

**A Comparative Analysis of News Coverage of Africa:  
A Case Study of two English Language  
Newspapers in Turkey.**

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## ABSTRACT

This study sought to trace the coverage of Africa by two English language dailies in Turkey - *Today's Zaman* and *Turkish Daily News* during a three-month period from October to December, 2008. The goals of the research were to determine the quantity of Africa-related news stories published by the two dailies, as well as to attempt to analyze the themes and issues emphasized in the stories published – with a view to elicit the overall image of Africa portrayed by the dailies to their readers.

Content analysis method was used to examine Africa-related content of online editions of the two newspapers for 92 days between October and December 2008. Findings showed that coverage of Africa by the two newspapers highlighted events centered on violence and conflict during the entire period with 37% of all stories published by *Turkish Daily News* and 52% of those published by *Today's Zaman* falling into this category. In contrast, news in the other seven categories which are (Politics and Government, Arts/Entertainment, Sports, Diplomacy/Trade, Disasters/Accident, Religion and Others) only constituted a combined total of 48% in *Today's Zaman*, and 53% in *Turkish Daily News*, making the violence and conflict-related stories stand out as dominant in the portrayal of the African continent to the Turkish readers. This coverage by the two newspapers mirror the findings of other studies of Western media coverage of Africa, and demonstrates that in spite of Turkey's proximity to Africa, its press coverage of Africa is no different from the press of traditional Western nations based in North America or Western Europe.

**Keywords:** Media, Conflict, Media portrayal, Africa, Violence.

## ÖZ

Bu çalışma Türkiye’de yayınlanan iki İngilizce gazetede -Today’s Zaman ve Turkish Daily News- Ekim 2008 ve Aralık 2008 tarihlerini içeren üç aylık dönemde Afrika’nın nasıl temsil ettiğini incelemektedir. Çalışmanın temel amacı Afrika’nın genel olarak nasıl temsil edildiğini aydınlatmak için bu iki günlük gazetede Afrika ile ilgili haberlerin niteliğini belirlemek bu haberlerde işlenen tema ve sorunları analiz etmektir. Çalışma, bu içerikte saptanan imajları ve tartışılan sorunları daha önceki çalışmaların bulgularındaki benzer ve karşılaştırılabilir fenomenlerle tartışmakta ve analiz etmektedir. İki gazetenin toplam 92 online sayısında Afrika ile ilgili haberleri içerik analizi yöntemiyle incelemektedir. Bulgulara bakıldığında incelenen dönem içinde ve tüm haberler arasında Afrika ile ilgili haberlerin %37 oranında Turkish Daily News’de ve %52 oranında Today’s Zaman’da ağırlıklı şiddet ve çatışma olayları kategorisinde yer aldığını göstermektedir. Buna karşılık analizlerde belirlenen toplam sekiz kategoriden yedisindeki temsil oranı Today’s Zaman’da %48 Turkish Daily News’de %53 olup Türkçe okuyanlar için Afrika’nın en yaygın temsili şiddet içeren öykülerde ön plana çıkmaktadır. Çalışmanın bulguları dolayısıyla Afrika’nın şiddet ve çatışma ile dolu bir kıta olduğunu göstermektedir. Seçilen gazetelerin içeriklerinden saptanan bu temsil, bu çalışmanın ana konularından biri olan Batı medyasında Afrika’nın temsili ile ilgili bulguları da yansıtmaktadır. Afrika’ya yakın olmasına karşın Afrika’nın temsili bakımından Türkiye medyası ile Batı Avrupa ve Kuzey Amerika’daki geleneksel Batı medyası arasında bir fark yoktur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Medya, Çatışma, Medya tasviri, Afrika, Şiddet.

To the Almighty God my maker; and to my dear family

Dad, Mum, Joseph, Pat, Destiny, Jane, and Sheila

Most especially my son Festus junior and my soul mate Nora,  
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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

Studies on media portrayal of places and issues have yielded useful and informative findings on both causes and implications of such portrayals. Perhaps the most comprehensive of such studies is UNESCO's McBride Commission whose findings; *Many Voices One World* was published in 1980. Before then, many of the concerns, especially of developing countries about negative portrayal by the Western media leading to inaccurate perceptions and prejudices in the West, remain largely "allegations".

However, since the publication of the McBride Commission report and the widespread global initiatives by UNESCO to address issues related to the global media in subsequent years, many other studies have been conducted which investigated portrayal of minorities in the media, these include, where in the world is Africa portrayal of countries or groups of countries by the media in other places. (Golan, 2008) All countries not created equal to be news (Chang, 1998); New York times coverage of Africa (Cooper & El Zein, 1992); or more specific efforts to trace coverage of certain issues or groups such as women by the media 'Race and Ethnicity: A Comparison of Global and Local Women's Magazine Advertising in Singapore (Firth, 2006). Useful and enlightening as it is the body of research on media portrayal has tended to concentrate on analysis, trends and activities of the press in the West, with only minimal number of studies tracing activities of the media elsewhere in the world are cited in works such as "Value representations In

Foreign News” (Beaudion & Thorson, 2001, Tuchman, 1976). It is with this mind that the current study is intended to contribute to the small but growing body of literature tracing coverage by non-Western media of issues and developments in Africa.

This chapter outlines the total research highlights, the theories that guided it, the methodology and the scope of the study. An explanation of the history of the problem and how the research questions are relevant to the study are also discussed. It also gives an in-depth analysis on the newspapers that were chosen; their origin and ownership ideology are mentioned as well as the basis for their selection for the study. Limitations encountered during the study are also highlighted and how the newspapers suited the criteria for the study.

## **1.1 Global News Flow**

The media by nature are expected to play an important role in any nation’s political, social and cultural organization. By acting in the watchdog role capacity, the press has been tagged the ‘Fourth Estate of the Realm’ and Turkey like any practicing democratic sovereign nation is no exception in this regard as it has a press system that performs this duty of a watchdog role. However, information dissemination is vital to any nation’s growth particularly in this present age of new media technologies. While technological breakthroughs has made the mass media to become even faster and more accessible to the public and the world is now being regarded as a ‘global village’ one cannot often at times understand the complete picture of how the mechanism of information flow operates in a country or between nations with regards to global news flow. This study seeks to investigate news content on Africa from the press in Turkey through its English dailies to its readers.

An attempt is made to identify their news sources and the portrayal of Africa to the readers.

In today's media studies journalism's evolution is debated to have shifted from the traditional function of informing the local public of events in ones neighborhood to a complex structure of information and entertainment. Another fear by media scholars is that the press is in danger of being overwhelmed by the globalization mechanism awareness that has caught up with every modern nation. The press has become not just the fourth estate of the realm as was named by 'Thomas Carlyle' in his article on 'Heroes and Hero worship' (Carlyle Thomas, 2009) but more recently the press has become a creator of global events. The public has been redefined to accommodate the mass audiences of world. The World Wide Web has created new markets or new publics for the advertising practitioner, investor and customer; it can be argued that the world has truly become a global village where the media has universally reach through the form of news reporting both in the print and broadcast media sectors. Consequently, research on the coverage of global events has been subject of much enquiry by many scholars. While studies such as (Beaudion & Thorson, 2001 and Chang, 1988) argued that, there is an imbalance in the flow of information from large and powerful countries to smaller and less developed countries. However, this standpoint can be subjected to many arguments; it is a theory that news is not totally free from bias. This particular study seeks to identify if English Language News dailies in Turkey through their online versions are immune to the same determinants or factors that herald coverage of Africa by other western nations or European countries.

In a similar study by Guy Golan's entitled, '*where in the world is Africa*' four US TV stations, namely the American Broadcasting Company ABC, Columbia Broadcasting System CBS, National Broadcasting Company NBC and Cable News Network CNN were analyzed for their coverage of African nations in their evening news programs. His findings revealed that some of the newsworthy criteria selected by these stations included the conclusion that "African countries that had good foreign relations with the US, or had a certain status among the global scale of prominence in the scale of ranking amongst nations globally were given more coverage than others" (Golan, 2008, p. 47) . Taking incentives from Golan's findings, this study aims to take a look at what type of stories were selected by two newspapers from Turkey and also investigate if their stories were influenced by the ideology of the newspapers ownership or they are traditionally and professionally following the ethics of fairness balance and objectivity (Golan, 2008).

## **1.2 Background of the Problem**

This study intends to examine the coverage of events and issues in Africa by two leading English language dailies in Turkey in order to establish their portrayal of the African continent to the readers. It uses content analysis to determine and analyze coverage of Africa by the two dailies, Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman over a three-month period of October, November and December 2008. It is assumed that the coverage by the two newspapers would generally be an accurate reflection of portrayal of Africa by the rest of the Turkish press including Turkish language newspapers. Some studies have been conducted on the coverage Africa such as Golan (2008); Chang (1998); Cooper & El Zein; (1992); & Kutufam,( 2009) , has mostly been confined to the Western media coverage of the continent. The findings of such research have traditionally highlighted two main things- inadequate coverage of the continent by the western media, and a

tendency to accentuate negative developments, creating or reinforcing stereotypes of Africa as the unique place where suffering and underdevelopment exclusively and permanently reside. It would be interesting to establish how and whether coverage of the African continent by the Turkish media is different from those in the west. Being neither a traditional Western country nor belonging to the third world, and not having a colonial history as most of the African countries, this is implied to be that Turkey does not share some diplomatic relations with traditional western countries such as Britain or France as being a former colony. In the absence of this, Turkey seems like an ideal and unique place to conduct such a study. Informed by literature on the determinants of International News coverage and Media ownership Theories, the following research questions will guide the present research.

*RQ1: What news stories/issues dominated African coverage in the three months of study?*

*RQ2: What are the sources of news on Africa for the two selected newspapers?*

*RQ3: Does any country, region or group of African countries receive greater coverage by either or both Newspapers?*

*RQ4: Were there any editorials or commentaries (opinion pieces) on issues during the periods of study and which issues were emphasized?*

*RQ5: Do African countries closer to Turkey, or which were part of the Ottoman Empire receive greater coverage by the Turkish media than those further afield?*

*RQ6: Does ownership ideology affect the news stories selected in the period of study.*

Researching the coverage of the African continent was borne out of the desire to investigate the type of coverage Africans and Africa receive by English Language

dailies in Turkey. The choice of Turkish Daily news and Today's Zaman Newspapers are due to their dominant part of the English dailies market circulation located in Turkey that is engrossed daily in informing the foreign and local readers of global events in English language. They both have online versions of the newspapers which were used in this study. Other English language newspapers based in Turkey are, Journal of Turkish Weekly, Sabah, Riviera News, Altinkum Didim Newspaper, Voices, Didymian and Dunya.

The study aims to investigate the type of representations or portrayal of African stories and attempts to deduce (if any) what type of stories are preferred for publication in addition attempts will be made to find out who are the news sources of these two dailies. Furthermore, apart from the research questions highlighted above, the study will analyze any news commentaries by both papers to determine their ideological perspectives, and attempt to find out if there are any other factors that influences or determine coverage of events, interpretation of those events in editorials, commentaries or other analyses. (ABYZ, 2010)

### **1.3 The Print Media in Turkey and Turkish Modernity**

Turkey was founded in 1923 based on the principles of secularism and values espoused by the founding father Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (Tunç, 2002. pp. 50). The principles and ideology of Ataturk form the base of the modern Turkish state. At the government level the modern Turkish interests are to create secular, Western-oriented, nationalistic policies that foster a free-market economy (Vierling, 1993, pp 15). These values highlighted by Vierling are still the guiding principles of the Turkish nation to date. The early 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a military incursion into the government to maintain the status quo which was secularism. It should be noted that possibly as a direct result of the pursuit of this path Turkey has evolved into a visibly



modern European economy and state. It is not out of place to mention that Turkey has a unique history of struggles from several governments, accompanied by military incursions to maintain the status quo of secularism whenever this was threatened. It should be noted that this thesis is mainly concerned with the evaluation of present day English Language Newspaper portrayal of Africa therefore a complete history of the Turkish nation evolution is not discussed in detail in this thesis.

Tunc gives an insight on how modernity and secularism was the focus of the Turkish state during its early days;

Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the political in Turkey has been dominated by the secular and statist philosophies of its founder Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Ataturk, who carried the remnant of the Ottoman empire into the modern secular state of Turkey based on his philosophies to the discredit of the Ottoman and Islamic heritage. Since the installation of the Multi-party politics in Turkey in 1945, the military as the defender of Ataturk's legacy has intervened three times (1961, 1971, 1980) (Tunç, 2002. p. 50)

The view point by Tunc gives an insight how Turkey as a nation strives to maintain its identity as secular and nationalistic, with the military serving as the guardians of the constitution and identity of modern Turkey. The press has not been free from this encroachment by the government in its evolution in modern Turkey. While the strict observance of secularism has been seen as a symbol of nationalism it has also been criticized by a lot of western European governments as they perceive the military and judiciary in present day Turkey wield too much power in the present constitution. This concern is one of the hurdles Turkey as a European nation is trying to overcome as it strives to become a member of the European Union. However, with its free market economy, secular identity Turkey has become an emerging regional power that the world cannot be ignored. Therefore this reality is one of the

reasons Turkey was chosen to evaluate how the press functions in the modern state of Turkey.

The print media in Turkey has grown since its infancy in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century into one that is aiming to compete with any other global media institution, as globalization of the news is now a common occurrence in today's world. Turkey's media consists of both private and state owned institutions. Media corporations or groups such as the Doğan Media Group and the Zaman Group have subjected both broadcast and the press to monopolization. Some of the media controlled by the Doğan Media Group include Milliyet and the Hürriyet as well as other periodicals. They also own and operate television and radio stations such as Kanal D, CNN Turk, Star TV, Beşiktaş TV, Dream TV, Radio D, Slow Turk, CNN Türk Radio.

Control of the media is regulated by the state through the Supreme Council of Radio and Television (RTUK). The council has the authority to proscribe or shut down any media that promotes separatism or any issue that challenges the national security of the Turkish nation.

Turkey by 2008 had a population of over 75 million people. The country media strives to protect the country's secular constitution in its role as the watchdog of society a function of the press globally ( Country profile Turkey, 2009). The press in Turkey is made up of both Turkish and English newspapers with the latter dominating in terms of readership. English Newspapers has a lower readership because the lingua franca of the country is Turkish. According to Atabey (1998.p.56) "The story of Turkish journalism has been interwoven with political, economic and societal transformations since the emergence of the first newspapers in mid-nineteenth century". These observations by her also supports the argument of Tunç,

who the oppression and opposition to press freedom that affronted journalists in her article “*Pushing the Limits of Tolerance*” in the growth of the modern Turkish state (Tunç, 2002). Atabey discusses this history of the Turkish Media in her PhD thesis entitled “*Television News Broadcasting and Journalism in Turkey: The Impact of Political, Economic and Socio-Cultural Change in the 1990s*” (1998). The emergence of newspapers in Turkey evolved from the era of the late Ottoman Empire. The first Newspaper was the *Takvim-i Vekayi* established in 1831. Other early newspapers include *Cerride-i Havadis* (journal of News) in 1840, *Tercüman -ı Ahval* (interpreter of events) in 1860. As Atabey discusses on her thesis “One of the aims of the first newspapers was to inform officials about the political and economic decisions taken by the head of state. However, in spite of their officialism, these newspapers made some contributions to the dynamics of Ottoman society in terms of development, secularism, unity, modernism, language and education” (1998,p 56.). However I do agree with Atabey analysis as it does portray and reflect the press struggles in turkey as press struggles with government are synonymous in any democratic terrain as the press always seeks to act in the watch dog capacity of the public thereby clashing with the government either by criticism or lack of freedom of expression.

The early age of newspaper reflected the evolution of the History of the Turkish Nation. The history of the press in Turkey also has its fair share of political interferences as explained in this chapter;

The period of Constitutional Reforms was halted by the 33 years long despotic regime of Abdülhamit the Second which lasted between 1876 and 1909. During this period, the press and some other published media were censored, intimidated and silenced. Not only the Young Turks Press, but even the literary magazine were prosecuted. Some of the journalists and intellectuals, confused by fear and suspicion did not hesitate to inform on their opponents to the Palace and the state officials. (Atabey, 1998, p. 58. )

Such scenarios heralded the evolution of the Turkish press in the early Ottoman days. However, the Atatürk era saw the debut of the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper in 1924. The political elite in Turkey read this paper. Tunç in her article titled “*Pushing for the Limits of Tolerance: Functions of Political Cartoonists in the Democratization Process: The Case of Turkey*”, gives an insight of the political obstacles the press faced in the early nineties. In her article she discusses the struggles of the press when any issue threaten the secular position of the Turkish militarist settings, issues she discussed include the Kurdish issue of 1984, the military intervention of 1961, 1971, 1980. The mainstream press and alternative press has different roles, she makes this obvious in this statement;

Armed with these duties, the Turkish army suspended all democratic activities and practices until 1983, when they allowed an election after the approval of a new constitution. Starting in 1983, neoliberalist discourse gradually penetrated into every aspect of society, including the media world. Under these circumstances, during the era after the 1980 military coup, the press became an important player in Turkish political life. While the mainstream press armed with the Atatürkist principles of republicanism, nationalism, secularism, populism and reformism was enthusiastically supporting the values of the military, the ‘alternative’ press with a different shade of right- and left-wing ideologies was severely punished. (Tunç, 2002. p. 3)

Since the objective of the present thesis is to concentrate on the evaluation of today’s Turkish press portrayal of Africa, it would be ideal to see how the press presently operates in Turkey. The 20<sup>th</sup> century heralded the technological explosion of new media that included the internet; it also saw the introduction of media laws introduced in Turkey in 1946. This was a direct product of the multi party political climate, which was present in the country saw the rise of mass circulated newspapers; such as the *Hürriyet* (Freedom), *Milliyet* (Nationality) & the *Vatan* (Homeland) in the first democratization of information flow. The year 1960 saw a new code of ethics for media works introduced and signed by media groups in Turkey. Other laws restricting press freedom were passed in the 1970’s and 1980’s a

period where Turkish government experience military interferences in the name of maintaining Turkish secular identity as a nation. By 1994, over 30 national dailies were in circulation. While 2008, saw the emergence of the conservative Islamic newspaper *Zaman* (Time) with a circulation of 800,000 copies, it became the main English Language newspaper outselling the former *Hürriyet* as the number one newspaper in the Turkish newsstands. It could be hypothesize that political preferences changed as well as the readership profile as the conservative Justice and Development party (Adalet ve Kakinma Partisi) led by Tayip Erdrogan won the election in Turkey.

As Turkey seeks to become a member of the European Union (EU) and it has been asked by the EU to reform parts of its political system and institutions that are deemed unfit for membership in the EU (EU-Turkey relations, 2009). While Turkey strives to reform its laws to conform to that of an EU state, it is important to look at the media and the portrayal style of English language newspapers that are produced and distributed in Turkey. In 2007, “The population of Turkey has increased to more than 70.58 million, with a further 98,339 foreigners living in the country, official figures revealed.” (nirvanainternational.com). 98339 foreigners living in Turkey, 2008) This accounts for an estimated readership for English dailies in Turkey to be about *Today’s Zaman* newspaper 770,500 while *Turkish Daily News* sold about 604,045 in February 2009 (Turkish Press., 2009). With this readership, it has become necessary to analyze the way foreign news is treated by the Turkish Media.

#### **1.4 Background Information and Criteria for Choice of Media**

The choice of Today’s Zaman and Turkish Daily News was influenced by a number of factors, one of the reasons they were both selected was because that they are both published in English, and both news papers have an online version on which is this

study will be conducted. More significantly, the newspapers fitted into the population of study, which was Turkish press, and they covered the scope of study, which also were African new stories due to their location in the Turkish media circle and Turkish geographical landmass. However, it is taken into cognizance that both papers combined have readerships of over a million average sales per day in February in the English newspapers market in Turkey. The figures make the two newspapers the leaders of the English daily newspapers as regards to sales and distribution network (Turkish Press., 2009).

Since the language of each Newspapers daily publication is English, their readership comprises of Non-Turks and Turks who can read and understand English. However, their dominance on English dailies circulation in Turkey makes the two selected newspapers ideal for this study. Particularly since both maintain an online version available 24 hours a day to any reader in the World Wide Web. The papers target the same readers for sales and adverts however they also have differences and similarities which will be discussed in the latter part of this section. Since the purpose of this research is to analyze how Africa is portrayed by Turkish press; it makes the choice of both papers based on the strengths of their sales figures and different ideologies ideal for this research.

#### **1.4.1 Turkish Daily News**

This is the oldest English-language daily in Turkey serving as a news outlet for domestic and international readers for 48 years ([hurriyet.com.tr/english/domestic/](http://hurriyet.com.tr/english/domestic/), 2009). It was established in March 1961 where it operated for 39 years before was bought over by the *Doğan Group* in the year 2000, See reference Who are we (2009) *Hurriyet Daily News*. Turkish Daily Newspaper can be read online on [www.hurriyetdailynews.com](http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com) or [www.turkishdailynews.com](http://www.turkishdailynews.com).

It has a daily sale output of 487,925 newspapers per day (Turkish Press., 2009). It is considered the pioneer English newspaper in Turkey. It has a secular and strongly nationalistic ideology which may be attributed to its ownership; the *Doğan Media Group*. The *Doğan Media Group* owns a chain of media companies with interests ranging from film to magazines and other Turkish language newspapers all branded under the *Hürriyet Corporation* logo operating in Turkey. It can be hypothesized that the owner of *Doğan Group* is the equivalent of Rupert Murdoch in Turkey. This is only inferred because of the strong influence the *Dogan group* has in the media circle in Turkey.

The newspaper offers its readers contents that spans across global topical issues such as diplomatic, cultural and international news. Indeed, it has gradually consolidated itself as ‘Turkey’s window to the outside world’. “Columns written by leading businessmen, academics, politicians and bureaucrats further enrich the content. The newspaper’s sport page has been applauded by leading sports journalists from other famous Turkish dailies” (Who we are at the *Hürriyet Daily News*, 2009). According to market research, the newspaper readership consists of 60 percent foreigners while 40 percent are Turkish who are highly educated. The research also states that 80 percent of the Turkish readers have university degrees. The *Turkish Daily News* newspaper is printed on broadsheet. Broadsheets are fat and short and have more dense writing. The broadsheets are generally assumed to have better written articles; with much less scandal and gossip, much less sensational headlines and people depended upon them for getting their quota of what could now be called 'serious news'. Turkish daily news has two editions the daily and the Sunday weekly. It also has the *Gazette* which is available online free. The *Turkish Daily News* has

partnerships with Koc Holding and Axel Springer. This pioneer English daily newspaper on its website claims to have its daily sales figure of approximately 500.000 copies. The online version has been reported to have about 350,000,000 hits a day as at February 2009. In addition, for a set fee readers can access its archives from anywhere in the world. The readership of the online editions makes it a positive and reliable sample to be used in a study like this.

Turkish Daily News has a secular and strongly nationalistic ideology. The Dogan Media Group currently owns the company. They use the Broadsheet format in the publication. Broadsheets tend to have better written articles with less scandal and gossip. Turkish daily News also has a reputation of having less sensational headlines. The publications under the Turkish daily News Flagship include, Turkish Daily News daily edition, Sunday Edition, and E-gazette. Turkish Daily News has partnership with the following media affiliates Koc, Holding, Axel Springer, Bild and Dogan Media Group.

#### **1.4.2 Today's Zaman**

Today's Zaman Newspaper first issue was published on January 16 2007. It was born out of the desire to have an all English Daily from the Zaman Group (About *Today's Zaman*, 2009) it currently boasts of having the largest reach of English dailies publication in Turkey. Average daily sales in February are 770,500 shows it to be the dominant English newspaper in Turkey (Turkish Press., 2009). It managed by a separate editorial team from the traditional Zaman editorial group. Its parent company is known as the *Zaman* Group owned by the Islamic Fettulah group.

The paper has networking affiliations with foreign media houses; as displayed on their online website "We also enjoy the support of the Zaman media conglomerate



and its sister agency, the Cihan News Agency, as well as feeds from The Associated Press, Reuters, the Anatolian news agency and ANKA” (About-*Today's Zaman*, 2009). These partnerships make its mode of operation similar to other global newspapers that thrive on international news agencies and international collaborations for media updates around the world. *Today's Zaman* is right wing and conservative in nature. The selection of this paper for the study is based on its perceived religious ownership and ideology. This makes it perfect for testing the research questions of this study. *Today's Zaman* is also published on broadsheet just like *Turkish Daily News*. It also has daily edition, Sunday edition and E-gazette. They are also in partnership with some news agencies that are discussed below.

Today's Zaman Newspaper is traditionally Right winged and has a conservative ideology. This accounts for the religious ideology it has. Just like Turkish Daily News, Today's Zaman also uses broadsheet for news stories and the newspaper has a daily edition and Sunday edition as well. It has an online E-gazette where the online stories are posted daily. Today's Zaman has partnership with the Los Angeles Times. Cihan News Agency, Reuters, the Anatolian News Agency and ANKA.

The choice of the papers is based on the above mentioned differences and similarities. These similarities and differences are important and it is the researcher's belief that this would help identify why stories are portrayed by the way they are uploaded by both papers on their web pages. Since both newspapers are available online and accessible globally, thereby meeting an important criterion on which the research was based which were having an online English

edition by an English language newspaper based in Turkey. The two newspapers were selected based on this and their position as the two best selling English language newspapers in Turkey.

### **1.5 Limitations of the Study**

In the process of conducting the study, a number of issues were regarded as limiting to the study, first is the non availability of some dates which were October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> for Turkish Daily News and October 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> for Today's Zaman in the archives of Newspapers for analysis, after emails and phone calls with no positive response or solution from the editors and papers. This led to the scenario where the study had to be carried out with no stories in the archives of Turkish Daily news for 3 days which were October 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> while Today's Zaman also had 2 days missing the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> October 2008 respectively. However due to the small number of missing dates in comparison to the 92 days of study the researcher believes that the missing dates will not have major effects on the finding of the research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The present chapter reviews literature from the political economy of media and Global news flow in order to ascertain the role in news content in newspaper coverage today. Literature on media ownership was selected to compare and contrast viewpoints by scholars on the effects of media takeover by corporations concerning the professionalism of the press in a country like Turkey. It compared and contrasted various studies by researchers on some western media to highlight their findings with a view of comparing if any of these same findings would be applicable to the Turkish media.

#### **2.1 Political Economy of the Media**

The consequences of the ongoing globalization of the media are difficult to disentangle from the effects of the parallel and closely related economic and technological changes in the national and global economies. (McChesney & Edward, 1999, p.136)

The relationship of any media and the owner has generated much debate; one of these is the argument if media ownership affects press freedom. This topic has been the subject of arguments & debates among cultural theorists and other scholars who argue that private ownership is central to the functioning of democracy. Adam Smith and David Ricardo theorized that the mechanism of the markets made it possible for owners to pursue efforts to maximize their profit and at the same time maximizing

the value of output to the public. In capitalism, he argued, “to promote personal greed is to promote common good”. (Pettman, 1996, p. 11) By this Pettman implied that the central idea of capitalism was to promote investment or a free market economy that will lead to more production and the creation of choices for the consumer. How this relates in the News reporting dynamic world of news reporting as in this case the Turkish media and the owner is one of the goals of the present study.

Interestingly, the role and limits of ownership on media institutions in exercising censorship and ideology have been considered controversial. The questions often debated by scholars centered on how free can the press be under capitalist ownership or corporations. While cultural theorists like Stewart Hall questioned “the cultural production process of the media”. He theorized that when media institutions are owned by corporations it may turn into a scenario where the media’s more channels or newspapers do not actually provide not more choices but a reproduction of the same stories under different banners. An attempt to analyze this will necessitate following the arguments of Kevin Williams who while discussing media ownership theory argues that up till early nineteenth century there was little contradiction between private ownership of the press and its immediate impact on public performance (2003). He argued that prior to the present age; in the early nineteenth century, the term ownership largely referred to practice where “early newspapers were owned by one individual or rested in the hands of one family. Often the editor or the owners are the same person” (Williams, 2003, pp. 74). In this scenario, freedom of the press meant no government control. However, political economists argue the scenario has changed and the media is today like any other global business venture, affected by globalization and the need to make profit. From the early

1920's the media industry was subjected to industrialization, which saw the press organizations subjected to takeovers from corporate groups. Company brands such Sony, Time Warner, Walt Disney, CNN, and BBC are now household names because of their dominance and participation in the global information and entertainment industry. The questions most researchers or media watchdogs now ask are among the following.

- What are the consequences of media corporation enlargement?
- Has the press been muzzled by ownership ideology?
- Has the standards of the press been downgraded by these mergers?

While these questions are not directly discussed under research topics due to the nature of this study, which is aimed at the Turkish media portrayal of Africa, it would be appropriate to discuss these questions in the course of the study as the highlighted questions cut across all types of media in the world. However, one must not ignore the reality that one of the purposes of the research is to identify western media trends in the Turkish media so it is essential that these issues are looked into to further explain if any similar ownership patterns exist in the Turkish media circle. To be able to analyze these answers we may have to consider the argument of Marxist political economists on the consequences of media ownership.

## **2.2 Consequences of Media Ownership:**

### **2.2. Cultural imperialism & Media imperialism.**

Among the scholars who do not agree with the benefits of media ownership enlargements have been political economists and cultural theorists. Edward and Machesney (1997) identified the new form of corporate capitalism as the global media and highlighted how it is profiteering from the wave of global media empires growing with the globalization process. Classical political economists also agree that

a selected few media owners whom they call the owners of the means of production have the power to influence the people to subscribe to their will or ideology. In this chapter emphasis will be given to this issue in order to understand how present global news flow interchanges within the global village in which the Turkish media is included. It is believed while taking an insight to the ownership of the media industries it perhaps will explain how this may occur.

According to mediachannel.org, a lot of mergers took place in the 21<sup>st</sup> century that consolidated the viewpoint that the global media was like any other market and constantly in danger of being exploited for profit and manipulation as argued by both classical political economists and Marxists political economists ( *Bestriding the World*, 2000). The top five media corporation mergers in the world as at 2000 were “AOL Time Warner, Walt Disney Company, Bertelsmann AG, Viacom, News Corporation and Vivendi Universal” (McChesney & Edward, 1997, pp.70). These corporations dominated the media world from the coasts of Australia to the hidden parts of Africa up to the great ancient’s wall of China; they influenced, shaped the people’s understanding and perception of the global world. The following table shows their interests and net value as of the year 2000.

Table 1: Five top global corporations as at 2000

Name	Aol Time Warner	Walt Disney Company	Bertelsmann AG	Viacom	News corporation	Vivendi Universal
Chairman	Steve Case	Michael D Eisner	Dr.Thomas Middelhof	Sumner M. Redstone	Rupert Murdoch	Jean-Marie Messier
CEO	Gerald Levin	Michael D Eisner	DrThomas Middelhof	Same	Rupert Murdoch	Jean-Marie Messier
Interest r Investments	Books, Cable, Movies & TV, Magazines, Music Retail distributions. etc	Books, Cable, Television production and animation, Magazines and Newspapers, online services, Theaters, Hotels, parks etc.	Publishing Books, Newspapers & Magazines, Music, Radio etc.	Books. Cable & Broadcast. Film Production & Distribution, Radio, online services. Parks,	Books, Newspapers, Magazine, Movies, TV, Football clubs, New media, etc	Books & Publishing, TV & Film, Music, Telecoms, Parks,
Employees	79,000	117,000	64,800	126,820	50,000	290,000
Revenue	\$31.8 billion	\$23,402 billion	\$16.3 billion	\$12.86 billion	\$13.5 billion	\$40.1 billion
Customers	Over 150 million strong ranging from magazine to television viewers etc.	Approximately over 1 billion people are assumed to be affected with products of Walt Disney.	Music group operates in 54 countries, has 22 TV and 18 radio stations in Europe alone. Ships over 1 million books a day from Random House.	Approximately over 750 million people are consumers of products owned by Viacom	Its company products from newspapers to online services span over 500 million customers.	Over 150 million affected by its products which span from entertainment to supply of bottle water and waste management
Global media companies they own		MGM World & studios, Walt Disney pictures etc.	BMG Music Service, Bertelsmann media etc.	CBS, MTV, Paramount pictures. etc	New York times. Fox news, Sky news. MySpace	Universal Music Group, CANAL+;etc.

the preceding chart sheds light on information most consumers are unaware of; it is possible that most consumers globally are practically in the dark about the origins of their products. Many consumers of global media commodities often see different products by their logos and for majority this means different ownership; however, this chart shows that this is not always the case. One can also imply that due to the diversity of their modified products and global coverage; the impact of at least one of products of these global corporations has been felt in every home or family in the world. Their services ranges from newspapers, television, radio, movies animation, books online games; even hotel services and football clubs are part of the global reach of these mega companies. It is easy to conclude that due to this revelation and arguments by Edward and Machesney, it does imply that the media world as political economists advocate; is 'a global business' and media corporations are making tons of profit from it.

It has been argued that the dominance of western corporations on global media ownership and news flow could have an effect on the freedom and objectivity of the press due to business interests and ideology of the owners. This was one of the contentious issues in the debates that preceded worldwide evaluation of status of the global media by UNESCO in 1980s. The underlying thesis then, as it remains today, was the concern about a possibility that dominance by global media largely controlled by interests of the West could lead to media practices that entail cultural imperialism and stereotyping in international news flow (Fore, 1982). Scholars such as Stewart Hall have argued that these practices constitute a new form of cultural imperialism which exists in global media corporations that originates from and operates in regions such as the United States and Western Europe where democracy



and capitalism encourages the practice of free markets. Cultural imperialism implies scenarios where western products or traditions are adopted by other nations through consumer products or media consumption. Stereo typing on the other hand refers to incidents of coinage of words that are used by the media to describe or tag a person group or nation usually in an unpleasant manner, examples of these include words like, terrorist, black, and nigger.

Self and other relationships between the developed and underdeveloped – both among peoples and nations - are still present today in global news coverage, leading to instances where stereotyping and cultural imperialism occurs.

An interesting question is how the media in Turkey, a country that neither traditionally colonized others as Western nations did nor possesses the same cultural history as western nations such as Britain, Germany, Portugal, Spain – all of which have been former colonial masters of countries in Africa and other parts of the world at one point in history, portray Africa. Consequently, one of the objectives of this study is to trace the Turkish Media coverage of Africa in their news columns. It is presumed that findings of such a study would be interesting based on the fact that Turkey is neither a traditional Western country nor economically resourceful as countries considered proponents of cultural imperialism and stereotyping. How the press in such a country would behave with regard to coverage of events in Africa would possibly shed some important light to the body of literature in this field.

According to Marx the accumulation of political power and wealth are historically intertwined. He argues that the dominant class exercises a hold on the economic

activities of the societies thereby manipulating the cultural and media industries and shaping them to fit their agenda. An example is the acquisition of major news dailies by Rupert Murdoch in the UK, USA, Canada, China, Germany and Australia. In this way one can assume he can effectively influence the readers of over 100 newspapers chains who may share a common ideology, while the readers may be assuming that they have diversity, reality is that they have less choice because what they all can purchase by choice are owned by one or two media corporations in a partnership.

Williams agrees this viewpoint when he says;

Contemporary statistics show that fewer and fewer large companies are increasing own what we see, hear and read. A spectre is haunting the media around the world today and that spectre is Rupert Murdoch. Rupert Murdoch is the archetypal media owner whose interest has attracted a considerable degree of comment and political concern (Williams, 2003, p. 78).

While Murdoch is not the only media mogul to benefit from running and buying media organizations, other media businessmen such as Silvio Berlusconi of Italy used his television empire to win over the electorate when he was contesting a political office and succeeded (Doyle, 2002, p. 20). If this assumption by Doyle is true then it can be identified as one of the ways the press or media can be abused for personal gain due to ownership control. It is believed that after an analysis the contents of the published News stories, one can make objective conclusions if this trait does exist in the Turkish daily newspaper or Today's Zaman.

### **2.3 Media Ownership and International News Flow**

The progress of technology has revolutionized the media world in this present age. The media has also been affected by the impact of these inventions that have successfully narrowed the erstwhile division between print and broadcast media. Doyle argues, "The digital revolution is transforming media and communications

industries worldwide” (Doyle, 2002, pp. 13). One may acknowledge this in the sense that a global competitive communications marketplace has evolved due to the mergers and transnational alliances that now pervade the global communication world. Corporations like Disney, ABC, Time Warner, and AOL etc, are all part of global corporations that thrive on the profitable business of media ownership.

Media ownership in essence implies a scenario where majorities of a group of media outlet are now owned by a few media conglomerates. While this practice of business acquisitions may be permissible in a democratic environment, it does not stop the ownership of the media and how it affects the international news to be discussed. The angle from which the ownership of the media interests many scholars is on the impact of the ownership in the representations of the media it owns. What perceived threats does media ownership potentially enacts against media ethics like balance, objectivity and fairness? According to Doyle “Media ownership should not be a problem if it encourages diversity in the media while he acknowledges the possibility that an uncontrolled media ownership can be abused by the same cartel that monopolizes or seek to monopolized them”. According to his argument;

Pluralism is generally associated with the diversity in the media; the presence of a number of different and independent voices, and political opinions and representations of culture within the media. Citizens expect and need a diversity and plurality of media content and media sources (Doyle, 2002, p 10-25).

One may say while diversity in the media is beneficial through pluralism, it can also be detrimental when a few corporations own the very institution that shapes the agenda for the public. This endangers professionalism as enshrined in the universal code of ethics of the press which are objectivity, fairness and balance. While this is no doubt a profitable experience as political economists would be quick to highlight,

however journalism professionals argue that it is highly unethical for news standards and objectiveness and this position has been a subject of many debates by researchers.

Scholars such as Alozie (2009), Beaudion & Thorson (2001) have often questioned the portrayal of third world countries in western dominated media. One assumption that most scholars agree on is that the media can be manipulated either for cultural, economic or hegemonic reasons. According to Ian Hargreaves “ Today's typical news media boss is not a Maxwell, Black or Rupert Murdoch. ...He or *she* is more likely a professional manager, working in a corporate setting ...” (Hargreaves, 2003, p. 141-142).

In essence Hargreaves argued that the operations of a media house has shifted from the traditional local editor to the age of modern corporate interest, where interests has gradually shifted from product quality to profiteering, dominating the virtual existence or agenda of the media institutions. This is one of the strong view points of critics of corporations. Critics accuse corporations of profiteering from the “consumer” and at the same time creating a cultural atmosphere that benefits only the corporations such viewpoints are strongly debated by critics such as Naomi Kline and Kalle Lasn depicted in their books *No Logo* and *Culture jamming* respectively. Lasn highlighted this view in his book

We're in the spectacle. The spectacle is in us .... We are living in what Guy Debord, in the last years of his life, described as the ‘integrated spectacle’, characterized by “incessant technological renewal; integration of state and economy; generalized secrecy; unanswerable lies; an eternal present (Lasn, 2007, p. 214).

The quote from Guy Debord is heavily laden with passion a perspective Kalle Lasn embraces when explains about his dislike for major corporations as the spectacle Debord identifies in his quote above, he strongly opposes them through his ad busting magazine '*Adbusters*'. This interaction of power relations cannot be absolved from the dynamics of the global media. One may also wonder why these representations become unilaterally accepted once a dominant media sets the agenda for general stereotyping. In today's world, the perception to some developing countries globally depicts a scenario where some stereo types influenced by the media are created, such as poverty and starvation in Africa and political unrest in the Middle East. The question that lies unanswered here is; is this present scenario the result of similar media ownership background? Or a common use of resources because the major media depend on the same dominant news agencies owned by the same corporations who own the dominant media companies?

So how does media ownership affect the press and international news flow? Does ownership muzzle the press because of the proverbial saying 'He who pays the piper dictates the tune,' or is the control of press subject to more complex issues? While analyzing these questions it would be useful to consider the words of Doyle (2002) in his work on Media ownership once again, "In whatever form they take media concentrations imply that the supply of the media by a few rather than different owners" (Doyle, 2002, p. 13).

This implies that media corporation mergers and acquisition are not beneficial in news production for the audience or citizenry who the media are obligated by virtue of the ethics of the profession to inform, entertain and educate objectively without

bias. These effects are already creating a new form of culture globally through media mergers, ownership ideology and cultural patterns are sold to the unsuspecting audience. In a conference paper, delivered by Dr. Katherine Firth based on race and ethnicity, she argued on representation issues although in the spectacle of advertising and from an Asian viewpoint. The following extract portrays the influence of the West in Asian media as well as the Iranian media.

For thirty years, media have been taken to task for reproducing and reinforcing stereotyped images of women. Yet unfair representation of women in media still prevails worldwide. Sex, stereotyping has been so deeply ingrained, even glorified, that the women themselves have become desensitized to their own inferior portrayal. The prospects appear even gloomier as the globalization of media progress (Firth, 2006, p. 10).

Her article sheds more light on how sex and stereotyping are deeply immersed into female branding in form of adverts and pictorial representations both in television and in newspapers. Some images we see or are forced to acknowledge, affect what we see or understand and these images define our reception on the very same issues when we are faced with them. How does this work? Firstly, we can adapt to image branding through cultural interpretations that is explained in the quote below;

For the most part, we do not first see, and then define; *we define first And then see*. In the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world, we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form of stereotyped for us by our culture. (Lippmann, 1922, p.81.)

The ability to be influenced by what we see or hear from the media cannot be underestimated, as the self and other relationship between the west and third world countries affect every aspect of civilization. The branding of western countries as the ideal or model countries affect even the way we report the news to the audiences, As Alozie argues, “Studies on international news flow have demonstrated the one way flow of information with texts, flowing from the West to peripheral nations, in most

instances.” ( Alozie, 2009, p. 10) This unequal representation does not only portray Africa and other third world countries in a negative light. It also creates a dichotomy upon the world capitalistic systems are built upon. This bias cannot be overcome until positive reflections are more regarded as the basis for news globally. This is one of the effects of media ownership muzzling the press.

Alozie’s critic of global news flow contributes to the argument on the effects from the flow of news from the west to the other nations particularly third world nations. How does this phenomenon occur, this leads us back to the issue of media ownership. What determines foreign news coverage? Most papers in both developed and developing countries depend on one common thing, in news coverage or reporting global events, that resource is, News agencies. The dominant global news agencies drawn from the list of 10 selected by the website ([www.ediplomat.com](http://www.ediplomat.com), 2009) are Associated press AP, Agence France- Presse (AFP), Xinhua, Reuters, ITAR-TASS etc. They were chosen according to their dominance and the cross appeal they offer in terms of ownership and global patronage by media outlets. Three of the selected news agencies AFP, Reuters and AP are Western based and owned by major corporations in countries practicing democracy and capitalism.

According to the chart below; the coverage area of these news agencies and their ownership are itemized. The news agencies are the successors of the previous big five that dominated the 19<sup>th</sup> century as global news cartels. However, the other two Xinhua and ITAR-TASS are owned by communist states during their organization. However this has changed as Russia is now under multiparty political system and

China still maintains the Communist system of government. However the agencies from both countries have become global players in the world of international media.

Table 2: Five top global News agencies worldwide.

Agency	AFP	REUTERS	AP	ITAR- TASS	XINHUA
Staff	29000	16800	4000	2832	10000
Newspapers bureau	-	Reuters has bureaus in Germany, France, Hungary, Mexico, Venezuela. Japan 196 bureaus	243	130 bureau Has offices in 12 countries	In 31 local regions, and autonomous countries.
Countries operating	110	93	97	UK and Ireland	Over a 100 countries
Partners	Yet to be privatized	Thomson	1500 US newspapers	27 UK/Irish newspapers	None, state owned
Origin	1835/France	1851/London	1846/New York.	1904/Russia Renamed in 1992	1931/Beijing
Regional Centers	North America Washington, Latin America Montevideo, Europe Africa Paris, Middle East Nicosia Asia Pacific Hong Kong.	Head Quarters London North America New York	Head Quarters New York 243 bureaus in 97 Countries.	Russia	See newspaper bureau
Languages	Arabic English French German Portuguese Spanish	English Spanish Japanese German French	English	Russian English and 4 other languages.	English Arabic Spanish French Russian Chinese
Television reports daily	24 hours	24 hours	24 hours	24 hours	24 hours
Photographs Daily	24 hours	24 hours	24 hours	24 hours	24 hours
Filed Text Stories Daily	5000/24 hours updated	24 hours updated	24 hours updated	24 hours updated	24 hours updated
Owners.	Public Corporation.	Thomson Reuters	1700 US daily newspapers/Non-profit.	Russian Government	The Government Of China



Websites	www.afp.com	www.reuters.com	www.ap.org	www.itar-tass.com	news.xinhuanet.com
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*The above named data was collected from the websites of the companies in the table.*

The chart highlights the extent of the impact of the selected News agencies globally. It also shows the news agencies which were government owned on inception are those were owned by the Russians and Chinese. They are government controlled as they derive funding from the government. All the selected news agencies operate in several languages and possess huge manpower and resources needed to actively report news events globally. The aim of these news agencies is to cover news globally news coverage at affordable costs for profitability. Their operations include news, information and entertainment. News agencies have the task of deciding what news is worthy, after which they feed other news outlets over the globe.

Similar studies on foreign news content by (Beaudion & Thorson, 2001) , (Ruge, 1965) and (Fridriksson, 2000) argued that foreign news coverage of developing countries depend on factors which influence news content coverage and interpretation by the Western countries. Fridriksson (2000) highlighted four major culture bound factors from a study of conflicts in Congo, Cuba and Cyprus covered by four newspapers. The following findings were summarized as the conclusions on what determined the news worthy materials were as follows:

- *The more the event concerns elite nations, the more probable it will become a news item*
- *The more the event concerns elite people, the more probable it will become a news item.*

- *The more the event can be seen in personal terms, as due to the action of specific individuals, the more probable it will become a news item.*
- *The more negative the event is in its consequences, the more probable it will become a news item (Ruge, 1965).*

While his points are logical as it follows the criteria for news values which are proximity, prominence and value, this trend one notices is also applicable to news events reported by not just local media but also by the global news agencies that feed the media with happening from around the world.

Cultural theorist & feminists, have argued the structural divides of developed and underdeveloped countries has always drawn a vivisection between the Western world and the third world countries and this has been fatally entwined with the structure of modernism. According to Barker; Herbert Schiller (1985) a leading proponent of cultural imperialism thesis, argues that the global communications industries are dominated by US- controlled corporations. It is possible for a global communication corporation that owns a newspaper chain to exert influence on what portrayal a news agency reflects on a particular country or continent through the mechanisms of stereotyping. A good example of this is the Murdoch newspaper empire. One can easily see how a man like Rupert Murdoch can easily influence people with his chains of newspapers outlets worldwide. While studies are yet to prove that this is the case, it is however an unexplored hypothesis. From a critical political economist perspective, sexing up the news is possible to shore up sales and maximize profits. Joseph Turow's perspective on expansion of western entertainment Industries was as follows; "Globalization refers to expansion of the fragmentation and

conglomerization phenomena across national borders” (Turow, 1992, p. 161). Objectivity of western global media has been subjected by researchers to criticisms for bias based on allegations on self and other relationships with regards to portrayal of the west versus developed countries, via the role of news agencies such as Reuters, AP. News agencies play a vital role in the type of news that is produced. Developing countries have local media, local due to the scenario that most third world countries lack the facilities or resources to be able to send their own correspondents to cover other countries globally. This handicap leads their dependence on global news agencies who dominate the global flow of information due to the unlimited resources and man power. Therefore researchers, argue because of these setbacks the third world cannot effectively represent themselves in the global world as today’s media deals with issues on a time and impact basis.

In an influential essay (1974) Harvey Molotch and Marilyn Molotch argued how dominant media corporations create and make news. If an event is planned and then promoted as news by its planners, this is a ‘routine’ news item. If the event is planned but promoted by someone different from the agent of occurrence, it is a ‘scandal’. If the event is unplanned and then promoted as news by someone other than its hapless instigator, it is an ‘accident’ (Scudson, 1992, p. 147). One may wonder how this occurs but it is an argument that draws a bit of reality in the sense in any profession there are codes of ethics that guide in deciding what is acceptable and what is not. The news agencies file in hundreds of reports daily so there has to be a blue print on how to code the news or assign a category to each news item. One can say it is from that angle that Harvey and Marilyn make their argument.

Furthermore the self and other relationship is ever prevalent even in news production through portrayal by various representations, from cartoon strips, to bold clear cut headlines; it is easy to see the trend in the daily reporting patterns that the media world throw into the face of the audience. Even when proximity and news values are used to justify their portrayals, critical writers argue that dominant pattern weaving of ethnocentrism and stereotyping constitute most of how the west and other less developed countries are portrayed in the news. They argue that language can be constructed to depict meaning as far as it is rightly encoded. Through colonialism, hegemony and popular culture the west has been accused of successfully implanted cultural imperialism in developing countries, one reason for this is that most third world countries are former colonies of the West or Europe. The developing countries measure their progress by the standards of the west, following their steps and patterns in a teleological manner to achieve the goal of becoming eventually like the western nations, civilized, and modern. The post colonial period has also enabled developing countries to adapt their media to be their own voice and portray them as emerging nations with their own media competing with the rest of the world.

Media consumption is active in all types of society. It is known that 'Knowledge is power', in each developed or developing country's practice of journalism; they try to control the information flow from their country and have their own media but due to the technological breakthrough and global news demand, it has become a normal practice to have news sources. The media is a big industry according to political economists as they see the media shaping news for profit and entertainment. As cultural studies theorists like Chris Barker and Hall have highlighted the cultural tendencies of powerful media in creating popular culture globally. One of this is the

Hegemonic model. With cultural studies the hegemonic model has been popular. Any given culture is constructed in terms of a multiplicity of streams. However, it is argued that there is a strand of meaning that can be reasonably called ascendant or dominant (Hall, 1977, 1981; Williams, 1973). The process of making, maintaining and reproducing these authoritative sets of meanings and practice has, after Gramsci (1968) been dubbed *cultural hegemony* (Barker,2008, p. 319). One may agree that the hegemonic model may be responsible for the ways media and its representations are coined and used. The influence of the media can be very powerful especially when they are involved in the training of staff of a former colonized country media, a good example is the relationship between BBC and FRCN federal radio corporation of Nigeria. If the western media agencies train them, affinity and affiliations results from these acquaintances. There is also the tendency to be affected by the ways they were instructed or trained and ethnocentrism can be imbibed in their training. It is this hegemony constrains or attributes that this study aims to unravel and to evaluate if such western-based antecedents may exist in the Turkish media concerning portrayal of Africa.

## **2.4 Political Economy and International News Flow**

The political economy of the media has been argued by top scholars as a major trend in modern day global media. Scholars such as Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in their book *The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (1988) explain certain attributes that have encroached into global mass media in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. A factor such as the propaganda model has become a strong mainstream argument particularly to those in the left as supported by McChesney;

Over the past generation, it has become increasingly clear to those on the left that the U.S. mass media, far from performing an autonomous and adversarial role in U.S. society, actively frame issues and promote news stories that serve the needs and concerns of the elite. Moreover, the importance of the leading

corporate mass media in contemporary politics radically transcends the role of the mass media in earlier times. Hence, the Left has begun to pay considerable attention to how the media are structured and controlled and how they operate. Nevertheless, the ideology of the "free press" has proven to be a difficult adversary for left critics; as the media's operations are central to the modern polity, their legitimacy is shielded by layers and layers of ideological obfuscation. (McChesney, 1989)

These view points and arguments brought forward by Chomsky and Herman has heralded a lot of criticisms at the hegemonic influences power or government has over economica activities even in the media.

According to Gramsci "Hegemony implies a situation where a 'historical bloc' of ruling factions exercises social control and leadership over subordinate classes through a combination of force and more importantly, consent". (Barker, 2008, p. 481) A practicality of this argument by Gramsci can be itemized in the discussion of the use of news agencies. While media business moguls and corporations in the name of free capitalist systems have dominated the global media world, the system has also created hegemony of corporations that control choices of consumption. This leaves the consumer no choice than to patronize these global empires for news and information. Arguably, they are not forced but they need to have access to global news hence they have no option than to consent to subscription from the dominant news agencies.

The influence of Hegemony in the cultivation of unethical practices of communication in the media for many years has been a subject of intense debate between media practitioners of the First world and their counterparts in the Third world. The debates span across from issues of objectivity, fairness and the ways the west portrayed the third world, some of these are mentioned by Wolfgang

Klienwachter in his article 'The Three waves of the Debate'. He mentioned the previous debates as follows;

The role of the mass media, problems of information, and communication has been on the agenda of international multilateral negotiations for more than a hundred years. The first International Telecommunication Convention in 1865, the league of Nations negotiations on the role of the mass media in the 1920s that led to the Geneva Convention .. 1936 and the United Nations Conference on Freedom of information that produced three draft conventions on communication problems in 1948... (Klienwachter, 1994, p. 13)

However October 1980, witnessed the birth of the New world information and communication order which was adopted at the 21<sup>st</sup> general conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Belgrade and it marked a landmark on the way news was constructed and to be reported. The following were adopted; Belgrade affirmed that UNESCO should lay "a major role in the examination and solution of problems in this domain." The assembly also agreed on a number of guidelines for the new information order:

1. Elimination of the imbalances and inequalities which characterize the present situation;
2. Elimination of the negative effects of certain monopolies, public or private and excessive concentrations;
3. Removal of the internal and external obstacles to a free flow and wider and better-balanced dissemination of information and ideas;
4. Plurality of sources and channels of information;
5. Freedom of the press and information;
6. The freedom of journalists . . . a freedom inseparable from responsibility;
7. The capacity of developing countries to achieve improvement of their own situations, notably by providing their own equipment, by training their personnel, by improving their infrastructures and by making their information

and communication means suitable to their needs and aspirations;

8. The sincere will of developed countries to help them attain these objectives;

9. Respect for each people's cultural identity and the right of each nation to inform the world public about its interests, its aspirations and its social and cultural values". (Fore, 1982; Bishop, 1981)

Even though the Group of 77 consisting of over 100 developing countries adopted all these, it should be noted that these guidelines have been subject to the irregularities of news coverage bias by the western media, the consensus adoption did not mean automatic change in the ways news were portrayed after the 1980 conference. Further studies proved this; in his critique of the media declaration by UNESCO; Alozie (2009) problematises the impact the New World Communication order declaration has had on western media coverage on third world countries with reference to Africa. He referred to the 1978 earlier Media declaration that stated "People and Individuals have the right to acquire an objective picture of reality by means of accurate and comprehensive information through diversity of sources and means available to them, as well as to express themselves through various means of communication." (Nordenstreng, 1984.p.137) Despite this Alozie states the following;

Cho and Lacy (1999) observed that whether a study concentrates on international news flow and coverage by United States news media or coverage by media in other countries, most reached the following conclusions; (1) Coverage tends to emphasize conflicts and disasters; (2) It focuses primarily on political news; (3) It tends to be hard news; and (4) wire services are the dominant source (Alozie, 2009, p. 7).



While one may agree with Alozie in his study about the above-mentioned critic. It is also pertinent to point out at this stage that though his study was based on an American popular media namely ‘The Times’. It would not be a proper or accurate tool to make comparisons with European or Turkish media though they can be assumed to be European because of the similarities between European and American media, even the corporate media ownership chart on page 25 and 26 affirms this. One can say western European media is an offshoot of American media when reporting events from third world countries in Africa. While Turkey is rated as a developed country or first world country according to ([www.nationsonline.org](http://www.nationsonline.org), 2009) however, its media is not fully dominant globally as that of traditional western countries such as USA, Great Britain, and France etc. To establish how real this assumption is one of the purposes of this study.

It is significant to highlight similar points enumerated by Alozie in his study; he broadly discussed three major points, which are associated with hegemony namely, news wire sources, political news, conflicts and disasters. Western media corporations dominate all the news wire sources and their partners. Notable news wires such as AP, Reuters, CNN, and BBC etc all have the financial muscles to cover events globally and they in turn dish out this news to other countries on subscription basis. This point is shared by studies on international news flow by many scholars and researchers such as (Haskins, J. B.& Miller M., 1984 and Cooper & El Zein, 1992). Their findings agree with the statement of Alozie who says that when “Africa makes the pages newspapers, aired on broadcast, and transmitted on the wires of the world press agencies on rare occasions and when they do, the news are mostly bad, negative, crisis-oriented and violent, often taken out of context. Thus, Africa is

portrayed as the dark continent where tradition and socioeconomic and political mindset inhibits progress.” (Alozie, 2009, p. 7) This disclosure by Alozie is one of the purposes for this study involving *Turkish Daily News* and *Today’s Zaman* newspapers in Turkey

This identification of the negative portrayal of Africa plus the UNESCO’s summit in 1981 by non-African media championed the creation of African news wires agencies. The news agencies believed that it was necessary for them to be able to cover their own stories than to allow western media to represent them in their own terms or portrayal. This led to the birth of news agencies such as South African Press Association, (SAPA) News Agency of Nigeria (NAN), Pan African News agency (PANA), and AFROL. The news agencies were organized and funded by their governments to give objective reporting to Africans and other audiences worldwide as a direct result of the UNESCO initiatives. One of the many responses of third world countries to be perceived misrepresentation by western media through the UNESCO conference was through efforts was the birth News agencies in developing countries such The News agency of Nigeria (NAN). The Nigerian Government, as a response to perceived negative publicity by western media particularly the BBC and VOA, decided set up their media as a means of countering and preventing global imperialism, and to reflect the Nigerian views on issues affecting Nigeria. The News Agency of Nigeria founded on “... may 10, 1976, with the primary function of gathering, processing and distributing news about Nigeria to local and foreign news media. The Agency's mandate is to present a complete, objective and impartial information, news or news material or features on any matter of public or national interest within and outside the federation”. (News Agency of Nigeria, 2009) This

and other similar news agencies in Africa organizational setup was created based on countering the perceived negativity of foreign media in regards to negative portrayal of Africa to globally.

The question that arises here is, why do western media still try to control the audience of the third world countries? An attempt to answer this is taken from the ideology behind the World Systems Theory. It is argued that two major forces that responsible for socioeconomic development are the robust and the marginal. “The robust forces consist of western capitalist economies in the developed regions of the north, while marginal players consist of the developing and underdeveloped economies in the south” (Alozie, 2009, p. 8). This perhaps justifies the issues surrounding the world media flow. As stated by Straubhaar: “... World systems theory provides a vehicle for exploring issues concerning world media systems, unequal flow of information, and cultural interpretation recognizes that a core of industrial nations control the essential dynamics of the world capitalist system and that is a large number of developing nations are peripheral and dependent” (Straubhaar, 2003).

The power relationship of developed and underdeveloped countries cuts across all frontiers of the globalized world today. Globalization itself being the telos of every country makes the relationship of peripheral and dependant continue between the existence of both first and third world countries. The concept of globalization makes this possible especially in capitalist societies that are money market oriented. A capitalist dominated society today is made of mixed economies; it involves fierce competition between rivals allowing free trade to satisfy the concepts of supply and

demand in all economic markets. Through the process of cultural production in cinema and movies this uneven plays continues, Africa is also depicted as being negative in this aspect of the media as well. Africans try to become more western so that they can be accepted by the west by trying to put aside their so called barbaric acts and embrace modernity and the proponents of this modernity lies in texts and media in form of television programmes, movies and cinema.

Cinema and movies have become hallmarks of modern lifestyle in contemporary society, they define Modernity, in the civilized world, the media are not just entertainment institutions they are creators of culture itself. This assumption is the basis of this research that the dominant media corporations systematically seduce their audiences to the illusions of western culture and there creating an environment for popular culture acceptance through the aid of movies news and all forms of media. To emphasize this theory a look a Chris Barkers commentary on the ethnocentric nature of globalization via consumer culture comes to mind.

Globalization, consumer culture and postmodernism are closely allied phenomena for the following reasons: Globalization has involved the 'displacement' of the west and its philosophical categories from the centre of the universe, indeed some have seen the collapse of the western classification as the marker of postmodernism. The rise and visibility and status of popular culture, hastened by the electronic media, have meant that the distinction between the high and low culture is no longer viable (Barker, 2008, p. 343).

The assumption by Barker stressing the importance of popular culture as being ethnocentric in nature is reflective also in a study of the BBC that is rather thought to be one of the most objective global news corporations. According to a study by Doreen Kutufam on "BBC's perception of Africa", she argues that BBC's coverage of Africa is also affected by the capitalist markets but not as much as the American media. "The BBC, on the other hand, is a public funded broadcasting organization, so

its news content, although not directly affected by market capitalist forces, is nevertheless affected by the values, beliefs and ideologies of the country and its audiences.” (Kutufam, 2009, pp. 6)

For over twenty five years the Glasgow Media Group has argued that both BBC News and ITN cannot refrain from editorializing and fall short of their legal obligation to present political and industrial news in a balanced, neutral and objective fashion... One of the key problems with the Groups research is concerned with the manner in which they gather the data for their arguments (Best, 2008).

The revelation by the Glasgow Media Group enabled many scholars to understand and criticize a major corporation like the BBC. Before this finding by Glasgow Media Group on the BBC, The BBC was an organization that prided itself to be very objective and the voice of the people. Results revealed that also affected in the BBC were representation issues as well and it is almost impossible for a media corporation to be truly objective that is why many scholars suggest “Fairness”. This very probability was the focus of the study by Doreen in her work covering BBC’s presentation of Africa.

Kutufam’s findings were revealing perhaps with not so much impact as the Glasgow media reports but for critics of biased representations of Africa, this was very important. The study gives credence to the assumption that “the western Media are more likely to cover a story from Africa if the event is negative”. (Kutufam, 2009, pp. 16) Interestingly she stated that the study confirmed the stereotypical image of Africa as a place with a reputation of poverty, disease, famine, wars and political instability. This of course is unconnected with the perceived relationship between the political system and the valence of the stories about that country. One may be further persuaded to agree with her finding especially since most media corporations like the

BBC and CNN aim to localize the news by broadcasting different news reports to different continents, the news relayed to Africans is different as they also have a North American version as well. The angles the stories are taken obviously are related to the region the news is transmitted to (Kutufam, 2009).

This leads to question in what light is image important in news coverage. However to be able to answer this it is also imperative to understand that news coverage today has changed from mere reporting of things that have happened to a complex role of the media, such as agenda shaping, culture creators and truth facilitators. These functions attributes for mass audience trust on the media that if it is in the news it has to be true. The unanswered question here is what image is portrayed to the audience and when it is portrayed, does it have the composition of balance, fairness and objectivity. Although the study is not focused to champion or berate the cause of all western media, nevertheless particular attention must be given to the sources or creators of news reporting and image branding.

In a television advert campaign by the Canon camera company, they used the slogan “*image is everything*” ( Andre Agassi Image is Everything, 2009). Even though the advertisement received a lot of criticism in the advertising and sporting worlds, however it perfectly sums up my perception on how globalized media corporations interpret news and events. Communication is a process and in whatever disguise or form it may be applied be it mass, interpersonal, intrapersonal, and marketing or propaganda; they all have human nature of essence and manipulation imbibed into it. According to Dewey “when communication occurs, all natural events are subject to reconsideration and revision; they are re-adapted to meet the requirements of

conversation, whether public discourse or that preliminary discourse termed thinking”. (Dewey, 2004. p 10-25) Here Dewey argues that all events, crisis or information needs to be processed by the encoders before packaging to the receivers and there the danger of essence and manipulation comes to play. This view is also supported by cultural theorists like Stewart Hall. Stewart Hall’s contribution to the Encoding –Decoding model is also significant. He argues “that the production of meaning does not ensure consumption of that meaning as the encoders have intended”. (Barker, 2008, pp. 37) His argument which I subscribed to is that since audiences permeate different class and gender as well as different ages. So as Hall argues it is not a guarantee that the audiences will all decode the messages in the same exact way . In Essence this can be related to ideology, agenda setting or mirroring image representation as long as the purpose for dissemination of the information or news is achieved.

If Image is everything, what image does Africa hold globally? Du Bois in his article ‘*Criteria of Negro Art*’; argued that even colored people despised art work created by colored people due to the portrayal of anything created by the colored was inferior (Bois, 2004) . This study explained in chapter one that one of the purposes of the study is to investigate if such stereo typing practices exists in the Turkish Media, as if this were the case it would have a great significance on the image Africa has among Turkish readers of the two selected newspapers. However, news value and news reporting create one thing and that is ‘public opinion’. Government as a powerful tool in decision-making policies and procedures can use this. According to Edward Bernay, “public opinion represents the thoughts of any given group of society at any given time towards a given object. From a broadcast standpoint, it is

the power of the group to sway the larger public in the attitude toward ideas.” (Bernays, 2004, p. 52) It is common for influential country or personalities to shape public opinion. It took the 45 minutes report adoption by the FBI and the USA presidency, to gather the much-needed public support for the invasion of Iraq by the Bush administration (Birchall, 2006). One may be tempted to believe that perhaps this justifies the struggle for control of the media and the power relations the media is subjected to especially in government controlled establishments. Where a authoritarian government does not have control, censorship is then applied by the regulatory institutions. Censorship have been an issue of many media debates, while some journalists see it as an opportunity by governments to stifle the media and argue under the umbrella of freedom of expression. The governments on the other; hand see it as a way of controlling the media from exposing or sexing up sensitive issues that can cause chaos and disrupts governance. In mass media, some ideas are postulated in forms of ideology and propaganda, while others are used to create a deliberate cultural weave for the consumers to follow. A standpoint argued by cultural theorists, like Stewart Hall and Gary Hall. (Barker, 2008)

## **2.5 Summary on the Literature Review**

The chapter has reviewed literature from the Media ownership, international news flow and the political economy theories to ascertain the role that Media ownership plays in the news content of newspapers today. This is necessary because both papers for analysis in the study are owned by corporations. *Turkish daily News* is owned by the Dogan Media group while *Today's Zaman* is owned by the Zaman media group as explained in chapter 1 of the study. Literature on media ownership was selected to compare and contrast viewpoints by scholars on the effects of media takeover by corporations concerning the professionalism of the press in a country like Turkey.



On the issue of the consequences of media ownership, it was noted that media organizations are now regarded as modern business and operated as such thereby supporting arguments by cultural theorist and political economists that every business is set up for profiteering. It was also established there has been debates that there is the possibility where the Media's more channels or newspapers are actually not more choices but a reproduction of the same stories under different banners, as Kevin Williams argues (Williams, 2003).

Furthermore, the chapter explores the relationship of international news flow concerning media ownership and the relationship with news agencies in the process of international news flow. Here reviews of Alozie's research findings back the argument that there is an unequal flow of information from the west to less developed countries. Other studies such as Beaudion & Thorson, (2001) and Fridriksson, (2000) as well as similar studies by the researchers backed the finding that the elite nations are more news worthy than less developed countries hence we can assume even in the contextualization of news worthiness there is a bias in terms of the elite and less developed countries. This serves as one of the research purposes of the present study to ascertain if this bias is also present in the Turkish press. The following research questions will guide the investigation and analysis of the present work,

*RQ1: What news stories/issues dominated African coverage in the three months of study?*

*RQ2: What are the sources of news on Africa for the two selected newspapers?*

*RQ3: Does any country, region or group of African countries receive greater coverage by either or both Newspapers?*

*RQ4: Were there any editorials or commentaries (opinion pieces) on issues during the periods of study and which issues were emphasized?*

*RQ5: Do African countries closer to Turkey, or which were part of the Ottoman Empire receive greater coverage by the Turkish media than those further afield?*

*RQ6: Does ownership ideology affect the news stories selected in the period of study?*

These research questions would be analyzed based on the finding of the news content for the months of October, November and December 2008. The next chapter will shed further light on the methodology used for the study.

## **Chapter 3**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter describes the methodology used to gather and analyze the data in this study. The method used was content analysis and an explanation of how the data was collected; the duration of the study as well as how they were coded into categories was also discussed in this chapter. The population of the study and how they addressed the research questions is also discussed on this chapter. The chapter also explained the categories and how they were grouped to fully accommodate all African countries through a coding system.

#### **3.1 Aim of the Study**

As previously mentioned in chapter one the purpose of the current study is to determine what kind of portrayal English language daily newspapers in Turkey give of Africa through their news columns. This objective will be achieved by analyzing news content of the online editions of Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman, over a period of three months, comprising of 92 days.

Content analysis method was selected for the analysis of the news content for the period of study. Content analysis was considered suitable and ideal for the study by the researcher because since the analysis of the news contents of both newspapers are the high point of this study. In addition while attempting to source and select the relevant stories for the research, I have been obliged to use search engines to source for African stories which is part of my data. I searched all foreign news category to

choose stories for my study and I am satisfied that all new stories on Africa were pulled out and considered for the present study. This is mentioned as a guide for any researcher who might be interested conducting a similar research and to be able to reach the same findings of this research, which will be discussed in chapter four of this study.

According to Bernard Berelson; “Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Sparks, 2005, p. 21) . Moreover content analysis is considered objective in the sense that the method permits multiple researchers to examine the same content and come to identical conclusions. This is possible because of the systematic process content analysis entails . A process that specifies a set of rules and procedures for coding the message content (Sparks, 2005. p. 21, ).

### **3.2 Units & Coding Structure**

Content analysis research entails careful analysis of content data, and to be able to arrive at objective systematic conclusions, it is necessary to group the data into categories (see p.53 for categories). While studying other similar studies on *Representations of foreign media*. The researcher found in the study of Christopher E. Beaudoin and Esther Thorson titled “ Value Representations in Foreign News” some categories of analysis which were adopted and applied to the current study since after reviewing the news content of both newspapers for 92 days. It was decided by the researcher that the same units were best suitable for groupings some of the news stories for content analysis (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2001) .

The categories adopted from Beaudoin & Thorson are as follows, Arts/Entertainment, Disasters/Accident, Politics/Government. While the added groups/categories were as follows, Trade/Diplomacy, Conflict/Violence, Sports, Religion and others. ( see p.53 for explanation of categories) These categories were added for balance. The balance was necessary to adequately show portrayals using content analysis in the analysis stage and more importantly to be able to address the research questions highlighted in chapter one of the study. In presenting the findings of the study the use of charts, excel format and bar charts was used to further explain the analysis of the study. SPSS was not used because after the compilation of 204 stories the researcher felt the use of excel and charts will also reveal the findings adequately.

### **3.2.1 Coding Groups for Analysis**

For the purpose of analysis, the following groups were used to categorize and analyze all news stories, which were 204 for both newspapers with Turkish Daily News with 50 and Today's Zaman with 150. These selected news stories covering the population of study, which is any news on Africa that was published by both Turkish Daily news and Today's Zaman newspaper. It is believed that through these groups one will be able to identify the objectives of the study and reach a conclusion on that type of stories are portrayed by the two newspapers. The groups used for the study were adapted from a similar study by Beaudoin and Thorson (2001). They were selected because they were suitable for analyzing the data after evaluation by the researcher.

The Groups are

1. Arts/Entertainment
2. Trade/Diplomacy
3. Disasters/Accident

4. Politics/Government
5. Conflict/Violence.
6. Sports
7. Religion
8. Others or Miscellaneous

**1. Arts/ Entertainment:** Under this group, stories that will be coded in this area are stories on issues to do with music, art, movies. Where an African country is named mentioned and published by either of the newspapers will be coded to this group.

**2. Trade/Diplomacy:** This category consists of all trade or diplomatic talks between any African nation and another. All stories that meet this criterion will be coded to the group and counted as such. Where any African country is involved in any form of bilateral or economic trade between itself and another country are added to this group.

**3. Disasters/ Accident:** This category is for stories attributed to natural disasters or accidents such as epidemics, famine, earth quakes; any incident that has natural causes that are not manmade or created as a result of disaster or accident are coded into this category. Any story that has an African country experiencing the any incident that falls in this category was added here.

**4. Politics/Government:** Stories covering diplomatic events, democracies or governmental issues, elections, regarding foreign countries and African government, and constitution are in this category.

**5. Conflict/Violence:** In this category, all stories related to conflict and violence caused by human acts such as terror, political uprising, and riots, human trafficking concerning any African country is coded into this group.

**6. Sports:** In this last category, all sporting stories on Africans or African countries are included into this group for analysis.

**7. Religion:** Here stories on religion and all related stories to do with any religion were in this category as a research objective is on the subject of religion it will be addressed under this category.

**8. Others:** In this category, all news items published by either papers that reflected a general opinion of Africa with no specific identity to any African nation or person were added in this section.

These are the definitions and grouping used for the analysis of the data collected for this study. The interpretations of the data under these categories are explained in the next chapter. In the next chapter the data using the categorization of groups and content analysis method is interpreted to give findings addressing research questions. The news content were selected by daily publication dates and each news item were categorized in a category best suited for it as explained in chapter three. The news item after being placed in the appropriate category, each category was later counted to ascertain the number of news category were more dominant in relation to others. The results and findings addressing each research questions are discussed in this chapter.

These objectives are follows; to find out if there were any direct or indirect factors responsible for whatever portrayal the newspapers in question portrayed African stories. In addition the study was to analyze the news content to the role of Media ownership in newspapers ideologies and if this affects their coverage of Africa. Quantitative research like this present study usually focuses on collection and

analysis of quantitative data. The strategy of quantitative research is both deductive and objective. It involves statistical analysis to develop theories or hypotheses. Content analysis as a quantitative method is a research technique where information dealing with numbers, statistics, tables, graphs, and charts, helps to present and describe the relationship within the data. They were used to help illustrate finding in the study particularly in chapter four.

Atkinson and Bouma define content analysis as a different way of analyzing texts, records, documents and publications (Bouman & Atkinson, 1996). Arthur Berger describes content analysis as very useful for scholars dealing with in mass media and communication because it enables them to measure human behavior (Berger, 2000, p. 173). He ascribes it as the type of research method where classification and description of communication content are done in predetermined categories of systematic classification. As content analysis enables the researcher objectively, analyze the stories from the data collected. The researcher can analyze the data gathered from the newspapers and conclusions are drawn from there. George Vito (1975) explains this process in the following extract;

Content analysis may be defined as the methodology, by which the researcher seeks to determine the manifest content of written, spoken or published communication by systematic, objective, quantitative analysis. It is a quantitative method applicable to what traditionally has been called qualitative material written languages ... Since any written communication (and this includes novels, letters, suicide notes, magazines and newspaper accounts) is produced by a communicator, the intention if the communicator may be the object of our research. Or we may be interested in the audience or receiver of communication, and may attempt to determine something about it. (Berger, 2000, p. 174)

With reference to the definition by Vito one can be persuaded that the reason most researchers covering data collections prefer content analysis is due to the fact that



most researchers collect the data personally and interpret them within the parameters that will ensure an objective result. It is ideal for research covering large sampling sizes and personally suitable for text materials on large number of days as in this particular case that span a period of three months publications, totaling in 204 news stories in 92 days from Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman Newspaper. The study will draw out objectively what type of portrayal exist in the Turkish press via the publications over the period of study and also attempt to identify if negative portrayals are the only type of stories that published on the pages of these newspapers. The processes of the method as well as the research population are explained in the next sub-chapter.

### **3.3 Research Method & Population**

The research population for this study is all news stories on Africa published on the online editions of Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman during the months of October, November and December 2008. The analysis of all news headlines for the months was coded into the following categories, arts/entertainment, trade/diplomacy, disasters/accidents, politics/government, and conflict/violence, religion, sports and others. The selection for coding categories for some of the news stories was adopted from a similar study titled "*Value representation of Foreign news*" which analyzed the type of news values are represented in African news in 2001 (Beaudion & Thorson, 2001); based on this coding categories all related news on Africa were coded and analyzed from the five geographical regions of Africa which are North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, West Africa and South Africa.

It is also noted that one of the research questions highlighted in chapter 1 was to identify what were the news sources of the stories published by these newspapers and

their relationship to the political economy perspective on media; therefore to address the news sources will also be of interest to the study. The newspaper selected for the study are *Turkish Daily News* and *Today's Zaman* and that have different ideological perspectives which were discussed in chapter one (see Fig1.1 p.14). As stated previously *Today's Zaman* is conservative and owned by the Zaman group. The newspaper has contractual agreements with the Los Angeles Times, Washington Post and news agency services, such as AP, Reuters, and the Anatolian News Agency. (About Today's Zaman, 2009) The contractual agreements are valid on the basis of sharing news stories and articles by media houses. It is believed that after analysis one can have a clear picture of the impact of news agencies on stories from Africa on *Today's Zaman*. While the other newspaper *Turkish Daily News* is now currently owned by the Dogan group and regarded as nationalist in nature and ideology but also liberal and more secular. Therefore, one of the research highlights of the study is to see at the end of analysis; what types of news stories the two media organizations carry and how they portray Africa through the analysis of the headlines are portrayed about the African continent. Turkey is a secular country by constitution but the country's geographical location and high Muslim population among the citizenry, tends to portray it as an Islamic nation even though by constitution the Turkish state is secular. In 2009 the Islamic population in Turkey to be 99% (allaboutturkey.com, 2010).The study intends to find out also which of the newspapers selected has special interests in Muslim countries in Africa through the analysis of the coverage for the given period.

Kevin Williams explains how content analysis significantly beneficial for counting research contents, "Content analysis is essentially a counting exercise. Usually

conceptual categories are established and then quantitatively assessed against their presence or absence in the content of the media” (Williams, 2003). In agreement to this principle the stories through their headlines will be counted and grouped into categories where their analysis will be calculated and analyzed through the coding group and represented by graphs and excel sheets to show the differences, similarities and answers to the research questions and objectives of the study. It is believe that to be able present the finding and conclusions of this study in a clear and concise manner understandable to any reader of this study this type of analysis is necessary.

All publications relevant to news coverage of Africa were collected in 92 days for analysis and classified into categories addressing the research questions. These categories are believed will yield knowledge from the findings on the frequency and type of stories that appear most and projected from what region of Africa, by the newspapers in the study. When the data are collected and analyzed under the categories, the order of the highest or lowest coverage in each category for both newspapers will be used to answer the research questions mentioned previously for the present study.

### **3.4 Groups for Analysis**

A region comprises of a geographical location of the country in Africa. For the purpose of easy analysis, I have divided the continent of Africa into the following regions; North Africa, Central Africa, West Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa. All 204 news stories were analyzed based on the named region. The news content comprises of 54 from *Turkish Daily News* and 150 for *Today's Zaman*. The average news published by both newspapers per day is approximately 2.23 stories per day for the 92 days of study.

The news regions will be used to analyze the categories and identity of each news stories, they will enable the researcher to identify what regions in Africa received higher or lesser number of coverage, which is one of the research questions for the study. All countries in Africa will be grouped into a region according to geographical location for analysis.

The following list of countries in Africa will be part of the analysis for this study.

1. Algeria (People's Democratic Republic of Algeria)
2. Angola (Republic of Angola)
3. Benin (Republic of Benin)
4. Botswana (Republic of Botswana)
5. Burkina Faso
6. Burundi (Republic of Burundi)
7. Cameroon (Republic of Cameroon)
8. Cape Verde (Republic of Cape Verde)
9. Central African Republic (Central African Republic)
10. Chad (Republic of Chad)
11. Comoros (Union of the Comoros)
12. Côte d'Ivoire (Republic of Côte d'Ivoire)
13. Djibouti (Republic of Djibouti)
14. Egypt (Arab Republic of Egypt)
15. Equatorial Guinea (Republic of Equatorial Guinea)
16. Eritrea (State of Eritrea)
17. Ethiopia (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia)
18. Gabon (Gabonese Republic)
19. Gambia (Republic of The Gambia)
20. Ghana (Republic of Ghana)
21. Guinea (Republic of Guinea)
22. Guinea-Bissau (Republic of Guinea-Bissau)
23. Kenya (Republic of Kenya)
24. Lesotho (Kingdom of Lesotho)
25. Liberia (Republic of Liberia)
26. Libya (Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)
27. Madagascar (Republic of Madagascar)
28. Malawi (Republic of Malawi)
29. Mali (Republic of Mali)
30. Mauritania (Islamic Republic of Mauritania)
31. Mauritius (Republic of Mauritius)
32. Morocco (Kingdom of Morocco)
33. Mozambique (Republic of Mozambique)
34. Namibia (Republic of Namibia)
35. Niger (Republic of Niger)

36. Nigeria (Federal Republic of Nigeria)
37. Congo Brazzaville (Republic of the Congo)
38. Democratic Republic of Congo
39. Rwanda (Republic of Rwanda)
40. Sao Tome and Principe
41. Senegal (Republic of Senegal)
42. Seychelles (Republic of Seychelles)
43. Sierra Leone (Republic of Sierra Leone)
44. Somalia (Somali Republic)
45. South Africa (Republic of South Africa)
46. Sudan (Republic of Sudan)
47. Swaziland (Kingdom of Swaziland)
48. Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania)
49. Togo (Togolese Republic)
50. Tunisia (Tunisian Republic)
51. Uganda (Republic of Uganda)
52. Western Sahara (Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic)
53. Zambia (Republic of Zambia)
54. Zimbabwe (Republic of Zimbabwe)

(Africa, 2009) List of African countries recognized by the United Nations.

Africa is the second largest continent in the world, after Asia in the world; it covers approximately 6 percent of the Earth's total surface area and 20.4 percent of the total land area. It is also the second most-populous continent, again after Asia, and consists up of 54 countries, including Madagascar and various island groups. (<http://lifestyle.iloveindia.com/lounge/list-of-countries-in-africa-3904.html>)

### **3.4.1 Countries by Regions**

#### **North Africa**

Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Western Sahara, Mauritania. These seven North African countries, post colonies, are regarded as part of the orient and traditional associated with a huge Islamic population.

#### **East Africa**

Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, Comoros.

This region consists of 10 countries and it is a region rich with vegetation and savannah, it is also one of the regions affected by famine and violence.

### **Central Africa**

Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Congo Brazzaville, Sao Tome & Principe.

The countries are located in the central region of Africa they have heavy vegetation and many rainforests. Only seven countries fall into this region.

### **West Africa**

Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Togo, Sierra Leone

This region is one of the largest with 15 countries in this region; it has both Christian and Muslim states. The umbrella union for countries in this region is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

### **Southern Africa**

Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

This region has 15 countries all located in the southern part of Africa. Interestingly the Democratic Republic of Congo on a closer look could seem to be located in central Africa region this is acknowledged however, the country's membership in SADC, the umbrella body of southern African states is the criteria for the purpose of this study the Democratic Republic of Congo is coded as a country located in Southern Africa.



Figure 1: Southern Africa Region(Map of Africa with SADC, 2009)

Map showing the location of Southern Africa region by membership of Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). It needs to be observed that two countries Madagascar and Seychelles are not visible because of the size of their small island around their bigger neighbors.

## **Chapter 4**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

This chapter presents the compilation and analysis of the data gathered in the study. The findings were reached after the analysis of 204 stories comprising of 54 stories from Turkish Daily News and 150 from Today's Zaman over a period of 92 days using the content analysis methodology to address research questions designed for the present study.

#### **4.1 Introduction**

As highlighted in previous chapters, the objectives of this study are, to discover what portrayal the selected newspapers, which are Turkish Daily News and Today Zaman portrays of Africa in their online editions of the English version of their daily newspaper. This was the purpose for the analysis of the publications on Africa for the period of October, November and December 2008.

At the end of the collation of data collected from the websites and archives of both newspapers. The stories were defined into different groups or variables for easy analysis and interpretation to answer the research questions cited below and in chapter one.

The diagram below gives a breakdown of the stories collected and as enumerated in chapter three were coded into the following format.



## Analysis of Data of Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman Newspapers

Table 3: Turkish Daily News Stories

Groups	October 2008	November 2008	December 2008
Politics/Government	4	5	6
Conflict/violence	3	12	5
Arts/Entertainment	-	3	1
Sports	-	-	1
Diplomacy/Trade	3	3	2
Disaster/Accident	2	2	-
Religion	-	1	1
Others	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>

*Total = 54 stories published on Africa by Turkish daily new*

This table shows total number of publications of Africa news stories for the period of study under the Turkish Daily Newspaper category.

Table 4: Today's Zaman Newspaper

Groups	October 2008	November 2008	December 2008
Politics/Government	7	6	12
Conflict/violence	11	39	28
Arts/Entertainment	-	2	2
Sports	6	1	2
Diplomacy/Trade	1	7	2
Disaster/Accident	7	2	12
Religion	-	1	-
Others	-	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>59</b>

*Total number of foreign news stories published in Today's Zaman were 150.*

This table shows the total number of African publications for Today's Zaman Newspaper for the period of study.

The two tables reflect the total number of published stories on Africa by Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman as the study is a comparative one, comparing both newspapers coverage of Africa in a three month span. The data collated from the two newspapers led to the analysis of their content in the following graphs and format.

## 4.2 Data & Charts for Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman Newspapers

Table 5: Turkish Daily News

Groups	Oct-08	Nov-08	Dec-08
Politics/Government	4	5	6
Conflict/violence	3	12	5
Arts/Entertainment		3	1
Sports			1
Diplomacy/Trade	3	3	2
Disaster/Accident	2	2	
Religion		1	
Others			
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>54</b>			

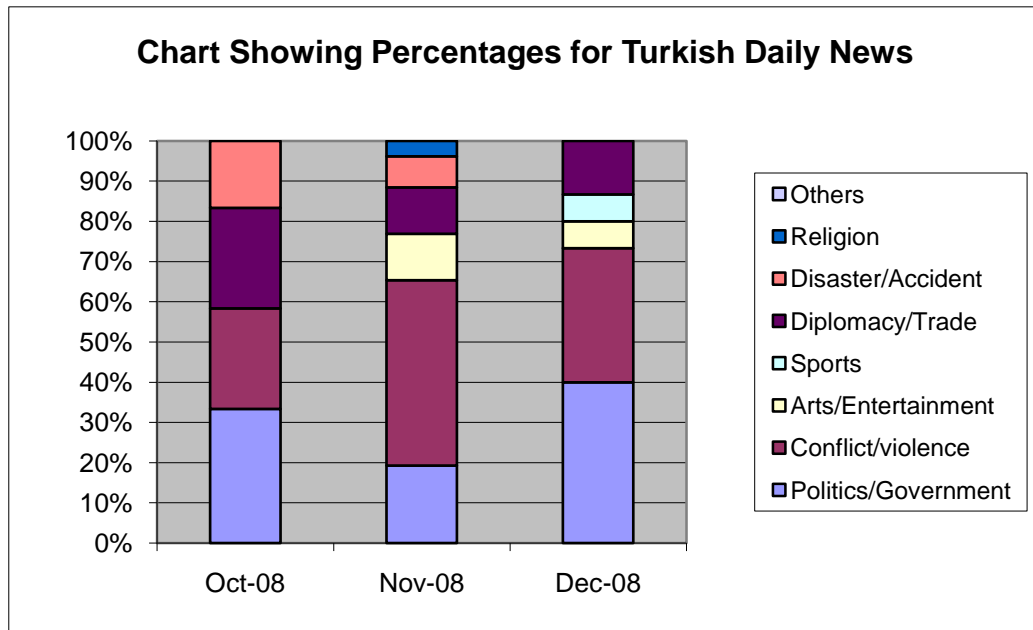


Figure 2: Chart showing percentages for Turkish Daily News

Table 5 & Figure 2 gives results and details, of categories of news that was dominant in the period of study. The following shows the total data collected on *Turkish Daily News* and how they analyzed according to the different coding groups. This data used to answer the research questions for the study. It covers the total number of articles used for this study, which were 54 in total.

Table 6: Today's Zaman Newspaper

Groups	Oct-08	Nov-08	Dec-08
Politics/Government	7	6	12
Conflict/violence	11	39	28
Arts/Entertainment		2	2
Sports	6	1	2
Diplomacy/Trade	1	7	2
Disaster/Accident	7	2	12
Religion		1	
Others		1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>59</b>

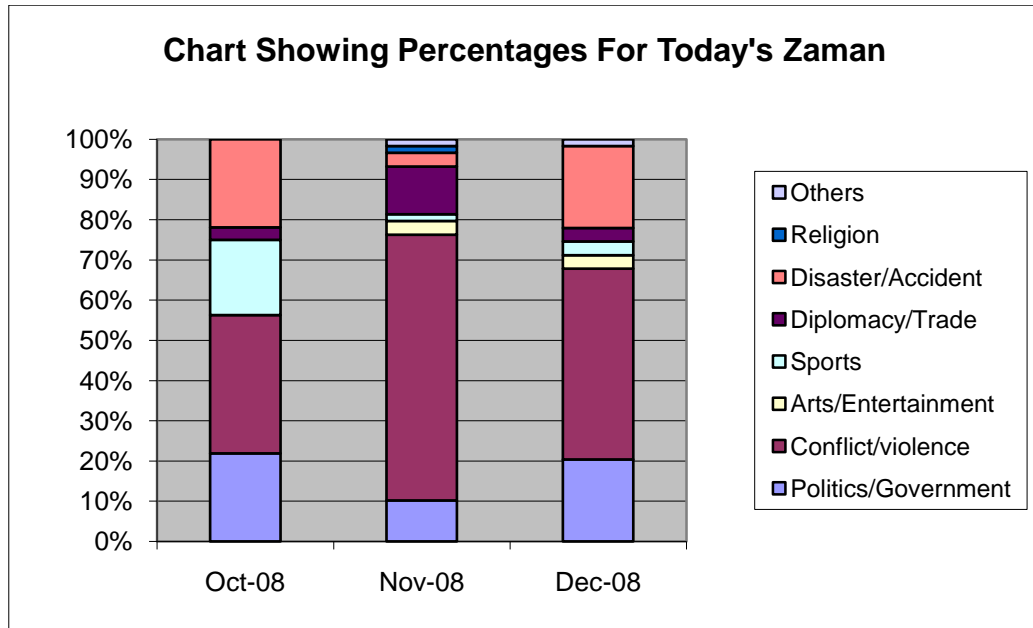


Figure 3: Chart showing percentage for Today's Zaman

Figure 3 and Table 4D shows results and details of categories of news and how they much coverage they received in *Today's Zaman* in the period of study.

The following table and figure shows data collected from *Today's Zaman* and it was used to answer research questions for *Today's Zaman* and for comparative analysis in the study. All analysis and conclusions for *Today's Zaman* was based on this data and coding groups reflected by the chart above.

With the data from the two newspapers, we applied them to the research questions of this study. The following research questions were analyzed into the following categories;

- (1) News Content
- (2) The News Source
- (3) Favoritism
- (4) Editorials
- (5) The Ottoman Connection

### 4.3 Research Findings

#### 4.3.1 News Content.

In this section of the study, the research question discussing the categorization of news by Turkish Daily Newspaper and Today's Zaman was analyzed. One of the research questions in chapter one was as follows,

*What news stories/issues dominated African coverage in the three months of study?*

In order to answer this question the news content from both newspapers were coded into different groups as previously explained in chapter three, the coded categories are, Arts/Entertainment, Politics/Government, Conflict/Violence, Sports, Diplomacy/Trade, Disaster/Accidents, Religion and others. It is believed that the occurrence of more stories in any of these groups will positively reflect that Africa is represented in Turkish Media. The data compiled from the three months of study for both newspapers indicated this following data.

Table 7: Today's Zaman Newspaper

Groups	Oct-08	Nov-08	Dec-08
Politics/Government	7	6	12
Conflict/violence	11	39	28
Arts/Entertainment		2	2
Sports	6	1	2
Diplomacy/Trade	1	7	2
Disaster/Accident	7	2	12
Religion		1	
Others		1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>150</b>			

Table 8: Turkish Daily News

Groups	Oct-08	Nov-08	Dec-08
Politics/Government	4	5	6
Conflict/violence	3	12	5
Arts/Entertainment		3	1
Sports			1
Diplomacy/Trade	3	3	2
Disaster/Accident	2	2	
Religion		1	
Others			
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>54</b>			

Total division of news stories for *Today's Zaman* paper for analysis according to Table 7. For the *Turkish Daily News* newspaper category; (See Table 8) 54 stories that were published on Africa for the period of October November and December, while *Today's Zaman* had 150 stories (see table 9) for the same period.

For the month of *October*, the *Politics/Government* category had more issues with just one story more than *Conflict & Violence* Category. While in *November*, out of 26 stories on Africa, 12 of the stories were on *Conflict & Violence* taking majority of the stories and leaving the other six groups to share 14 stories. *December* saw *Turkish Daily News* had *Politics & Violence* has the most stories with six as shown above.

Consecutively, the findings indicated that no month had any major changes but figures totaling the number of articles published on Africa showed that 54 stories were published in the Three-month period and 20 stories which was 37% were on Conflict & violence group there by making it the dominant type of news that was published by *Turkish Daily News*.

For *Today's Zaman* under the same period of study 150 stories were published in the three month period, with October having 32 articles, November 59 as well as December with 59 news stories also. In the three month period the dominant issue

were from the Conflict & Violence where 78 stories comprising of 52% of the total news publication on Africa by *Today's Zaman* for this period. This is portrayed in the next chart.

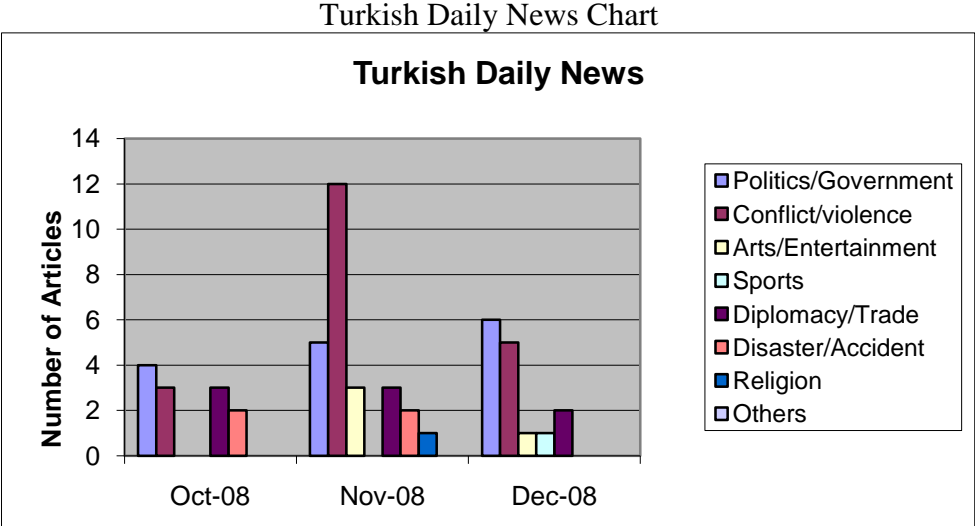


Figure 4: Showing the frequency of stories according to *Turkish Daily News*.

This chart indicates a dominance of Political stories in two months namely October and December for *Turkish Daily News*; however, a closer observation shows in both months they were closely followed by Conflict & violence stories but on a scale of counting total number of stories. Conclusion for which stories dominated the period of study that from the data collected *Conflict & Violence* are more in both cases.

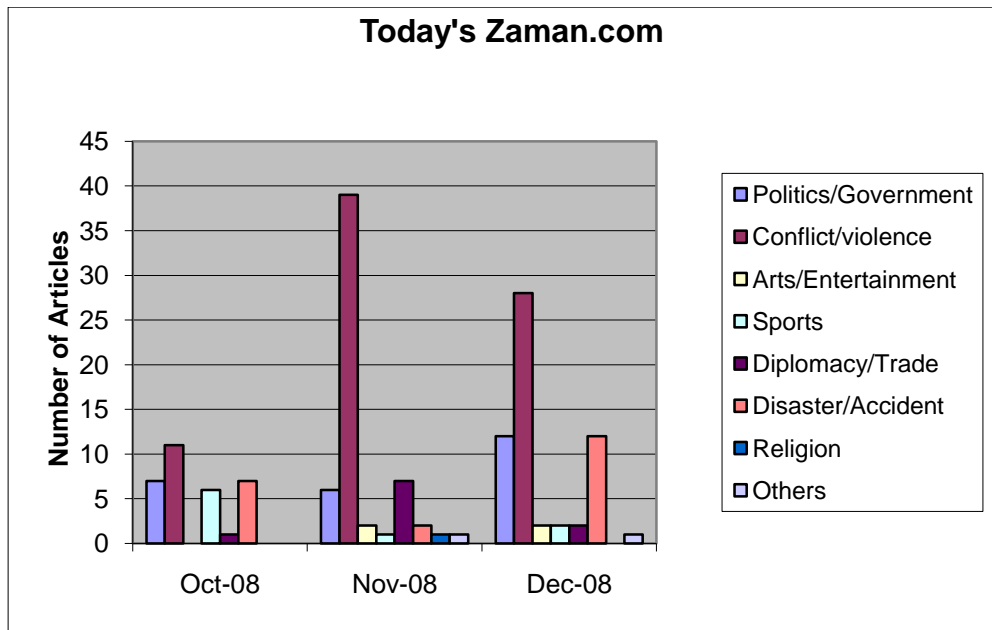


Figure 5: Showing frequency of stories for three months of Today's Zaman

In the chart for *Today's Zaman*, it is very clear stories on *Conflict & Violence* dominate news stories for each month namely October, November and December. Therefore, it is objective to say that stories of *Conflict & Violence* dominated the period of study for both *Turkish Daily News* and *Today's Zaman* respectively.

### Research Findings

A. stories on *Conflict & Violence* dominated coverage with 37% for *Turkish Daily News* newspaper and 52 % for *Today's Zaman* Newspaper in the same category respectively.

#### 4.3.2 The News Sources

In this category, the following research questions will address this issue,

**What are the sources of news on Africa for the two newspapers?**

Table 9: Today's Zaman's News Sources

News Sources	AP	Reuters	Local Sources	Total



<b>October</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>November</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>December</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>150</b>

Table 4G Table showing News sources with foreign news sources dominating.

#### **Today's Zaman newspaper sources**

According to data collated, the news sources for *Today's Zaman* on Africa were from local and foreign news sources. Foreign news sources consists of News wire agencies namely AP and Reuters. AP had 35% of the African news while Reuters had 47% percent coverage. There were no news stories from AFP in *Today's Zaman* coverage. Local News sources on the other hand, consisted of Local news agencies such as the Anatolian News Agency and Zaman staff write-ups this, accounted for 18% coverage. See Table 4H

Table 10: Showing Sources on the News Stories on Africa Today's Zaman

News Sources	Local	Foreign
October	3%	18%
November	7%	33%
December	8%	31%
Total	18%	82%

Table 11: Turkish Daily Newspaper.

News Sources	AFP	AP	REUTERS	Local	Turkish Daily News
October	4	2	2	4	
November	6	2	8	10	
December	6	3	3	4	
Total	16	7	13	18	54

Table 4I: Showing News Sources for African Stories for Turkish Daily Newspaper.

In the data provided above foreign news stories here consisted of News agencies, which are made of AFP, AP, and REUTERS. They accounted for 67 % of the sources of African news stories. They were broken down as follows AFP 30%, Reuters 24% and AP 13 %. While local news sources which included all local news sources within Turkey. This accounted for 33% percent of Africa News stories in the case of Turkish daily newspaper. See Table 4J

Table 12: News Sources for Today's Zaman Newspaper.

News Sources	Local	Foreign
October	7%	15%
November	19%	30%
December	7%	22%
Total	33%	67%

Table 12: The table shows News sources for Today's Zaman Newspaper for the period of study.

### **Findings**

Turkish Daily News and Today's Zaman Newspaper depends on foreign news sources such as news agencies for their coverage of Africa stories.

### **4.3.3 Favoritism**

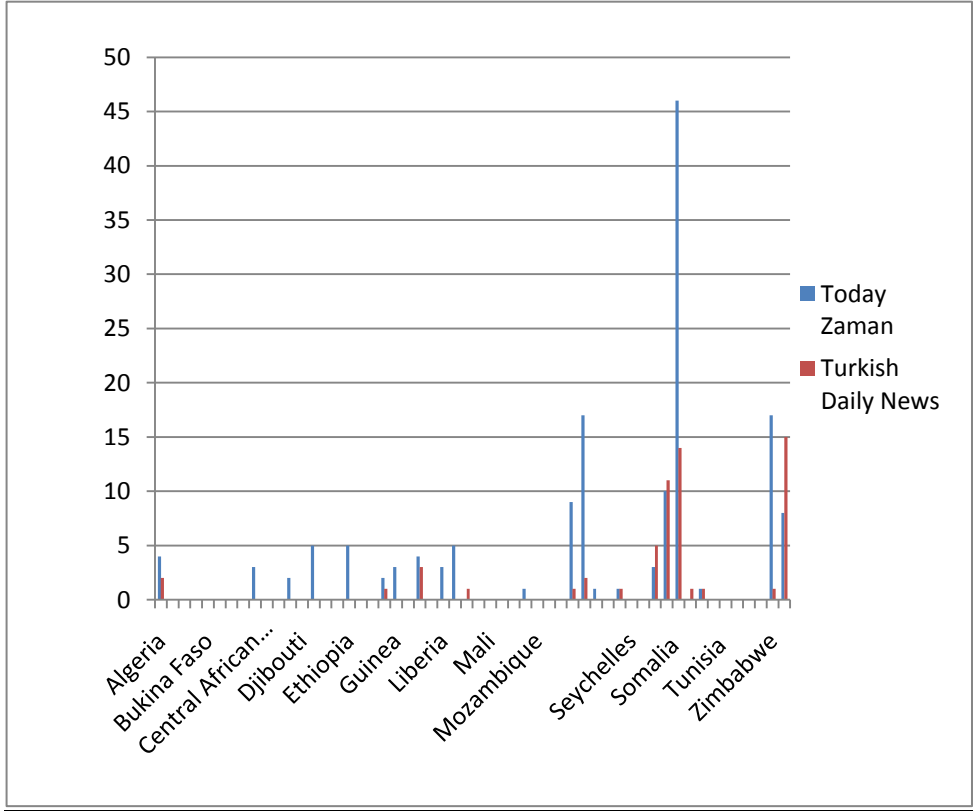
In the area of preferential treatment or favoritism by any of the Two Turkish newspapers; the following research question addressed,

*Is there any country, region, group or a person in African continent that has received greater coverage than the others have by Turkish daily News and Today's Zaman?*

In the analysis of the data provided on Africa it reflected that a few countries had more coverage than others which can be understandable based on the premise that not all countries can be represented equally, however further study from the data collected from both newspapers showed a number of factors influenced more coverage than other fellow African countries.

For analytical purposes, the countries were divided in regions to ascertain which region/s received more coverage and the events that may have influenced such coverage. The regions were West Africa, North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa.

**A chart showing coverage of African countries**



***Somalia highest coverage***

Figure 6: Showing African countries covered by both Newspapers for the period of study.

The pie-chart indicates the frequencies of countries represented by both newspapers side by side. On the chart above Somalia received the highest coverage by both publications, which was linked of to high number of violent and conflict prevalent in the area during the period of study.

**Pie chart showing African Nations coverage for both Newspapers.**

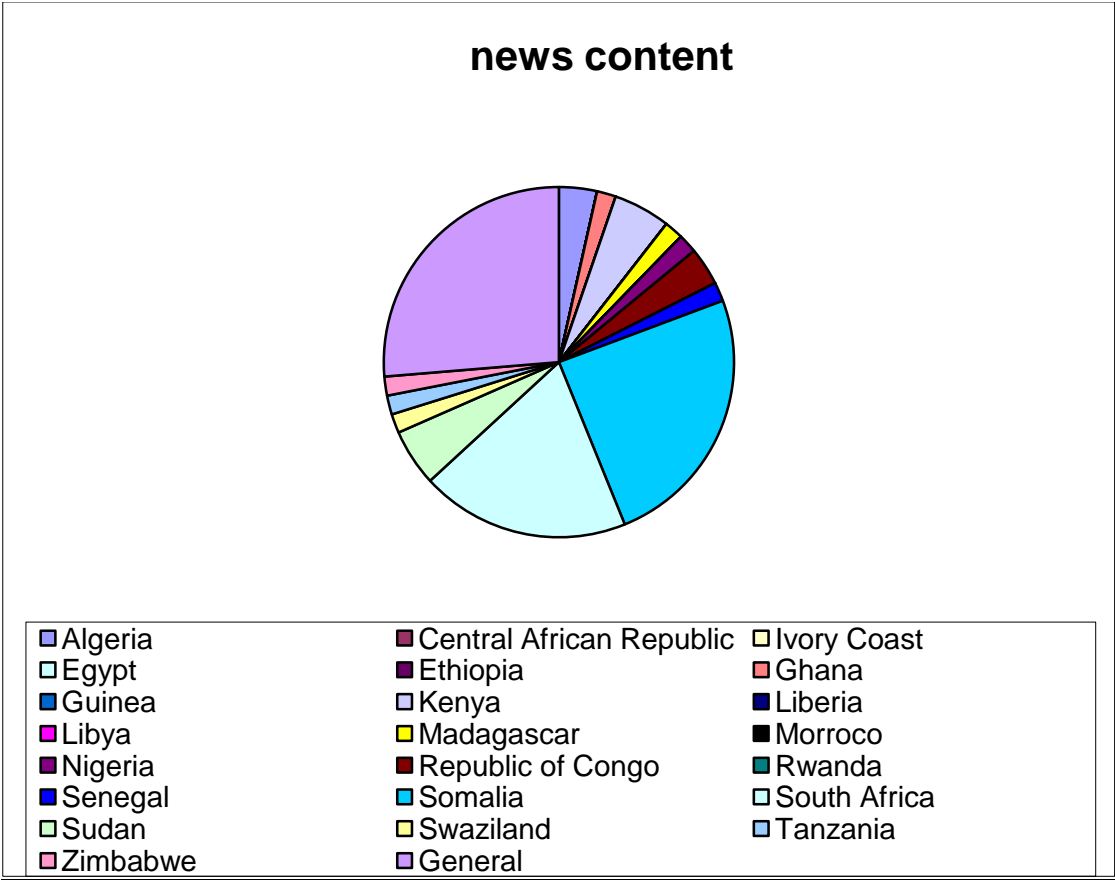


Figure 7: Showing countries frequencies by *Turkish Daily News* and *Today's Zaman*

The chart confirms the previous data imputed into a pie-chart format to effectively show Somalia as the most covered African country in the period of study. The preceding pie chart Figure 7 above shows the amount of coverage each country received from both newspapers in the period of study. In the chart, only 22 countries out of the 54 countries were represented in both newspapers indicating less than half

of the total number of sovereign countries was covered. This shows that only 42% of African nations were covered. With the figures from the data, one can see that Somalia received the highest coverage apparently for the stories on piracy and political instability in the region.

On the question of regions the statistics on the excel spreadsheet shows East Africa as the most covered region with followed by west and South Africa. According to Table 4K: East Africa has the highest number of countries covered by both Newspapers;

Table 13: Table showing regions coverage of regions

Groups	Countries
North Africa	4
West Africa	5
c. Africa	2
E.Africa	6
South Africa	5
	22

**Findings**

The finding indicated that East Africa received more coverage than other regions, it was also noticed that it was the most volatile in terms of conflict in the general African region.

Somalia received highest coverage with over 45% of stories on the country while Eastern Africa was the region with most stories or coverage.

#### 4.3.4 Editorials

In the category of editorial policy, the following research question addresses this concern.

*Were there any editorials or any commentaries (opinion pieces) on African- related issues in two newspapers?*

*Commentaries by News papers*

Table 13: Commentaries by News papers

Turkish Daily News	Today's Zaman Newspaper
<p><i>Opening African, but at what cost</i> GİLA BENMAYOR Staff</p>	<p>Analysis/ Travel Senegal a jewel on the West Coast of Africa. 17-11-2008</p> <p>Today's Zaman SAİM ORHAN Impressions In a Town <i>Cholera does not exist, five kids die within hours.</i> MARTIN FLETCHER TODAY'S ZAMAN/Times London 17-12-2008 <i>Analysis</i> <i>Somali pirates and the New system</i> Today's Zaman 20-12-2008</p>

They will be and analyzed here under this section of data analysis.

##### 4.3.4.1 Finding for Turkish Daily and Today's Zaman newspapers

Turkish Daily News was found to have only one editorial/Commentary piece on Africa for the period of study. The commentary entitled *Opening African, at what cost.*

The article was a scathing critique of the Turkish government and Turkish foreign policy for associating itself with two African leaders whom the article said were wanted men by the international community and had sanctions imposed on them by the western community. President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Omar Bashir of Sudan were named, and the Turkish presidency's association with them was questioned and criticized according to the editorial piece (see Appendix 1). They argued this fraternity was portraying Turkey as a friend of dictators. However one must also recognize that Turkish Daily News is nationalistic in its ideology by criticizing the government thereby fulfilling its watchdog function of the press. The editorial though the only one on African for the three months of study is devoid of any bias and solely aimed at correction the perceived negative image Turkey was amassing by becoming friendly to these leaders. It was noted by the researcher that this was not a borrowed story it was written by a member of staff and published under the newspaper

Therefore, it can be concluded as follows;

1. Turkish Daily News is secular in Nature.
2. Turkish Daily News uses its Editorial policy as a watchdog function of the press.
3. Turkish Daily News was not biased again or in favor any African country for the period of study.
4. Turkish Daily News has no special interest stories in any African country or region through ownership or ideology.

In the case of Today's Zaman, there were no clear stories labeled as editorial for the African story coverage. Instead, it had different stories under different categories. Today's Zaman was found to accept any commentary or analysis even from news agencies. It has commentaries under the term Analysis, Travel and Impressions. The researcher was not able in the period of study to find one particular piece under the heading of editorial on a story of Africa. Furthermore, based on the objective of testing the editorial policy of the newspaper since evaluation the Turkish Media through the selected papers, one had to select commentaries or analysis under the local news writers. The researcher also found out the newspaper published stories under the heading of analysis personal columns from other newspaper such as the Times of London and Reuters. See Table 4L.

In addition, the article under the category of *Travel* saw a scenario where Senegal was covered and it was noted the only African country covered. The article has the geographical location and religious information of Senegal highlighted that 94% of the citizenry was Muslim. It also mentioned that there were Turkish schools was operating in the country. This information enabled the researcher to conclude that Today's Zaman perceived to be Pro-Islamic in nature and not secular like Turkish Daily News. The finding pointed to the conclusions that Today's Zaman shows more interest in Islam than Turkish Daily News in Africa.

Finally, two out of the three stories on Africa were from Senegal and Somalia which are Islamic countries namely in Africa and this accounts for 80 % of the stories commented on, it could be concluded as follows;

1. Today's Zaman Newspaper appears to be pro-Islamic in nature.



2. Today's Zaman accepts commentaries from other sources such as News agencies than *Turkish Daily News*.
3. Today's Zaman Newspaper is comparatively less secular and more conservative in nature.
4. Today's Zaman is more sympathetic to Islamic countries in Africa.

#### **4.3.5 The Ottoman Connection**

In this category, the assumption that the Turkish press would give proximity based on African countries that were located along the Mediterranean basin was tested. The research question below addressed this assumption.

*Do African countries closer to Turkey, or which were part of the Ottoman Empire receive coverage by the Turkish media more than those further afield?*

Table 15 : Table Showing Coverage of Countries as geographical regions.

Group	Countries	Percentage
North Africa	4	18%
Southern Africa	5	23%
Central Africa	2	9%
East Africa	6	27%
West Africa	5	23%
	22	100%

Table showing coverage of countries by geographical regions.

Based on the data compiled stories from North Africa came fourth with 18% percent coverage in the period of October, November and December 2008 by Turkish daily News and Today's Zaman newspaper. This places North Africa only ahead of Central Africa, which had just 9% coverage. The finding disclosed East Africa having the highest coverage with 27% of the news stories followed by both West Africa and Southern Africa who were at par with 23% coverage. See pie chart for

explanation. Based on this stats there is no favoritism for the North African countries rather it would appear that they newspaper acted based on the professional ethics however the over reliance on news agencies may also have contributed to this.

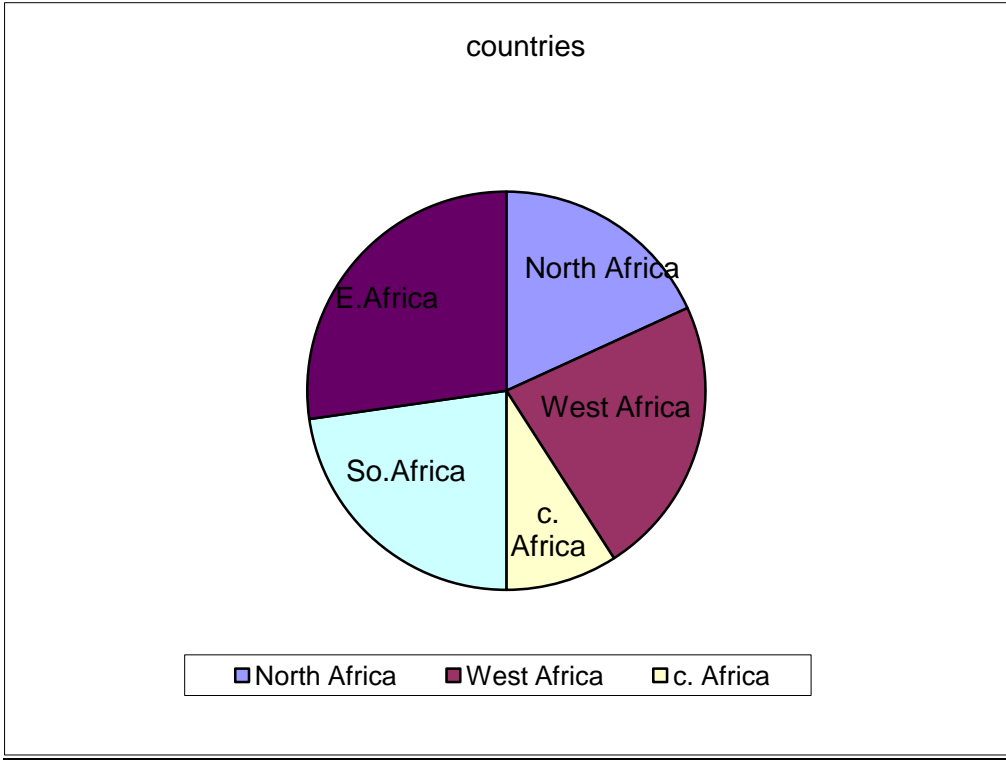


Figure 8: Pie Chart showing Regions covered by Turkish Daily Newspaper and Today's Zaman Newspaper.

The Chart above shows the represented regions with North Africa in blue with 23 percent coverage. East Africa 27% having the highest coverage in the area of regions in Africa.

**Findings**

There is no clear indication that countries in the Mediterranean or closer to Turkey received more coverage than other regions, both newspapers did not show any particular preference for countries formerly associated to the Ottoman Empire.

#### **4.3.6 Ownership and Ideological Impact on News content**

Under this category the ownership and ideological impact will be discussed with the framework of the following research question; *Do the ownership and the political affiliations of the newspapers affect the news stories selected in the period of study?*

To be able to answer this question the researcher based his conclusions on the findings from the editorials analysis in section 4.3.4.

##### **4.3.6.1 Turkish Daily Newspaper**

For Turkish Daily News, the owners are the Dogan Media Group (see p.20). The Newspaper is regarded secular and Nationalistic in its ideology. It maintains the watchdog functions of the press as the fourth estate of the realm through its editorial and criticisms of the government. In the editorial analysis part of the study, the following findings were arrived after analysis of the editorial stories of Turkish Daily News. Therefore, it can be concluded as the follows;

1. Turkish Daily Newspaper is secular in Nature.
2. Turkish Daily News uses its Editorial policy as a watchdog function of the press.
3. Turkish Daily News is not biased to any African country.

Turkish Daily News has no special interest in any African country or region through ownership or ideology. However, while analyzing the stories one also realizes that no newspaper can be truly objective. In as much as Turkish Daily News is a part of the Dogan Media group it can also be influenced by the ownership however for this particular study that was based on the coverage of Africa, the researcher did not find anything to come to this conclusion during the period of analysis.

#### **4.3.6.2. Today's Zaman Newspaper**

For Today's Zaman Newspaper, its ownership and identity was also discussed in chapter one of this study. As stated on page 20 of this thesis the newspaper is managed by a separate editorial team from the traditional Zaman editorial group. Its parent company is known as the *Zaman* Group owned by the Islamic Fetulah group. The ideology of the Newspaper is regarded to be conservative and pro Islamic, after the analysis its news content and coverage of Africa. In addition, the finding from the editorial / commentaries shows the following;

1. Today's Zaman Newspaper is pro-Islamic in nature.
2. Today's Zaman accepts commentaries from other sources such as News Agencies.
3. Today's Zaman Newspaper is not secular in nature.
4. Today's Zaman is more sympathetic to Islamic countries in Africa.

The commentary on Senegal was more like an advertorial because it also mentioned the setting up of Turkish schools in the country, which the Fetulah organization is known for organizing in most regions of the world. It was the only African story mentioned in that context. In addition, most stories on Africa by *Today's Zaman* were feeders from News agencies. While they ( Today's Zaman Newspaper) depend on news agencies for most of their stories on Africa they also cover a few stories and when they do decide to focus on a country- as was the Senegal case- it was a case of interest of the ideology of the Newspaper. It was more of an advertorial than an actual news story (see Appendix A for News story).

## Chapter 5

### CONCLUSIONS

Based on the preceding analysis, a number of conclusions can be reached which will illuminate our understanding of the subjects investigated by the research and also point to areas where further investigations may need to be done. This chapter presents the conclusions of this research and outlines/identifies observations on possible areas for further research.

#### 5.1 Conclusions & Summary

In the analysis of the stories which were reported on Africa, for positive news the findings show that when there was positive news it was concerning Africa as a body and Turkey as a major partner, and these were often news stories on Humanitarian, Trade or diplomatic benefits to Africa by Turkey. These were proven through selected news content from both newspapers. An example of these included stories with such headlines, “ *Turkey and Algeria are in close consultation with each other in many issues, FM Babacan, Turkish-African trade gets boost from strategy*” (See Appendix for summary of all News stories by both newspapers).

Regarding the question of what type of news stories or issues that dominated African coverage in the three months of study, it emerged that events centering on violence and conflict dominated African coverage by both papers during the entire period with 37% of all stories published by *Turkish Daily News* and 52% of those published by *Today's Zaman* falling into this category. The findings of the study therefore

portrayed Africa as a region filled with violence and conflict. The choice of Somalia picking the highest coverage as the coverage was linked to the piracy activities on the horn of Africa. This also suggests that while they are news worthy stories however this seems to conform to the negative portrayal of Africa. As the researcher feels the issues was over emphasized with a lot of repetition on the same piracy stories being covered. This might have added to the high portrayal of Somalia as the most covered nation and East Africa as the most covered region as well.

The research findings also suggest that representation of Africa by *Turkish Daily News* and *Today's Zaman* newspapers may not significantly differ from portrayal of the continent by traditional western media whose depiction of Africa have been found to accentuate the negative at the exclusion of highlighting any positive developments. These results agree with similar studies by other researchers such as Golan, (2008) and Cooper & El Zein, (1992). These previous studies revealed that coverage of africa by western media was predominantly negative.

The study drew a connection from materials that were published by the newspapers in the study to this argument by the results of findings indicating that the probable relationship of the globalized media via new agencies and *Turkish Daily News & Today's Zaman* reflected the dominant portrayal of violence and conflict stories to readers as more news worthy material for consumers than positive news. Since the study revealed that for *Turkish Daily News* 67% of their total African stories were from foreign news agencies while *Today's Zaman* had 82% of its news on Africa from foreign sources (see pages 66-68), it would seem that this heavy dependence on

news agencies accounted for selection of stories which portrayed the African continent in negative light as emerged from previous studies that have investigated Western news coverage of the third world in the past.

These findings on the portrayal of conflict and violence as mentioned above can be argued as the one of the effects of power relations and globalization in the global media sphere especially in the context of power relations between the developed and other less developed countries. As the developed countries continually dominant all forms of business with the manpower and resources to operate the as in the case of News agencies. These news agencies dominate the global news flow market and developing countries are unable to compete with them, therefore they are left rather to depend on them for news coverage such as this study has shown. The role of global news agencies in international news flow according to the finding of the present study seems to suggest that dependence on news agencies for global news flow has led to a scenario where news flows from the developed countries to less developed can also be related to the argument that “The globalized media today sees readers as consumers, as argued by political economists and cultural theorists alike” (See Barker, 2008, p 49-50). In my view since media agencies treats the audience or readers are customers or consumers they have to possibly cover events that will have more impact so as to be able to reflect greater patronage by its subscribers and portraying negative news has become more preferable to positive news. A dependence on western media based news agencies also means a dependence on media systems that through other studies has often portrayed Africa as region that is underdeveloped, crisis ridden and unstable politically, highlighting these events in favor to other news stories. According to Herman & McChesney; “Today’s

globalized media see audiences and readers as consumers...” (1997, pp. 188). While Schiller (1969, 1985) points out in his argument of *media imperialism* “The media are seen as vehicles for corporate marketing, manipulating audiences to deliver them as advertisers. This is allied to the assertion of a general ideological effect by which media messages create and reinforce audience attachment to the status quo” (Barker, 2008, p.338).

This is justified because through the analysis it was revealed that conflict and violence dominated the period of study, and since both news papers depended on news agencies namely AFP, AP and Reuters for over 65% of total news, it can be said that this dependence could explain the negative portrayal of Africa by the papers in the study, I am of this opinion since high level of foreign news subscription is visible in the analysis of the total news content on Africa for both papers. This dependence on western news agencies for news on Africa may be blamed for the negative portrayal, especially when compared to the findings in a similar study by Chang (1998) on US coverage of Africa. The study found US media coverage of Africa to be heavily influenced by historical and trade relations with specific African countries. Chang’s study concluded that news stories from countries where the US had interests were more likely to receive favorable coverage while coverage of countries where the US had little or no historical interests or trade ties tended to be predominantly negative. Chang’s study concluded that armed conflicts and global war on terror were the most widely covered news items, the countries that received greatest coverage being Liberia, Egypt, Libya and South Africa while 12 other African countries receiving no coverage for the period of study ( 1998,p.49-51 ) .



The present study indicated a gradual shift in modern day to day news reporting by local reporters of a newspaper to a scenario where news agencies increasingly play a more active role in news dissemination and gathering than local reporters especially in the international scale. This shift is active in the Turkish media landscape (McChesney & Edward, 1997, p. 19-21). The study revealed that in terms of regional coverage, eastern Africa dominated Turkish media coverage of the continent during the period of study, with coverage of 27% of total combined coverage by the two dailies out of the five regions. Southern Africa and West Africa were second place with 23% each for both regions where coverage mostly highlighted conflicts, political instability, disasters and disease. This led to the conclusion that war torn area or region with negative stories dominate coverage of Africa thereby leading to the common general perception as a continent overridden with strife, disease and contention.

Concerning Editorial policy and Impact of ownership on news reporting by both both papers, the study revealed that the two dailies had different ideological approaches to news stories concerning African countries. While Turkish Daily News was found to be more critical of Turkish government, writing editorials which emphasizing this., Today's Zaman was found to be conservative and pro- AKP government, and seemed more likely to support or cover African countries with cultural, historical or religious ties with Turkey. Evidence of this claim stemmed from the editorials/commentaries analyzed for both newspapers during the period of study. Generally, Turkish Daily News was more critical of the ruling AKP government policies, while Today's Zaman was conservative with religious inclinations which reflected in its coverage of affairs and events. In this case of Turkish Daily News the

editorial titled “Opening to Africa, but at what cost?” published on 6<sup>th</sup> October 2008 depicted the right-wing nature of the paper as it criticized the perceived friendliness by the Government of Turkey to two African presidents - Omar Al Bashir of Sudan and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe both whom had been accused of being dictators by the international community and other African neighbors as well. *Turkish Daily News* was critical of the image the Turkish government was portraying to the global world by being friendly to these presidents.

However, Today’s Zaman is regarded to have a conservative ideology and in support of the present AKP led government and this reflected by its non criticism of the current AKP government during the period of study. The newspaper chose to feature commentaries on topics on the African image; commentaries from news agencies were even published by Today’s Zaman. The commentaries selected were as follows “*Senegal a jewel on the West Coast of Africa, In Town Cholera does not exist, five kids die within hours, Somali pirates and the New system*”. However, after an analysis of these commentaries, they were found to be stories associated with violence and conflict with the exception of the commentary on Senegal which can be considered an ‘advertorial’.

The commentary of Senegal by Today’s Zaman brings about the question of portrayal by each paper, at the same time a similar story on Senegal was also covered by Turkish Daily News. While that of Today’s Zaman was captioned “*Senegal a jewel on the West Coast of Africa,*” published on the 27<sup>th</sup> of November, A similar article was published by titled “*Friendly Senegal*” on the 30<sup>th</sup> of November. The portrayal of Senegal by both newspapers showed the different ideological pattern of

the newspapers and their ethical methods. Nordenstreng discusses commercialization of the media in his paper on communication ethics, he argues, “Little needs to be said about the commercialization of the media where truth is subordinate to popular appeal and indeed profit” cited in (Nordenstreng, 1994). The commercialization of the media can be related to the advertorial of ‘Senegal’ by Today’s Zaman. A careful reading of the Senegal commentary it appears to the reader what one could argue as an attempt by the Today’s Zaman to promote the image of Senegal to readers not just as a African country but by relations and certain identified interests related to the newspaper’s believed Islamic identity through the ownership . However it is also possible that the particular story could be a sponsored story. The image depicted showed an emphasis on 94% Muslim population, Turkish schools, mosques and availability of flights from Turkey. The emphasis and pro-Islamic coverage of Senegal by Today’s Zaman appears consistent with its conservative, religious ideology. The deliberate mention of Senegal’s population as being 94% Muslim and the availability of mosques as well as Turkish schools built in Senegal depict a scenario where it seems Senegal was packaged and featured as an Islamic country and a tourist attraction for readers. In comparison to Turkish Daily News’s “*Friendly Senegal*” there was no mention of these depictions in the story even though it was under the same coded group of Trade/Diplomacy. The article by Turkish Daily News was a direct reporting with emphasis on Turkish- Senegalese relations in bilateral relations, it was a brief article compared to Today’s Zaman which was longer and more detailed in length.

The researcher supposes we can call this commodification as cultural theorists argue- a scenario where readers are exposed and overtly persuaded to patronize more

products through other products (Barker, 2008, p.49-50). The attempt by Today's Zaman to educate Turkish readers about the advantages of visiting Senegal based on the portrayed strengths of religion and Turkish presence can be seen as a commodification as argued by Barker. It can be concluded that the commentary on Senegal was one of the few positive ones on African countries and the choice of Senegal among the 53 other countries in Africa during the period of study could be seen as evidence portraying Today's Zaman as an ideologically conservative and pro-Islamic newspaper.

Taking into consideration that the study was a comparative study of two daily newspapers, the findings reveal that both newspapers had a different ideological orientation with regards to covering news, it was discovered for each newspaper to cover Africa, they had to rely on News agencies to cover their stories even in neighbor Mediterranean countries which are close to Turkey, which is also a country in the Mediterranean region. The reliance on western news agencies for covering African countries even in the Mediterranean region indicates either those countries are regarded as not newsworthy to have a local office located there by the newspapers or a result lack of resources. These findings support the theory of the western global dominance of the global news flow which was observed by Guy Golan (Golan, 2008).

Finally the study concludes that negative portrayals dominate coverage of Africa by the two Turkish newspapers and when positive news items were included they were usually obtainable in news stories associated with Aid, Trade, or economic assistances to Africa either as a group or to an African country in need, thereby depicting Africa as the recipient of good will from the Turkish nation. The research

findings revealed that conflict and violence tops the category of news items covered on Africa for the period of study. It agrees with the findings of similar researches of the press media on Africa such as Alozie, (2009), Best, (2008) and Cooper & El Zein, (1992) which suggested that despite the fact that English language newspapers in Turkey were vibrant in content, they are largely dependent on Western news agencies for coverage of Africa and the ideology of the newspapers reflected in their portrayal of the country or continent?

## **5.2 Recommendations for Further Research**

As stated at the beginning of the literature review chapter, the study is one of the few that have looked into Turkish Media coverage of Africa. It sheds light on the ideological portrayal of two English language newspapers in Turkey of Africa.

In the field of research there is always more knowledge to be extracted from unresearched issues, and while this study has focused on English Language Newspapers, it would be also possible for a study of Turkish language newspapers in Turkey to be conducted to see if the same findings would be achieved using the same methodology but with a change in language. It would be interesting to discover what types of ways Turkish language newspapers portray about Africa or third world countries.

Alternatively, a study can also be done to investigate gate-keeping functions by newspaper editors especially of international news from news agencies and the determinants of news worthiness by these agencies. Finally, new theories have postulated that there now exists active audiences in the mass media world, a research could be done to see how active the audiences of these two or similar papers are this

applies to both English and non-English language readers in Turkey and their perception to Africa.

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## **APPENDICES**



## Appendix A: Data Grouping for Today's Zaman

Number	Date	Headline	Country	Region	News Agencies	Type
1	3-10-2008	Pirates off Somalia get \$18-30 million in ransom	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters Nairobi	Conflict/Violence
2	3-10-2008	Police say 20 children die in Tanzania stampede	Tanzania		AP	Accident/Disaster
3	3-10-2008	UN seeks new fight against Somali pirates	Somalia	East Africa	AP United Nations	Conflict/Violence
4	3-10-2008	UN: 80 dead, 100 wounded in Somalia fighting	Somalia	East Africa	AP Geneva	Conflict/Violence
5	3-10-2008	Gebrselassie seeks \$1 million bonus in Dubai	Ethiopia /Dubai	Africa	Reuters London	Sport
6	4-10-2008	Algerian flood victims protest gov't response	Algeria	North Africa	AP Algiers	Accidents/Disasters
7	4-10-2008	Drogba injury not as bad as first feared	Cote d'ivoire	West Africa	Reuters London	Sport
8	8-10-2008	Nigerian strikers make their impact felt in Super League	Nigeria	Africa	Today's Zaman	Sport
9	9-10-2008	Top politician: South Africa's ANC on the brink of a split	South Africa	South Africa	AP	Politics/Violence
10	9-10-2008	Zimbabwean soccer player drowns in ritual before match	Zimbabwe	South Africa	Reuters Harare	Disaster/Accident
11	10-10-2008	Somali pirates free Japan tanker for ransom	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters Bossaso	Conflict/Violence
12	10-10-2008	Zimbabwe inflation hits record 231 million pct	Zimbabwe	South Africa	Reuters Harare	Disasters/Violence
13	11-10-2008	Turkish aid opens the eyes of 10,000 Africans	Africa/Turkey	Africa	MÜKR EMIN ALBAY RAK İSTAN BUL	Disaster/Violence
14	11-10-2008	Libya to cut economic ties with Switzerland in protest	Libya	North Africa	Reuters Tripoli	Politics/Government
15	11-10-2008	Chelsea seeks returns of transfer fee for Mikel	Nigeria	West Africa	AP London	Sport
16	14-10-2008	Mugabe swears in VPs before negotiations	Zimbabwe	South Africa	Reuters Harare	Politics/Government
17	15-10-2008	Illegal migrants revolt over living conditions	Turkey/Africa	Africa	TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH	Disasters/Accident

					WIRES İSTAN BUL	
18	15-10-2008	Somalia frees ship from pirates	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters Bossaso	Conflict/Violence
19	17-10-2008	S. Africa's ANC says no plans for early election	South Africa	South Africa	Reuters Johannesburg	Politics/Government
20	19-10-2008	Turkey focuses on Africa as it looks to diversify EU, Russian trade	Turkey/Africa	Africa	TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH WIRES İSTANBUL	Trade/Diplomacy
21	21-10-2008	Zimbabwe opposition will not attend summit	Zimbabwe	South Africa	AP Johannesburg	Politics/Government
22	21-10-2008	Libya seeking Russian arms worth \$2 billion	Libya	South Africa	Reuters Moscow	Politics/Government
23	24-10-2008	Ivory Coast court jails two over toxic waste dumping	Ivory Coast	West Africa	AP Abidjan	Disaster/Accident
24	27-10-2008	Regional leaders to work on Zimbabwe unity deal	Zimbabwe	South Africa	AP Harare	Conflict/Violence
25	27-10-2008	Civilians attack UN compound in Congo	Congo	East Africa	AP Goma	Conflict/Violence
26	27-10-2008	Ethiopia's Roba wins International Eurasia Marathon	Ethiopia	East Africa	TODAY'S ZAMAN İSTANBUL	Sport
27	30-10-2008	Algerian leader clears way for third term	Algeria	North Africa	AP Algiers	Politics/Government
28	30-10-2008	Somalia death toll rises to 30, sheikh arrested	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters Bosasso Somalia	Conflict/violence
29	30-10-2008	Somali pirates seize Turkish ship	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters Istanbul	Conflict/violence
30	30-10-2008	FIFA signs deal with African broadcasters	South Africa	South Africa	AP Zurich	Sport
31	31-10-2008	Turkish ship hijacked off Somalia, NATO launches rescue mission	Somalia	East Africa	TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH WIRES İSTANBUL	Conflict/violence
32	31-10-2008	Rebel Congolese general wants talks	Congo	Central Africa	AP Congo	Conflict/Violence
33	1-11-2008	Refugees try to reach home in eastern Congo	Congo	Central Africa	AP KIMBUMBWA	Conflict/Violence
34	1-11-2008	Libya leader Muammar Gaddafi to discuss hosting Russian base	Libya/Russia	North Africa	Reuters Moscow	Politics/Government
35	1-11-2008	Seven Belgians killed in Egyptian coach mishap	Egypt	North Africa	Reuters Cairo	Disasters/Accident
36	5-11-2008	Hope, prayer in	Kenya	East	Reuters	Trade/Diplomacy

		Obama ancestral Kenya village		Africa	Kisumu	cy
37	5-11-2008	Congolese rebel leader threatens to restart war	Congo	Central Africa	Reuters KIROLI RWE	Conflict/Violence
38	5-11-2008	Obama's Kenyan relatives cheer win	Kenya	East Africa	AP Kenya	Trade/Diplomacy
39	5-11-2008	US elections not sole issue, DRC also on horizon	DRC		Today's Zaman Column	Politics/Government
34	6-11-2008	Fighting continues in Congo; leaders seek solution	Congo	Central Africa	AP Goma	Conflict/Violence
41	6-11-2008	Gadhafi: nations competing to sell arms to Libya	Libya	North Africa	AP Kiev Ukraine	Politics/Government
42	7-11-2008	Villagers found dead in rebel-controlled town	Congo	Central Africa	AP Congo	Conflict/Violence
43	8-11-2008	[ANALYSIS] How can Obama manage Africa's euphoria?	Kenya/Africa	Africa	Reuters Daniel Wallis	Politics/Government
44	8-11-2008	Congo rebel leader demands talks with president	Congo	Central Africa	Reuters Kinshasa	Conflict/Violence
45	9-11-2008	Gebreselassie: I will race in the next Eurasia Marathon, and I will run until my dying day	Africa/Ethiopia/Turkey	East Africa	Today's Zaman BEHRAM KILIÇ İSTANBUL	Sport
46	10-11-2008	Bin Laden's son not allowed into Egypt	Egypt	North Africa	AP CAIRO	Politics/government
47	11-11-2008	Migrants try to storm Spanish outpost Melilla	Spain/Morocco	North Africa	REUTERS MADRID	Diaspora/Accident
48	11-11-2008	Nkunda warns Africa as fears grow of wider war	Congo	Central Africa	Reuters Goma	Conflict/Violence
59	11-11-2008	Somali gunmen kidnap two nuns	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters Kenya	Conflict/Violence
50	11-11-2008	Human rights group urges more Congo peacekeepers	Congo	Central Africa	AP Goma	Conflict/Violence
51	11-11-2008	South African singer Miriam Makeba dies in Italy	South Africa	South Africa	REUTERS JOHANNESBURG	Arts/Entertainment
52	12-11-2008	Turkey and Algeria are in close consultation with each other in many issues, FM Babacan	Algeria/Turkey	North Africa	THE ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY ANKARA	Trade/Diplomacy
53	13-11-2008	Sudan's Bashir declares Darfur ceasefire	Sudan	East Africa	REUTERS KHARTOUM	Conflict/Violence
54	13-11-2008	Somali rebels seize key port town with airstrip	Somalia	East Africa	AP MOGADISHU	Conflict/Violence
55	14-11-2008	WFP hands out	Congo	Central	AP	Conflict/violence

		food behind Congo's rebel lines		Africa	KIWA NJA. CONG O	ce
56	15-11-2008	Libyan convicted in Lockerbie denied bail	Libya/UK	North Africa	REUTE RS EDINB URGH	Conflict/violence
57	15-11-2008	Somali rebels move closer to Mogadishu	Somalia	East Africa	MOGA DISHU REUTE RS	Conflict/Violence
58	15-11-2008	Cargo ship with 23 crew hijacked off Somalia	Somalia	East Africa	AP SEOUL	Conflict/Violence
59	17-11-2008	Somali president: Gov't on verge of collapse	Somalia	East Africa	AP MOGA DISHU	Conflict/Violence
60	17-11-2008	Congolese rebel leader backs UN peace plan	Congo	Central Africa	REUTE RS JOMB A, CONG O	Conflict/Violence
61	18-11-2008	Turkish, Arab intellectuals meet around Hira in Cairo	Egypt	North Africa	CUMA LI ÖNAL CARIO	Trade/Diplomacy
62	18-11-2008	Ransom talks for hijacked ship expected	Somalia/Turkey	East Africa	TODAY 'S ZAMA N WITH WIRES ANKA RA	Conflict/Violence
63	18-11-2008	Hijacked Saudi tanker anchoring off Somalia-US navy	Somalia	East Africa	REUTE RS BOSAS SO, SOMAL I	Conflict/Violence
64	18-11-2008	Pirates hijack oil tanker off east Africa	Somalia	East Africa	REUTE RS DUBAI	Conflict/Violence
65	19-11-2008	Indian navy destroys pirate boat, more ships taken	Somalia/India	East Africa	REUTE RS MOGA DISHU, SOMAL I	Conflict/Violence
66	19-11-2008	Hijacked Saudi supertanker reaches Somalia; another vessel captured	Somalia	East Africa	REUTE RS BOSAS SO	Conflict/Violence
67	20-11-2008	Analysis Somali pirates transform villages to booming towns	Somalia	East Africa	MOHA MED OLAD HASSA N ASSOC IATED PRESS	Conflict/violence
68	20-11-2008	Congo rebels appear to pull back ahead of talks	Congo	Central Africa	AP RWIN DI	Conflict/violence
69	21-11-2008	NATO chief says Africa must lead anti-piracy fight	Somalia	East Africa	REUTE RS ACCR A	Conflict/violence
70	22-11-2008	Kenya says	Kenya/Somal	East	AP	Conflict/Violence

		Somali pirates make over \$150 mln in a year	ia	Africa	NAIROBI, UNITED NATIONS	ce
71	22-11-2008	US judge orders release of five Algerians at Guantanamo	Algeria/USA	North Africa	REUTERS WASHINGTON	Conflict/violence
72	22-11-2008	UN: New peacekeepers expected in Congo soon	Congo	Central Africa	AP GOMA	Conflict/Violence
73	23-11-2008	Zimbabwe criticizes Annan, Carter on planned trip	Zimbabwe	South Africa	AP HARARE, ZIMBABWE	Conflict/Violence
74	24-11-2008	Istanbul to host International Turkey-Africa congress	Turkey/Africa	Africa	THE ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY ISTANBUL	Politics/Government
75	24-11-2008	MTV holds its first African music awards	Nigeria	West Africa	AP ABUJA	Arts/Entertainment
76	25-11-2008	Somali pirates want \$15 million ransom	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS MOGADISHU	Conflict/Violence
77	25-11-2008	Refugees troops loot Congo camp	Congo	Central Africa	AP KIBATI	Conflict/Violence
78	25-11-2008	Turkey's trade with African countries on rise	Africa/Turkey	Africa	THE ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY ANKARA	Trade/Diplomacy
79	25-11-2008	Why hijack a plane when you can seize a supertanker?	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS SINGAPORE/commentaries	Conflict/Violence
80	26-11-2008	<b>Somali pirates hijack Yemeni cargo ship</b>	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS NAIROBI	Conflict/Violence
81	26-11-2008	Analysis Why hijack a plane when you can seize a supertanker	Somalia	East Africa	ANDREW MARSHALL REUTERS/commentary	Conflict/Violence
82	26-11-2008	Thousands gather to receive aid in eastern Congo	Congo	Central Africa	AP GOMA	Conflict/Violence
83	26-11-2008	Turkish-African trade gets boost from strategy	Africa/Turkey	Africa	TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH WIRES ISTANBUL	Trade/Diplomacy
84	27-11-2008	Press freedom group honors	Africa	Africa	AP NEW	others

		journalists			YORK	
85	27-11-2008	Somali gunmen kidnap two Western journalists	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS BOSASSO	Conflict/Violence
86	27-11-2008	'Senegal' a jewel on the west coast of Africa	Senegal/country profile	West Africa	\Today's Zaman SAİM ORHAN	Trade/Diplomacy
87	28-11-2008	Two arrests reported in Somali kidnapping	Somalia	East Africa	AP MOGADISHU	Conflict/violence
88	29-11-2008	Somali pirates hijack ship, British guards escape	Somalia	East Africa	AP NAIROBI	Conflict/violence
89	29-11-2008	Ethiopia to pull out of Somalia by year-end	Ethiopia/Somalia	East Africa	AP MOGADISHU	Conflict/Violence
90	29-11-2008	Mugabe critic wins award	Zimbabwe	East Africa	REUTERS LONDON	Conflict/Violence
91	30-11-2008	Troops patrol after clashes kill hundreds in Nigeria	Nigeria	West Africa	REUTERS JOS, NIGERIA	Conflict/Violence
92	1-12-2008	Special UN envoy chastises Congolese rebel leader	Congo/Nigeria	Central Africa	AP JOMBA, CONGO	Conflict/violence
93	1-12-2008	Toll in Nigeria clashes rises to around 400	Nigeria	West Africa	JOS REUTERS	Conflict/Violence
94	1-12-2008	Somali pirates strike deal on Ukraine ship	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS NAIROBI	Conflict/Violence
95	1-12-2008	Gebrselassie, Ndereba win 15-kilometer race	Ethiopia	East Africa	AP MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA	Sport
96	2-12-2008	South Africa marks World AIDS Day	South Africa	South Africa	AP CAPE TOWN	Accidents/Disasters
97	2-12-2008	Libyan ship carrying Gaza aid turns back	Libya/Gaza	North Africa	AP GAZA CITY	Conflict/Violence
98	3-12-2008	Somali pirates fail to hijack US cruise liner	Somalia	East Africa	AP NAIROBI	Conflict /Violence
99	3-12-2008	Rwandan singer gets 15 years for genocide role	Rwanda	Central Africa	AP ARUSHA, TANZANIA	Arts/Entertainment
100	3-12-2008	S. Africa to face Wales and NZ to take on France	South Africa	South Africa	AP London	Sport
101	4-12-2008	Somalia pirates free Yemeni ship seized last week, no ransom paid	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS GAROWE	Conflict/Violence
102	4-12-2008	Zimbabwe police charge protesters,	Zimbabwe	South Africa	REUTERS	Disasters/Violence

		cholera spreads			HARARE	
103	5-12-2008	Zimbabwe declares national emergency over cholera	Zimbabwe	South Africa	REUTERS HARARE	Disasters/Accidents
104	5-12-2008	US warship backs off as pirate talks continue	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS MOGHADISHU	Conflict/Violence
105	5-12-2008	Libya accuses Israel of piracy by blocking ship	Libya	North Africa	REUTERS UNITED NATIONS	Conflict/Violence
106	6-12-2008	Congo agrees to peace talks with eastern rebels	Congo	Central Africa	REUTERS GOMA	Conflict/Violence
107	6-12-2008	US says time for Mugabe to go, cholera kills 575	Zimbabwe/US	South Africa	REUTERS HARARE	Disaster/Accidents
108	8-12-2008	Somali pirates fail to seize Dutch-operated ship off Tanzania	Somalia/Tanzania	East Africa	AP KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA	Conflict/Violence
109	12-12-2008	Breakaway S. African party scores poll win	South Africa	South Africa	REUTERS CAPE TOWN	Politics/Government
110	12-12-2008	Mugabe says Zimbabwe cholera outbreak stopped	Zimbabwe	South Africa	REUTERS HARARE	Disaster/Accidents
111	13-12-2008	Nigerian court OKs Yar'Adua presidency	Nigeria	West Africa	REUTERS ABUJA	Politics/Government
112	14-12-2008	Officials: 53 killed in Egyptian bus crash	Egypt	North Africa	AP CAIRO, EGYPT	Disaster/Accidents
113	15-12-2008	UN fails to persuade Turkey to send troops to Somalia	Turkey/Somalia	East Africa	TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH REUTERS ANKARA	Conflict/Violence
114	15-12-2008	Egyptian bus plunges into canal, at least 51 dead	Egypt	North Africa	REUTERS CAIRO	Disaster/Accidents
115	16-12-2008	Lawyer: Somali pirates set rules of negotiation	Somalia	East Africa	TODAY'S ZAMAN WITH WIRES ANKARA	Conflict/Violence
116	17-12-2008	Somalia's fractured gov't slides into chaos	Somalia	East Africa	REUTERS BAIDOA	Conflict/Violence
117	17-12-2008	Analysis Zimbabwe: In a town where cholera doesn't	Zimbabwe	South Africa	MARTIN FLETCHER	Political / Government

		exist, five kids die within hours			TODAY'S ZAMAN/Times london	
118	17-12-2008	New party formally launched in S. Africa	South Africa	South Africa	AP BLOEMFONTEIN	Politics/Government
119	17-12-2008	Ambassador İlkin expresses his concerns about the crews of the hijacked Turkish ships	Turkey/Somalia	East Africa	THE ANATOLIAN NEWS AGENCY UNITED NATIONS	Conflict/Violence
120	18-12-2008	Turkey to follow EU as troubled Somali waters roil	Somalia/Turkey	East Africa	SERVET YANATMA Today's Zaman	Conflict/Violence
121	18-12-2008	Gunmen in Nigeria free two expatriates	Nigeria	West Africa	REUTERS ABUJA	Conflict/Violence



## Appendix B: Data Groupings for Hurriyet

Number	Date	Headline	Country/Region	Region	Agencies	Type
1	30-12-2008	S. Africa ends Block on aid	South Africa/Zimbabwe	S/Africa	A FP	Politics/Government
2	30-12-2008	Somalia President quits from office	Somalia	East Africa	AP	Politics/Government
3	29-12-2008	Ghana Votes in presidential run off	Ghana	West Africa	AP	Politics/Government
4	27-12-2008	Chinese Navy off on historic mission	Beijing/ Africa	Africa	AFP	Conflict/violence
5	27-12-2008	Threat report paints grim picture	USA/Africa	Africa	AP	Conflict/violence
6	26-12-2008	Somalia president decides to resign	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters	Politics/Government
7	23-12-2008	Turkey to remain Engaged in Africa	Turkey/Somalia	Africa	Anatolia news agency	Conflict/Violence
8	22-12-2008	Turkey urges all parties to work to resolve Darfur crises	Sudan/Turkey	East Africa	Anatolia News agency	Conflict/violence
10	20-12-2008	Affleck Jagger Film for Congo	Congo	East Africa	Reuters	Arts/Entertainment
11	17-12-2008	New Party in South Africa	South Africa	South Africa	AFP	Politics/Government
12	15-12-2008	South Africa Ready for world cup	South Africa/	South Africa	AFP	Sports
13	12-12-2008	Zimbabwe Mugabe claims no cholera	Zimbabwe	South Africa	AFP	Politics/Government
14	5-12-2008	Close Links to Africa	Turkey/Africa	Africa	Hurriyet Daily news	Diplomacy/Trade
15	4-12-2008	Turkey Reaches out to Africa	Turkey/Africa	Africa	Hurriyet Daily news	Diplomacy/Trade
16	1-12-2008	At least 200 killed in clashes in Nigeria	Nigeria	West Africa	Reuters	Conflict/Violence
17	30-11-2008	Friendly Senegal	Senegal/Turkey	West Africa	Hurriyet Daily news	Diplomacy/Trade
18	29-11-2008	Officials get together to discuss pirate situation	Turkey/Africa	Africa	Hurriyet Daily news	Conflict/Violence
20	28-11-2008	Tension mounts in Somali private lair	Somalia	East Africa	AFP	Conflict/Violence
21	22-11-2008	Somali Pirates get 150 million dollars a year	Kenya/Somalia	East Africa	AP	Conflict/Violence
22	21-11-2008	The world shies away from Somalia	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters	Conflict/Violence
23	20-11-2008	Somalia Pirates demand 25 million US dollars for Saudi oil tanker	Somalia	East Africa	Hurriyet daily news with wires	Conflict/Violence
24	19-11-2008	Theron joins UN to fight for women	South Africa	South Africa	Reuters	Arts/Entertainment
25	19-11-2008	India destroys Pirate ship, more Hijacked	Somalia	East Africa	Hurriyet daily news with wires	Conflict /Violence
26	18-11-2008	India Navy destroys pirate ship as ransom demanded for super tanker	Somalia/India	East Africa	Hurriyet daily news with wires	Conflict/Violence
27	18-11-2008	Who are the pirates in Somalia's coast	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters	Conflict/Violence
28	18-11-2008	Pirates seize Saudi Tanker	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters	Conflict /Violence

29	13 11-2008	NATO eyes extension of Somali anti-piracy mission	Somalia	East Africa	AFP	Conflict /Violence
30	13 11-2008	Turkey gives 5 billion dollars	Turkey	Africa	Anatolian Agency	Diplomacy/T rade
31	12-11-2008	Same menagerie in Madagascar	Madagascar	Africa	AP	Arts/Entertai nment
32	12-11-2008	Denzeli Develops Viniculture	South Africa/Turkey	Africa	Dogan News Agency	Politics/Gove rnment
33	11-11-2008	Makeba to return to your home	South Africa	South Africa	AFP	Arts/Entertai nment
34	10-11-2008	Fitch Lowers sovereign credit outlooks	South Africa/	Africa	Hurriyet daily news with news wires	Diplomacy/T rade
35	9-11-2008	A prison for Migrants amid EU policy Turmoil	Africa	Africa	Reuters	Disaster/Acci dent
36	9-11-2008	Obama's Kenyan relatives elated , holiday declared	Kenya	Africa	Reuters	Politics/Gove rnment
37	9-11-2008	Moment of hope worldwide	Kenya	Africa	AFP	Politics/Gove rnment
38	8-11-2008	Algerian Moderates fear Hardening Islamic line	Algeria	Africa	AFP	Religion
39	7-11-2008	Aids Hit Swaziland promotes circumcision	Swaziland	South Africa	Reuters	Disasters/Ac cident
40	6-11-2008	Mediterranean union meet to iron out differences	North Africa	North Africa	Reuters	Politics/Gove rnment
41	6-11-2008	Turkish Ship hijacked off Somalia	Turkey/Somalia	East Africa	Hurriyet daily news with news wires	Conflict /Violence
42	6-11-2008	Scores Dead in Somali Suicides Bombs	Somalia	East Africa	AFP	Conflict /violence
43	5-11-2008	World Economic Forum meets in Istanbul	Turkey/Africa	Africa	Hurriyet daily news with news wires	Politics/gove rnment
44	31-10-2008	US sends top Africa Envoy to Congo	USA/Congo	Africa	Hurriyet daily news with news wires	Politics/gove rnment
45	27-10-2008	Eight deaths in Algerian floods	Algeria	North Africa	AFP	Conflict/viole nce
46	25-10-2008	Blasts kill 14 in Mogadishu	Somalia	East Africa	Reuters	Conflict/viole nce
47	20-10-2008	22 Asian sailors freed by pirates	Somalia	East Africa	AP	Conflict /violence
48	19-10-2008	Scholar gets personal in Tanzania	Tanzania / Turkey	East Africa	Hurriyet daily news with news wires	Diplomacy/T rade
49	17-10-2008	Africa fears contagion from rich world's money woes	Africa	Africa	AFP	Trade/Diplo macy
50	15-10-2008	Illegal immigrants protest detention conditions in Turkey	Turkey/Africa	Africa	AFP	Disasters/Ac cident

51	13-10-2008	WB names 28 financially strained states in Africa, Asia and the Middle East	Africa	Africa	Reuters	Trade/Diplomacy
52	9-10-2008	Mbeki loyalists threaten split from South Africa's ANC	South Africa	South Africa	AFP	Politics/Government
53	7-10-2008	Some facts on AIDS and cervical cancer	Africa	Africa	AP	Disaster/Accident
54	6-10-2008	Opening to Africa, but at what cost?	Africa	Africa	Hurriyet daily news with news wires	Politics/Government
55	4-10-2008	Dutch restaurant gives wings to refugees' dreams	Africa/Holland	Africa	Hurriyet daily news with news wires	Politics/Government