proper farming methods (Fair, 1992). In another example, Mozambique's Jonas Savimbi, a rebel leader, regarded a "valued friend" of the United States because he was against communism ironically received favorable coverage in spite of engaging in violence which caused deaths and suffering to ordinary people (Windrich, 1992).

Critics contend that American news media are not sufficiently informed about Africa, and the media's lack of knowledge is reflected in the stories they pass on to their audiences (Millner, 2005; Michira, 2002; Chavis, 1998; Ebo, 1992; Osunde, 1996; Hawk, 1992). For example, journalists generally do not contextualize their stories to reflect African reality, which causes unpleasant distortions to be communicated to Americans. This lack of context perpetuates ignorance in the media, the American public and government officials (Govea, 1992). For example, when Sarah Palin, a Vice Presidential candidate in 2008, referred to Africa as a country rather than a continent during a media event, *The New York Times* (November 13, 2008), published her statement without correcting it first. Also, at a confirmation hearing in 1981, a high ranking official appointed in the State Department, Deputy Secretary of State, William P. Clark, failed to identify the prime ministers of Zimbabwe and South Africa (Jackson, 1982).

Media scholars cite American journalists' penchant for covering news stories that

are sensational, bizarre or focus on disasters (Millner, 2005; Michira, 2002; Chavis, 1998) as a reason the African image portrayed to the American public is different from what is the reality. While such stories are not limited to the coverage of Africa, the continent seems to get more than its fair share of them. For instance, the ruthless dictator, President Idi Amin who ruled Uganda from 1971 to 1979, was portrayed by The Associated Press in the 1970s as a buffoon and clown who adorned himself with a chest of titles such as His Excellency President for Life, Field Marshall, Al-Haji, Dr. Idi Amin Dada, Victoria Cross (VC), Distinguished Service Order (DSO), Military Cross (MC), Lord of All the Beasts of the Earth and Fisheries of the Sea, and Conqueror of the British Empire in Africa in General, and Uganda in Particular (Coren, 1974; 1975). He allegedly killed and ate the livers of his wife, child, the archbishop of Uganda and those opposed to his rule (Documentary, 2004). A story is told of a French journalist Amin asked to pick ice cream from the fridge before the interview in Amin's residence. Instead of the ice cream, the journalist allegedly found three human heads. The Associated Press, on May 17, 1977 ran a story based on testimonies to the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, Switzerland, in which Amin was accused of torture, mass killings and cannibalism in Uganda. After his overthrow in 1979, The Associated Press, on February 7, published a story that Amin practiced cannibalism. And a 1977 *Time* magazine cover article was titled "the wild man of Africa" in reference to Amin's behavior. Another dictator, President Jean Bedel Bokassa of the Central African Republic, who fell from power after Amin, was also accused of eating human flesh. *The New York Times*, December 21, 1986, covering Bokassa's trial, in a story headlined "In a gamble, Bokassa trial is broadcast alive," narrated that Bokassa was standing trial for charges ranging from fraud and murder to cannibalism.

Racial bias also tends to make whites view the African people as lacking in knowledge, ability and experience (Donnelly, 2001). For example, in an interview with the Boston Globe in 2001, Andrew Natsios, Chief Administrator of the U. S. Agency for International Development (USAID), lamented that AIDS patients in Uganda did not follow dosage instructions because they had no sense of time: “Many Africans don’t know what Western time is.... Many people in Africa have never seen a clock or watch their entire lives. And if you say, one o’clock in the afternoon, they don’t know what you are talking about. They know morning, they know noon, they know evening, they know the darkness at night” (Donnelly, 2001, p. A8).

Given that nations need to positively project themselves so as to compete for world markets and international cooperation, especially in these current times of interdependent and globalized world village, there is a need for news media to project a competitive image of Africa (Keohane, 2002; Keohane and Nye, 2001). Moreover, the modern information and communications technology is fast facilitating peoples of the world to become more and more interconnected (Friedman, 2000). Because of the importance of international news media in constructing the public’s image and perception of a foreign country, which is crucial in international affairs, African nations need to be given fair and accurate international press coverage to enable them to integrate into the global village with other nations (Saddiki, 2006; Pena, 2003; Yoon and Gwangho, 2002). A major influential newspaper like *The New York Times* can play a significant role in giving sub-Saharan Africa that type of coverage. The location of its headquarters in New York, the world’s diplomatic capital where varied international communities are found, makes *The New York Times* suitable to link sub-Saharan Africa to the outer world. It is the paper readily available to be read by diplomats and

international communities which can mold and influence their worldview about sub-Saharan Africa.

A positive story reflecting true African reality on an African nation in *The New York Times* could be more valuable and effective than its diplomats because American news media often influence their government's decisions on foreign policy (Robinson, 2000; Tornau, 2006). *The New York Times* could, therefore, be a beneficial influence for sub-Saharan Africa to United States government and policy makers (Karnik, 1998; Cohen, 1994; Gowing, 1994). For example, the Nigerian civil war of 1967 to 1970 pitted the Christian Ibo against the Muslim Hausa-Fulani, with the Ibo fighting to secede from the national unity government (Schraeder and Endless, 1998; Ibelema, 1992). Because of the American news media coverage of the war-induced starving and suffering civilians and children, the American government intervened with the humanitarian assistance. Also, during the Ethiopian famine of the 1983 to 1985, the American news media's exposure of the natural disaster precipitated United States government intervention (Fair, 1992; Schraeder and Endless, 1998; Ibelema, 1992). Another humanitarian disaster in Somalia in 1992 compelled the American government to act after the media broadcast graphic and horrendous images of starving children (Robinson, 2000; Schraeder and Endless, 1998). The massive refugees' situation that engulfed eastern Congo due to a human influx from Rwanda following the 1994 genocide received immediate attention once the American news media reported the situation (Wall, 1997). The media present these frequently occurring situations as recurrent disasters which are a hindrance to Africa's development; and need prompt foreign intervention solutions to contain them. Although American news media always jump in to cover Africa during disasters and crises, what Africa needs of American news media is a continuous reflection of its reality

that projects a positive image.

Purpose and study rationale

The purpose of this study is to investigate how American news media represented Africa during the Cold War and in the post-Cold War eras – making a comparison – which no study has attempted yet. However, it can be an ambitious task to try and study all American news media coverage of a diverse and huge continent like Africa with varied cultures, ethnicities, religions and aspirations. To do so would be taking an academic bite that one cannot chew within this allocated space of time. The best approach, which has been adopted by previous scholars and that is followed in this dissertation, is to select a significant news medium's coverage of a few issues on a part of the continent such as Chari's (2010) research on *The New York Times*' framing of the 1994 Rwanda genocide; Kothari's study of the framing of the Darfur conflict in *The New York Times*; Danker-Dake's (2008) content analysis of *The New York Times*' coverage of Africa; and Seaga Shaw's (2012) research on *The Washington Post*'s "war on terror" frame of the Sierra Leone civil war. In that light, the present dissertation research focuses on examining how *The New York Times* covered three issue areas – conflict, war and development – that have impacted and shaped sub-Saharan Africa. These areas, especially conflict and war, are the most covered by the Western news media and often portray Africa in a negative light, according to the secondary literature.

Admittedly, it is not easy to differentiate between the concepts "conflict" and "war." The fine line separating these concepts is given direction by Paul D. Williams (2011) in his book, *War and Conflict in Africa*, in which he defines conflict as "the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups" (p. 2), and warfare as "the use of organized violence by collectivities for political purposes which results in casualties" (p.

2). According to Arno (1984), “Conflict results from a lack of agreement over an issue and is expressed in words or actions” (p. 1). Rasmussen (1997) defines conflict as “an escalated competition at any system level between groups whose aim is to gain advantage in the area of power, resources, interests, values or needs” (p. 32). Conflict is said to exist when two or more parties in a relationship pursue goals that are incompatible or seek to achieve similar goals in different ways. Conflict could also involve contests or competitions. Using this guidance, this dissertation operationalized conflict as a disagreement between or among parties which does not necessarily involve violence, and war as organized violence by groups for political and irreconcilable purpose which result in deaths. In newsrooms, journalists see conflict as one of the key elements that determine stories to be covered. Glasgow University Media Group (1976) defined conflict as bad news, which must be covered and exposed. For journalists, ironically, bad news is a good story and good news is often no story (Glasgow, 1976).

A number of conflicts and wars influenced political activities in Africa during the Cold War era – a period of Superpower competition between the Soviet Union and the United States based on ideological differences –and attracted Western news media attention (de Beer, Serfontein, Naude, and Steyn, 1996; Anderson, 2012). Some activities were driven by ideological rivalry, which ended in physical combat such as in Congo in the 1960s, or supporting groups on opposite sides of the political divide as in Mozambique and Angola where the Soviet Union and the United States backed rival groups. Professor David Anderson of the African Studies Center, University of Oxford, observes that across Africa, the struggle for ascendancy between various forces sparked coups and revolutions, fuelled rivalries and brought about political schisms; he adds that the Cold War was manifested in various forms in Africa (Anderson, 2012).

The American news media's role in war situations in Africa remains blurred. Some scholars see the media's role as helping or accelerating war, such as in the Rwanda genocide of 1994 (Mitchell, 2007; Thompson, 2007; Straus, 2007; Kellow and Steeves, 1998; Belknap, 2002). Others argue that media have the ability to stop or impede war by exposing war secrets and exposing the horrors of war casualties (Belknap, 2002; Livingston, 1997). War, itself, has become sophisticated from the conventional war of frontlines to war of terrorism involving an individual or a few people and using nonconventional weapons, such as wearing explosive undergarments (Belknap, 2002; Livingston, 1997).

Development, the third area of U. S. news media coverage to be examined in this study, is an issue of life and death for the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, which are some of the least developed countries in the world. The concept of development is an old one rooted in Western economic history, popularized from the nineteenth century. Development has come to be linked with growth and progress. It entails the growth and transformation (of an individual or nation) from the traditional to the modern and advanced levels of civilization (Servaes, 1999). Rogers (1969, p. 18) defined development as "a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization." Equating development with modernization, Rogers (1969, p. 48) contends that development is "the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life." Hettne (1982) associates development with structural change in society while Hedebrö (1982) argues that there is no universal path to development; rather, development must be conceived as an integral, multidimensional,

and dialectic process that can differ from one country to another. In terms of sub-Saharan Africa, therefore, development involves those activities which change or seek to change the status and quality of life of society and nation by making it better than what it was previously. Most governments in Africa contend that the thrust of both local and international media's coverage in their countries should be on issues of development, rather than on conflict and war (Hyden, Leslie and Ogundimu, 2002; Croteau and Hoynes, 2001; Asante, 1996).

Theoretical Framework

To examine *The New York Times'* coverage of conflict, war and development, the present study selected the time frame of 1945 to 2009 – a span of time that includes colonialism and Cold War as one period, and the post-Cold War as a second period. Using Thomas Kuhn's (1970) theoretical framework of paradigm shifts as a guide, each period is considered a political paradigm. The study seeks to determine whether coverage has changed from the colonialism and Cold War era to the post-Cold War era reflecting change brought on by the shift in political paradigms; this necessitates the comparison of *The New York Times'* coverage in the two eras. Thus, the present research is considered a study of a paradigm shift – the moving away from one belief system framework by journalists to another (Berkowitz, 2011). Although Kuhn used paradigms to explain changes used in solving scientific problems, paradigms can also be used to explain non-scientific problems, such as in this dissertation. As a belief system framework, a journalistic paradigm provides lenses through which journalists see and interpret events and issues (Berkowitz, 2011). Using this notion, the present study breaks the timeframe into two eras – colonialism and the Cold War period (1945-1989) in which journalists used one journalistic paradigm, and the post-Cold War period (1990-2009) in which

journalists are expected to use the norms and values of another journalistic paradigm.

Methodological approach

This dissertation uses qualitative content analysis and qualitative framing analysis to analyze the stories and to identify themes, framing devices and frames, which are key elements for this research. The two methodologies are complementary because they enable the researcher to identify themes and frames in sequence and make findings robust. Qualitative content analysis is conducted to identify themes using the key-words-in-context technique (Bazeley, 2009; Ryan and Bernard, 2003). As a preliminary introduction to framing (more details will be given in the methodology chapter), Kuypers (2006, p. 8) notes that “Framing is a process whereby communicators, consciously or unconsciously, act to construct a point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be interpreted by others in a particular manner.” However, Gamson (1989) contends that facts stay neutral until they are framed – for example, how the press frames an issue or event will affect public understanding of that issue or event. Gamson (1989, p. 157) adds that facts “take on their meaning by being embedded in a frame or story line that organizes them and gives them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasize while ignoring others.” Frames are found around us and are a normal part of the communication process because they reside in the communicator, the receiver of the message, and the culture at large (Kuypers, 2006). The communication process entails negotiating massive amounts of information daily, for which frames provide contextual cues or leads to make facts meaningful.

The analysis of the use of framing in media content for the present research involves the identification of framing devices which are displayed in a frame matrix for analysis (Van Gorp, 2010). Using an inductive process, the framing devices are

analyzed to determine the frames across stories. These story frames are subsequently analyzed to determine the overarching frame (s) (Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Pan, Lee, Man Chan and So, 1999; Van den Bulck et al., 2008; Van Gorp, 2005). The display of framing devices is for scholarly transparency and to cultivate trustworthiness (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Details for both methodologies are provided in the methodology chapter.

Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation comprises of six chapters. Chapter one gives the background and introduces the direction the dissertation takes by articulating key component parts of the study. For example, it touches on the inherent problem of American news media's inadequate knowledge of Africa and how this contributes to representation of Africa. A brief historical and scholarly background of the origin of the African image is outlined. American news media coverage of three issue areas in Africa – conflict, war and development – is pointed out as the focus of the dissertation. Chapter two discusses Thomas Kuhn's paradigm shift as the theoretical framework that guides the dissertation process. It presents arguments defending the use of theory in a qualitative study such as this one. To give conceptual clarity to the dissertation, paradigm occurrences and use in scholarly studies, particularly in news media work and everyday life are discussed; also, examples of paradigm shifts are discussed. To locate the dissertation into a paradigm shift study, it is explained that during colonialism and the Cold War period journalists used one paradigm and in the post- Cold War period they used another. Chapter three presents the scholarly literature review, which provides the necessary information, background and scholarly perspectives that enrich, shape and energize the dissertation. Chapter four discusses qualitative content analysis and framing analysis as the two methodologies for

collecting and analyzing data. Chapter five presents the research findings that address each research question. Chapter six is the discussion and conclusion. The limitations of the study and further areas of future research are also discussed.

CHAPTER 2

PARADIGM SHIFT THEORY AND HISTORY OF COLONIALISM, COLD WAR AND POST-COLD WAR ERAS

This chapter locates the dissertation process in the proper conceptual context by accomplishing four things. First, it explains why the dissertation, which is qualitative, uses a theoretical framework (Schram, 2006; Merriam, 1998; Schwandt, 1993). Second, the chapter discusses Thomas Kuhn's paradigm shift theory as guidance because the present study is conceptualized as the study of differences in a newspaper's coverage when political and journalistic paradigm shifts occur. Third, the chapter examines some historical paradigm shifts that have occurred in mass communication research to gain insightful nuances in paradigm shift research. Fourth, since no study of this nature has been conducted on news media coverage of Africa, this dissertation will examine and tap from similar or parallel research that has been done in other disciplines to inform and guide its conceptual and theoretical process.

Relevance of paradigm shift

In this study, the Cold War era is home to one journalistic paradigm, and the post-Cold War era is home to another journalistic paradigm brought about by a political shift or change from the Cold War to the post-Cold War. The paradigm shift notion appears appropriate to contextualize and explain such a change. Kuhn's (1970) definition of paradigm is that it is a belief or method members of a scientific community share in order to accomplish a task. Kuhn's definition is parallel to Berkowitz's (2011, p. 185)

“journalistic paradigm” which he defines as a belief system framework that provides journalists with agreed-on standards, values and practices for approaching and conducting their professional work based on the prevailing worldview. The present dissertation adopts Berkowitz’s concept of journalistic paradigm. “Belief system framework” is parallel to Kuhn’s “belief” or “method;” and “journalists” or (media community) is parallel to “members of a scientific community.” This conceptualization makes – “paradigm” – relevant and appropriate for seeking and explaining change in this research project. During the Cold War era, American journalists, according to UNESCO (1977; 1980-1981), used Western cultural news values and norms when reporting Africa. These values tended to focus on, and be based on, sensational and bizarre incidents which even ridiculed Africans. In the post-Cold War period, American journalists are expected to report Africans basing their news judgment on what Kadoma (1994), one of Africa’s renowned journalism educators, calls Africa moral principles and news values which do not sensationalize news but reflect African reality. Using this guidance, in each paradigm journalists interpret and see world events and issues differently. It means during the Cold War journalists perceived and interpreted events differently, and are expected to do the same in the post-Cold War, which is the thesis of this dissertation. Ultimately, because a shift has taken place from the Cold War to the post-Cold War, this dissertation examines whether the frames *The New York Times* uses to construct stories about Africa have changed.

A number of perspectives on paradigms and paradigm shifts have been discussed in the literature (Sharrock and Read, 2002; Shapere, 1965; Toulmin, 1970). Further, the author explains the conditions and circumstances that are necessary to cause a paradigm shift (or change) from one paradigm to another. He elaborates on paradigm shift using

historical examples that have occurred in mass media research as explained by communication research luminaries like McQuail (2005), and cites paradigm shift studies that have been done to clarify the concept. And he gives examples of the use of paradigm shifts to explain changes in different disciplines – scientific and non-scientific – further reducing the complexity of paradigm shifts.

Justification for theory

Qualitative research is exploratory and tends not to use hypotheses or theories that lead to testing, as the practice in quantitative research does, and relies on research questions and the researcher to generate trustworthy data (Creswell, 2009). Although there is no consensus about the role of theory in qualitative research (Anfara, Jr., and Mertz, 2006), Merriam (1998) supports the use of theory and argues that “many believe mistakenly that theory has no place in a qualitative study. Actually, it would be difficult to imagine a study without a theoretical or conceptual framework.” Without some theoretical framework for guidance, Merriam contends, research process would face enormous difficulties. The main justification for using theory in this qualitative study is that it acts as radar that guides the entire research process, which is why Thomas Kuhn’s paradigm shift theory is appropriate for this research.

Thomas Kuhn’s paradigms

Thomas Kuhn was introduced to the present researcher during a graduate Political Science class in Advanced International Relations Theory in the spring of 2009. A scientist and scholar, Kuhn dramatically switched from being a physicist and became a historian of science. As a career academician, he authored *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970) that catapulted him to fame. The book generated a far more enthusiastic response and much greater interest than Kuhn anticipated. In the present day

communication parlance, the book “went viral,” ultimately selling over a million copies, and being translated into over a dozen languages, a feat not so easy to achieve for an academic book about abstract philosophic topics (Nickles, 2003). The book’s popularity is not only due to controversial statements and ideas Kuhn raised about the realm and conduct of science, but also the relevance and applicability of the concept of “paradigm shift” across many contemporary disciplines and circumstances – scientific and non-scientific – whenever there is need for a change.

The present researcher’s review of Kuhn’s *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* was exciting, challenging and absorbing. Indeed, the question was, What does Kuhn, a historian and physicist, have to do with international relations? Examining Kuhn’s works and perspectives, it became clear that, because of his controversial argument regarding the generation of knowledge, Kuhn has a distinct place in international relations theory as a realist, postmodernist and constructivist. He is a realist and postmodernist because he provoked the so-called “science wars” by challenging the master narrative of established science canons from the Enlightenment era. That narrative stipulates that the history and performance of science is linear, continuous and cumulative (Nickles, 2003). Kuhn rejected this position, contending that science is based on discontinuous, incommensurate and disunited performance, which is a reversal of tendencies of Enlightenment thought (Nickles, 2003; Gross, Levitt and Lewis, 1996). He is a constructivist because he presented new ways for explaining and giving meaning to the performance of science.

To suit his exposition of scientific philosophy, performance and progress, Kuhn (1970) structured science into “normal science” and “revolutionary” or “extraordinary science.” He referred to researchers in science as members of a scientific community and conceptualized “normal science” as “research firmly based upon one or more past

scientific achievements that some particular community acknowledges for a time as supplying the foundation for its further practice” (p. 10). He conceptualized normal science as research that is a “puzzle-solving activity” (p. 52) because it involves scientific researchers in using available methods to solve an existing problem, resulting in knowledge achievement by a particular scientific community. Practitioners of normal science who have undergone similar education and professional institutions use a shared paradigm as the determinant of legitimate methods, problems and standards of solutions. Kuhn argues that in normal science new knowledge replaces ignorance and he contends that normal science work is conducted within the sphere of a paradigm. As long as normal science is capable of providing solutions to puzzles, it fits into the traditional role of science of generating knowledge through accumulation within the paradigm.

Kuhn’s second type of science is “revolutionary science,” which he says is meant to bring about change, or a paradigm shift. Kuhn contends that within a revolutionary science paradigm, an anomaly is likely to develop with which the scientific community of researchers must deal. For the scientific community of researchers to rectify an anomaly within a revolutionary science paradigm, Kuhn prescribes three possible lines of action: to solve the anomaly within the existing paradigm; to set aside the problem posed by the anomaly until some future date; or to replace the existing paradigm with a new one, if the existing paradigm cannot offer solutions to the anomaly. When the existing paradigm is replaced by a new one, Kuhn contends that a scientific revolution has taken place through a paradigm shift from the old paradigm to the new one (Kuhn, 1970). As an example, Kuhn cites fundamental shifts such as from the Ptolemaic system, which held that the earth was the center of the universe, to the Copernican system in which the sun is at the center of the universe.

Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979, p. 6) give a typology of shifts in various disciplines: in physics, the shift from “atomistic, mechanical absolute space and time universality objective” to “quantum mechanical holographic relativistic complementarity indeterminacy”; in evolution, from “random mutation survival and conquest” to “diversity coevolution adaptability”; in mathematics, from “quantitative change” to “qualitative change”; and in politics, from “centralized hierarchy authority necessity” to “pluralism legitimacy, voluntary and inventive.” Hartman and Vilanova (1992) in their book *Paradigms Lost* also elucidate further the notion of paradigm shifts in the contemporary world.

What attracted the author to Kuhn is his exposition of changes using paradigm shifts, which the researcher found intriguing and ultimately used to help him make up his mind on his research topic that is related to a paradigm shift. Some of the key concepts Kuhn used to explain his nature of change in science can be directly or through analogy applied across diverse disciplines, including that of this study. The concepts include “paradigm,” “paradigm shift,” “normal science,” “revolutionary/extraordinary science,” “scientific communities,” and “anomaly.”

Although “paradigm” is a central concept in his book, Kuhn failed to pin it down with precise conceptualization. He applied it flexibly and vaguely, noting that “the concept of a paradigm will often substitute for a variety of familiar notions” (Kuhn, 1970, p. 10). Kuhn even loosely stated that a paradigm can be “an accepted model or pattern” (p. 23). It was not until he wrote a postscript to the second edition that he tried to make the concept clearer, declaring that a paradigm is “the entire constellation of beliefs, values and techniques shared by members of a given (scientific) community.” In that postscript, he expanded the concept as “the concrete puzzle-solving solution, which, employed as

models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles of normal science” (p. 175).

Kuhn explained that a paradigm is a belief or method members of a scientific community share in order to accomplish a task. In that sense, he defined a scientific community as members who share a paradigm. As a knowledge enterprise, a paradigm is shared by members who share beliefs and methods which guide their research efforts in the identified field of science. Some scholars such as Nickles (2003), Fuller (2000), Sharrock and Read (2000), Weinberg(1998), Vasquez (1998) and Hoyningen-Huene (1993) have defined a paradigm as a perspective based on a set of assumptions, concepts and values that are held by a community of researchers; while others such as Holloway and Wheeler (2002) contend that a paradigm consists of theoretical ideas and technical procedures that a group of scientists adapt and which is rooted in a particular worldview with its own language and terminology.

However, it appears easier to get the sense of a paradigm from what it does than trying to define it. Kuhn, himself, contended that “Paradigms incorporate the values; standards, methods, and relevant factual background that govern the resolution of scientific disputes... (P)aradigms are not merely incompatible, but actually incommensurable with what has gone on before” (Kuhn 1970, p. 103). Rouse (2003), a scholar of Kuhn’s, argues that a paradigm offers a comprehensive worldview for those who accept it. He further contends that paradigms prescribe some core beliefs as essential to work in a particular field and proscribe other core beliefs as outside of the field. They enable the community to determine which facts would be important to know and what instrumental, methodological, and theoretical tools are worth acquiring. A paradigm becomes a view of the community because it provides its members with an interpretive

scheme and the overall worldview (Kuhn, 1970). A paradigm is not the same thing as a worldview, as some authors suggest (Capra, 1983), but a paradigm does provide a worldview for assessing and evaluating situations.

Kuhn's critics

Kuhn's scholarly controversial arguments on how knowledge is generated have attracted considerable interest and criticism from historians and philosophers of science (Vasquez, 1998; Hoyningen-Huene, 1993; Fuller, 2000; Toulmin, 1970; Shapere, 1965; Sharrock and Read, 2000; Nickles, 2003; Masterman, 1970; Weinberg, 1998). Although Kuhn's work provides a lightning rod for debates about science, culture and policy across many academic fields, critics contend his failure to clearly define paradigm stems from Kuhn's original non-committal application of the concept. Hoyningen-Huene (1993) finds that Kuhn did not originate the concept of paradigm but just adopted it and used it in his work, which became the source of confusion.

Shapere (1971) and Toulmin (1970), among others, question Kuhn's description of scientific inquiry and challenge what they say is an arbitrary distinction he makes between normal science and revolutionary science. They argue that the distinction is really a matter of degree and that such distinctions are not as common as Kuhn implies. This criticism belies the belief that within paradigms there can be considerable variations and disagreement, and that out of this process there can evolve what Kuhn would call revolutions. For Toulmin (1970), these revolutions tend to be a product of earlier changes. He, therefore, finds the process of change described by Kuhn incomplete because it does not explain how knowledge evolves through learning. Blachowicz (1971) goes further, contending that Kuhn so underestimates the amount of learning and changes that he sees theories as rising from a random process.

According to Masterman (1970), Kuhn used the concept of paradigm in his work at least in twenty-two different ways. She argues that, at times, Kuhn applies the paradigm concept to refer to a set of research questions, the publication of a seminal work that changes inquiry in the field, a particular theory, an epistemological viewpoint, or a method of investigation. This flexibility of the concept paradigm could be useful because it has allowed the concept to be applied across many disciplines – scientific and non-scientific, which is why the present dissertation, although not in the scientific domain, adopted the concept. It is relevant in examining the Cold War/post-Cold War behavior because it explains how changes occur from one situation to the next. Steven Weinberg is one of Kuhn's most challenging critics. He blames Kuhn for making radically skeptical conclusions about what is accomplished in the work of science in his writings (Weinberg, 1998). He complains that Kuhn makes change in science seem "more like a religious conversion than an exercise of reason" (p. 48). In his work, Kuhn himself says scientific revolutions are like religious conversions. For Weinberg, when one scientific scheme displaces another, "it is not only scientific theories which change but the very standards by which scientific theories are judged" (p. 52).

Sympathetic critics like Sharrock and Read (2002) explain that because of failure to define paradigm in a narrow way, at the time of his death in 1996 Kuhn was still haunted by the reality that communities of friends and enemies had not understood what his writings were about. Scholars of Kuhn's work suggest that Kuhn created his own problems, which locked him in a particular perspective from which he never extricated himself (Weinberg, 1998). As a result, his critics and admirers maintain multiple views of him as "Kuhn the philosopher," "Kuhn the historian of science," "the real Kuhn" and "the legendary Kuhn" whose credentials cannot be matched (Weinberg, 1998).

Kuhn acknowledged his critics' concerns and addressed them in an explanatory postscript in the second edition of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970). That did not help because he maintained that most of the varying usage is due to stylistic inconsistencies. He conceded that even after those inconsistencies are removed, he could not give the concept one meaning. This reformulation and narrowing of the concept did not satisfy most of Kuhn's critics who still complain that the concept of paradigm is ambiguously used because it refers to so many aspects of the scientific process that Kuhn's thesis is almost non-identifiable (Shapere, 1964; Toulmin, 1970). As a result, these conceptual problems have led some of the scholars who have applied Kuhn's concept in various disciplines to also produce very different and sometimes contradictory analyses. Other scholars such as Atkinson (1995) and Thorne, Kirkham and Henderson (1999) challenge the notion of paradigm shift and contend that the process is a simplification of complex issues.

Barring these fierce academic lacerations, Kuhn's notion of paradigm shifts remains relevant and applicable to many aspects of life – academic, professional, political, business, economic, law and health (some of them shown later in the chapter) – including a dissertation project such as this one. The idea of Kuhn's paradigm shift can be applied to give reasons why or how changes are precipitated from anomalies and what new features they bring whether in small firms, giant corporations or global world systems. It is the relevance and flexible application of Kuhn's paradigm shift theory that made the present researcher adopt the framework for his research. Using the literature on Kuhn's works, the sections that follow discuss aspects and components of Kuhn's paradigm shift that are crucial in contextualizing the present dissertation to address media coverage of sub-Saharan Africa during a paradigm shift from the Cold War to the post-

Cold War.

Anomalies as harbingers of change

The concept of anomaly is the bedrock of Kuhn's paradigm shift. Understanding what anomaly is helps in internalizing the essence of the causes of Kuhn's paradigm shift and how it takes place, how it can be used to explain change, and its place and role in shedding light on the change from the Cold War to the post-Cold War periods. An anomaly is a prerequisite for change to occur in a situation. It is a fault or an interference that takes place to interrupt normal daily order and functioning of the situation. Kuhn conceptualized this interruption to paradigm function and problem-solving as an anomaly (Kuhn, 1970). He explained that in some cases the anomaly can be resolved, but in some cases it can persist and hinder the puzzle resolution process. When this happens, the anomaly precipitates a crisis leading to a scientific revolution that overturns the current situation, causing change. Kuhn describes "scientific revolutions" as "those non-cumulative development episodes in which an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one" (p. 92). Anomaly is, therefore, important to the present dissertation because it provides an explanation to the transition from the Cold War to the post-Cold War, following the paradigm shift. Kuhn did not restrict scientific revolutions to the realm of science only. He extended its application to politics as well, which is where the concept catches fire because it appropriately explains the occurrence of political revolutions. To connect his science to politics, Kuhn (1970) argues that there are a lot of parallels between scientific revolutions in science and revolutions in other disciplines like politics by declaring that:

One aspect of the parallelism must already be apparent. Political revolutions are inaugurated by a growing sense, often restricted to a segment of the political community, that existing institutions have ceased adequately to meet the problems

posed by an environment that they have in part created. In much the same way, scientific revolutions are inaugurated by a growing sense, again often restricted to a narrow subdivision of the scientific community that an existing paradigm has ceased to function adequately in the exploration of an aspect of nature to which that paradigm itself had previously led the way. In both political and scientific development the sense of malfunction that can lead to crisis is prerequisite to revolution (p. 92).

By extending the use of scientific revolutions to be applied to other fields such as politics, Kuhn likened scientific revolutions to political revolutions. Thus, the anomalies which occur in scientific revolutions can occur in political revolutions as well, triggering significant political change. It is in this context that the notion of political revolution becomes relevant to the politics of the Cold War and post-Cold War eras and the portrayal of sub-Saharan Africa, which the present dissertation investigates.

To buttress the concept of paradigm shift in the present dissertation, relevant studies are examined in the parts that follow.

Related studies in paradigm shifts

The use of paradigm shift theory in studies in mass media research and in other disciplines is now a common feature in academia (Sharrock and Read, 2002; Nickles, 2003; Rouse, 2003). In that light, studies discussed in this section provide insightful theoretical and methodological guidance for contextualizing the present research in terms of a paradigm shift, and give the researcher confidence to undertake the investigation from an informed and clear position. Attaway-Fink (2001), in her dissertation, “Marketing the news: A paradigm shift in journalistic practices,” applied the paradigm shift framework to examine what she says is a change from traditional objective journalistic considerations to market-driven reporting that occurred during the previous 30 or so years. Her research was premised on the proposition that journalists today, in the market-driven reporting paradigm, face a myriad of challenges while performing their

job, which demands maintaining professional codes of conduct and keeping readers as their targets. This challenge is even bigger, according to her study, because journalists today are required to abandon their social responsibility function exercised in the earlier traditional objective journalism paradigm and to espouse marketing ideals under the new paradigm.

Among other things, the Attaway-Fink study found that in the new paradigm target marketing was on the rise, editors agreed that target audiences should be taken into consideration when making story assignments, and reporters were given more assignments based on target audiences. The more experienced editors, those with 16 to 20 years of experience, agreed that additional special sections to the newspapers were made in the new paradigm according to the market demand based on reader-driven coverage. Attaway-Fink (2001) concluded that over the past 30 years newsrooms had steadily become more focused on business and profit – a move away from the traditional objective reporting to targeted audience in marketing.

Chung's (2004) dissertation, "Toward interactivity: How news websites use interactive features and why it matters," used paradigm shift theory to study the effect of the switch from the traditional unidirectional flow of messages in the mass media to the online interactive websites. The challenged paradigm, the old dominant mass communication paradigm, is based on Shannon and Weaver's (1949) model that describes communication channels of information and their technical efficiency. The Shannon-Weaver model suggests that there is a sequential process for information, which starts with a communication source that produces or selects a message that is subsequently transmitted by a signal through a channel to a receiver. Chung examined the use of interactive features that claim to have the potential to trigger a paradigm shift from

the dominant mass communication paradigm to something else. The study found that although the overall findings reveal that applications of interactivity vary across different producers, the reality is that traditional practices of journalism are potentially being reconfigured, and the centralization of news production is facing potential erosion (Chung, 2004).

Lisa Holstein (2002), in her dissertation, “Framing the enemy: Changing U.S. media images of China and the U.S.S.R. at the end of the Cold War,” employed paradigm shift theoretical framework to explore how U.S. news media portrayals of the U.S.S.R. and China shifted after the end of the Cold War. The study was an exploratory frame analysis of the change in U.S. news media portrayals of the U.S.S.R. and China in 1989 soon after the end of the Cold War. Although Holstein did not conceptualize the study as a comparison of representation in the two paradigms, practically that is what the researcher did – she compared the frames during and after the Cold War. The study examined how changes in the global system after 1989 affected international news media coverage of the Soviet Union and China and were reflected in three leading U.S. news magazines that represented different political orientations – *Newsweek* (liberal), *U.S. News & World Report* (moderate) and *Time* (conservative) (Groseclose and Milyo, 2005). Additionally, the study examined how the definition of “What is news” changed and how the new conceptualization caused the change of frames used to present the news of the two countries (Holstein, 2002).

The research goal in the Holstein study was to track new frames that would emerge for portraying each of the two countries in the post-Cold War dispensation. Following the collapse of communism and the adoption of fundamental reforms – perestroika and glasnost– the U.S.S.R. was framed as an emerging freedom country and

China still fearful of reforms. Because the study was based on the year 1989, soon after dramatic ideological changes occurred on the world scene following the end of the Cold War, findings show different portrayals in China and U.S.S.R. – although both countries belonged to the same ideological divide. This suggests more time is needed for clear frames to emerge.

The case studies and examples examined above from mass communication research endow the present researcher with the knowledge, perspectives, confidence and methodologies for conducting similar studies, such as the present dissertation. The previous studies provide insightful guidelines for understanding paradigm shifts and how to conduct research of media coverage in paradigm shifts, thus connecting the present study to previous ones.

Historical paradigm shifts in mass communication research

This section presents historical paradigm shifts in mass communication research effects that give concrete evidence of change from one paradigm to another, to illustrate and clarify the concept further. What the present dissertation sees as paradigm shifts have occurred in the history of mass communication research; influential mass communication scholar Denis McQuail refers to them as “four phases” of media effects research and theory (McQuail, 2005, p. 457). When discussing the change from one phase to the next, McQuail does not use the term “paradigm shift,” but refers to the changes as “transitions,” a “watershed,” a “shift of attention towards,” and a “methodological shift” (McQuail, 2005, pp. 458, 460, 461), which is not different from a paradigm shift, as the present author conceptualizes it. These historical paradigms help to shed light on the present study’s conceptual framework and link the study to previous research. The changes that occurred in each of the four phases can be explained by Kuhn’s (1970) theory

of paradigm shifts. The emergence of each phase is preceded by inadequacy and failure of the previous phase best accounted for by Kuhn's concept of anomaly, crises and scientific revolutions as a solution (Kuhn, 1970). Each phase's change has a bearing on how meaning is constructed and how reality is perceived.

The first mass communications theory paradigm, the all-powerful media effects or dominant effects, paradigm is attributed to Harold Lasswell (1948). It is also known as the hypodermic needle model (Berlo, 1960), the magic bullet theory (Schramm, 1964) and the stimulus-response-response theory (DeFleur, 1975) of mass communication effects. In the magic bullet conceptualization, metaphorically the mass media were the guns and the messages were the bullets which were shot at passive and defenseless audiences. In the hypodermic needle theory, the media were the needles and the media content was the medicine injected into the veins of the passive audiences who offered no resistance to it. The stimulus-response model also explained the same kind of effect. Every stimulus or message was thought to produce the desired response in the receiver (McQuail and Windahl, 1981).

Operating in the foot heels of World War I propaganda, mass media was credited with considerable power to shape public opinion and belief, to change life habits and to mold behavior to suit those in charge (Bauer and Bauer, 1960). This media behavior was known as the all-powerful media effects paradigm. The backdrop to this development was that from the mid-18th century, certain trends occurred in Western Europe which transformed societies from feudal, agricultural, and pre-industrial communities to military-industrial complexes (Melkote, 1991). These societal trends included

industrialization, urbanization, and modernization which transformed the social relationships, norms, values and material culture quite drastically, most of it attributed to the power of mass media. But research on mass media using social scientific methods in the second quarter of the 20th century began to cast doubt on the all-powerful effects paradigm, which was based largely on assumptions.

After the 1930s, some mass media scholars began to question the all-powerful effects paradigm. In the Kuhnian sense, this introduced an anomaly in the all-powerful effects paradigm. It led Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1944) to conduct research whose results were used to reject the dominant effects paradigm and introduce a less-powerful role for mass media, which became known as the limited effects paradigm. The Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet research found that individuals were more influenced in their political decisions by members of their primary and peer groups than by mass media. Contrary to the earlier perspective, the voter research showed that mass media seemed to have relatively little impact in influencing people's decisions. Instead, the researchers found that effective communication occurred in a two-step flow process (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Katz, 1957). First, opinion leaders are exposed to information through the media, and then leaders communicate the message to followers. Hence the development of the two-step flow theory in mass communication research. In the process, it is the leaders, not the message, that have the power (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955; Katz, 1957).

The third paradigm came about after the limited effects paradigm was challenged for not providing the whole story about the effect of media in society (McQuail, 2005). Controversy loomed between those who contended media were powerful and those who

claimed media were powerless. Lang and Lang (1981) contended, “The evidence available by the end of the 1950s, even when balanced against some of the negative findings, gives no justification for an overall verdict of media impotence.” A study by Klapper (1960) shows that people defended themselves against media messages through selective exposure (only picking a specific message aspect), selective perception (absorbing only what one desires) and selective retention (sticking with message aspects that satisfy one’s desires). Klapper’s (1960) research found that mass media, rather than being considered as causal agents of behavioral or attitude change in individuals, were more agents of reinforcement. Other media theories emerged such as diffusion of innovations theory (Rogers, 1962) in which media effect is realized through the use of a media channel to spread new ideas over time; uses and gratification theory (Katz, Blumler and Michael, 1973-1974) whereby the audience is attached to a specific media outlet consuming their preferred messages; and social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1976) in which mass media effects can be promoted through modeling behavior.

The fourth paradigm is the negotiated media influence set of theories, a meaning-creation paradigm that was ushered in during the late 1970s (van Zoonen, 1992; McQuail, 2005). This meaning-making paradigm is noted for initiating a “social constructivist” approach to media effects research (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). The paradigm explains that the media and the audience negotiate the constructed meanings in texts because the audience see themselves as pursuing and sharing the same goals. It can be viewed as a meaning-making paradigm involving negotiation between the intended meaning of the constructors of the message and the meaning that the audience members

construct and impose on the message. This paradigm gives the power to the media and to the audience to negotiate and arrive at mutually preferred meaning of text. The negotiated meaning paradigm feeds into the present research because *The New York Times'* representation of Africa is based on some constructed meaning pointing to a particular direction. In each of the four phases of paradigms, journalists used different journalistic paradigms or norms to do their work, which informs this study. The next part discusses the African life style before the coming of the Europeans, which historians argue was Africa's civilization.

Pre-Colonial African Civilization

A renowned scholar, author and historian of Africa, Walter Rodney (1974), contends that African civilization is best conceived in terms of "African culture," which he defines as a total way of African life comprising of what they eat and wear, how they recreate (music and dance), what their achievements are and how they organize themselves. Based on this conceptualization, a number of scholars and historians argue that in the centuries before the onslaught of Europeans moving to Africa in the 14th and 15th centuries, the subsequent slave trade (from about the 16th to the 19th centuries) and colonialism (late 19th century to mid-20th century), Africa had its own thriving civilization (Dumont, 1966; Davidson, 1989, 1969; Rodney, 1974). They contend that there were developed societies and states all over Africa. For instance, they name Egypt as Africa's ancient civilization, especially beginning with the Pharaonic era when glories of Egyptian development flourished with the unprecedented advancement in science and industry along the fertile flood plains of the Nile River. Further developments were recorded in textile, leather and metal industries; windmills introduced from Persia; and new industries for making paper, refining sugar, making porcelain and distillation of

gasoline were operational. Egyptians built canals, dams, bridges and aqueducts; and used Nile River water for irrigation to grow surplus crops, which stimulated commerce with Europe and spurred social development. Egyptians developed their own medicine and orthography (Rodney, 1974).

The Western Sudanic empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai had well managed and organized societies around royalty. They traded in gold and salt and were instrumental in establishing the famous caravan trade routes across the Sahara desert spanning centuries (Rodney, 1974). This trade stimulated the growth of cities like Walata, Timbuktu, Gao and Jenne. To date, Timbuktu is a revered historical city in Mali. The Nubi people also thrived along the Nile River; and in Zimbabwe, Africans built large monumental stone palaces. Ethiopia was another ancient kingdom where African civilization flourished.

Agriculture was the dominant activity in most communities. Each community recognized the peculiarity of its environment and sought methods for dealing with it in a rational manner. For instance, in some areas, appropriate advanced methods such as terracing, crop rotation, green manuring, mixed farming and regulated swamp farming were used. The most important change in the development of African agriculture took place when iron tools – the axe and hoe – were invented to replace wooden and stone tools. They enhanced efficiency and increased food production (Dumont, 1966; Rodney, 1974).

Dumont (1966) contends that although African civilization peaked in the 14th and 15th centuries, African blacksmiths knew how to process gold, copper, bronze and iron much earlier than the time of Christ. And Rodney (1974) adds that Africans were highly skilled in using their hands to manufacture things, such as the superior brand of red leather tanned and dyed by the Hausa and Mandingo specialists of northern Nigeria and

Mali; Europeans mistakenly called it “Moroccan leather” (Rodney, 1974). In the old kingdom of Kongo, fine cloths were made from bark and palm fiber. The Baganda experts in Uganda made bark cloth from trees. Local cottons made at the Guinean coast were stronger than Manchester cotton made in England. There were tailoring guilds in Timbuktu, a brass and bronze industry in Benin. In Nupe (present day northern Nigeria) glass and bead industry operated on a guild basis (Rodney, 1974, Davidson, 1969).

Davidson (1989, 1969) contends that across the continent, Africans progressed from one phase of development to another, having tamed the difficult and wild conditions. They reared cattle and introduced methods of growing food crops under tropical conditions; and evolved their religious and social beliefs, and methods of self-governance. Curtin (1964) notes that pre-colonial Africa was within reach of the Iron Age, because technology of African societies in 1750 AD had passed the level of technology prevalent in northwestern Europe in 750 AD. Rodney (1974) acknowledges that development in human society is a many-sided process. Different people develop at different rates due to variance in environmental material and superstructure of society – values, beliefs, motivations and socio-political institutions. All the perspectives discussed suggest that Africa had its own civilization and was making steady progress on development.

Historians point out that African dance, music, sculpture and art-work of Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia were well known to the rest of the world in pre-colonial times (Rodney, 1974). For instance, studies of images of Africa in Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries, before slavery, edited by Ladislav Bugner (1976) in four volumes, make compelling findings which show that Africans lived respectable lives as royalty, saints,

sages, servants, pages and musicians, not in any way associated with primitive and barbaric behavior. This positive image was erased in the wake of slavery and colonialism. Slavers presented Africans as degraded and needing to be salvaged through the yoke of slavery. And colonizers framed Africans as primitive and, therefore, had to be marginalized and given Western civilization and subjected to full-scale exploitation (Curtin, 1964; Davidson, 1989, 1969) as discussed in the next section.

Colonialism and the Cold War

Colonialism, which had engulfed almost the entirety of Africa by the 1900s ran concurrently with the Cold War when it started after the end of World War II in 1945, and affected Africa in a substantial way. To minimize or avoid territorial quarrels among themselves and to legitimize their control of Africa, powerful European nations (Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, Portugal and Italy) held the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 to parcel out the continent into each nation's sphere of influence. By 1900, all of Africa except Liberia and Ethiopia was under colonial administrators (Davidson, 1989). Britain, France and Portugal became dominant colonial masters, each with a number of territories on the continent administered from their capitals. A resident colonial governor represented each power in its sphere of influence. Colonialism and the Cold War ran in Africa concurrently affecting the same people and territories.

During colonialism and the Cold War era, which had its own political paradigm, the news media used a parallel journalistic paradigm for looking at Africa and its people. As an example, for colonialism to be justifiably carried out without raising human rights issues, Africans had to be perceived as uncivilized and underdeveloped and needing to be enslaved and colonized to be rescued from self-destruction (Curtin, 1964; McCarthy, 1983; Davidson, 1969; Herskovits, 1962). Sir Charles Eliot, colonial commissioner to

Kenya 1900-1904, captured the whites' superiority attitude and derogatory thinking about Africans in Kenya when he wrote:

The African is greedy and covetous enough...he is too indolent in his ways, and too disconnected in his ideas, to make any attempt to better himself, or to undertake any labor which does not produce a speedy visible result. His mind is nearer the animal world than is that of the European or Asiatic, and exhibits something of the animal's placidity and want of desire to rise beyond the stage he has reached (Eliot, 1966, p. 92).

This statement indicates that in the mind of Sir Charles Eliot and subsequent white colonial governors of Kenya, it was unthinkable to leave the development of the country in the inept hands of a race that inhabited "a section of the world which has hitherto been prey to barbarism" (p. 92). Africans were presented as hopeless and worthless, who would take them a long time before they could be able to assume the gigantic task of becoming commercial farmers in Kenya (Maloba, 1992).

The colonial governments discredited African national movements locally and internationally and succeeded in labeling their actions as criminal activities (Maloba, 1992). The Mau revolt that started in 1952 was a rebellion of Kenyan peasants against the social injustices of the colonial state, its policies and agents. Maloba argues that the discrediting of the Kenyan rebellion in the Western news media set the tone and structure of Western news media coverage of African nationalist struggles in the years to come. Subsequent Western media coverage of African nationalist movements elsewhere used the same discrediting and derogatory narrative that had been applied to tarnish the Mau (Maloba, 1992).

The colonialists looked at Africa condescendingly as a "primitive and undeveloped territory yet untouched by civilization" (Eliot, 1966, p. 92). Colonialists bore a superior racist attitude regarding Africans whom they saw as incapable of developing

themselves unless whites helped them to do so through colonial subjection – a justification for colonialism. This “superiority-inferiority” thinking and attitude buttressed the belief that the development of Africa could not be entrusted to Africans (Eliot, 1966), and influenced how the Western news media covered Africa. The other component of this era, which played out in Africa along colonialism, is the Cold War.

The term “cold war” is a metaphor that refers to a type of war characterized by tension without necessarily using violence (Matlock, 2009; Schwartz, 1997; Walker, 1994; Thomas, 2009). The term characterizes the systemic struggle between the Soviet Union and its allies on one side, and the United States and its allies on the other side, and ended in 1989 (Booth, 1998; Maier, 1978). The Cold War began because of suspicious and expansionist actions of Josef Stalin, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Premier of the Soviet Union Government, and U. S. President Harry Truman who had deep mutual mistrust and intolerance of each other (Thomas, 2009; Schwartz, 1997). The present dissertation conceptualizes the Cold War as tension caused by Superpower rivalry characterized by ideologies and the arms race that lasted for over four decades. Although it is not clear who originated the term Cold War, it is attributed by some scholars to the famous American journalist Walter Lippmann who used it when in 1947 he critiqued the Truman Doctrine as a policy toward Russia (Lippmann, 1947; Sibley, 1998; Garthoff, 1998). Other scholars attribute its origin to Bernard Baruch, senior advisor to President Harry Truman in 1947, who used it to refer to the deteriorating relations between the United States and the Soviet Union (Sibley, 1998).

Although historians are still debating who started the Cold War – either the United States or the Soviet Union – the war which “chilled” the globe started in Europe and fanned out to the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Africa (Booth, 1998; Walker,

1994; Carruthers, 2004; Sharp, 2000). Some historical accounts indicate that the Cold War commenced after the end of World War II, and ended by 1990 (Garthoff, 1998; Walker, 1994, Sharp, 2000; Schwartz, 1997; and Sibley, 1998). Other accounts trace the beginning of the Cold War to the overthrow of the Tsar aristocracy and the launch of the Soviet Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, which the United States refused to recognize. The United States' refusal to recognize the revolution soured the relations between the two states until the Cold War ended in 1989, followed by the collapse of the Soviet Union (Booth, 1998; Walker, 1994). In Africa, the Cold War officially ended on December 22, 1988, with the signing of the Tripartite Agreement by Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, paving way for the Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, leading to Namibian independence in 1990 (Gillian, 1998; Clough, 1992).

To outclass each other ideologically and seek global dominance during the Cold War, the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States implemented doctrines to impose their intentions and missions globally. President Truman's attitude and reaction to Stalin was heavily influenced by U.S. Charge d'Affaires to Moscow in 1946, George Kennan's famous Long Telegram which, on top of discussing Soviet behavior, also prescribed "containment" as one of the ways to stop the Soviet actions (Sibley, 1998; Schwartz, 1997). Containment, which came to signify U.S. counteraction to keep the Soviets confined to their sphere of influence, in many ways determined U.S. foreign policy to the rest of the world. For instance, the "Truman Doctrine" adopted in 1947, stipulated, "I believe that it must be the policy of the U.S. to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures... and that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way." The doctrine was full of Kennan's containment ideas (Sibley, 1998, Document 4). Among other things,

the doctrine stated that U. S. policy “is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist...Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us” (Walker, 1994, p. 51).

Truman justified his declaration by arguing that the free peoples of the world looked to the United States for support in maintaining their freedom, and failure to give that support may endanger the peace of the world (Commager, 1963). The doctrine gave the United States government the mandate and commitment for the defense of the Mediterranean, Europe and all democratic countries which were in any way menaced by the Soviet Union (Clark, 1994). The tone and spirit of the document was so harsh that a British diplomat remarked that it was a declaration of war against the Soviet Union (Ambrose, 1987). Not surprisingly, the Soviet Union’s reaction to the Truman Doctrine was also aggressive in character, as the Soviet Union embarked on assisting regimes that espoused its communist principles (Walker, 1994).

The core of containment as a policy came to symbolize strategies the United States government applied to confront and check Soviet expansion and interference in other territories globally throughout the Cold War era. Containment entailed the use of inducement, threats and blackmail to gain support of client states in areas of conflict or unrest in order to keep a hostile or rival power in check (Walker, 1994). The United States applied this policy as the Cold War gained momentum, aimed at stemming the spread of communism, and keeping it “contained” – under control – and isolated within its current borders. It was based on the fear of the domino effect occurring, where, if one

nation became communist, the surrounding areas would inevitably fall in voluntarily or by force (Walker, 1994)

The Marshall Plan, named after U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall, became the concrete illustration of containment as a policy. It provided economic aid to weak states as incentives to prevent them from falling into communist control (Sibley, 1998). Initially, the Marshall Plan targeted Greece and Turkey, but it became a global project in application (Walker, 1994). Although the Marshall Plan was open to all of Europe including the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union snubbed the plan because it saw the plan as an economic bait to control Western European economies (Walker, 1994). Later, the Soviet Union announced its own policy under the “Brezhnev Doctrine,” which became a strategy designed to support fledgling socialist states throughout the Third World. The Brezhnev Doctrine promoted Soviet Union expansionist tendencies and empowered it to control its satellite states by military invasion whenever they deviated from Moscow’s hard line (Matlock, Jr., 2010; White, 1997).

The establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949 by the United States and its allies in Western Europe for the security and defense of the capitalist West as a bloc could also be attributed to Kennan’s containment ideas (Sibley, 1998; Schwartz, 1997). In response, the Soviet Union and its allies countered the creation of NATO by forming the Warsaw Pact in 1955 for the communist states mainly in Eastern Europe. The East-West bipolarity was defined by an arbitrary division of the world and peoples along ideological lines separated by what former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill referred to as the “Iron Curtain”; it separated Germany into capitalist West Germany and communist East Germany, and cut off Eastern Europe from the West (Kishlansky, 1995). The physical expression of the ideological division was

symbolized by East Germany's construction of the Berlin Wall separating East Germany from West Germany (Thomas, 2009). It was the ideological polarization of the globe into East and West that expanded the Cold War to Africa, discussed in the next section.

Cold War and Africa

As indicated earlier by UNESCO (1977; 1980-1981), during the Cold War period, Western news media used Western cultural and news values to construct stories about Africa. Because the Western political paradigm viewed Africa as a battlefield for East-West ideological rivalry, the Western news media journalistic paradigm used the same frame when reporting Africa during the Cold War (Moorcraft and Taylor, 2008). Additionally, many independence movements and African leaders that leaned towards socialism and looked to the Soviet Union for assistance were seen as socialists by the Cold War political paradigm (Thomas, 2009). Because of this ideological stance, media reports in this paradigm indicated that emerging independent African states became hostile to their former European colonial masters – for example, Guinea after attaining independence from France became socialist, as did Tanzania. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and touch bearer of pan-Africanism, distanced himself from Britain, former colonial master (Thomas, 2009; Sibley, 1998). To stem this tide of socialism from engulfing Africa and to defend American interests, the United States plunged into the superpower rivalry to contain the real and perceived Soviet Union expansionism from engulfing the continent (Walker, Sharp, 2000). The Congo, formerly a Belgian colony, was the first territory to engage superpower rivalry based on communist and capitalist ideologies. This young nation was important because it was rich in minerals, and its location at the center of the continent gave it a strategic advantage the United States could use to stop any communist infiltration by the Soviet Union (Sibley, 1998; Thomas, 2009).

Barely one week after attaining independence in 1960 with Patrice Lumumba as Prime Minister, a rebellion broke out in the Congo (Mahoney, 1983). The mineral-rich Katanga region in the south even declared its own independence from the rest of the Congo, threatening national unity (Mahoney, 1983). Lumumba appealed for military and material backing from the United States and the United Nations to help quell the uprising (Thomas, 2009; Walker, 1994; Sibley, 1998). The United States turned a deaf ear to the Lumumba appeal because it deemed Lumumba to be close to and courting the Soviet Union, which was anathema to the United States. Another reason was that the United States opted to support Belgium, its NATO ally and former colonial ruler, which was involved in the Congo rebellion and was used “to prevent the Soviet Union from taking advantage of political chaos in the strategically located and resource-rich country” (Mahoney, 1983, p. 37).

Lumumba turned to the Soviet Union and was promptly rewarded with technical and military equipment (Thomas, 2009; Walker, 1994; Sibley, 1998). By turning to the Soviet Union, Lumumba slapped the United States in the face for which he was decisively dealt with and even eliminated altogether (Mahoney, 1983, Gibbs 2000). The United States quickly branded Lumumba a “Castro in Africa” – referring to Fidel Castro who accepted Soviet support and expressed communist thinking as President of Cuba. The United States also referred to Lumumba as a “dangerous Marxist” and a “Soviet instrument;” President Eisenhower authorized the National Security Council to urgently “get rid of Lumumba” (Mahoney, 1983, p. 41). Lumumba’s political career tumbled from this point. He was arrested by Congo soldiers under the command of military leader Joseph Mobutu, who had warm relations with the United States; soon after, Lumumba was assassinated while in captivity (Mahoney, 1983). Congo affairs became messy as

Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations Secretary General who was on a mission to Katanga to calm the situation, died in a suspicious plane crash (Mahoney, 1983). After Lumumba's death, Mobutu became a powerful military leader which led him to install himself as Prime Minister in 1965 and later as President of the Congo, whose name he changed to "Zaire." As an anti-communist pro-United States president, Mobutu received massive financial assistance from the United States until 1997 when he was overthrown (Thomas, 2009).

After the Congo turmoil, the Cold War conflict played out in Ethiopia and Somalia in the Horn of Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. The two countries were important to the United States and the Soviet Union because their geographic location was strategic for surveillance and protection of access routes to the Middle East for oil in the Persian Gulf region (Sibley, 1998; Iyob and Keller, 2005). Smaller African countries such as Djibouti and Eritrea also became important for strategic reasons (Thomas, 2009). Also the Angolan conflict in the 1970s and 1980s attracted the involvement of the United States and the Soviet Union in Africa (Schwartz, 1997; Thomas, 2009). Whereas the Soviet Union aided the government and the ruling party, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the United States supported the opposition side, the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA), a rebel group led by Jonas Savimbi (Thomas, 2009; Clough, 1992; Sibley, 1998; Schwartz, 1997).

The United States justified its involvement in Angola by contending it was "fighting communism and supporting freedom fighters" (Schwartz, 1997; Sibley, 1998), a position vigorously articulated by U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in defense of U. S. President Gerald Ford's decision to intervene in Angola after 1975 when UNITA launched a guerrilla war against the government in power. Kissinger argued that: "A

failure to counter Moscow's moves in southern Africa could encourage expansion elsewhere and cause our allies to question our will to defend them. Should foreign countries begin to doubt American resolve, we are likely to find a massive shift in the foreign policies of many countries and a fundamental threat over a period of time to the security of the United States" (94th Congress, 1976).

The colonial and Cold War periods created a distinct worldview for looking at Africa and its people (Chari, 2010; Michira, 2002; Kothari, 2010; Eliot, 1966).

Post-Cold War and Africa

The post-Cold War period is best captured by Francis Fukuyama's declaration of the "end of history," which ushered in a new worldview for viewing world affairs (Fukuyama, 1992). Fukuyama was optimistic that the end of the tense Cold War would lead to a better future. According to the futurist Fukuyama, the post-Cold War marks the triumph of liberal democracy represented by the United States' capitalist system over the Soviet Union's communist system. He argues that the spread of liberal democracy is a recipe for peace because democracies are not known to fight each other. Therefore, if most nations become democratic, the world would be more stable and peaceful. Africa, for long characterized as a battleground for ideological conflicts, would be relieved from such strife and begin to enjoy peace and development. Fukuyama argues that liberal democracy represents the highest form of political rationality and it is the only system which gives comfort and satisfaction to its citizens compared to strict control under communism (Fukuyama, 1992).

Like Fukuyama, Gaddis (1997) also embraced the end of the Cold War as a fundamental event whose timing was opportune to feed into the international system already ripe for change due to forces of globalization. He contended that the breakdown

of bipolarity unleashed forces that changed the nature of international relations in many ways. Other futurists such as Goldgeir and McFaul (1992) see qualitative and quantitative change in the new world order system without communism. They contend that the number of democracies has increased, creating a zone of peace with consolidated democracies at the core. Because of these developments, a future war is unlikely, they contend. Instead, due to more changes in the distribution of power in the post-Cold War era, when more nations become more democratic, international governance is possible under a world government (Goldgeir and McFaul, 1992).

But amidst the optimism of Fukuyama and other futurists, the new international system that infused hopes of the “promised land” seems to have already slipped into bleakness. Post-Cold War studies that have analyzed the progress of events following Fukuyama’s declaration present a different reality. Lumped together by Charles William Maynes (1995) as “the harbingers of new pessimism,” a number of scholars see the “new” world bifurcated into a “zone of peace” represented by the developed industrial nations of the Northern Hemisphere and a “zone of conflict” in the rest of the world, especially the poor nations in the Southern Hemisphere (Kaplan, 2000; Mearsheimer, 2001; Huntington, 1996; Goldgeir and McFaul, 1992). In his book, *War and Conflict*, Paul D. Williams (2011) gives a gloomy picture of Africa after the end of the Cold War. Between 1990 and 2009, Williams says, there were 300 armed conflicts in Africa, 13 of them major, making Africa the bloodiest continent in the post-Cold War era and causing some scholars to develop a pessimistic worldview of the continent. Some countries such as Somalia have disintegrated into chaos without any form of government, now classified as a “failed state” in need of Western intervention (Williams, 2011).

Huntington (1996) sums up this scenario as a potential clash of cultures due the

failure to interact amicably. Amidst this bleakness, persistent realist Mearsheimer (2010) argues that there will be some nostalgia for the Cold War because it provided stability due to balance of power, which the post-Cold War era lacks. He contends that during the short period of the post-Cold War, more violence and wars have been experienced compared to the previous era. Scholars such as Waltz (1993) and Holm and Sorensen (1995) dismiss the contention that the post-Cold War is fundamental change in the international system. Rather, they see it as a change in the structure of polarity – from bipolar to multipolar or to a new global power structure altogether. They disagree with Fukuyama for declaring that the end of the Cold War was the end of history. Waltz (1993) strongly contends that the so-called end of history is actually the “return of history” because the post-Cold War era has brought more problems than its predecessor.

The Cold War conflict was easy to theorize as Soviet and American driven because it mainly involved the two Superpowers (Booth, 1998; Inoguchi, 2001). But the post-Cold War political trajectory seems uncertain, making it difficult for scholars to formulate the right conceptual framework for trying to understand and explain its activities. To streamline coverage in the post-Cold War era, the news media needed to develop or formulate new organizing principles to report and give meaning to the post-Cold War issues and events. The present study’s task is to examine *The New York Times*’ coverage of sub-Saharan Africa to search for those organizing principles, or frames of media coverage. Ultimately, the core of this dissertation is to determine if the frames news media used in the coverage of sub-Saharan Africa in the Cold War era have changed in the post-Cold War era.

In fact, U.S. President George H. W. Bush, in the aftermath of the Gulf War, declared in 1991 that a “new world order” had evolved (Matlock, 2010; White, 1997).

Apparently, the new order Bush referred to was a new multilateral interaction in international affairs, as opposed to the bipolar interactions during the Cold War. But, some post-Cold War scholars contend that the new world order is a multiplicity of perspectives, which some of these scholars variously perceive as “the new world disorder” (Carpenter, 1991, p. 24), “the new world dysorder,” (Tehrani, 1993, p. 192), or “the new world ardor” (Sainath, 1992, p. 67). These multiple worldviews could influence the post-Cold War era organizing principles the news media will embrace when reporting events and issues.

Certain post-Cold War researchers on African affairs present Africa as a collection of hopelessly desperate nations whose future is expressed by hopelessness; scholars dub this view “Afropessimism” (Hopwood, 1998; Booth, 1998). Africa is viewed as a continent of “collapsed states” because of intra-state and ethnic conflicts with little or no development because of turmoil and chaos (Zartman, 1995; Inoguchi, 2001; Griffiths, 1995). Robert Kaplan (2000), in his book *The Coming Anarchy*, presents a scary brutal reality of Africa whose dreams of a better post-Cold War have been shattered by ethnic wars, crime, environmental destruction, population explosion, diseases like AIDS and Ebola, poverty, and no clear sense of livelihoods. Other scholars point out ethnic slaughter/genocide in Rwanda, and bloody chaos in Sierra Leone, Somalia, Liberia and Sudan (Darfur) as some of the activities that have bedeviled Africa. Additionally, Africa is grinding under crippling debt, crumbling infrastructure, plummeting economic performance, corruption, refugee problems and governance issues (Williams, 2011; Taylor and Williams, 2004; Griffiths, 1995; Kaplan, 2000; Inoguchi, 2001; Hopwood, 1998).

Some scholars opine that the shift from the Cold War, in which Africa was regarded as an ideological battleground, to the post-Cold War, has forced the United

States government to reformulate its relationship with Africa (Rothchild and Keller, 2006; Taylor and Williams, 2004; Lyman and Dorff, 2007; Clough, 1992). Rather than engage with Africa based on containment in terms of supporting states that are pro-West, pro-America and pro-capitalism, the United States' focus in the post-Cold War era has been replaced with programs that promote democracy and address social and economic development problems on the continent (Rothchild and Keller, 2006; Taylor and Williams, 2004; Lyman and Dorff, 2007; Clough, 1992). The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) and the Millennium Challenge Account, initiatives of the American government, aim to kick-start the continent's stagnant growth through trade (Rothchild and Keller, 2006; Taylor and Williams, 2004). The President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) contributes substantial funding for the fight against HIV/AIDS, which reached epidemic proportions and has caused untold havoc on the African populations (Taylor and Williams, 2004). The African Crisis Response Initiative/African Command and the African Center for Strategic Studies are for mutual security concerns and benefit between Africa and the United States following terrorist threats that culminated in the bombing of the U.S. missions in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in 1998, and later the deadly terrorists attacks in the U.S. on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 (Rothchild and Keller, 2006; Morrison and Cooke, 2001).

Chapter two summary

This chapter is the hinge of the dissertation. It discusses the justification for using theory in a qualitative study and explains the application of theory in contextualizing the study. Thomas Kuhn's paradigm shift theory is selected as the theoretical framework appropriate to guide the present research. A number of studies in mass media research

that have used paradigm shift theory are cited to clarify the position of theory in the present study. To give more clarification to paradigm shift framework in this dissertation, relevant historical cases are cited plus examples of further applications of paradigms in diverse disciplines. Colonialism and the Cold War period used Western journalistic news values governed by the prevailing political paradigm to cover Africa, but in the post-Cold War era following a political paradigm shift, the media are expected to adopt a new journalistic values for reporting Africa. The next chapter examines the literature that forms the backbone of the present dissertation and provides the foundation for research questions and the methodology for exploring and analyzing them.

CHAPTER 3

PORTRAYAL OF AFRICA IN THE AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA

This chapter examines the influence historical encounters had on American news media coverage and portrayal of sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War period by reviewing scholarly studies on the image of Africa in the American news media during the Cold War period. A meaningful discussion about the portrayal of sub-Saharan Africa in the American news media is not possible without drawing in historical encounters between Africans and foreigners, especially whites, whose influence has left permanent indelible scars on the African continent. First, there was the so-called “discovery” of the continent by Europeans, followed by colonialism in the wake of the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). Colonialism lasted to the 1980s and during the last three decades it coexisted with the Cold War and both significantly impacted Africa. All of these encounters have a bearing on the African image and its representation (Dumont, 1966; Rodney, 1974). The chapter concludes with four research questions that guide this dissertation research.

Origin of African image

Historical accounts indicate that the portrayal of the African image in foreign media started with fertile imagination of story narrators or speculators in Europe eager to tell what Africa – a place they had never been – and its people looked like. Philip Curtin (1964), in his book, *The Image of Africa*, made a seminal study of the emergence of the African image following European interest and encounters with Africans. Curtin’s study

is augmented by McCarthy's (1983) book, *Dark Continent: Africa as Seen by Americans*. Legend has it that enterprising writers in ancient Greece and Rome originated stories about Africa and its people. Notable writers were scholars Herodotus, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy (Curtin, 1964). Although their imaginary reports were meant to not only entertain but also inform, they were notoriously exaggerated, speculative and distorted. They described Africans either as extraordinary humans who were dwarfs or giants over eight feet tall and did not have normal human features like nostrils, lips and tongues (Curtin, 1964). Africans were said to resemble dogs, and they were known to live with elephants. Africa was described as a land of unbearable humidity in which lived strange beasts. The three classical writers presented Africans as strange and exotic, different from the Greeks and Romans, and as not having any civilization (Curtin, 1964). From the ancient times of Herodotus, Pliny and Ptolemy, a pattern of Western thought about Africa emerged and percolated through the Middle Ages and Elizabethan England (Curtin, 1964).

When whites, mainly Europeans – Portuguese, Dutch, British and French – started making voyages to and exploring Africa in the 15th century, their contacts with Africans did not help them to make a fair judgment of the African persona they encountered. Apparently, notions of Africans' inferior position were already too ingrained in the European mind (McCarthy, 1983; Curtin, 1964). The encounter of a white-skinned European facing a dark-skinned African for the very first time presented a big cultural problem (George, 1958). It has been found that such an encounter of difference can result in cultural shock and xenophobia, and can cause instant prejudices in both people (Carlston and Skowronski, 2005; Newman and Uleman, 1989; Herskovits, 1962;

McCarthy, 1983). Social psychologists Ambady and Skowronski (2008) explain that on first encounter people instantaneously form impressions about each other with minimum cognitive effort. These impressions recur whenever future encounters take place (Bargh and Chartrand, 1999). Social psychologists who have studied such encounters observe that due to the color cultural shock, whites concluded that Africans were inferior to them (Nesse, 2005). Europeans contended that there is “something wrong with a person different from customary white and European-American,”¹ a reference to the dark skin color of the Africans. Pseudo-science was also used to explain Africans’ supposedly inferior position (Curtin, 1964).

Pseudo-science was an untested phenomenon in Europe between 1840 and 1940 that claimed to offer “scientific knowledge” on issues such as race (Curtin, 1964). But some of the claims pseudo-science made were weird, such as that a white-skinned person was superior to a black-skinned person; and although God created all races at the same time, He did not endow them with equal ability – with Africans being less endowed (Atkins, 1734). From these perspectives, a narrative of reporting Africa emerged and crystallized in Western thought (Curtin, 1964; McCarthy, 1983). When Americans started writing about Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries, they followed or copied an already well-established cultural pattern of representing Africa as uncivilized, undeveloped wilderness, and its peoples as savages and barbarians living in jungles of the Dark Continent discussed in the next section (McCarthy, 1983; Curtin, 1964). This Dark Continent narrative might be considered the first journalistic paradigm of Africa.

¹ Booker T. Washington (1908). *The story of the Negro*, 2 Vols. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1, p. 8, cited in McCarthy, *Dark Continent*.

Dark Continent Metaphor

Dark Continent metaphor, rooted in British colonial, commercial, religious and exploratory initiatives of Africa, is one of the most enduring expressions used to describe the African image. The metaphor signified the mental image of what Africa was thought to be (Jarosz, 1992). Although some scholars used Dark Continent to refer to Africans' ignorance of ways of the whites, and to a continent not much is known about, the metaphor came to represent and explain anything that was wrong in Africa due to the claimed lack of civilization and development, and its people described as primitive, barbaric and savages who relish violence (Curtin, 1964; McCarthy, 1983). Dark Continent was used by media to explain to the American people that Africa, the land, was a mixture of jungle and savage beasts (McCarthy, 1983). The climate of moist heat and damp cold caused mental stress and physical exhaustion to the whites who were used to a cooler climate all-year round. Forests were impenetrable; beasts such crocodiles floated and waited for prey in sinister silence on huge rivers. Danger, disease, and death were part of the uncharted reality (Jarosz, 1992; Conrad, 1972).

The Dark Continent metaphor evolved from the European-American narratives that were used to construct and represent the land and the people of Africa to the Western reading public from the late nineteenth century to the present day (Jarosz, 1992; McCarthy, 1983; Curtin, 1964). It was Henry Morton Stanley, a journalist and explorer, who popularized the concept of Dark Continent. Following his trip to Africa in the nineteenth century as a reporter for *The New York Herald* assigned to track down Dr. David Livingstone, a missionary explorer who had gone missing; Stanley wrote stories about what he described as an unknown, dangerous and uncivilized continent. He

captured the description of the continent with the Dark Continent metaphor in which he described Africans as “cannibals,” “savages,” “primitive,” and “uncivilized.” He painted distorted and bizarre images of Africa. Stanley’s bizarre images of Africa came to be widely accepted in America by whites and blacks as well (McCarthy, 1983). Subsequently, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Dark Continent metaphor started to be used in narratives by missionaries, travelers and literary authors as a “standard and accurate” description of Africa (Jarosz, 1992).

From Stanley’s time, the Dark Continent metaphor became a common feature in narratives of stories about Africa in American news media used to describe any event and issue as a part of, or an outcome of the continent’s inadequacy and misfortune, or used as a historical reference and disparaging qualifier. Some parts of West Africa were regarded as the “white man’s grave” because of diseases like malaria which killed many whites (Curtin, 1964). Jarosz (1992) contends that Dark Continent incorporates an entire continent as “Other,” a negatively valued foil for Western notions of superiority and enlightenment and it plays a major role in European-American conceptualization of the African continent. The Dark Continent metaphor, explains Jarosz, “homogenizes and flattens places and people of Africa; it denies the actualities and specifics of social and economic processes which transform the continent. It obscures a nuanced examination of the forces of cultural and economic imperialism unfolding within Africa and in their relation to Europe and America” (Jarosz, 1992, p.105). It legitimates the status quo and perpetuates the unequal relations of power (Wilmsen, 1989). However, leading historians and scholars of Africa such as Dumont (1966), Davidson (1989, 1969), and Rodney

(1974) debunk the sweeping condemnation of Africa with the Dark Continent metaphor. The next part discusses framing as a concept and its use in framing analysis methodology.

Framing in conceptual quagmire

The concept of framing is still shrouded in a scholarly conceptual quagmire because a standard meaning has not developed. The literature on framing is replete with competing perspectives that attest to this confusion (Hertog and McLeod, 2001; Reese, 2001). Scholars refer to framing analysis in a variety of ways: as an approach to news discourse (Pan and Kosicki, 1993); as a class of media effects (Price and Tewksbury 1997); as a perspective (Kuypers, 2006); as an analytical technique (Endres, 2004); as a fractured paradigm with “scattered conceptualization” (Entman, 1993, p.51); as a multiparadigmatic research program (D’Angelo, 2002), and as an extension of agenda-setting (McCombs, Shaw and Weaver, 1997). As a way out of this conceptual quagmire, Scheufele (1999) developed a model that integrates all the various perspectives on framing and conceptualized framing as a continuous process with three components – inputs, processes, and outcomes – that are used to create frames. Using this model, Scheufele proposed that during a communication encounter, framing takes place through four processes of frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects framing, and a link between individual frames and media frames. Although Scheufele’s approach to the development of his model is derived from his explication of framing as a theory of media effects, he, like other researchers on framing, recognizes the confusion in framing research. He remarked that “the concept of framing is far from being integrated into a consistent theoretical model” (p.118) until research has been done to evaluate the contribution of this model to framing.

It is beyond the scope of the present dissertation to regurgitate exhaustively an inventory of the continuously growing literature on framing. Framing as a concept is associated with sociologist Erving Goffman, who explained that frames help to “locate, perceive and identify” as a way to give meaning to and make sense of content (Goffman, 1974, p.21). In mass communication research, Entman (1993, p.52) states that: “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation.” Akin to this conceptualization, a number of scholars and researchers have coalesced around the notion of framing as a kind of organizing agency that determines the meaning of text. Prominent among them are Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, and Ghanem (1991), who, like Modigliani (1989, p.3) think of a frame in terms of a “central organizing idea for constructing news content and establishing a context that suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration.” Reese (2001, p.11), too, embraces the idea of organizing when he defines frames as “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world.”

Media scholars have long argued that facts remain neutral until framed – how news media construct an event or issue will influence the way the public understands that event or issue. Gamson and Modigliani (1989, p. 15) concur, and argue that facts “take on their meaning by being embedded in a frame or story line that organizes them and gives them coherence, selecting certain ones to emphasize while ignoring others.” Mainstream media such as *The New York Times* construct frames which shape people’s way of interpreting stories, and perceptions they form from reading them (Bourdieu,

1998). By doing this, news media play a significant role in organizing people's views and understanding of the world (Golding and Murdock, 1991; Croteau and Hoynes, 2001).

D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010, p. 300) define framing as "the process whereby communicators act – consciously or not – to construct a particular point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be viewed in a particular manner, with some facts made more noticeable than others" Similarly, Entman (2010, p. 336) defines framing as "the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation." For Hertog and McLeod (1995, p. 4), framing defines the context of an occurrence: "The frame used to interpret an event determines what available information is relevant and what is irrelevant." Edelman (1993, p. 232) believes frames exert power, "especially in how observations are classified...and categorized." Gitlin (1980, p. 7) views frames as "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse." Pan and Kosicki (1993) take a different direction by conceptualizing frames as the same concepts as themes. From these various perspectives explored, the present dissertation conceptualizes framing as the process of using content to portray particular meanings aimed at influencing how authors want the audience to think about events and issues portrayed. The present study will use this conceptualization to analyze stories constructed about sub-Saharan Africa in *The New York Times* during the Cold War and post-Cold War eras.

Frames as shapers of stories

The way mass media frame news stories largely determines how the audience interprets and understands them (Ofori-Birikorang, 2009). Essentially, it boils down to the choices of and use of words and images in news writing. The words and images that

contribute to the formation of frames can be distinguished from the rest of the story by their capacity to indicate framing packages (Miller and Riechert, 2001). Tuchman (1978, p. 193) sees the media's frame role as "part and parcel of everyday reality... and an essential feature of news," because frames play a key role in helping journalists to construct their stories. Cappella and Jamieson (1997) find media frames to be a particular way in which journalists compose their stories to suit their audience needs. Pan and Kosicki (1993) conclude that in pursuit of particular ways of presenting stories, journalists can embed symbolic devices – hidden in the media package or coherent infrastructure (Tankard, 2001; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989) – to sponsor preferred interpretation of their stories. Gitlin (1980) articulates the influence of frames on news stories when he argues that:

Media frames, largely spoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and representation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual (pp. 6-7).

Maher (2001) finds that framing scholarship emphasizes the constructed nature of issues as clues to journalists' framing decisions. These framing decisions provide important evidence about the presence of frames. Entman (1993) proposes that in the communication process, frames are located in 1) the communicator, 2) the text, 3) the receiver, and 4) the culture. Some framing researchers and scholars such as Scheufele (1999), developed an integrated model that uses three components of inputs, processes and outputs to create frames. Scheufele proposed that during a communication encounter, framing takes place through frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects framing, and a link between individual frames and media frames. Others contend that framing analysis can only be conducted productively over a long time (Reese, 2001;

Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Gitlin, 1980).

Media framing involves media organizations, editors, journalists, sources, events or issues reported on, and how those events and issues are treated (Entman, 1993).

Entman further contends that the framing process begins when journalists interact with sources in their daily work of news gathering and reporting, and through words they choose when constructing news stories. The way news stories are constructed plays a crucial role in the production, storage and dissemination of frames. Tuchman's (1978) assertion that news is a window frame on the world through which people look at themselves and their environment is apt here. The implication is that without frames people's cognition is impaired, blurred or not focused. Media is an important tool in creating reality, perception and knowledge. This meshes with Gitlin's (1980) observation that a story is a choice and a way of seeing an event, as well as a way of obstructing it from sight. Selection and emphasis are fundamental actions in highlighting what is chosen as frames (Gitlin, 1980).

Framing scholars find that the most inherently powerful frames are those which agree with schemas – clusters or nodes of connected ideas and feelings stored in memory – that are habitually applied by most members of society (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). A good match between a news item and habitual schemas creates a frame in people's thoughts easily, just as a dominant frame in the earliest news coverage of an event can activate and spread congruent thoughts and feelings contributing to frame formation (Entman, 2004). Decisions made daily in newsrooms greatly determine and influence the development of frames in stories. Although story production goes through many stages, researchers mention three major ones: editors' choices of what events or issues to be covered; who is assigned to do the coverage; and what is actually covered. When it is all

done, the editor makes the final decision on the presentation and placement (Bagdikian, 1979). Barring the fact that editors are said to possess the power of knowing and providing what readers need and want to know, they are guided by norms and theories of story selection that enable them to meet their audiences' expectations (Gans, 1979). Gans' position is supported and contextualized by Berkowitz (2011) who contends that journalists use norms in a particular journalistic paradigm to do their work based on the prevailing worldview.

Framing literature highlights episodic and thematic frames as the most common media frames. Episodic frames refer to media frames that depict an occurrence of an incident or issue, such as death, birth or plane crash (Iyengar, 1991); whereas thematic frames refer to issues that are broad and abstract, located in an appropriate context (Iyengar, 1991).

Findings from news media studies indicate that professional judgment and media routines such as objectivity, timeliness, novelty, prominence, human interest and impact contribute to frame building, defined as how the media select specific frames in presenting the issues and events, and the factors that influence the media's choices of frames (Scheufele, 1999). Frame building is premised on the fact that the media frame issues in a certain way by telling the audience what is important to know about that issue, and how to think about it (Salmon, 1989). Internal organizational policies and external forces are some of the factors that influence journalistic choices and how they frame issues according to a particular paradigm they operate in (Scheufele, 1999; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; Gans, 1979). Berkowitz (2011) contends that norms in a particular paradigm determine how journalists do their work – which story to cover, whom to interview, what angle to take and what to emphasize.

Holstein (2002) argues that frames can be consciously selected as journalists ponder under pressure how to get their stories through the gatekeeping path into print. Because of this pressure which is dictated, among other things, by the organization's norms, journalists have to write in a certain compliant way to win space in the paper. The guiding principle becomes putting stories into certain frames because that increases the chances for them to be printed. In the next section the dissertation examines studies on American news media treatment of Africa in two paradigms, Cold War and post-Cold War, with emphasis on establishing frames American news media used to portray events and issues in Africa and what image of Africa they gave.

Media scholars' analysis of American news media coverage of Africa

In this section, a general overview outlining how media scholars have examined American news media coverage of Africa is given. That is followed by a specific examination of American news media coverage during colonialism and the Cold War period and in the post-Cold War period. Scholars who have studied American news media coverage of Africa condemn that coverage as biased and one-dimensional, distorted, oversimplified, and negative (Segal, 1976; Schraeder and Endless, 1998; Charles, Shore, and Todd, 1979; McCarthy, 1983; Fair, 1993; Govea, 1993; Hawk, 1992; Ebo, 1992; Hultman, 1992; Osunde, 1996; Michira, 2002; Wall, 1997; Kothari, 2010). Scholars contend that American news media get attracted to covering Africa especially when dramatic events occur such as coups, famines and disease outbreaks (Hawk, 1992). Moreover, these stories are filtered through the Western audience tastes, which ignore the communication of African history, culture and values (Hawk, 1992). This kind of news media coverage is a disservice to both the American people and the African reality. Ebo (1992) contends that Americans end up being fed on negative and misguided images of

Africa.

Scholars offer a number of constraints to explain why American news media coverage of Africa is fraught with problems. Because the media industry is a business, it is also subjected to market competition and operational costs. Due to overhead costs in maintaining correspondents in Africa, the number of correspondents on the continent has been drastically reduced, making on the ground coverage very thin (Hawk, 1992; Rosenblum, 1979). To cover the shortfall, when there are attractive stories to be covered on the continent, journalists are normally “parachuted” to those trouble spots for a very brief stay (Rosenblum, 1979, 1993; Hess, 1994). The so-called parachute journalism has a double disadvantage, among other things. The journalists who fly directly from American to Africa do not speak African languages and because of the short stay, they do not have time to dig into the background of stories in order to put them in the right contexts (Rosenblum, 1979, 1993; Hess, 1994). These brief tours can be exacerbated by censorship by African governments prohibiting journalists from accessing the right information (Hachten, 1992a). Although the stories are about Africa, the majority of audience is white, which creates problems of interest and taste (Kenney, 1995). By trying to make an African story palatable to a largely white American audience, the African reality and values are diluted, distorted or lost altogether (Edelman, 1977; Fitzgerald, 1987). Media scholars also find that while on the African continent, correspondents practice “park journalism” – reading each other’s stories and relying on the same ideas for stories, which masks the real issues (Kenney, 1995).

American news media coverage of Africa during colonialism and Cold War

During the colonial period (from the late nineteenth century to 1980s), American news media got entangled with the African continent because of political activities which

began in the early 1950s in Kenya under British colonialism and turned violent resulting in deaths of white settlers in Kenya (Maloba, 1992). The Mau Mau, a peasant uprising against white injustices and the claim for land forcefully acquired by whites, became a powerful nationalist movement agitating for social justice and independence (Maloba, 1992). By its nature, it involved violence as a legitimate method to make its demands heard. For its part, the colonial government in Kenya used modern weapons like guns as the most brutal way of suppressing the rebellion against the foreign establishment. To get a sense of how Africans in Kenya were viewed Maloba (1992) studied how the colonial administrators, the settlers and the American news media talked about the Mau. A settler was quoted in the news media to have said “many of the practices of the Mau Mau represent a reversion to primitive barbaric mentality” (Maloba, 1992, p. 57). *The New York Times* in an opinion piece commented that the Mau Mau stemmed from “the frustrations of a savage people neither mentally nor economically able to adjust itself to the swift pace of civilization” (p. 58). From these two points of view, Maloba (1992) determined that Africans were being represented as “primitive and incapable.”

Another settler was quoted to have said the Mau Mau movement was a communist plot to take over the country using violence and intimidation (Maloba, 1992, p. 56). A British parliamentary delegation to Kenya characterized the Mau Mau movement as “a conspiracy designed to dominate first the Kikuyu tribe and then all Africans, and finally to exterminate or drive out all other races and seize power in Kenya” (Maloba, 1992, p. 57). The literature shows that the Western press projected the “atavistic nature” of the Mau Mau movement (p. 58). Stories printed in the colonial and Western press said any person who worked for the whites would be destroyed by the power of the oath as a propaganda ploy to denigrate the Mau Mau.

Bizarre stories that said headless cats were nailed on the doors of suspected collaborators with the white administrators were published to show how barbaric Mau Mau was. Another story referred to the Mau Mau as a murderous movement guided by voodooism and without cause or an aim “except to kill and disembowel as many whites, chief, headmen and non-Mau Mau Kikuyu (Maloba, 1992. p. 57). Stories further alleged that “natives use violence and voodooism to terrorize the British, they go back to primitive voodooism to gain their ends” (Maloba, 1992, p. 60). This coverage is consistent with the Western news values in which African stories are sensationalized and the African persona caricatured and ridiculed.

To denigrate the nationalist movement, the colonial government referred to it as a “criminal endeavor” (Maloba, 1992, p. 56). And to portray Mau Mau as a worthless movement, the colonial government launched a propaganda offensive in the local and international media to ensure the colonial government remained intact and secure. The news coming out of Kenya was shaped by the colonial government which distributed press handouts regularly (Edgerton, 1989). Colonial propagandists sought to achieve two things: first, that Africans were primitive and irrational, thus Western news media could not make sense of their politics or intentions (Maloba, 1992); second, Africans who challenged the colonial powers were brutal and savage. This stance succeeded in dehumanizing African leaders in the Western world (Hawk, 1992) and portrayed Africans as primitive and incapable, relying on violence as means to achieve their objectives. In addition to the colonial influence, Cold War ideological considerations also influenced how Africa was covered in the American news media.

Based on the Cold War secondary literature examined for this study – books, journals, articles and scholarly studies – the journalistic paradigm during the Cold War

used five frames to portray Africa:

- Africa was seen as a battleground for East-West ideological superpower rivalry: the violence and nationalist struggle for independence were conveniently framed as Superpower rivalry – the Soviet Union against the United States (Wall, 1997; Govea, 1993; Fair, 1993; El Zein and Cooper, 1992; Sibley, 1998; Walker, 1994; Mahoney, 1983; Thomas, 2009; Schwartz, 1997).
- Inept and incapable governance in Africa (Chari, 2010; Michira, 2002; Kothari, 2010; Eliot, 1966; Curtin, 1964; McCarthy, 1983; Davidson, 1969; Maloba, 1992).
- Recurrent disasters a hindrance to Africa's development (Hawk, 1992; Ebo, 1992; Govea, 1993; Fair, 1993; El Zein and Cooper, 1992).
- Dependence on foreign intervention solution (Swain, 2003; Wall, 1997; Chari, 2010; Michira, 2002; Kothari, 2010; Eliot, 1966; Chavis, 2010).
- Brutal violence as means of survival (Chavis, 2010; Osunde, 1996; Maloba, 1992; Fair, 1993; El Zein and Cooper, 1992; Chari, 2010; Michira, 2002; Kothari, 2010).

Because of the pervasive foreign influence in African affairs, dependence on foreign intervention solution was presented as the overarching frame in the secondary literature discussing media coverage of Africa. The overall image of Africa is presented as a needy continent, also described by the Dark Continent metaphor in which Africa is perceived as a “continent where violent and irrational people live” (Kothari, 2010, p. 1). A comparison will be made between the overarching frame and image of Africa during the Cold War and the overarching frame and image that will be identified in *The New York Times*' coverage of Africa during the post-Cold War era to determine whether a journalistic paradigm shift has occurred from the Cold War to the post-Cold War.

To further interrogate the framing of sub-Saharan Africa in the American news

media, the following research questions with a focus on *The New York Times* are addressed in the present study.

Research questions

RQ1. What frames does *The New York Times* use in the coverage of sub-Saharan Africa during the post-Cold War era, and have new frames emerged?

RQ2. How do frames in *The New York Times* portray Africa in the post-Cold War era?

RQ3. How does the overarching frame and image of Africa in *The New York Times* during the post-Cold War period compare to the overarching frame and image of Africa in the Cold War era found in the secondary literature?

RQ4. How does *The New York Times* use the Dark Continent metaphor in the narratives of stories in the post-Cold War?

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the source of primary data, methods, techniques and procedures the study used to collect and analyze the research data, and identify themes that lead to the identification of frames. The dissertation explores *The New York Times*' portrayal of sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War and post-Cold War eras. Ultimately, the research aims to establish whether there was a journalistic paradigm shift reflected in the image which *The New York Times* projected about Africa the political paradigm shift from the Cold War to the post-Cold War. The study employs a qualitative research approach using two methodologies – content analysis and framing analysis. This double-methodology approach is supported by a number of researchers as appropriate for robust and better results (Blankson, 2000; Pickle et al., 2002; Rudestam and Newton, 1992; Valeda, 2002). This combination enabled the researcher to identify themes and frames in a scholarly manner. Framing analysis talks about the identification of frames, but it is silent on how themes should be identified. Content analysis fills that gap, and is used to identify themes. The two methodologies are outlined below.

Qualitative Research Approach

The qualitative research approach has a number of advantages. It is flexible and allows the researcher to interact with texts and revise the methodology up to the end of the dissertation process. The long engagement with text is conducive for the researcher to

be immersed in the data to discover and internalize the cognitive context necessary in writing thick descriptions, the hallmark of rich detail and crystal clear qualitative research reports (Geertz, 1973). Continuous interaction with texts also allows the researcher reflectivity to shape the investigation process and think through the dissertation to make it accomplish and address the goals of the study (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002; Maxwell, 2005; Charmaz, 2006; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) define qualitative content analysis as a “research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (p. 1278), which is why this dissertation chose it to guide the identification of themes. The focus of qualitative content analysis is on the characteristics of language – content and context (McTavish and Pirro, 1990; Tesch, 1990). Text data might be in verbal, print, or electronic form and might have been obtained from narrative responses, open-ended survey questions, interviews, focus groups, observations, or print media such as newspaper articles being studied in the present project (Kondracki and Wellman, 2002). It enables the researcher to interact with the data without preconceived ideas, and allows perspectives to emerge to guide the research (Kondracki and Wellman, 2002). Researchers use qualitative content analysis to begin identifying key concepts or variables to code initially (Potter and Levine-Donnerstien, 1999), making it appropriate for identifying themes in the present study.

The power of qualitative content analysis is based on its ability to enable the researcher to infer the cognitive meaning embedded in texts. Gubrium and Holstein (1997) note that qualitative content analysis involves interpreting, theorizing, or making

sense of data by first breaking it down into segments that can be categorized and coded, and then establishing a theme or pattern for the entire data set by relating the categories to one another. Altheide (1996) contends that the major emphasis of qualitative content analysis is on capturing definitions, meanings, process and types. Researchers find qualitative content analysis an appropriate methodology for interpretation of data and identifying themes or patterns such as in the present research (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005; Cavanagh, 1997), through interpretive and meaning making analyses (Rosengren, 1981).

Framing analysis Methodology

Some scholars contend that framing analysis is a qualitative research methodology that enhances the understanding of how news media shape or create perception through the representation process of frames (Choi, 2005). In everyday life, communicators frame reality in order to negotiate, manage, and comprehend it (Goffman, 1974). Professional communicators such as journalists use media frames – described as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and representation of selection, emphasis, and exclusion by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual” (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7) – as tools for processing large amounts of information quickly and routinely. Framing analysis enables media texts to be examined to determine frames embedded in texts, which is why it is appropriate for the present dissertation. It is also appropriate for investigating the latent aspects of the text and key words that comprise concepts carrying frames (Cappella and Jamieson, 1997). Framing analysis enables the researcher to examine texts because it contains coherent infrastructure – the media package that contains elements that help the researcher to identify frames (Gamson, 2001).

In this context, news framing implies that issues are presented to the audience in a

particular way that emphasizes a preferred meaning of the event or issue (Sniderman and Theriault, 2004). An important first step in framing analysis is the identification of framing devices, which are specific words in the text, such as metaphors, catchphrases, depictions and exemplars that communicate frames (Gamson, 1992). Entman (1993, p. 53) agrees that to look for frames in a text, the researcher focuses on “the presence or absence of certain key words;” while Miller and Riechert (2001) base their study of framing analysis on examining figures of speech, pictures, and catchphrases used in constructing the text. Pan and Kociski (1993, p. 62) concur that one way of identifying frames is to investigate word choices used in the construction of stories because words often “signify the presence of a particular frame.”

Framing devices contain contextual cues that act as cognitive and interpretive tools for deciphering the presence of frames in stories (Kuypers, 2002; Trent and Friedenberg, 1991). To discover the presence of a frame, framing devices that contain contextual cues are used as cognitive and interpretive tools to analyze and detect the presence of a frame in a particular story. Based on these guidelines, this study uses Gamson’s (1992) method of framing analysis which requires the researcher to identify framing devices as the initial step. To execute this method, the present research uses the “media package” as the coherent infrastructure leading to identification of frames (Tankard, 2001; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Tankard (2001) clarifies that “the media package presents key words and common language that would help identify a particular frame” (p. 99). Based on this guidance, a media package is a group of key words, phrases and expressions in text that can be synthesized to identify a frame. A media package contains framing devices such as catchphrases, metaphors, exemplars and depictions – the coherent infrastructure of language of text – used in the creation

of a frame (Tankard, 2001; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989).

The examination of the media package entails identifying elements journalists of *The New York Times* used in the media package that lead to the creation of frames, that is, after themes have been established. The presence of framing devices in a particular story in *The New York Times* varies depending on the nature of the story. The search for framing devices in *The New York Times* stories is based on word-for-word multiple reading of the stories to capture key words that develop the theme, which leads to the identification of frames.

The Researcher

The researcher is from sub-Saharan Africa and practiced journalism in Uganda during the Cold War and in the first decade of the post-Cold War. As the researcher studied and discovered as a doctoral student how journalists use frames in constructing their stories, it dawned on him that he, too, used frames during his journalistic work. This experience made the researcher an insider in this project. However, for purposes of this project, the researcher positioned himself as an “insider” from outside. Through his position as an insider-outsider, he was able to follow the coverage of Africa in *The New York Times* with composure and using his knowledge about the continent to guide the research.

This posture enabled the researcher to follow the reality of Africa as reported by *The New York Times* journalists. In newsrooms, a “good” story is actually a “bad” story because it could refer to a scandal such as the revelation of President Bill Clinton’s affair with the White House intern, an accident in which hundreds die, or all students failing in a class or a dictator in Africa killing his opponent. The researcher found that *The New York Times* covered a significant amount of “good” stories, which in terms of Africa’s reality

were “bad” and heart-rending stories, such as the Rwanda genocide, amputations and cannibalism in Liberia and Sierra Leone, the horror of using a militia to try and eliminate other tribes in Sudan, the specter of AIDS and glaring poverty and mismanagement and corruption stifling development in sub-Saharan Africa. This coverage presented the researcher with another dilemma: the stories were based on actual events and issues that happened; they were not fabricated by journalists, so should he call the truthful coverage good or bad?

Bad news does not happen in Africa alone. Take the United States where terrorists attacked the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 killing nearly 3,000 persons, Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans in August 2005, the Colorado theater shooting in July, 2012 killed a dozen people, and out-of-control forest fires and tornados left destruction and deaths. The reality check in Africa is that a significant amount of the news is bad news. For example the researcher found out during the search for stories that 229 stories reported war, 77 reported conflict and only 45 stories reported about development – all of them portrayed with negative frames. In a scenario such as this, it is not possible to balance positive news and negative news from rural areas in the countryside in every nation in Africa.

In this research project, the researcher believes that the frames used in constructing stories about Africa are genuine because they are based on what took place. It would be disingenuous and academic dishonesty to deny or distort them.

Choice of *The New York Times*

To investigate how Western news media cover the African continent, researchers typically select a small number of newspapers or magazines as an example of Western coverage. *The New York Times* is often the newspaper of choice as a source of primary

material for scholarly research, as evidenced in studies by Danker-Dake (2008), Botelho (2008), Choi (2005), Lule (1993) and Holstein (2002), and particularly when international coverage is concerned. *The New York Times* is also known for its pre-eminence in the coverage of Third World issues (El Zein and Cooper, 1992), as research shows that *The New York Times* leads in reporting news from Africa compared to any other American newspaper (Skurnik, 1980; Bonnah-Koomson, 1991). For example, during the colonial period and Cold War era in Africa, *The New York Times* maintained four bureau offices on the continent: Cairo (Egypt) in the north; Johannesburg (South Africa) in the south; Abidjan (Cote d'Ivoire) in the west; and Nairobi (Kenya) in the east (El Zein and Cooper, 1992).

The New York Times is regarded as a newspaper of record (Gitlin, 1980). Based in New York, the world's diplomatic capital and where people from all corners of the world are found, *The New York Times* is a readily available newspaper that is often read by government and political leaders as well as ordinary people. Therefore, it is positioned to influence their views and decisions about Africa. Additionally, *The New York Times* is a leader among the U.S. mainstream national newspapers and is relied on to lend legitimacy to issues. It influences the content of other U.S. news media by setting the media agenda (Gitlin, 1980). *The New York Times* wields such immense power through its penetrating global reach that it has been ranked as one of the planet's 50 great dailies whose quality of international news is unrivalled (Merrill and Fisher, 1980). For these reasons, the author decided to use *The New York Times* as the sole media outlet from which to collect content for data analysis.

Period of study

The present study's research period embraces two historical eras. The first era is

colonialism and the Cold War period, 1945 to 1989. Although colonialism started earlier in the 19th century, the two dispensations ran concurrently with colonialism ending in the 1980s and the Cold War in 1989 when the Superpower rivalry ended. The New York Times' coverage and portrayal of Africa during the colonial and Cold War period is investigated through the secondary literature. From examination of the secondary literature, the study established five frames – brutal violence as means of survival, dependence on foreign intervention solution, inept and incapable governance in Africa, recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa's development, and Africa as battlefield for East-West ideological rivalry – the American news media used in the coverage and portrayal of Africa during the colonial and Cold War era. Based on the dominant frames in the secondary literature, an image of Africa as needy and dependent on foreign support during the Cold War period was also established.

The second era is the first two decades of the post-Cold War era, from 1990 to 2009. Stories retrieved from *The New York Times* database were used as the primary data for the post-Cold War period. These stories were examined in sequence to identify themes, framing devices, frames and the overall African image. A comparison was then made between the Cold War frames and post-Cold War frames and images to determine whether there is a shift in the coverage and the image portrayed. The study of the post-Cold War stories also determined whether new frames and a new image emerged.

Primary data source and collection

The major source of primary data collection was *The New York Times* ProQuest Historical advanced search database available at the Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina campus. Since the study required the examination of the coverage of Africa in the past two decades (1990-2009), the historical data archive seemed the only

reliable and available source of such information. The 1990 to 2009 time span is significant because that is when Africa witnessed the highest number of conflicts and wars in the post-Cold War era (Williams, 2011); and the juxtaposition of this period with the Cold War is important to make immediate comparisons and contrasts. To begin the search for relevant stories, “1990 to 2009” was selected as the time range, while “Africa” and “war” were used as key search terms to select stories related to war events and issues in Africa during that time range. In this study, “stories” includes hard news stories, features, columns, editorials and opinions. Four commands were applied to narrow and focus the search. (1) Command “A” was used to confine the search to articles about Africa that appear only on the national and international pages in the “A” section of the newspaper, which includes the front page news stories, international and national news stories, editorials, columns and opinions. (2) The command “and not African American” was applied to sieve out all stories not from or about Africa. Preliminary research indicated that stories with the key words “African American” were generally about black Americans, not Africa. (3) “Abstract” command was used to get summaries of stories specific to the context of “Africa” and “war.”(4) And to eliminate ads, the “and not displays” command was used to tighten the catchment range. This search yielded 222 stories, down from thousands with the key words “Africa” and “war.” To find additional relevant stories, the same procedure was followed using the key words “Africa” and “conflict,” which yielded 77 stories.

In the Third World, and Africa in particular, the Western news media has been accused of ignoring or not covering development-related or other stories that might be considered positive (Hawk, 1992; Osunde, 1996; Ebo, 1992; Maloba, 1992; McCarthy, 1983). “Development” was, therefore, chosen as a key term to generate stories that are

not about conflict or war. Following the same command process as above, “development” was used as a search term. It yielded 45 stories. A total of 344 stories was assembled for examination – conflict 77, war 222 and development 45.

Sampling

A skip interval of 5 was used, in which every 5th story of the total of conflict and war stories was picked as a random sample to select representative stories from the population. Osunde (1996) used a similar technique to select stories from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, which he examined in his dissertation on the American news media coverage of Africa. This approach resulted in a sample of 59 stories from conflict and war categories. Development stories were sampled separately using the same sampling technique. After reading and analyzing the 59 stories from the sample, the researcher found that although the stories were retrieved using the key terms “conflict” and “war,” *The New York Times* coverage did not make a distinction between conflict and war. For instance, following the disputed presidential election results in Kenya in 2007, the country descended into civil disorder in which more than 1,000 people died, and thousands displaced and exiled. *The New York Times* covered the story as war activity; yet, it was a political problem more appropriate for the conflict category. Because of the lack of distinction in the coverage of conflict and war, the researcher decided to combine the entire universe of war stories (conflict 77 and war 222) into 299 war stories using Bertrand and Hughes (2005) availability sampling technique that requires stories to be put together.

Secondly, based on the content of the 59 sampled stories examined, it emerged that there were wars between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and Ethiopia and Somalia. The rest of the wars reported were internal – civil wars fought within countries. Using the content of the 59 stories for categorization, the conflict and war stories were categorized into

Ethiopia and Eritrea war, Ethiopia and Somali war, and civil war stories.

Creating categories

The researcher used the Ethiopia-Eritrea war, Ethiopia-Somalia war, civil wars, and development stories as content categories into which examined stories were assigned. Based on this guidance, the number of stories in each category was established as: Ethiopia-Eritrea war, 36 stories; Ethiopia- Somalia war, 32 stories; civil wars, 46 stories (established using a skip sample of 5 from a universe of 231 stories); and development, 45 stories. Altogether, 159 stories were assembled for analysis. This categorization created the order for handling and managing data for further analysis (Landlof and Taylor, 2002; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Using these established content categories, the researcher read the stories to identify themes and frames. Rather than look for a theme or a frame in every story, themes and frames were searched in the four content categories of stories.

Shah et al. (2010) argue that the approach to framing analysis in which each story is seen as possessing just one overarching theme or frame is flawed because, in practice, it is not easy to categorize stories as presenting just a single view of an issue. They further contend that an approach which tries to assign a single theme or frame to each story is likely to miss important and ecologically valid variations between stories and within a story. They are supported by Levin (2005, p. 89) who contends that “frames are built across a series of news media articles, and that not all elements (framing devices) are present in a single article,” hence the justification of looking for themes and frames in categories of stories as established above.

Data analysis strategy

To manage the huge amount of data generated from stories, the unwieldy data has

to be organized. According to Lindlof and Taylor (2002), Marshall and Rossman (1994), and Miles and Huberman (1994), such data should be streamlined and prioritized into categories easy to handle and that make sense to the study through rigorous data analysis and reduction. This was accomplished through data display on tables and repetitive analysis and combining of elements into categories to reduce the data bulk while sharpening the focus.

Themes Identification

Themes identification is one of the most fundamental tasks in qualitative research because themes are a starting point in a report of findings in a study (Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Bezeley, 2009), which is why themes are important to this study. Identification of themes involves the use of the “ocular scan,” also known as “eyeballing” (Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Bezeley, 2009) technique, and incorporates Hall’s (1980) long preliminary-soak, that requires paying meticulous attention to words and looking for cognitive and contextualized meanings in media texts using “key-words-in-context” technique that works on the principle that “in order to understand what other people are talking about, we ought to examine the words they use” (Ryan and Bernard, 2003, p. 96). D’Angelo and Kuypers (2010, p. 302) define theme as “the subject of a discussion or that which is the subject of the thought expressed.” In short, a theme is the subject of a news media story.

In the present study, themes were identified before frames. In his book, *Bush’s War: Media Bias and Justification for War in a Terrorist Age* (2006), Kuypers first examined President Bush’s speeches reported in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *ABC News*, and *CBS News* to identify themes and then proceeded to identify frames. His study shows how themes and frames are linked and can be studied

together in framing analysis. This dissertation will follow the same guideline.

The search for themes began with the examination of 36 Ethiopia- Eritrea war stories. The researcher paid particular attention to headlines and texts of stories. Headlines are important parts of stories because they summarize and contextualize stories, and texts contain the gist of stories and the details. These two parts can give the researcher clues to the subject of the stories. Although theme and frame identification is dependent on individual researcher's ability to analyze and interpret text (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002), the literature suggests a hierarchical identification process in which topics are identified first, then themes and finally, frames (Campbell and Wiggins, 2010). A topic is a label or a category of issues highlighted by the media (Campbell and Wiggins, 2010). The guideline for the identification of themes that this researcher followed is given by Caragee and Roefs (2004) and Campbell and Wiggins (2010), which requires the researcher to decipher themes by considering what subject the story, is written about. With that guideline, the researcher delved into the category of the 36 Ethiopia-Eritrea violence stories, and pored through headlines and texts to ferret out clues to possible themes (Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Lindlof and Taylor, 2002; Altheide, 1987).

Identifying Frames

To identify frames, stories were examined to identify framing devices from which frames would be created (Gamson and Modigliani, 1998; Gamson, 2001)). Framing devices are manifest elements that signify the presence of frames in texts (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). In framing studies these elements are known as catchphrases, metaphors, exemplars and depictions (Kuypers, 2002; Gamson and Modigliani, 1989; Gamson, 1991; Tankard, 2001; Trent and Friedenberg, 1991). Each framing device was

operationalized below.

Catchphrase: The expression that vividly describes or makes reference to the theme already identified in the story. A catchphrase is a tagline, a condensing symbol or expression that captures the gist of an issue or event in a story. It can also be a title or slogan indicated by a word, phrase, or expression that captures the issues and events presented (Tankard, 2001; Holstein, 2002).

Metaphor: Figurative expression or analogy made when talking about the theme. A metaphor is a figurative expression that links a principal subject through analogy with an associated one so that the principle subject is defined within that relationship. A metaphor indicates an actual or implied comparison in contexts (Tankard, 2001; Holstein, 2002).

Exemplar: Typical events or cases cited in the story to support a point, argument or perspective of the central issue. An exemplar is a real event in the past or present that is frequently cited to typify and focus the principal subject. It is a representation of the situation reported on, including historical examples (Tankard, 2001; Holstein, 2002).

Depiction: Concise descriptions pertaining to and affecting the status of the theme. A depiction is used to characterize the principal subject or situation in a particular way using some colorful expressions. A depiction portrays the circumstances of the event reported (Tankard, 2001; Holstein, 2002). Identified framing devices were coded in Appendix A.

Framing devices were then presented in a frame matrix for data display, analysis and interpretation to distill a frame, as the practice in qualitative framing analysis (Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Pan, Lee, Man Chan, and So, 1999; Van den Bulck et al., 2008; Van Gorp, 2005; Van Os et al., 2008). Identification of frames will begin with the analysis of Ethiopia and Eritrea war stories.

Validity and reliability issues

On the issue of validity and reliability, the present study is guided by the school of thinking that qualitative research does not seek to be consistent or to obtain consistent results, but rather, seeks to elicit responses of a participant or a researcher at a specific time and place, and in a specific context (Finlay, 2006a; Churchill, 2000). Qualitative researchers' position is that situations can never be exactly replicated – two researchers can never elicit the same responses from the same participant. LeCompte and Goetz (1984) also question whether reliability of data is a relevant consideration in qualitative studies. They observe that although reliability directly affects the degree to which study results are credible to others, they contend that no study can ever be replicated exactly because human behavior is not static. Morse (1994, p. 231) argues that since “No one takes a second reader to the library to check that indeed he or she is interpreting the original sources correctly, so why does anyone need a reliability checker for his or her data?” Vidich and Lyman (1994) also challenge the whole notion of consistency in analyzing data, contending that the researcher's analysis bears no direct correspondence with any underlying reality and different researchers would be expected to offer different accounts as reality itself is characterized by multiplicity.

As a way forward to stay relevant and acceptable among scholars, qualitative researchers proposed their own criteria for reliability, validity and generalizability. Qualitative researchers such as Simon (2011) suggest that “rigor” or “trustworthiness” and “dependability” be used to evaluate qualitative research instead of reliability and validity (Davies and Dodd, 2002; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Mishler, 2000; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001). Guba (1981) developed new criteria for evaluating qualitative

research. He proposed that “credibility” replace validity, “transferability” replace generalizability, “dependability” for reliability, and “confirmability” for objectivity. However, the main pillar for evaluating qualitative research is trustworthiness (Davies and Dodd, 2002; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Mishler, 2000; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001), which can be done through triangulation – having another researcher look at your method and results.

Validity and reliability issues in the present dissertation were addressed by incorporating the committee chair and three members of the candidate’s doctoral cohort group in the School of Journalism and Mass Communications in the validation process. The committee chair and the researcher spent numerous meetings discussing the proposed methodology. After each discussion, revisions to the proposed coding were made and the researcher coded two appropriate *New York Times* articles on Africa that were not a part of the population. The coding procedure was then presented to and explained to the dissertation committee as a part of the dissertation proposal defense. The researcher and chair made additional revisions and the researcher continued to test the coding until he and the chair were confident it was ready for use. The researcher’s doctoral committee advisor, who was also director of the graduate program in the school, and the dissertation chair, then discussed the revised coding procedure. To specifically address validation and reliability issues, the dissertation committee agreed that the researcher could present the coding process to some fellow doctoral students to find out if they could follow and understand it. Thus, three members of the researcher’s doctoral cohort group were recruited to triangulate and validate the research method. The researcher’s doctoral cohort group of three, in a formal session lasting one over hour, listened to the researcher’s presentation on the method he used to identify key component

elements of the research– themes, framing devices and frames – following step-by-step guidelines. The guidelines, handouts and two articles from *The New York Times* the researcher used in preliminary coding were distributed to enable the three follow the process clearly.

At the end of the presentation, they were asked to respond as to whether they understood the process and whether it made sense to them. They were specifically asked whether they understood how the researcher arrived at the frames. They did not have to agree with the frames identified; all said they followed and understood the process. The researcher, then, was permitted to be the only coder in the dissertation.

Chapter four summary

This chapter described the methods, techniques and procedures the researcher used to collect and analyze research data. Qualitative content analysis and framing analysis are the two research methods applied in analyzing data to identify themes and frames *The New York Times* used in the coverage of Africa. Stories were examined in a two-layered process: First themes were identified and then frames. Reliability and validity issues were appropriately addressed through the involvement of the dissertation committee and the researcher's cohort doctoral group in validating the coding method used.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

This chapter presents findings addressing the research questions. To guide the presentation, the research questions are restated: (1) What frames does *The New York Times* use in the coverage of sub-Saharan Africa during the post-Cold War era, and have new frames emerged? (2) How do frames in *The New York Times* portray Africa in the post-Cold War era? (3) What is the overarching frame, and how does the overarching frame and image of Africa in *The New York Times* during the post-Cold War period compare to the overarching frame and image of Africa in the Cold War era found in the secondary literature? (4) How does *The New York Times* use the Dark Continent metaphor in the narratives of stories in the post-Cold War? However, the research identified themes first and then frames before proceeding to answer the research questions.

Theme in Ethiopia-Eritrea War Stories

In the Ethiopia-Eritrea violence stories, *The New York Times* focused the reader's attention on the two countries at war by mentioning their names in the headlines. "Ethiopia" and "Eritrea" are used in the headlines significantly, such as "Ethiopia pushes harder into Eritrea territory" (Fisher, May 18, 2000, p. A6); "Eritrea-Ethiopia war: unwanted but unchecked" (McKinley, 1998, June 12, p. A3); "Eritrea says it killed hundreds in routing Ethiopians" (Fisher, 1999, March 18, p. A5); "Ethiopia says it will pull back troops from border with Ethiopia" (*Reuters*, 2005, December 11, p. A15); and

“UN official warns Eritrea and Ethiopia” (*Agence France-Presse*, 2003, August 1, p. A5). If the newspaper did not use “Ethiopia” or “Eritrea” in the same headline, it mentioned one as in “Ethiopia is celebrating, but perhaps too soon” (Fisher, 1999, March 3, p. A8); and “War dims Eritrea’s hopes, but clears its eyes” (Fisher, 2001, April 24, p. A3). The continuous use of “Ethiopia” and “Eritrea” in the headlines may suggest to the reader that “inter-war” – the war between two countries – is the nature of violence, and a possible subject of the stories.

The texts of the stories highlight two aspects of the coverage of the Ethiopia-Eritrea violence. First, the stories give a clear reason for the war – “disputed border of Ethiopia and Eritrea” (Fisher, 2000, May 13, p. A8). Prior to the war and during the war, stories highlighted harsh war rhetoric between Ethiopia and Eritrea as they edged to and participated in full-scale violence. “We shall fight for our country,” “We will regain our sovereign territory” (Fisher, 1999, March 1, p. A10), and “reclaim our territory,” or “regain territory” appeared in most of the stories constantly focusing on the reason the two countries were engaged in violence.

Second, stories characterized violence as a potential for destruction. Stories show this by reporting on the war preparations Ethiopia and Eritrea carried out through buying expensive military weapons like planes, tanks and artillery. Also, stories reported each country amassing 120,000 to 400,000 soldiers on its side of the border (Fisher, 1999, February 14, p. A3). Stories highlighted the option for war as reckless and callous in the case of Ethiopia when over eight million of its citizens were faced with severe food shortages (Fisher, 2000, May 26, p. A3). By juxtaposing war and starvation, stories suggest to the reader that to the leaders of the two countries, violence is more important than their citizens’ welfare, and that inter-state war is central in the coverage.

Highlighting the destructive, costly and senseless nature of the inter-state violence between Ethiopia and Eritrea, *The New York Times* reports that Ethiopian troops crossed the border and mounted a full-scale war in Eritrean territory using tanks and heavy artillery in the assault (Fisher, 1999, February 7). The newspaper tells the reader that Eritrea and Ethiopia inflicted heavy casualties on each other as they pounded, bombarded and bombed each over the disputed border. Contradictory accounts of the inter-state war violence, by each country, were printed. In one account, the newspaper reports that Ethiopia “unleashed a fierce offensive only comparable to a World War-I style assault on Eritrean trenches,” and claimed it “captured, killed and wounded tens of thousands of Eritreans” (Fisher, 1999, March 1, p. A10). In a different account, Eritrea countered by claiming it killed 14, 000 Ethiopians during the fighting. In yet another account, the newspaper reports that Eritrea claimed it foiled a major offensive by the Ethiopian troops when it destroyed 57 Ethiopian tanks, captured 6, shot down a MIG-23 fighter jet, and killed 9,000 Ethiopian soldiers (Fisher, 1999, March 18, p. A5). The newspaper continued carrying stories of violence in which Eritrean forces claimed they killed, wounded or captured 18,000 Ethiopian soldiers, which Ethiopia refuted and, instead, claimed its own forces killed, wounded or captured 24, 000 Eritrean troops (*Reuters*, 1999, June 28, p. A4). Ethiopia, with a population of 60 million compared to Eritrea’s 3.5 million, had an upper hand in the violence, as shown by a story which reported that the Eritrean army was “smashed, kicked, destroyed, devastated, humiliated, and sent packing and running” (Fisher, 2000, May 26, p. A3). In addition, the newspaper revealed bombing destruction that wreaked havoc in each country during bombing raids. The destruction caused by violence crippled each country economically.

By repeatedly mentioning “Ethiopia” and “Eritrea” in the headlines and focusing

on violence, *The New York Times* made it clear that its stories were about violence and brutality between the two African countries. The stories describe how the two countries' armies ravaged each other using air raids, artillery bombardment and trench warfare causing many deaths and destruction of property. Analyzing and interpreting these perspectives together suggests "Interstate brutality in Ethiopia and Eritrea war" as the theme of the stories.

Theme in Ethiopia-Somalia War Stories

Since Somalia was plunged into anarchy and hopelessness in 1991 when its government was toppled, *The New York Times* has persistently covered events and issues in the country related to violence. One of the activities that has badly affected the country, according to the newspaper reports, is in-fighting among clans for the control of the country. The newspaper presents in-fighting as a force that has devastated the country that political scientists and international relations analysts now classify as a "failed state" because the country does not have a functional government. Because of the lack of a functional government, *The New York Times* reports that influential and radical Islamists wield immense power and often tend to overshadow the fledgling official Somalia Transitional Government. *The New York Times* reports that the turmoil besetting Somalia is caused by Islamic Muslim fundamentalists, whose activities forced Ethiopia to invade Somalia with the aim of stopping the activities of the Islamists and to flush out terrorists groups supporting them as reported in a story headlined "Ethiopian jets strafe Mogadishu airports," (Gettleman, 2006, December 26, p. A14).

An examination of 32 stories on Ethiopia-Somalia violence printed in *The New York Times* indicates Islamists are a menace in Somalia because they are terrorists or are regarded as terrorists, associate with terrorists, harbor terrorists or get support from them

to destabilize the country (Gettleman, 2006, December 26). These stories give the impression that Islamists roam the country lawlessly and have created an environment for international terrorists to flock into the country. One story reports that “thousands of fighters from Eritrea, Yemen, Libya, Syria and Pakistan have streamed into Somalia to wage a holy war” (Gettleman and Mazzetti, 2007, April 11, p. A12). The story suggests that presence of international terrorists in Somalia has created a battleground for terrorism and an opportunity for war on terrorism.

The war on terrorism is of immense interest and significance to the United States since it suffered terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Because of these attacks, *The New York Times* reports that the Pentagon adopted a strategy to dispatch special troops globally to hunt down terrorist suspects. The newspaper points out the American involvement in Somalia directly or indirectly using Ethiopian troops as surrogates is a case in point. The emphasis of *The New York Times* coverage of Ethiopia-Somalia violence is focused on terrorism as the stories demonstrate. For instance, in a story headlined, “Pentagon sees covert move in Somalia as blueprint” (Mazzetti, 2007, January 13, p. A6), the newspaper gives the reader an insight into this violence. The newspaper reports that the United States used the Ethiopian army as a surrogate force to rout out operatives of al Qaeda from Somalia. In addition, stories show that American gunships and special troops have been used inside Somalia on counterterrorism missions. Because of the success of the counterterrorism missions in Somalia, the newspaper reports that the Pentagon adopted that strategy as a blueprint to hunt and kill terrorism suspects around the globe (Mazzetti, 2007, January 13, p. A6).

Another story lending credence to war on terrorism is headlined, “Ethiopia holding 41 suspects who fought with Somalia Islamists, officials confirm” (Gettleman,

2007, April 11, p. A12). This story places terrorism at the center of Ethiopia-Somalia violence. It concretizes the perception that Somali Islamists are terrorists or and are supported by international terrorists including the dreaded al Qaeda operatives. By reporting that 41 terrorist suspects from 17 countries were arrested in Somalia, the newspaper suggests that terrorism prevails in Somalia and points out that Islamists have spread “Taliban-like terror” among the people of Somalia. Henceforth, the newspaper continued highlighting terrorism. For instance, in a story headlined “Suicide bomber hits pockets of calm in north Somalia, killing at least 21” (Ibrahim and Gettleman, 2008, October 30, p. A17), another one headlined “Somalia blast and aftermath leaves at least 20 dead” (Ibrahim, 2009, February 3, p. A1), the newspaper’s reportage shows that terrorists are active in the country, and suggest to the reader that the Ethiopia-Somalia violence is driven by terrorists on one side, and the counterterrorism mission led by Ethiopia with the support of the United States, on the other. Another story headlined “Mission to Somalia: Americans will find Somalia full of arms provided by superpowers” (Gordon, 1992, December 9, p. A4), characterizes Somalia as “awash with weapons,” most of them in the hands of Islamic fighters and international terrorists.

The stories examined on Ethiopia-Somalia violence focus the reader’s attention on terrorism and counterterrorism activities, which suggests that “Terrorism and counterterrorism in Ethiopia and Somalia interstate war” as the theme.

Theme in Civil War Stories

Internal violence in countries is essentially civil wars that are fought among factions with different aspirations within a sovereign state. A sample of 46 stories on internal violence was analyzed to identify the theme in *The New York Times*’ reporting in those stories. Because post-Cold War Africa was engulfed in a series of civil wars, the 46

stories reported violence in Sudan, Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Ivory Coast, Burundi, Uganda, Angola and Liberia. The newspaper characterized the nature of violence and its causes in different countries as almost similar, the findings show. The newspaper points out that civil violence erupted because of political discontent, insecurity and inequality in the sharing of national resources in the countries.

The worst case scenario of political discontent the newspaper reported occurred in Kenya in 2007, when the country was plunged into violence because of the disputed presidential election results. Initially, polls indicated that the opposition candidate had won. But in a sudden twist of events, the electoral commission announced that the incumbent won which rattled the country and caused fierce violence that left 1,000 people dead and tens of thousands exiled (Cohen, 2008, March 3). The newspaper reported that both sides in the political contest resorted to violence to try and overpower and intimidate the other and claim victory. A similar situation played out in Zimbabwe, forcing the United Nations to speak out as reported by *The New York Times* (MacFarquhar and Dugger, 2008, June 24) in a story headlined “Security Council urges Zimbabwe to halt violence.” In Zimbabwe also, polls showed that the opposition presidential candidate had won the race. But the powerful incumbent, President Robert Mugabe, annulled the result and called for a re-run under his close watch.

The newspaper reported that President Mugabe used the re-run as an opportunity for his political survival because he unleashed a campaign of violence and intimidation against the opposition candidates. Several restrictions were imposed on members of the opposition to the extent that they could not freely move to campaign to canvass votes. For instance, the newspaper reported that the main opposition candidate, Morgan Tsvangirai, suffered several assassination attempts and had to seek refuge at the Dutch Embassy in

Harare, Zimbabwe's capital. The newspaper indicated that this created an uneven playing field and diminished the chances for the opposition candidate as his supporters feared for their lives. Next door in Angola, Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, the main opposition party, saw civil violence as a way to appease his political discontent and a ladder for him to climb to the presidency (Kaufman, 2002, February 23). *The New York Times* reported that because Savimbi believed he could win power through violence, when he lost the presidential bid in 1994 through the ballot, he sought to win it using bullets, which locked the country in a protracted civil war because the incumbent fought hard to stay in power, and even eliminated Savimbi altogether in 2002.

The civil war which erupted in the Congo in 1998 was complex but *The New York Times* cited insecurity as the main reason for the violence as it reported in its story headlined "The guns of Africa" (Onishi, 1999, July 9, p. A8). The newspaper pointed out that because rebels and militia were hiding in Congo, from where they would launch incursions into Rwanda and Uganda, they caused these countries to feel insecure. As a result, the newspaper reported that Rwandan and Ugandan leaders backed Laurent Kabila, a Congolese rebel, to topple sitting President Joseph Mobutu because he was seen as shielding the rebels who were destabilizing Rwanda and Uganda. The newspaper reported that Rwanda and Uganda backed Kabila on condition that he would expel the rebels and militia hiding in Congo once he became president. But after he was assisted to overthrow Mobutu in 1997 and he became the president, the newspaper reports that Kabila failed or refused to expel the rebels and militias from Congo, which led to another civil war, the newspaper reported (Onishi, 1999, July 9). This time, the newspaper reported that Rwanda and Uganda supported rebels in Congo to topple President Kabila whom they had assisted to replace President Mobutu. In order to bolster his position and

to survive being overthrown, the newspaper reported, Kabila sought military assistance from Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Onishi, 1998, August 24).

For their part, the Congo rebels enlisted support from Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda, widening the war which *The New York Times* called Africa's First World War (Onishi, 1999, July 9). Although the rebels were fighting hard to overpower and remove Kabila from power, the newspaper made the civil violence in Congo look like a survival strategy for Kabila to stay in power. Insecurity also caused a civil war in Uganda between government and rebels of the Lord's Resistance army in northern Uganda from the 1990s, the newspaper reported. Whereas the rebels aimed to topple government, government fought rebels to ensure its political survival, the newspaper showed (*Reuters*, 2006, October 5). In Liberia, the scenario was the same: civil violence as government battled rebels for its political survival (*Reuters*, 2003, July 30). This was the same thing reported in Burundi where warring factions engaged in violence for fear of each other (Fisher, 2000, January 17).

Another reason civil violence occurred was due to unfair sharing of resources in a country, such as the civil war in Darfur region, western Sudan. *The New York Times* (Polgreen, 2004, August 26) reported that the problem in Darfur was caused by the skewed manner in which the Arab and Muslim-dominated government of Sudan treated the non-Arab ethnic groups in Darfur when it came to sharing resources like land and water. The newspaper reported that Darfur was home to marginalized ethnic groups such as the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa, who decided to seek redress in their own way by rebelling against the Arab and Muslim-dominated government in Khartoum in 2003 (Sengupta, 2004, August 16). Fearing that the insurrection was a threat to its power, the newspaper reported that government responded to the rebellion with a vicious and

decisive force using a scorched-earth strategy aimed at wiping out the rebels; thousands were killed and millions forced into internally displaced persons camps (Polgreen, 2008, March 2).

The newspaper reported that to execute its scorched-earth policy, the Sudan government employed a fearlessly brutal Arab militia notoriously known as the “janjaweed” and also used government soldiers often masquerading as tribal fighters to fight rebels. Matters were not helped when the people of Darfur huddled themselves in camps, as they became easy targets, prompting *The New York Times* to question the peacekeeping role in a story headlined “Peacekeepers without a peace to keep” (Gettleman, 2007, October 14). Another story headlined “Dozens killed in raid on Darfur camp” (Polgreen, 2008, August 26), narrated that government soldiers carried out an assault on a huge camp of displaced people killing defenseless people mercilessly, using the excuse that rebel groups used the camps to recruit members and to plan assassinations of government officials. It is difficult to imagine how rebels in faraway Darfur could threaten the most powerful government in Khartoum, apart from fighting to protect their land and water. Perhaps the Sudan government feared the Darfuris would threaten its survival if they used violence to seek autonomy like their counterparts in the south did, and formed their own country.

In Rwanda, too, sharing of the country’s resources – especially land and opportunities for education and jobs – was at the center of Rwanda’s civil war, which culminated in genocide in 1994. From the 1970s Rwanda was under the tight grip and domination of the Hutu, the majority tribe, denying the minority Tutsi most of the opportunities, which led to the rebel incursions in the 1990s, reported *The New York Times*. Covering the violence between government troops and rebels, in a story headlined

“Rwandan army attacks rebels in southwest,” the newspaper reported that government forces launched serious counterattacks against rebels in the south of the country *AP* (1994, June 7). Another story, headlined “Rwanda rebels said to encircle government” (*AP*, May 31, p. A5), reported that rebels drove government troops from Gitarama, where they had retreated for safety, and continued to gain ground. As government forces and rebels continued to engage in violence to outclass each other, the newspaper reported many deaths. For instance, the newspaper printed a story headlined “4,000 bodies found in Rwanda” (*AP*, 1994, September 22, p. A10), and made chilling revelations about atrocities committed against innocent populations. Even three Catholic bishops who advocated for negotiations between government and rebels were slain, the newspaper reported. Although the civil violence in Rwanda was about sharing resources, as the newspaper reported, it turned into a power struggle because the control of power goes together with the control of resources and political power for survival. The same activity occurred in Ivory Coast in a story *The New York Times* reported headlined “Turmoil in Ivory Coast: Once again, things fall apart” (Sengupta, 2004, November 15, p. A9). In order to contest for the country’s natural resources, the newspaper reported that frustrated and jobless young men saw civil war as a window of opportunity for economic gain. But as they battled government, they caused a threat to its survival, the newspaper indicated.

As the 46 stories analyzed show, violence occurred between and among groups in a number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. In most of the cases, violence was between governments and rebel forces. Further analysis of the stories found that although political discontent, insecurity, sharing of natural resources and opportunities were the main causes of the violence, the ulterior motive was survival – governments battling rebel forces in order to remain in power, and rebels resisting government attempts to

exterminate them, as they seek to capture power. When these perspectives were analyzed together, they were interpreted to suggest that stories were writing about “Civil wars for survival in Africa,” as the main theme. From analysis and interpretation, stories suggest this is the subject they would like the reader to think about as the motivating force for violence.

Theme in Development Stories

A category of 45 stories *The New York Times* printed concerning development in sub-Saharan Africa concentrated on problems which have an impact on Africa’s development efforts. These stories were analyzed to identify the theme *The New York Times* used in their coverage of development. In a story headlined “Crisis-torn Africa becomes continent of refugee,” the newspaper foregrounded one of the major problems facing Africa and reported that “Africa is in the throes of a crisis over the forced movement of huge numbers of people from their homes” (Darnton, 1994, May 23, p. A3). The newspaper gave a grim picture of development in Africa as its populations suffer from instability and insecurity having been displaced from their homes: over six million Africans have become refugees and 16 million were internally displaced – they have moved to safety within their own countries. The story elaborated that Sudan, one of the poorest countries, was saddled with refugees from Eritrea and Ethiopia; Ivory Coast was host to refugees from Liberia; Guinea was host to refugees from Liberia and Sierra Leone; Kenya had refugees from Somalia; Angolans fled to Zaire and Zambia in thousands; Rwandese found sanctuary in Tanzania; and up to 1.5 million Mozambicans were spread for safety in six countries in southern Africa. The newspaper’s message to the reader was that massive displacement of people from their homes was a huge obstacle to development because displaced people cannot engage in productive activities.

Another story, headlined “U.N. says hunger threatens southern Africa despite plenty” (Polgreen, 2003, June 13, p. A13), emphasized food shortages as a recurrent and widening problem in Africa. As an example, the story named Eritrea with over two million people going without food because of drought and war; and next door Ethiopia was worse off with 12 million people in need of food. In addition, the story pointed out that Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Malawi, Zambia and Swaziland were vulnerable to food shortages. By making these revelations, *The New York Times* told the reader how vulnerable Africa is and the obstacles such food shortages it has to overcome in order to develop. In another related story, “Report by World Bank sees poverty lessening by 2000 except in Africa” (Farnworth, 1990, July 16, p. A3), the newspaper delivered bad news on Africa by reporting that, although poverty was being reduced in other parts of the world, in Africa it was on the rise, dampening any hopes for development. Poverty was being exacerbated by intractable problems like uncontrolled population growth, weak basic infrastructure and rampant civil wars which hinder development.

Because of its hopelessness, Africa was perceived as a sore spot by its development partners like the United Nations and the World Bank. *The New York Times* highlighted this perception in its story headlined “U.N. parley puts focus on Africa” (Crossette, 1995, May 9, p. A10), and explained sub-Saharan Africa as a major development challenge to the United Nations. Sounding very pessimistic, the story narrated that of the 47 least developed countries in the world, 31 were found in sub-Saharan Africa. And the story added that there is not much value in Africa in terms of world trade as it attracted only six percent of international investment, which is a huge development challenge to be overcome. This was supported by another story, headlined “Africa, from the Cold War to cold shoulders” (Holmes, 1993, March 7, p. A4). The

story lamented that Africa was being devastated by a new problem of indifference. The story pointed out that whereas during the Cold War Africa attracted a lot of foreign assistance from superpowers due to its geostrategic importance, the end of the Cold War erased that advantage. The two stories told how difficult and challenging it is for Africa to raise money from donors it needs for its development.

In as much as the stories highlighted obstacles to Africa's development, they also pointed out what challenges Africa should overcome in order to develop. A story headlined "Stop blaming colonialism, U.N. chief tells Africa" (Crossette, 1998, April 17, p. A3) indicated that African leaders have taken advantage of their citizens by blaming colonialism for their failures to deliver on their promises and mandates. The story advised African people to hold their leaders accountable if they are to develop. Similarly, another story, headlined "How to help Africa grow" (Borlaug, 2003, July 11, p. A11), reported that since agriculture is key to Africa's economic development, African leaders should adopt the right agricultural policies and technology so that agriculture becomes the core of development programs. *The New York Times* showed that failed government agricultural policies in Ethiopia, and the arbitrary grabbing of white-owned farms and handing them to squatters caused grain production to plummet (Polgreen, 2003, June 13; and Krauss, 1991, June 14).

Bad practices have also hurt Africa's development as the story headlined "Africa: Land of hope" (Kristof, 2007, July 5, p. A13) reported. The story showed that in the 1960s most of Africa was stable and richer than Asian countries. It explained that Africa was developing at a fast rate and was destined to prosperity. But the story explained that because of terrible governance, Africa went down the cliff and its development path was smothered. Adding on how bad practices had hindered Africa's development, a story

headlined “Africa earned its debts” (Guest, 2004, October 6, p. A29) reported that African leaders hindered the development of their communities by not creating conducive environments for their citizens to freely seek prosperity and happiness. Instead, the story said that African governments rob their people through pervasive corruption to the detriment of infrastructural development.

The stories analyzed outlined conditions and factors that challenge and hinder Africa’s development such as rampant instability and insecurity due to civil wars. Worst of all, the displacement of people from their homes created insurmountable obstacles to development. Stories examined cited poverty, corruption, diseases such as AIDS, anarchy, foreign debt and lack of capital as serious impediments that challenge Africa’s development efforts. Analysis and interpretation of the conditions outlined suggested that “Challenges and obstacles to Africa’s development” is the theme in development stories.

After identifying four themes – “Interstate brutality in Ethiopia and Eritrea war,” “Terrorism and counterterrorism in Ethiopia-Somalia interstate war,” “Civil wars for survival in Africa,” and “Challenges and obstacles to Africa’s development” – the next stage was to identify frames around each theme. Levin (2005) contends that themes are taken as a measure of the presence of frames because of the difficulty of finding a frame in a single story. “Frames are built across a series of news media articles and not all elements (framing devices) are present in a single article” (p. 89). Other scholars and researchers such as Kuypers (2006) have followed the same route by identifying themes first, and then moved to identify frames. This dissertation followed that guideline in identifying frames.

Frames in Ethiopia and Eritrea war stories

A category of 36 stories was examined to identify framing devices. Together,

the stories generated a significant number of framing devices, which were too many to present on a frame matrix to distill a frame. The identified framing devices had to undergo a data reduction strategy to condense them to a manageable amount to present on a frame matrix fitting one-page. This entailed displaying the identified framing devices on a table as shown in Appendix B, and condensing them through eliminating repetitions, merging similar expressions and discarding those which did not fit anywhere. The process established final list of condensed content categories of framing devices to be analyzed and interpreted to distill frames.

As Appendix B, Table B.1 indicates, the first column shows all framing devices presented for display, analysis, reduction and grouping framing devices into content categories. The second column shows a condensed list of framing devices after eliminating repetitions and merging similarities. To get this condensed list, the researcher had to meticulously and critically analyze all the framing devices through several rounds so as to condense them as follows: In the first round, framing devices describing the dead such as “300 soldiers dead,” “14,000 Ethiopians killed,” “9,000 Ethiopians killed,” and “70,000 killed” during the battles were merged and stated as “thousands killed in battles,” which captured the magnitude of brutality without losing meaning. “Fighting resumed,” “fighting continues,” “fighting flared,” “fighting,” and “mounted an offensive” were merged into “fighting continued” to show the unending and intermittent nature of violence. “Heavy fighting,” “well-armed,” and “heavily armed” were merged into “heavily armed” to express the same notion.

“Wounded,” “casualties,” and “casualties stunningly high” were merged into “high casualties” to indicate the high numbers of fatalities in the battles. “Destroying 57 tanks,” and “burnt-out tanks” were merged into “burnt-out tanks” to express the same

destructive idea. “Tank battles,” “artillery exchanges,” “destroyed tanks,” and “fierce tank and artillery battles” were merged into “fierce tank and artillery battles” as the expression that captures the idea of vicious battles. “Three-day battle” and “battles” were deleted because their sense is already captured in the other framing devices. “Regain sovereign territory,” “regain contested territory,” “regain our territory,” and “retaking land Eritrea invaded” were merged into “regain sovereign territory” as the main reason the war was fought.

In the final round, “bombing raids” was deleted because “tit-for-tat bombing” expresses better the idea of two states bombing each other. The data reduction made the remaining framing devices relevant and focused to the content, and ready to be used in creating frames. The final list of framing devices was presented in column three according to established content categories. Hertog and McLeod (2010) stipulate creation of content categories in their approach to framing. Using this content category, the researcher grouped the framing devices into three content categories of violence, intervention and territory as highlighted by the stories. The majority of the framing devices found was catchphrases, a metaphor and a depiction.

Although Gamson and Modigliani (1998) identified framing devices such as catchphrases, metaphors, exemplars and depictions for identifying frames, the literature on framing does not mention the number or level of framing devices a researcher should use to identify frames (Kuypers, 2006; Hertog and McLeod, 2001; Entman, 1993). But, Reese (2010) contends that given the eclecticism and multiple perspectives, the definitive or standard method to framing analysis will never be found. He advises that a researcher doing framing analysis must make his/her own informed decisions about the best point of entry. Following this advice, the researcher proceeded to use the framing devices

identified on frame matrices separately, to create frames as shown in tables 5.1 to 5.3.

Each table identifies a frame in one of the three content categories – violence, intervention and border dispute, respectively.

Table 5.1. Frame matrix to create a frame in Ethiopia-Eritrea war framing devices on violence.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Interstate brutality in Ethiopia and Eritrea war	Repulsed Ethiopian troops, Thousands killed in battles, tit-for-tat bombing, smell of rotting corpses, fierce tank and artillery battles, burnt-out tanks, sending thousands to death, smashed through defenses	World War I-style assault		One of the deadliest wars	Brutal violence as means of survival

*Same as column 3 “Violence” in Appendix B.

Table 5.2. Frame matrix to create a frame in Ethiopia-Eritrea war framing devices on intervention.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Interstate brutality in Ethiopia and Eritrea war	UN force deployed, comply with UN resolution, Security council threatened Ethiopia and Eritrea, UN approved arms embargo, Clinton call, Eritrea accepted UN peace plan, emergency meeting.	World War 1-style assault		One of the deadliest wars	Dependence on foreign intervention solution

*Same as column 3 “Intervention” in Appendix B.

Table 5.3. Frame matrix to create a frame in Ethiopia-Eritrea war framing devices on border dispute.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Interstate brutality in Ethiopia and Eritrea war	Border dispute, regain sovereign territory, Ethiopia’s territorial ambitions, seize territory, tense border, retake land Eritrea invaded	World War 1-style assault		One of the deadliest wars	Territorial protection of sovereign borders

*Same as column 3 “Territory” in Appendix B.

Frames in Ethiopia and Somalia War Stories

A sample of six stories was analyzed to identify framing devices that *The New York Times* used to construct stories on terrorism and counterterrorism theme. As was done with the framing devices in the Ethiopia and Eritrea war, the framing devices found in the Ethiopia and Somalia war were also presented on a table for display, analysis, reduction and creating content categories in Appendix C, Table C.1. To begin, all framing devices identified were presented for display in the first column to enable the researcher to critically analyze them. In the second column, the researcher conducted several rounds of data reduction analyses to condense the framing devices. In the first round, “killed tens of thousands,” “killed 113 civilians,” “killing one,” and “killing 21” were merged into “killed tens of thousands” to express the numerical significance of the dead in the violence. “Casualties and deaths,” “wounding six,” “dozens wounded,” and “30 wounded” were merged into “many casualties.” “Suicide bombers,” “suicide bomber,” “suicide car bombers,” and “suicide bombers attacked” were combined into “suicide bombers attacked” as the expression encapsulating the whole idea. “Bomb exploded,” “explosions,” “buildings leveled,” “blasts rocked city,” “shocking blasts” were combined into “buildings leveled” as a more powerful action by the bombers. These mergers helped the framing devices to highlight the nature of violence. In addition, the mergers helped in the creation of content categories. One “counterterrorism effort” was deleted, one remained. The second “counterterrorism operations” was deleted, one remained. The remaining “counterterrorism effort” and “counterterrorism operations” were combined into “counterterrorism missions” as a generic concept that captures all the activities to hunt down terrorists.

“Displaced millions” and “thousands fled city” were merged into “displaced

millions” to express the widespread activities of the terrorists in the country. “Hunt terrorism suspects” and “disrupted terrorists” were merged into “disrupted terrorists” indicating that terrorist activities were being hampered by counter-operations. In the second round, the framing devices were further analyzed and grouped into content categories of violence and terrorism. Categorizing framing devices into content categories further helped to condense the framing devices by eliminating those not fitting into the category sufficiently. Using this criterion “militant Islamist group,” “terrorist organization,” and “sheltering al Qaeda” were eliminated because they did not represent action or an activity. “Foreign militants” and “U.N. peacekeepers” were eliminated because they did not seem to fit either content category. The data reduction through mergers and deletions enabled the researcher to establish a list of framing devices according to violence as an activity, and terrorism as a mission. The final list of framing devices was represented in column three of Appendix C under violence and terrorism content categories and ready to be displayed on frame matrices in tables 5.4 to 5.5 to create frames.

Table 5.4. Frame matrix to create a frame on Ethiopia-Somalia war framing devices on violence.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Terrorism and counterterrorism in Ethiopia and Somalia war	Battled Islamists, disrupted terrorists, killed tens of thousands, many casualties, bombings blamed on terrorists, mortar and machine gun fire, buildings leveled, suicide bombers attacked, fierce clashes, displaced millions				Brutal violence as means of survival

*Same as column 3 “Violence” in Appendix C.

Table 5.5. Frame matrix to create a frame in Ethiopia-Somalia war framing devices on terrorism.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Terrorism and counterterrorism in Ethiopia and Somalia war	American commandos, Eritreans, Libyans, Syrians and Yemenis, strike by American gunship, venture into Somalia, 41terrorism suspects from 17 countries, routing out Qaeda operatives, blueprint in counterterrorism missions around the globe				Global war on terrorism

*Same as column 3 “Terrorism” in Appendix C.

Frames in Civil War Stories

A sample of 46 civil war stories was analyzed to identify framing devices that led to the creation of frames. Because of the large sample, framing devices generated were too many to fit onto a one-page frame matrix, with quite a number appearing more than once. The framing devices were presented in Appendix D, Table D for display, analysis, reduction and creation of content categories. To accommodate the big number of framing devices, those that occurred more than once were italicized and put in the range 2 to 10 occurrence as shown in the appendix. A significant number of framing devices occurred more than once because of the many civil wars that took place replicating coverage. In the first round of condensing, the researcher analyzed the framing devices in the second column and reduced to one any framing device that occurred more than once, to remove redundancy. In the second round, the framing devices were condensed further through

mergers such as “U.N. delegation to Africa” and “U.N. intervention” which were merged to become “U.N. intervention in Africa,” a phrase that captures a broad range of U.N. activities in Africa. “Rebels kill 200,” “massacred 200,” “hacked to death dozens of villagers,” “rebels killed catholic bishops,” “Hutu extremists kill Tutsi,” “Hutu rebels kill 43,” “rebels massacre 200,” “killed tens of thousands,” and “violence killed 2.5 million people” were amalgamated into “millions die violence” as a device that encapsulates the nature and magnitude of the violence. “Rebels seize city” and “city falls to rebels” merged into “rebels seize city” to reflect the rebel advance.

In the third round, the researcher further analyzed the condensed framing devices to establish content categories. “Violence,” “war crimes,” and “intervention” emerged as the three major categories the framing devices could fit into. These categories were used as further condensing criteria for eliminating framing devices that did not appropriately fall in any category. These categories shown in column three were presented in frame matrices in tables 5.6 to 5.8 to create frames.

Table 5.6. Frame matrix to create a frame in civil war framing devices on violence.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Civil wars for survival in Africa	Rebels terrorized villages, rebel invasion, rebels overran army barracks, rebels seize city, lurid violence, plunge country into war, battle between troops and rebels, offensive against rebels	Africa’s first world war		Fearsome rebel group, millions die in violence	Brutal violence as means of survival

*Same as column 3 “Violence” in Appendix D.

Table 5.7. Frame matrix to create a frame in civil war framing devices on intervention.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Civil wars for survival in Africa	French intervention force, UN peacekeeping mission, UN intervention in Africa, talks to end Congo war, UN/US diplomats intervene, UN troops for Rwanda, Powell trip to Africa, signed peace accord	Africa's first world war		Fearsome rebel group, millions die in violence	Dependence on foreign intervention solution

*Same as column 3 "Intervention" in Appendix D.

Table 5.8. Frame matrix to create a frame in civil war framing devices on war crimes.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Civil wars for survival in Africa	ICC arrest warrant for Sudan president, international judges, UN war-crimes tribunal, crimes against humanity, scorched-earth strategy, charges of genocide			Millions die in violence	Horrendous war crimes against humanity

*Same as column 3 "War crimes" in Appendix D.

Frames in Development Stories

A sample of nine stories was examined and a number of framing devices was generated. The framing devices were presented in a table in Appendix E, Table E.1 for data display, analysis, reduction and creating content categories. All

identified framing devices were presented in the first column and thoroughly analyzed to understand their content. In the second column the framing devices underwent several rounds of analyses and data reduction until framing devices showing substantial content similarity emerged. The reduction started by deleting repeatedly occurring framing devices such as “hunger,” which appeared four times. Three were deleted to remove redundancy, leaving one. “Poverty” occurred twice, one was deleted; “food shortage,” and “starvation” were a pair and one was deleted retaining one. During the second round, “droughts” and “inadequate rains” were merged into “droughts” as a more encompassing expression to describe severe weather conditions.

“Food shortages,” “hunger,” “food crisis,” “threatened harvests,” “starvation,” “food shortages,” “food crisis,” and “pervasive famine” were analyzed together and were all merged into “pervasive famine” as a framing device that captures all the various perspectives of food shortages. “Poverty,” “abject poverty,” and “impoverished people” were examined together. “Poverty” was retained as a generic framing device under which people living in abject poverty or impoverished people could be found. “Refugees,” “internally displaced persons,” “millions uprooted,” “humanitarian catastrophe,” and “refugee crisis” were analyzed together and merged into “refugee crisis” to represent the whole notion of restless people uprooted from their homes and villages. “Anarchy,” “turmoil,” “wars,” “torn apart by wars,” “years of turmoil,” “civil wars,” “devastated by civil strife” were merged into “years of turmoil” as a framing device that encapsulates all the others, and indicating the continuous vicissitudes that bedevil Africa.

“Corruption” and “endemic corruption” were merged into “endemic corruption,” as a substantial device. “No piped water” and “no electricity” were merged into “dysfunctional infrastructure.” From the final list of condensed framing devices the researcher created three content categories of disasters, governance and intervention into which the framing devices were fitted as shown in the third column in Appendix E. The three content categories of framing devices were represented in frame matrices in tables 5.9 to 5.11 to create frames.

Table 5.9. Frame matrix to create a frame in development stories framing devices on disasters.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Challenges and obstacles to Africa’s development	Droughts, pervasive famines, food crisis, deadly disease outbreaks, abject poverty, impoverished people, refugee crisis, human disasters, years of turmoil	Millions of people uprooted		Crisis-torn Africa becomes continent of refugees	Recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa’s development

*Same as column 3 “Disasters” in Appendix E.

Table 5.10. Frame matrix to create a frame in development stories framing devices on governance.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Challenges and obstacles to Africa's development	Endemic corruption, ineffective governments, years of failed farm policies, intractable problems, human rights, insufficient accountability, lack of transparency, dysfunctional infrastructure			Africa in the throes of a crisis	Inept and incapable governance in Africa

*Same as column 3 "Governance" in Appendix E.

Table 5.11. Frame matrix to create a frame in development stories framing devices on intervention.

Theme	Catchphrases*	Metaphors	Exemplars	Depictions	Frame
Challenges and obstacles to Africa's development	Aid, infusion of money, technical help, debt relief, international investment, nations pledged increased aid			Africa needs humanitarian intervention	Dependence on foreign intervention solution

*Same as column 3 "intervention" in Appendix E.

After identifying frames journalists used to construct stories in *The New York Times* in their coverage of Africa, the next task was to use the findings in answering the research questions.

To answer RQ1 – *What frames does The New York Times use in the coverage of sub-Saharan Africa during the post-Cold War era, and have new frames emerged?* – the researcher analyzed all the frames found to determine their nature, and to use that finding to answer the question. From the analysis of the frames, the researcher found that *The New*

York Times largely uses thematic frames to construct stories in its coverage of sub-Saharan Africa in the post-Cold War era. This finding is based on several factors. The study period from 1990 to 2009 spans nearly two decades, during which *The New York Times* continuously covered a variety of issues and events in Africa using thematic frames. Thematic frames “depict issues more broadly and abstractly by placing them in some appropriate context,” as compared to “episodic frames” which focus on specific events (Iyengar, 1996, p. 62). Thematic frames identified in this study describe social issues and problems; and can shape the reader’s understanding of those problems and how the reader should think about their solutions (Nelson and Willey, 2001; Gamson, 1992). The stories examined to identify frames were drawn from a cross-section of situations, different countries and reported a wide range of issues and events giving historical, social and contextual backgrounds that suggest to the reader how to think about those issues (Nelson, Oxley and Clawson, 1997). Each thematic frame addresses attributes of themes, such as guiding the reader how to think about the theme (Caragee and Roef, 2004).

The thematic frames found in the Cold war and in the post-Cold War are:

Brutal violence as means of survival

Stories in *The New York Times* frame war as “brutal violence as means of survival” (Tables 4.1, 4.4 and 4.6). Stories analyzed indicate that violence is ever present in Africa. *The New York Times* reported violence in a number of countries such as violence between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and violence in Angola, Congo, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Liberia, to mention some. The newspaper uses catchphrases such as “full-scale war,” “tit-for-tat bombing,” “thousands killed,” and “millions displaced” to show the nature and magnitude of violence and the social consequences on the people. For instance, in Angola, *The New York Times* reports that “rebels fought to topple the Angolan government for decades”

causing untold suffering to innocent people as government sought to wipe out rebels, and rebels aimed to remove government from power, and to survive the might of the government onslaught. In the Congo civil war, which *The New York Times* reported as the “first world war in Africa,” six countries – Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe supporting Congo government, and Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda backing the rebels – engaged in violence as a survival strategy.

Dependence on foreign intervention solution

The New York Times framed intervention as “dependence on foreign intervention solution” as a solution to Africa’s teething problems (Tables 5.2, 5.7 and 5.11). The newspaper used catchphrases such “U.N. force deployed,” “Security Council threatened Ethiopia and Eritrea,” and “U.N. approves arms embargo” to show the influence and power of external actors in African situations such as forcing Ethiopia and Eritrea to accept and use peaceful means to resolve disputes. The catchphrase “French intervention force” is used to show that France volunteered to send its troops to Rwanda when mass killing was going. Even in development stories, *The New York Times* uses catchphrases such as “infusion of money,” “debt relief,” and “nations pledged increased aid” suggesting that Africa’s development is only possible with intervention of foreign support.

Recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa’s development

Stories framed problems that hinder development of Africa as “recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa’s development” (Table 5.9) using catchphrases like “droughts,” “pervasive famines,” “impoverished people,” and “crisis-torn Africa becomes continent of refugees” to indicate persistently recurring problems and the massive displacement of people, which is not conducive for development. Stories report that year-in-year-out

unexpected vicissitudes swarm Africa as expressed by the catchphrase “deadly disease outbreaks.” The litany of problems is further indicated by catchphrases like “hunger,” “food shortages,” and “years of turmoil” which show a vicious cycle of helplessness and desperation.

Inept and incapable governance in Africa

Stories framed the failure of African governments to be organized and to lift their citizens out of poverty as “inept and incapable governance in Africa” (Table 5.10). *The New York Times* uses catchphrases such as “ineffective governments” to tell the reader how useless governments are as agents of development in Africa. This is exacerbated by catchphrases like “endemic corruption” and “years of failed farm policies” which combine to ruin any possibility of development on the continent.

Three new frames

No.1. Horrendous war crimes against humanity (Table 5.8)

The New York Times’ stories framed atrocities committed against the people of Sierra Leone, Darfur (Western Sudan) and Rwanda as “horrendous war crimes against humanity.” In Sierra Leone, stories use catchphrases like “child soldiers” were “drug-dazed” and then unleashed on innocent populations whom they tortured by “limb amputations” – cutting off ears, noses, lips and hands – and killing. To report the atrocities in Darfur, *The New York Times* uses a catchphrase like “scorched-earth strategy” as a vicious war method government uses against rebels. The newspaper uses the catchphrase “exterminate” to report government aim to wipe out non-Arab ethnic groups like the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa, and uses the catchphrase “genocide” to capture all atrocities committed in Darfur. For Rwanda, because of the widespread and brutal killing, the newspaper used the catchphrase “genocide” to report the climax of

the 1994 civil war in Rwanda. The newspaper pointed out that the magnitude and context of these mass killings is “mind-boggling” and “difficult to comprehend.” Because of the nature and magnitude of atrocities, the newspaper reported that the International Criminal Court in The Hague had to step in to seek the arrest and trial of the perpetrators of such atrocities in Sierra Leone, Darfur and Rwanda.

No.2. Territorial protection of sovereign borders (Table 5.3)

Stories framed the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea as “territorial protection of sovereign borders.” *The New York Times* reported the escalation of interstate violence in which Ethiopia’s mighty offensive was described with the catchphrase “World War 1-style assault” on Eritrea. The violence was reported with catchphrases like “thousands dead,” “repulsed Ethiopian troops” to show how the two nations pounded each other. The catchphrase “regain our sovereign territory” was used to indicate the reason the war was fought – a border dispute claimed by both sides.

No.3.Global war on terrorism (Table 5.5)

Stories framed the violence in Somalia as “global war on terrorism” because of the large variety of actors participating in the violence and its nature. *The New York Times* reported that Eritreans, Libyans, Syrians, Yemenis, Somalia Islamists, Ethiopians and Americans were involved in the fighting in the Horn of Africa’s country. Catchphrases like “41 terrorism suspects from 17 countries” suggest how widespread the origin of the actors involved in Somalia. By pointing out that Americans’ overt or covert involvement in Somalia was suitable “blueprint in counterterrorism missions around the globe,” the newspaper told the reader that the methods employed in Somalia could also be used in Iraq, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Mali or Syria. This suggests that Somalia is a springboard for fighting terrorism.

To answer RQ2 – *How do frames in The New York Times portray Africa in the post-Cold War era?* – the researcher analyzed each frame found to determine how it portrayed Africa. The study found that in the post-Cold War period, *The New York Times* has covered conflict stories in Angola, Burundi, Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda and Uganda.

The New York Times coverage of violence is a lens through which African events and issues can be seen and assessed. For instance, the frame “brutal violence as means of survival” used by *The New York Times* in its coverage of violence is one such lens through which Africa is perceived. Stories on violence seem to portray Africa as a continent with an enormous irresistible tendency to use or resort to brutal violence to achieve an objective. Framing devices found in stories covering violence between countries or civil violence lend credence to this portrayal. For instance, *The New York Times* uses catchphrases such “fierce tank and artillery battles,” “destroyed tanks,” “killed thousands,” “smell of rotting corpses,” and “burnt-out-tanks” (Fisher, 1999, March 18, p. A5), to describe violence between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Stories depict this interstate war as “one of the deadliest international wars in Africa,” and further depict it as “senseless.” In addition, stories describe the destructive nature of this war with catchphrases like “destroyed eight divisions of Eritrean troops,” “killed or injured 25,000 Ethiopians,” and “sending tens of thousands of lives to their death” (Fisher, 2000, May 15, p. A10). The coverage of violence in other parts of Africa widens the dimension of brutality and destruction of lives and property. For instance, reporting on the Angolan civil war, *The New York Times* used catchphrases “the country slipping back into civil war” as if it is a normal natural tendency, in which a “million Angolans killed” during Savimbi’s civil war (French, 2002, March 3, p. A5).

Stories tell about orgies of brutal killings and torture of victims in other parts of Africa such as in Liberia, where a story uses catchphrases like “electric shock” and “red-hot clothes iron” to narrate how innocent people were tortured (Gentile, 2009, January 10, p. A14), while in Sierra Leone another story tells how “drug-crazed” rebel child soldiers used barbaric torture acts described by the catchphrases “pillaged,” “killed,” “raped,” “hacked off limbs, ears or noses” to subdue civilians (Simons, 2009, July 15, p. A1), to show excessive and unrestrained use of force on innocent civilians. These unrestrained orgies of merciless killings were also reported in the Rwandan civil war which culminated in the 1994 genocide. Stories used catchphrases such as “grisly discovery,” “badly decomposed bodies found,” “victims of massacre,” and “mass graves” (Bonner, 1994, July 1, p. A1) to highlight the nature of the killing frenzy in the country during the civil war portraying the effects of brutal actions. Additionally, catchphrases point out how “the church refuge became the killing field” and used “killed in reprisal” to describe the killing as a two-way process – by both the Hutu and Tutsi seeking to overpower and exterminate the other in order to survive; and the story uses “cleaning up” (Bonner, 1994, November 17, p. A4), as a euphemism for a mopping up operation to rout a so-called enemy. The same coverage goes for Sudan where *The New York Times* story depicted the civil war as “one of Africa’s longest-running and deadliest.” To portray the vicious and destructive nature of violence, stories used such catchphrases as “mass rape,” “terrorized civilians,” “scorched-earth strategy,” “the fearsome Arab militia,” and “two million people killed” (Kristof, 2008, March 2, p. A12) to convey to the reader the brutality and callousness of violence.

Stories indicate that “dependence on foreign intervention solution” (Table 5.11) frame portrays Africa as a continent that is needy and attracts all-round foreign support,

especially from the developed countries, international organizations and NGOs, normally through diplomatic and military intervention to end violence, humanitarian intervention such as when famines or dreadful disease outbreaks like AIDS occur, and providing aid and technical assistance for development. *The New York Times*' stories reporting intervention to end violence use catchphrases like "U.N. demanded immediate halt to fighting" between Ethiopia and Eritrea (Lewis, 1999, February 28, p. A6), "U.N. warns Eritrea and Ethiopia" (*Agence France-Presse*, 2003, August 1, p. A5). Other stories used catchphrases like "U.N. approves arms embargo," "accepted U.N. peace plan" and "diplomat pleads for political solution" to show how external agencies get involved Africa's problems and help to bring peaceful solutions, as happened in this case during the violence between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Further intervention in Africa was reported using catchphrases like "Powell's trip to Africa," (Lacey, 2001, May 23, p. A1), "U.N. delegation to Africa," and "U.N. chief bolsters peace in Sudan" (Hoge, 2007, September 5, p. A8). These catchphrases report the intervention process to end the two-decade old war in Sudan, which ended by the government and rebels signing a peace accord. The same type of intervention was reported for Congo in "U.N delegation to Congo," consisting of 12 ambassadors including those from the United States, Britain, China and France seeking the end of the war in Congo, which had been metaphorically referred to as "Africa's First World War" (Kristof, 2007, June 14, p. A31).

Africa is plunged into humanitarian assistance mode once natural disasters like droughts, famines and disease outbreaks strike; or through turmoil due to civil wars. Stories reporting such interventions have used catchphrases such as "international relief efforts," "U.N. asks for refugee aid," "help for Africa," and "Africa needs humanitarian intervention" to report on the situations and to show efforts being undertaken to

ameliorate the crises. On deadly disease outbreaks, stories used catchphrases “need for preventive AIDS vaccine” and “health aid for poor countries” to report how wanting and needy Africa is. Other than humanitarian assistance, Africa is also supported externally through aid and technical assistance stories report. Stories use catchphrases like “nations pledged increased aid” to Africa, “technical help,” “infusion of money,” “international investment,” “debt relief,” and “aid” to report that Africa depends on, and receives enormous foreign support for, its development purposes.

“Territorial protection of sovereign borders” (Table 5.3) frame portrays Africa as a continent where citizens of a country identify themselves with a particular territory, and revere its borders as sacrosanct and are willing to die to protect their borders. The violence between Ethiopia and Eritrea clearly demonstrates this claim and is shown in *The New York Times* coverage of that war. The catchphrase “regain our sovereign territory” was repeatedly used in stories by Ethiopian and Eritrean officials when commenting on the reason for going to war. “Repulsed Ethiopian troops” and “Ethiopia pushed Eritrea soldiers out” catchphrases used to report violence between the two nations, focus the reader on some “red-line” which each side does not want the other to cross (*Associated Press*, 1998, p. A3). One story depicted Ethiopia as “harboring territorial ambitions” with “an eye on permanently taking contested territory” (Fisher, 1999, February 28, p. A6). The accusations and counter-accusations about the border dispute were further reported by the catchphrases “retaking land Eritrea invaded” “sovereign Eritrean territory” and “trying to seize territory”. On the defense of the border, stories used declarative catchphrases like “we will fight to the last” and “we’ll die for our country.” And defending the decision to go to war when over eight million Ethiopians faced food shortages, a story used the catchphrase “national sovereignty”

and quoted the Ethiopian Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi, to have said “you do not wait until you have a full tummy to protect your sovereignty” (Fisher, 2000, April 23, p. A4).

Stories indicate that “global war on terrorism” (Table 5.5) frame portrays Africa as a potential destination and battleground for terrorism because Islamic solidarity has and continues to attract fighters sympathetic to Somali Islamic fighters from other parts of the world, to join them to fight against non-Muslims they consider “infidels” in Somalia. A story reports that Islamic groups in Somalia constitute a nucleus terrorist organization and invited fellow Muslims for a jihad (holy war) (Gettleman, 2006, December 26, p. A14). The same story used catchphrases “Islamic forces expand attacks” and “urge Muslims to join war” to report how Somali Islamic groups are mobilizing support from elsewhere. Following the call for fighters, the story uses the catchphrase “mercenaries” to report that fighters from Eritrea, Yemen, Syria and Libya had joined the violence in Somalia. The involvement of the Islamic mercenaries in Somalia widened the scope and dimension of the war in the Horn of Africa, because Ethiopia and the United States also joined the war to counter the growth of terrorism (Gettleman, 2006, December 26, p. A14). Subsequent stories used catchphrases “41 terrorist suspects from 17 countries,” “hunt terrorism suspects,” “battled Islamists,” “rooting Islamic radicalism,” “counterterrorism operations,” and “sheltering al Qaeda militants” (Gordon and Mazzetti, 2007, February 23, p. A1) to construct stories reporting the war in Somalia. Another story used the catchphrases “suicide bombers attacked” and “Islamist terrorists” to report the evolving nature of violence. One story depicted the Ethiopian and American involvement in Somalia as a “blueprint in counterterrorism missions around the globe” (Mazzetti, 2007, January 13, p. A6).

“Horrendous crimes against humanity” frame (Table 5.8) portrays Africa as a land

inhabited by people who have unrestrained and barbaric tendencies to kill, torture and even seek to exterminate other human groups, stories show. For instance, in Rwanda where *The New York Times* covered the 1994 genocide, stories tell chilling accounts of how “reprisal killings” were conducted by all groups. Reporting on how the Hutu-led government officials supervised the killing of Tutsi, one story uses catchphrases “Hutu killers,” a “mob approached the village,” armed with “axes,” “stones,” “bows, arrows and spears,” and began “killing Tutsi” wherever they found them – at the parish, in their homes, in the fields, in schools or churches (Bonner, 1994, November 17, p. A4). The same story reported how the mayor of one city oversaw the killing of helpless and scared Tutsi who had sought his protection. The story used catchphrases “police began shooting,” “the mayor handed Tutsi to the mob,” and they were “killed;” wounded children were “tossed into mass graves,” and the mayor “ordered the burial of a teen-age girl” while she was still alive. The story continued to give a scary account by reporting that the acting President of Rwanda, Theodore Sindikubwabo, visited the city to “thank” the killers for “what we had done” and to “encourage us to do more” (p. A4). In Sudan where the government fought rebels in Darfur, *The New York Times* used catchphrases “scorched-earth strategy,” “fearsome Arab militia,” “burning hurts,” and “militia laid waste town” (Polgreen, 2008, March 2, p. A1) to report government heavy-handed and ruthless method of dealing with the rebellion. The story narrates that the fearsome Arab militia, also known as the janjaweed, was used by government to “terrorize,” “kill,” and “mass rape” other non-Arab groups. Another story reporting mass killing in Darfur used catchphrases “exterminate,” “drive them off their land,” “genocidal campaign,” and “killing many” to narrate how government sought to completely wipe out non-Arab groups like the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa. One year earlier, *The New York Times* used the

catchphrase “genocide” in its editorial to comment on the scale of mass killing in Darfur (Editorial, 2008, December 11, p. A4 8).

“Recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa’s development” frame (Table 5.9) portrays Africa as a continent trapped in a cycle of vicissitudes from which it is unable to break out, stories reporting on development in Africa indicate. Stories characterize millions of Africans as “refugees” or “internally displaced persons” – a condition which does not allow them to engage in productive activities like farming or business. The same story paints the continent as “crisis-torn” and a “continent of refugees” and points out that “Africa is in the throes of a crisis over the forced movement of huge numbers of people.” Other stories use catchphrases “mass migration,” “refugee crisis,” “burden of refugees,” Africa’s swelling refugee crisis,” and “millions uprooted” (Darnton, 1994, May 23, p. A3) to convey the unstable nature of lifestyles in Africa which hinder productive activities. Stories report that besides being displaced from their homes, the people of Africa normally experience severe conditions described by the catchphrases “droughts,” “pervasive famines,” “hunger,” “food shortages,” “prevalence of poverty,” and “starvation” (Crossette, 1992, September 17, p. A14) to highlight daunting conditions that befall Africans.

Additionally, diseases too take their own toll. One story uses “millions of children die of malaria” to depict the plight of children and reports Africans in “dismal health”. Another story reports that “malaria robs sub-Saharan Africa of its economic strength” and uses the metaphor “disease cuts the lifespan of workers and reduces productivity” and the catchphrase “high infant mortality” to report the debilitating nature of diseases in Africa and their negative impact to development.

“Inept and incapable governance” frame (Table 5.10) portrays Africa as devoid of

or lacking leaders who can skillfully harness their countries' resources and spur development. This frame is suggested by stories examined that reported about governance in Africa. For instance, one story points out that the failure to achieve stable food production in Ethiopia was due to "years of failed government farm policies" (Kristof, 2007, July 5, p. A13) that have not contributed to meaningful methods of food production. A number of stories decry the problem of governance. One story depicts Africa as "terribly governed" and "torn apart by wars." Another story points out that African governments "rob their people" instead of creating conducive environments in which their people freely seek prosperity and happiness. Stories use catchphrases like "culture of criminality," "corruption," "stuffed with politicians' idiot cousins," and "dysfunctional infrastructure" to report that in Africa development cannot take place easily because of pervasive corruption, nepotism and lack of good roads and utilities for investment to take place (Guest, 2004, October 6, p. A29). Further, another story uses catchphrases such as "insufficient accountability of leaders," "non-adherence to rule of law," "lack of transparency in regimes," and "inadequate checks and balances" to report poor performance of governance in Africa, which hinders development.

To answer RQ3 – *How does the overarching frame and image of Africa in The New York Times during the post-Cold War period compare to the overarching frame and image of Africa in the Cold War era presented in the secondary literature?* – the researcher analyzed all the frames found to determine the dominant frame, and compared it to the dominant frame in the secondary literature. Dependence on foreign intervention solution frame (Tables 5.2, 5.7 and 5.11) is the overarching frame because it is used in the construction of stories in all the three areas of the study – conflict, war and development. For instance, the end of violence in all cases is reported as possible

only because of or utterly dependent on foreign intervention. Stories that reported violence between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia, civil wars in Angola, Congo, Liberia, Kenya, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Sudan sufficiently demonstrate the prevalence of this frame.

Stories that reported the Ethiopia and Eritrea interstate violence used the catchphrase like “accepted U.N. peace plan” (Correspondent, 1998, June 5, p. A8) to indicate that the two warring countries were persuaded or forced to accept a United Nation’s proposal to end the war, suggesting dependence on foreign intervention. More stories reported using catchphrases “diplomatic efforts intensify,” “U.N. Security Council concerned,” “U.N. proposed peace plan,” “U.N. condemns renewal of war,” “envoy working to resolve border conflict,” “U.N. demanded immediate halt to fighting” indicating the involvement of the U.N. in the Ethiopia and Eritrea war, and suggesting that that effort helped end the war between the two countries. In the Ethiopia and Somalia war, stories used catchphrases “U.N.-sponsored talks,” “ambassador helping broker deal,” “diplomats searching way,” “American-supported Ethiopia,” “Bush administration endorsed Ethiopian offensive,” “American gunship strikes terrorism suspects,” “operations by American commandos,” and “training Ethiopians” to show the involvement of outside agencies in bringing solutions to African problems.

In the coverage of civil wars, *The New York Times* also ran stories that reported dependence on foreign intervention as a solution. For instance, for the Angolan government and rebels to reach a peace accord, *The New York Times* reported that representatives of the United Nations, the United States, Russia and Portugal nudged and pressured the two sides to sign the peace agreement (Cauvin, 2002, March 31). As for

Liberia and Sierra Leone, where horrendous human rights atrocities were committed, stories reported that the U.N. established a special court based in Freetown, Sierra Leone, to bring to justice those who committed those atrocities (Polgreen and Simons, 2006, March 31). Stories used catchphrases like “U.N.-backed tribunal for Sierra Leone,” “American warships sailing toward Liberia,” and “State Department sent assistant secretary of state for African affairs to the region” to report the involvement of foreign influential actors to end the civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia. President Charles Taylor of Liberia, whom *The New York Times* referred to as “West Africa’s most powerful warlord,” was indicted and arrested by the U.N. tribunal for his role in the atrocities, and transferred to The Hague, the Netherlands, for trial and imprisonment (Simons, 2006, June 21, p. A6).

The Congo civil war, which *The New York Times* was reported in stories that used catchphrases “U.N. urged African nations embroiled in Congo war to withdraw,” “U.S. diplomat pleads for political solution to civil war in Congo,” “at U.N. African leaders discuss ending Congo war,” “U.N. demands that Congo rebels withdraw from seized city,” “and “U.N. ambassadors for intense talks to hasten the end of the Congo war” (Crossette, 2001, May 16, p. A5; 2001, February 22, p. A5) to report foreign effort expended on finding the solution to the civil war.

Pointing out direct foreign concerns in Sudan’s civil war, *The New York Times* reported that “African-Americans have expressed outrage about government-backed militia’s practice of taking southerners into forced servitude.” The story used catchphrases “Sudan will remain isolated,” “sanctions in place,” and “limited diplomatic relations” to report measures taken by the Bush administration to try and force Sudan to improve the way it treated the people of southern Sudan during the civil war. Another story reported

that there was “a major international effort involving the U.N., U.S., Egypt, China and the EU to prevail on Sudan government to avoid further slaughter of its citizens.” Other stories also reported efforts aimed at bringing peace to Sudan using catchphrases such as “Powell’s trip to Africa,” “Powell prods talks to end Sudan civil war,” and “U.N. Secretary General visits Sudan to bolster peace accord” to report on high profile foreign involvement to bring peace to Sudan.

For Kenya, the short-lived but bloody civil violence elicited immediate and high-level foreign intervention. A story reported that former U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan was appointed chief negotiator to bring peace to Kenya. The story used catchphrases like “sustained international pressure,” “the United States must maintain consistent and strong pressure to ensure that Kenya’s leaders treat the mediation with seriousness,” “decision to bar hardline politicians from entering United States, a step in the right direction,” and “push for the restoration of democracy in Kenya” to report and outline the necessary conditions to pacify Kenya. The mission achieved its objective because the story reported that the two presidential candidates who caused the chaos “agreed to negotiate a power-sharing agreement.” In Rwanda, stories reported the need for foreign assistance using catchphrases such as “U.N. Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali appealed for worldwide assistance to Rwanda.” And stories reported the positive response to the appeal with catchphrases like “U.S. agrees to deployment of U.N. force in Rwanda,” “more U.N. troops for Rwanda,” and “France decided to send forces to Rwanda” (Lyons, 1994, p. A8).

Apart from reporting foreign intervention to stop violence, stories also gave substantial coverage to foreign intervention in the development area. Stories reported intervention in disasters, such as during droughts, famines and dealing with humanitarian

crises posed by refugees. Even to try and contain serious disease outbreaks like AIDS, stories reported that Africa needs foreign support from the U.N. agencies such as the World Health Organization and from the U.S. government under the Presidential emergency AIDS relief fund. In addition to these areas, In addition to these areas, for Africa to develop, stories reported that the continent needs massive foreign aid, technical assistance, debt relief and the support of NGOs. During the Cold War era, the dependence on foreign intervention solution frame represented Africa as a needy continent; in the post-Cold War period, the same frame found portrays Africa as still needy, with even more needs to be satisfied.

To answer RQ4 – *How does The New York Times use the Dark Continent metaphor in the narratives of stories in the post-Cold War?* – the researcher meticulously examined stories to determine the use of this metaphor. The study did not find a direct use of the metaphor or words “Dark Continent” in the narratives of stories in the post-Cold War period. But the study did find cases in which narratives in *The New York Times* indirectly portrayed Africa as a Dark Continent. The tendencies to easily resort to the use of brutal violence to resolve issues that are still rife in Africa suggests that Africans are not yet civilized enough to avoid choosing violence as a way to solve problems. These tendencies make it difficult to differentiate the behavior of Africans in the colonial and Cold War era from what it was in the post- Cold War period. Pioneer American writers on Africa, such as Henry Morton Stanley, characterized the people of Africa as “savages,” “primitive,” “barbaric,” “cannibals,” and “uncivilized” because they found their way of life different from that of the West. Other scholars, such as Kothari (2010), found there is a pervasive perception in the West that Africans are “violent and irrational” people because they are constantly struggling with

violence. *The New York Times* stories on violence reported through the lens of brutal violence as means of survival frame; show that most behavioral patterns in Africa still bear the hallmarks of those very characteristics.

For instance, *The New York Times* reported that the President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, who was a mediator in the Burundi civil war, chided the warring parties for using preventable violence which had caused too many deaths in the country (Fisher, 2000, January 17, p. A4). The story stated:

Mr. Mandela said the outside world is horrified at the huge number of people who have died – as many as 200,000 in a nation of fewer than six million – since the civil war began in 1993.

“When they hear this they say, ‘Africans are still barbarians – no human being could do what they are doing,’” said Mr. Mandela. He pleaded, “Please, join the modern world. Why are you lagging behind?” he asked.

“The fact that women, children and the aged are being slaughtered every day is an indictment against all of you,” he said.

Mr. Mandela’s comments suggest that brutal violence as means of survival frame can rekindle and stoke collective memory in the minds of foreigners that Africa is indeed a Dark Continent, which Mandela is aware of and cautioned the warring parties about.

The violence reported in Liberia and Sierra Leone from 1990 to 2003 also contributes to the Dark Continent image. Stories reported that under the command of Charles Taylor, Liberia’s President, militias terrorized civilians by cutting off their limbs, noses and ears crowned with outright killings (Simons, 2009, July 13). These kinds of reported raw brutalities paint African people as primitive and barbaric to commit such acts against fellow human beings. Further reports said during so-called interrogations suspects were made to wear red-hot iron clothes and were subjected to insect bites, behaviors associated with the dark ages. Another story reported how a gang of rebels

mutilated and killed many adults and children in a village and severed their heads (Simons, July 14, 2009). The story reported that the severed heads were put in sacks and given to a woman whose relatives' heads were among them, to carry to a place to be disposed of. The same story reported that both government soldiers and rebels ate human flesh; for instance, the story quoted a witness who said that African peacekeepers in Liberia were killed and eaten by President Taylor's militiamen. In Sierra Leone, a story reported that after men had been brutally killed, their intestines were used to erect makeshift checkpoints. All these incidents of barbaric violence cast Africa as a continent where primitive and primordial behavior still abounds in the post-Cold War era.

Other stories that used the Dark Continent narrative reported the Rwanda civil war that culminated in the 1994 genocide. One story reported how thousands of unarmed defenseless people were dragged from hiding even in churches and chopped with machetes or bludgeoned to death without restraint. Another story describes the nature and form of the massacres in one locality in Rwanda, where barbaric killing was conducted as if it was some kind of communal farm activity. The story reports that a mob led by the mayor, encouraged by the president, and assisted by soldiers, killed between 4,000 and 5,000 villagers and buried in mass graves, not a decent way to treat the dead. Stories reported that in less than one hundred days, nearly a million Tutsi and some Hutu had been mercilessly killed, and the killing declared genocide. That this mass scale of killing innocent people in such a horrendous and barbaric manner should take place in the twenty-first century in Africa does not reflect well on the continent as it evokes memories of primordial times. In Sudan, stories reported that the Arab-dominated government used scorched- earth strategy in which millions were killed as it sought to exterminate the black ethnic groups like the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa; and those who

were captured alive were reportedly sold into slavery. These stories present Africa as a continent whose people behave as if they were in the Dark Ages.

For the Mai fighters, based in the deep jungles of Congo, a story reported their use of charms and “magic water” on their bodies in the belief that they insulated them against bullets (Lacey, 2002, November 21, p. A1). The use of charms, magic and superstition to fight a modern war is a thing of the past, not of the post-Cold War era.

The use of brutal violence to survive continues to represent Africa as a Dark Continent because such behavior is not in line with civilized norms of society.

Chapter five summary

This chapter outlined the findings of the dissertation research. The study found seven frames *The New York Times* used in the portrayal of Africa – brutal violence as means of survival, dependence on foreign intervention solution, recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa’s development, inept and incapable governance, horrendous war crimes against humanity, territorial protection of sovereign borders, and global war on terrorism. As in the Cold War era, dependence on foreign intervention solution is the overarching frame in the post-Cold War, too, portraying Africa as a needy continent. And the coverage of pervasive and brutal violence evokes memories of Africa as a Dark Continent.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This dissertation examined *The New York Times*' coverage and portrayal of sub-Saharan Africa in the Cold War and post-Cold War eras with the focus to determine whether the coverage changed after the end of the Cold War. The expectation was that with a new journalistic paradigm in the post-Cold War period, coverage of Africa in *The New York Times* would be different. For instance, it was expected that *The New York Times*' journalists would stop the use of derogatory descriptions like "primitive," "barbaric," "savage," "uncivilized," "Dark Continent," and referring to Africa as battleground for East-West ideological superpower rivalry when writing stories about conflict, war and development in Africa in the post-Cold War era.

The study found that "brutal violence as means of survival," "dependence on foreign intervention solution," "recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa's development," "inept and incapable governance in Africa," "horrendous war crimes against humanity," "territorial protection of sovereign borders," and "global war on terrorism" as the frames used to construct stories in the post-Cold War period. In the expectation of the paradigm shift theory, these findings show mixed results: a number of Cold War era frames such as "brutal violence as means of survival," "dependence on foreign intervention solution," "recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa's development," and "inept and incapable governance in Africa" appeared in the post-Cold War era coverage; and new frames like "horrendous war crimes against humanity," "territorial protection of sovereign borders,"

and “global war on terrorism” were found. However, frames that referred to Africa as an ideological battlefield for East-West rivalry and its leaders and states as socialist were absent, and stories did not use the Dark Continent metaphor in their narratives. The disappearance of these two frames in the post-Cold War coverage of Africa is significant because it could suggest that American journalists have begun to perceive Africa with different lens.

In the Cold War literature, Jarosz (1992) contended that the Dark Continent metaphor incorporated the African continent in its entirety as “Other” and denied the actualities and specific economic processes that transformed the continent. The absence of the Dark Continent metaphor in story narratives could suggest that the imaginary and imposed spatial difference that separates Africa from the rest of the world is beginning to evaporate and Africans could be embraced by the Western world as any other human beings.

Interpretation of frames

Although the author found that *The New York Times* continued to use the Cold War era frames in the secondary literature such as “brutal violence as means of survival,” “dependence on foreign intervention solution,” “recurrent disasters hindrance to Africa’s development,” and “inept and incapable governance in Africa” in the coverage of Africa in the post-Cold War era, it can be explained that these negative frames are inevitable in journalism, where by nature; the good news is the negative news. After all, the study found that violence swept across Africa from east to west and from north to south in the wake of the post-Cold War. For example, Angola, Congo, Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Eritrea were engulfed in wars which *The New York Times* reported with various degrees of turmoil and human

suffering. There were also famines, droughts and disease outbreaks that debilitated many countries in Africa. And the AIDS scourge still rages in the continent. These occurrences were reported by *The New York Times* the way they happened, and generated those frames. Additionally, the study found three new frames that were used in *The New York Times* coverage of Africa in the post-Cold War: “horrendous war crimes against humanity,” “territorial protection of sovereign borders,” and “global war on terrorism.” The finding of new frames suggests that the more Africa is covered by news media, the more additional frames appear.

Rather than perceive these new frames as portraying Africa negatively, they could be seen in a different light as suggested in the following examples.

Example 1: The “territorial protection of sovereign borders” frame which was used in the coverage of Ethiopia and Eritrea war, depicted the violence between the two countries as costly in many ways: too many people were killed, property was destroyed and the economics of both countries stagnated because of this war over a border dispute. Citizens of both countries suffered severe food shortages and others died. It will be recalled that territorial borders were arbitrarily imposed on Africa by European colonial masters in the 19th century without any consultation with Africans (Davidson, 1969; 1989; Dumont, 1966). These arbitrary borders split African ethnic groups into many countries. Therefore, another way of using this frame in reporting violence is for stories to say that the war sought to remove arbitrary borders and to reunite split nationalities. Stories could also talk about free cross border flow of citizens of both countries to engage in trade and commercial activities without severe restrictions. Reunited nationalities could become more productive and peaceful like the Germans after the removal of the Berlin Wall. In any case, like Germany, Ethiopia and Eritrea was one country before the

split in 1993. Their reunion could see more peace and stability in the Horn of Africa and fast economic development.

Example 2: The “horrendous crimes against humanity” frame could be discussed from the human rights perspective. Many human rights abuses are committed in Africa. The atrocities that were committed in Darfur, Sierra Leone and Rwanda are glaring examples. What exacerbates the magnitude of these acts is that they were committed, encouraged or sponsored by political leaders like in Darfur and Sierra Leone. The coverage of these activities, especially when their perpetrators are indicted, arrested and tried by the International Criminal Court could serve as a deterrent to other countries. For instance, the arrest, trial and imprisonment of Charles Taylor, former president of Liberia gives this frame a positive side. Stories of war crimes should be perceived as whistleblowers against human rights abuses and a signal to end impunity in human rights abuses.

Example 3: The “global war against terrorism” frame could be hailed as beneficial to humanity. Terrorists have become such a menace because, in most cases, they are difficult to detect, and yet they end up causing deaths of innocent people and destroying property worth millions of dollars. However brutal and destructive, violence against terrorism can also be seen in terms of how many innocent lives will be saved if terrorists are deterred or eliminated altogether. Another perspective of the war on terrorism is that it is slowly uniting nations to fight against the menace, for example the U.S. joined Ethiopia to fight terrorism in Somalia reported by *The New York Times*. The use of “global war on terrorism” frame to construct stories in the coverage of Africa introduces a new dimension to reporting of turmoil on the continent. Stories talk about Africa as a continent vulnerable to or encouraging terrorism on its soil. The coverage indicates that terrorism is a festering

activity in Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa, where Somalia has become a hub for terrorism operatives from Libya, Yemen, Eritrea and Syria. In East Africa, terrorists attacked the U.S. embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and Kenya in 1998. As this dissertation is being written, reported terrorists are active in northern Nigeria and Mali in West Africa. This suggests the fight against terrorism must be stepped up globally with cooperation from many world states.

The continued use of the negative Cold War era frames in the post-Cold War era suggests that a journalistic paradigm shift has not yet happened in the post-Cold War coverage of Africa. For example, the use of “brutal violence as means of survival” is reminiscent of an Africa that was described in the Cold War period as a “continent where violent and irrational people live” (Kothari, 2010, p. 1). Such an approach tends to obstruct real issues and realities underlying the violence. Rather than emphasizing the negative aspects of conflict and war, stories could highlight positive reasons for violence. For instance, stories could report an uprising to topple a corrupt and dictatorial regime, fighting to redress imbalances in sharing national resources, violence to establish democratic governance or fighting for justice and human rights for all citizens. Stories could address human interest stories such as the impact on families, children, and personal faith including success stories of how people survived war and even made business fortunes in agriculture and trade in spite of war. Such an approach could address the portrayal criticized by some media scholars of Africa who contend that the U.S. news media has a “well-established cultural pattern of representing Africa as primitive, barbaric savages who relish violence” (Curtin, 1964; McCarthy, 1983). Without adopting a new approach, *The New York Times* may be seen as continuing to entrench and maintain old perceptions that African media scholars of

Western news media coverage of Africa have criticized as biased and largely negative. The lack of a new approach also suggests that the American public may continue to be fed on the same kind of coverage of Africa, which only helps to reinforce the myths and stereotypes Americans have about Africa.

Example 4: Coverage using the “dependence on foreign intervention solution” frame results in journalists constructing stories that talk mainly about Africa as a needy continent rather than mentioning Africa’s contribution in terms of collateral and the services offered by Africans. For example, when a humanitarian crisis befalls Africa such as a refugee crisis, Western news reports focus on aid and aid-givers and ignore the army of African humanitarian volunteers, Red Cross workers, African governments and African doctors who participate in the relief effort. For instance, there are a number of AIDS success stories in Africa which *The New York Times* could emphasize rather than solely focusing on the World Health Organization initiative to control AIDS on the continent. Foreign aid to support countries’ development programs and provision of relief for starving people in Africa could be reported as temporary and necessary stop gap measures rather than the provision of aid being the norm.

Kuhn’s Paradigm Shift

That three powerful American Presidents visited Africa – Bill Clinton, 1998; George Bush, 2003; and Barack Obama, 2009 and 2013 within the first two decades of the post-Cold War era – signifies a substantial political paradigm shift in American-African relations, which gives the African continent a new lease of life in its relationship with the United States. That this gesture toward Africa only happened in the post-Cold War era is a fundamental development which Kuhn’s (1970, p. 92) “revolutionary science” describes as a “political revolution.” It fits Kuhn’s definition of “political

revolution” because the United States political leaders have broken away from the past Cold War politics and have begun to see and treat Africa as a “partner” (Kulish and Shear, July 2, 2013, p. A7), and not a perennial inferior beggar. This change is a significant political paradigm shift. This beneficial American relationship with Africa can go a long way in molding the American public opinion about Africa’s potential and make the American public start to believe that the African continent has something to offer to the rest of the world.

During President Obama’s second visit, which occurred just days before the defense of this dissertation was held, the media coverage hailed Obama’s trip during which he unveiled what he called a “new model for Africa that is not based on aid and assistance, but trade and partnership” (Kulish and Shear, July 2, 2013, p. A7). Obama was also quoted to have said that although the continent faced great challenges, his visit of three African countries – Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania – was a “moment of great promise for Africa” (p. A7). Through this partnership, among other things, the United States is focusing on projects to stimulate and kick-start Africa’s social and economic development. For example, in Tanzania, Obama unveiled an ambitious program to double access to electricity in sub-Saharan Africa worth \$7 billion (p. A7). During the Cold War era, the prevailing paradigm could have reported Obama promising or giving aid, based on anti-communist friendship or supplying weapons to friendly countries.

The “new model” for Africa is in line with the post-Cold War international relations scholars who posit that the United States will be forced to reformulate its relationship with Africa, by supporting and promoting democracy and social and economic development programs (Rothchild and Keller, 2006; Taylor and Williams,

2004; Lyman and Dorff, 2007; Clough, 1992). President Clinton signed into law in 2000 the African Growth and Opportunity Act to enable a number of sub-Saharan countries export fabrics to the United States, while President Bush launched the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief in 2004 (Taylor and Williams, 2004).

Since United States news media have a tendency to support or influence the American foreign policy, it is expected that the new post-Cold War political paradigm may also cause and promote a journalistic paradigm shift in the American news media coverage of Africa throughout the post-Cold War period, and even more so, since Africa is now free from the tag of an ideological battlefield. By tracking how the American taxpayers' dollars are being spent in Africa, it is expected that the U.S. news media will be reporting Africa with a positive spin, giving Africa a positive image. This is expected to be the case especially if the American news media begin to base their reporting on what Kadoma (1994) calls African moral principles and news values which do not sensationalize reporting but reflect true African reality.

Kuhn's paradigm shift theory is significant to this dissertation in a number of ways: First, it helped in conceptualizing the study as based on the notion of change from one worldview to another, and in tracking the different ways of seeing reality in each worldview, that is, from the Cold War to the post-Cold War eras. Second, it guided and gave direction to the research, especially in using the framing methodology to track how coverage of sub-Saharan Africa was conducted in the two eras through examining frames in each era to determine different coverage. Third, Kuhn's paradigm shift theory fathered the journalistic paradigm which appropriately positioned this dissertation as a study of how journalists cover reality in different eras: the journalistic paradigm coverage during the Cold War era and the journalistic paradigm coverage of the post-Cold War era.

Journalistic Paradigm

The journalistic paradigm practice during the Cold War period relied mainly on official sources. For instance, to report the Mau Mau uprising in Kenya in the 1950s, American news media solely quoted colonial officials like Sir Charles Eliot, who was the colonial commissioner in Kenya from 1900 to 1904 (Maloba, 1992). Eliot had such a low opinion of Kenyans, and derogatorily called them “indolent,” “disconnected in ideas,” “inept,” and lived in a world “prey to barbarism” (Maloba, 1992, p. 62). Because of reliance on colonial officials and settlers, the news media portrayed Mau Mau as an evil organization. A colonial settler told the news media that “many of the practices of the Mau Mau represent a reversion to primitive barbaric mentality (Brockway, 1955). Other officials said that Mau Mau was a murderous movement guided by witchcraft and emphasized its atavistic nature (Maloba 1992). In addition, Mau Mau was referred to as a bunch of frustrated and savage people bent on using violence and witchcraft to terrorize the British settlers in Kenya (Maloba, 1992). This representation did not give the Mau Mau a chance to tell their side of the story – suggesting that it was one-sided and unfair – although later Mau Mau metamorphosed into a political force that led to Kenya’s independence in 1963.

During the post-Cold War, the journalistic paradigm practice *The New York Times’* journalists uses seems to strive for balanced and objective reporting by endeavoring to interview and quote official sources, witnesses and victims of conflict and war. Journalists have tried to make voices victims heard and seen in their reportage. For instance, reporting on the civil war in Sierra Leone, the news media quoted victims whose hands, ears, noses and lips were cuts off by Charles Taylor’s drug-taking brutal

child soldiers. A woman whose relatives were beheaded and was condemned to carry a sack full of their collected heads dripping with blood was allowed to tell her chilling story. In Rwanda the news media interviewed victims, witnesses and survivors of the genocide who narrated grisly stories. They said, in one commune, the mayor organized mass killing of unarmed Tutsi who had run to him to seek protection. These stories made the inhuman treatment of human beings by fellow human beings visible and felt. Similar stories were reported in the coverage of violence in other countries like Liberia, Congo, Kenya, Angola and Darfur (Sudan).

Although stories appeared authentic because they seemed balanced because they quoted witnesses, survivors and officials, they raised some credibility questions. For instance, in a number of stories reporters or correspondents were based in the capital of a neighboring country when they filed their stories as illustrated by the following datelines: Polgreen, L (2008, August 26) filed her story about fighting in Darfur (Sudan) from Dakar, the capital of Senegal; she reported violence in Ivory Coast from Monrovia, Liberia (Polgreen, 2006, January 19); Gettleman reporting fighting about Somalia from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (2007, January 1), and another story from Nairobi (2008, November 13); Lorch (1994, April 27) also filed his story from Nairobi; Fisher (1999, March 18) also reported Ethiopia and Eritrea war from Nairobi; while Sengupta (2004, August 16) reported on fighting in Sudan from Ndjamena, Chad. Other stories were datelined New York, Brussels or Paris as they covered local civil wars. Some stories quoted diplomats, NGOs or Red Cross workers whose versions of conflict and war might slant stories for or against the violence. Although *The New York Times* can be credited with the coverage of Africa in the post-Cold War, inherent problems of accessibility are still a hindrance to the accuracy of its stories.

The use of a journalistic paradigm to study a paradigm shift in the coverage of Africa from the Cold War to the post-Cold War is a new endeavor which has not been attempted before. This dissertation fills that gap and makes a significant contribution to mass communication research in Africa in particular, and to mass communication research in general. It also contributes to the framing analysis studies on how frames from one era can be different from the other, and contributes to framing analysis literature.

This dissertation is significant to Kuhn's paradigm shift theory and to the journalistic paradigm because it has demonstrated how the two concepts can be operationalized and used in mass media research. Additionally, the dissertation may contribute to a journalistic paradigm shift. It contributes to Kuhn's paradigm shift theory and to the paradigm shift literature.

The paradigm shift study undertaken by this dissertation was exploratory to compare *The New York Times'* coverage of sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War and the post-Cold War eras. Given the limitations under which the research was conducted, the dissertation is hard-pressed to make definitive conclusions. However, the findings give pointers that suggest emerging trends:

- The realignment of the United States and Africa relations in the post-Cold War period as shown by the decisions and actions of the three successive American Presidents demonstrates that a political paradigm shift has taken place in this area.
- Since political paradigms father journalistic paradigms as shown in this study, it can be logically stated that a journalistic paradigm has also taken place or is beginning to take place, given that no stories used the Dark Continent metaphor

in their narratives, and the reference of Africa as an East-West ideological battlefield was not found in stories.

However, the news values to be applied when American news media cover Africa still remains a sticking issue. Kadoma (1994) a renowned journalism educationist in Africa contends that only when Western news media based their news value judgment on the African moral principles and news values will there be true journalistic paradigm in the American news media coverage of Africa. The question is, will American journalists adopt African news values in their coverage of Africa?

Methodological implications

Since “Research is only as good as the investigator” (Morse, et al, 2002, p. 17), this researcher immersed himself in this research and used his creativity and sensitivity to handle large data, and to ensure that as an African, cultural bias did not influence his story choice and data coding. He read each story with an open mind and accorded each story appropriate cognitive context reflecting the true nature of the event or issue reported. The long interaction with texts and data allowed the researcher to think through each research process to ensure that each step was contributing to the desired goal of the dissertation as prescribed by scholars like Lindlof and Taylor (2002), Maxwell (2005), Charmaz (2006), and Miles and Huberman (1994).

For instance, the researcher took extra care in reading stories to create content categories. Content categories had to be accurately created to fit their cognitive contexts. This was done to ensure that the research findings would be valid. The creation of content categories is significant to this dissertation because content categories led to the identification of themes and frames embedded in texts through synthesis and interpretation to decipher meaning.

Framing analysis enabled the researcher to explore how *The New York Times* covered conflict, war and development, and the frames it used to portray the African image based on Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) guidance to identify frames in stories. However, the study went beyond Gamson and Modigliani's guidance because it designed a path that uses themes as the starting point in frame identification. Hertog and McLeod (2001) and Reese (2001) point out that framing studies are fraught with confusion and competing perspectives leading individual researchers to adopt and use methods that suit what they want to achieve. The findings in the present dissertation give the researcher confidence that the study was conducted in a scholarly manner and can be done by others. The study began by identifying themes and then went on to identify frames based on how stories would like readers to think about themes. This approach, adopted from Campbell and Wiggins (2010), makes framing analysis methodology easy to understand because the process moves from one point to the next. Linking themes and frames in this manner also helps in making a clear conceptual distinction between the two concepts. This study makes clear that they are two different concepts – themes being the subjects stories are written about and frames being how issues and events are presented and thought about.

This clarification in the conceptualization of the two concepts should make a substantial contribution in the framing literature that will begin to operationalize this distinction. It should also make significant contribution to scholarly literature on media coverage of Africa because the methodology has not yet been used in the study of African media research. Besides, it is hoped that the findings in this dissertation will enrich the framing analysis realm, which is still undergoing such controversy and generating new ways of conducting research.

Limitations of the study

This dissertation has been challenging and intriguing because of my experience and background that positioned me as an “insider.” To be a research instrument as an insider was delicate because of the difficulty of drawing boundaries between roles: I am a researcher, I have been a journalist, and I am an African. I undertook to wear all the three hats and tried as humanly possible to play each role effectively.

As a journalist, I believe in professional and ethical standards of journalism. These principles guided me as I read all the stories describing all sorts of atrocities committed in various parts of the continent. My mission was to look for the truth. It is reasonable to assume that stories *The New York Times* printed during the post-Cold War era reported events and issues that took place. However, some stories exhibited shortcomings, especially when the correspondents did not report from the scene or close to the scene of events. For example, some correspondents were based in Nairobi, Kenya, and yet they reported violence in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, Rwanda or Congo. Although I questioned the accuracy and credibility of such stories, at the same time it is difficult to dismiss such stories outright because in the absence of any other avenue, they are the only window through which the outside world can learn what is happening within such countries.

To absorb all the horrible accounts that reported the suffering of Africans was very disturbing. As a human being, it is unnerving to read about the suffering of your own people, especially if such suffering is preventable. It was important to get first-hand reports about such suffering in order to understand what fellow human beings can do to others. Being immersed in such situations of horrendous inhuman difficulties enabled me

to better understand how other people are mistreated, and put me in a better position to share such experience, which, perhaps can lead to remedial or preventive actions by those in authority. Although my role was to do research and write a dissertation, I am disturbed that in my motherland, social and public affairs are not being run efficiently. I am concerned that by not running their countries well, African leaders will not create conducive environments that will allow their citizens to develop and prosper.

My role as research instrument enhanced the methodology in this study because it enabled me to interact with data more closely and to interpret it in identifying themes and frames in framing studies such as conducted in this dissertation.

The present study was conducted under a number of limitations because the source of research stories was mainly from *The New York Times* historical data archives. In line with Entman's (1993) explanation that media framing involves media organizations, editors, journalists, sources, events and issues. The selection of stories from the data historical archive using the key terms "conflict," and "war" was a weakness because the stories retrieved were mainly on violence. There was no distinction between a "conflict" story and a "war" story. Even when "development" was used as a key term in the hope that positive stories about Africa would be generated, the stories that turned out were covered from the point of view of obstacles such as turmoil, refugees, droughts, famines, diseases, corruption and dysfunctional infrastructure, to mention a few, which also ended up as negative coverage. A greater variety of key words should have been used.

Suggestions for further research

It would have been better to conduct live interviews with *The New York Times* editors, reporters and correspondents who have covered Africa. This would help in shedding light on the newspaper's coverage of Africa from the editorial point of view,

and would provide a better insight and understanding of the framing process during news gathering and construction of stories. Additionally, in a research project such as this one, it might have added more value if the study sought the American public's view of Africa from the ordinary members of the public, readers, and politicians of various ranks. This could have given a richer American view of Africa. The study relied only on one media outlet, *The New York Times*. In a study of this nature, other outlets such as *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today* and the electronic media should have been included to get holistic and more representative perspectives of the American news media about Africa. Without sounding too overambitious, a study like this one should also seek to examine the views of the media in other Western countries such as Britain, Canada and Germany to make an informed comparison which might give a better understanding of how Africa is framed in the foreign media.

A comprehensive view of Africa should entail studying the coverage not only in stories of conflict, war and development, but should embrace wider aspects of African life such as music, art, entertainment, sports and communication, to name some. Further areas of research should explore how Africa is framed in stories of culture – music, dance, drama, art, entertainment, and paintings – sports and communication. Additionally, a comparative study should be done to determine how *The New York Times* frames stories of conflict, war and development in other continents like Asia, Europe and Latin America, to find out if its coverage of these areas is consistently negative. This would enable informed generalizations to be made about coverage of conflict, war and development.

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APPENDIX A
Coding Instrument

1. Headline of story.....
2. Page.....
3. Source (Newspaper).....
4. Date.....
5. Primary theme identified
6. Framing devices
 - a. catchphrases.....
.....
.....
 - b. metaphors.....
.....
 - c. exemplars.....
.....
 - d. depictions.....
.....
7. Primary frame identified.....

APPENDIX B

Table B.1 Data Reduction of Ethiopia and Eritrea war framing devices.

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
List of all Framing Devices identified	First condensed List	Second condensed and final list establishing categories
Repulsed Ethiopian troops,* 300 soldiers dead, tank battles, artillery exchanges, comply with UN resolution, burnt-out tanks, destroyed tanks, tit-for-tat bombing, smell of rotting corpses, fierce tank and artillery battles, UN force deployed, destroying 57 tanks, 9,000 Ethiopians died, World War I-style assault, 14,000 Ethiopians killed, fighting resumed, Security Council threatened Ethiopia and Eritrea, mounted an offensive, heavy fighting, well-armed, UN approved arms embargo, border dispute, furious fighting, sovereign territory, Eritrea accepted UN peace plan, Clinton calls, regain sovereign territory, trying to seize territory, Ethiopia's territorial ambitions, regain contested territory, regain our territory, retaking land Eritrea invaded, 70, 000 killed, sending thousands to death, cost thousands of lives, one of the deadliest wars, fighting flared, wounded.	Repulsed Ethiopian troops, comply with UN resolution, burnt-out tanks, tit-for-tat bombing, smell of rotting corpses, fierce tank and artillery battles, UN force deployed, World War I-style assault, casualties very high, Security Council threatened Ethiopia and Eritrea, fighting continued, heavily armed, UN approved arms embargo, border dispute, emergency meeting, Eritrea accepted UN peace plan, Clinton call, regain sovereign territory, seize territory, Ethiopia's territorial ambitions, regain our territory, retake land Eritrea invaded, tense border, sending thousands to death, cost thousands of lives, one of the deadliest wars.	<p>Violence: Repulsed Ethiopian troops, Thousands killed in battles, bombing raids, tit-for-tat bombing, smell of rotting corpses, fierce tank and artillery battles, burnt-out tanks, sending thousands to death, smashed through defenses, one of the deadliest wars, World War I-style assault.</p> <p>Intervention: UN force deployed, comply with UN resolution, Security council threatened Ethiopia and Eritrea, UN approved arms embargo, Clinton call, Eritrea accepted UN peace plan, emergency meeting.</p> <p>Territory: Border dispute, regain sovereign territory, Ethiopia's territorial ambitions, seize territory, tense border, retake land Eritrea invaded</p>

*Each framing device is separated by a comma.

APPENDIX C

Table C.1 Data Reduction of Ethiopia and Somalia war framing devices.

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
List of all Framing Devices identified	First condensed List	Final condensed list and established categories
Battled Islamists,* hunt terrorism suspects, militant Islamist group, terrorist organization, counterterrorism effort, counterterrorism operations, sheltering Qaeda militants, killed tens of thousands, casualties and deaths, 20 people killed, dozens wounded, killing 21, 30 wounded, suicide bombers, bombings blamed on terrorists, bomb exploded, suicide car bombers, suicide bombers, buildings leveled, blasts rocked city, suicide bombers attacked, fierce clashes, displaced millions, American commandos, American gunship, Islamists supported by Eritreans, Libyans, Syrians and Yemenis foreign militants, strike by American gunship, provided Ethiopia detailed intelligence about Islamic fighters, venture into Somalia, counterterrorism operations, 41 terrorism suspects from 17 countries, rooting out Islamic radicalism, routing out Qaeda operatives, UN peacekeepers, blueprint in counterterrorism missions around the globe, surrogate force.	Battled Islamists, hunt terrorism suspects, terrorist organization, disrupted terrorists, killed tens of thousands, bombings blamed on terrorists, rocked by mortar and machine gun fire, buildings leveled, suicide bombers attacked, fierce clashes, displaced millions, American commandos, Islamists supported by Eritreans, Libyans, Syrians and Yemenis foreign militants, strike by American gunship, detailed intelligence about Islamic fighters, venture into Somalia, 41 terrorism suspects from 17 countries, rooting out Islamic radicalism, routing out Qaeda operatives, sheltering Qaeda militants, UN peacekeepers, blueprint in counterterrorism missions around the globe, surrogate force.	Violence: Battled Islamists, hunt terrorism suspects, disrupted terrorists, killed tens of thousands, bombings blamed on terrorists, rocked by mortar and machine gun fire, buildings leveled, suicide bombers attacked, fierce clashes, displaced millions Terrorism: American commandos, Islamists supported by Eritreans, Libyans, Syrians and Yemenis foreign militants, strike by American gunship, clandestine American support, detailed intelligence about Islamic fighters, venture into Somalia, 41 terrorism suspects from 17 countries, rooting out Islamic radicalism, routing out Qaeda operatives, UN peacekeepers, blueprint in counterterrorism missions around the globe, surrogate force.

*Each framing device is separated by a comma.

APPENDIX D

Table D.1 Data Reduction of Internal Violence framing devices.

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
List of all Framing Devices identified	First condensed List	Final condensed list and established categories
<i>Rebel movements,* rebels kill 200, fearsome rebel group, lurid violence, French intervention force, UN intervention, hacked to death rebels terrorized villages, killing tens of thousands, violence killed 2.5 million people, mass murder, rebels encircled, plunge the country into war, battle between troops and rebels, rebel invasion, rebels massacre, arrest warrant for Sudan president, city falls to rebels, troops recaptured base, Hutu extremists kill Tutsi, ICC arrest warrant, UN peacekeeping mission, UN delegation to Africa, talks to end Congo war, diplomat pleads for solution, Africa's First World War, charges of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, Janjaweed militia, UN/US diplomats intervene, reprisal killings, genocide, government forces hit rebels, UN troops for Rwanda, Powell trip to Africa, warlord, international judges, signed peace accord, rebel leader, scorched-earth strategy, peace talks</i>	<p>Fearsome rebel group, rebels terrorized villages, rebel invasion, rebels overran army barracks, lurid violence, plunge country into war, battle between troops and rebels, offensive against rebels, Africa's first world war, French intervention force, UN peacekeeping mission, UN intervention in Africa, talks to end Congo war, UN/US diplomats intervene, UN troops for Rwanda, Powell trip to Africa, signed peace accord, ICC arrest warrant for Sudan president, international judges, UN war-crimes tribunal, crimes against humanity, scorched- earth strategy, charges of genocide</p>	<p>Violence: fearsome rebel group, rebels terrorized villages, rebel invasion, rebels overran army barracks, rebels seize city, lurid violence, plunge country into war, battle between troops and rebels, offensive against rebels, Africa's first world war, millions die in violence</p> <p>Intervention: French intervention force, UN peacekeeping mission, UN intervention in Africa, talks to end Congo war, UN/US diplomats intervene, UN troops for Rwanda, Powell trip to Africa, signed peace accord</p> <p>War crimes: ICC arrest warrant for Sudan president, international judges, UN war-crimes tribunal, crimes against humanity, scorched-earth strategy, charges of genocide</p>

*Italicized framing devices occurred between 2 and 10 times in stories; each framing device is separated by a comma.

APPENDIX E

Table E.1 Data Reduction of framing devices in development stories.

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3
List of all Framing Devices identified	First condensed List	Final condensed list and established categories
Droughts, pervasive famines,*disease outbreaks, AIDS, aid, refugees, food shortages, poverty, debt relief, anarchy, corruption, food crisis, lack of transparency, terrible governance, torn apart by wars, AIDS devastation, abject poverty, infusion of money, technical help, internally displaced persons, insufficient accountability of leaders, non-adherence to rule of law, international investment, donor fatigue, inadequate rains, refugee crisis, human disasters, humanitarian catastrophe, years of failed farm policies, endemic corruption, ineffective governments, nations pledged increased aid, starvation, years of turmoil, poverty, millions uprooted, impoverished people, weak basic installations, crisis-torn Africa becomes continent of refugees, intractable problems, civil wars, poverty, hunger, devastated by civil strife, illiteracy, Africa is in the throes of a crisis, food shortages, deadly disease outbreaks, Africa needs humanitarian intervention, dysfunctional infrastructure.	Droughts, pervasive famines, disease outbreaks, AIDS, aid, refugees, food shortages, debt relief, anarchy, corruption, food crisis, lack of transparency, terrible governance, torn apart by wars, AIDS devastation, abject poverty, infusion of money, technical help, internally displaced persons, insufficient accountability of leaders, non-adherence to rule of law, international investment, refugee crisis, human disasters, humanitarian catastrophe, years of failed farm policies, endemic corruption, ineffective governments, nations pledged increased aid, impoverished people, crisis-torn Africa becomes continent of refugees, intractable problems, devastated by civil strife, Africa is in the throes of a crisis, deadly disease outbreaks, Africa needs humanitarian intervention, dysfunctional infrastructure.	<p>Disasters: droughts, pervasive famines, food crisis, deadly disease outbreaks, abject poverty, impoverished people, refugee crisis, millions of people uprooted, human disasters, years of turmoil, crisis-torn Africa becomes continent of refugees.</p> <p>Intervention: aid, infusion of money, technical help, debt relief, international investment, nations pledged increased aid, Africa needs humanitarian intervention</p> <p>Governance: endemic corruption, ineffective governments, years of failed farm policies, intractable problems, human rights, insufficient accountability, lack of transparency, Africa in the throes of a crisis.</p>

*Each framing device is separated by a comma.