

FRAMING SOUTH SUDAN: THE PORTRAYAL OF SOUTH SUDAN IN
INTERNATIONAL NEWS



FRAMING SOUTH SUDAN: THE PORTRAYAL OF SOUTH SUDAN IN
INTERNATIONAL NEWS

A Thesis Presented to
The Graduate School of Bangkok University

In Partial Fulfilment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Communication Arts

By
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2013



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This thesis has been approved by
the Graduate School
Bangkok University

Title : Framing South Sudan: The Portrayal of South Sudan in International
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30 Jan. 2014

Rajatalo, K. A. M.A. (Communication Arts), September 2013, Graduate School,
Bangkok University

Framing South Sudan: The Portrayal of South Sudan in International News (121 pp.)

Advisor of thesis: Assoc. Prof. Boonlert Supadhiloke, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

The objective of this research is to find out how South Sudan is portrayed in the international news by three news broadcasters, Al Jazeera from Qatar, the BBC from Britain, and CNTV from China in order to study the similarities and differences in news report topic, tone, framing, and source selection by news broadcasters from different cultural and political backgrounds. Also the roles of public diplomacy and national interest in international news reports on South Sudan are studied.

This research includes hard news reports published on the websites of the three news broadcasters. The news reports are manually downloaded from the archives of the news broadcasters' websites. The studied period is the first year of South Sudan's independence, July 9, 2011 to July 9, 2012. Sample size is 157 news reports. The sample includes only hard news reports in text form; editorials, opinion pieces, or soft news such as sports and entertainment reports are not included. In addition, video, audio, and picture material are not included.

This research uses both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The theoretical framework of this research is based on the Framing theory. Quantitative content analysis is performed in order to test four hypotheses to find out the amount of coverage South Sudan receives from the three broadcasters and the topics, tones,

frames and source selections of the published news reports. Qualitative textual analysis is performed to answer four research questions in order to study the overall portrayal of South Sudan in the news reports, how the portrayal changes over the period of one year, how visible public diplomacy and national interest are in the news reports, and how visible Western journalistic influences are on CNTV's news reporting.

The hypothesis testing reveals that the BBC covers South Sudan more extensively than Al Jazeera or CNTV, but CNTV carries more positive reports on South Sudan than the BBC or Al Jazeera. The BBC and Al Jazeera focus mostly on conflicts in their reporting on South Sudan, whereas CNTV focuses mostly on political and economic development in South Sudan and conciliatory processes between Sudan and South Sudan. All Three broadcasters rely mostly on elite sources, whether government officials and representatives or independent elites such as the United Nations. However, Al Jazeera and the BBC give more space for independent elite sources than CNTV.

Textual analysis reveals that the news reports of all three broadcasters provide very similar overall image of South Sudan: the country is portrayed as a poor and underdeveloped run by a weak and corrupt government unable to develop the country and improve the lives of the citizens. The portrayal does not change over the studied period of one year, and public diplomacy and national interest make clear appearances in the news reports throughout the studied period. The main interest in the news reports is clearly South Sudan's oil reserves, which together with the frequent use of political and economic development frames and the lack of social development and human interest frames in the reports point to the direction of clear economic and

commercial interests behind the news reports on South Sudan. In addition, the textual analysis reveals clear Western influences on CNTV's news reporting in terms of news topic and source selection and news report structure which point to the direction of homogenisation of news production, but differences in framing which points to the influence of public diplomacy and national interest on news framing.



Approved: _____

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Signature of Advisor

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Associate Professor Boonlert Supadhiloke, Ph.D., and thesis Co-Advisor Ratanasuda Punnahitanond, Ph.D., for their valuable help and guidance in preparing and completing this thesis research. With their help, completing this thesis turned out to be very clear and interesting experience without any major problems.

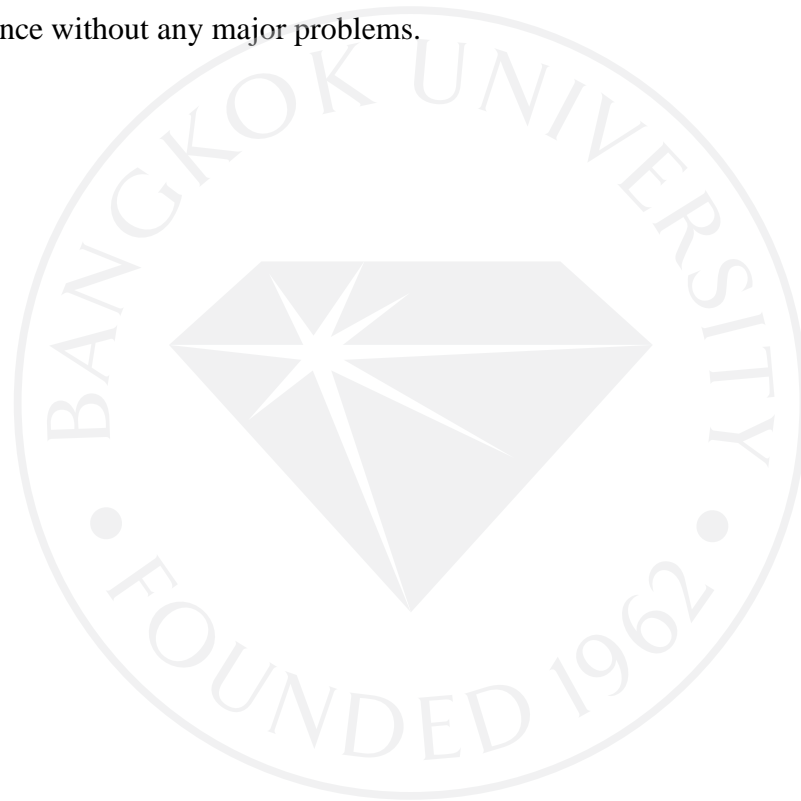


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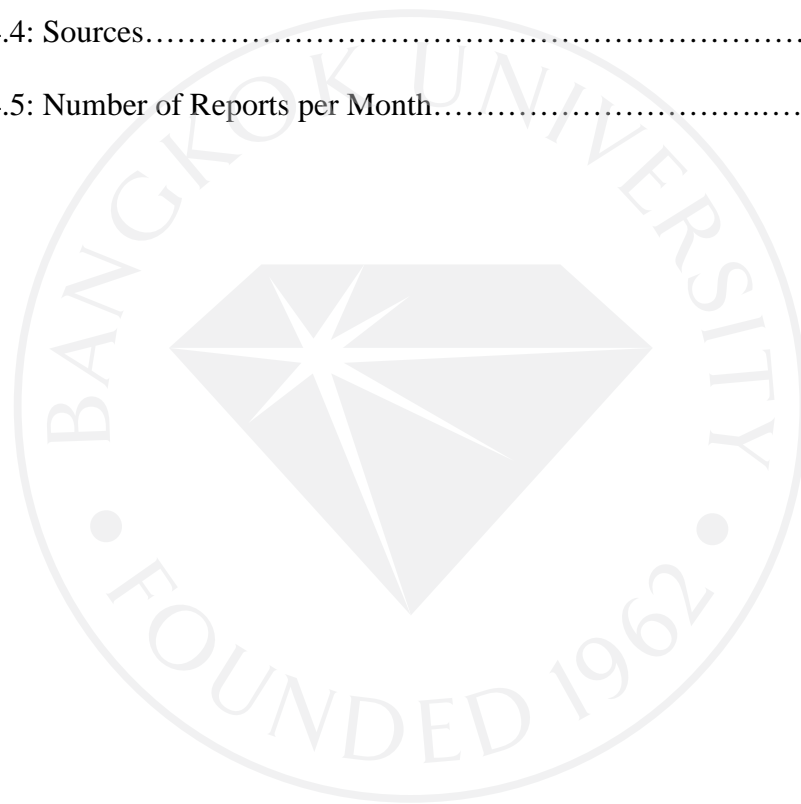
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter includes rationale and problem statement, purpose of the study, brief history of South Sudan, scope of the study, significance of the study, and limitations of the study. Also definitions of some terms used in the study are included.

Rationale and Problem Statement

A lot has been said about the treatment developing countries receive in the Western news media's international news reports. According to extensive research in this field, media in the West tend to neglect developing countries, especially African and Latin American nations. When the countries make it into the international news reports in the Western media, the reports tend to focus on negative aspects such as armed and violent conflicts. In addition, especially in the case of African nations, the news reports tend to oversimplify complex issues, lack background information and historical context, stereotype, sensationalise, distort, and trivialise the events or objects presented in the reports (Hagos, 2000; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010; Franks & Ribet, 2009; Ndangam, 2002; Myers, Klak, & Koehl, 1996).

Reason for interest in studying the media portrayal of foreign countries, cultures, and peoples is that not only most people are dependent on mass media for information on other countries and international events and affairs (Brewer, Graf, & Willnat, 2003), but importantly research has shown media influencing the audience perceptions through construction of reality (Brewer et al., 2003; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005; Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007). One of the main tools for journalists and media personnel for the process of constructing reality is framing

(Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Guo, 2011). According to Entman (1993), the process of framing involves selecting what aspects of a perceived reality will be included in the message and what aspects will be omitted. This means that audiences who have no direct experience on certain news topic, event, or object will not get a full version of what happened and why it matters from media reports; instead, they will receive a constructed, framed version of it.

Going back to media portrayal of foreign countries in international news, research has revealed several problems with the framing of news reports. Most of the studies have concentrated on western media, but lately Al Jazeera has received a lot of attention from the researchers as well. Traditionally, the western media have dominated the global information flow which has created a situation where the western news media not only report the news from developing countries to audiences from developing countries, but also have shaped the orientation on how media elsewhere report foreign news (Peng, 2008; Hagos, 2000; Moyo, 2009). This hegemony of western media has been criticised endlessly in research, but the criticism seems to have had very little effect on the way international news are reported. However, the rise of Al Jazeera in the turn of the millennium offered a serious challenge to the western media domination, and even managed to reverse the global flow of information on certain occasions (Wojcieszak, 2007; Samuel-Azran, 2009).

The problem is that despite the numerous news broadcasters available locally and globally, certain areas of the world tend to receive poor treatment in the hands of news producers. As mentioned above, media reports can shape the reality for their audience members through construction of reality, framing playing a major part in this process. Looking into the news content of news broadcasters from different

countries with very differing cultures and political ideologies can help to reveal some of the main factors affecting the unfair treatment of developing countries in the news, as well as help to gain some insights into how different broadcasters handle certain news items, in this case, a developing African country.

History of South Sudan

In order to understand how South Sudan is connected to the nations and people of Britain, Qatar and China, an introduction to its history is necessary. Before its independence in 2011, South Sudan was a part of the country of Sudan. Sudan is populated by numerous peoples, but the political and economic domination is in the hands of Muslim Arabs who are based in north of the country. South Sudan, on the other hand, is populated by indigenous African Christians and animists (Madibbo, 2012; Aleu-Baak, 2012). Arabs moved into the area that became the country of Sudan in four major phases, ranging from 640 AD to the 16th century (Jalata, 2005). The Arab immigrants brought with them their religion, Islam, and the immigrants and their descendants introduced racial identities and politicised religion to the area (Jalata, 2005). British entered the picture in the end of the 19th century when they colonised the area of Sudan, South Sudan included, in 1898. The colonisation continued until 1956 when Sudan gained independence from Britain (Madibbo, 2012).

Despite the spread of Christianity among the South Sudanese populations, the British colonial masters favoured Arab Muslims. Most socioeconomic activities and developments concentrated in the central regions of Sudan, and South Sudan was marginalised (Deng, 2006; Klein, 2008). This marginalisation extended to all walks of life, from economic development to health care to education. For example, in 1956 when Sudan gained its independence, there were only five university graduates and

only one secondary school in South Sudan (Jalata, 2005). Thus, British colonial policies helped to create unequal society where Arab Muslims in northern parts of Sudan were better off than Christian and Animist Africans in southern parts. This marginalisation and religious differences helped to create a society where different ethnic groups created strong ethnic identities. The Muslim Arabs of central regions of Sudan saw themselves superior to the other ethnic groups, and the British colonial policies favouring them over other groups further increased this separation.

When Britain granted Sudan its independence, they handed the political power to the Muslim Arab elites (Aleu-Baak, 2012; Klein, 2008). The indigenous African populations in south of the country saw this as merely a change of colonial masters from British to Arabs, as the new political elite of Sudan continued the policies that concentrated heavily on central regions and neglected other parts of the country. In addition, the educational marginalisation of south meant that when British left, there were no trained personnel in south to take over the state functions, and therefore British officials were replaced by officials from north of Sudan (Jalata, 2005). Not only were southerners marginalised politically and economically as southern markets fell to northern merchants, the northerners also imposed northern Arabic educational system on southerners and sought to impose Arabic and Islamic identity on southern populations (Jalata, 2005). This led to contempt in South, and almost as soon as Sudan became independent the tensions in the country erupted as a civil war between north and south in 1956.

Sudan saw continuous fighting between north and south from 1956 to 1972, and again from 1983 until 2005 when the two opposing sides, the Sudanese government in the north and the leading political and military units in the south, the

Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army, finally came to a peace agreement (Madibbo, 2012; Jalata, 2005; Grawert, 2008). In the peace agreement the Sudanese government agreed to allow wide autonomy to South Sudan. This peace agreement ended the civil war that had cost more than 2 million lives and displaced almost 4 million people in south (Aleu-Baak, 2012). In January 2011 a referendum was held in South Sudan over whether South Sudan should remain as a part of Sudan or become independent. Overwhelming majority of the population, 98.83%, voted for independence (Olowu, 2011), and South Sudan celebrated its independence on July 9, 2011.

However, this didn't mean that problems and hostilities between Sudan and South Sudan were a thing of the past. Sudan has been a major oil producing country. Around 1980 oil was found in south, and currently many of the oil wells are in the territory of South Sudan or in the southern parts of Sudan close to the border between the two countries (Grawert, 2008). Some of the oil fields remain contested, both sides claiming that the oil fields are part of their territory. Ownership of these oil fields is not the only problem. Due to decades of marginalisation, South Sudan has no oil refineries of its own, and therefore the country is not able to process the crude oil it produces. All the refineries are in Sudan, and all the oil pipes used for transferring the crude from South Sudanese oil fields go to Sudan. This means that all the oil produced in South Sudan must travel to Sudan before it can be transported further to international markets. Despite its potential oil wealth, South Sudan is one of the poorest nations in the world, with huge problems inherited from years of mismanagement and marginalisation ranging from poor infrastructure and transportation to health care and education.

Before South Sudan's independence the oil wealth from the oil fields in south flowed to the central parts of Sudan. During the second part of the civil war in 1983-2005, Western oil companies pulled out from southern parts of Sudan due to human rights violations committed by both sides, but especially the northern troops. However, as the Western oil companies left, oil companies from China, India, and Malaysia moved in (Grawert, 2008). These countries were looking for natural resources to fuel their rapidly developing economies, and according to many observers they did not care about the human rights situation in Sudan. For example, foreign oil companies have been accused of having employed militias as security guards against South Sudanese (Grawert, 2008). Especially China has been in the centre of accusations. It has been accused of 'buying' support from African governments and despotic rulers with development aid. In Sudan, China has been said to set up a contracts by which oil was bartered for arms, ignoring the situation between Sudan and South Sudan, and in Sudan's Darfur region where there is another internal conflict going on between the government of Sudan and local rebels (Grawet, 2008; Franks & Ribet, 2009).

China's involvement in Africa is not simply economic but political as well. China is looking for political support against Western countries and to validate its rise to the global power elite. Many African countries, on the other hand, are looking for business partners and opportunities outside the West to counter pressures and control exerted on them by Western governments and NGOs over better and more transparent governance (Franks & Ribet, 2009; Ngomba, 2011). This has led to China becoming Africa's largest trade partner, and China being involved in the African continent in various ways.

Chinese media are playing a part in furthering China's interests in Africa. China is using her media and media products as a way to wield soft power in Africa through public diplomacy. In order to woo African governments and ruling parties China has provided media technology for several African countries, and Chinese media tend to emphasise only positive aspects of life in Africa and ignore negative ones (Ngomba, 2011; Franks & Ribet, 2009). Thus, the historical, political, and economic situation in South Sudan ties it to Britain (colonialism and its legacy), Qatar (Arabism and Islamism), and China (current economic and political developments in South Sudan and Sudan). This combined its status as the youngest but also one of the poorest countries in the world makes it an interesting subject for news framing research.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to find out how the similarities and differences in the framing of international news by three international news broadcasters affect the overall portrayal of a news item, in this case, South Sudan. The news broadcasters chosen are the BBC from Britain, Al Jazeera from Qatar, and CNTV from China. The research focuses on the framing of news reports on South Sudan published on the websites of the three news broadcasters. The research look into the similarities and differences between the number of news reports published on South Sudan, the frames used for the news reports, sources for the news reports, and the overall image of the country the news reports create for the reader. The reason for choosing this news topic and aforementioned news broadcasters ties to the history of South Sudan, and differences in ideologies, cultures, political stances, and national interests of respective countries of each broadcaster. All of these factors, among other things,

have been shown influencing news framing (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007; Fahmy, 2010; Park, 2003; Eckler & Kalyango, 2012).

Focusing on South Sudan was thought to be fitting for numerous reasons, ranging from its past as a British colony and a part of the nation of Sudan to its present as a struggling independent nation with noticeable oil reserves. These historical, political, and economic factors tie South Sudan to Britain, to Arab countries, and to China, which makes it an interesting focus for framing research. Especially interesting for this study is to see how Al Jazeera reporting differs from the BBC or CNTV, as Al Jazeera claims to give a news perspective to international news, and be ‘the voice of the voiceless’, that is, to give more space in international news to those peoples and regions usually neglected or ignored by news broadcasters (Figenschou, 2011; Figenschou, 2010; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). Therefore, one of the objectives of this study is to compare Al Jazeera to the BBC and CNTV to find out if Al Jazeera offers clearly different or what could be considered fairer treatment of South Sudan in their reports than the other two broadcasters.

Research Questions

This research will use qualitative textual analysis to answer four research questions. The research questions are as follows:

RQ 1: What kind of overall image of South Sudan do the news reports of each of the news broadcasters provide for the audiences?

RQ 2: How does the portrayal of South Sudan change in the news reports of each news broadcaster over the course of one year?

RQ 3: How visible are national interest and public diplomacy in the news reports of each of the news broadcasters?

RQ 4: How visible are Western journalistic influences on CNTV news reporting?

Scope of the Study

This study is limited to the online news report content published by the BBC, Al Jazeera, and the CNTV on South Sudan and her people. The studied time period is one year, the first year of South Sudan's independence, between July 9, 2011 and July 9, 2012. The study uses quantitative approach by using content analysis, and qualitative approach by using textual analysis. The study concentrates on the reports themselves, the frames used in the reports, and the sources used for the reports. Other supporting content such as video, audio or picture content or links to other content or external sites are not included in the analysis.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its objective to find out how different image of the same news item the three broadcasters present to their audiences. This helps to understand the nature of news production as well as some of the main factors affecting the content of news and the treatment news items get from different broadcasters. As increasing amount of news broadcasters offer their content online and therefore are accessible to global audiences, it is important to try to understand how governments and global and local power elites try to affect the perception of national and international audiences on given news topic or item. Because news by its very nature is seen as factual information, the roles of sources, especially elite sources, and national interest in shaping the news content and framing should be studied in order to map out how international news can be used as a tool to manipulate

audience perceptions and public opinion on the news items themselves as well as other nations, especially those considered political or economic rivals.

Limitations of the Study

There are possible limitations for this study. Online environment enables the use of several media at once, but due to time limitations this research focuses only on text and will not include picture, video or audio material or links to additional information available for the audiences on the news websites. This, then, leads to getting only a partial picture of the whole news coverage of South Sudan by each news broadcaster. However, despite these limitations, the analysis of the reports alone gives a clear idea of framing and overall image of South Sudan these news broadcasters create for the audience as the text content is still the main vehicle for these news broadcasters for publishing news online, and picture, video, and audio material are used for supporting the text. In addition, a major limitation for this study is that it does not take a look into the audience effects of the news articles analysed. This leaves questions on how readily audiences accept the portrayal of South Sudan offered by the three broadcasters, and if there are differences between audience acceptance between the broadcasters.

Definitions of Terms

News media are media whose contents focus mostly on the news genre. The news media included in this research are the websites of the BBC, Al Jazeera English version, and CNTV English version.

News reports are in the case of this research written factual reports that focus on specific news items, news events, or news objects which are published under the category of “news” in the media. In the case of this research, the focus of the news

reports, that is the news object, news item, or news event, is the country South Sudan and South Sudanese people and their actions.

Number of reports is in the case of this research the total number of relevant news reports, that is news reports focusing on South Sudan, published by the news broadcasters in the period of one month.

Length of reports is in the case of this research measured in the number of words the individual news reports contain.

News report structure for hard news, following the western journalistic traditions, most often follows inverted pyramid structure where the information and frame considered most important by the persons involved in the news production are presented in the beginning of the article, and the less important information and possible secondary frames in the middle and end of the article. This is due to limitations of space and audience reading habits. If the article has to be shortened due to limited space, it can be easily cut at the bottom without losing the most important parts of the report. Also, audiences tend to read only the headlines and first paragraphs of most reports and moving on without finishing the report. Placing the most important information and frame in the beginning, the news broadcaster can convey its key message on the news item even if the reader doesn't finish reading the whole report.

Topics of news reports are the main news objects presented in the news reports. This research uses five topic categories: conflict, economic development, political development, social development, and human interest.

Category "conflict" is divided into two group: external conflict which contains all reports that focus mainly on conflicts South Sudan engages with other nations, and

internal conflict which contains reports that focus mainly on conflicts taking place inside South Sudan

Category “economic development” includes reports that focus on economic development taking place in South Sudan.

Category “political development” includes reports that focus on political developments inside South Sudan or between South Sudan and other nations.

Category “social development” includes reports that focus on the development of the quality of everyday life for ordinary citizens in South Sudan, for example developments in health care and education.

Category “human interest” includes reports that focus mainly on South Sudanese people whether in South Sudan or elsewhere, life in South Sudan, culture, religion, and arts.

Tone of reports can be defined as the overall mood or feeling of the report, whether positive, negative, or neutral. The choice of words, expressions, and tropes can heavily affect the tone.

The tone is considered “positive” if the report focuses mostly on positive economic, social, and political situations, such as improvement of education or healthcare, or conciliatory developments in conflict situations.

The tone is considered “negative” if the report focuses mostly on negative developments in South Sudan, whether worsening economic, social, political, or conflict situations and quality of life, or if South Sudan is clearly portrayed as a helpless victim or an aggressor.

The tone is considered “neutral” if it cannot be defined clearly positive or negative.

Frames of reports can be defined as the perspective used for portraying the news objects in the news articles. Frames can be called principles or ideas that help audiences to comprehend complex issues presented in the news. This research includes five main frame categories: conflict, development, human interest, national interest, and public diplomacy.

Conflict frames are divided into “external conflict” and “internal conflict” categories. Category “external conflict” contains frames that focus on conflicts South Sudan has with other countries. It includes frame subcategories “aggression” which focuses on aggression and violence in external conflict situation and “conciliatory” which focuses on conciliatory aspects of these conflicts. To “external conflict – aggression” further subcategories of “neutral”, “aggressor” and “victim” are added. “Aggressor” includes frames that portray South Sudan as an aggressor in the conflict situation, “victim” includes frames that portray South Sudan as a victim of foreign aggression, and “neutral” includes frames that present a conflict situation between South Sudan and another country, but do not present South Sudan neither aggressor nor victim.

Category “internal conflict” contains frames that focus on conflicts taking place inside South Sudan. Subcategories “stable” and “unstable” are added. “Stable” includes frames that portray the state and the government of South Sudan as stable and capable of dealing with the conflicts in internal conflict situations; “unstable” includes frames that portray the government as unstable and incapable of dealing with the conflicts taking place.

Development frames are divided into three categories. “Economic development” frames are ones that focus on the state of economic development in South Sudan.

Category “social development” includes frames that focus on the general development of infrastructure, healthcare, education, human rights, and overall living conditions in South Sudan.

Category “political development” includes frames that focus on South Sudanese politicians, national policies and stances, and relations with other countries.

Frame category “human interest” contains frames that focus on South Sudanese people other than politicians, culture, arts and religion in South Sudan, as well as frames focusing on lives of South Sudanese people, whether in South Sudan or elsewhere.

Frame category “national interest” contains frames that focus on South Sudan, but bring in the actions, policies, and stances of other nations in their interaction with South Sudan and South Sudanese people.

Frame category “public diplomacy,” contains frames that try to link the situation South Sudan presented in the news report to the actions or dealings of some other nation or political groups that are not directly involved with the news event or object taking place but are included in the reports in order to create emotional or cognitive responses from the audiences.

Source of news is the main information source used for obtaining information about the news object presented in news report. Western journalistic tradition stresses the importance of stating the source unless naming the source puts the source in a risk.

This research uses six source categories: government official/representative, independent elites, agencies, other media, general public, and journalist.

“Government official/representative” sources are sources clearly affiliated with any national government. This category is divided into three groups: “local government” (government of South Sudan), “government of Sudan”, and “foreign governments”.

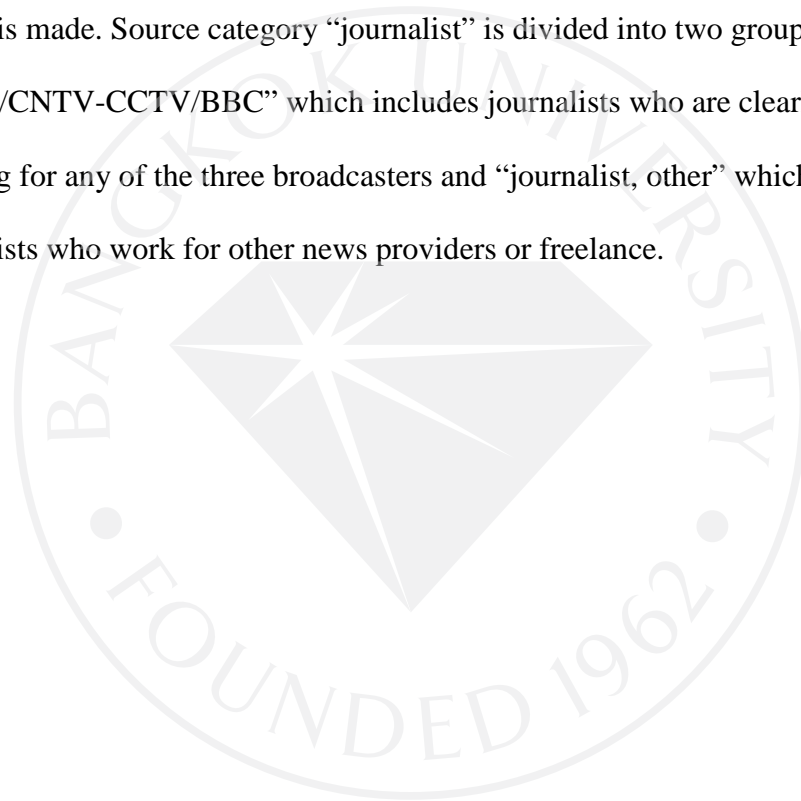
“Independent elite” sources are representatives of political groups and parties outside government, non-governmental organisations, and the United Nations and other international organisations and groups and their representatives. This category is divided into four groups: “the UN”, “local” (South Sudanese, for example opposition parties), “foreign aid” (foreign aid groups not under the UN operating in South Sudan), and “foreign other” (foreign groups operating in South Sudan who are not part of the UN or aid groups).

Source category “agencies” includes news agencies mentioned as an information source in the news reports. Agencies, or wire services, are news gathering agencies such as Reuters and Associated Press that sell the news reports to other news broadcasters and are frequently used as a source by other media such as newspapers, news magazines, radio news etc.

Source category “other media” includes any other media used as the main source for the news report, such as newspapers, radio, or television.

Source category “general public” includes those sources in South Sudan that are not affiliated with the government or independent elites, such as ordinary people interviewed for the news report.

Journalist or reporter is a person involved in the making of the news reports. The journalist's or reporter's role is to gather the information relevant to the news report and write the news report. Journalists often use agencies and the work of other journalists and reporters as an information source for their own work. For the purposes of this research, journalist as a source is counted if the author of the report is mentioned as a source, or a mention of other journalists or reporters as information source is made. Source category "journalist" is divided into two groups, "journalist Al Jazeera/CNTV-CCTV/BBC" which includes journalists who are clearly identified as working for any of the three broadcasters and "journalist, other" which includes journalists who work for other news providers or freelance.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviews some previous research done on news media. Included are reviews of research on Western news media and international news, Al Jazeera and international news, Chinese media and its role in public diplomacy, and journalism and news production. Also included are reviews on research done on framing and framing theory, as the theoretical foundation for this research is the Framing theory. Research questions and research hypotheses as well as conceptual framework used for this research are also included in this chapter.

News Media

Western Media and International News

Traditionally, the global news flow has been from the centre, the Western countries, to the periphery, the developing countries. The western news media have been able to dominate on the global scale thanks to their economic power and advantage in communication technology (Peng, 2008). However, this domination has led to several problems in terms of the content of news stories originating in foreign countries. First of all, developing countries have been largely underreported in the western media, especially Africa and Latin America (De Beer, 2010; Hagos, 2000). There are several reasons why the western news organisations have been giving less space for these regions. Some of the most important reasons are economic matters, journalistic practices, and the target audiences.

Going to the economic matters first, one of the main tasks in news production is to minimise the costs (Guo, 2011). This has led to the practice of news

organisations relying on wire services and other news organisations to obtain material for foreign news stories (Myers et al., 1996; Palmer, 2008). This means that many areas in Africa and Latin America are dropped from the international news simply because there is no material available from wire services or other news organisations, and sending in journalists to find out news stories to report would be too costly for the news organisations.

Journalistic practices and target audiences have their role in this neglect as well. One factor influencing the content chosen for international news reports is ethnocentrism (Quist-Adade, 2001; Seib, 2010). The news, despite supposedly being global, are targeted locally, which leads to choosing news items and framing the news reports to resonate with the culture and expectations of the target audiences (Clausen, 2004; Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, & Trammel, 2005; Figenschou, 2010; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). These factors also lead to other problems with international news in the western media: focusing on conflicts, and tendency to negative portrayal of developing countries, especially the African continent. Research has shown time and again that news reports originating from developing countries in western media tend to concentrate on violent or armed conflicts (Lee, Maslog, & Kim, 2006; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). Also, news reports originating from African countries keep focusing on further problems such as disease, political unrest, poverty, and tribalism (Franks, 2005; Obijiofor, 2009).

However, this focus on conflicts, negativity, and Afro-pessimism is not unique to the western media alone. Studies comparing the international news reporting in western countries and in developing countries in Africa and Asia have revealed that developing countries tend to get negative treatment in media elsewhere as well, not

just in the West (De Beer, 2010; Chaudhary, 2001). De Beer's (2010) research on TV-news in three different regions, three western countries, two Arab countries, and South Africa, revealed that Africa and other developing regions received more negative than positive coverage in every region. Interestingly, De Beer's research found that western media broadcast more negative news stories from the West as well, whereas the media in other regions reported Europe and North America in more positive than negative tone. This, then, raises the inevitable question of why do the developing countries portray other developing countries more in negative light than positive? Possible explanations could be the institutionalisation and homogenisation of global news, as well as the dominance of western journalistic practices.

The hegemony of western media has not led only to the spread of western media products to other regions, but also to the spread of Western journalistic know-how (Ngomba, 2011; Pan & Chan, 2003). Even though audiences in different regions do not necessarily share the western ideals of what consists of good journalism, journalists and audiences from other regions tend to look up to the western media as examples in professionalism and expertise (Pan & Chan, 2003; Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011). However, even though the media in the West is seen as professional and high in expertise, it is not necessarily seen as credible or trustworthy (Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011).

Despite the journalism scholars and researchers continuously talking about western journalistic values, it doesn't mean that the values are truly shared in every Western country. For example, the notion of objectivity that is important especially for the US news media is challenged not only by Arab media, but French media as well. Alain de Pouzilhac from France 24 news channel has challenged the idea of

objectivity by saying that objectivity doesn't exist, but honesty and impartiality do (Seib, 2010). This echoes with Arab audiences who see credibility and authenticity as the most important attribute of news organisations, not objectivity (Seib, 2010; Khamis, 2007). What is important in these cases of differing ideals of what constitutes as good journalism is that in every case, the audiences want to see the news reported as seen through 'their' eyes, that is, reported from a perspective that resonates with their expectations and attitudes (Khamis, 2007; Seib, 2008). Even though the Western media, especially the BBC and CNN, are widely seen as professional and high in expertise, they do not necessarily give a fair treatment for the news objects in their reporting. For example, the BBC has received criticism on the reporting on Israel-Palestine conflicts over the years. The criticism included failing to consistently give a full and fair account of the conflicts, lack of historical content, and bias toward Israel (Gaber, Seymour, & Thomas, 2009).

There are several reasons for biases in international news. One main factor for bias is ethnocentrism (Quist-Adade, 2001). As mentioned before, despite the global reach of several news organisations their news tend not to be global, but local. The main target audiences are domestic, and therefore their news reports are framed for local audiences. In addition, political ideology and orientation have been shown influencing the framing of international events and foreign countries (Yang, 2003; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). When it comes to international events, journalists and media tend to support their national governments' stances and policies instead of actively challenging them and striving to produce independent and balanced view (Yang, 2003; Griffin, 2004; Dimitrova et al., 2005). However, depending on the socio-political environment, ethnocentrism can influence the framing of international

events over ideology. As Quist-Adade (2001) found in his research on the media image of Africa in the former Soviet Union, ethnocentrism was clearly visible in the news stories originating from Africa. Ethnocentrism tended to result in negative images of African countries and people in the news media despite the national state policies of friendship, cooperation, and equality between Soviet and African peoples.

Al Jazeera and International News

The problems with the imbalanced international news reporting and ethnocentrism are not unique to the Western media. In the recent decade and a half the biggest and most serious challenger to the hegemony of the West in the international news flow has been the Qatari news organisation Al Jazeera (Samuel-Azran, 2009). Al Jazeera Arabic was launched in 1996, and its sister channel Al Jazeera English in 2006. One of the principal reasons for the creation of the channels was that they serve as a public diplomacy vehicle for Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani, the ruler of Qatar (Seib, 2010). Al Jazeera has received a lot of attention in the world of media and communications research. This attention is due to Al Jazeera challenging the Western media hegemony, and the changes it was able to instigate in rather short period of time in the Middle Eastern media landscape.

Al Jazeera started gaining recognition among Arab audiences thanks to its reporting on the 2000 second intifada, the Palestinian uprising against Israel. Their reporting was different from both their Western and Middle Eastern competitors, as Al Jazeera reported the events from clearly Arab perspective (Seib, 2010). Right after the second intifada, two new conflicts took place that enabled Al Jazeera to properly challenge the western news organisations, the US invasions of Afghanistan in 2001, and Iraq in 2003 after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in 2001. When the conflict in

Afghanistan started, the ruling Taliban allowed Al Jazeera to remain in the country as the only international news broadcaster (Seib, 2010). This meant that the organisation was the only news provider with reporters in the field, which gave them a huge advantage over their competitors. In case of the war in Iraq, Al Jazeera didn't have such an advantage, but it managed to capture the attention of the media and political world with their style of reporting. Al Jazeera's reports challenged several American media taboos, for example by showing dead and captured US soldiers, which was something that the US media had been avoiding in their reporting since the end of Vietnam War (Samuel-Azran, 2009). Inevitably, such reporting earned Al Jazeera a spotlight among US politicians, media, and military command. American political and military elite heavily criticised Al Jazeera of irresponsible journalism, being unprofessional, being a mouthpiece and a propaganda channel for terrorists and Islamists, being biased, and deviating from the Western notion of news objectivity and good taste (Nisbet & Myers, 2010; Zayani, 2008).

Al Jazeera has also received plenty of criticism in the Arab world. The political rulers in the Middle East had been enjoying a soft treatment from the local media thanks to severe media restrictions, which meant that the politicians didn't have to face any real criticism by the media (Nisbet & Myers, 2010; Zayani, 2008; Miladi, 2006). However, this lack of political and social criticism also led to Arab audiences losing respect with the local media (Miladi, 2006). Al Jazeera, using its relative autonomy from government control, changed this by openly criticising and challenging the Arab politicians, which led the channel being banned from several Arab countries and even to diplomatic crises (Zayani, 2008).

Despite criticism and threats, the news organisation continued their style of reporting, and kept receiving criticism and being temporarily banned from certain countries. These developments did not go unnoticed by the audiences in the Middle East. As mentioned before, the Arab audiences do not consider objectivity in news reporting as important as credibility and authenticity (Seib, 2010; Khamis, 2007). Reporting on the Western media, especially on the CNN, has been seen as inaccurate and biased by the Arab audiences since the 1990-1991 Gulf War (Miladi, 2006). Also, as mentioned before, the BBC's reporting on the Israel-Palestine conflicts have received criticism in the West as well for pro-Israel bias and lack of context and background information in the news stories.

With the reporting on the Iraq war, Al Jazeera did not only receive criticism but also the attention of the mainstream media in the West. Several western news broadcasters took Al Jazeera footage and used it in their news, which reversed the traditional flow of news from the West to rest of the world (Samuel-Azran, 2009). Suddenly, a news organisation from the Middle East was able to set the daily news agenda instead of the western news giants. However, this was not the only change Al Jazeera was able to instigate. Its open criticism of Arab governments led to changes in the media landscape in the Middle East, as the satellite channel opened a new avenue for political debate in the previously heavily controlled and restricted political environment. Al Jazeera was able to create a new public sphere for the Arab audiences which enabled them to discuss the socio-political environment and Arab policies in an open, public manner that had not been possible before (Seib, 2008; Powers & Gilboa, 2007; Wojcieszak, 2007). The challenge to the Western news giants and political rulers in the Middle East combined with the clear Arab

perspective in Al Jazeera's news reporting earned it a special status among Arab audiences (Wojcieszak, 2007).

Al Jazeera's relative freedom from government and Arab elite control and Arab and Muslim perspective in its news stories have made it a trusted news source for the audiences in the Middle East. Al Jazeera's audiences see it as a truth-teller, and trust it as a defender of Arab and Muslim interests making Al Jazeera Arabic the voice of the 'Arab street' (Seib, 2008). With its guiding principle of 'giving voice to the voiceless', Al Jazeera has given more space in the international news to the global South that has normally been ignored by the mainstream news broadcasters, which in turn has expanded its audience appeal (Figenschou, 2011; Figenschou, 2010; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). In order to reach truly global audiences, Al Jazeera English was launched in 2006. Al Jazeera English aims to follow the principle of reporting the forgotten stories and giving attention to the people and regions traditionally overlooked in the international news and covering oppositional and controversial opinions (Figenschou, 2010). Media scholars have given praise to Al Jazeera English for not being dominated by geopolitical or commercial interests, as well as being free from domestic agendas and providing truly global news (Figenschou, 2010; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). Al Jazeera English distances itself from global power elites and Western media, striving to provide a 'Third World perspective' and a new perspective on international news (Figenschou, 2011; Khamis, 2007).

Al Jazeera Arabic and English channels have received a lot of positive attention in media research. Al Jazeera model of journalism has been said different from that of its mainstream competitors such as the BBC (El-Nawawy & Powers,

2010). Its policy of hiring local reporters instead of sending in foreigners to cover the news stories has been seen as a welcome change from the conventional practices of sending in foreign correspondents who lack local knowledge and are insensitive to local cultural practices (Figenschou, 2010). Also the source profile of Al Jazeera has been found different from that of its competitors (Figenschou, 2011). This is important as previous research has shown sources influencing the news framing (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007; Park, 2003). The sources used by journalists affect what comes into attention of journalists in the first place, which means that the sources start the process of inclusion and exclusion by choosing what information they will reveal to the reporters, and from what perspective.

Typically journalists rely on same sources, usually local and global elites as they are readily available, which has led to journalists gravitating towards power centres (Lee et al., 2006; Shehata, 2007; Guo, 2011). This is one reason for homogenisation of international news. Also, importantly, sources have been found to be a major source of media biases (Peng, 2008). When it comes to the news stories on Al Jazeera channels, some researchers have claimed that the news stories on the news organisation's channels do not encourage stereotypical thinking on cultural 'others', or harden the existing audience attitudes and opinions as the traditional news stories tend to do (El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010).

As mentioned, Al Jazeera channels aim to distance themselves from global power elites and Western media. This also affects the source profile of the channels because, as mentioned before, journalists tend to rely on elites, whether political or other, for information on news stories as their opinions are readily available. Political elites, government sources, and independent elites such as UN and non-governmental

organisation workers usually are easier to access than other types of sources, making it easier and cheaper for journalists working in foreign countries to gain information on news events and objects (Guo, 2011). This means that the elite sources can affect the framing of the news reports, and make them at least partially to suit their needs and interests (Brewer et al., 2003).

Al Jazeera aims to find different sources in order to break this journalistic dependence on elites and to give a different perspective to international news. Research has found that Al Jazeera English covers the global South in more detail and in longer news reports than the global North, and that it gives more space for ordinary voices. That is, Al Jazeera English uses more ordinary people as sources in their news reports originating in the global South (Figenschou, 2010).

However, despite all the positive attention Al Jazeera has received from researchers, it has received plenty of criticism as well. Even though Al Jazeera is said to be relatively autonomous from government control and not dominated by domestic agenda or geopolitical interests, the news organisation keeps relying on the ruler of Qatar for financial assistance (Zayani, 2008). It is also important to remember that Al Jazeera was created at least partially for public diplomacy purposes (Seib, 2010). It is quite revealing that despite its heavy criticism of other Arab governments, Al Jazeera doesn't openly criticise the Qatari government (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007). In addition, further research has revealed that Al Jazeera channels are not necessarily very different from their mainstream competitors after all. Al Jazeera Arabic has been found to be increasingly similar to mainstream Arab satellite channels, and Al Jazeera English seems to maintain mainstream news criteria (Figenschou, 2010).

Reporting on Al Jazeera has been found to be mostly not positive, and crisis and violent or armed conflict dominate the reporting from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Despite the aim of giving voice to the global South the least covered regions in Al Jazeera English news broadcasts are Latin America, Africa, and Oceania, just as they are the least covered regions in western news (Figenschou, 2010; Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011; De Beer, 2010). Despite its different source profile, Al Jazeera English is also elite dominated. News stories and commentaries on Al Jazeera English tend to rely on independent elites and government officials as sources and expertise on the news objects and events (Figenschou, 2010). These factors point to the institutionalised way of news production worldwide.

Considering the birth of Al Jazeera, it is important to keep in mind that the personnel hired for the organisation were mostly BBC-trained journalists and media personnel who had been working for the BBC's Arab World Service news channel. When the BBC operation ended, many of the journalists and other personnel were invited to join Al Jazeera (Powers & Gilboa, 2007). Al Jazeera English also relies heavily on British expertise, many of the channel's reporters and executives being either trained in Britain or British by nationality (Figenschou, 2011; Khamis, 2007). This means that despite the claims of distancing itself from Western media, Al Jazeera English relies heavily on western know-how in news production and broadcasting. In addition, the journalistic practices of Al Jazeera are influenced by western practices due to the training and work experience received in Western countries by many of its personnel.

Al Jazeera channels are not entirely free from regionalism, political interests or ethnocentrism either. Just as western news channels cater first for the domestic,

then to the global audiences, Al Jazeera channels' main target audiences are Arab and Muslim. Even if Al Jazeera is not dominated by domestic Qatari agenda per se, it is clearly a political actor in its own right (Powers & Gilboa, 2007). Al Jazeera channels promote both pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism, which both affect the framing and selection of the news stories broadcast on Al Jazeera (Seib, 2008; Seib, 2010). Based on previous research, it can be argued that despite the claims that Al Jazeera does not encourage stereotypical thinking or cultural 'othering', the channels actually encourage Muslims to identify themselves as different from non-Muslims (Seib, 2008). Also a Muslim bias can be seen in the organisation's coverage of international events (Powers & Gilboa, 2007). Therefore, questions on Al Jazeera's aims and policies can be raised.

Even though Al Jazeera distances itself from western media, it relies on western expertise and methods for news production. Also, the Third world perspective' seems to be somewhat ethnocentric and politically motivated. As Seib (2010) has argued, broadcast media is an appealing public diplomacy tool for governments. Al Jazeera certainly serves a political function in advancing pan-Arab and pan-Islamic identities. Even though the national interest and political agendas of the state of Qatar may not be as clearly visible on Al Jazeera as those of western governments and states on western news channels such as the CNN and the BBC, Al Jazeera carries political functions just as western media do.

The global news channels are used for wielding soft power globally in order to advance the political agendas of the national governments or the owners of the channels (Seib, 2010). This inevitably affects the framing of international news on every channel, and despite certain optimism Al Jazeera is not immune to it either. The

framing perspective in Al Jazeera's news stories and the public rhetoric of the channel's representatives may be different from those of western media, but it does not mean that Al Jazeera's reporting on international news is necessarily any fairer or more democratic than the reporting on western news; it may just focus on different aspects of the same news events and objects.

Chinese Media and Public Diplomacy

Chinese media system has been seen as an opposite of British and American media systems. The two Western systems have been seen as models of libertarian press, and the Chinese as a model of totalitarian Communist press (Peng, 2008). Media in China have been considered as propaganda tool for the government and the Communist Party, and different parts of the media system serve as propaganda vehicles either for the Party or the national government (Pan & Chan, 2003). However, things are changing. As with the rest of the country, the Chinese media have been through reforms since the 1980s. In the past, media in China were used by the Party for disseminating state propaganda, such as state policies, decisions and actions to the national audiences (Tang & Sampson, 2012). Media commercialisation brought in by the media reforms has changed some of these media practices.

Even though the media are still in tight government control, media and journalistic practices in China are absorbing increasing amounts of foreign influences and moving away from the purely state-run system of the past (Ngomba, 2011; Pan & Chan, 2003). Commercialisation has brought in for example audience appeal which has challenged the government dictated programming, leading to a situation where commercial and government interests compete against each other for the attention of Chinese audiences (Pan & Chan, 2003). However, despite the opening up of the

Chinese media system, the news in China still tends to serve the state. Especially international news reporting is closely tied to the Party and government line, the news following government foreign policies and orientation (Peng, 2008; Yang, 2003). Thus, the news media are used for PR and public diplomacy, not just for domestic but for foreign audiences as well. The national government in China wants to introduce Chinese development and policies both at home and abroad, and the news media are used for wielding soft power in order to advance Chinese interests (Zhang, 2006; Franks & Ribet, 2009).

In 1992, the head of the Propaganda Department Din Guangen gave instructions on how the effectiveness of propaganda should be paid attention to in order to make the programming on Chinese media appealing and convincing for the audiences. He mentioned especially how the democratic form of discussion and interaction should be adopted for programmes to make them lively and convincing (Zhang, 2006). These guidelines were adopted for example on national broadcaster CCTV's current affairs programme Focus, which attracted a lot of audience interest with its surprisingly open style of reporting and criticism of current affairs in China. However, the programme lost a lot of audience appeal after it toned down its criticism after new guidelines for media from the Party (Zhang, 2006). Despite its fall, the programme showed how important and useful news media can be in addressing and manipulating audiences, and how big part audience appeal plays in whether or not the attempts to convince the audiences will be successful.

The national broadcasting group CCTV launched an online TV broadcasting channel China Network Television, CNTV, in the end of December 2009. CNTV aims to stand as a world-class online TV broadcaster, and illustrate the high standards

of Chinese webcasters (CNTV, 2010). The content is offered in several languages, and CNTV promises to cover local and international events in wide variety of areas, from politics to culture and sport. It offers several channels, including news channel, sports channel, economic channel, and arts and culture channel among others. As CCTV is heavily controlled by the Chinese government and serves as a public diplomacy tool, it can be argued that CNTV was set up to connect with global audiences in order to introduce China to the world in a way Chinese government wants it to be introduced. Western media tend to portray China and its actions abroad in mostly negative light, as China has risen to be the biggest economic and political competitor of Western countries (Mawdsley, 2008; Franks & Ribet, 2009). Chinese government needs to balance this negative coverage globally, which resulted in the launch of CNTV and another English language news channel by the national news agency Xinhua in 2010 (Ngomba, 2011).

International news in China has been harnessed to serve the national interests and government foreign policies. Reporting on news events and issues originating from Africa in Chinese media is quite revealing. Even though Africa is underreported in Chinese media just as it is in media elsewhere, the reporting tends to focus more on positive aspects of life in African continent than on negative. Especially pictures used in Chinese press tend to show only positive sides and ignore negative aspects (Franks & Ribet, 2009). This is seen as public diplomacy, as China has become Africa's largest trade partner, and Chinese government is also looking to African governments for political support to counter the influence and power of Western countries in international affairs (Ngomba, 2011).

However, Chinese media are not the only ones following their national government foreign policies and political stances. As discussed before, Al Jazeera channels are used by the Qatari political elite for public diplomacy, especially for challenging Western countries' and Saudi Arabia's influence and to promote pan-Arabic and pan-Islamic identities. Western media also tend to side with their governments on international issues. In addition, research has found that international news stories in different countries tend to rely on sources close to the political identities and stances of each country. For Example, when reporting on the NATO air strikes on Kosovo in 1999, the media in US used Americans and NATO as the main information sources, and the media in China used Chinese and Russians as the main information sources (Yang, 2003). Likewise, analysis of the reporting of Iraq War on online news sites in coalition countries and Arab countries revealed differences in the use of sources in order to frame the news reports to fit the socio-political environments, government stances, and audience expectations in different countries (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007).

Interestingly, the Chinese media are absorbing increasing amounts of western influences as the media landscape in China keeps changing. Many Chinese journalists look to Western news organisations, such as The New York Times, the BBC, and CNN as examples of professional model of journalism. Also, journalism training in China is changing and includes more Western ideals of news reporting, such as the five W's in lead, and prioritising conflict, relevance, and consequences (Ngomba, 2011; Pan & Chan, 2003). This points to the direction of homogenisation and institutionalisation of news production. However, despite similarities in the process of news production, the framing of news reports does not have to be similar. As

discussed before, several factors affect and influence the framing of news reports. Thus, despite the similar methods and processes of news production and the dominance of Western media, the resulting news reports in media from different countries can provide significantly different picture to the audiences.

Broadcaster Overview

The three broadcasters chosen for this research represent different media models. The BBC is established under Royal Charter which explicitly recognises the BBC's editorial independence and sets out its public purposes. The BBC is governed by the BBC Trust which sets the strategic direction of the BBC, and receives funding from the licence fees paid in Britain. The BBC also has three commercial subsidiaries, BBC Worldwide, BBC World News, and BBC Studios and Post Production (The BBC, 2013).

Al Jazeera was created in 1996 by the decision of Qatar's ruler Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani. First an Arabic channel was launched, and in 2006 and its sister channel Al Jazeera English. Even though Al Jazeera is said to be independent, it has received lot of funding from the ruling family of Qatar. Therefore, some researchers have said that Al Jazeera was created as a public diplomacy tool for the ruling family (Seib, 2010)

CNTV, China Network Television, is part of the state-owned national broadcasting group of China CCTV. CNTV was set up as online TV, and it adds a new channel to the existing 22 CCTV channels (CNTV, 2010). CCTV is heavily controlled by the Chinese government.

Journalism and News Production

During the past three decades, journalism has become more professional, and journalism has become a graduate occupation (Frith & Meech, 2007). Increasing numbers of journalists go through university journalism or media programmes as a preparation for the job. What is called the professional model of journalism, or the Anglo-American model, was developed in the United States and in Britain over the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries (Boudana, 2011). This professional model of journalism has been seen as a role model in many ex-Communist countries in Europe and in many developing countries around the world (Metyková & Waschková Císarová, 2009). This professionalization of journalism has meant that increasing numbers of universities and colleges offer journalism programmes. It has also led to western universities setting up journalism programmes in other countries. Even though many of these programmes have been created primarily for the financial incentives offered, it has some consequences in terms of how news is produced globally (Knight & Hawtin, 2010).

English has become the language of international news (Seib, 2010; Palmer, 2008), which means that the Anglo-American model of producing news for global audiences naturally dominates the field. Also, journalism programmes in universities, especially in international programmes and in programmes set up by western universities tend to use Anglo-Saxon textbooks originally intended for use in the parent country (Knight & Hawtin, 2010). Therefore, the Anglo-American model of journalism and news production are introduced globally to journalism students, which inevitably shapes some journalistic practices globally even though journalism is tied to prevailing cultural and political practices.

When it comes to journalists, they see their role as providers of public service by providing citizens with the information they need to be free and self-governing. However, journalists face contestation over their cultural authority due to declining audiences, wavering resources, and charges of bias and inaccuracy (Carlson, 2007). The work of modern-day journalists is becoming increasingly dictated by financial considerations. Increased competition and financial pressures mean that journalists are increasingly time-pressured (Chang, Southwell, Lee & Hong, 2012). In addition, making news organisations more market-oriented has eroded journalists' capability to maintain control over the values guiding their work, which has in turn led to lower professional standards (Gade, 2008). For example, contacting news sources for verifying information has become harder due to quickening pace of work; journalists need to produce news reports quicker and cheaper, which leave fewer possibilities for keeping up journalistic standards (Boczkowski, 2010).

Due to increase in news outlets and media platforms, the demand for news content has increased (Erdal, 2009; Boczkowski, 2010). This increase does not mean that there are more reporters doing original reporting. Instead, there are more people involved in taking news material that is second-hand and repacking and recycling this news material across different news media platforms for cost-cutting and efficiency reasons (Erdal, 2009; Boczkowski, 2010; Chang et al., 2012; Palmer, 2008).

Especially news published on media organisations' websites are taken from other media, resulting in cut-and-paste journalism (Erdal, 2009; Boczkowski, 2010).

The financial considerations of news production don't affect only reporters, but editors as well. Editors need increasing skills not only in journalism but in marketing consciousness and in collaboration with non-news departments (Gade,

2008). Despite these changes in the nature of editors' work, they still wield substantial power in deciding what the general public may read in the news. The editorial line or political ideology of a media company will be known in some way to its entire staff (Chang et al., 2012). Journalists know that their editors compare their work to that of their competitors. If a reporter produces significantly different report from that of their competitors, the reporter must at least defend their position. On the other hand, if all reporters produce similar report, editors assume their reporter did a good job (Boczkowski, 2010).

Journalists themselves naturally monitor what their competitors write and publish. This monitoring has increased due to time pressures and financial demands, and it contributes to editorial decisions. Work of other journalists is used for ideas what reports to write and how to write them, which has led to increasing imitation in the production of news reports (Boczkowski, 2010). Lesser resources for news gathering and increasing time pressures have led to journalists relying increasingly on wire services, such as Associated Press and Reuters, and other media for news sources. This is especially true in terms of international news (Palmer, 2008, Boczkowski, 2010). This situation in turn has led to increasing similarity in news reporting across media platforms, as the same news material from same wire service and media sources is repacked and recycled for cost-cutting and efficiency reasons.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Framing Theory

When it comes to researching framing and frames, one of the biggest problems arises from framing research lacking conceptual clarity and operational definitions of framing and frames. There is no one universally accepted definition of what is

framing and a frame (De Vreese, 2012; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). Entman (1993, p. 52) defines framing as selection of some aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text in order to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the described item. According to Entman (1993), frames define problems by defining what a causal agent is doing, diagnose causes by identifying the forces creating the problem, make judgements by evaluating causal agents and their effects, and suggest remedies by offering and justifying treatments for the problems and predict the likely effects. Frames have also been described as organising mechanisms for media content (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007). There are numerous other definitions for framing and frames, but they all point to same direction: the process of framing can be described as a process of selecting what will be included in the message and what will be left out, and frame itself as a construction used for describing and presenting the real item to the audiences.

Frames are a necessary tool for journalists for presenting complex issues and ideas to lay audiences. Frames are cognitive shortcuts used by people to understand complex issues; journalists use frames to describe or explain events, and audiences use frames to interpret those events (Supadhiloke, 2012). Thus, frames aid in audience comprehension of events and issues, as the item described in the text is presented in a way that makes it familiar and recognisable to the audiences (Park, 2003; Peng, 2008; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Myers & al., 1996; Clausen, 2004). Journalists also use frames to draw attention to certain objects and attributes of those objects (Weaver, 2007). This way, journalists construct the reality through the frames they use for their audiences who are not able to experience the news objects presented to them. This is

especially true with international news, as most people have no chance or desire to travel to the areas frequently featured in international news coverage, thereby leaving their experiences with the news objects totally dependent on what media tells them.

This construction of reality is what makes framing research important. As research has shown, audience members readily adopt news frames (Brewer et al., 2003). Therefore, it is important to know what kind of frames news media that supposedly provides factual information of real events offer to their audiences in order to understand audience attitudes and opinions towards certain media objects, and especially towards foreign countries, cultures, and people. However, framing research lacks conceptual clarity as well as operational definitions of framing and frames (De Vreese, 2012). This makes it difficult for framing researcher as they need to clearly define what types of frames they are concentrating on in their research, but the frames used by news media are many and there is no clear guideline in research how to identify and call these frames. Therefore, researchers may need to come up with their own definitions for and ways of identifying the frames they are dealing with.

The multitude of frames themselves is not the only issue, as identifying the reasons affecting frames can be challenging as well. Just as there are numerous frames news media can use, there are also many factors affecting what frames will be chosen. Some key factors affecting framing are sources, political ideology and orientation of journalists, political elites, national interest and national policies, culture and cultural practices, audience, and journalistic routines and norms (Dimitrova & Connolly-Ahern, 2007; Van Gorp, 2007; Zhou & Moy, 2007; Yang, 2003; Kim, Su & Hong, 2007; Entman, 1993; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005).

Sources have been shown to be a major influence on framing, as sources affect greatly what information comes into the attention of journalists, and in what way. Therefore, sources already start the process of framing, and also gatekeeping, by selecting what will be included in the message they deliver to the journalists (Park, 2003). Also, the availability of sources play a role, as some sources are more readily available for journalists, especially for journalists covering foreign news. This is usually the case with elite government or independent elite sources being easier to access than alternative sources, especially in societies that are politically or culturally restricted or closed to foreigners (Guo, 2011). This leads to political elites affecting framing, partially simply by making their opinions and views more readily available than other information sources.

In addition to framing, these factors also affect news selection through the process of gatekeeping, that is, the practice of choosing what information will be chosen to be published and what information will be omitted. The gatekeepers in the news making process are numerous and include for example the sources who choose what information to reveal to the journalists, who in turn choose what information they will include in the news report they send to the editors, and editors who then decide what information will be kept in the final published news report. Also governments with their media regulations and the owners of the news media with their interests are part of the gatekeeping process. Many governments recognise the value of news media in public diplomacy and exercising soft power globally, which leads to elites seeking to influence media content in order to further their political interests (Brewer et al., 2003).

When it comes to journalists themselves, their political ideologies and orientations as well as the journalistic practices and norms they follow are major factors affecting what frames the journalists will choose for their news stories (Wojcieszak, 2007; Fahmy, 2010; Yang, 2003). For example, Western journalistic practices emphasise conflict, which many times leads to a situation in where journalists seek out news items where a conflict is present (De Vreese, 2012). Also, the notion of objectivity plays a role, as many times the ideal of objectivity is achieved by presenting opinions that are contrary to those of the main information sources. However, these factors can lead to situation where conflicting views are presented too prominently solely for journalistic purposes in an issue where a consensus exists, making conflict too prominent in news generally (Polson & Kahle, 2010). When it comes to foreign issues, journalists tend to side their national government stances and policies, as well as national interest of their countries (Dimitrova et al. 2005; Griffin, 2004).

All these factors bind together with the culture and cultural practices of journalists. Culture has a huge influence on framing, as culture is the shared source for journalists and their audiences for frames (Van Gorp, 2007). The frames journalists choose to use in their news stories are anchored in the culture they share with their main audiences, as one main function of news frames is to make the news stories comprehensible for the audiences. This leads to audiences influencing news framing as well, as journalists and news broadcasters need to make their news stories appealing for their audiences. Especially in the case of foreign news the audience influence on framing is high. Not only must foreign news events be made relevant and comprehensible for domestic audiences, they also must be anchored in a narrative

framework that is recognised by and familiar to both journalists and audiences to be newsworthy in the first place (Entman, 1993; Yang, 2003; Van Gorp, 2007; Clausen, 2004).

The aforementioned factors are the underlying reason for this research. The focus is on the framing of South Sudan, the youngest nation in the world. Due to its history, South Sudan is tied to one way or another to all three news broadcasters included in this research, the BBC, Al Jazeera, and CNTV. The purpose of this research is to find out how different reality of the first year of South Sudanese independence these news broadcasters construct for their audiences. Despite the institutionalisation and homogenisation of news production, the several factors influencing framing should produce very clear differences in news reports broadcasted on each of the news organisation's websites. However, despite the cultural, political, and ideological differences of the respective countries and governments of these news broadcasters, clear similarities are expected to be present in their news reports.

Research Hypotheses

This research will use content analysis to test six hypotheses that were formulated based on previous research. The hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The BBC and CNTV cover South Sudan more extensively than Al Jazeera.

Hypothesis 2: CNTV carries more positive reports on South Sudan than the BBC or Al Jazeera.

Hypothesis 3: The BBC and Al Jazeera news reports focus mostly on conflict between South Sudan and Sudan and internal conflicts in South Sudan.

Hypothesis 3a: CNTV news reports focus mostly on development in South Sudan and conciliatory processes between South Sudan and Sudan.

Hypothesis 4: All three news broadcasters, the BBC, Al Jazeera, and CNTV, rely mostly on elite sources, whether official government sources or independent elites.

Hypothesis 4a: The BBC and Al Jazeera give more space for independent elites in their news stories than CNTV.

The hypotheses are based on previous findings in research. First, it is expected that Al Jazeera, despite their aim of 'third world perspective', gives less attention to South Sudan than the BBC and CNTV. This is based on audience appeal and political and ideological orientation. Al Jazeera's main target audiences are Arabs and Muslims, and according to previous research the channel also has clear political agenda advancing Arabism and Islamism (Seib, 2008). South Sudan, being Christian and Animist as well as having a conflict with Sudan that carries Muslim Arab identity, does not readily fit to the main interests of Al Jazeera. Therefore, it is expected that the BBC and CNTV carry noticeably more news reports on South Sudan than Al Jazeera.

When it comes to sources, journalists rely on elites as sources for information due to ease of access which cuts both the costs and time needed for gathering information (Guo, 2011). Therefore, it is expected that all three news broadcasters rely on elite sources as their main information sources. However, it is expected that there are clear differences between Al Jazeera and the BBC compared to CNTV in their use of elite sources. Previous research has found Al Jazeera using independent elites as main sources more than their mainstream competitors in order to provide

different perspective to world news (Figenschou, 2010; Figenschou, 2011). The BBC is widely held as example of professionalism in news production (Pan & Chan, 2003; Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011), and considering the notions of objectivity and neutrality featuring heavily in Western news tradition it is expected that the BBC seeks to include both official government sources and independent elites as main sources for their news stories. CNTV, on the other hand, is heavily controlled by the Chinese government, and is used by the government as a public diplomacy tool. Therefore, it is expected that CNTV will rely mostly on official government sources on their news reports in order to further relationship between the government of China and the government of South Sudan.

Based on previous research, it is expected that CNTV focuses mostly on positive aspects of life in South Sudan, mostly for public diplomacy reasons (Franks & Ribet, 2009). The BBC and Al Jazeera on the other are expected to focus mostly on negative aspects for reasons of news worthiness and traditions of news production (Franks & Ribet, 2009; Lee et al., 2006; Fahmy & Al Emad, 2011). In addition, in Western journalistic tradition conflict is one of the most important factors defining newsworthiness of an event or news object (Lee et al., 2006). Therefore, it is expected that both the BBC and Al Jazeera, as Al Jazeera's staff are largely educated in Western journalism tradition (Figenschou, 2011), focus heavily on on-going conflicts between South Sudan and Sudan, and internal conflicts taking place in South Sudan. Due to its role as a public diplomacy tool for Chinese government, CNTV is expected to focus less on conflicts and more on development, whether economic or social, in South Sudan, as well as conciliatory developments between South Sudan and Sudan.

Conceptual Framework

Framing of International News


Framing in the newsroom		Framing in the news
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Internal factors - policy, political stances (H2, H3) - External factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - source (H4) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> elite, independent elite - national interest - public diplomacy - audience expectations 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coverage (H1) - Tone (H2) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> positive, neutral, negative - Frame (H3) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> conflict, development

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter includes study design, research method and coding scheme for quantitative approach, research method for qualitative approach, data collection and coding of materials, and data analysis. Data analysis includes content analysis for quantitative approach and textual analysis for qualitative approach.

Study Design

This study uses both quantitative and qualitative approach to analyse news reports. The theoretical base is the Framing Theory. In order to test the hypotheses, quantitative approach are used to analyse the news reports published on South Sudan on the websites of the three news broadcasters. This research focuses on the reports themselves, the tone of the reports, the frames used, and sources used in the reports. The qualitative part of this study uses textual analysis or qualitative content analysis by engaging in qualitative inquiry in order to answer four research questions.

Research Method

Quantitative Approach

For quantitative approach, quantitative content analysis was performed. The number and length of the reports was recorded, as well as the frequency of published reports in each month of the studied period. The length of the reports is measured in number of words, calculating the average length of all the reports. The topics presented in the reports are divided into five categories: conflict, economic development, political development, social development, and human interest. “Conflict” is divided into two groups, external conflict and internal conflict. This

category includes all reports that focus mainly on conflicts South Sudan engages with other nations - external conflict- and on conflicts taking place inside South Sudan - internal conflict. “Economic development” includes reports that focus on economic development taking place in South Sudan, and “political development” includes reports that focus on political developments inside South Sudan or between South Sudan and other nations. “Social development” category includes reports that focus on the development of the quality of everyday life for ordinary citizens in South Sudan, for example developments in health care and education. Lastly, human interest includes reports that focus mainly on South Sudanese people whether in South Sudan or elsewhere, life in South Sudan, culture, religion, and arts.

The reports are divided into five categories in order to study the image of South Sudan and her people presented in the reports. As there are on-going conflicts in South Sudan, the “conflict” category was created to study how many reports focus on conflicts, and how South Sudan is presented to the world in conflict situations. Also the effects of national interest and public diplomacy on conflict reporting is studied, as South Sudan’s external conflict involves her northern neighbour Sudan, an important oil producing country. The idea is to find out if there are clear differences in how the conflicts between the two countries are portrayed by the news broadcasters. China is a major business partner for Sudan which can be expected to affect the reporting by CNTV, and as Sudan is Arab and Muslim dominated country, it is expected to influence Al Jazeera’s portrayal due to their pan-Islamic, pan-Arabic ideology.

The four other reports categories, “economic development”, “political development”, “social development”, and “human interest” were created in order to

further study the roles of national interest and public diplomacy in the international news. South Sudan is one of the poorest countries in the world and therefore relies on foreign assistance for economic development. This gives an opportunity to compare the portrayal of economic development in South Sudan as the country receives economic aid from western nations and assistance from NGOs for social development. Also China is further expanding her soft power in the African continent, South Sudan included, which means social development projects between Chinese and South Sudanese governments. How these foreign efforts in South Sudan are portrayed by the three broadcasters is expected to reveal some of the influences of national interest and public diplomacy on news reporting. “Human interest” category is also expected to reveal some of the influences of the two factors as especially the portrayal of politicians and high-ranking officials in the media can affect the relations of countries.

The tone of the reports, whether positive, negative, or neutral, is determined from the focus of the reports and the use of words and tropes. The tone of the report is considered “negative” if the report focuses mostly on negative developments in South Sudan, whether worsening economic, social, political, or conflict situations and quality of life, or if South Sudan is clearly portrayed as a helpless victim or an aggressor. “Positive” tone includes positive economic, social, and political situations, such as improvement of education or healthcare, or conciliatory developments in conflict situations. The tone is considered “neutral” if it cannot be defined clearly positive or negative.

Sources are divided into six categories: government official/representative, independent elites, agencies, other media, general public, and journalist. “Government

official/representative” sources are ones that are clearly affiliated with any national government. These sources are divided into three groups: “local government” (government of South Sudan), “government of Sudan”, and “foreign governments”. “Independent elite” sources are representatives of political groups outside government, non-governmental organisations, and the United Nations and other international organisations and groups and their representatives. These sources are divided into four groups: “the UN”, “local” (South Sudanese, for example opposition parties), “foreign aid” (foreign aid groups not under the UN operating in South Sudan), and “foreign other” (foreign groups operating in South Sudan who are not part of the UN or aid groups).

Source category “agencies” includes news agencies mentioned in the report, such as Associated Press and Reuters. Source category “other media” includes any other media used as the main source for the news report, such as newspapers, radio, or television. Source category “general public” includes those sources in South Sudan that are not affiliated with the government or independent elites, such as ordinary people interviewed for the news report. Journalist as a source is counted if the author of the report is mentioned as a source, or a mention of other journalists or reporters as information source is made. Source category “journalist” is divided into two groups, “journalist Al Jazeera/CNTV-CCTV/BBC”, and “journalist, other.” The first group includes journalists who are clearly identified as working for any of the three broadcasters, and the second group includes journalists who work for other news providers or freelance.

The interest for researching the used sources is to determine whether the news organisation gives one-sided or more balanced view of the events. If the news reports

published by the news broadcaster tend to rely on one type of source clearly over others, it can be concluded that the coverage is one-sided as only certain groups of sources are allowed to voice their opinions. The used sources also reveal how much news organisations rely on same sources, as well as how much they rely on other media for information.

As mentioned before, there are no clear definitions what frames are, nor universally accepted frame descriptions or categories. Therefore, for the purpose of this research, five main frame categories were created: conflict, development, human interest, national interest, and public diplomacy. “Conflict” and “development” categories were further divided into subcategories as follows: Conflict - “external conflict – conciliatory”, and “external conflict – aggression”, which was further divided into “neutral”, “aggressor”, and “victim” subcategories. “Internal conflict” has two subcategories, “stable” and “unstable”. “Development” category was divided into three subcategories, “development – political”, “development – economic”, and “development – social”. Instead of using just one conflict category that would have included all frames dealing with conflict situations, splitting the category to external and internal conflict was seen more fitting. This was done in order to study the overall picture the news reports provide for the readers. The idea is to determine if the external conflict frames portray South Sudan as a victim or an aggressor, and whether the internal conflict frames portray South Sudan as a nation establishing order into new country, or as a nation of political instability and uncertainty.

“External conflict” contains frames that focus on conflicts South Sudan has with other countries. Subcategories “aggression” and “conciliatory” were added to study whether the reports focus on aggression and violence or conciliatory aspects of

these conflicts. To further study how South Sudan is presented in conflict situations, “neutral”, “aggressor” and “victim” subcategories were added. “Aggressor” group includes frames that portray South Sudan as an aggressor in the conflict situation, and “victim” group includes frames that portray South Sudan as a victim of foreign aggression. “Neutral” group includes frames that present a conflict situation between South Sudan and another country, but do not present South Sudan neither aggressor nor victim.

“Internal conflict” contains frames that focus on conflicts taking place inside South Sudan. Subcategories “stable” and “unstable” were created to study whether the state and the government of South Sudan is presented in internal conflict situations as stable and capable of dealing with the conflicts, or unstable and incapable of dealing with the conflicts taking place.

In terms of development, “economic development” frames are ones that focus on the state of economic development in South Sudan. “Social development” includes frames that focus on the general development of infrastructure, healthcare, education, human rights, and overall living conditions in South Sudan. “Political development” includes frames that focus on South Sudanese politicians, national policies and stances, and relations with other countries.

“Human interest” includes frames that focus on South Sudanese people other than politicians, culture, arts and religion in South Sudan, as well as frames focusing on lives of South Sudanese people, whether in South Sudan or elsewhere. Political and human interest frames are included in the research in order to find out how South Sudanese politicians, people, and their actions are portrayed to the rest of the world.

Table 3.1 (Continued) : Coding Scheme

Items to be coded	News Media		
	BBC	Al Jazeera	CNTV
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development – economic- positive/neutral/negative - Development – political- positive/neutral/negative - Development – social – positive/neutral/negative - Human interest – positive/neutral/negative 			
<p>Sources:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Government official/representative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - local (South Sudan) - Sudan - foreign - Independent elites <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - UN - local (South Sudanese) - foreign aid - foreign other 			

(Continued)

Table 3.1 (Continued) : Coding Scheme

Items to be coded	News Media		
	BBC	Al Jazeera	CNTV
Source: - Agencies - Reuters - AFP - AP - IPS - others - Other media - Journalist - Al Jazeera/CNTV-CCTV/BBC - other - General public			
Frames: - Conflict – external - aggression - neutral - aggression – aggressor - aggression – victim - conciliatory			

(Continued)

Table 3.1 (Continued) : Coding Scheme

Items to be coded	News Media		
	BBC	Al Jazeera	CNTV
Frames: - Conflict - internal - stable - unstable			
Frames - Development - economic - political - social - Human interest - National interest - Public diplomacy			

Qualitative Approach

The qualitative part of this study uses textual analysis or qualitative content analysis by engaging in qualitative inquiry. The reports from each news broadcaster were looked into as a whole on month by month basis while asking questions such as “What is the main idea behind the report?” and “What is going on in the reports?” (Kinner, 2005). Notes were made about the content and the wording of the reports, and about the use of stereotypes. Omissions were noted as well. Comparisons of the reports between the news broadcasters were made by comparing the content of the news reports of one broadcaster to the content of news reports of the other two in order to study the similarities and differences in the content.

In addition, the news reports of an individual news broadcaster published in one month were compared to the reports of the same broadcaster published in following months. The idea is to determine what kind of picture of South Sudan and South Sudanese people each news broadcaster provides for the reader, and how the portrayal changes over the period of one year. In addition, this research seeks to determine how visible the national interest and public diplomacy efforts of Britain, Qatar, and China are in the news reports published by the three news broadcasters by studying the appearances of mentions of actions of the three respective countries in helping South Sudan, their roles in the conflict situations, how the people and the country of South Sudan are generally portrayed, what news items seem to be the main interests for the three news broadcasters, and how other countries are portrayed in terms of their involvement in South Sudan.

Data Collection

Method: Coding of news reports in three news media

The reports chosen for this research were manually downloaded from the websites of the three broadcasters, the BBC (www.bbc.co.uk), Al Jazeera English (www.aljazeera.com), and CNTV English version (<http://english.cntv.cn/01/index.shtml>). The reports were retrieved from the archives by using search words “South Sudan”, “South Sudanese”, and “South Sudan independence.” The resulting reports are read through, and only the reports that focus mainly on South Sudan and her people are kept for the analysis. Reports that mention South Sudan or South Sudanese people but focus mainly on other news objects are not included, for example news reports mentioning the on-going conflict between Sudan and South Sudan but focusing on Sudan as the centrepiece of the reports and

mentioning South Sudan only passingly. This research focuses on hard news; feature stories, opinion pieces, and soft news reports such as sports and entertainment are not included.

Coding Materials

The research focuses on news reports on South Sudan and South Sudanese people published in English on the websites of the BBC, Al Jazeera, and CNTV. The unit of analysis is individual report. The focus is on the reports themselves, the news frames used in the reports, and the sources used in the reports. Only the reports that focus on South Sudan or South Sudanese people as the main topic of the report are included. Video, picture and audio content published on South Sudan are not included in the research. The news reports are manually downloaded from the archives of the news websites, and the time frame is the first year of South Sudan's independence, from July 9, 2011 when South Sudan was officially declared independent, to July 9, 2012. After data collection, the total number of reports included in this research is 157. All the reports chosen were included in the analysis due to the small number of reports on Al Jazeera and CNTV websites.

The number of reports focusing on South Sudan and South Sudanese people published by the news broadcasters turned out to be very uneven. The BBC published 111 reports that fit the selection criteria for this research, whereas Al Jazeera and CNTV published only 26 and 20 suitable reports respectively. Therefore, all 157 reports were included in this research.

Data Analysis - Content Analysis

For the quantitative content analysis, the number and the length of the reports was counted in order to establish the amount of coverage on South Sudan by each of

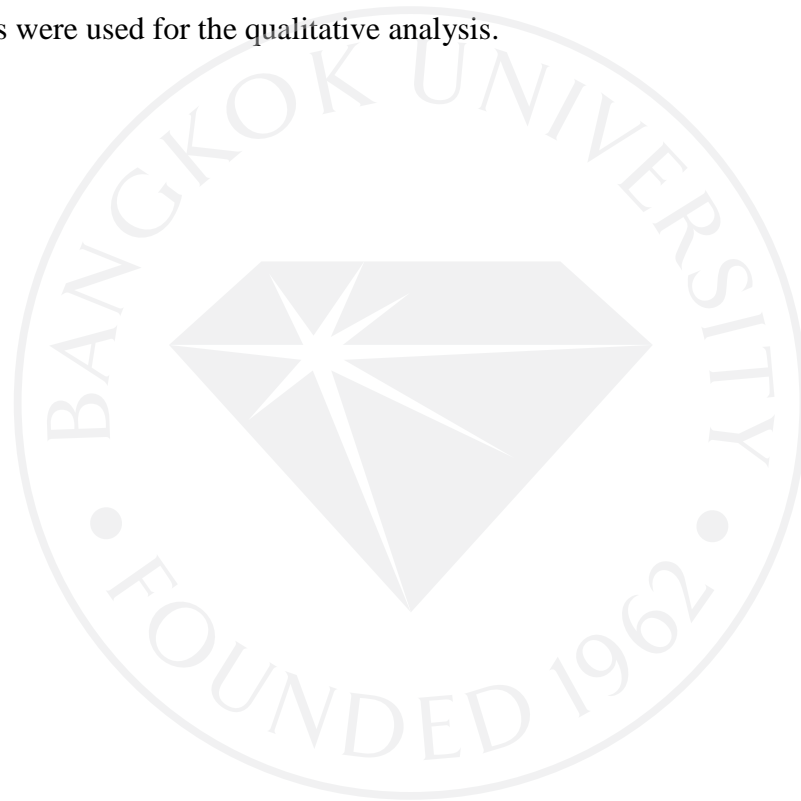
the three news broadcasters. The topics and the tone of the reports as well as the sources and frames used for the reports were noted according to the coding scheme. The accumulated data were analysed in order to find out the dominant report topics, tones, frames, and sources. The accumulated data on each individual broadcaster were compared to that of the other two in order to find out differences and similarities between the broadcasters.

The total number of reports included this research is 157. For reasons of reliability and validity, an undergraduate student of communication arts in Bangkok University was trained to code 47 randomly selected reports (30% of the total) according to the coding scheme. The inter-coder reliability was calculated by comparing the results of two coders; the inter-coder reliability was 86%, which is an acceptable level. The inter-coder reliability was calculated by comparing the choices of the coders for topic and tone (total 94 items; inter-coder agreement 86 items, 91.49%), frames (total 62 items; inter-coder agreement 51 items; 82.26%), and sources (total 150 items; inter-coder agreement 127 items, 84.67%).

Data Analysis - Textual Analysis

For the qualitative textual analysis, the reports were read through several times by the author of this research while asking questions such as “What is the main idea behind the report?” and “What is going on in the report?” and taking notes of the wording, use of stereotypes, and omissions in the reports. The main idea and image of South Sudan and her people that each of the reports provide was noted down. The accumulated notes on the reports of each of the three broadcasters were analysed in terms of how negative or positive the portrayal of the country and the people is by determining the overall tone and mood of the news reports as an entity, and how

visible the influences of national interest and public diplomacy were in the reports by studying the appearances of mentions of actions of the three respective countries in helping South Sudan, their roles in the conflict situations, how the people and the country of South Sudan are generally portrayed, what news items seem to be the main interests for the three news broadcasters, and how other countries are portrayed in terms of their involvement in South Sudan. Also the findings for the quantitative analysis were used for the qualitative analysis.



CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This chapter reports the results of hypothesis testing. Findings of quantitative content analysis are presented first, followed by findings of qualitative textual analysis and conclusions based on the findings.

Results of the Hypotheses Testing

In order to test six hypotheses, quantitative content analyses were performed. The findings of the analysis proved to support Hypotheses 2, 3, 3a, 4, and 4; Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Hypothesis 1 stated that the BBC and CNTV cover South Sudan more extensively than Al Jazeera. However, the findings did not support this hypothesis. As shown in Table 4.1, the BBC and Al Jazeera published 111 and 26 news reports on South Sudan, whereas CNTV published only 20. If the number of reports is divided by years, in 2011 the BBC published 45 reports on South Sudan, Al Jazeera just 7 and CNTV 10; however, in 2012 the numbers were the BBC 66, Al Jazeera 19, and CNTV 10. The average length of the reports was 719 words on Al Jazeera, 600 words on CNTV, and 542 words on the BBC.

Table 4.1 : Number and Length of Reports

Item	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Reports (total)	26	20	111
Length (average)	719 words	600 words	542 words

Hypothesis 2 stated that CNTV carries more positive reports on South Sudan than the BBC or Al Jazeera. The findings support this hypothesis. As shown in Table 4.2, the number of reports considered having a positive tone on CNTV was 9 reports out of total 20. This means that 45.0% of the reports on South Sudan carried a positive tone. Both Al Jazeera and the BBC published only one positive report on South Sudan. This means that only 3.8% of the reports on Al Jazeera were positive, and in the BBC's case, the amount of positive reports was just 0.9%.

Table 4.2 : Topic and Tone of Reports

Item	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Topic and Tone:			
Conflict - total	14 (53.8%)	11 (55.0%)	68 (61.3%)
Positive	0	7 (35.0%)	0
Neutral	10 (38.4%)	4 (20.0%)	29 (26.1%)
Negative	4 (15.4%)	0	39 (35.1%)
Conflict - external	10 (38.4%)	11 (55.0%)	46 (41.4%)
Positive	0	7 (35.0%)	0
Neutral	9 (34.6%)	4 (20.0%)	26 (23.4%)
Negative	1 (3.8%)	0	20 (18.0%)

(Continued)

Table 4.2 (Continued) : Topic and Tone of Reports

Item	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Topic and Tone:			
Conflict - internal	4 (15.4%)	0	22 (19.8%)
Positive	0	0	0
Neutral	1 (3.8%)	0	3 (2.7%)
Negative	3 (11.5%)	0	19 (17.1%)
Development - total	10 (38.4%)	9 (45.0%)	32 (28.8%)
Positive	1 (3.8%)	2 (10.0%)	0
Neutral	6 (23.1%)	5 (25.0%)	24 (21.6%)
Negative	3 (11.5%)	2 (10.0%)	8 (7.2%)
Development – economic	3 (11.5%)	1 (5.0%)	16 (14.4%)
Positive	0	0	0
Neutral	3 (11.5%)	0	13 (11.7%)
Negative	0 (0.0%)	1 (5.0%)	3 (2.7%)
Development – political	7 (26.9%)	7 (35.0%)	16 (14.4%)
Positive	1 (3.8%)	2 (10.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Neutral	3 (11.5%)	4 (20.0%)	11 (9.9%)
Negative	3 (11.5%)	1 (5.0%)	5 (4.5%)

(Continued)

Table 4.2 (Continued) : Topic and Tone of Reports

Item	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Topic and Tone:			
Development - social	0	1 (5.0%)	0
Positive	0	0	0
Neutral	0	1 (5.0%)	0
Negative	0	0	0
Human interest	2 (7.7%)	0	11 (9.9%)
Positive	0	0	1 (0.9%)
Neutral	1 (3.8%)	0	5 (4.5%)
Negative	1 (3.8%)	0	5 (4.5%)
Total number of articles	26	20	111
Positive	1 (3.8%)	9 (45.0%)	1 (0.9%)
Neutral	17 (65.4%)	9 (45.0%)	58 (52.3%)
Negative	8 (30.8%)	2 (10.0%)	52 (46.9%)

Note: Percentages in parenthesis is the percentage from the total amount of reports published by the broadcaster.

Hypothesis 3 stated that the BBC and Al Jazeera news reports focus mostly on conflict between South Sudan and Sudan and internal conflicts in South Sudan. This hypothesis was supported by the findings. As shown in Table 4.2, 53.8% (14 reports) of the stories published by Al Jazeera and 61.3% (68 reports) of the stories published by the BBC focused on conflicts. Al Jazeera published 10 reports (38.4%) that focused on violent border conflict between South Sudan and Sudan and 4 reports

(15.4%) on violent internal conflicts in South Sudan. The number of reports with similar focus on the BBC was 46 reports (41.4%) on external conflict and 22 reports (19.8%) on internal conflict.

Table 4.3: Frames

Frame	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Conflict – total:	14 (34.1%)	14 (41.2%)	73 (55.7%)
Conflict – external:	10 (24.4%)	13 (38.2%)	48 (36.6%)
Aggression - neutral	7 (17.1%)	8 (23.5%)	21 (16.0%)
Aggression - aggressor	1 (2.4%)	0	7 (5.3%)
Aggression – victim	0	0	12 (9.2%)
Conciliatory	2 (4.9%)	5 (14.7%)	8 (6.1%)
Conflict - internal:	4 (9.8%)	1 (2.9%)	25 (19.1%)
Stable	0	0	2 (1.5%)
Unstable	4 (9.8%)	1 (2.9%)	23 (17.6%)
Development - total:	17 (41.6%)	11 (32.3%)	40 (30.5%)
Economic	8 (19.5%)	8 (23.5%)	18 (13.7%)
Political	7 (17.1%)	2 (5.9%)	21 (16.0%)
Social	2 (4.9%)	1 (2.9%)	1 (0.8%)

(Continued)

Table 4.3(Continued) : Frames

Frame	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Human interest	5 (12.2%)	1 (2.9%)	15 (11.5%)
National interest	1 (2.4%)	3 (8.8%)	3 (2.3%)
Public diplomacy	4 (9.8%)	5 (14.7%)	0
Total	41	34	131

Note: the percentage in parenthesis is the percentage from the total number of frames used in the reports by the broadcaster.

As shown in Table 4.3, conflict frames were used in 14 Al Jazeera reports, and in 73 BBC reports. However, as it is possible to include more than one frame into a news report, development frames were used more often by Al Jazeera than conflict frames. Conflict frames were used 14 (34.1% of total number of all frames used) times in Al Jazeera reports whereas development frames were used 17 (41.6%) times. In comparison, BBC reports used conflict frames 73 (55.7%) times and development frames 40 (30.5%) times. Despite the higher frequency of development frames on Al Jazeera, as shown in Table 4.2, more reports focused on conflicts than on development. Even though development frames were used more often than conflict frame, conflict frames were dominant in 14 (53.8% of all reports) Al Jazeera reports whereas development frames were dominant in 10 (38.5%) reports. In the case of the BBC, conflict frames were dominant in 68 (61.3%) reports, whereas development frames were dominant in 32 (28.8%) reports.

Hypothesis 3a stated that CNTV news reports focus mostly on development in South Sudan and conciliatory processes between South Sudan and Sudan. This hypothesis was supported by the findings. As shown in Table 4.2, even though 55.0% of the reports (11 reports) published by CNTV focused on conflict, most of these reports (7 of total 11 reports on conflict, 77.8%) carried a positive tone. All conflict reports focused on external conflicts between South Sudan and Sudan; CNTV didn't publish any reports that could have been clearly categorised as focusing on internal conflicts. Other reports (9 reports, 45.0%) published by CNTV focused on development, whether political, economic, or social.

Looking at the frames used in CNTV reports, conflict frames were used more often than development frames. As shown in Table 4.3, conflict frames were used in 14 (41.1% of total number of all frames used) reports, and development frames in 11 (32.3%) reports. However, despite the higher frequency of conflict frames in CNTV reports, five reports used conciliatory conflict frame, and 11 reports used development frames. This means that despite the high number of conflict frames, development and conciliatory conflict frames were used more often (16 times, 47.1% of total number of frames used) than aggression conflict frames or internal conflict frames (9 times, 26.5%).

Hypothesis 4 stated that all three news broadcasters, the BBC, Al Jazeera, and CNTV, rely mostly on elite sources, whether official government sources or independent elites. The findings support this. As shown in Table 4.4, 72.1% of times of sources named by Al Jazeera the source mentioned was either government official/representative or independent elites; the percentage for the BBC was 60.8%, and for CNTV 58.9%.

Hypothesis 4a stated that the BBC and Al Jazeera give more space for independent elites in their news stories than CNTV. This hypothesis was also supported. As shown in Table 4.4, Al Jazeera mentioned independent elites as a source in 29.8% of cases of source mentioned, and the BBC in 20.1% of cases of source mentioned compared to CNTV's 16.1% of cases of source mentioned.

Table 4.4: Sources

Source	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Elites - total:	75 (72.1%)	33 (58.9%)	206 (60.8%)
Government official /representative - total :	44 (42.3%)	24 (42.9%)	138 (40.7%)
Local (South Sudan)	22 (21.1%)	9 (16.1%)	79 (23.3%)
Sudan	12 (11.5%)	7 (12.5%)	41 (12.1%)
Foreign	10 (9.6%)	8 (14.3%)	18 (5.3%)
Independent elites - total:	31 (29.8%)	9 (16.1%)	68 (20.1%)
UN	17 (16.3%)	5 (8.9%)	35 (10.3%)
Local (South Sudanese)	2 (1.9%)	1 (1.8%)	5 (1.5%)
Foreign aid	4 (3.8%)	0	6 (1.8%)
Foreign other	8 (7.7%)	3 (5.4%)	22 (6.5%)

(Continued)

Table 4.4 (Continued) : Sources

Source	News broadcaster		
	Al Jazeera	CNTV	BBC
Agencies - total:	17 (16.3%)	17 (30.4%)	50 (14.7%)
Reuters	1 (1.0%)	0	12 (3.5%)
AFP	2 (1.9%)	0	30 (8.8%)
AP	0	0	7 (2.0%)
IPS	2 (1.9%)	0	0
Xinhua	0	16 (28.6%)	0
Suna	0	1 (1.8%)	1 (0.3%)
Unspecified	12 (11.5%)	0	0
Other media	0 (0.0%)	4 (7.1%)	8 (2.4%)
Journalist - total:	6 (5.8%)	1 (1.8%)	56 (16.5%)
Al Jazeera	6 (5.8%)	0	0
CNTV/CCTV	0	1 (1.8%)	0
BBC	0	0	54 (15.9%)
Other	0	0	2 (0.6%)
General public	6 (5.8%)	1 (1.8%)	19 (5.6%)
Total	104	56	339

Note: The percentage in parenthesis is the percentage from the total number of sources mentioned in the reports by the broadcaster.

Findings of the Quantitative Content Analysis

Topic and Tone

The quantitative content analysis produced some interesting findings in terms of differences and similarities between the three news broadcasters. In terms of attention given to South Sudan, the BBC really stood out from the other two. The BBC published 111 reports on South Sudan compared to 26 reports by Al Jazeera and 20 by CNTV. As shown in Table 4.5, the BBC also published reports on South Sudan every month during the studied period, and always more than one. Al Jazeera and CNTV both had months when there were no reports published on South Sudan. In terms of length of the reports, as shown on Table 4.1, on average BBC's reports were shorter (542 words) than those of Al Jazeera (719 words) and CNTV (600 words).

Table 4.5: Number of Reports per Month

Number of reports per month														
Month	2011	A	S	O	N	D	2012	F	M	A	M	J	J	Total
	Jul	u	e	c	o	e	Jan	e	a	p	a	u	u	
		g	p	t	v	c		b	r	r	y	n	l	
Al Jazeera	5	1	0	0	0	1	5	3	1	6	2	0	2	26
CNTV	5	0	0	1	0	4	0	1	0	6	2	0	1	20
BBC	10	7	8	3	6	11	16	6	6	22	11	3	2	111

Most attention was given to South Sudan by all three broadcasters in July 2011 when South Sudan gained its independence, and in April 2012 when intense fighting over oil town Heglig took place between South Sudan and Sudan. It is

interesting to note August 2011 and January 2012, when both Al Jazeera and the BBC reported mainly on South Sudan's internal conflicts; during those two months, CNTV did not publish any articles on South Sudan. Interestingly, in January 2012 a mention in Al Jazeera's article (South Sudan: birth of a new country, Al Jazeera 2012, Jan 1) was made how the Arab Spring in North Africa took the media attention away from South Sudan, reflecting the importance of audience expectations – the main target audience for Al Jazeera being Arabs and Muslims.

As mentioned ad nauseam in communication studies, media –not just western, but media elsewhere as well – tend to focus on conflicts when reporting on developing countries. This was certainly the case with South Sudan. All three broadcasters published more reports that focused on conflicts, whether external conflict with Sudan or internal conflicts in South Sudan, than any other types of reports. Despite what Al Jazeera says about its differences from western media, the topics and tones of reports Al Jazeera published on South Sudan were very similar to those of the BBC's. This very likely reflects the fact that many of Al Jazeera's staff are Western trained, and especially British trained. However, overall Al Jazeera had more neutral tone than the BBC. As shown in Table 4.2, 65.4% of Al Jazeera's reports (17 reports) carried a neutral tone compared to 52.3% of reports (58 reports) published by the BBC. Both published only one positive reports, but Al Jazeera published fewer reports with negative tone (8 reports, 30.8%) than the BBC (52 reports, 46.8%).

In CNTV's case, however, there are clear differences from the other two. Even though conflict was the main topic in more than half of the reports CNTV published on South Sudan, these reports carried mostly positive tone and many of them focused

on conciliatory developments in conflicts between South Sudan and Sudan. In addition, unlike the other two broadcasters, CNTV did not publish any reports that would have featured internal conflict as the main topic of the reports. As shown in Table 4.2, CNTV published mostly positive (9 reports, 45.0%) or neutral (9 reports, 45.0%) reports on South Sudan, and only two (10.0%) negative reports. CNTV also had higher percentage of reports on development than Al Jazeera or the BBC. Forty-five per cent (9 reports) of CNTV's reports focused on development, of these one (5%) on economic development, seven (35.0%) on political development, and one (5%) on social development. Both Al Jazeera and the BBC focused on political development (Al Jazeera 7 reports, 26.9%; BBC 16 reports, 14.4%), and economic development (Al Jazeera 3 reports, 11.5%; BBC 16 reports, 14.4%). Neither one published any reports that would have clearly focused on social development. On the other hand, CNTV did not publish any reports that would have clearly focused on human interest. Al Jazeera published two reports (7.7%) and the BBC 11 reports (9.9%) that focused on human interest.

Frames

In terms of frames used by the broadcasters, as shown in Table 4.3, overall Al Jazeera used conflict frames less often than the other two broadcasters. Overall, conflict frames were used 14 times by Al Jazeera (34.1% of total number of all frames used) compared to 14 times (41.2%) by CNTV and 73 times (55.7%) by the BBC. Interestingly, even though conflict frames were used less often by Al Jazeera than CNTV, conflict was more dominant in Al Jazeera's reports than in CNTV's reports. This is explained by the fact that more than one frame can be included in a news report. For example, in the case of conflict reports published on South Sudan by the

three broadcasters, many times a conflict frame would be the main frame of the report, occupying the first part of the report, and development and human interest frames would be added in the middle or in the end of the report as secondary frames.

The BBC used conflict frames clearly more often than the other two broadcasters, reinforcing the previous findings that Western media focus on conflicts in developing countries. The BBC also used internal conflict frame more often than the other two. As shown in Table 4.3, this frame was used by the BBC 19.1% of all the frames used compared to Al Jazeera's 9.8% and CNTV's 2.9%. However, in terms of how the government of South Sudan was portrayed in internal conflict situations there were no differences between the broadcasters. All three portrayed the South Sudanese government as unstable, unable to deal with the conflicts taking place in South Sudan. Al Jazeera used internal conflict frame four times, and each time the government was portrayed as unstable. CNTV used internal conflict frame only once, but portrayed the government as unstable. The BBC used internal conflict frame 25 times (19.1%), and portrayed the government as unstable 23 times (17.6%), and stable and able to handle the conflict situation only two times (1.5%).

In terms of external conflict frames, all three broadcasters portrayed South Sudan mostly neutrally in its on-going conflicts with its neighbour Sudan. Conflict frames with aggression as the main focus were more dominant in all three broadcasters' reports than conflict frames with conciliatory focus. As shown in Table 4.3, 19.9% (8 frames) of Al Jazeera's conflict frames focused on aggression, portraying South Sudan mostly neutrally (7 frames, 17.1%). Al Jazeera portrayed South Sudan as an aggressor one time (2.4%), and none of the conflict frames used by the broadcaster portrayed South Sudan clearly as a victim. The BBC used conflict

frames with focus on aggression 40 times (30.5%), portraying South Sudan mostly neutrally (21 frames, 16.0%). However, seven reports (5.3%) used conflict frames portraying South Sudan as aggressor, deliberately seeking for confrontation with Sudan. This happened primarily in April 2012 articles when fighting over oil town Heglig broke out and the UN condemned South Sudan's actions. Also Al Jazeera used the aggressor frame in April's report.

Despite portraying South Sudan as aggressor more often than the other two broadcasters, the BBC also used conflict frames portraying South Sudan as a victim of Sudan's aggression. As shown in Table 4.3, the BBC used conflict frames with victim focus 12 times (9.2%), thereby portraying South Sudan more often as victim in conflict situations with Sudan than aggressor. None of the reports published by Al Jazeera used conflict frames with clear victim focus. Conflict frames used in CNTV's reports used mostly neutral focus (8 frames, 23.5%), reporting on the aggressive nature of the conflict but portraying South Sudan neutrally; conflict frames with aggressor or victim focus were not used at all in CNTV's reports. Conflict frames with conciliatory focus were used most often by CNTV (14.7%, 5 frames), followed by the BBC (6.1%, 8 frames). Al Jazeera used conciliatory frame twice (4.9% of all frames used).

When it comes to portraying development in South Sudan, frames with political and economic focus dominated in the reports of all three broadcasters. As shown in Table 4.3, economic focus was used most often by CNTV (23.5%, 8 frames) followed by Al Jazeera (19.5%, 8 frames) and the BBC (13.7%, 18 frames). Political focus was used most often by the BBC (16.0%, 21 frames), followed by Al Jazeera (17.1%, 7 frames) and CNTV (5.9%, 2 frames). Development frames with focus on

social development were hardly used at all, Al Jazeera using the social frame twice (4.9% of all frames used), and CNTV (2.9%) and the BBC (0.8%) using it just once. As mentioned before, CNTV was the only one using social development as the main topic for a report.

As shown in Table 4.3, human interest frames were used quite sparingly by all three broadcasters, Al Jazeera using the frames most often (12.2%, 5 frames) followed by the BBC (11.5%, 15 frames). CNTV used human interest frames just once (2.9%), and as previously mentioned, did not publish any reports with human interest as the main topic.

Based on the topics and frames used by the broadcasters, it can be argued that the reports reflect the relationships between the respective government of each broadcaster and South Sudan and Sudan. Looking at the conflict frames, South Sudan is portrayed mostly neutrally by CNTV and Al Jazeera, with the victim frame completely unused. This can be seen reflecting the relations between China and Sudan and South Sudan, as China is seeking to maintain good diplomatic ties between both governments. Also Al Jazeera's unwillingness to use the victim frame can be seen as reflecting its political leanings toward pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism, South Sudan being a Christian and Animist country whereas Sudan is ruled by Arab-Muslim government. Even though the BBC portrayed South Sudan as aggressor in its conflict with Sudan, it portrayed South Sudan more often as victim. Again, this can be seen as a reflection of political situation between Britain (and the United States) and South Sudan and Sudan. Western governments have blamed Sudan for over two decades as a sponsor of terrorism, and accuse the Khartoum government of human rights abuses in Darfur and other troubled areas in Sudan. Therefore, it can be argued, it is suitable

for political reasons to portray South Sudan as victim suffering from Sudan's aggression.

The use of development frames can be seen as further revealing the relations between the respective government of each broadcaster and South Sudan. All three broadcasters chose to use economic and political development frames more often than social development frames, reflecting the fact that suddenly after its independence, South Sudan is a major oil producer with notable reserves of other natural resources such as gold, copper, and aluminium. Looking at the topics and frames used for the reports, they can be seen as revealing keen economic interest for South Sudan by each broadcaster.

The use of two other frames, national interest and public diplomacy, further support this argument. As shown in Table 4.3, Al Jazeera used public diplomacy frames four times (9.8% of all frames used) and national interest once (2.4%). CNTV used national interest three times (8.8%) and public diplomacy five times (14.7%). The BBC used national interest frame three times (2.3%), but did not use public diplomacy frames. Even though these two frame categories were used sparingly, the way they were used is revealing. Both Al Jazeera and the BBC used the national interest frames to make comments about China's involvement in Sudans, especially its search for natural resources to fuel China's growing economy. CNTV, on the other hand, used the national interest frames to make comments about Western countries, especially about US influence, in South Sudan. The use of public diplomacy frames by Al Jazeera reinforces the arguments made by previous research that Al Jazeera is clearly a political actor in its own right (Powers & Gilboa, 2007), and that it promotes both pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism (Seib, 2008; Seib, 2010) as the public diplomacy

frames were used to make comments about religion (Arab-Muslim Sudan and Christian-Animist South Sudan) and even Israel-Palestine relations. CNTV used public diplomacy frames to make comments about China's involvement in peace and development processes in South Sudan.

Sources

All three broadcasters were dominated by elite sources. As shown in Table 4.4, government and independent elite sources were used most often by Al Jazeera (72.1% of all sources mentioned), followed by the BBC (60.8%) and CNTV (58.9%). Despite Al Jazeera's claim of giving 'voice to the voiceless,' government officials and foreign experts were the most common sources for information in the reports. Comparing the number of local elite sources and foreign elite sources, all three broadcasters used foreign sources more often than local ones. Al Jazeera used foreign elite sources 51 times (49.0%) and local ones 24 times (23.1%). CNTV used foreign elite sources 23 times (41.1%) and local ones 10 times (17.9%). The BBC used foreign elite sources 122 times (36.0%), and local ones 84 times (24.8%). When it comes to giving voice to ordinary people, none of the broadcasters were very generous. Al Jazeera used ordinary people as a source 6 times (general public, 5.8%), and the BBC 19 times (5.6%). CNTV used ordinary people as source for one article (1.8%), reflecting the fact that unlike the other two broadcasters, CNTV did not publish any human interest reports and used human interest frame just once.

Looking at the sources also revealed some interesting practices on using news agencies as sources. Al Jazeera claims to distance itself from Western media, but uses agencies as a source quite often. Approximately 16% (17 times mentioned) of all sources used were news agencies. However, what is interesting is that in most cases

(12 times, 11.5%) Al Jazeera reports left the news agencies unspecified. In only five cases (4.8%) the news agency was named, the named ones being Reuters, AFP, and IPS.

As shown in Table 4.4, when using agencies as sources, CNTV relied almost exclusively on China's Xinhua news agency (16 times, 28.6% of all times of source mentioned). The only other agency used by CNTV was Sudan's Suna (1 time, 1.8%). The BBC used agencies 50 times (14.7%). The agencies mentioned were AFP (30 times, 8.8%), Reuters (12 times, 3.5%), AP (7 times, 2.0%), and Suna (1 time, 0.3%). In terms of using other media, such as TV, radio, and newspapers, CNTV used other media as sources most often. CNTV had 7.1% of this type of sources mentioned (4 times) whereas BBC had only 2.4% (8 times) of this type of sources mentioned. Al Jazeera did not mention other media as source.

The BBC mentioned a journalist as a source more often than the other two broadcasters. Among all the reports published by the broadcasters that identified a journalist as the source, BBC mentioned journalist 56 times (16.5%), Al Jazeera 6 times (5.8%), and CNTV 1 time (1.8%). All three news broadcasters relied on their own staff. Journalists who are not working for BBC were used twice by BBC as the source (0.6% of all sources mentioned).

The use of sources reveals how similar source profile the three broadcasters have despite differing political and ideological backgrounds. Only in the use of news agencies the political stances become very clear, as was the case with CNTV. CNTV, being a public diplomacy vehicle for the Chinese government, quite expectedly relied on Chinese news agency Xinhua. Al Jazeera's use of agencies was interesting, as in most cases the agencies were left unnamed. Despite its claims to distance itself from

Western media, Al Jazeera seems to be quite close to them in terms of news production.

Findings of Textual Analysis

In order to answer four research questions, textual content analyses were performed. All the reports were read through several times, three times taking notes and then comparing the notes. The four research questions were answered based on the notes and the results of the quantitative content analysis.

Research Question 1 asked what kind of overall image of South Sudan the news reports of each of the news broadcasters provide for the audiences. Based on the findings of textual analyses, it can be said that all three broadcasters gave very similar image of South Sudan. All three pointed out time and again that South Sudan is one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world. Especially the lack of healthcare, education, and roads was mentioned repeatedly, as well as corruption and South Sudan's dependence on oil revenue. Also the high rates of maternal and child mortality were mentioned quite often. Despite CNTV's more positive tone especially in terms of conflicts, the reports kept mentioning poverty, lack of development, poor medical care and low educational level. A telling piece is a paragraph in a report published in October 2011 by the BBC (South Sudan adopts the language of Shakespeare, BBC 2011, Oct 8). The report talks about how South Sudan has adopted English as official language, and proceeds to mention how "85% of people are illiterate and the education system is shattered, South Sudan does not just have very little English, but very little written language at all."

There were some clear differences between the broadcasters. As mentioned before, CNTV used internal conflict frames very few times and even though internal

conflicts were mentioned, the reports generally did not go into details on what happened. Al Jazeera and the BBC, on the other hand, kept repeatedly reporting on internal conflicts, telling in details of mass killings, burned villages, rape, destruction, abduction of children, etc. Both made repeated remarks on how the fighting was inter-ethnic, and one of the main reason for the fighting being cows. According to the news reports, cows are important part of life of South Sudanese as there are no banks, and personal wealth is therefore shown in amount and quality of cows.

Even though both the BBC and Al Jazeera mentioned rapes repeatedly, only Al Jazeera made a mention of rapes of men and elderly, making South Sudan appear even more savage and backwards than the other two broadcasters. CNTV did not make any mentions of rape in its reports. When talking about internal conflicts, both Al Jazeera and CNTV used repeatedly the word “tribe,” talking about tribal tensions and tribal violence. The BBC opted to use terms “ethnic” violence and ethnic conflict, reflecting Western cultural sensitivities compared to the other two. The South Sudanese government was repeatedly portrayed as unable to deal with the internal problems, and the local security forces, especially the local army, were portrayed by Al Jazeera and the BBC as poorly trained, undisciplined, and brutal against the civilian population.

In terms of external conflict, South Sudan was mostly portrayed neutrally. However, the main point in reporting on conflicts between South Sudan and Sudan seemed to be the lack of progress. Sudans were repeatedly portrayed as holding talks and negotiations in order to solve the outstanding issues, oil and border issues dominating, but not making any real progress with solving the problems. South Sudan was often portrayed as willing to negotiate and solve the problems diplomatic way,

especially by CNTV, but nevertheless the overall image was that of lack of any real improvements in the situation.

When it comes to development in South Sudan, all three opted to portray South Sudan lacking any real development. However, unlike the other two broadcasters, CNTV generally had more positive outlook for the future of South Sudan. This was clearly for reasons of national interest and public diplomacy, as all three broadcasters made mentions of China's role in Sudans, as a major oil buyer and a political supporter of both governments. Interestingly, Al Jazeera gave less attention to China in South Sudan than the other two broadcasters. During the studied period, Chinese government signed a development deal with South Sudan, pledging funds and assistance for developing the local infrastructure. Both CNTV and the BBC had reports about the agreement, but Al Jazeera left it completely unmentioned.

Interestingly, whenever local people were featured in the reports, their lives were described mostly in negative terms, talking about hardships and poverty. However, whenever the locals were quoted, almost all talked about hardships ahead but were optimistic that their lives would be much better now that South Sudan has gained its independence. Yet this optimism of the local people did not readily affect the overall tone of the reports, the reports mostly giving the image of hard lives and suffering for the locals. Despite this, nevertheless, the quotations helped to create an image of South Sudanese people generally as optimistic and believing into better future. It is also interesting to note that when South Sudan was officially accepted as a member of the United Nations in July 2011, all three broadcasters gave the same image of the country: that South Sudan is an accepted member of the international community, but it needs a lot of foreign help.

Research Question 2 asked how the portrayal of South Sudan changes in the news reports of each news broadcaster over the course of one year. Based on the findings, the portrayal remained very similar throughout the whole first year of South Sudan's independence. In July 2011, when South Sudan gained its independence, all three broadcasters spoke of optimism for the future of South Sudan. However, already in August, the reporting turned into mostly conflict reporting about endless talks and fighting over oil and border issues between the two Sudans, and Al Jazeera and the BBC talking about internal conflicts in South Sudan. CNTV kept its line of avoiding reporting on South Sudan's internal conflicts, only occasionally mentioning them in the reports but never featuring them as a main focus and never really going into details. Therefore, throughout the first year of South Sudan's independence, the portrayal remained the same: South Sudan is a country of poverty and lacks both economic and social development.

Research Question 3 asked how visible national interest and public diplomacy are in the news reports of each of the news broadcasters. Public diplomacy did not readily feature in the BBC's reports, but was evident in the reports of the other two broadcasters. Al Jazeera made remarks about religion, reflecting the pan-Arabic and pan-Islamic orientation of the broadcaster. For example, in a report published on the independence of South Sudan, a local is quoted saying "we want this to be a Christian country" (South Sudan declares 'new beginning', Al Jazeera 2011, Jul 9). Also a special report on South Sudan – Israel relations was published in December 2011 (South Sudan and Israel – unlikely allies?, Al Jazeera 2011, Dec 22). The report went on to speculate why Israel is keen to establish good relations with South Sudan even though there are no clear ties between the two countries and proceeded to mention

how Israel is trying to strengthen Christian cooperation in the region in order to counter Arab and Islamic trends.

CNTV's use of public diplomacy focused mostly on political relations between China and Sudans. China's role in helping to develop the region economically and also politically by taking a role in the negotiations between the two Sudans was brought up several times in the reports, creating an image of China as a benevolent member of the international community. In addition, there were mentions how several South Sudanese diplomats and government officials have received training in China to improve their diplomatic and political skills. Also as an interesting note, a quotation from an unnamed South Sudanese was used in a report published in July 2011. In the quotation, the person said hoping that the people in Libya and other African nations "gain freedom from the oppression of Westerners and the oppression of greedy leaders" (South Sudanese celebrate independence in S. Africa, CNTV, 2011, Jul 12). Despite remarks like that, CNTV also brought up US policies and stances on South Sudan in a constructive manner.

CNTV was the only one to publish reports on US government warning its citizens from travelling to South Sudan due to unstable situation (U.S. advises citizens against travel to South Sudan, CNTV 2011, Jul 13), and US government supporting development plans drawn by the South Sudanese government (U.S. voices support for South Sudan's development plans, CNTV 2011, Dec 15). Therefore, the use of public diplomacy in CNTV reports gives a clear image of China trying to establish and maintain friendly relations with both South Sudan and Sudan and to show its benevolence and willingness for economic cooperation with developing countries. In

addition, despite occasional jabs against Western nations, China clearly seeks to maintain friendly relations with them as well, especially the United States.

National interest showed up mostly in the BBC and Al Jazeera talking about China's involvement in Sudan's, both portraying China as interested only in economic gains to made in Sudans and not taking a role it should have taken in the negotiations between Sudans in order to maintain good diplomatic relations with both South Sudan and Sudan. Oil featured heavily in the reports of all three broadcasters, all mentioning how South Sudan gained 75% of oil fields in the independence from Sudan, and how South Sudan relies on Sudan for oil exports as years of mismanagement under Khartoum government left South Sudan without necessary infrastructure do export its oil products any other way but through Sudan.

However, in the beginning of 2012 South Sudan made oil pipeline deals with Kenya, Ethiopia, and Djibouti, the countries agreeing on a deal to build a pipeline from South Sudan to ports in other countries. Only the BBC reported on these developments, and it can be seen reflecting the interests of the governments of the three broadcasters. China is a major oil buyer from Sudan and a political supporter of the government in Khartoum, whereas Western countries shun Sudan as a supporter of terrorism and violator of human rights. Therefore, the current situation of South Sudan being forced to export its oil through Sudan can be seen as favouring China and the new pipeline deals with other countries favouring Britain and the West.

In Al Jazeera's case the omission can be seen as supporting its line on Arab and Islamic interests, as the new pipeline deals would help to strengthen the economy and development of South Sudan. This argument can be supported by the fact Al Jazeera published reports on South Sudan in January and February 2012 when the

deals took place but made comments about the Arab spring taking the attention away from South Sudan and about Christian and Animist South Sudan and Islamic Sudan. Al Jazeera also called South Sudan's ruling party SPLM as a "darling of the West," further revealing its political affiliations. Generally, Al Jazeera was the only broadcaster repeatedly mentioning religion, and the only one including Israel in its reports. The BBC did mention religion passingly, and CNTV chose not to include religion in its reporting.

Research Question 4 asked how visible Western journalistic influences are on CNTV news reporting. In terms of report structure, CNTV clearly follows Western journalistic practices with answering the W-questions in the opening paragraphs of the report, and mostly using the inverted pyramid structure of news report writing, meaning that the details considered most important are in the beginning of the report, and as the story proceeds more details considered not so important are brought up in the middle and the end of the report. Also the main frame of the article is included right in the beginning of the report, and secondary frames are included in the story later in the report.

These practices stem from the regular behaviour of readers, as especially online news readers tend to take a quick glance of the reports, mainly reading the headline and the first couple of paragraphs (Boczkowski, 2010). By including the information and frame considered the most important, the reader will get at least the main idea that the broadcaster is trying to convey even if the reader just takes a quick look at the report and never finish reading it. Also in terms of source profile, apart from the use of news agencies, CNTV clearly follows the same source practices as

news media elsewhere. Governments and independent elites do the talking, and information sources are left in secondary position.

In terms of news topic selection, CNTV also seems to follow the Western media's fascination with conflicts in developing countries, at least in the case of South Sudan. However, the way CNTV frames the conflicts clearly differs from media elsewhere, and especially CNTV's avoidance of reporting on internal conflicts in South Sudan can be seen as a reflection of China's policy of generally not getting involved in internal matters of other countries. When it comes to selecting news topics, news sources, and report structure, CNTV clearly produces news the same way as news media elsewhere. But when it comes to news report content, it tends to give it a Chinese flavour. This, then, supports the view that journalism is universal with Eurocentric roots but with typically national character and regional flavour (de Melo, 2009).

Conclusions

The portrayal of South Sudan on all three broadcasters was generally bleak. All three ended up building an image of South Sudan as a country of constant external and internal conflicts, ruled by a weak government unable to control the situation and develop the country and improve the lives of the citizens. Despite its more positive take on things, even CNTV ended up summarizing the first year of South Sudan's independence in its reports published in July 2012 as unable to deal with conflicts, with the local population suffering from tragic conditions. In their July 2012 reports, Al Jazeera and the BBC summarized the first year of South Sudan's independence as a lost year in terms of development and improving the quality of life for South Sudanese.

Apart from the President of South Sudan Salva Kiir and other government officials and representatives, South Sudanese people did not feature much in the reports, but when they did, they were portrayed as suffering from hardships. Even though almost all quotations from locals showed optimism and belief in a better future in independent South Sudan, this optimism did not readily affect the tone of the reports and the portrayal of the local people. It is as if the journalists writing the articles had decided that the locals suffer and have poor lives waiting for them, no matter how the local people themselves saw their situation. The exclusion of locals apart from a few selected politicians and officials from the reports and heavy emphasis of oil revealed that the main interest for all three broadcasters was mostly economic. As mentioned previously, South Sudan has noticeable natural resource reserves, mostly unused due to decades of civil war. All three broadcasters proceeded to portray South Sudan as a country in need of foreign assistance, thereby clearly looking to justify the involvement of foreign governments and companies in the country.

In terms of the broadcasters, Al Jazeera was not 'the voice of the voiceless' in South Sudan's case. Politicians and foreigners did most of the talking in Al Jazeera's reports, just like they did in the reports of the BBC and CNTV. The most visible differences between the three were Al Jazeera's mentions of religion, CNTV's avoidance of reporting on internal conflicts, and the BBC's amount of attention given to South Sudan. In terms of reports themselves, the BBC also attempted to provide additional information more often than the other two, usually in forms of maps and sidebars giving additional information about South Sudan. However, this additional

material was mostly reused during the researched period, failing to add much new information from July 2011 to July 2012.

In the end, the differences between the broadcasters were not very great when it comes to portraying South Sudan. Despite some differences in framing, they all created similar image of South Sudan. The real differences showed up in how government lines and public diplomacy were included in the reports. All three featured oil repeatedly as a main factor in their reports, and both Al Jazeera and the BBC took jabs at China in Sudans. Al Jazeera featured religious and ethnic matters in its reports due to its main target audience being Arabs and Muslims, and CNTV clearly followed Chinese government's policies with its take on public diplomacy.

All in all, the findings of this research proved to support the findings of previous research, that is, news media generally steer towards conflict reporting from developing countries, and developing countries tend to receive unfair and unbalanced treatment in international news. This definitely was the case with South Sudan.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter includes summary of hypothesis testing, summary of textual analysis findings, discussion, limitations of this research, recommendation for further application, and recommendation for future research.

Summary of Hypothesis Testing

The findings of this research supported five out of six hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 stated that the BBC and CNTV would cover South Sudan more extensively than Al Jazeera. However, the results did not support this hypothesis, as CNTV published the lowest amount of reports. The BBC published the highest number of reports, 111, almost three times more than Al Jazeera (26 reports) and CNTV (20 reports) together.

Hypothesis 2 stated that CNTV would carry more positive reports on South Sudan than Al Jazeera or the BBC. The results supported this hypothesis, as 45.0% of CNTV's reports carried a positive tone compared to Al Jazeera's 3.8% and the BBC's 0.9%.

Hypothesis 3 stated that Al Jazeera and the BBC would focus mostly on conflicts, whether external or internal, in their reports. This hypothesis was supported by the results, as 61.3% (41.4% external conflicts, 19.8% internal conflicts) of the reports published by the BBC and 53.8% (38.4% external conflicts, 15.4% internal conflicts) of reports published by Al Jazeera focused on conflicts.

Hypothesis 3a stated that CNTV would focus mostly on development in South Sudan and conciliatory processes between South Sudan and Sudan. This hypothesis was supported by the results, as development and conciliatory conflict frames were

used more often than other frames. 47.1% of all frames were development and conciliatory conflict frames compared to 26.5% of aggression conflict frames and 26.4% of other types of frames.

Hypothesis 4 stated that all three broadcasters would rely on elite sources, whether governments or independent elites. This hypothesis was supported by the results, as 72.1% of sources named by Al Jazeera, 60.8% of sources named by BBC, and 58.9% of sources named by CNTV were elite sources.

Hypothesis 4a stated that the BBC and Al Jazeera would give more space for independent elites in their news reports than CNTV. This hypothesis was supported by the results, as independent elites formed 29.8% of Al Jazeera's sources and 20.1% of the BBC's sources compared to 16.1% of CNTV's sources.

Summary of Textual Analysis Findings

Research Question 1 asked what kind of overall image of South Sudan the news reports of each broadcaster provide for the audience. The findings of this research suggest that the overall image provided by all three is that of a poor, undeveloped country mired in external conflicts with its neighbour Sudan while simultaneously suffering from internal fighting, or what Al Jazeera and CNTV called tribal violence and the BBC ethnic violence. The government of the country was portrayed as incapable to deal with the conflicts and the country in dire need of foreign help, a lot of it. South Sudanese people were portrayed as suffering from poverty, violence, and lack of healthcare and education.

Research Question 2 asked how the portrayal of South Sudan changes in the news reports of each broadcaster over the course of one year. The results suggest that

there was no change; all three broadcasters repeatedly portrayed South Sudan in similar way – a poor, undeveloped country fighting with its neighbour while its citizens suffer.

Research Question 3 asked how visible national interest and public diplomacy are in the reports of each news broadcaster. Based on the findings, national interest features in the reports of all three broadcasters occasionally, whereas public diplomacy were clearly visible in Al Jazeera's and CNTV's reports, but absent in the BBC's reports. Al Jazeera focused its public diplomacy mostly on Arab-Islam issues, whereas CNTV focused on China's role in helping developing countries.

Research Question 4 asked how visible Western journalistic influences are in CNTV's reports. Based on the findings, in terms of report structure, news topic selection and source profile CNTV follows the conventions of news media elsewhere. In terms of framing and topic content, however, CNTV gives international news a Chinese flavour.

Discussion

Western media have been accused of neglecting developing countries, especially African and Latin American nations. When it comes to South Sudan, the BBC certainly did not neglect it as its coverage on South Sudan was almost three times of Al Jazeera's and CNTV's combined. The BBC and Al Jazeera were expected to cover South Sudan more extensively than CNTV but it turned out that Al Jazeera gave the least attention to South Sudan, mentioning how Arab Spring took the spotlight off South Sudan which clearly reflects Al Jazeera's main interests. However, both Al Jazeera and CNTV kept reporting on South Sudan throughout the studied

period of one year, and the reports of all three brought up clearly the main interest for the country: oil.

In terms of tone of the articles, CNTV published more reports with positive tone than the other two broadcasters. CNTV clearly sought to portray South Sudan in more positive light in conflict situations and in terms of development than the BBC or Al Jazeera. However, despite carrying more news reports with positive tone, overall the reports clearly portrayed life in South Sudan in negative light. Both Al Jazeera and the BBC tried to keep mostly neutral tone in their news reports, and both clearly avoided positive tone in their articles.

When it comes to framing of South Sudan in the news reports of the three broadcasters, there were clear similarities in the framing between Al Jazeera and the BBC, and clear differences between CNTV and the other two broadcasters. As mentioned before, political ideology and orientation has been shown to influence the framing of international events and foreign countries (Yang, 2003; Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). In addition, when it comes to international events, journalists and media tend to support their national governments' stances and policies (Yang, 2003; Griffin, 2004; Dimitrova et al., 2005). These factors became visible in the framing of conflict situations and development in South Sudan. CNTV generally did not report on internal conflicts in South Sudan, using the internal conflict frame only once in their news reports clearly reflecting the influence of Chinese government's foreign policies such as the policy of not getting involved in the internal politics of other nations.

The dominance of economic and political development frames and scarcity of both social development and human interest frames can be seen reflecting the reality that for Britain, Qatar, and China the main interest for South Sudan lies in economic and political considerations. Al Jazeera has promoted itself as the ‘voice of the voiceless,’ and claims to strive to provide a ‘Third World perspective’ and a new perspective on international news (Figenschou, 2010; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). In South Sudan’s case, Al Jazeera did not really bring any different perspectives into the reporting compared to the other two. Instead, a slight Muslim bias could be noticed, as has been pointed out previously by Powers & Gilboa (2007). These findings are consonant with the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. As shown in the conceptual framework, framing of international news is influenced by internal factors, in this case political stances and orientations in the newsroom.

External factors influencing the framing in the newsroom can also be seen in the findings of this study, as presented in the conceptual framework. A telling piece is the aforementioned mention in Al Jazeera’s report on how the Arab Spring took the spotlight from South Sudan, clearly illustrating the influence of audience expectations on what is covered in the international news

The role sources play in the framing of international news became visible in this research. The source profiles of all three broadcasters support the argument that the availability of sources plays a role in preparing news as the reporting of all three broadcasters on South Sudan was dominated by elite sources. The use of elite sources and agencies by Al Jazeera questions its claims to distance itself from global power

elites and Western media as governments and the UN were the most often mentioned sources followed by news agencies.

All three broadcasters used foreign elite sources more often than other sources. This, then, opens the possibility for political elites to affect framing, partially simply by making their opinions and views more readily available than other information sources. This in turn, as argued previously by Brewer et al. (2003), opens the possibility for the elites to influence media content and framing in order to further their political interests.

In South Sudan's case this is quite evident in how often oil was featured in the reports, as many conflict stories, both external and internal, as well as development reports kept mentioning South Sudan's oil reserves. This naturally opens up the possibility for speculation on economic interest of foreign countries in South Sudan and the way international news is harnessed to serve these interests. However, this is outside of the scope of this study, but brings up an interesting possibility for future research.

In terms of news production, some sources simply are more readily available for journalists than others, especially when covering foreign news. Usually the sources easiest to access are the elite ones, especially in societies that are politically or culturally restricted or closed to foreigners (Guo, 2011). South Sudan is a difficult case for foreign journalists, illustrated by the fact that in many reports published by the three broadcasters the location of journalists covering the area was Khartoum in Sudan, or Juba, the capital of South Sudan. Especially in the case of journalists

residing in Khartoum the most accessible sources for information on South Sudan are elite ones and reaching alternative sources understandably difficult.

In addition, the source profiles of all three broadcasters are consonant with the conceptual framework, illustrating how the political ideologies and national interests together with public diplomacy tie together with the preferred sources, all these factors affecting the framing in the news.

Moving on to the overall image of South Sudan that the news reports of the three broadcasters provide for the audiences and changes in the portrayal over the studied period of one year, no great differences or changes were found. After the declaration of independence in July 2011, South Sudan became the owner of large oil reserves and poor infrastructure. These two factors featured repeatedly in the news reports of the three news broadcasters.

All three broadcasters portrayed South Sudan as a country possessing large amounts on natural resources, most importantly oil, but despite all this wealth in their hands the country remains poor, poorly developed, lacking in health care, education, and culture, and the government is weak, corrupt, and poorly prepared to handle the external and internal conflicts that the country is involved in. This portrayal remained constant throughout the studied period of one year.

Interestingly, despite previous findings in communication research that reporting in Chinese media tends to focus more on positive aspects of life in African continent than on negative (Franks & Ribet, 2009) and the findings of the content analysis of this research that CNTV carried more news reports with positive tone than the other two broadcasters, CNTV reports on South Sudan created a clear picture of a

troubled country plagued by poverty and conflict. Only clear differences to the other two broadcasters in the portrayal were CNTV's general avoidance of reporting on internal conflicts and focus on conciliatory developments in external conflict situations. However, even then also CNTV ended up portraying the government of South Sudan as poorly prepared to handle conflict situations.

Some researchers have claimed that the news reports on Al Jazeera's channels do not encourage stereotypical thinking on cultural 'others' (El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). When it comes to South Sudan, almost all reports that featured internal conflict as the main topic of report talked about tribes and tribal violence, which supports the stereotypical view of sub-Saharan Africa. Also the mention of rape of men and elderly, something that the BBC and CNTV did not mention at all in their reports, serves to further portray South Sudan and the people as something culturally alien for Muslim audiences.

Moving on to the visibility of national interest and public diplomacy in the news reports, the dominance of elite sources and especially foreign elite sources was very clear in the news reports of all three broadcasters. The abovementioned factors of dominance of oil and elite sources in the news reports, especially foreign elites, point to clear economic interests on South Sudan: the country needs to be developed, and it has to be done with foreign help in order to help South Sudan to enjoy its oil wealth. As all three broadcasters, despite their differing political and cultural backgrounds and ideologies provided similar image of South Sudan, it can be argued that political and commercial interests tend to trump high ideals when it comes to international news.

A telling piece of the political and commercial influences on international news selection and framing is Al Jazeera's report on South Sudan and Israel relations (South Sudan and Israel – unlikely allies? 22.12.2011). Al Jazeera was the only broadcaster bringing up the relations between the two countries, the article framing the relations in questionable light by for example wondering why the two countries are trying to build good relations despite not having a shared cultural, political, or religious connection. The article proceeded to mention how Israel is looking to counter growing Arab and Islamic influences in the region, clearly illustrating the part political interests and audience appeal play in the news selection and framing.

CNTV reports pointed to the direction, as found in previous research, that in Chinese media especially international news reporting is closely tied to the Party and government line, the news following government foreign policies and orientation (Peng, 2008; Yang, 2003). The news media are used for wielding soft power in order to advance Chinese interests (Zhang, 2006; Franks & Ribet, 2009). The reports repeatedly mentioned China's role in negotiations between South Sudan and Sudan, and also how South Sudanese government has asked China to take a bigger role in the negotiations, drumming up China's growing political influence in the international arena.

In addition, China's commitment to help developing South Sudan by offering economic assistance through development projects involving Chinese companies were repeatedly mentioned in the news reports, helping to build up China's image in developing countries. Interestingly, some of these deals were also reported by the BBC, but not by Al Jazeera even though it made comments about China's

involvement in Sudans, This puts into new light previous arguments in communication research that Al Jazeera is not dominated by geopolitical interests (Figenschou, 2010; El-Nawawy & Powers, 2010). Although geopolitical interests may not dominate in Al Jazeera reporting, they do make a clear appearance.

Western influences on CNTV's reporting showed up mostly on technicalities of news report writing. The news report structure and news topic selection were clearly similar to those of the BBC and Al Jazeera. This points to institutionalised ways of news production worldwide, which in turn points to the global dominance of Western journalistic practices. Despite clear differences in framing and CNTV's avoidance of reporting on South Sudan's internal conflicts, the overall image of South Sudan provided by CNTV's news reports was very similar to those of Al Jazeera and the BBC. This raises interesting questions on to what extent CNTV is harnessed to public diplomacy efforts, and how tightly controlled CNTV is by the Chinese government as the clearly negative portrayal of South Sudan can be considered as counter effective in terms of public diplomacy. However, these questions remain far beyond the scope of this research.

The findings of this research tie to Entman's definition of framing (1993, p. 52). He defines framing as selection of some aspects of perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text in order to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the described item. The aspects of perceived reality of South Sudan that the three broadcasters focused on were conflicts, oil, and poverty and lack of development. This can be seen as promoting a particular problem definition, which, based on the

news reports, in South Sudan's case seems to be the abundance of oil but South Sudan's inability to develop proper infrastructure to export that oil to world markets.

This leads to the treatment recommendation for this particular problem. The news reports of all three broadcasters clearly pointed to the direction that South Sudan needs foreign help in order to develop the necessary infrastructure for efficient oil production and delivery to global markets. This clearly points to the direction that the news broadcasters are creating an image of South Sudan as a place of continuous conflict, yet an important part of the global community due to the natural resources possessed by the country.

As shown in Figure 2.1, the conceptual framework for this research, framing in the newsroom affects the framing in the news reports. Some key factors influencing framing in the newsroom are policies and political stances of the news production staff and the owners or the financial backers of the news broadcasters. This was reflected in the findings of this research by the abundance of conflict frames and economic and political development frames, and lack of social development and human interest frames.

Frames themselves can be described as cognitive shortcuts used by people to understand complex issues; journalists use frames to describe or explain events, and audiences use frames to interpret those events (Supadhiloke, 2012). Journalists also use frames to draw attention to certain objects and attributes of those objects (Weaver, 2007). This way, journalists construct the reality through the frames they use for their audiences who are not able to experience the news objects presented to them. The lack of social development and human interest frames and the portrayal of the

government as weak and unable to deal with the conflicts create an image of people who are generally suffering and unable to improve their lives. This can be seen as construction of South Sudanese reality to the international audiences, and that constructed reality is that foreign countries need to be involved in South Sudan in order to develop the infrastructure for oil production so that the country and the people can enjoy its wealth.

Limitations of Research

There are some major limitations to this research. In terms of the design of the research, it severely limits the findings that only text material was included in the sample, and picture, audio, and video materials published by the broadcasters were excluded. This means that the glimpse into the published news content on South Sudan is clearly lacking. All three broadcasters included also picture, video and audio material on South Sudan on their websites which means that the sample included in this research does not accurately reflect the news content available for the users of these websites.

In terms of data collection, during the period of collecting of the news reports, the archives of Al Jazeera and CNTV websites were somewhat messy. It took a lot of time and effort to search the archives and find the relevant reports, meaning that very likely not all reports published on South Sudan during this period were found.

Despite these limitations and the fact that the textual analysis was entirely performed by the author alone, strong confidence is expressed over the reliability and validity as well as applicability of the findings of this research. The findings of the content analysis and the textual analysis support each other, and the findings of this

research echo some of the previous findings in communication and journalism research adding confidence to the findings of this research.

Recommendation for Further Application

The findings and conclusions of this research should be taken cautiously due to its limited scope. However, this study gives interesting insights into the news media by comparing Chinese news media to media elsewhere. Based on the findings of this research, it can be argued that media homogenisation and institutionalised way of producing international news is truly global, affecting any major news broadcasters. Simply viewing Chinese media as government and Party propaganda machines, it is more useful to take an objective look into the workings of Chinese news media, as this seems to reveal that in the end, news media are similarly driven by national, political, and commercial (audience) interests when it comes to international news.

Also, the similarities between Chinese and Western media raise some questions over the validity and freedom of the news in Western media. If Chinese media are nothing but government and party mouth pieces, why do the Western media produce very similar image of certain news objects in their news reports? Have the commercial interests eroded the independence and integrity of journalism in Western countries due to hyper capitalism and increased push for higher profit margins in news business? The findings of this research point to the direction that the news in each political system represented by the countries included in this research carry the interests of not only political but more importantly economic elites. The role of oil in the news reports of each broadcaster and exclusion of general public point to the clear commercial and economic interest over local human lives and the pressures imposed

on journalists and editors by economic powers behind news production. The economic pressures imposed on news staff can thus be seen eroding the professionalism of journalism and the freedom and integrity of news reporting.

These factors are something that the audiences should keep in mind when consuming the news. However, audiences and journalists themselves could affect the situation and improve the state of international news reporting by knowingly selecting news topics and reports that clearly carry lesser impacts of economic interests of the elites. Journalists alone can't change the state of the news reporting due to pressures imposed on news rooms by the audiences, but by supporting each other, the audiences and news staff could bring a welcome change to the international news reporting.

Recommendation for Future Research

This research opens up suggestions for future research. First of all, the audience effects of the news should be studied to find out on how readily audiences accept the portrayal of foreign countries offered by different broadcasters, and if there are differences between audience acceptance between broadcasters from the same dominant culture as the audience and broadcasters from other cultures by exposing sample populations from each of the three countries included in this research to the news reports from the three broadcasters and studying the level of acceptance and perceived trustworthiness and reliability of the news reports by the sample populations.

To improve this research, the scope of this research could be expanded to include also video material that is readily available and included in many of the news reports on the websites of each three broadcasters. This would provide a fuller picture

of the overall image the broadcasters provide to their audiences as background images and noises would help to reveal the framing of the news item in the reports.

A fruitful focus for research would be how the extent of economic interests of foreign nations affects the portrayal of developing countries by expanding this research to include several developing countries, some with abundant natural resources, some without natural resources, and comparing the portrayal of these countries in the international news by the three broadcasters. This would further reveal the influences of national interest and public diplomacy on international news.

In addition, comparing CNTV international news reports to those of different news media such as newspapers and television news in China would shed light if there are differences between CNTV and other Chinese media in terms of public diplomacy efforts, and how tightly controlled CNTV is by the Chinese government. This would help to reveal if the new media in China are more open and global than the traditional media.

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Samples of news reports published during the studied period July 9, 2011 – July 9, 2012 by Al Jazeera, CNTV, and the BBC.

Al Jazeera:

South Sudan: Birth of a new country

South Sudan's secession began smoothly with little violence but tensions have been heating up in our No. 7.

[Ranjit Bhaskar](#) Last Modified: 01 Jan 2012 15:31



Disputes over oil and border regions have threatened peace between Sudan and South Sudan
[GALLO/GETTY]

The formation of the world's newest country, [South Sudan](#), was seen as the big-ticket event of the year until green shoots of the Arab Spring along the northern shores of Africa swung the spotlight away from its very core.

The [orderly division of Sudan](#), after nearly half a century of bloody civil war that is estimated to have killed two million people and displaced many more millions, had a great deal riding on it.

The January 9 referendum allowed people of southern Sudan, who are largely Christian or follow indigenous religions, to secede from the Arab and Muslim-dominated north. It marked the completion of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2005 between the Sudanese government and the Sudan People's Liberation

Army in the south.

While arbitrators saw the birth of South Sudan as a template for conflict resolution, for African nations with similar fault lines it was ominous.

[Pulling together the referendum](#) was very difficult to begin with. Calling it a moment in which the "fate of millions of people hangs in the balance", Barack Obama, the US president, said: "What happens in Sudan in the days ahead may decide whether a people who have endured too much war move towards peace or slip backwards into bloodshed."

The traction Obama spoke of is already losing its grip. Severe inflation, rebellions and escalating tensions with the north have undermined the growth of South Sudan.

Disputes with the north have raged over issues from oil revenues, the future of the Abyei region and border demarcation. The disputes even escalated to a rare direct confrontation in December between the two countries' armed forces over a border region.

'Lose-lose situation'

Though a return to full-scale war with the north seems unlikely, the [tension has raised concerns](#). China, a major buyer of and investor in oil on both sides of the divide, has warned of serious consequences if the disputes are not resolved.

"If the situation continues to worsen, the consequences would be lose-lose for all," Liu Guijin, China's special envoy to Africa, said.

South Sudan is already feeling the heat. The UN says violence on the border has killed more than 3,000 people in 2011 and has disrupted trade, pushing annual inflation to almost 80 per cent in November, up from 57 per cent in August.



With crops also failing, the world body says about 2.7 million South Sudanese, roughly a third of the population, will need food aid in 2012. Adding to the pressure are the more than 350,000 southerners who have returned from Sudan. A million more might follow once their legal status in the north ends in April, 2012.

[President Salva Kiir](#) and his ruling Sudan People's Liberation Movement, the liberation army's political party, surely have a lot of work to do in the year ahead.

CNTV:

U.S. voices support for South Sudan's development plans

12-15-2011 09:42 BJT

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14 (Xinhua) -- U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on Wednesday voiced full support for South Sudan's plans for development, saying the United States and its partners stand ready to "help preserve and finalize a hard-won peace" in the newest nation on earth.

Addressing an International Engagement Conference on South Sudan in Washington, a two-day event aiming to draw private investment into the country, the top U.S. envoy hailed the "ambitious vision for development" laid out by South Sudan's President Salva Kiir Mayardit, saying "Those are plans that we fully support."

She called for partnership between South Sudan and the international community in helping "create the conditions that make successful development possible."

She laid emphasis, among others, on "real peace and security" with an end to war, transparency and accountability, policies that favor broad, inclusive, and sustainable growth, strong institutions, and corruption elimination.

She warned South Sudan of the so-called natural resource curse, saying the country's abundant natural resources will either help finance its own path out of poverty, or will enrich only a small elite, outside interests, corporations and countries.

Citing Norway and Botswana as two alternative visions for South Sudan, Clinton noted that the two countries put their natural resources into a trust fund to support the needs of their peoples.

South Sudan, which won independence from Sudan on July 9, is among the poorest in the world, with a high maternal and child mortality rate, a high illiteracy rate, very limited infrastructure and an economy dependent on oil exports.

And with its northern neighbor, the south has a number of thorny issues unresolved, including oil revenues and external debt sharing, border demarcation and the status of the oil-rich Abyei region.

"While South Sudan and Sudan have become separate states, their futures remain inextricably linked," Clinton remarked. "South Sudan's ability to attract and keep trade and investment depends on greater security on both sides of its northern border. Right now, conflicts in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan threaten to spill into South Sudan. These issues must be resolved."

Fighting in Southern Kordofan state first erupted in early June between the Sudanese army and fighters aligned to the Sudan People's Liberation Army, which became the

regular army of South Sudan after its independence, and spilled over into nearby Blue Nile state three months later.

Sudan alleged that conflicts in its two states arose because of military support from the south, a claim denied by South Sudan.

"Reconciliation, agreements, negotiations between former advisories are difficult," Clinton said. "But the United States, our Troika partners, Norway and the UK, the African Union, which has done absolutely fabulous work in this arena, and many others stand ready to help preserve and finalize a hard-won peace."

Turkey, the European Union, the African Union, the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation were among those present at the conference.

Editor:Zhang Hao |Source: Xinhua

BBC:

South Sudan adopts the language of Shakespeare

By Rosie Goldsmith BBC News



South Sudan's leaders believe English will make them "different and modern"

The young nation of South Sudan has chosen English as its official language but after decades of civil war, the widespread learning of English presents a big challenge for a country brought up speaking a form of Arabic.

I knew there might be problems as soon as I arrived at Juba International airport - and was asked to fill in my own visa form, as the immigration officer could not write English.

The colourful banners and billboards hung out to celebrate South Sudan's independence back in July, and still adorning the streets now, are all in English. As are the names of the new hotels, shops and restaurants.

After decades of Arabisation and Islamisation by the Khartoum government, the predominantly Christian and African south has opted for English as its official language.

'One nation'

At the Ministry of Higher Education, Edward Mokole, told me: "English will make us different and modern. From now on all our laws, textbooks and official documents have to be written in that language. Schools, the police, retail and the media must all operate in English."



South Sudan's education system is very short of resources and most people are illiterate

This was "a good decision for South Sudan", he added forcefully, rather playing down the fact that there are very few fluent English speakers in the country.

As a devastated country of remote villages and mainly dirt roads, with no industry, banks or landlines, with erratic electricity and connectivity, where 85% of people are illiterate and the education system is shattered, South Sudan does not just have very little English, but very little written language at all.

I visited schools without textbooks.

The head of English at Juba University had no books in his office, let alone electricity or a computer.

I saw no bookshops.

For the new rulers, who fought with the Sudan People's Liberation Army, learning English is a new struggle.

"With English," the news director of South Sudan Radio, Rehan Abdelnebi, told me haltingly, "we can become one nation. We can iron out our tribal differences and communicate with the rest of the world."

'Development tool'

But peace is still fragile.

The whole of Sudan is riddled with conflicts. About 150 different languages are spoken in the South and there are thousands of guns out there, as well as a quarter of a million former guerrillas being demobilised and disarmed.

There are soldiers everywhere in Juba.

But there are also traders from Uganda and Kenya, as well as about two million returnees from the north, refugees and thousands of Westerners seeking fortunes or bringing aid.

I met the new British Council director in his office - in the grounds of a notorious nightclub (the club had free office space, and in Juba you take what you get).

After 65 years operating in Sudan, the council appointed Tony Calderbank to oversee the spread of English in the new nation.

Wherever Tony went, I saw people approach him, desperate for courses, books, teachers and grants.

"English has become a tool for development," Tony told me, "and, even if the British in Sudan are sometimes seen as colonial overlords, the English language is respected."

Shakespeare's influence

Brigadier-General Awur Malual had asked the British Council to teach his soldiers.

The general had grown up speaking his tribal tongue Bor and Juba Arabic, a colloquial form of Arabic, but can now speak remarkably good English.

When I asked him how he had learned it, he told me: "By picking up books in the bush when I was fighting. I read some things about that man Shakespeare."



"What about Dickens or Jane Austen?" I asked. He scratched his head and said: "I don't know them."

I promised to send the general some Dickens.

During my time in Juba, several people asked me for books - a dictionary of law and biographies of Nelson Mandela and Barack Obama - black leaders who, for them, inspire hope.

Already, I have put copies of Shakespeare's Cymbeline in the post.

Next year, as part of the 2012 Olympics arts programme, the South Sudanese Kwoto Theatre Company is to perform this tale of love, death and war in Juba Arabic at the Globe theatre in London.

Thirty-six other Shakespeare plays in 36 other languages will also be staged.

As we swatted flies down by the Nile, I asked Kwoto's director, Derik Alfred why he was swimming against the tide - why not Shakespeare in English?

"We must still celebrate our own language," he told me mischievously, "but first of all we have to translate Cymbeline from English into Juba Arabic!"

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