THE EAGLE VS. THE DRAGON IN AFRICA: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF
ECONOMIC NEWS FRAMES IN NIGERIA AND KENYA ON THE U.S. AND CHINA'S
ECONOMIC PURSUITS

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ABSTRACT

April L. Raphiou: The eagle vs. the dragon in Africa: A content analysis of economic news frames in Nigeria and Kenya on the U.S. and China's economic pursuits
(Under the direction of Debashis Aikat)

Purpose – The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the prominence and framing of economic news in Africa using three distinct theoretical approaches – imperialism, structural theory of international news flow and framing. Through an analysis of news content in two of Africa's most widely-distributed newspapers – *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* – this dissertation discovers the quantity, prominence, valence and framing of economic news about the U.S. and China's economic engagement with Africa. It also examines the antecedents of economic news coverage, or determinants of international news coverage, and correlates them with news content elements.

Research Design and Method – While quantitative content analysis summarizes the method, there were several components of the analysis. First, the quantities, topics, actors and sources in news articles were calculated for articles appearing about China and the U.S. in each African publication using the 1,746 articles in the larger sample. Subsequently, prominence, valence and frame information was analyzed in 753 economic news articles using a coding protocol. Lastly, news determinants such as GDP and population were correlated with aspects of news content.

Findings –While the U.S. has traditionally been more prominent in news coverage, this study provides empirical evidence that China is challenging the United States' hold on international news flow. The U.S. was mentioned in more news articles, but China's foreign

iii

policy goals in Africa figured more prominently in news coverage, as China had a larger number of business-oriented articles. Additionally, China was framed more positively than the U.S. in both publications. Essentially, where China's trade dollars flow (e.g., Kenya), the their country receives greater news coverage. Additionally, this study illustrated that trade is one of many macroeconomic components of international news coverage that helps to determine whether or not a news story is likely to be published about a nation.

Significance of this Study – This study finds that there are clear linkages between news content and determinants of news coverage in Africa's news coverage. Additionally, there are a number of other macroeconomic variables that contribute to fluctuations in international news coverage. With regards to framing, this research illustrated that frames are unchanging, even in a global context. Lastly, this study provides concrete, empirical evidence that the United States' imperialist influence on global news content is not absolute in every African country.

To Raina, in hopes that you will also travel this road someday

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP   Agence France-Presse

AP   Associated Press

BRICS   Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa

FDI   Foreign Direct Investment

FTO   Foreign Terrorist Organization

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

GNP   Gross National Product

KBC   Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

NIEO   New International Economic Order

NMG   Nation Media Group

NWICO   New World Information and Communication Order

OECD   Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

ODA   Official Development Assistance

TNA   Transnational News Agency

USD   United States Dollar

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

While the United States may no longer be a dominant producer and distributor of international news, it remains at the center of the imagined international network spun by the world's news stories. Its robust news links with almost all countries of the world indicate that many meaningful political, economic, technological, and cultural events worldwide are found relevant to the United States. (Segev & Blondheim, 2013, p. 155)

Communication researchers have empirically confirmed that the United States has been the most prominent country in international news coverage around the world, with more mentions than any other country (Chang, 1998; Segev & Blondheim, 2013; Wu, 1998). Likewise, news in nations outside of the U.S. typically mirrors news coverage in the U.S., which further perpetuates Western media's standards and ideologies (Du, 2012; Hatchen & Scott, 2007).

As a result of the unbalanced media coverage, Western media's views on issues, persons and nations are often spread unchallenged throughout the world. One of the primary victims of imbalanced international news coverage has been the African continent. Africa is typically characterized in the U.S. and other Western media's news coverage as a monolith afflicted with famine, war, disease, corruption and instability (Kenny, 1995; Mellese & Müller, 2012; Osunde & Tlou, 1996). One of the most touted examples of biased coverage of Africa appeared in the May 14, 2000, edition of *The Economist* in which Africa was dubbed

"the hopeless continent" (The Economist, 2000). In his satirical essay, *How to write about Africa (2005)*, and a subsequent commentary, *How not to write about Africa in 2012* (2012), African Author Binyavanga Wainaina also drew international attention to the stereotypical practices of correspondents worldwide who report about Africa.

Since the turn of the century, Western media have begun to focus on an emerging economic power — the People's Republic of China. According to Louw (2013), China has the potential to "grow into a power which is able to end the current unipolar system of U.S. dominance," as China is focused on increasing its economic, political, and military power (p. 142). China's competition with the U.S. has been particularly evident in Africa in recent years. In 2012, China became Africa's largest trading partner with a total trade volume of $198.5 billion, topping the U.S.-Africa trade volume of $108.9 billion the same year (Proctor, 2013). For decades, China's relations with Africa had focused on "checkbook diplomacy" — providing aid in exchange for diplomatic recognition of Beijing instead of Taiwan (Bräutigam, 2011a, 2011b; Sun & Olin-Ammentorp, 2014). However, China has now shifted its approach by increasing trade and investment, rather than focusing solely on aid to achieve its policy goals abroad. China's progressive push into Africa has drawn considerable scrutiny from Western leaders, which is further perpetuated by Western media who criticize China's environmental and labor standards, as well as China's no-strings attached policy, which advocates non-interference in the countries with which it partners (Bräutigam, 2011a). To counter such negative news reports, China has embarked upon public diplomacy initiatives designed to improve its image, including an influx of Chinese news bureaus in East Africa (Harber, 2013; Li & Rönning, 2013; Ngomba, 2011; Wasserman, 2013; Wekesa, 2013a).

China's impact has been particularly noteworthy in Nigeria and Kenya, countries that are essential to the United States' international policy goals. Nigeria is the United States' largest trading partner in Sub-Saharan Africa, primarily because of petroleum imports from Nigeria (United States Department of State, 2013b). However, China has pressed forward with numerous oil deals in the country, including a $10 billion oil deal signed in January 2014 in which a Chinese firm agreed to explore for oil and gas in the Bida basin in Niger State (Maja-Pearce, 2014). Likewise, Kenya, East Africa's largest economy, has attracted both the U.S. and China's interests. Kenya serves as a strategic hub for interregional trade with the East African Community — Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. In May 2014, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang visited Kenya to offer the government a $3.8 billion loan to build a railway that would provide transportation and trade links between Kenya and its regional counterparts (Hanauer & Morris, 2014). China's business-like approach, which aims to build mutual business partnerships, contrasts with the United States' paternalistic relationship that has traditionally focused on giving aid without economic investment. Kenya is a necessary, strategic partner in the United States' global war against terrorism. It is for that reason that the U.S. has been more inclined to support Kenya, providing the highest amount of official development assistance to Kenya among all countries (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee, 2013). The U.S. assistance strategy focuses on: (1) strengthening democratic institutions; (2) increasing economic growth, trade and investment; (3) advancing peace and security; and (4) promoting opportunity and development (United States Department of State, 2013a). Only in recent years has the United States increased its focused on economic growth, trade and investment.

China's economic relationships with Africa are worthy of closer attention in light of the relationship between a country's economic vitality and international media coverage. Trade — defined here as the total of a country's imports and exports — has been repeatedly identified as the primary determinant of international news coverage in studies on determinants of international news coverage (Golan, 2008; Jones, Van Aelst, & Vliegenthart, 2011; Segev & Blondheim, 2013; Wu, 1998; Wu, 2000, 2003; Zhang, 2005). Furthermore, countries that disagree on political, economic and cultural issues can best influence public opinion by increasing mutual understanding through positive media messages (Altinay, 2011). An understanding of the factors that determine international news coverage—and more importantly, positive news coverage—can help leaders understand how to garner international support on international policy goals. In a national poll and content analysis of network newscasts, Wanta, Golan, and Lee (2004) revealed the agenda-setting effect of international media coverage; the more coverage a nation received in American media coverage, the more likely the audience perceived the nation as being important. Framing effects were also discovered, as negatively framed stories about a nation elicited negative perceptions of that nation. Any nation, including the U.S. and China, would have a vested interest in using the media to promote their messages and to protect their images.

This dissertation serves a fourfold purpose. First, in a reverse approach from traditional Western-based studies on media coverage, it examines the prominence of the United States in Kenya and Nigeria's media in light of China's increasing economic engagement with the continent. Alozie (2007) notes that despite the increase in studies about Africa, "little or nothing exists with regard to African mass media coverage and analysis of international issues and events" (p. 213). Secondly, while much news coverage has been

4

devoted to critiquing China's international policies in Africa, a discussion of the United States' influence, whether positive or negative, is ironically absent, and this research intends to help close the imperialist gap. Thirdly, this research contributes to framing research by extending the analyses of economic news frames in Africa to the United States.

Lastly, the approach in the study ties together three theories — imperialism, framing and structural theory of international news flow — that have traditionally been considered independent concepts. First, media imperialism focuses on the idea that media in more developed nations exert pressure on media interests in less developed nations without reciprocation (Boyd-Barrett, 1977). The result of media imperialism is the perpetuation of the dominant culture. While much information has been discerned in scholarly research about the United States' unidirectional flow of news to superpower nation (Ngomba, 2011; Omoera & Ibagere, 2010; Segev & Blondheim, 2013), little is known about Africa's international news coverage of external nations. In the 1970s, proponents of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO), which included numerous African nations, lamented that Africa's image was underrepresented and misrepresented, primarily by Western-based transnational news agencies that disseminated excessively biased news about developing countries (Ojebode, 2009). In a content analysis of 24,794 newscast items, Riffe and Budianto (2001) confirmed a general decrease in the amount of coverage of developing nations as well as a greater number of negative news frames about these countries.

Research suggests that Africa's media are getting even by portraying the West negatively in African news coverage (Ojebode, 2009) and devoting less foreign news coverage to industrialized nations (Skurnik, 1981). Using imperialism as a guiding framework, this study offers an opportunity to: a) analyze the prominence of news coverage

about a Superpower in light of China's emerging role in Africa's economy and b) thoroughly examine the extent to which imperialistic views are evident in African nations' news coverage. As Alozie (2007) points out, a modern-day analysis of African media is appropriate considering that the African media sector has changed significantly since the late 1990s as a result of a push for multiparty politics and greater press freedoms (Ngomba, 2011).

Framing theory provides a tool for understanding key issues associated with economic relations between developing and developed nations. Framing, according to Entman (1993), helps to define problems, diagnose causes, make judgments and suggest remedies. Lastly, the structural theory of international news flow suggests that economic, political, social and geographic characteristics of countries help to explain influences on global news coverage (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Accordingly, the theory will be used to determine if any of the antecedents of news coverage, such as in-country economic characteristics, relate to subsequent news coverage.

This dissertation utilized a method of content analysis to examine print news content related to China and the United States' economic engagement with Africa using two African newspapers, *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* — the most widely-circulated newspapers in Nigeria and Kenya, respectively. To determine which country was more prominent in news coverage in the African publications, quantitative data was collected on the number of mentions of the U.S. and China in economic news, beginning January 1, 2011, through December 31, 2013, a period that reflects immense growth in all countries involved in this study. Subsequently, quantitative readings of the articles revealed the valence and frame, or central organizing idea, of each article as well as indications of imperialism. Also,

6

the addition of the structural theory of international news flow helped to facilitate an analysis of non-content data using country-level indicators of news coverage. The determinants of news coverage were subsequently used to underscore the relationships between predictors of news coverage and the quantity and quality of the resulting news coverage.

In the following sections, the context of China and the United States' engagement with Africa is detailed along with an overview of the economic and media environment in Nigeria and Keya. Subsequently, the theoretical basis for the current study is detailed in Chapter 2, followed by the method and research questions that provide the outline for the study.

Chinese versus American relations with Africa

China is often unfairly characterized as exploiting Africa for its resources and for patronizing authoritarian leaders, but the United States and China's goals in Africa are more similar than dissimilar (Shinn, 2009). Both the U.S. and China extract natural resources from Africa, and they both seek to strengthen economic and political ties with Africa's leaders. Oil is one of the focal points in what has been dubbed the "Third Scramble for Africa," or "competition for control of strategic resources" in Africa (Yi-chong, 2008, p. 16). Davies (2011) emphasizes that "resource acquisition is just as significant in U.S. imports from Africa as it is to the Chinese, with oil imports accounting for 82.8 percent of all U.S. purchases in 2008" (p. 1157). Furthermore, it is projected that by 2030, China will surpass the U.S. as the world's largest energy consumer (Zhao, 2008). The United States is increasingly concerned that the Chinese will "pre-empt U.S. firms in the development of promising oil fields and compete with the U.S. for the loyalty of local governments," which

could threaten the United States' cooperation with African countries on matters of international security and defense (Zhao, 2008, p. 109). After the terrorist attacks on U.S. soil on September 11, 2011, the U.S. has developed a keen interest in African affairs, providing assistance to twenty African countries in the global counterterrorism efforts. Yi-Chong highlights the myriad of interests that China and the U.S. pursue in Africa:

> Both are pursuing broader objectives than just securing access to oil and gas. The US adds another gulf – the Gulf of Guinea – to its strategic map as an effort to diversify energy supplies, extend the war on terrorism to Africa, and prevent rising powers, particularly China, from dominating the continent. China is cashing in the good relationship it has built with many African countries to secure access to energy and other natural resources, expand its economic activities and extend its political influence. To achieve their objectives, the US is increasing military spending, presence and activities while China is wielding its economic muscles through bilateral trade and investment and increasing its foreign aid. (Yi-chong, 2008)

While China is accused of giving aid solely for the purpose of extraction of natural resources, "China's aid follows the needs of diplomacy, not natural resources" (Bräutigam, 2011b, p. 216). On the other hand, the United States is most interested in gaining support for its anti-terrorism agenda by encouraging African countries to enact legislation that increases surveillance and law enforcement powers in the name of national security (Whitaker, 2010). Terrorists attacks on African soil have prompted the strategic focus, including major terrorist attacks in Kenya in 1998 and 2013 as well as links between blood diamonds and the terrorist organization Al Qaeda (Hawkins, 2012). Additionally, there is some thought that poverty conditions serve as a breeding group for terrorist groups.

China and the United States' commonalities have diverged in their relationships with African leaders on an ideological level. Much of the United States' foreign aid has been conditioned upon policy reforms designed to lessen African governments' control over the economy (Moss, 2011). From conditionality to debt relief and performance-based aid, Western donors have attempted to impose their Western-oriented ideas of development on Africa, but China has been a viable alternative for African governments who have lost confidence in traditional donors' development solutions. China, on the other hand, treats African governments as business partners—a stark comparison to the West's paternalistic relationship with African governments.

From a cultural standpoint, China has taken a much more humble approach to foreign relations with Africa. Shinn (2009) points out that interpersonal contacts by China's leaders with high-level African officials have exceeded the number of visits by America's leaders. Former Chinese President Hu Jintao traveled to Sub-Saharan Africa several times during his tenure. Current President Xi Jinping made his first official trip overseas to Africa less than 60 days after taking office, while U.S. President Obama visited Africa for an official tour four years after taking office. Even when Chinese officials stay in African countries, these officials tend to live like Africans, staying in modest housing, for example (Bräutigam, 2011a).

China's humility is not by accident. In 1964, China adopted eight principles to guide its foreign aid program (White Paper, 2011). Non-interference and mutual benefit, included in the principles, are the some of the mainstays of China's aid program in Africa. China's "win-win" approach has been characterized in Western media as a one-sided relationship in

which China — the rogue donor (Naím, 2007) — gives its aid to African countries on favorable terms in exchange for unlimited access to natural resources.

In recent years, the United States and China have been engaged in a public diplomacy battle that has played out largely in the media. In August 2012, former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton embarked upon a tour of African states as part of the United States' efforts to promote U.S.-African economic relations (Gearan, 2012). What was deemed to be a rather innocuous visit quickly turned into a public diplomacy debate. Clinton suggested that the United States has Africa's best interest in mind, when compared to other nations:

> So the United States will stand up for democracy and universal human
>
> rights, even when it might be easier or more profitable to look the
>
> other way, to keep the resources flowing. Not every partner makes that
>
> choice, but we do and we will (Smith, 2012).

Although Clinton never mentioned China, it was clear that her comments were targeted at China's lackadaisical policy regarding foreign aid assistance to Africa. China's state media agency, Xinhua, promptly responded, chiding the U.S. for taking "cheap shots" and being the ones who were the "so-called outsiders" who "came and extracted the wealth of Africa for themselves, leaving nothing or very little behind" (Lina, 2012). The debate about who is Africa's best partner resurfaced in 2013. When China's President Xi Jinping spoke regarding his first trip to Africa as head of state in March 2013, he remarked that he hoped all countries "will view China-Africa cooperation in an objective light and respect Africa's choice of its own development partners" (Blanchard, 2013).

In 2000, China formally acknowledged its strategic partnership with Africa through the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (Campbell, 2008). Since that time, China has

drastically increased its aid and investment dollars, while advocating a "non-interference" policy that encourages Africans to chart their own destiny. The U.S. has also increased its international aid and economic investment through initiatives such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act. The act was signed into law on May 18, 2000, and provided select African countries with the most liberal access to U.S. markets (Davies, 2011). During the past few years, there has also been an increase in the number of U.S. diplomatic visits to the continent.

Some have argued that the recent battle between U.S. and China is one that involves China's soft power, as exemplified by China's seemingly friendly approach to African relations, versus the West's hard power, which relies upon military power to maintain its superpower status. Others view both Africa and China's involvement as a purely exploitative relationship, reminiscent of colonial powers' objectives. During the Cold War, Western nations took advantage of African nations in order to thwart Communist influence. The intent of this study is not to judge the authenticity of the U.S. or China's international policy goals. However, the goal of this study is to shed light on how the world's Superpower, the U.S., and its competitor are being framed by Africa's media in light of China's increasing influence on the continent. Shinn (2009) highlights the tense relationship between China and the United States:

> The United States and China are the two most important bilateral,
>
> external actors in Africa today. While the United States wields more
>
> influence in most of Africa's fifty-three countries, China has surpassed
>
> it in a number of states and is challenging it in others. (p. 37)

China has been exercising its prowess through new, burgeoning media establishments in Sub-Saharan Africa. During the past ten years, China has steadily increased its presence in Africa, establishing multiple news bureaus and multi-media outlets in East Africa.

Xinhua, China's national news agency, opened its Africa Regional Bureau in Kenya's capital city, Nairobi, in 1986 as the hub for news targeted to African audiences (Xin, 2009). In 2006, Xinhua moved its Africa headquarters from Paris to the Nairobi office, and China Radio International began broadcasting from its Africa hub in Nairobi (Wekesa, 2013a). Five years later, Xinhua added five more bureaus to its 18 existing bureaus in Africa (Li & Rönning, 2013). In 2012, Chinese Central Television (CCTV) was launched in Kenya and "competes with the likes of CNN" (Harber, 2013, p. 150).

At the heart of China's media expansion is its focus on public diplomacy, "where culture and information are used to spread China's influence, and counter what it views as unfair treatment in the global media" (Harber, 2013, p. 149). Because the majority of news about China comes from Western news agencies and is predominantly negative (Wasserman, 2012; Wekesa, 2013b), China is resolved to set their record straight about their involvement in African affairs (Farah & Mosher, 2010). In an age in which countries compete for international news space, China's increased media efforts may not only dampen the effects of damaging media reports. Their news reports could also lead to more tolerance of China's economic and political objectives. While there is not a consensus on China's motives in Africa, most individuals in scholarly and political circles believe that China is utilizing the media to boost its image (e.g., Ngomba, 2011; Wekesa, 2013a).

Asides from the U.S. and China, emerging economies, including those in India, Japan, and Argentina to name a few, have also increased their aid and investment in Africa.

Shinn (2009) acknowledged that the "playing field in Africa has become more crowded," (p. 37) as more countries have recognized the economic and commercial potential that the continent holds. Between 1995 and 2013, African countries experienced steady economic growth, with annual GDP growth averaging 4.5 percent (The World Bank, 2013a). In 2000, approximately 58 percent of the people in Sub-Saharan Africa were living on less than $1.25 per day. By 2010, the poverty rate declined by at least 10 percentage points to 48.5 percent.

Since the turn of the century, Africa's economic growth has skyrocketed because of increased investment. According to Proctor (2013), seven of the top ten fastest growing economies are located in Africa, and the International Monetary Fund predicts that Africa will grow even faster than Asia. Kamau (2013, June 28) notes that Africa "has been successful in improving its business environment, removing non-tariff barriers, enforcing the rule of law and strengthening political institutions," which has "presented the world with profitable opportunities for investment" (para.1). She also acknowledges that while China and a few other countries have pursued investment opportunities with African countries, the U.S. has not.

Africa's economic gems: Nigeria and Kenya

With nearly 178 million inhabitants, Nigeria tops the list of most populated countries in Africa (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012-2013c; The PRS Group, 2013). Based on population estimates by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (Provost, 2013), Nigeria is expected to replace the United States as the third most populated country in the world by 2050 as a result of high fertility rates; China and India are expected to remain the two largest populations in the world through 2100 (United Nations Department

of Economic and Social Affairs, 2013). In April 2014, Nigeria attracted international attention when it surpassed South Africa to become the largest economy in Africa as a result of new methods for calculating the country's GDP, or rebasing (Business Monitor International, 2014). While the rebasing did not actually alter the economic conditions of Nigerians, the country's economic performance is now measured using a more modern, uniform measuring stick. With a GDP of USD$503 billion, Nigeria's economy is larger than countries such as Iran and Norway.

Figure 1
Map of Nigeria

Note: Reprinted from United Nations (United Nations, 2011b).

According to a former Nigerian finance minister, Nigeria "is at a point of inflection, and what we do in the next few years will set the pace" (Youngblood-Coleman, 2013b). Combined with its low-cost and abundant labor pool, Nigeria's abundance of natural resources — specifically oil — make it attractive to potential investors. The country relies heavily on its oil sector (Youngblood-Coleman, 2013b), which comprises 90 percent of exports and more than a third of the GDP (Business Monitor International, 2014; The World Bank, 2013b; Youngblood-Coleman, 2013b). Unlike oil markets in Middle East countries, Africa's oil markets are open to foreign investors and are considered one of the primary sources for expanding oil imports (Zhao, 2008).

Nigeria also receives a substantial amount of foreign aid from the United States. In 2011, the United States contributed a total of $414 million in official development assistance to Nigeria, the second highest amount among all donors. While aid estimates are not available to the public for China's development assistance to specific countries, Bräutigam (2011b) estimates that China probably distributed about US$1.2 billion in ODA in Africa in 2008, compared with the World Bank (US$4.1 billion), the United States (US$7.2 billion) and France (US$3.4 billion), and China's aid disbursements probably increased to US$1.4 billion in 2009.

Table 1
Key socioeconomic and economic indicators, Nigeria and Kenya: 2013

	NIGERIA	KENYA
Population	177 million	45 million
Population below poverty line	70% (2010, est.)	43.4% (2012, est.)
Literacy Rate	61.3%	87.4%
Life Expectancy at Birth	52.6 years	63.52 years
Ethnic Groups	> 250 ethnic groups Major groups: Hausa and Fulani (29%), Yoruba (21%), Igbo (18%)	5 major groups: Kikuyu, Luhya, Luo, Kalenjin and Kamba
Unemployment rate	23.9% (2011, est.)	40% (2008, est.)
GDP	$512 billion	$44 billion
GDP annual growth rate	5.4%	4.7%
GDP per capita	$3,006	$994
GDP, composition by sector of origin (2012, est.)	Agriculture: 30.9% Industry: 43% Services: 28%	Agriculture: 29.3% Industry: 17.4% Services: 53.3%
Foreign Direct Investment	$5.6 billion	$514 million
Major Exports (World Trade Organization)	petroleum and petroleum products 95%, cocoa, rubber	tea, horticultural products, coffee, petroleum products, fish, cement
Major Imports	machinery, chemicals, transport equipment, manufactured goods, food and live animals	machinery and transportation equipment, petroleum products, motor vehicles, iron and steel, resins and plastics
Top Export Destinations	US 16.8%, India 11.5%, Netherlands 8.6%, Spain 7.8%, Brazil 7.6%, UK 5.1%, Germany 4.9%, Japan 4.1%, France 4.1% (2012)	Uganda 10.3%, Tanzania 10%, Netherlands 7.7%, UK 7.2%, US 6.3%, Egypt 4.8%, Democratic Republic of the Congo 4.4% (2012)
Main origin of imports	China 18.3%, US 10.1%, India 5.5% (2012)	India 20.9%, China 15.4%, UAE 9.8%, Saudi Arabia 6.9% (2012)

Note: All figures are current as of 2013 unless otherwise noted. Adapted from Central Intelligence Agency (2012-2013b). The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's World Factbook. Retrieved from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/wfbExt/region_afr.html; The World Bank. (2014). Data | The World Bank. Retrieved from http:// http://data.worldbank.org; and World Trade Organization (2014). Trade Profiles. Retrieved from http://stat.wto.org/CountryProfile/WSDBCountryPFHome.aspx?Language=E .

Even though the economic picture of Nigeria seems relatively favorable, Nigeria continues to be plagued with numerous issues, such as inadequate infrastructure, widespread corruption, persistent poverty and political instability (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012-2013c; Youngblood-Coleman, 2013b). Nonetheless, the country is considered one of Africa's gems.

Figure 2
Map of Kenya

Note: Reprinted from United Nations (United Nations, 2011a).

17

On the eastern side of the continent in East Africa, investors and governments are also eyeing Kenya's promising future. Kenya has the largest economy in East Africa and accounts for 40 percent of East Africa's GDP, but foreign lenders and donors remain key to its sustained economic growth and development (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012-2013b; Kimenyi & Kibe, 2014). With the most liberal economic system in East Africa, Kenya has attracted more foreign direct investment than its other East African counterparts (Kimenyi & Kibe, 2014). Between 2004 and 2007, the country's GDP growth averaged 6 percent per year and peaked at 7 percent per year in 2007, but numerous shocks, such as post-election violence in 2008 and the global economic crisis slowed growth for several years before the economy began to rebound in 2010 (Youngblood-Coleman, 2013a). Determined to spark economic growth in the country, former President Mwai Kibaki launched *Kenya Vision 2030* in 2008, a blueprint for accelerating growth through economic, social and political pillars (Otieno & Ndung'u, 2010). One objective of the plan is to maintain an economic growth rate of 10 percent per year for 25 years, which is quite ambitious considering that only Oman, Botswana, Equatorial Guinea and China have accomplished this goal (Otieno & Ndung'u, 2010). As of 2012, Kenya's GDP stands at $40.7 billion, with a GDP growth rate of 4.6 percent (The World Bank, 2014); GDP per capita is $888 (United States Department of State, 2014a). It is predicted that Kenya's GDP could expand at a rate between six and eight percent in the medium term, given that Kenya's infrastructure can provide good access to wider regional markets in fellow East African countries such as Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda ("Report: Kenya," 2014).

More than 70 percent of Kenya's 43 million inhabitants are below 35 years of age, which makes its human resources attractive (United States Department of State, 2014a).

Approximately 25 percent of Kenya's GDP is generated from the agriculture sector ("Report: Kenya," 2014; The Heritage Foundation, 2014), and nearly half of the country's work force is employed in the agriculture sector. Kenya is also the world's leading exporter of black tea (United States Department of State, 2014a). Tea exportation combined with a vibrant tourism sector have contributed to high foreign exchange earnings (Youngblood-Coleman, 2013a).

Kenya has attracted the attention of the United States and China in terms of trade and aid. In 2000, the United Kingdom was Kenya's leading trading partner, receiving 10 percent of exports and sending 7.5 percent of imports ("Report: Kenya," 2014). However, India and China have overtaken the United Kingdom to become the top providers of Kenya's imports. Kenya has also attracted foreign aid dollars from the U.S. In 2011, the United States was the highest donor of official development assistance to Kenya, with a total of $768 million (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development/Development Assistance Committee, 2013).

An overview of Nigeria and Kenya's recent macroeconomic and socioeconomic data are included in Table 1. Both Nigeria and Kenya are poised to become key players in the global economy. Although Nigeria's GDP exceeds Kenya's significantly, both nations offer the U.S. and China an opportunity to achieve specific economic and political objectives. Key to reaching their goals is establishing and maintaining a positive image in the global sphere. The media serves as an important channel for conveying a country's objectives and counteracting negative publicity. Africa's media, once a tool that only existed to serve authoritarian purposes, now contribute to conversations about the democratic and economic progress of their homelands. The next section provides an overview of the history and significance of Africa's media.

African media in the context of traditional media systems

Sub-Saharan Africa has witnessed substantial liberalization of its media sector in general since the 1990s, with an increased number of private media outlets as well as expanded press freedoms. Accompanying the calls for political liberalization in the 1990s, Africa's media injected themselves into the crusade for nation building. As Mukhongo (2010) points out, the post-Cold War governments in Africa have relaxed their hold on the media in general, and many new magazines and newspapers have been introduced. As discussed below, Africa's media has evolved in some respects from their repressive past.

Media Systems. An overview of traditional media systems helps to put Africa's media environment into perspective. Traditional media systems in the world have evolved over time ranging from absolute government control to symbiotic media-government relationships. As Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956) explained in their analysis of the press, four theories help to explain differences between countries' media systems, including: authoritarianism, libertarianism, social responsibility and Soviet Communist. The first of these, authoritarianism, is the oldest among all of the theories.

Proponents of authoritarianism such as Plato, believed that the individual man was incapable of finding truth, and thus, truth could only be identified by the wise men who were at the center of power (Siebert et al., 1956). The authoritarian theory of the press reflects the government's control of the media as well, with the "press being a servant of the state" and supporting the policies of the government (p. 3). Likened to authoritarianism is Soviet Communism theory in which the press operates as a tool of the ruling party. Unlike authoritarianism, which is publicly or privately owned, the government has a monopoly over all forms of communicating with the public in the Soviet Communist model.

In contrast to the total-government control nature of the Soviet Communism theory, libertarian theory requires the press to be free from government control (Sadeeq, 2008; Siebert et al., 1956). At the heart of libertarianism is the idea that man is a rationale individual and capable of discovering the truth for himself. The media merely provides the rational individual with various arguments and information, and the individual has the ability to discern, interpret, and evaluate the information. Additionally, this theory facilitates the public's ability to check on government. Ideally, libertarianism could facilitate unrestrained press freedoms. However, social responsibility theory called attention to the shortcomings of the media.

Whereas libertarianism calls for the necessity of media that is free from government control, social responsibility theory calls attention to the public, government and media's inadequacies. It was assumed that man's rationality would lead him to the truth with libertarianism theory, but the theory did not account for the fact that mankind can be lethargic and not willing to search for the truth and that media can leave audiences uninformed or misinformed (Siebert et al., 1956). Social responsibility theory holds the government responsible for facilitating the exchange of information to man in a responsible fashion. The government must promote and protect the media's freedom of expression, and it must also protect the citizen's right to information (Siebert et al., 1956). Essentially, if the media do not fulfill their obligation to provide citizens with adequate information, then the government must protect the citizen's right to be informed.

Africa's media system in context. The nature of Africa's media systems, like its political and social systems, have been in transition. Fluctuating levels of democracy and participation in the countries have impacted press freedoms in each African country in a

different manner. As Ngomba (2011) points out, there is no single media system grouping for the African continent. Nonetheless, there are some general characteristics of the media. According to Alozieuwa (2012), governments in developing nations, including Nigeria, have historically drifted between "total government ownership and control and coexistence of government and privately owned media, with the government striving perpetually to rein in the privately owned" (p. 383). Today, the government in Nigeria, for example, has tried to adhere to the authoritarian model, in which state-owned media outlets are still serving as the mouthpiece of the government. On the other hand, the privately-owned media in Africa have enjoyed slightly more freedom than their state-run counterparts.

The purpose of the media in Africa has typically followed the trajectory of political events on the continent. The press was introduced in many Sub-Saharan African countries through missionaries (Amutabi, 2013b; Nyamnjoh, 2005). In West Africa, the press existed in only a few countries prior to independence, with Nigeria having the largest and most diverse press because of its commercial and trade sectors (Nyamnjoh, 2005). In some countries, including Nigeria, White settlers also published newspapers in the local language alongside the English papers. Settlers initially welcomed the existence of the indigenous publications, but they became less tolerant once local, indigenous media began to express their discontent with colonial rule. Africa's indigenous media viewed the press as "an opportunity to dignify themselves" while colonialists perceived Africa's media to be a threat to their rule (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 41). Asymmetrical relations between domineering colonizers and disempowered settlers eventually led to increased calls for independence among African elites. Indigenous media in support of independence could either censor

22

themselves, publish underground, or substitute the "shackled" press using indigenous media (Nyamnjoh, 2005, p. 41-42).

In the early years after independence, there was a strong push for national unity across and within African countries in which Africa's leaders sought to empower their countries, independent of Western influence. Africa's media initially supported governments in their goal to foster development. However, as hopes for a united and prosperous Africa faded, so did the media's interest in supporting the government's ideologies (Nyamnjoh, 2005).

In the post-colonial years between the 1970s and 1990s, Africa's new leaders began to mirror the arbitrary rulers that they had tried to separate themselves from prior to independence. Africa's "Big Men," or presidents who arbitrarily violated the rule of law, utilized cruel means for quelling criticism of their governments, including suppression of media freedoms. While Africa's media was subject to "draconian laws and administrative censorship" during colonialism, the media of postcolonial Africa was also "the mouthpiece of the government" (Alozieuwa, 2012, p. 390). Additionally, during the Cold War era, the media in many African nations were monopolized by the government, as Africa's leaders were emboldened by Western or Soviet support to further limit media freedom.

In the 1990s, a plethora of media outlets were introduced on the continent, in part due to western influence. During the 1990s, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank pressured African governments to relax their state control by liberalizing their economies and relaxing restrictions on the media (Mukhongo, 2010). While on the surface, the media in Africa appeared to make substantial progress in their goals to relax media suppression;

however, many governments began introducing legislation to control media outlets (Habberson & Rothchild, 2009).

Africa's media have typically fallen into two categories, state or privately owned. Every aspect of state-owned media is controlled by the government, and these media do not have the freedom to scrutinize the government, which renders them as subjective and partisan institutions (Kalyango, 2010; Mukhongo, 2010). Africa's privately-owned media have served two functions: informative and investigative. Privately owned media have provided an opportunity for political opponents and disempowered citizens to inform Africans about the state's misconduct (Kalyango, 2010). Additionally, privately-owned newspapers have been instrumental in acting as a watchdog over the government, exposing the misdeeds of corrupt leaders (Mwesige, 2004). This latter function, however, has come at a high cost. African governments' attempts to suppress media freedoms have included arbitrary imprisonments, legislative restrictions, targeted raids and excessive fines (Amutabi, 2013b; Kalyango, 2008; Mukhongo, 2010).

Nigeria's media. Nigeria has consistently been hailed as a nation with the most diverse, vibrant press (BBC Nigeria, 2013; Nyamnjoh, 2005), in part because of its unique origins. First, the press was never a government initiative. The country's first newspaper, *Iwe Irohin*, was founded by a missionary, Henry Townsend, for the purpose of encouraging information seeking. Secondly, the first newspaper was printed in an indigenous language, Yoruba (Alozieuwa, 2012). As Uche (1989) stated, the use of an ethnic language lessened the possibility of colonialists recognizing and quashing Nigerian nationalist sentiments.

In the period following independence, ethnic divisions that were instilled during pre-independence began to surface in the mass media. Prior to independence, Nigeria's former

colonizer, Britain, divided the country into three geographical areas (Uche, 1989). Within each region, the administration had the power to make its own laws, and there was typically one dominant ethnic group within each region. These ethnic divisions continue to exist in Nigeria's press, where there is a tendency for the media to tilt towards ethnic and regional causes rather than national interests (Alozieuwa, 2012). The period following independence between the 1970s and 1990s was filled with incidents of harassment of journalists as a "repressive colonial apparatus" was replaced with an "indigenous tyrannical state," and "the harassment and killing of journalists and the closure of privately owned media became objective facts of journalism in Nigeria" (p. 383).

Today, Nigeria boasts more than 100 national and local publications, with 15 major privately-owned newspapers (Freedom House, 2011). Print media ownership in Nigeria is both privately and publicly owned, and there is at least one radio network and TV station in every one of Nigeria's 36 states (BBC Monitoring, 2013). The print sector is more "vibrant and outspoken in its criticism of unpopular state policies" (para. 6) than its broadcast or electronic counterparts. For example, Nigeria's National Broadcasting Commission, which regulates all broadcasting stations, requires that at least 40 percent of broadcasting on television stations is Nigerian programming (Ugochukwu, 2008).

Even though Nigeria's media is relatively freer than other countries in Africa today, Nigeria continues to suffer from parochial interests advanced by leaders who reinforce ethnic divisions instead of democratic principles (Alozieuwa, 2012). Media inquisition into bad policies or practices of politicians is often met with persecution. Through tactics such as expensive licensing fees and taxes, the Nigerian government maintains strict control over broadcast media. Print media has also become a target of suppression by state and non-state

actors. For example, in the November 8, 2008, edition of *The Leadership*—a Nigerian

tabloid—the outlet published a story about the failing health of then President Umaru

Yar'Adua, which the president quickly denied (Alozieuwa, 2012). In response, the

president's office filed a criminal defamation case against the newspaper in the Abuja high

court. The court subsequently postponed the case indefinitely, claiming that the news outlet

would not have the right to a fair hearing since the newspaper could not compel the president

to appear in court. While the reasoning was presented under the guise of fairness, the incident

amounted to psychological violence against the media (Alozieuwa, 2012).

In addition to harassment by state actors, Nigeria has also been plagued with attacks

by the militant Islamist sect Boko Haram, who bombed the offices of three media outlets in

April 2012, including *Daily Sun, ThisDay (Nigeria)*, and the *Moment* (Freedom House,

2013b). In addition, the group allegedly killed Enenche Godwin Akogwu of Channels TV in

January 2012 in Kano, a northern city in Nigeria.

Nonetheless, there appears to be some signs of progress in the Nigerian government's

support of media freedoms. Eleven years after it was initially introduced, Nigeria's House of

Representatives approved the Freedom of Information Bill in February 2011, which requires

public institutions to keep proper records and respond to information requests within seven

days (United States Agency for International Development, 2012). At the same time,

Nigeria's population has also begun to access the Internet for news, through portals such as

YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook (Freedom House, 2013b). However, these tools are still

subject to government control, more so than print media.

Kenya's media. Historically, Nairobi, Kenya has always served as the hub of mass

communication and international news media (BBC Monitoring, 2012; Kalyango, 2008).

26

Kenya's media is diverse, and is supported by a large middle class that provides substantial advertising revenue (Alozie, 2007; BBC Monitoring, 2012). Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Kenya's state-run media corporation, is funded by advertising and government revenue, and KBC runs two television stations as well as numerous radio stations (BBC Monitoring, 2012). Competition among private print media is highly sophisticated in the country, primarily between the two major publishing houses, the Nation and Standard (BBC Monitoring, 2012). Like Nigeria, the development of Kenya's media began with Christian missionaries who published the *Taveta Chronicle* in 1895 (Amutabi, 2013b). Between the 1920s and 1950s, indigenous populations introduced several African language newspapers as a means for promoting self-rule. After independence, authoritarian governments under the rule of presidents Jomo Kenyatta (1964-1978) and Daniel Moi (1979-2002) tightly controlled Kenya's media. Kenya's national broadcaster, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, became a propaganda tool of the state, which was squarely in contrast to the intended goal of Africa's post-independence media—to help speed up development (Amutabi, 2013b). During this period of time, media ownership was restricted to the government. After Kenya's first multi-party elections were held in 1992, several independent media were introduced in the country. However, the state's tolerance for oppositional media messages was tested with the raid of *Kenya Television Network* and the *Standard* newspapers. On March 2, 2006, the Kenyan government allegedly raided the two outlets because of stories that ran regarding financial scandals within the government.

Today, Kenya's media continue to be repressed by legislative red tape. A 2007 draft freedom of information bill had yet to be passed, as of 2013 (Freedom House, 2013a). While the 2007 Kenya Media Act provides for a media regulatory body, journalists worry about the

impartiality of the government-run regulatory body. Even in 2013, at least 28 journalists were either threatened or attacked, typically by police or the government for their role in exposing corruption. In general, African governments often hold a general distrust of independent media and try to control them through various measures (Rønning, 2009).

While Africa's media have been faced with challenges, it is clear that the private media have been instrumental in effecting democratic change and exposing corruption, even at the risk of dire consequences. Also, the private media, especially newspapers, can inform and persuade Africa's people on international subjects that may affect their lives. Even though Africa's independent media are often critical and small, their power lies in the composition of their readership—political, economic, educational and urban elites—who demand accountability from leaders (Rønning, 2009). As Craig (2004) points out, Africa's media play a strong agenda-setting and framing function, by not only setting the agenda of the nation but also in influencing public opinion on salient topics such as elections and corruption.

Even though Africa's media are not entirely uniform in their goals, it is important for African states to "individually and collectively utilize media to respond to increasingly complex and energetic international engagement with the continent" (Mukhongo, 2010, p. 349). It is only then that the media play a role in setting the agenda for international political engagements (Mukhongo, 2010). Admittedly, the issues that have plagued Africa's economy have also filtered into journalism practice in African countries. Many journalists are inadequately trained, receive low pay, and self-censor for the sake of profit (Schiffrin, 2009). As with the American model of journalism, advertisers pay the bills that help keep news outlets in existence. Likewise, Schiffrin (2009) points out that many of the criticisms and

problems about journalists in Africa can also be made about journalism around the world.

For example, news stories that appear in major publications like the *New York Times*,

especially articles about government corruption, often appear as a result of citizens tipping

off the publication with the goal of curtailing financial mismanagement.

The next chapter explains the theoretical frameworks for the stud

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

What appears obvious to the observer is that Africa as a continent must redouble its efforts to create its own communication networks, to encourage more private instruments of image making, and to utilize all forms of media to counter negativity. (Asante, 2013, p. 69)

To guide the current research, this chapter outlines the theoretical foundations for the study. Media imperialism and framing theory helped to understand the content of news stories, while the structural theory of international news flow aided in explaining trends in international news coverage, specifically in Africa. As explained in this literature review, the structural theory of international news flow has been utilized to analyze differences in the quantity of international news coverage between nations. Additionally, framing theory was employed as a tool to confirm existing economic news frames, while allowing new ones to emerge.

Imperialism

Cultural imperialism and media imperialism are closely related terms. However, cultural imperialism applies to the broader process by which a society is incorporated into the modern world. In his seminal definition of cultural imperialism, political economist and communications studies scholar Herbert Schiller defines cultural imperialism as:

the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system. (1976, p. 9) Key to Schiller's analysis is the idea that within the world system, nations that are at the core of the system, specifically the U.S., spread their cultural ideologies throughout the world by means of multinational corporations.

Media imperialism narrows the definition and proposes that like the MNCs, Western media promulgate the spread of Western culture and information in developing countries by means of transnational news organizations (Asante, 2013; Ojebode, 2009; Omoera & Ibagere, 2010). After the end of World War II, five transnational news agencies (TNAs) distributed news to and from places around the world: Reuters, Agence France Press, United Press Association (formerly known as United Press International), Associated Press and Wolff. With the exclusion of Wolff, these agencies have maintained a domineering presence in the global news market, using media channels to spread what they have deemed to be newsworthy globally. Additionally, these agencies have significant power to shape how issues and news are interpreted (Turan, Colakoglu, & Colakoglu, 2009). Criticism has arisen because these TNAs often have had one goal — to make profits, even if it is at the cost of trivializing or misconstruing information about lesser-developed nations.

Cultural and media imperialism gained popularity in the 1970s, especially in Africa, when developing nations called for a new information order. During a summit of what is now called the African Union in 1973, African leaders officially called for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) and New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO)

in which there was "equity, fairness and balance in the distribution of economic and cultural resources" (Musa, 2011, p. 334). While the NWICO received overwhelming support from African countries, developed, Western nations such as the United States and Britain were reluctant to support the free and balanced exchange of information. To support these ideals would mean that the Western nations would have to abandon their capitalist goals and social relations. With the end of the Cold War, many African nations diverted their attention away from the calls for an information balance to other more pertinent domestic issues.

At the heart of the media imperialism definition are the notions of domination and dependency. Media imperialism assumes "dominance and dependency between nations in which the identification of the role of the media in extending or containing given cultural orientations, conventions and influences is under focus" (Omoera & Ibagere, 2010, p. 3). According to Boyd-Barrett (1977), media imperialism is an unbalanced process in which the ownership, structure, distribution and content of the media interests in one country exert substantial pressure on the media interests in another country without proportionate reciprocation of influence. Media imperialism suggests that all media products originate from core nations under the assumption that periphery nations that will never be able to produce their own media products (Omoera & Ibagere, 2010). Thus, developing countries involuntarily become dependent on foreign media to produce news content for local audiences.

Boyd-Barrett (1977) identified four modes of media imperialism, including: the shape of the communication vehicle; a set of individual arrangement for the continuation of media production; body of values about ideal practice; and specific content. The shape of the communication vehicle refers to communication technology, and developed nations such as

the U.S. and Britain have had more leverage because of early technological advances. Secondly, the industrial arrangement has allowed Western media to be financially independent and capable of sustaining the distribution of news content to developing nations. Third, media imperialism is promoted through a Western body of values in which developed nations' media determine what is good news. Lastly, specific, biased content from Western news agencies perpetuate stereotypes.

Evidence of media imperialism continues to abound as shown in studies of media imperialism in developing countries. Kieh (1992) detailed how Western imperialism is maintained in Africa and explained that the mass media in African and Western countries continually portray Western nations as "good guys" and radical states as "bad guys" (Kieh, 1992, p. 19). In an examination of media imperialism in Nigeria, Omoera and Ibagere (2010) argue that media imperialism is still evident in Nigeria's television programming, in spite of rules designed to limit the amount of foreign broadcasting; Nigeria's National Broadcasting Commission limits stations to broadcast no more than 40 percent of foreign news programming (Omoera & Ibagere, 2010). Challenging the flow of imperialist news content is not a simple task considering that there is often not enough domestic content to replace foreign content because of financial challenges. Foreign programs are cheaper to obtain, so "the likes of CNN and BBC will continue to be the imperial sources of news for Nigerian television organizations" (Omoera & Ibagere, 2010, p. 13).

Criticism of imperialism began to arise in the 1970s. Even Schiller has acknowledged that international powers have shifted, and that there are clear challenges to U.S. dominance with more players including Europe and Asia (Roach, 1997). Sparks (2012) in his critique of

imperialism views it as a broader conception that is not limited to Boyd-Garrett's conception that focuses on the media:

"Taken literally, it would include all sorts of pressures, for example structural adjustment programmes developed by the IMF, which do not naturally fall within ambit of culture but which certainly involve pressure to shape social institutions to fit the dominating centre of the system." (p. 283)

Media imperialism is only one aspect that perpetuates imperialism. Cultural imperialism can be manifested through other cultural artifacts, such as goods and programs, such as international, government-led projects. Sparks (2012) also points out that the emphasis on the state or nation's role in imperialism is incorrect, as there are multiple channels for facilitating imperialism. In today's world, media and corporate organizations can transmit cultural artifacts internationally, such as Nigerian broadcasting in the U.S. and vice versa. New media also enable individuals and groups to receive elements of other cultures. Thus, there are many confounding variables for cultural imperialism to occur that are not limited to the role of the state.

Some communication scholars have empirically identified resistance to Western imperialism in global media. Ojebode (2009) assessed media imperialism from the African media's point-of-view in a content analysis of *The Guardian* and *The Punch*, two Nigerian newspapers. Specifically, Ojebode (2009) examined three variables in order to determine the extent of media imperialism: news sources, news tone and issue categories. Based upon his findings, Nigerian news outlets were very dependent on Western news agencies, receiving nearly 65 percent of their news from Western news agencies. Also, Nigerian media typically portrayed the West using a negative tone.

From a media effects perspective, the effects of imperialistic news reports are not always linear. In their investigation of Israelis and Arabs' reactions to the U.S. television series, *Dallas*, Liebes and Katz (1990) found that the two groups of viewers interpreted the show's messages in different ways based upon their pre-conceived cultural and political backgrounds. Their reactions illustrated that Western products do not necessarily elicit powerful effects on non-Western audiences. Africa has also experienced challenges to the United States' grip on global media content. Skurnik (1981) surveyed six African newspapers and found that the newspapers devoted less than five percent of foreign news to North America. In an experimental study of secondary-school students in Nigeria nearly three decades later, Ugochukwu (2008) found that exposure to American entertainment programs increased the students' awareness of American products but did not alter their attitudes, beliefs and values. Whereas media imperialism presumes that Western media automatically transmit their ideas in a way that replaces non-Westerners' values and beliefs, research suggests that foreign audiences are not as permeable as the theory suggests.

Tunstall provides further evidence of the evolving thesis of American domination (Tunstall, 1977, 2008). His initial thesis in *The media are American* highlighted American domination of the global media system, while *The media were merican* recognized that the increase in media outlets outside of the U.S. such as Al-Jazeera and French 24 have challenged the notion of American domination in the media. Essentially, they are reversing the media imperialism that has existed in their country. The shift in media also extends to African countries, as Nigerian home video movies, also known as Nollywood and Kannywood, have gained popularity as exports from African, North American and European countries (Musa, 2011).

While Western media have traditionally dominated media content and news flows, these trends may be changing. Thanks to technological advances and globalization influences, media and individuals throughout the world are producing and disseminating news, even from developing countries. Thus, the traditional way of envisioning news flows and news content may be obsolete.

The confluence of China and the United States' media in the African continent provides fertile ground for an examination of the shifts in global media flows and content. As Chang (1998) points out, the disparity between developed and developing nations is "an important factor in shaping the content, direction, and volume of traffic of news, entertainment, and information from country to country" (p. 529). Framing theory and the structural theory of international news flow, as discussed in the following sections, further enrich the analysis of news content.

Framing theory

Framing theory offers a methodological tool for dissecting media content on economic relationships between nations. According to the widely accepted definition of framing offered by Entman (1993), to frame is "to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, an/or treatment recommendation" (p.52). While numerous other definitions have emerged, Gitlin (1980) has described framing in the context of the media's role in shaping news frames; frames are "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse" (p. 53). The media, or

symbol handlers, package information in a way that helps audiences to understand issues. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) emphasize the cognitive function of a frame, defining the term as a "central organizing idea" that makes "sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (p.3). Akin to the function of making moral judgments, as defined by Entman (1993), frames suggest how the framer feels about the issue. According to De Vreese and Boomgaarden (2003b), "frames oftentimes have inherent valence by suggesting, for example, positive or negative aspects, solutions, or treatments," which are "expected to influence public support for various policy measures" (p. 362).

Communicators, specifically the media, make framing decisions in choosing what to say and how to say it, and these framing judgments are often based upon the communicator's belief system (Entman, 1993). In the same way that receivers of communication texts interpret frames according to their social and cultural experiences, journalists bring their schemas into the news production process and are "more likely to focus on information, events, or statements that match their own cognitive frames" (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010, p. 112). For example, in an effort to gain a better understanding of Western journalists' roles in shaping public discourse about the Darfur conflict in Africa, Kothari (2010) interviewed foreign correspondents at the *New York Times*. Multiple studies have also utilized content analysis to reveal textual frames, which are evidenced through devices within the text (e.g., Camaj, 2010; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Weberling, 2012). Media effects scholars have examined how frames are processed and interpreted by the receiver (Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010).

Scheufele and Scheufele (2010) codify frames according to three locations that focus on the role of the media: journalists' cognitive frames; newsroom discourse; and media

frames at the textual level. In the latter level, which is the focus of the current study, journalists receive information from various sources, but certain information will resonate more with journalists' cognitive schemas, resulting in the presence of certain frames in subsequent coverage. Essentially, journalists process, interpret, and package information in "familiar and easy to process frames" (Camaj, 2010, p. 637). From the audience, or receivers, point-of-view, these news frames can have powerful effects. Framing can heavily influence audience's responses to information, especially in individuals who are unfamiliar with matters of social and political significance (Iyengar, 1991; Kahneman & Tversky, 1984; Zaller, 1992).

Frames are relatively static, which de Reese (2001) acknowledges in his definition of frames. According to de Reese, frames are "*organizing principles* that are *socially shared* and *persistent* over time, that work *symbolically* to meaningfully *structure* the social world" (p. 11). While frames help to organize existing thoughts and schemas, de Reese's definition goes one step further to suggest that frames do not change significantly over time, which makes them more recognizable to audiences.

Valence of frames. Framing has been likened to second-level agenda setting. Agenda setting refers to the transfer of the media's agenda to the public, whereas second-level agenda setting refers to the transfer of attributes (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001). In their study on second-level agenda setting during the 1996 Spanish general election, McCombs, Llamas, Escobar-Lopez, and Rey (2001) found support for second-level agenda setting on two attribute dimensions. Cognitive attributes explained qualities of the candidate, such as qualifications and personal traits, while affective attributes dealt with positive, neutral, or

negative evaluations of the candidates. Affective attributes produced a stronger effect on the audience.

In Galtung and Ruge's (1965) seminal study on determinants of international news coverage, one of the criteria for predicting news coverage was the negative nature of the event or topic. They indicated that news coverage of the event can be positive or negative, which are categories of valence. Likewise, Entman (1977), alluded to valence in his definition of framing, as frames promote a certain moral evaluation. Since these formative studies, valence of news frames has been applied to multiple studies (e.g., De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003a; Wanta et al., 2004; Wekesa, 2013b).

Valence matters in international news coverage, because negative news coverage of a nation can have damaging effects on a country's reputation. From a media effects perspective, negative news coverage of a nation has been shown to elicit negative perceptions of the nation (Wanta et al., 2004). For example, the continuous negative depiction of Africa is "detrimental for foreign investment opportunities, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, because it renders the continent an international investment risk" and it "reinforces misconceptions of that region's economic potential" (Kalyango, 2011, p. 187). The media have the ability to shift public opinion on political and social matters about China and the United States' role in African affairs. Given the ideological push for greater independence from Western ideals, it is worth investigating how two outsiders, China and the United States, compare in African media coverage.

Operationalizing frames. Although most researchers generally agree on the definition of a frame, methodological decisions have been multifaceted. In conducting framing analysis, it is important to determine if the analysis is based on a) issue-specific or generic frames, b)

media or audience frames, c) what devices will be used to identify frames and d) whether frames are inductively or deductively identified (Matthes, 2009; Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010).

De Vreese has categorized frames as issue-specific or generic (2005). Issue-specific frames refer to frames about specific topics or events, while generic frames can be "identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural contexts" (de Vreese, 2005, p. 54). While generic frames are more generalizable, issue-specific frames lend more credence to studies on specific issues, or ones that require more depth than breadth. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) investigated the most commonly used generic frames, including conflict, responsibility, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. The conflict frame "emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest" (p. 95). Human-interest frames personalize the news by including a human face or emotional impact with the news story, and economic consequence frames report the event problem, or issue in terms of the economic impact on an "individual, group, institution, region, or country" (p. 96). The morality frame is defined as one that puts the "event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions," and the responsibility frame "presents an issue or problem in such a way to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group" (p. 96).

The last frame, responsibility, is based upon Iyengar's work (1991) in which he found that television news encourages people to explain social problems through individual-level explanations. Specifically, responsibility frames can be episodic, occurring when an issue or

problem is covered in terms of an event, instance or individual; thematic frames include aspects related to the historical social context.

The current study utilizes the issue-specific approach to explore frames on a specific subject — coverage of economic ties with Africa. One of the first studies to examine the connection between frames and economic determinants of news was Zhang's (2005) content analysis of international news in *The New York Times*. While economic ties were found to be strong predictors of the quantity and prominence of the U.S.-based media's international news coverage, economic ties did not predict the valence (e.g., positivity or negativity) of frames. In fact, Zhang acknowledged, "future research should continue to pay attention to valence of coverage and examine the relationship between macroeconomic factors and valence" (p. 18).

Framing analyses have generally utilized two approaches that focus on the news production process: how the media frame the news, or media frames, and which news frames are most salient among the audience, or audience frames (Mellese & Müller, 2012; Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010). Entman (1993) indicated that frames could be located in the communicator, text, receiver, or culture. Audience frames typically focus on how the receiver processes media messages, which is not the focus of the current research. Rather, this research focuses on media frames. In identifying frames, researchers have used two overarching approaches: inductive and deductive. With the inductive approach, the frames emerge during the analysis of materials, while the deductive approach uses frames that are defined before the investigation (Gamson, 1992; Neuman, Just & Crigler, 1992).

Framing devices provide the conduit for identifying the frame of individual news stories. Tankard (2001) believed that frames could be identified through 11 framing

mechanisms, such as headlines, leads (beginning of news stories), and images. Pan and Kosicki (1993) focus on four structures that provide the lens through which frames can be identified: syntactical structure, script structure, thematic structure, and rhetorical structure. Gamson and Modigliani (1989) focus on framing devices as a function of the journalist's stylistic decisions, including: metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images. Layout of text, positions of news articles on a page and number of words and pictures are considered formatting devices. Van Gorp (2010) combines numerous framing devices into his definition of a "frame package," defined as "an integrated structure of framing devices and a logical chain of reasoning devices that demonstrates how the frame functions to represent a certain issue" (p. 91).

Entman (1991) suggested that amount and placement of news coverage provides clues about the importance of a story. According to Entman, "through repetition, placement, and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that comprise the frame render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible, and memorable than others" (p. 7). Essentially, the frequency of words and images as well as their placement in the media makes certain frames resonate more than others.

While framing theory has been used to address broad, or generic frames, the current study uses issue-specific frames, allowing for a "profound level of specificity" about an "event or issue under investigation" (De Vreese, 2005, p. 55). Additionally, Tankard's framing devices, which focus on key elements of a news story, will guide the analysis of each article. The next section details specific frames that may be applied to the current framing research.

Framing studies on African media. Studying frames *about* Africa and studying

frames *in* Africa are two distinct concepts. Most scholars agree that Western media have

consistently portrayed sub-Saharan Africa as a region afflicted with famine, war, disease,

corruption and instability (Kenny, 1995; Mellese & Müller, 2012; Osunde & Tlou, 1996).

Among research studies that have examined Western media's frames of Africa, the most

commonly used frames have included: ethnic conflicts; United States as providing aid; or the

West as compassionate (e.g., Kothari, 2010; Mellese & Muller, 2012). However, few, if any,

studies have investigated Africa's framing of other nations or international topics. Media

research has typically focused on what people and media in the United States report about

foreign places and people, yet there is a need for "systematic, reliable and consistent

quantitative and qualitative data" on Sub-Saharan Africa's media systems, as the research is

"severely limited and scant" (Nisbet & Moehler, 2005, p 25) .

In recent decades, a few studies have surveyed African's media framing on various

subjects, such as Ume-Nwagbo (1982) and Eribo (1999), who examined Nigerian media

coverage of international news beginning in 1979 until 1995. Eribo (1999) found that

coverage of international trade increased as well as the prominence of gender issues in

Nigeria between 1979 and 1995. Alozie (2007), in his examination of Kenya and Nigeria's

print coverage of the 100 days after the start of the Rwandan genocide, discovered that

proximity played a key role in which frames emerged and in the amount of space devoted to

the Rwandan crisis story. Kenya's close proximity to Rwanda helped to explain why Kenya

printed more stories about the Rwandan crisis.

De Beer (2010) bridged the gap between Africa and the rest of the world, conducting

a comparative analysis of frames about Africa in three distinct regions: West (U.S., UK, and

Germany); Middle East (Qatar and the United Arab Emirates); and one African country (South Africa). Contrary to earlier studies, de Beer found that Africa isn't the only continent receiving negative attention; Central America had more negatively-toned stories than Africa. Additionally, in the South Africa news outlet's coverage, 43 percent of the news coverage about Africa was negatively framed, compared to 24 percent in North America's news coverage of Africa. Interestingly, Africa's media, like many Western media, wrote a high percentage of negatively-toned stories about their own continent.

In a more recent study, Olorunnisola & Ma (2013) conducted a content analysis about framing of Chinese-African (Sino-African) relations in newspapers in Nigeria, South Africa, China and the United States. Chinese relations with Africa were framed as: *controversial*, *partner*, and *new power* (South Africa and Nigeria); *partnership* and *refutation* (China); and *competitor* and *watchfulness* (U.S.). The *controversial* frame included subframes related to the complexity of China's relationship with Africa, namely negative depictions of China's no-strings attached policy; China's defense against Western criticism; and lack of African response to China's engagement.

The *partner* frame conveyed China's engagement as one of collaboration, and subframes emphasized China's "economic win-win through mutual investments and the creation of mutual markets, with a subframe of political camaraderie during global climate change talks" (p. 51). Additionally, the *partnership* frame focused on China's role as an investor in industries, such as railways and aviation, and infrastructure development. The *new power* frame juxtaposed China's interactions with Africa with that of traditional Western powers, including a new economic model for development and China's influence as a global market power. *Refutation* frames highlighted attempts by China to counter Western

44

allegations of neocolonialism and to explain their engagement with Africa. The *competitor* frame highlighted China's competition with Western powers, specifically for Africa's resources and markets. *Watchfulness* frames emphasized the need to be wary of China's engagement with Africa and the fear that China might overshadow Western powers' influence with the continent.

The frames in Olorunnisola and Ma's (2013) study reflect the dynamics of popular, political and scholarly discourse about China's objectives in the African economy. On the one hand, China is portrayed positively, or as a partner. On the other hand, numerous frames focus on the country's questionable intentions in light of traditional Western powers' engagement with the continent. The researchers acknowledge that what is missing from the media frames on Chinese-African economic ties is Africa's counter strategy to China's involvement. In conducting the current research, it provides an opportunity to fill in the gap through an in-depth assessment of media in two African countries that are expanding economically. Furthermore, the study is expected to reveal indications of the media's views of not only of China, but also of the United States.

While framing theory helps to explain the affective attributes of media coverage about China and the United States, the initial stages of news production are not considered in the theoretical concept. Relating the frames to determinants of news coverage can reveal relationships between specific country-level factors and the subsequent news coverage. Again, garnering media coverage is one part of the news production process. Garnering positive media coverage is often the next goal. The next section details the structural theory of international news flow.

Structural theory of international news flow

Studies about the determinants of international news coverage have focused on the intra- and extra-media factors that make a nation or an international event newsworthy. The determinants of international news coverage have been studied in great detail (Olorunnisola & Ma, 2013; Wu, 1998), and several factors have been identified as determinants. While there is no definitive framework for categorizing the factors that determine news coverage, the factors have generally been categorized as event-oriented factors and context-oriented factors (Chang & Lee, 1992). The former refers to characteristics that are inherent to events, nations or issues. Event-oriented factors provide information on what happened and when and how it happened. Context-oriented factors examine the relationship between news coverage and external characteristics, such as proximity or economic relations (Jones et al., 2011; Zhang, 2005)

Galtung, Ruge and others (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Ostgaard, 1965; Rosengren, 1974, 1977) developed the structural theory of international news flow, which posited that economic, social, political, and geographic characteristics of countries influence the amount of coverage that one country receives in another country. In one of the earliest studies on determinants of international news coverage, Ostgaard (1965) discovered that two kinds of factors influenced the flow of news: extra-media factors such as economic and political influences, and intra-media factors that are specific to news production.

Galtung and Ruge (1965) focused on 12 intra-media factors that make international events worthy of news coverage, such as frequency, unexpectedness, personification and continuity. In 1971, Dupree later identified 11 external factors that influenced newspaper coverage, including economic-related variables, such as foreign stock in the U.S.; GNP; GNP

46

per capita; populations; population density per square kilometer; language translatability; literacy rate; newspaper availability; import-exports volume; distance; and continent. Rosengren (1977) posited that in addition to newsroom values, economic-related factors such as export and import values, or trade amounts, were good predictors of international news coverage.

Based on his review of studies on the determinations of international news, Golan (2008) found that four variables have been consistently used to predict international news coverage, including deviance, or involvement in conflicts (Chang, Shoemaker, & Brendlinger, 1987; Golan & Wanta, 2003; Shoemaker, Chang, & Brendlinger, 1986), relatedness or relevance between countries (Shoemaker et al., 1986; Shoemaker, Danielian, & Brendlinger, 1991), cultural affinity (Hester, 1973; Kariel & Rosenvall, 1984; Shoemaker et al., 1991; Skurnik, 1981) and the country's position in the hierarchy of nations (Chang et al., 1987; Kim & Barnett, 1996). In his content analysis of news coverage about Africa on four U.S. evening newscasts, Golan (2008) found that trade volume and gross domestic product accounted for differences in international news coverage. Based upon previous scholarship (Golan, 2008; Zhang, 2005), this present research utilizes several variables that have been determined to the most significant determinants of international news coverage.

The relevance of the country measures the economic, political, social, and cultural ties between a home country and a foreign country (Segev & Blondheim, 2013). Typically, the relationship refers to the extent that the reported country impacts the reporting country. In terms of economic relevance, trade has been identified as one of the primary predictors of the newsworthiness of a foreign country (Ahern, 1984; Golan, 2008; Jones et al., 2011; Wu,

2007). Economic relevance remains one of the most significant variables for understanding the influences on international news coverage.

Economic interest, according to Wu (1998), "propels people to learn about those countries that are more economically related than others that are not" (p. 499). Trade relations are important for governments, corporations and even the general public. Security risks aside, "economic issues become the single overseas topic cared about by the audience and focused on by news professionals" (Wu, 2000, p. 127).

In some instances, trade has not correlated with international news coverage (De Verneil, 1977; Robinson & Sparkes, 1976). Robinson and Sparkes (1976) discovered a correlation between trade and international news in the Canadian press, but the relationship was not evident in the U.S. press. Likewise, Golan and Wanta (2003) analyzed the factors that affect American networks' coverage of international elections and discovered that trade and population did not predict election coverage in the United States. One explanation for this anomaly is that American media tend to publish news stories about nations that are in conflict with the U.S. (Golan & Wanta, 2003).

Variables related to national traits focus on the size and power of the nation in the world system. Countries with more territory and people are in the media spotlight more often (Wu, 2007). Ostgaard (1965) points out that elite nations typically have the financial resources necessary for better communication infrastructure. Rosengren (1977) found a positive correlation between two national traits—GDP and population of a nation—and a nation's prominence, but only in the media of some European countries. Ahern (1984) also discovered that countries with higher GDPs tend to receive more coverage internationally. For example, Kim and Barnett (1996) found that economic power was a strong indicator of

news prominence, as international news revolved around the most economically powerful nations—Western industrialized countries at the core of the system. Chang (1998) found that Western, or core, nations serve as the conduit for international news that is distributed throughout the world. In an analysis of U.S. television newscasts, 2002-2004, Golan (2008) illustrated that GDP, only in concert with the population variable, provides the best explanation for international news coverage. In a more recent longitudinal study of international news coverage in the U.S. since 1950, Jones, Van Aelst, and Vliegenthart (2011) found that GDP and population were indicative of international news coverage.

The presence of international news bureaus has also been identified as a determinant of international news coverage. In a content analysis of international news broadcasts in the U.S., Larson (1979) discovered that communication infrastructure and human resources were the primary predictors of international affairs coverage at CBS. Five years later, Larson (1984) added ABC's news broadcasts to his research and found that while communication infrastructure and human resources were not significant predictors of international news coverage, the location of news bureaus and the presence of international news bureaus were the most dominant predictors of coverage on international affairs. Thus, the more international agencies that a country establishes in a foreign country, the more news the foreign country will receive in international news coverage.

In his analysis of 38 systemic determinants of international news coverage, Wu (2000) found that the presence of international news agencies was the second highest predictor of international news coverage, with trade being the primary predictor. One rationale for this association is related to costs. International news agencies provide local

news outlets with low-cost access to news on foreign soil that journalists could not cover because of economic or time constraints.

Four Western-based international news agencies dominate global media today—Reuters, Agence France Press, United Press International, and Associated Press (Ojebode, 2009). China is beginning to make headway, as mentioned earlier, with its Xinhua news agency. The United States, on the other hand, began to close many of its foreign bureaus beginning in the 1990s because of low profits (Knudson, 2008). The closure of the U.S. bureaus led to even more scarce coverage of foreign events with little context. Essentially, the goal to increase profits won over the need to focus on international news.

Cultural affinity has also been identified as a determinant of international news coverage (Hester, 1973), which implies that media are more likely to cover news about culturally similar nations. Indications of cultural similarities have included language (Chang et al., 1987; Dupree, 1971; Wu, 2000), religion (Golan, 2008) and press freedom (Chang et al., 1987; Golan, 2008). In his study of systemic determinants of news coverage in 38 countries, language influenced coverage in only two countries—Kuwait and Nigeria. The English language was one of the decisive factors in news covered in Nigeria's media. Immigration and travel between nations have also been identified as variables affecting international news coverage (Hester, 1973).

Geographic proximity has also been found to be an indicator of international news coverage, based upon early studies on the determinants of global news coverage (Adams, 1986; Chang et al., 1987; Dupree, 1971). Wu (1997) later found no relationship between geographic distance and international coverage in a study of the determinants of news in Germany, Japan, New Zealand the United States. Definitions of proximity have included

rough approximations of the distance between the capitals of countries (Wu, 1998).

The common denominator in most research about international news coverage is that the United States remains by far the most covered nation (Segev & Blondheim, 2013; Wu, 2000). In a recent study about America's global standing on websites, Segev and Blondheim (2013) found that the U.S. received a disproportionately greater number of mentions on news sites around the world; out of 195 countries, the U.S. received the highest number of mentions, 18.6%, followed by China with 5.5%. From a global perspective, China is trailing the United States in media coverage above all other nations.

Research studies on the determinants of international news coverage have suffered from the same ethnocentric issues that have been associated with imperialism. Multiple studies have been conducted that have analyzed the determinants of international news coverage using U.S. media (Golan, 2008; Jones et al., 2011; Wu, 2007; Zhang, 2005). The determinants of international media coverage in countries other than the U.S. have warranted little attention among communication researchers (Wu, 1998). As a result, the generalizability of Western-focused studies is limited (Wu, 2000). Wu (1998) found that among 55 studies on the determinants of international news, North America was studied in 37 studies while Africa was the focus in only three studies.

Research questions and related hypotheses

Based upon the research in the literature review, this section outlines the research questions as well as supporting explanations.

Given that China has expanded its footprint on the continent in economic, political and communication circles, there is a need to explore the dynamics of the U.S. and China's

roles in a region that is vital to both nations' international policy goals. While a previous news flow study on America's global standing provided for an understanding of international news coverage in the "economically leading countries" in the world, including United States and China (Jones et al., 2011), developing countries' news coverage was not included in the study. Given the historical prevalence of the U.S. in global news coverage combined with China's increasing influence on Africa's economy, an investigation is needed to determine if the U.S. continues to be foremost in global news coverage. These theoretical perspectives led to the first research question:

RQ1: Which country, U.S. or China, receives more substantive economic news coverage in Nigeria and Kenya?

Economically and historically, the United States has possessed better resources to produce and distribute news, which has left other countries' media in a subordinate, reliant position in news coverage. Thus, this research was expected to align with prior research, and the U.S. should receive the most news coverage on economic subjects. If the United States receives more mentions in economic news, then it will suggest that Africa's media are still perpetuating Western views. However, if China is mentioned more often in economic news, then the results would suggest that the West's control over the global media system might be waning. A decline in media coverage of the U.S. could allow for the proliferation of African media's views as well as the infiltration of Chinese media's views, which may contradict with the West's international policy goals.

As previously mentioned, Entman (1991) stressed that placement and repetition of symbols in communication signifies the salience of the frames associated with the subject.

Thus, it is important to examine which country is more prominent, in quantity and visibility, as an indication of its importance. This theoretical perspective led to the first hypotheses:

H1: The quantity of economic news articles about the U.S. will be greater than the quantity of economic news articles about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria).*

H2: The quantity of economic news articles about the U.S. will be greater than the quantity of economic news articles about China in *Daily Nation (Kenya).*

Because another goal of this study is to analyze prominence, the product of placement and number of words in the article, this study also involved data collection for information about the position of articles in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* and the number of words in both publications. Given America's influence on the global media system, the U.S. is expected to be more visible than China. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H3: The United States will be more prominent than China in *Daily Nation (Kenya).*

In much the same way that the quantity of news about the U.S. is expected to exceed that of China, topics related to U.S. international policy will outnumber topics related to China. As stated in the introduction, the United States has focused much of its international policy agenda on providing foreign aid to Africa and to protecting national security through global anti-terrorism efforts. On the other hand, China is most interested in securing business relationships through mutual partnerships with African countries. Cultural imperialism suggests that nations' ideals are transferred to other nations, and media imperialism offers the conduit by which the messages can be spread abroad—the media.

H4: There will be more evidence of the United States' imperialist influence than China's imperialist influence in economic news coverage in *ThisDay (Nigeria).*

H5: There will be more evidence of the United States' imperialist influence than China's imperialist influence in economic news coverage in *Daily Nation (Kenya).*

Every nation desires to maintain a positive image in international affairs. Thus, this study reveals not only which nations are covered in the media, but also identifies which country is being framed more positively. While the analysis of international news coverage provides for a quantitative measurement of a nation's prominence, framing theory extends the analysis to include contextual information about the determinants. While Zhang (2005) identified the valence of frames associated with China's economic engagement in Africa, his study does not provide a balanced analysis that includes an analysis of frames about the United States. The current research is one of the first studies to empirically examine the valence of news frames associated with the two economic powers in a more balanced fashion. In conducting framing analyses, Entman (1991) recommends comparing two news events that could be covered similarly in order to reveal frames. This leads to research question #2:

RQ2: How do economic frames of the U.S. and China compare in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*?

Understanding the valence of media frames in Africa can help foreign countries gauge the nation's sentiments, since the media and the government's thought are usually aligned (De Reese & Lee, 2012). There is a need to quantitatively determine the relative valence between China and the U.S. in news content. As mentioned in the literature review, the United States usually determines the dominant narrative in global media. Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H6: The number of positive, economic news stories about the United States will be higher than the number of positive, economic news stories about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*.

H7: The number of positive, economic news stories about the United States will be higher than the number of positive, economic news stories about China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

The goal of framing studies is to develop a concise typology of frames that underlie social knowledge (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). Furthermore, Tankard (2001) pointed out that frames should be defined for every new topic. While previous research has identified generic frames (Olorunnisola & Ma, 2013) and affective attributes pertaining to China's involvement in Africa (Wekesa, 2013b; Zhang, 2005), this study tests existing frames and extends the research by identifying issue-specific frames on a topic that has gained global attention since the start of the 21st century — the U.S. and China's economic engagement with Africa. To reiterate, Golan (2008) has emphasized the need to address the political dimensions of the United States' relationship with the African continent. Likewise, China's relationship warrants more attention considering its vast influence.

Lastly, this research connects the antecedents of news coverage, or determinants, in order to determine which factors best explain coverage about the China and the U.S. in the African publications. Zhang (2005) discovered that there was a strong correlation between the prominence of China in the *New York Times* and economic ties between the U.S. and China. Likewise, prominence of the U.S. or China should correspond with key economic determinants of news coverage. While trade has been the foremost determinant of international news coverage (Golan, 2008; Jones et al., 2011; Segev & Blondheim, 2013;

Wu, 1998; Wu, 2000, 2003; Zhang, 2005), this study also incorporates additional

determinants that are applicable to economic news coverage in Nigeria and Kenya, including

national traits (e.g., GDP, GDP per capita and population) These theoretical perspectives led

to the third and final research question, as stated below.

RQ3: Among all international news determinants, trade will best explicate economic news coverage of the U.S. and China in Nigeria and Kenya?

Trade is expected to be the leading determinant of economic news coverage.

However, it is important to consider other determinants that may be at work in the

relationship between determinants of news coverage and subsequent news coverage. In other

words, are trade relations within the micro-analysis presented in this study the sole

determinant of international news coverage of China and of the United States, or are there

other factors that should be considered? Based on prior research and theoretical support, the

following hypotheses are proposed:

H8: Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about the U.S. in Nigeria.

H9: Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about the U.S. in Kenya.

H10: Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about China in Nigeria.

H11: Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about China in Kenya.

GDP and population, key indicators of a nation's hierarchy among other nations, have

also been identified as having a positive influence on the quantity of international news

56

coverage (Ahern, 1984; Golan, 2008; Kim & Barnett, 1996). Given the focus of this study on economic concepts, GDP and population will be examined in the final analysis of determinants of news coverage and the quantity, prominence and framing of the U.S. and China. A higher GDP signifies a higher position in the world economically, and countries with higher GDPs possess the financial resources necessary for better communication technologies that can be used to disseminate international news (Wu, 1998). China has the higher population but a lower GDP. Conversely, the United States has the highest GDP in the world but a lower population. If China's news coverage is higher in light of its higher population or another determinant, this study's results will suggest the changing position of the United States in international news coverage based on key determinants of news coverage. If the U.S. continues to dominate news coverage, it may suggest that the United States' economic power is continuing to drive its more prominent news coverage.

These aforementioned research questions probe for theoretical answers.

CHAPTER 3: METHOD

The number of media outlets has expanded and in many countries, such as South

Africa and Nigeria, the press is now known for being lively and outspoken. (Schiffrin,

2009, p. 127)

This chapter describes the study method and provides details about the methodological

approach, data collection, key variables, research sample, coding procedure and data

analysis. Briefly, this study utilized a quantitative content analysis to test hypotheses.

The quantitative content analysis research method for this study is summarized in

Table 2.

Table 2: Summary of quantitative content analysis of Nigeria and Kenya's news coverage of US and China's economic engagement

Research question (RQ)	Related Hypothesis	Method details	Remarks
RQ One: Which country, U.S. or China, receives more substantive economic news coverage in Nigeria and Kenya?	**H1:** The quantity of economic news articles about the U.S. will be greater than the quantity of economic news articles about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria).* **H2:** The quantity of economic news articles about the U.S. will be greater than the quantity of economic news articles about China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. **H3:** The United States will be more visible than China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. **H4**: There will be more evidence of the United States' imperialist influence than China's imperialist influence in economic news coverage in *ThisDay (Nigeria).* *H5:* There will be more evidence of the United States' imperialist influence than China's imperialist influence in economic news coverage in *Daily Nation (Kenya).*	**H1:** Frequencies of articles **H2:** Frequencies of articles **H3:** Frequencies of articles, chi-square **H4:** Frequencies of topics, sources, and actors, chi-square	Frequencies of articles are used
RQ Two: How do economic frames of the U.S. and China compare in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*?	**H6:** The number of positive, economic news stories about the United States will be higher than the number of positive, economic news stories about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria).* **H7:** The number of positive, economic news stories about the United States will be higher than the number of positive, economic news stories about China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.	**H5**: Coding of articles, frequencies and comparison of valence **H6**: Coding of articles, frequencies and comparison of valence	Quantitative data analyzed
RQ Three: RQ3: Among all international news determinants, which one(s) best explicate economic news coverage of the U.S. and China in Nigeria and Kenya?	**H8:** Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about the U.S. in Nigeria**.** **H9:** Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about the U.S. in Kenya. **H10:** Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about China in Nigeria. **H11:** Among all determinants of international news coverage, trade will best explicate economic news coverage about China in Kenya.	**H8-H11:** Frequencies using benchmark data, subsequent correlations	Focus is on determining if trade correlates with international news content, but other determinants are included for a more robust analysis

59

In addition, both content and non-content data are analyzed in order to go beyond a purely descriptive approach. Content analysis of two prominent newspapers in Sub-Saharan Africa was conducted in order to assess the quantity and prominence of news coverage about two economically powerful countries—U.S. and China—and to determine the frames and valences of the news coverage. Subsequently, an analysis of non-content data, namely the determinants of international news coverage, lent more profundity about the relationship between newsworthiness and news coverage.

Framing research emphasizes the necessity of building upon existing frames as opposed to reinventing the wheel (Nisbet, 2010; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Thus, the current research utilizes a deductive approach in which pre-defined frames are applied using quantitative measures. Frames that could be categorized were coded into a separate category and discussed briefly. The key dependent variables in the analysis are quantity, prominence and valence of news coverage about the U.S. and China as well as the frames used to describe each nation's economic engagement with Africa.

Framing and content analysis

Quantitative content analysis involves "systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods" (Riffe et al., 2005). Analysis of the content is limited to manifest content, or its surface meaning. Proponents of quantitative content analysis call attention to the replicable and quantifiable nature of the method (Riffe et al., 2005). On the other hand, critics of the method have pointed to the trivial nature of counting the frequency of items in order to draw

conclusions (Holsti, 1969). Critics also argue that the use of quantitative measurements does not allow for an in-depth exploration of latent, new insights (Hertog & McLeod, 2001; Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Qualitative analysis can be utilized to address some of the limitations of quantitative analysis. However, qualitative content analyses have been criticized because the analysis is highly subjective. Essentially, qualitative analysis relies on the interpretation of the interpreter (Miles & Huberman, 1994) who determines how the audience should understand the subject matter.

Because prior framing categories have already been developed about China's engagement with African countries (Olorunnisola & Ma, 2013) and there is virtually no research on the United States' engagement with the continent, the current study employs directed content analysis in order to conduct a deductive analysis of frames related to the U.S. and China's economic engagement with Africa, while allowing new frames to emerge related to this subject. There are two ways to code using directed content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The researcher can read all the materials and highlight information that appears to represent the phenomena or variable. Subsequently, coding of highlighted information would begin, and text that could not be categorized would be coded using the coding scheme would be given a new code. Alternatively, coding can begin immediately using existing codes, and data that cannot be coded is set aside to be analyzed later to determine if new coding categories are needed or if the items fits into a subcategory of an existing code. The current research uses the latter approach since codes have already been identified related to China's economic engagement with Africa.

Data collection

Purposive sampling was used to obtain print articles in two newspapers in Kenya and Nigeria—*Daily Nation (Kenya)* and *ThisDay (Nigeria).* The papers were selected for this study because they are the most widely circulated newspapers in each country. Previous communication researchers have also conducted content analyses using these newspapers (Agwaziam, Zeng, & Xiao, 2013; Alozie, 2007; Olorunnisola & Ma, 2013; Wekesa, 2013b). For the current study, articles that appeared in each publication between January 1, 2011, and December 31, 2013, were retrieved from the LexisNexis Academic database and the *Daily Nation (Kenya)* website. While the LexisNexis Academic database included articles for all three years of *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and articles appearing in the 2013 editions of *Daily Nation (Kenya),* the database did not contain copies of *Daily Nation (Kenya)* for 2011 and 2012. Thus, articles from *Daily Nation (Kenya)* for years 2011 and 2012 were obtained using the publication's online archive search. According to the syndication manager of *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, there are no differences between the online versions of the newspaper and the printed versions, which appear in the LexisNexis database.

Based in Nigeria's most populous city, Lagos, *ThisDay (Nigeria)* is one of Nigeria's ten largest newspapers and is considered one of the most powerful newspapers in Nigeria. Since its inception on January 22, 1995, the newspaper has become the most influential newspaper (About us, 2014). Published by Leaders & Company, Limited, Co., *ThisDay (Nigeria)* is the "preferred newspaper among the business, political and diplomatic elite, and is easily the most recognizable and influential national media brand globally" (para. 3). Additionally, it is the "only high-profile newspaper that appeals to both young and old because of its straightforward news reporting, editorial content, lifestyle features and

business coverage" (para. 3). Published daily, the newspaper boasts a circulation of 20,000-50,000 (Nigerian Press Council, 2015).

Daily Nation (Kenya), Kenya's largest newspaper, was founded on October 3, 1960, and its founders pledged to support the peaceful transition to African majority rule following independence, providing a for Africa's leaders. According to its website, the newspaper remains "true to its stated mission to be independent, subject neither to factional, commercial, religious or political interests" (para. 13). The newspaper is part of Nation Media Group (NMG), which owns the largest media house in East and Central Africa (About Us, 2012) and accounts for more than 70 percent of the news and media in the region. *Daily Nation (Kenya)* is published daily, while the weekend editions are published weekly – *Saturday Nation (Kenya)* and *Sunday Nation (Kenya)* (Kenya-advisor.com, 2014). The *Daily Nation (Kenya)* has a daily circulation that tops 200,000 copies, but its market may be larger as the copies are typically read by many people. Founded by His Highness the Aga Khan in 1959, the group publishes numerous newspapers throughout East Africa, including: *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, *Saturday Nation, Sunday Nation, Taifa Leo, Taifa Jumapili, The EastAfrican, Business Daily* and *Daily Metro* (About Daily Nation, 2014).

In 1999, NMG added its television and radio stations, NTV and KFM, respectively. NMG also distributes international titles such as *Economist, Times, Newsweek* and *Fortune.*

The Standard Group, Nation Media Group's primary competitor, publishes the second-largest newspapers in Kenya — *The Standard*, *The Saturday Standard* and *The Sunday Standard.* The group is also responsible for the distribution of international magazines such as *National Geographic*, *Homes and Gardens* and *Vogue* (The Standard Group, 2014). Standard Group also owns Kenya Television Network and Radio Maisha.

As the first step in retrieving economic news articles, the headlines and the lead paragraphs of each African newspaper were searched using each external country's name and variations of the country's name (e.g., the *United States/America/American*) and at least one of the following economic terms: *trade, investment, agriculture, oil, infrastructure, loan, aid, grants, economic development, macroeconomic,* or *interest rates.* (Olorunnisola & Ma, 2013). Independent searches were performed for U.S.-related articles using the economic terms before retrieving China-related articles using similar country names (e.g., *China* or *Chinese*) and the same economic terms. Using the country's name as well as variations of the name is common in studies involving content analyses of a nation's coverage (Jones et al., 2011; Kiousis & Wu, 2008; Segev & Blondheim, 2013). A total of 1,746 articles were retrieved using the above criteria, including 1,170 for the United States and 576 for China across both African publications. These articles were considered part of a larger sample that was used for solely for identifying the topics that were associated with China and the U.S.

Because the search results from the LexisNexis Academic database can include irrelevant and duplicate results, it was necessary to further refine the larger sample of 1,746 articles to include only economic news articles as defined in the current research. Economic news articles included news reports in which China or the United States was involved in any African country's economic affairs, whether directly or indirectly. Economic involvement by the foreign country – U.S. or China – in the African country was identified using a nominal categorization: involvement or no involvement (Paskin, 2009). A nation's involvement in many aspects of another country's affairs is inextricably tied to the economy. For example, the United States' efforts to disrupt international terrorism in an African country or China's construction of a new hospital has residual economic effects. Counterterrorism efforts can

quell violent activities that would discourage foreign investment, and improving the health infrastructure can help maintain a capable and healthy workforce that contributes to the economy. Hence, this study examines economic news that encompasses a wide array of topics related to economic involvement on any level with Africa. Among the original sample of 1,746 articles, only 464 were considered economic news articles about the United States, while 289 were classified as economic news articles about China.

The individual articles served as the unit of analysis, and the sampled articles were read in their entireties. In order to ensure reliability and establish rules for the content analysis, a codebook (see Appendix A) was developed, tested, and finalized by the researcher, a doctoral student, and a law school graduate. Van Gorp (2010) suggests the use of two coders in order to attain the best results. Because one goal of this study is to build upon earlier framing analysis of international news coverage about China (Olorunnisola & Ma, 2013; Zhang, 2005), this study expands upon Olorunnisola and Ma's (2013) framing analysis to look for specific variables relevant to the research questions. Each article in the sample was read and coded using Qualtrics, online survey software that can be used to collect data. Coders were trained using articles not included in the sample for the study, namely articles appearing in the 2014 editions of *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

While Sub-Saharan Africa comprises 49 countries, the current study focused on two nations that are of strategic importance to China and the United States. Africa is diverse in languages, economies, and media, and it is advisable to avoid studying the continent as an aggregate unit of analysis to avoid inaccurate generalizations (Segev & Blondheim, 2013). Thus, Nigeria was selected because of its economic position as the largest economy in the Africa. Conversely, Kenya serves as a regional hub for media activities on the continent and

a regional economic hub for East Africa, which makes the country's news coverage ripe for analysis.

The three-year time frame, 2011-2013, marks a key period for Nigeria's economy, specifically. In 2014, the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) changed the base year for calculating the country's GDP from 1990 to 2010, a move that catapulted Nigeria's economy to the twenty-sixth largest economy in the world and the largest in Africa (Magnowski, 2014). The recalculation provides a better picture of the country's economy, as it includes better estimates of GDP, and the new GDP values now include previously uncounted industries such as telecoms, information technology, music, online sales, airlines, and film production (Magnowski, 2014; Reuters, 2014). This study examines news coverage after the new base year of 2010. In addition to the rebasing, this study period also follows what was considered to be the freest and fairest elections in Nigeria's history, the April 2011 election of incumbent and current President Jonathan Goodluck (The World Bank, 2013b). In selecting the three-year period for the study, it also helps to avoid news waves and spikes inherent in news reporting (Segev & Blondheim, 2013; Wolfsfeld, 2004).

Intercoder reliability

In order to ensure reliability of the study, it was necessary to determine intercoder agreement among coders. Testing for intercoder agreement helps to ensure that conceptual definitions have been applied to the appropriate coding categories (Riffe et al., 2005). The two coders for this study, a female and a male, were both African-American and college-educated. After articles were purposely selected for inclusion in the study using the aforementioned search terms, ten percent of the articles from each African newspaper were

randomly selected to determine intercoder reliability (*N*=103, *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *N*=71, *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. Scott's pi (1955) was used to calculate intercoder reliability. The statistical test examines the values for each category and corrects for chance agreement (Riffe et al., 2005).

Intercoder reliability was calculated for each variable in the study, followed by an overall calculation of reliability. Coder agreement across the 12 variables in the coding protocol ranged from 1 to .75 as follows: type of article (.76); number of words (1.0); topic of article (.75); economic involvement (.80); author (.95); country mentioned (.86); primary actor (.82); country of actor (.92); quoted entity (.73); valence (.82); frame (.78); and position of article (1). Initial reliability calculations on the topic of articles yielded a low value (.51), which could be attributed to the more than 200 topical categories. All disagreements were settled by discussion and reconciliation. After establishing an acceptable level of agreement, the remaining 1,572 articles were coded by the primary researcher and fellow coder. Overall intercoder reliability among the 12 variables was found to be .85.

Key variables

Quantity of news coverage. One of the core components of this research includes a comparative analysis of the quantity of news coverage about the United States and China. Rather than eliminating irrelevant articles, the researcher conducted an in-depth analysis on the presence of imperialist indicators in news coverage, such as topics related to each country's foreign affairs objectives. Thus, all articles were retained for the analysis of topics.

Measures of imperialism. To measure the presence of imperialist ideals, this study follows other research that has examined differences in news content across countries. Data

on *topics of the news stories* (Angela & Stella, 2010; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006; Turan et al., 2009), *sources used in gathering the stories* (Angela & Stella, 2010) and *types of actors* (Paskin, 2009) were collected to ascertain if media imperialism is taking place. As Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) stress, topic choice is one of the first criteria that journalists consider in story selection, and the variable is suitable for analysis from a biological and cultural evolution perspective. Biologically, one may predict that humans are innately interested in certain subjects regardless of locale. At the same time from a cultural viewpoint, differences in what ideas or issues are important should differ around the world, which can lead to better prediction of what topics will become news.

In the current study, differences in topics help to provide an indication of which superpower nation's priorities (e.g., security or business) are evident in African media. Using a detailed topical index comprised of more than 200 subcategories (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006), it was possible to see which topical categories were most prominent in the coverage based on the specific country. As discussed earlier, the United States has historically promoted its foreign affairs agenda in Africa through the promotion of national security, foreign aid and democratic ideals. At the same time, China has often reiterated its desire to build win-win relationships with African nations through business partnerships. Currently, no studies exist that have empirically identified the manifestation of the United States and China's priorities through the media. Thus, this study includes an exploratory analysis of the predominant topics about each country.

The source used in gathering the story, or author, was also analyzed (Angela & Stella, 2010). Categories included: in-house staff (individuals who are internal to the media organization such as paid journalists), outside sources (people who are not direct employees

in the media organization, including other news organizations), and unidentified sources (stories in which the source is not identified). The author type provides an indication of who is providing the information in the articles. If in-house staff is reporting more of the stories, it would suggest that local, African media are shaping the news, or they are giving the appearance that the news is African-oriented.

The types of actors that the story focuses on were also captured: state or nation, government official, government organization, non-governmental organization or organized group, companies, individuals or mixed (Paskin, 2009). This variable will help identify the focal point in news stories by country. For example, if Chinese companies are the primary actors mentioned in the stories, then some conclusions can be drawn about the importance of their business activities in Africa.

Valence. To assess valence, coders read each article in the sample at least twice to first, get a clear understanding of key topics and twice, to identify the valence of the article. The coders recorded the valence of articles as negative, neutral or positive. Based upon Wanta, Golan, and Lee's (2004) coding scheme of network newscasts about superpower nations, the current study operationalizes valence in a similar manner. Negative news stories include ones that convey the U.S. (or China) as a threat to countries in Africa or to Africans. Positive news stories are ones that express shared interests or values between the African country and China or the U.S. Neutral stories demonstrate a "balance of both positive and negative information" (Wanta et al., 2004, p. 370), as well as ones that do not include judgments about the superpower nation's relationship with Africa. Valence values ranged from 1 (negative) to 3 (positive); neutral is 2 (De Vreese & Boomgaarden, 2003a). In addition to valence, the following variables were coded:

- Publication date, including year

- News Outlet

- Headline

- Type of article: Hard news, news feature, opinion or other

- Number of words

- Position of news article on page

News frames. After coding the valence of each article as shown above, coders read each article a third time, this time for identification of frames. The framing analysis was conducted using directed content analysis, which was used initially to parse articles whose frames fit into existing category. Using the codebook (see Appendix A) that details existing coding categories, coders read each article in its entirety and selected the appropriate category for each article. Because this approach allows for the validation or extension of a theoretical framework (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), articles that did not fit into existing frames were set aside for a final, subsequent analysis.

Prominence of news coverage. This study provided an opportunity to conduct a more in-depth assessment of international news coverage in an African nation, given that the *Daily Nation (Kenya)* website provides an indication of the location of news stories. For articles that were retrieved from the *Daily Nation (Kenya)* website, 2011 and 2012, prominence was assessed as the product of the number of words in the article times the position of the article (Lee, 2007). The online version of *Daily Nation (Kenya)* corresponds to the printed publication in that the most prominent sections appear first in the printed publication and are listed first on the website. Thus, the sections that are most prominent are given more weight in the coding scheme, as follows: 7=News (politics, Africa, world, diaspora); 6=Business

(Corporates, Enterprise, Markets, Tech, Seeds of Gold); 5=Counties (Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri); 4=Sports; 3=Blogs & Opinion (Blogs, Commentaries, Editorials); 2=Life & Style (Art & Culture, Family, Health, Showbiz, Travel, Women, Beauty); and 1=Elsewhere.

Analysis of determinants of international news coverage. Existing non-content data on determinants of international news coverage was compiled and analyzed in relation to the quantity, prominence and valence of frames in news articles about China and the United States. Several determinants have been found to be significant predictors of international news coverage in recent studies, and in addition to the economic determinants identified in prior research, this study incorporated other determinants in order to draw more solid conclusions about relationships between determinants and quantity of news coverage about the two nations in question. Information on economic-related determinants, including trade figures and GDP were collected, as well as data on population and press freedom.

To analyze trade data in relation to the quantity of news stories about each country, trade was operationalized as the total value of imports and exports with China and with the United States (Wanta et al., 2004). Extensive trade data for every country in the world is available in the International Monetary Fund's *Direction of Trade Statistics (DOTS) Yearbook* (International Monetary Fund, 2012). Trade figures were correlated with the number of articles about China and the U.S. Trade figures in one year were compared to news quantities in the subsequent year (e.g., the number of news reports about China that were published in 2011 were compared to China's trade figures with the African country in 2010).

Several researchers have tested the hypothesis that the more economic or political clout a country has, the more international news coverage the country will receive. Most studies have supported this hypothesis. Indicators of a country's economic clout have included national traits, such as a country's GNP, population, or size or position in the world system (Ahern, 1984; Dupree, 1971). GDP per capita and population have been identified as the best predictors of a superpower nation's visibility in international news coverage (Wu, 1998) and were utilized in the current study. GDP and population figures for the U.S. and China, available in the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's World Factbook (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012-2013a, 2012-2013d) were compared with the quantities of news coverage about each nation.

In an effort to extend the theory and narrow the economic focus of the study, this research also incorporated additional, key economic indicators that have not been used in prior research related to determinants of international news including: GDP growth (annual %); GDP per capita, trade (total value of imports and exports between two countries); exports to foreign country (e.g., Kenya's exports to China); imports from foreign country (e.g., Kenya's imports from China); foreign direct investment (FDI); and net official development aid (ODA) received from the foreign country. Aiddata.org provides aid and FDI information for the United States, and select FDI and ODA information about China is available on the National Bureau of Chinese Statistics website, www.stats.gov.cn/english. As noted in many economic and scholarly readings, data on China's economic activities are difficult to access given its lack of transparency in reporting. It is for this reason that ODA and FDI figures are not included and analyzed in select sections of the current research; these figures are analyzed, when available.

Press freedom, another indicator of cultural affinity, was assessed using the Freedom House's Freedom of the Press data (Freedom House, 2014a). The higher the press freedom score for a nation, the lower its political, economic and social aspects of press freedom. Freedom House, based in New York, is an organization dedicated to promoting democracy and is a strong advocate of U.S. foreign policy (Freedom House, 2014b). While press freedom scores have been applied in previous studies on determinants of international news coverage, the Freedom House's approach reinforces Western-based ideals in international, political and diplomatic affairs.

Once all of the data for the aforementioned determinants was compiled, chi-square tests were conducted to determine if there was a relationship between the determinants of news coverage and the dependent variables in the study.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Sensing that Africa had been cast aside by the West in the wake of the Cold War,

Beijing saw the continent as a perfect proving ground for some Chinese companies to

cut their teeth in international business. (French, 2014, p. 4)

This study was designed to quantitatively assess economic news coverage of the

United States and China in Nigeria and Kenya, and this section details the results of the

research.

Quantity and prominence

As shown in Table 3, the search results produced 1,746 articles that included

mentions of the United States and/or China along with economic terms. Among these

articles, 800 (77.4%) focused on the U.S. in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, while 233 (22.6%) focused

on China in the same publication. In *Daily Nation (Kenya),* 370 (51.9%) of the articles

focused on the U.S., while 343 (48.1%) focused on China. Some articles mentioned only the

U.S. and China concurrently, including 10 (1.3%) in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and 13 (1.75) in

Daily Nation (Kenya). The entire sample was used to analyze hypotheses 4 and 5 about

imperialism. However, given the economic focus of the study, the researcher further refined

the sample to include only articles that focused on the superpower nation's economic

involvement in an African country in order to accurately test hypotheses 1-3 and 6-11. As

shown in Table 4, the number of economic articles included 464 in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and

289 in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

Table 3. Frequencies of articles by country and publication, Entire sample

Focus Country	ThisDay (Nigeria)		Daily Nation (Kenya)		TOTALS
	N	*%*	*N*	*%*	
U.S.	800	77.4%	370	51.9%	1,170
China	233	22.6%	343	48.1%	576
TOTALS	1,033		713		1,746

This table illustrates that the U.S. continues to attract the most international news coverage, but the gap between the U.S. and China's coverage is very narrow in Kenya.

H1. Research question one asked which country — the U.S. or China — receives

more substantive economic news coverage in Nigeria and Kenya, and it was hypothesized

that the quantity of economic news articles about the U.S. would be greater than the quantity

of economic news articles about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*. As shown in Table 4, among

economic articles in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, 72% focused on the United States' economic

engagement with the continent (*N*=334), while 28% of articles focused on China's economic

engagement (*N*=130). Hypothesis one was supported.

75

Table 4. Frequencies of articles by country and publication, Economic articles

Focus Country	ThisDay (Nigeria)		Daily Nation (Kenya)		TOTALS
	N	%	N	%	
U.S.	334	72.0%	130	45.2%	464
China	130	28.0%	159	54.8%	289
TOTALS	464		289		754

This table illustrates that China has surpassed the U.S. in economic news coverage in Kenya by a slight margin.

H2. Similarly, hypothesis two predicted that the number of economic news articles about the U.S. would be greater than the quantity of economic news articles about China in the Kenyan publication, *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. Based on the number of economic articles in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, China (*N*=159) had a higher percentage of economic news articles, 54.8%, than the United States (*N*=131) with 45.2%. Hypothesis two was not supported.

H3. Further analysis of the economic news articles was conducted to better identify which country was more prominent in news articles. Hypothesis three indicated that the United States would be more prominent than China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. While prominence is a measure of placement times the number of words, this analysis also dissected each component of prominence, including number of words as shown in Table 5 and placement as shown in Table 6. Economic articles about the United States appearing in the Nigerian newspaper, *ThisDay (Nigeria),* contained a mean number of words of 791.7, which was slightly higher than the mean number of words for economic articles on China, 725.3. On the other hand, there was a slightly higher mean number of words for economic

articles about China, 532.01, than the mean number of words in articles on the United States, 521.14.

Table 5. Number of words by country and publication

Focus Country	ThisDay (Nigeria)					Daily Nation (Kenya)				
	N	Min.	Max.	Med.	Mean	N	Min.	Max.	Med.	Mean
U.S.	334	81	7369	577.5	791.7	100	168	1803	505	521.1
China	130	92	3034	562.5	725.3	120	87	1592	496	532.0

The number of words supports prior research illustrating that the U.S. receives more coverage globally. It is only in Kenya where China leads by a slight margin.

To examine the second component of prominence — article placement— a chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the relationship between the placement of news articles in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* and the focus country (see Table 6). Only articles retrieved from the *Daily Nation (Kenya)* website archives were included in this analysis (N=220), since page numbers were not available for articles in the LexisNexis Academic database. Based upon the results, the relationship between placement and publication is significant $\chi2$ (4, N=220) = 14.716, p <.01. There were significantly more economic articles about the United States (N=66) in the news section — the first printed section — of *Daily Nation (Kenya)* than China (N=49). It is also noteworthy that 25% of China's articles appeared in the business section, the second section, of *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, while only 15% of the United States' articles appeared in the business section. These findings support

the idea that China's focus on business and investment ventures is also present in news coverage.

Table 6. Article placement by country in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*

| | *Focus Country* | | | |
| | United States | | China | |
Newspaper Sections	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
News (Politics, Africa, World, Diaspora)	66	66%	49	40.8%
Business (Corporates, Enterprise, Markets, Tech, Seeds of Gold)	15	15%	30	25%
Counties (Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri)	*	*	2	1.7%
Sports	*	*	*	*
Blogs & Opinion (Blogs, Commentaries, Editorials)	13	13%	27	22.5%
Life & Style (Art & Culture, Family, Health, Showbiz, Travel, Women, Beauty)	6	6%	12	10%
Elsewhere	*	*	*	*
Total	100		120	

$\chi^2 = 14.716$
$p < .01$

*The asterisk represents values of 0.

While both the U.S. and China are most visible in the first section of the newspaper, it is China's greater percentage of mentions in the business section that warrants more attention. It suggests that China is reported about more often using the business angle.

In calculating the overall prominence, or product of number of words and placement, the United States (*M*=3036.48) was more prominent than China (*M*=2678.57) as shown in Table 7. Thus, hypothesis three was supported.

Table 7. Prominence of articles by country in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*

	Min.	Max.	Median	Mean
United States	508	8512	2611	3036.48
China	261	11144	2286	2678.57

** Prominence is calculated on an article-by-article basis as the product of number of words in the article times actual position in newspaper, and then averaged among all articles.

Table 7 illustrates shows that the overall prominence of the United States in economic news coverage in *Daily Nation* surpasses that of China. The U.S. is more visible overall in spite of its slightly average number of words in the publication.

The findings above on the quantity and prominence of substantive news coverage help to provide a better understanding of the importance attributed to the two economic powers in Africa's media. The U.S. has more prominence when it does appear in news coverage, but its lower quantity of economic news articles in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* suggests that the U.S. may be losing ground in its international news coverage. Traditionally, the U.S. has appeared more frequently in international news coverage, given the country's ability to penetrate global news markets using its ample financial resources and communication technologies, as shown through wire services such as AP and Reuters. The fact that China's economic news articles surpass the United States' coverage in Kenya's *Daily Nation (Kenya)* challenges traditional notions of international news coverage. While the number of news articles

mentioning the U.S. in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* suggests that the United States maintains its global dominance, China's larger number and percentage of economic news articles in the Kenyan publication provides evidence that the United States' dominance in the media is not applicable in all regions and in all news topics. As mentioned earlier, economic news is valuable in that it can affect future investors' economic involvement with countries.

Based upon the analysis of the quantity and prominence of economic news articles in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* for 2011-2013, the United States appeared more prominently with a higher placement in the first section of the newspaper as well as a greater number of words. With a greater number of articles in the business section of *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, China is becoming more visible in an area that international development circles believe to be the key factor in Africa's development—business partnerships. However, the mere quantity of economic articles does not provide a complete picture of substantive economic news. Thus, the analysis of imperialistic elements within international news coverage is explained in the following section.

Imperialism

H4 and H5. In order to extend the analysis of economic news coverage beyond quantities, this study also examined the extent to which China and the United States' ideologies were evident in the news coverage. Hypothesis four predicted that there would be more evidence of the United States' imperialist influence than China's imperialist influence in economic news coverage in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*. Likewise, hypothesis five predicted the same conclusion for *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. The following discussion details the analysis of imperialist variables in both publications, including topics of articles, types of actors, sources of news and types of articles.

First, the presence of specific topics was explored using the initial sample that included 1,746 newspaper articles, and the results are outlined in Table 8. A chi-square test of independence was performed on the articles in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* to determine if there was a relationship between the topics of news articles and the foreign country, and the results illustrate that there is a significant relationship between the topics and the focus countries in *ThisDay (Nigeria),* $\chi2$ (24, *N=464*) = 80.471, *p* <.001. Among all topics for the U.S. in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, the economy (*N=232*) and business/commerce/industry (*N=130*) topics ranked highest. Conversely, China has the highest number of topics in the areas of business/commerce/industry (*N=75*) followed by economy (*N=45*). The business/commerce/industry topical area specifically focused on business and economic activities between countries, such as international business and investment as well as trade with foreign countries, while the economy category focused on a country's internal economic state, with the exception of articles about natural resources that was also classified under economy.

Based on the chi-square results, China had significantly lower percentages of articles for the following topics: internal politics, economy, and labor relations and unions. Additionally, China had significantly higher percentages of articles for the following subjects: business/commerce/industry, transportation and energy. Interestingly, the U.S. had a much lower percentage of articles than expected for business/commerce/industry-related articles.

Table 8. Topics of news articles by country and publication, Entire sample

Publication	ThisDay (Nigeria)		Daily Nation (Kenya)	
	U.S.	China	U.S.	China
Topics				
Internal politics	84 (10.5%)	10 (4.3%)	45 (12.2%)	16 (4.7%)
International politics	107 (13.4%)	24 (10.3%)	142 (38.4%)	93 (27.1%)
Military and defense	6 (.8%)	1 (.4%)	4 (1.1%)	2 (.6%)
Internal order	35 (4.4%)	6 (2.6%)	19 (5.1%)	17 (5.0%)
Economy	232 (29.0%)	45 (19.3%)	36 (9.7%)	56 (16.3%)
Labor relations and union	2 (.3%)	5 (2.1%)	2 (.5%)	6 (1.7%)
Business/commerce/industry	130 (16.3%)	75 (32.2%)	45 (12.2%)	71 (20.7 %)
Transportation	37 (4.6%)	24 (10.3%)	6 (1.6%)	25 (7.3%)
Health/welfare/social service	9 (1.1%)	1 (.4%)	4 (1.1%)	3 (.9%)
Population	4 (.5%)	4 (1.7%)	2 (.5%)	*
Education	21 (2.6%)	1 (.4%)	7 (1.9%)	2 (.6%)
Communication	4 (.5%)	*	7 (1.9%)	16 (4.7%)
Housing	1 (.1%)	*	6 (1.6%)	3 (.9%)
Environment	1 (.1%)	*	4 (1.1%)	6 (1.7%)
Energy	26 (3.3%)	16 (6.9%)	2 (.5%)	4 (1.2%)
Science/technology	3 (.4%)	*	3 (.8%)	2 (.6%)
Social relations	1 (.1%)	*	1 (.3%)	2 (.6%)
Disasters/accidents/epidemics	11 (1.4%)	1 (.4%)	*	1 (.3%)
Sports	10 (1.3%)	2 (.9%)	4 (1.1%)	2 (.6%)
Cultural events	15 (1.9%)	2 (.9%)	6 (1.6%)	2 (.6%)
Fashion/beauty	2 (.3%)	*	*	1 (.3%)
Ceremony	19 (2.4%)	5 (2.1%)	4 (1.1%)	2 (.6%)
Human interest	23 (2.9%)	6 (2.6%)	13 (3.5%)	6 (1.7%)
Weather	*	*	*	*
Entertainment	1 (.1%)	*	1 (.3%)	*
Other	6 (1.8%)	3 (2.3%)	7 (1.9%)	5 (1.5%)
Totals	**800**	**233**	**370**	**343**

$\chi^2 = 80.471$ *p* <. 001 $\chi^2 = 67.965$ *p* <. 001

*The asterisk represents values of 0.

Table 8 demonstrates the dynamics between China and the U.S. China is consistently mentioned in articles about business/commerce/industry across both publications.

A chi-square test of independence was also performed on all articles in the sample that appeared in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* to examine the relationship between the topics of news articles and the focus countries, and the results illustrate that there is a significant relationship between the topics and the focus country in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, χ^2 (20, N=290) = 67.965, $p < .001$. Among all topics for the U.S. in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, there was a higher number of articles on international politics (N=142), followed by business/commerce/industry (N=45) and international politics (N=45). The most frequently recurring topics for China were on international politics (N=93), which included topics such as diplomatic visits; diplomatic negotiations and agreements; international tensions and disagreements; and international terrorism.

Based upon the chi-square results, the U.S. had significantly lower percentages of articles than expected in the areas of business/commerce/industry and transportation in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. On the other hand, China had a significantly higher percentage of articles in business/commerce/industry and transportation, but significantly lower percentages for articles about internal politics.

The breakdown of topics for economic articles did not differ much from the composition of topics among the original 1,746 articles, as shown in Table 9. A chi-square test of independence was performed on economic articles appearing in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* to examine the relationship between the topic and focus country, and the results illustrate that there is a significant relationship, χ^2 (24, N=464) = 60.758, $p <.001$. The economy and business/commerce/industry topic areas ranked highest for the U.S. and China, as with the larger sample. However, the U.S. had the highest number of economic articles (N=87) in business/commerce/industry, which differs from the entire sample.

A chi-square test of independence was also performed on economic articles in the sample that appeared in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* to examine the relationship between the topic and focus country, and the results illustrate that there is a significant relationship between the topics and the focus country, χ^2 (24, *N*=290) = 50.153, *p* <.001. In the Kenyan publication, both the U.S. (*N*=62) and China (*N*=46) had the highest number of articles about international politics in the economic sample for *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. In *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, the U.S. did have a number of articles related to international terrorism, such as "Designate Boko Haram As FTO, CAN Urges U.S." (Adedoja, 2012) and "U.S. boosts maritime training with U.S. $1 million" (Ezeobi, 2013). China, on the other hand, was mentioned in numerous articles related to diplomatic visits, such as "Four governors return with goodies from China trip" (Ongiri, 2013) and "Jonathan Plans China Trip to Seek Investment" (Bello, 2013).

This research shows that when China is mentioned in the media, the subjects mostly pertain to business. In both *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* among all articles in the initial sample, one of the most frequently recurring topics about China was business/commerce/industry. Many articles focused on China's economic investments in Africa, such as "Govt, China sign U.S.$1.293 billion Zungeru power plant deal" (Akanbi, 2013a) and "Economic ties with Africa top agenda of China's new president" (Mumo, 2013). As mentioned earlier in the discussion on prominence, China was also more visible in the business section of *Daily Nation (Kenya)* than in other sections of the newspaper. Given that business partnerships, or win-win relationships, are a crucial part of China's push into Africa, the results on the topical emphasis provide evidence that China's imperialist ideals are indeed present in international news coverage in Kenya.

Table 9. Topics of news articles by country and publication, Economic articles

Topics	ThisDay (Nigeria) U.S.	ThisDay (Nigeria) China	Daily Nation (Kenya) U.S.	Daily Nation (Kenya) China
Internal politics	20 (6%)	1 (.8%)	10 (7.6%)	1 (.6%)
International politics	78 (23.4%)	14 (10.8%)	62 (47.3%)	46 (28.9%)
Military and defense	5 (1.5%)	1 (.8%)	1 (.8%)	*
Internal order	12 (3.6%)	5 (3.8%)	6 (4.6%)	*
Economy	66 (19.8%)	17 (13.1%)	12 (9.2%)	5 (3.1%)
Labor relations and union	*	5 (3.8%)	*	4 (2.5%)
Business/commerce/industry	87 (26%)	48 (36.9%)	24 (18.3%)	43 (27%)
Transportation	12 (3.6%)	17 (13.1%)	3 (2.3%)	16 (10.1%)
Health/welfare/social service	3 (.9%)	1 (.8%)	*	1 (.6%)
Population	*	3 (2.3%)	1 (.8%)	*
Education	7 (2.1%)	1 (.8%)	3 (3.1%)	2 (1.3%)
Communication	2 (.6%)	*	*	13 (8.2%)
Housing	*	*	1 (.8%)	*
Environment	1 (.3%)	*	*	1 (.6%)
Energy	22 (6.6%)	13 (10%)	1 (.8%)	4 (2.5%)
Science/technology	*	*	*	1 (.6%)
Social relations	1 (.3%)	*	1 (.8%)	*
Disasters/accidents/epidemics	6 (1.8%)	1 (.8%)	*	*
Sports	1 (.3%)	*	*	*
Cultural events	2 (.6%)	*	*	1 (.6%)
Fashion/beauty	*	*	*	*
Ceremony	2 (.6%)	*	**	1 (.6%)
Human interest	1 (.3%)	*	1 (.8%)	1 (.6%)
Weather	*	*	*	*
Entertainment	*	*	*	*
Other	6 (1.8%)	3 (2.3%)	1 (.8%)	1 (.6%)
Totals	**334**	**130**	**130**	**159**
	$\chi^2 = 60.758$ $p < .001$		$\chi^2 = 50.153$ $p < .001$	

*The asterisk represents values of 0.

This table illustrates that comparatively speaking, a greater percentage of China's economic articles focused on business subjects than those of the U.S. The U.S. is frequently associated with political matters.

As Sparks (2012) points out, cultural imperialism does not have to be overtly explicit, but it can also be conveyed through economic transactions or aid. Even a stadium built in an African country bearing China's name or Chinese writing creates an indiscernible association between the Chinese culture and its investment. Comparably, because China has a higher number of articles about business/commerce/industry (N=71) in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* than the U.S. (N=45), it calls into question the United States' continued imperialist influence in Kenya in the business context. As mentioned in the literature review, China's investments in Kenya have risen since the turn of the century, both in trade and in media. These turning points are also echoed in news coverage. Even in Nigeria, the actual percentage of business/commerce/industry-related articles about China (32.2%) was higher than the U.S. percentage of business articles (16.3%). Thus, it is clear that the United States' prominence is not absolute in international news coverage, at least not in the business context.

Another key aspect of imperialism that was examined was the type of actor in the article. A chi-square test of independence was performed on economic articles in the sample that appeared in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* to examine the relationship between the types of actor in the news articles and the foreign countries. Results for articles in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* show that there is not a significant relationship between the type of actors and the focus country, χ^2 (6, N=464) = 11.377, p=.077. Chi-square results for articles in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, however, produced a significant relationship between the type of actor and the focus country, χ^2 (6, N=289) = 19.239, p <.05. The results of the actor analysis illustrate that there are clear differences in how each country's messages are conveyed in international news in Kenya. Particularly, China had a significantly higher number of

companies performing the action in the articles, which is very aligned with China's economic

focus in Africa.

Table 10. Type of actor in news articles by publication and country, Economic articles

| | | Focus Country | | | |
| | | United States | | China | |
	Sources	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
ThisDay (Nigeria)	State/nation	72	21.6%	41	31.5%
	Govt. official	85	25.4%	19	14.6%
	Governmental org.	33	9.9%	15	11.5%
	NGO/Organized group	17	5.1%	5	3.8%
	Companies	71	21.3%	22	16.9%
	Individuals	11	3.3%	6	4.6%
	Mixed	45	13.5%	22	16.9%
	Total	334		130	
	χ^2=11.377 p=.077				
Daily Nation (Kenya)	State/nation	47	36.2%	53	33.3%
	Govt. official	48	36.9%	51	32.1%
	Governmental org.	10	7.7%	15	9.4%
	NGO/Organized group	7	5.4%	2	1.3%
	Companies	5	3.8%	29	18.2%
	Individuals	8	6.2%	6	3.8%
	Mixed	5	3.8%	3	1.9%
	Total	130		159	
	χ^2=19.239 p<.05				

Table 10 reiterates China's focus on business. Among all articles that appeared in *Daily Nation*, China had a significantly higher percentage of articles in which the actor was a Chinese company. There are similar reporting practices about both countries, as most news revolved around a nation or a national official performing the action.

Lastly, a chi-square test of independence was performed on economic articles that appeared in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* to examine the relationship between the source used in gathering the news stories, or author, such as news agencies or in-house staff, and focus countries, and the results shown in Table 11 indicate that there is not a relationship between the source and the focus country in *ThisDay (Nigeria), χ2 (3, N=464) =* 6.954, *p =*.073 and *Daily Nation (Kenya), χ2 (3, N=290) =* 3.792, *p =*.285.

Table 11. Authors of news stories by publication and country, Economic articles

| | | Focus Country | | | |
| | | United States | | China | |
	Sources	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
ThisDay (Nigeria)	In-house staff	292	87.4%	123	94.6%
	Outside sources	3	.9%	2	1.5%
	Unidentified sources	32	9.6%	4	3.1%
	Combination of any two or more categories above	7	2.1%	1	.8%
	Total	334		130	
	χ^2=6.954 p=.073				
Daily Nation (Kenya)	In-house staff	94	72.3%	109	68.6%
	Outside sources	28	21.5%	44	27.7%
	Unidentified sources	6	4.6%	6	3.8%
	Combination of any two or more categories above	2	1.5%	*	*
	Total	130		159	
	χ^2=3.792 p=.285				

Considering that there was no significant difference between the source of news stories for either publication, it suggests that no particular relationship exists between new origins African media are not reliant upon external outlets or wire services for their news.

Likewise, a chi-square test of independence was performed on economic articles that appeared in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* to examine the relationship between the type of article, and the results, as shown in Table 12, illustrate that there is not a relationship between the article type and the focus country in *Daily Nation (Kenya),* $\chi2$ (3, *N*=290) = 3.593, *p* = .309. On the other hand, in *ThisDay (Nigeria),* the chi-square test of independence indicated that there is a relationship between type of article and focus country, $\chi2$ (3, *N*=464) = 12.989, *p* < .05. Specifically, China had significantly fewer articles than expected (*N*=6) for news features and backgrounds. News features and background articles focus on a group or an individual, and the journalist prepares the report over the course of several days. Therefore, the features tend to provide detailed, contextual information on subjects. These results are aligned with China's overall approach to information, as the Chinese have been criticized for their lack of transparency. To complete a news feature about China would require reporters to have open access to China's news sources and information.

These results illustrate that a higher degree of imperialism is occurring for China in the publications. China had a higher percentage of business-related subjects in articles focused on its country in both *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya).* Furthermore, China's companies were the primary actors in the articles, which is aligned with the business-oriented focus of articles about China. Thus, hypotheses 4 and 5 were not supported; China has surpassed the U.S. in key variables related to imperialism.

One of the key reasons for these findings may be attributed to China's efforts to enhance its soft power. Soft power refers to a country's efforts to boost their image or reputation in another country. Part of China's soft power efforts focus on diplomatic visits and media outreach, as demonstrated by the positioning of their media bureau, Xinhua, in

Kenya. While this study showed no relationship between sources of news stories and news coverage, China's media operations on the continent may help to promulgate its messages, which can in turn influence the media's framing of China. China may also influence messages in the media. Whether it is by building relationships with African media or distributing pre-written releases to the media, Chinese companies may be the key actor more often in business, because China has chosen to focus on their business sector in their media communications. They recognize the power of the media to help influence public opinion of their business transactions, in essence. Another reason for China's dominance in business is the structure of China's foreign assistance to African countries. Beijing typically awards the majority of construction contracts in recipient countries to Chinese-favored businesses (Sun, 2014).

Table 12. Types of articles by publication and country

	Types of articles	United States		China	
		N	%	*N*	%
ThisDay (Nigeria)	Hard news, news brief or press event	252	75.4%	112	86.2%
	News feature and background	58	17.4%	6	4.6%
	Opinion	19	5.7%	9	6.9%
	Other	5	1.5%	3	2.3%
	$\chi^2=12.989$ $p<.05$				
Daily Nation (Kenya)	Hard news, news brief or press event	91	69.5%	107	67.3%
	News feature and background	29	22.1%	31	19.5%
	Opinion	9	7.6%	21	13.2%
	Other	1	.8%	*	*
	Total	464		290	
	$\chi^2=3.593$ $p=.309$				

The column header above "United States" and "China" reads "Focus Country".

*The asterisk represents values of 0.

This table illustrates that there is no significant relationship between types of articles and the focus country in *Daily Nation*. In Nigeria, China had a significantly higher percentage of its articles that appeared as hard news. Additionally, the United States' higher number of news feature/background articles illustrates that Nigeria's media focus on contextual elements of the United States' economic involvement, rather than event-oriented news.

Valence

H6. The second research question focused on how economic news frames of the U.S. and China compare in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. Hypothesis six suggested that the number of positive, economic news stories about the U.S. will be higher than the number of positive, economic news stories about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*. As

shown in Table 13, while there was a significant relationship between valence and country, the chi-square test of independence revealed that no particular country or valence was strongly determining the relationship, χ2 (2, *N=334*) = 6.483, *p* < .05. However, China topped the percentages of positive articles in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*. A comparison between negative frames about the U.S. and China illustrated that China (*N*=76) had a higher percentage of positive articles at 58.5%, while only 51.5% of articles about the U.S. (*N*=172) were positive. At the same time, China also had a higher percentage, 26%, of negative articles (*N*=29) than the U.S. (*N*=59) with 17.7%. Hypothesis six was not supported, which illustrates that the United States' influence on the valence of media messages in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* may not be as absolute as once believed.

H7. The comparative analysis between the U.S. and China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* also rejected the expected results. Hypothesis seven suggested that the number of positive, economic news stories about the U.S. would be higher than the number of positive, economic news stories about China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. While there was a significant relationship between valence and country, the chi-square test of independence revealed that no particular country or valence was strongly determining the relationship in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, χ2 (2, *N*=288) = 7.405, *p* < .05. The percentage of positive articles about the United States (*N*=36) in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* was 27.9%, which is much lower than China's positive economic articles (*N*=69), which comprised 43.4% of all articles focused on China. Positive articles about China focused on the economic benefits they provide to the recipient country. For example, positive articles about China included "Jonathan urges Chinese firm to finance road projects" (Ugeh, 2012a) in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and "How third world benefits from China" (Wu, 2013) in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. Correspondingly, among all negative articles, the

United States (*N*=34) had a slightly higher percentage with 26%, as compared with China's 21.4% (*N*=34). Hypothesis seven was not supported, which illustrates that once again, stories about China have more of a positive slant than ones about the U.S.

In the neutral category, the U.S. consistently presented higher percentages in both publications. The high percentages of neutral articles about the U.S. in both publications can be attributed to the unidirectional flow of information from the West. Numerous articles merely reported what happened in the United States or what an American official performed, absent any subjective commentary, or the article included a balanced presentation of positive and negative information about an issue or country. For example, in "Chevron Plans U.S.$35.8 Billion Upstream Spending for Nigeria, Others" the writer simply states the facts about an oil deal that a U.S. company has secured that will develop oil fields in Nigeria as well as in other countries. As shown in Table 13, even though the overall volume for U.S. news is greater than China in Nigeria's *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, a large share of the articles fall into the neutral category, meaning that there is no particular valence.

Table 13. Valence of economic news articles by publication and country

Publication	Valence	Focus Country U.S. N	U.S. %	China N	China %
ThisDay (Nigeria)	Negative	59	17.7%	29	22.3%
	Neutral	103	30.8%	25	19.2%
	Positive	172	51.5%	76	58.5%
	TOTAL	334		130	
	$\chi^2=6.483$ $p < .05$				
Daily Nation (Kenya)	Negative	34	26.1%	34	21.4%
	Neutral	59	45.3%	56	35.2%
	Positive	37	28.4. %	69	43.4%
	TOTAL	130		159	
	$\chi^2=7.405$ $p < .05$				

Table 13 illustrates that there are clearly differences in how China and the U.S. are framed in both African publications. In both publications, China is framed more positively, which contradicts the United States' control of the media message and frame.

Frames

While the valence of economic frames shed more light on the nature of substantive economic news coverage, a framing analysis was also conducted in order to expand the discussion. In fact, there was a strong relationship between the frames of the news coverage and the focus country. As shown in Table 14, a chi-square test of independence was performed on economic articles in the sample that appeared in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* to examine the relationship between the focus country and the frame. Results for articles in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* show that there is a significant relationship between the frames and the focus country, $\chi2$ (24, *N=464*) = 14.551, *p* <.001, and the results for the

relationship between frame and focus country for *Daily Nation (Kenya)* were also significant,

χ^2 (24, *N*=464) = 16.491, *p* <.001.

Table 14. Number of frames by country and publication

	ThisDay (Nigeria)				Daily Nation (Kenya)			
	U.S. N=334		China N=130		U.S. N=130		China N=159	
Frames								
Controversy	52	15.6%	28	21.5%	40	30.5%	41	25.8%
Competition	18	5.4%	6	4.6%	9	6.9%	28	17.6%
Partner	199	59.6%	78	60%	57	43.5%	71	44.7%
New Power	4	1.2%	3	2.3%	3	2.3%	4	2.5%
Refutation	2	.6%	3	2.3%	2	1.5%	2	1.3%
Watchfulness	20	6%	9	6.9%	9	6.9%	12	7.5%
Other	39	11.7%	3	2.3%	10	7.6%	1	.6%
	χ^2=14.551 *p* < .05				χ^2=16.491 *p* < .05			

This table illustrates that there are more similarities than differences between the way the U.S. and China are framed. Both countries are portrayed using similar frames — partner and controversy. The controversy frame is most likely attributed to the need to sell papers, as controversy helps sell newspapers.

Partnership. The most frequently recurring frame for the U.S. and China across both publications was that of partnership. In *ThisDay (Nigeria),* 59.6% of articles about the U.S. included the partnership frame, and the figure was nearly the same for China with 60%. In *Daily Nation (Kenya),* the two countries also had similar results for partnership frames, 43.5% for the U.S. and 44.7% for China. Framing the United States and China within the context of the partnership frame is not coincidental given that the two countries have focused

on building partnerships, with the latter focused specifically on business partnerships. Articles within the partnership frame typically focused on development or investment deals, such as "U.S. Firm Seeks FG's Partnership On Infrastructure Devt" (Chima, 2013b) in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* or "How the partnership between America and African states is helping the people" (Clinton, 2012) in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, as shown in Appendices B and C, respectively.

In many articles, the writer explicitly highlights the partnership aspect of the relationship. For example, in "China increases varsity scholarships" (China increases varsity scholarships, 2011) shown in Appendix D, a Chinese government official is quoted as saying "China and Kenya has collaborated for a long time and a high level of mutual trust has been created and China therefore sees Kenya as an important partner in East Africa" (p. 6). The partnership frame is befittingly applied to the United States and China's economic involvement, given that Africans have demanded more country ownership in the development process. As a result of the focus on country-driven development, external donors and partners have begun to collaborate more with African countries in boosting development, as opposed to using a top-down approach in which the recipient must meet certain conditions for assistance.

Controversy. The second highest percentage of frames for both the U.S. and China was that of controversy. Articles using this frame depicted the external country's involvement in terms of disagreements with the African country's policies or practices. For example, there were multiple articles about the debate over the United States' designation of Boko Haram as a foreign terrorist organization (FTO), and one example is shown in Appendix E. In an opinion piece, "No Final Decision On Boko Haram Yet, Says U.S."

(Adedoja & Olugbode, 2012), Nigerian Ambassador to the U.S. Adefuye expresses resistance to a designation:

> "…An FTO in any country is subject to America's search and destroy operation which includes the sending of drones and other unmanned weapon as it currently happens in Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen." While noting that such could also have impact on other citizens, Adefuye said: "We do not want that in Nigeria." (p. 12-13)

In the same article, the ambassador warns of the grave financial consequences of such a move, noting "an FTO designation would militate against Nigeria's drive for American foreign investment" (*p*. 17). Multiple other controversially framed articles about the U.S. also focused on this same issue, such as "On the designation of Boko Haram as Foreign Terrorist Oganisation" ("On the designation," 2013) and "Designate Boko Haram as FTO, CAN urges US" (Adedoja, 2012).

Articles with controversy frames related to China's engagement often revolved around unfairness or secrecy over contracts, as well as visa and labor issues. An shown in Appendix F, an article in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, "Fresh queries over Chinese coal firm awarded Sh8bn job" (Mosoba, 2012), points out the controversy over a covert contract:

> Water minister Charity Ngilu and Mutito MP Kiema Kilonzo have vowed to lobby to shoot down the tender in the Cabinet and in Parliament, claiming the Chinese company was a "proxy", and that it was awarded the tender irregularly at the behest of powerful individuals angling for a share… Mr. Kilonzo said the Chinese firm "hoodwinked" the delegations by taking them on a tour of mining sites owned by different Chinese corporations. (Mosoba, 2012)

In "Immigrations Unveil Challenges With Chinese Business People" (Duru, 2013) in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, the journalist reports about controversial sentiments between Chinese and Nigerian business people over business transactions:

> Nigerian participants in the interactive session complained about double-dealing by Chinese business people, alleging that those who were supposed to be investors and entrepreneurs end up opening shops to sell imported goods whose landed cost were lower than locally made goods. (p. 7)

While controversy frames about China seemed to focus on controversies that have historically been associated with the country, there were actually few differences in the actual numbers of controversy frames between China and the U.S. In *ThisDay (Nigeria),* 15.6% of the articles about the U.S. (N =52) and 21.5% of the articles about China (N=28) used the controversy frame. Likewise, in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, 30.5% of the articles about the U.S. (N =40) and 25.8% of the articles about China (N=41) used the controversy frames. In fact, in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, the U.S. and China had nearly equal percentages of articles using the two main frames — partnership and controversy — which illustrates that there were few differences between the frames that Nigeria and Kenya's media use to shape discussions of the two economic superpowers.

Competition. Another common frame was that of competition. Articles adopting the competition frame typically pitted two or more countries against each other in their quest for securing economic deals or natural resources in Africa. In *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, China's third highest frame was competition (N=28). It was also the fourth highest frame for the U.S. in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* (N=9). In "China set to outstrip US in science research output," (France-Presse, 2011) as shown in Appendix G, the writer opens with the competition frame

between China and the United States, stating that "China has shot to second place in the number of articles published in international science magazines and in a few years will take the top spot from the United States…" (p. 1).

In yet another article, "Amutabi: A second Cold War has broken out in Africa" (Amutabi, 2013a) as shown in Appendix H, a professor at a university in East Africa compares the economic competition between China and the U.S. to the Cold War between U.S. and Russia:

China started the second Cold War by making it clear that it was prepared to do everything to replace Western powers in trade and utilisation of the continent's resources. More than 35 African countries have received Chinese direct investment in infrastructure development. (para. 9)

The competition frame has dominated political and economic discourse about the U.S. and China's engagement with Africa. Correspondingly, competition was among the main frames or this study.

Watchfulness. Watchfulness also appeared as a common frame. Watchfulness was the third highest frame for China (*N*=9) in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, and the fourth highest for the U.S. (*N*=20) in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and the U.S. (*N*=9) in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*; watchfulness was also the fourth highest among frames about China (*N*=12) in *Daily Nation (Kenya).* Articles adopting this frame focused on warnings, fears or threats that external countries could have negative impacts on an African country's economy. For example, as shown in Appendix I in "Obama - We Don't Need Energy From Africa" (Akanbi, 2013b), the journalist states that "United States President Barack Obama Saturday confirmed the fears in some quarters that the days of crude oil importation from African oil producing countries,

including Nigeria, were numbered, as oil export from Nigeria is on a downward trend" (p. 1).

A consultant in the same article reiterates the threat to Nigeria's economy, stating that it is a

very "plausible scenario that one day the U.S. won't need to import crude oil from Nigeria"

(p. 7). Other articles addressing the same threat to Nigeria's oil industry were "NEITI raises

the alarm over threat to oil sector" (Ugeh, 2012b) and "OPEC warns US shale boom set to

erode crude oil demand" (Amanze-Nwachuku, 2013).

Among articles about China that utilized the watchfulness frame, many focused on

warnings about China's engagement with the continent such as the opinion piece, "A caution

on China [opinion]" (Amuta, 2011) that appeared in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* (see Appendix J):

> My attitude is that we need to take a long-term strategic view of China's coming if we
>
> have any degree of national self-interest left. At this point in time, the best attitude is
>
> one of great strategic caution and informed engagement… There are lessons to be
>
> learnt and dangers that are clear and present. (p. 3)

The watchfulness frame about China was also present in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. In "Sanusi –

China is major contributor to Africa's deindustrialization" (Chima, 2013a), the Governor of

the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) Mallam Sanusi Lamido Sanusi advises government and

policy leaders to assess China's engagement:

> He warned that with the growing interest of China in the continent, Africa is "opening
>
> itself up to a new form of imperialism." The CBN chief also insisted that a review of
>
> the "exploitative elements" in what he also described as a "marital contract" between
>
> Africa and China was long overdue.

Another article that drew attention to the watchfulness frame about China was "Njuguna:

Ensure that all Kenyans benefit from deals" (Wa Njuguna, 2013).

'Other.' Framing analyses have been critiqued, because they force the reader to categorize the frames in particular categories that are not all-inclusive. Thus, this research allowed for frames that did not fit neatly into any one framing category. Among all economic articles, 7% (*N*=53) could not be categorized, and the majority of these 'other' frames were attributed to the U.S. in both publications. The third highest frame category for the U.S. in *ThisDay (Nigeria) (N=39)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* (*N*=10) was the 'other' category. Many of the 'other' frames for the U.S. reflected the country's authoritative position and its policy views of or directives to the African countries. For example, in "U.S. Considers Sanctions Against Nigerian Officials," in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* (Adedoja & Sani, 2013), a U.S. States Department official Victoria Nuland expressed the disappointment over Nigeria's pardoning of two Nigerian leaders charged with corruption, former Bayelsa State governor Diepreye Alamieyeseigha and former managing director of Bank of the North, Alhaji Shettima Bulama. Nuland stated, "We have made clear to the Nigerians that this puts a question mark on the kinds of work that we've been trying to do with them" (p. 6). The article continues to draw attention to the authoritative messages conveyed by the U.S.:

> "We have a comprehensive agreement with Nigeria on what is considered as best practices on issues of governance and this gives us the basis to express our views when we see a deviation from the spirit of the agreement," a State Department official, who said he was not authourised to speak officially on the issue told ThisDay (Nigeria) last night." (p. 21)

In "U.S. - Nation Must Reverse Trajectory of Bad Elections" in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* (Adedoja, 2011)*,* a reporter once again highlights the United States' reproach for Nigeria's actions, this time focusing on their electoral process:

> The US official said the nation's political leadership and those who aspire to
> lead must refrain from engaging in inflammatory rhetoric or supporting acts of
> intimidation, adding, "violence has no place in a democratic society or in a
> democratic electoral process." (p. 8)

Other articles conveying similar messages in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* included "Bush - Nigerian leaders can earn confidence by tackling corruption" (Chima & Horsfall, 2013) and "U.S. - use April polls to reposition nation" (Osagie, 2011b). Considering that 93% of the articles in this study fit into existing framing categories, a separate research study could examine the atypical frames about the United States' engagement.

Framing research encourages the testing of and addition to the existing body of frames. In using deductive frames developed by Olorunnisola and Ma (2013) to code the articles, this study extended the analysis of economic news frames about Africa with an inquiry incorporating the U.S. The percentages of the leading frames for China and the U.S. were very similar, which suggests that these frames may be generalizable to multiple nations discussed in African media. In Olorunnisola and Ma's (2013) original study that examined frames about China's engagement with Africa, the researchers discovered three main frames about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria),* including partner (55.2%), controversy (24.1%) and new power (20.7%). This study found that China's engagement fell along the same framing continuum used in the Olorunnisola and Ma's (2013) study, with the exception of their findings on the new power frame. This study found few examples of the new power frame, as China may no longer be considered a new power. Instead, the third-highest recurring frame was watchfulness for China (*N*= 9) in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and competition (*N*=28) for China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. The fact that percentages of the top two main frames in

102

Olorunnisola and Ma's (2013) study are very similar to the ones in the current study suggests that identical frames can be applied to other nations, even though their strategic and economic objectives differ. Many have argued that China's engagement with Africa differs from other nations or that the nation is unduly criticized in popular discourse and the media because of its questionable practices. However, this study illustrates that the U.S. is framed in much the same way as China and is just as vulnerable to the same criticism and framing, as evidenced by similar percentages of controversially framed articles.

To go beyond a mere framing analysis, Tables 15 and 16, a subsequent analysis comparing valence and frames was conducted in order to denote any relationships between valences and frames. The results indicate that there were strong similarities between the classification of frames between countries and publications. In *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, the majority of the positive articles about the U.S. (*N*=149), 67.5%, and China (*N*=60), 61.4%, utilized the partnership frame; the majority of positive partnership frames also outnumbered other categories in *Daily Nation (Kenya).* One remarkable difference in the U.S. and China's valence and frames was in the competition category.

The valence of certain frames can be deduced from the definition of the frame, such as controversy with its negative connotation. However, partnership would usually apply to positive ties between parties, but this research reinforces the duality of frames. While the U.S. is receiving a large percentage of coverage using the partnership frame in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* at 47.9%, it had a higher percentage of negatively toned articles adopting the partnership frame (*N*=7) than China (*N*=1). Likewise, in *ThisDay (Nigeria),* the U.S. (*N*=9) was portrayed more often in a negative way, 17.3%, of the time using the competition frame.

Table 15. Valence by frame in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*

Valence

Focus Country	Frame	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
U.S. χ^2=166.94 $p < .001$	Controversy	30	17	5	52
		57.7%	20.0%	3.2%	17.6%
	Competition	9	7	2	18
		17.3%	8.2%	1.3%	6.1%
	Partner	1	49	149	199
		1.9%	57.6%	94.3%	67.5%
	New Partner	3	1	*	4
		5.8%	1.2%	*	1.4%
	Refutation	*	2	*	2
		*	2.4%	*	.7%
	Watchfulness	9	9	2	20
		17.3%	10.6%	1.3%	6.8%
	TOTAL	52	85	158	295
		17.6%	28.8%	53.6%	100%
China χ^2=68.116 $p < .001$	Controversy	17	8	3	28
		58.6%	33.3%	4.1%	22.0%
	Competition	*	*	6	6
		0.0%	0.0%	8.1%	4.7%
	Partner	4	14	60	78
		13.8%	58.3%	81.1%	61.4%
	New Partner	*	*	3	3
		0.0%	0.0%	4.1%	2.4%
	Refutation	3	*	0	3
		10.3%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%
	Watchfulness	5	2	2	9
		17.2%	8.3%	2.7%	7.1%
	TOTAL	29	24	74	127
		22.8%	18.9%	58.3%	100%

This table illustrates that while frames used to describe China and Africa are similar, differences exist within the valence category. Among negative articles, the U.S. had 17% that used the competition frame, while China had none that were focused on competition. On the other hand, the U.S. had more positive, partner articles than China.

Table 16. Valence by frame in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*

Focus Country	Frame	Valence			
		Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
U.S.	Controversy	23	15	1	39
		69.7%	27.3%	3.2%	32.8%
χ^2=53.971	Competition	2	6	1	9
$p < .001$		6.1%	10.9%	3.2%	7.6%
	Partner	7	22	28	57
		21.2%	40.0%	90.3%	47.9%
	New Partner	*	2	1	3
		*	3.6%	3.2%	2.5%
	Refutation	1	1	*	2
		3.0%	1.8%	*	1.7%
	Watchfulness	*	9	*	9
		*	16.4%	*	7.6%
	TOTAL	33	55	31	119
		27.7%	46.2%	26.1%	100%
China	Controversy	25	13	3	41
		73.5%	23.2%	4.4%	25.9%
χ^2=87.794	Competition	3	15	10	28
$p < .001$		8.8%	26.8%	14.7%	17.7%
	Partner	1	18	52	71
		2.9%	32.1%	76.5%	44.9%
	New Partner	*	2	2	4
		*	3.6%	2.9%	2.5%
	Refutation	*	1	1	2
		*	1.8%	1.5%	1.3%
	Watchfulness	5	7	*	12
		14.7%	12.5%	*	7.6%
	TOTAL	34	56	68	158
		21.5%	35.4%	43%	100%

Again, the U.S. had more positive, partner articles in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* than China. At the same time, the U.S. also had more negative, partner frames than China.

This research shows that on one level, the U.S. and China are not framed differently, as they are reported about using similar frames. However, the divergence in valence points to key differences in dialogue about the two nations. The fact that China is framed positively more often than the U.S. in both Nigeria and Kenya points to a shift in views of China. Popular literature and media would have one to believe that China has a very negative image, but this framing research provides empirical evidence that the opposite effect is happening, at least from the African media perspective.

From the imperialist point-of-view, China's positive news coverage may be driven by the influx of Chinese investment and goods. In other words, China's presence as evidenced by its economic activities in the country may lead to more positive coverage. By the same token, discontent with the United States' economic policies may contribute to the more negative coverage about the U.S. Even if African media did not have positive views of either country, they may choose the lesser of two evils, opting for the one that provides the most economic benefits.

China's economic investments in the media may also be driving its higher amounts of positive news about its country. With multiple news bureaus in Kenya, China creates and distributes news about Africa throughout the continent. Quite naturally, these Chinese media can spin the messages in news reports to their advantage.

Determinants of international news coverage

The final research question explored whether trade, among all international news determinants, best explicated economic news coverage of the U.S. and China in Nigeria and Kenya. This study utilized benchmark data to discover the relationship between international news determinants and economic news coverage of the U.S. and China in the two African newspapers. Tables 17, 19, 21 and 23 present descriptive statistics for each country-newspaper combination using the international news determinants, followed by the correlation tables using the variables. A breakdown of Kenya and Nigeria's trade with China and the U.S., as detailed in Tables 17, 19, 21 and 23, is quoted from the International Monetary Fund's *Direction of Trade Statistics (DOTS) Yearbook of 2012*. China's trade volume is greater with Kenya for each year, and the trade volume between the U.S. and Nigeria is larger than that of China for all three years. An examination of the economic data also shows that key economic indicators increased for both China and the U.S. over the three-year timeframe, except in the case of China's GDP annual growth, which decreased during between 2011 and 2013.

The descriptive statistics also illustrate the gradual increase in the average number of words in articles about each foreign nation in each African publication. However, there were differences in the number of articles about each country. While the number of articles about the U.S. and China increased during the three-year period in *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, there was a decrease in the number of articles for each foreign country in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*. Lastly, the valence of articles about China, as shown in Table 21, steadily increased in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* during the three-year period. Even in *Daily Nation (Kenya),* China also experienced

a brief decline in the number of positive articles, before rebounding with a higher valence in 2013, as shown in Table 23.

In order to assess the relationship between the determinants and economic news coverage, bivariate correlations were performed for each country combination (e.g., US-Nigeria, US-Kenya, China-Nigeria, China-Kenya) using the independent variables (imports, exports, trade, GDP, GDP per capita, GDP annual growth, population, press freedom, official development assistance and foreign direct investment) and the key dependent variables (quantity, valence and prominence). The analysis involved the use of longitudinal data from 2011, 2012 and 2013, as shown in Tables 17-24, in order to correlate the relationship between the independent variables, or determinants, for each year with the dependent variables, characteristics of the news coverage.

H8. Hypothesis eight predicted that among all determinants of international news coverage, trade would best explicate economic news coverage about the U.S. in Nigeria. In order to test this hypothesis, correlation tables were constructed to discover the important relationships between the dependent variables and the independent variables, using Spearman's rho. Table 18 presents the correlation table for key variables related to news coverage about the U.S. in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and US-Nigeria's economic determinants. Statistically significant correlations were found between the number of words and the following economic variables: imports, GDP, GDP per capita, population and FDI ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). Likewise, there were strong, significant correlations between the numbers of economic articles and the same economic variables: imports, GDP, GDP per capita, population and FDI ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). Official development aid correlated with valence in a statistically significant, negative way ($r = -1.000$, $p < 0.01$), which means that as U.S. aid to

Nigeria decreases, the articles about the U.S. are more positive. Again, this trend may be reflective of African countries' desire to foster country-centered development, or development with less involvement of the external country. Trade, the variable that has been identified as the primary predictor of international news coverage, was not found to statistically correlate with any of the dependent variables related to coverage and content. Thus, hypothesis eight was not supported.

H9. Hypothesis nine predicted that among all determinants of international news coverage, trade would best explicate economic news coverage about the U.S. in Kenya. Table 20 presents the correlation table for key variables related to news coverage about the U.S. in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* and US-Kenya's economic determinants. Statistically significant correlations were found between the number of words and the following economic variables: imports, exports, trade, GDP, GDP per capita, and population ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). Likewise, there were strong, positive correlations between the number of economic articles and the ODA and FDI ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). In Kenya, trade as well as its components, imports and exports, along with GDP and population were found to significantly and positively correlate with the number of words ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$).

On the other hand, there were significant, negative correlations between the number of articles overall and the following economic variables: imports, exports, trade, GDP, GDP per capita and population ($r = -1.000$, $p < 0.01$). As the value of these economic indicators increase, the number of articles mentioning the U.S. actually decreases. Based on these results, trade once again does not have a positive relationship with the quantity of news coverage. Nonetheless, hypothesis nine was partially supported, as there was a positive

correlation between trade and the number of words in the articles. However, there was a negative correlation between the quantity of overall articles and trade.

H10. Hypothesis ten predicted that among all determinants of international news coverage, trade would best explicate economic news coverage about China in Nigeria. To test this hypothesis, correlations were also performed for key variables related to news coverage about China in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and China-Nigeria's economic determinants, as shown in Table 22. Statistically significant correlations were found between the number of words and the following economic variables: imports, GDP, GDP per capita, and population ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). Likewise, there were strong, significant correlations between overall number of articles mentioning China and the numbers of: imports, GDP, GDP per capita and population. ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). Unlike with other country combinations, valence significantly correlated with imports, GDP, GDP per capita and population for China and Nigeria.

Once again, trade as well as exports failed to correlate with news coverage variables. Thus, hypothesis ten was not supported. However, there were other notable findings related to international news and economic variables. GDP annual growth negatively correlated with words, valence and quantity ($r = -1.000$, $p < 0.01$) for China and Nigeria. As economic growth slows in China, news coverage about China increases in Nigeria, as does the tone and length of coverage. This would suggest that China's presence in Africa's media is manifested the most during economic turmoil in China. Indeed, China has turned to Africa to fill the gap created by increased demands for resources in their country.

The fact that the number of imports — as opposed to exports — positively correlate with the words, valence and quantity suggests that China continues to be lauded in news

coverage, even while Nigeria imports more goods from China than it exports. As shown in Table 21, Nigeria has consistently imported much larger volumes of goods from China than it has exported to the country.

H11. Lastly, hypothesis eleven predicted that among all determinants of international news coverage, trade would best explicate economic news coverage about China in Kenya. Correlations were performed for key variables related to news coverage about China in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* and China-Kenya's economic determinants, as shown in Table 24, and statistically significant correlations were found between the number of words and the following economic variables: imports, trade, GDP, GDP per capita, and population ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). There was a positive correlation between valence and ODA ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$) as well as valence and press freedoms ($r = 1.000$, $p < 0.01$). Likewise, there were negative correlations between the quantities of articles and ODA ($r = -1.000$, $p < 0.01$). Hypothesis eleven was partially supported in that trade correlated positively with the number of words.

Table 17. Descriptive statistics for determinants of international news coverage of the United States in Nigeria's *ThisDay (Nigeria)* (Means)

Variables	2011	2012	2013
Number of words	784.33	919.64	1055.61
Number of articles	139	298	361
Number of economic articles	68	129	135
Prominence[a]			
Valence	1.49	1.27	1.32
Press Freedoms	52	51	51
Economic Variables[b]			
Imports[c]	4,444	5,296	5,625
Exports[c]	28,507	31,226	12,849
Trade total[c]	32,951	36,522	18,474
GDP[d]	14,958	15,534	16,245
GDP per capita	43,358	49,855	51,755
GDP annual growth	2.5	1.8	2.8
Population	309,326,295	311,582,564	313,873,685
FDI[c]	81	157	2762
Official Development Aid[c]	464.7	488.9	486

This table illustrates that over time, news articles about the U.S. have become more lengthy, as shown in the number of words, and the number of articles have increased over the three years.

[a] Prominence was only measured for articles appearing in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

[b] Data for economic variables are reported for the year prior to the printed year. For example, the GDP for 2011 is actually the GDP for 2010.

[c] Imports, Exports, Trade, FDI and Official Development Aid=in millions.

[d] GDP=in billions.

Table 18. Spearman's rho coefficients for words, valence, quantity and economic variables — US-Nigeria

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Words	1.000	-.500	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	-.500	-.500	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	-.866	.500	1.000**
2. Valence		1.000	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	.500	-.500	.866	-1.000**	-.500
3. Economic Articles			1.000	1.000**	1.000**	-.500	-.500	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	-.866	.500	1.000**
4. Total Number of Articles				1.000	1.000**	-.500	-.500	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	-.866	.500	1.000**
5. Imports					1.000	-.500	-.500	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	-.866	.500	1.000**
6. Exports						1.000	1.000**	-.500	-.500	-1.000**	-.500	0.000	.500	-.500
7. Trade							1.000	-.500	-.500	-1.000**	-.500	0.000	.500	-.500
8. GDP								1.000	1.000**	.500	1.000**	-.866	.500	1.000**
9. GDP Per Capita									1.000	.500	1.000**	-.866	.500	1.000**
10. GDP Annual Growth										1.000	.500	0.000	-.500	.500
11. Population											1.000	-.866	.500	1.000**
12. Press Freedom												1.000	-.866	-.866
13. ODA													1.000	.500
14. FDI from foreign country														1.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

This table illustrates that valence and ODA are negatively correlated. As ODA increases, the valence of articles becomes more negative, suggesting that Nigeria prefers that the U.S. does not intervene in the country. On the other hand, as several economic determinants (e.g., trade, GDP population, and FDI from the US) about the U.S. increase, so does the valence of news articles.

Table 19. Descriptive statistics for determinants of international news coverage of United States in Kenya's *Daily Nation (Kenya)* (Means)

Variables	2011	2012	2013
Number of words	593.96	600.08	717.53
Number of articles	158	126	86
Number of economic articles	53	147	30
Prominence[a]	2726.33	3273.62	4083
Valence	1.09	.89	1.07
Press Freedoms	54	53	57
Economic Variables[b]			
Imports[c]	399.10	510.70	638.80
Exports[c]	295.5	360.9	367.8
Trade total[c]	694.6	871.6	1,006.6
GDP[d]	14,958	15,533	16,244
GDP per capita	48,358	49,855	51,755
GDP annual growth	2.5	1.8	2.8
Population	309,326,295	311,582,564	313,873,685
FDI[c]	3	5	-145
Official Development Aid[c]	800.6	988.5	738.5

This table illustrates that the United States' foreign direct investment (FDI) and official development aid have decreased in Kenya over a three-year period. Additionally, news coverage of the U.S. has also experienced a steep decline in Kenya.

[a] Prominence was only measured for articles appearing in *Daily Nation (Kenya).*

[b] Data for economic variables are reported for the year prior to the printed year. For example, the GDP for 2011 is actually the GDP for 2010.

[c] Imports, Exports, Trade, FDI and Official Development Aid=in millions.

[d] GDP=in billions.

Table 20. Spearman's rho coefficients for words, valence, quantity and economic variables — US-Kenya

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Words	1.000	-.500	-.500	-1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	.500	-.500	-.500
2. Valence		1.000	-.500	.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	.500	-.500	.500	-.500	-.500
3. Economic articles			1.000	.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	-1.000**	-.500	-1.000**	1.000**	1.000**
4. Total Number of Articles				1.000	-1.000**	-1.000**	-1.000**	-1.000**	-1.000**	-.500	-1.000**	-.500	.500	.500
5. Imports					1.000	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	.500	-.500	-.500
6. Exports						1.000	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	.500	-.500	-.500
7. Trade							1.000	1.000**	1.000**	.500	1.000**	.500	-.500	-.500
8. GDP								1.000	1.000**	.500	1.000**	.500	-.500	-.500
9. GDP Per Capita									1.000	.500	1.000**	.500	-.500	-.500
10. GDP Annual Growth										1.000	.500	1.000**	-1.000**	-1.000**
11. Population											1.000	.500	-.500	-.500
12. Press Freedom												1.000	-1.000**	-1.000**
13. ODA													1.000	1.000**
14. FDI from foreign country														1.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

This table illustrates that the number of words positively correlates with nearly every economic determinant, including trade. The number of economic articles negatively correlates with GDP annual growth, the measure of the United States' economic growth.

Table 21. Descriptive statistics for determinants of international news coverage of China in Nigeria's *ThisDay (Nigeria)* (Means)

Variables	2011	2012	2013
Number of words	807.73	1012.78	1068.70
Number of articles	56	77	100
Number of economic articles	38	37	55
Prominence[a]			
Valence	1.26	1.32	1.45
Press Freedoms	52	51	51
Economic Variables[b]			
Imports[c]	7,364	10,121	10,238
Exports[c]	971	1,437	1,150
Trade total[c]	8,335	11,558	11,388
GDP[d]	5,930	7,321	8,229
GDP per capita	4,433	5,447	6,093
GDP annual growth	10.4	9.3	7.7
Population	1,337705,000	1,344130,000	1,350,695,000
FDI[ce]	—	—	—
Official Development Aid[ce]	—	—	1,056

This table illustrates that among all news features and economic determinants, there has been an increase in the values with the exception of exports. Kenya's exports to China have decreased over the three-year period.

[a] Prominence was only measured for articles appearing in *Daily Nation (Kenya).*
[b] Data for economic variables are reported for the year prior to the printed year. For example, the GDP for 2011 is actually the GDP for 2010.
[c] Imports, Exports, Trade, FDI and Official Development Aid=in millions.
[d] GDP=in billions.
[e] Country-specific FDI and ODA figures were not available for China for select years.

Table 22. Spearman's rho coefficients for words, valence, quantity and economic variables — China-Nigeria

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Words	1.000	1.000**	.500	1.000**	1.000**	.500	.500	1.000**	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	-.866
2. Valence		1.000	.500	1.000**	1.000**	.500	.500	1.000**	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	-.866
3. Economic articles			1.000	.500	.500	-.500	-.500	.500	.500	-.500	.500	0.000
4. Total Number of Articles				1.000	1.000**	.500	.500	1.000**	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	-.866
5. Imports					1.000	.500	.500	1.000**	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	-.866
6. Exports						1.000	1.000**	.500	.500	-.500	.500	-.866
7. Trade							1.000	.500	.500	-.500	.500	-.866
8. GDP								1.000	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	-.866
9. GDP Per Capita									1.000	-1.000**	1.000**	-.866
10. GDP Annual Growth										1.000	-1.000**	.866
11. Population											1.000	-.866
12. Press Freedom												1.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In *ThisDay (Nigeria)*, there were significant positive correlations between number of words and imports (Nigeria's imports from China), GDP and population. There were also significant positive correlations between valence and imports, GDP and population.

Table 23. Descriptive statistics for determinants of international news coverage of China in Kenya's *Daily Nation (Kenya)* (Means)

Variables	2011	2012	2013
Number of words	513.23	547.48	574.23
Number of articles	120	158	65
Number of economic articles	54	69	36
Prominence[a]	2589.94	2756	1767
Valence	1.20	1.17	1.33
Press Freedoms	54	53	57
Economic Variables[b]			
Imports[c]	1,967.80	2,605.80	3,067.70
Exports[c]	35.60	59.00	47.50
Trade total[c]	2,003.40	2,664.80	3,115.20
GDP[d]	5,930	7,321	8,229
GDP per capita	4,433	5,447	6,093
GDP annual growth	10.4	9.3	7.7
Population	1,337,705,000	1,344,130,000	1,350,695,000
FDI[ce]	—	—	—
Official Development Aid[c]	43.5	32.8	82.9

This table illustrates that Kenya's exports to China are considerably lower than China's imports. Over the course of three years, imports from China have increased by nearly a thousand dollars each year.

[a] Prominence was only measured for articles appearing in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

[b] Data for economic variables are reported for the year prior to the printed year. For example, the GDP for 2011 is actually the GDP for 2010.

[c] Imports, Exports, Trade, FDI and Official Development Aid=in millions.

[d] GDP=in billions.

[e] Country-specific FDI and ODA figures were not available for China for select years.

Table 24. Spearman's rho coefficients for words, valence, quantity and economic variables — China-Kenya

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Words	1.000	.500	-.500	-.500	1.000**	.500	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	.500	.500
2. Valence		1.000	-1.000**	-1.000**	.500	-.500	.500	.500	.500	-.500	.500	1.000**	1.000**
3. Economic articles			1.000	1.000**	-.500	.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	.500	-.500	-1.000**	-1.000**
4. Total Number of Articles				1.000	-.500	.500	-.500	-.500	-.500	.500	-.500	-1.000**	-1.000**
5. Imports					1.000	.500	1.000**	1.000**	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	.500	.500
6. Exports						1.000	.500	.500	.500	-.500	.500	-.500	-.500
7. Trade							1.000	1.000**	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	.500	.500
8. GDP								1.000	1.000**	-1.000**	1.000**	.500	.500
9. GDP Per Capita									1.000	-1.000**	1.000**	.500	.500
10. GDP Annual Growth										1.000	-1.000**	-.500	-.500
11. Population											1.000	.500	.500
12. Press Freedom												1.000	1.000**
13. ODA													1.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

This table illustrates that there were significant positive correlations between number of words and imports (Kenya's imports from China), trade, GDP, GDP per capita, and population. There were also significant positive correlations between valence and press freedom and official development assistance (ODA).

Among the final four hypotheses, trade strongly correlated with news coverage variables for both the U.S. and China's relations with Kenya, which provides support for hypotheses 9 and 11. There was not a significant relationship between trade and news coverage for either the U.S. or China's relations with Nigeria. However, a notable finding from this research is that the number of imports from China and U.S. to Nigeria positively correlated with the news coverage variables. In fact, the volume of imports correlated with international news coverage for every foreign and African-country combination. These findings support the idea that trade between countries, in part, is a positive factor for news coverage in Kenya. The influx of goods, or imports, from China and the U.S. was strongly correlated to words, valence and quantity of news articles. The alignment between trade and economic news variables is a testament to the expanded views of imperialism, which proposes that imperialism can be manifested through a nation's secondary economic or cultural artifacts, such as American or Chinese products. A microanalysis of the types of products that are traded and the types of business transactions (e.g., business-to-business or business-to-consumer) between foreign countries and African countries in future research would provide more evidence of the connection between cultural artifacts and audience salience.

In sum, it was predicted that trade would best explicate economic news coverage. As this research concludes, trade is a factor but there are multiple other economic determinants that also correlate with international news coverage, such as aid (ODA) and GDP per capita. Previous studies on economic determinants have focused on a broad range of political and economic factors that allow for prediction, and these studies have utilized economic indicators used in previous research such as trade and GDP to make an assessment of the best

determinants. The individual components of trade, however, had not been tested until now. This research illustrates that imports from the U.S. and China both correlate with the amounts of news coverage about the nation. Thus, future studies on economic determinants should expand the parameters of economic determinants to include other types of economic transactions such as individual components of trade and official development assistance, to name a few.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the research reported in this dissertation study found that economic news coverage in Kenya challenges the existing norms of international news coverage. While the U.S. had a greater quantity of news articles in Nigeria's *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and more prominence in *Daily Nation (Kenya)* the U.S. had fewer articles in Kenya's *Daily Nation (Kenya)* than China. This finding is significant considering that China has a much higher trade volume with Kenya. Additionally, this research demonstrated that China's presence in Africa's news coverage was also more evident in both publications through imperialist elements, as topics related to China's business and commerce objectives were more frequent than subjects concerning the United States. Results of the framing analysis further substantiated China's growing popularity in news coverage in Africa. In both Nigeria and Kenya's publications, China's valence was more positive than the U.S.

In analyzing the frames in news coverage about China and the U.S., there were more similarities between the nations than differences. The quantities of main frames were almost identical (e.g., partnership the highest, controversy the second highest). In essence, China and the U.S. are discussed and defined using similar frames. This study contrasted two African

121

countries of varying economic levels with two foreign countries in different regions of Africa, and yet, the types of frames were very similar. Thus, one can conclude that economic frames about foreign countries do not change as a result of spatial differences or cultural differences in Africa.

In the final analysis that probed the relationship between economic news variables and news coverage variables, trade was related to China and the United States' news coverage in Kenya. In the economic scramble for Africa, the opportunity to impact or boost international news coverage through trade relationships would prove beneficial to foreign countries looking to do business with African countries. Considering China's greater number of articles and more positive valence in the Kenyan publication, its higher trade with Kenya is certainly worthy of closer attention.

The analysis combined three discrete approaches to analyzing news coverage. Independently, quantity, prominence, frames and determinants reveal only part of the anatomy of international news coverage. In taking a holistic approach, this research ties together multiple components of economic news coverage, the broader relationship between news coverage antecedents, new content quantities, and economic news frames is clearer.

Additionally, the research drew attention to a part of the world that is often overlooked in scholarly research and global media. Multiple studies have repeated the ethnocentric studies that have consistently shown that Africa is framed negatively using frames associated with turmoil. This research reverses the North-South analyses to level the imbalance created in economic, political and scholarly circles. As Africa's media have become more developed and independent, they are increasingly playing a critical role in moderating the messages between individuals, leaders, and countries. Understanding trends

related to Africa's media messages can provide a valuable resource for superpower nations looking to conduct economic transactions on the continent.

There are several lessons learned from the findings for each research question. Research question one illustrated that international news coverage about the U.S. is not universally the same. In it its initial conception, imperialism presupposed that the U.S. was the core nation that dictated and controlled the flow of ideals and information in the global sphere. The U.S. media have dominated the media industry, receiving more mentions than other countries (Chang, 1998; Segev & Blondheim, 2013; Wu, 1998). Accordingly, research on intermedia agenda setting, or the influence that mass media exert on each other, has confirmed that the United States' media sets the media's agenda in most other countries (Du, 2012; Hatchen & Scott, 2007). As this research shows, the mentions of the U.S. in economic news are not as large or as positive as China. Furthermore, research question one illustrated that Sub-Saharan Africa is not one homogeneous continent, nor is its media. Reporters for *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, while subject to similar political and media environments in their respective countries, were not identical in reporting about the two countries in terms of quantity and valence.

Research question two revealed that quantity does not necessarily produce quality. While the U.S. had a higher quantity of news articles in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and more prominence in *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, China had a more positive valence in both publications. Scholarly research about news content must go beyond sheer descriptive, comparative measures, and it should examine the depth of the complexities of news coverage and compare elements such as valence. As illustrated in this research, the valence presents a different perspective on news coverage

In addition, research question two illustrated that frames do not change over time or space in shaping discussions on key issues, specifically economic issues in Africa. Olorunnisola and Ma's (2013) initial study about China's engagement with the study identified frames related to China's engagement with Africa, and this research reinforces the consistent nature of frames. Reese (2001, p. 11) defined frames as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time…" Because no differences in frames were detected between the U.S. and China's engagement with either African country, this research reiterates the permanence of frames, even when the frames are applied to a different country.

Frames provide the context or ground rules for issues that are discussed, since frames are more comprehensive than issues (Hertog & McLeod, 2001). Because frames make sense of relevant events, foreign countries must adopt frames that are currently used in international economic news coverage in order for their messages to resonate with the media and public.

Research question three revealed that trade is indeed one of the determinants of international news overage, especially as reflected in imports and trade in Kenya. In Kenya, where China has the greatest volume of trade and the largest number of articles, this finding shows that two-way trade is an important factor in international news coverage as well as the importation of a superpower nation's goods. Additionally, this research shows that numerous economic variables play a role in determining international news coverage. In some instances, ODA, FDI, GDP annual growth and GDP per capita were equally relevant.

Unlike previous research, this study provides a comprehensive analysis of economic news content with a focus on the media's framing. Previous studies on Africa's frames have drawn attention to one component of coverage, such as a study about determinants of

international news coverage or a study on economic frames. In conducting a three-part, combined analysis, this research allows for a better understanding of the make-up of media messages and frames. Indeed, there are connections between the three concepts.

Additionally, this research juxtaposes two foreign powers that are in the race to conquer and develop more of Africa. Sparks (2012) touches on the relationship between the nations: "It is…plain that the economic and military development of China…is beginning to pose an increasing challenge to Washington's domination of world affairs" (p. 290). As a conduit for expressing views of superpower nation's involvement in Africa, Africa's media can determine which country is portrayed more favorably in the news.

Limitations. It is necessary to point out some limitations. Access to African publications has proven to be challenging and could prevent exhaustive future research. In conducting this research, attempts were made to secure the printed copies of both newspapers, but none were available after checking multiple national databases. However, media producers in Africa have begun to ensure that electronic news articles are accessible to researchers in and outside the continent. Additional research using different forms of media, including reports on the Internet and television about Africa would provide a more rich analysis of news flows and content.

Given that the study is limited to three years, there were only three observations for conducting the correlations. Ideally, the correlations would have involved multiple observations over a period of multiple years, which would have produced more variation in the correlation coefficients. This study was designed to focus on news content during the height of economic activities between the U.S., China and Africa.

Lastly, this study presumed that Africa's media standards are constant in economic news coverage, but clearly, Africa has had its share of issues that affect press freedoms. Regional media practices could impact news content, as high-ranking editors could dictate what content makes it to print. Journalists may also incorporate their personal views, which may not be indicative of the entire organization's opinion. These variations are not accounted for in the present study and are worthy of future analysis.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Such a perspective considers both China and Africa as agents, actively engaged in

constructing a new cultural milieu. In other words, the question should not only be

about what the so-called Chinese dragon is doing to Africa, but what China and

Africa are doing together. (Banda, 2009, p. 355)

The purpose of the research reported in this dissertation was to provide an in-depth

analysis of economic news coverage in Africa, a region that has historically stood in the

shadows of Western media content. This quantitative, multi-faceted approach to analyzing

economic news coverage in Africa indicates that while the U.S. is more prominent than

China in Kenya as indicated by the news coverage in *Daily Nation (Kenya),* China is gaining

ground in many aspects of international news coverage in Africa. A framing analysis

revealed that the same frames are used to discuss economic news issues related to the U.S.

and China, but China is receiving more favorable news coverage. Framing research focuses

on building a body of frames that shapes discussions of issues, and this research provides

evidence that framing theory, even in the African context, is a credible theory that is not

Western-specific.

Furthermore, previous studies consistently found that trade is the key determinant in

international news coverage (Golan, 2008; Jones et al., 2011; Segev & Blondheim, 2013;

Wu, 1998; Wu, 2000, 2003; Zhang, 2005). This study reaffirms that trade is an important

determinant, but many other economic determinants, such as FDI, GDP annual growth and

official development assistance, also help to explain economic news coverage of the U.S. and China.

Conclusions, Generalizations, and Lessons Learned

On imperialism: Using imperialism as the theoretical foundation, one goal of this study was to identify which nation — U.S. or China — receives more substantive news coverage. The results indicate that China is challenging the United States' dominance in Kenya, a region that is becoming critical to the United States' international affairs objectives. Since 2001, counterterrorism has risen to the top of the foreign agenda in the U.S. (Gordon & Wolpe, 1998; Shinn, 2009), and Kenya and other East African countries have been instrumental in helping to address the global issue. In 2009, the U.S. funded the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism to combat terrorist networks in member countries, including Kenya; in 2013, the U.S. government reinforced their support for the organization (United States Department of State, 2014b). Topics related to the United States' international priorities, such as international terrorism and foreign aid, were less visible than China's business-oriented articles. Thus, this study empirically confirms that the United States' imperialist influence has waned in Africa as evidenced through greater coverage of topics related to China's business interests in the continent and through more positive coverage of China in both publications.

Scholars of imperialism have acknowledged that the theory is more equated with resistance (e.g., an active audience that resists external pressures) than dependency of a peripheral nation on a core nation (Liebes & Katz, 1990; Schiller, 1993; Sparks, 2012). However, Schiller emphasized that the United States is still the leading country in international cultural and communication exchanges, even with Europe and Asia increasingly

becoming more prominent in transnational corporate cultural spheres. On the contrary, this research provides an indication that the influences of the U.S. are declining, in effect. China's delivery of assistance through infrastructure projects and business deals is manifest in economic news coverage. As illustrated above, China's imports are positively related to the number of articles published about its country. Thus, the type of trade – namely, China's imports – is as important as the overall trade figure, which comprises imports and exports.

While the U.S. continues to be mentioned in a greater number of articles than China, Africa's economic news focuses more on subjects pertaining to China's strategic goals such as business and commerce activities. China has injected more economic resources into Kenya than its American counterparts ("Report: Kenya," 2014). In fact, China's competitive edge in Kenya is manifested not only through greater trade volume with Kenya, but this research suggests that there is positive relationship between China's media coverage and trade, most importantly, positive media coverage. Clearly, there is competition between nations, and Sparks (2012) indicates that the old concept of there being one center is no longer applicable in the definition of imperialism. China has a different approach in its relationship with African countries, not only in economic relations but also in media relations, as shown through their media entities.

On Framing: The second research question sought answers on how the U.S. and China were framed in a way that goes beyond the mere counting or placement of news stories. Superpower nations desire positive news coverage to better influence policy goals and forge economic partnerships, as evidenced in the frequency of partnership frames in this research. The framing analysis of economic news coverage about the U.S. and China in Kenya and Nigeria further substantiated that differences existed in news coverage about the

U.S. and China, as China received more favorable coverage in both countries' news coverage. These findings illustrate that the U.S actually receives less favorable economic news coverage than China. From an imperialist point of view, the United States' reign over global media messages has been challenged. This study suggests that China is a viable competitor for international news space. China has been labeled as a nation with questionable and manipulative motives in Africa, but this narrative has been perpetuated and reiterated by Western media. Deborah Bräutigam (2011a), an expert on China in Africa, emphasizes that Western media have often criticized China for its lower labor and environmental standards, as well as its lack of conditionality in providing aid. As shown in this research, one finds that Africa's media report about China using different dialogue. As Whitaker (2010) notes, African nations have defied Western influence in the political arena by demonstrating their disagreement with the United States' policies, such as dismissing the U.S.' international security concerns as well as opposing the "predominance of American power" (p. 1124). The valence of the economic news in this study also reflects the changing dynamics of Africa-U.S. relations as shown through the more positive media coverage about China in Kenya and Nigeria.

The differences between the valences of frames indicate that there is not neutrality in reporting about economic engagement with the continent. Africa media's favoritism towards China could be a product of China's soft power efforts, as China has established several media hubs in Kenya and conducted a number of diplomatic visits to the nation. Soft power often influences not only political figures, but also the general public and media who may be influenced by messages and products from China. Alternatively, the favorable coverage could be a product of journalists' positive sentiments about China's economic engagement.

Regardless, China can capitalize upon this positive news coverage to advance its economic objectives. Studying the valence of news coverage through formal research provides nations with valuable tools for measuring how they are perceived globally, especially given the competition between nations for positive news coverage and strategic economic partnerships.

While there were differences in the valence of articles about the U.S. and China, the actual frames used to describe both nations illustrate that frames do exhibit a permanence that can be used to define, assess and diagnose economic issues in Africa. In applying the existing frames from Olorunnisola and Ma (2013) study to the current research, this researcher found that the U.S. and China share one characteristic – the types of frames used to discuss their countries. The goal of framing theory is to build upon a body of frames that shape discussions and issues. While this research allowed new frames to emerge, the existing body of frames was applicable to both countries for the most part. In conducting a frame analysis that included the United States — which has a strong economic interest in Africa like China — it helps to validate the body of frames that were discovered in previous research about China's engagement with the continent. Additionally, it removes some of the biased aspects of scholarly research and discourse, which has traditionally focused on Western nations' framing of Africa or has singled out peripheral, poorer nations in order to make a convincing argument in support of Western nations' goals. Granted, this research was conducted by a Western researcher applying a Western concept to an African publication in a Western language. Yet, from theoretical and international perspectives, framing theory demonstrates that Africa may not be such a foreign place, wherein the theory would not be applicable.

Determinants of international news coverage: The final research question probed the relevance of trade as international news determinants and explored what other determinants

131

of news coverage best explicate economic news coverage trends of the U.S. and China in Nigeria and Kenya. Based upon this analysis, trade does correlate with number of words and valence of news coverage in Kenya, a country in which the U.S. has less trade volume than China.

In addition, several other economic determinants such as a nation's GDP, GDP per capita, population and imports, significantly related to news coverage. Most studies of determinants of international news coverage have focused solely on one or two economic determinants that lead to news coverage without analyzing the subsequent coverage.

This study goes one step further in two ways: a) it examines economic determinants beyond GDP and trade and b) it links country-level, economic factors to actual news content. The results show that there is indeed a relationship between the determinants and news coverage, and that relationship involves multiple economic factors. Economic ties between countries are complex, involving an exchange of goods, aid and investment as shown in this study. Thus, economic analyses related to news coverage should probe beyond the traditional variables of trade and GDP. Lastly, the fact that each foreign country's imports into African countries correlated with news content features such as valence and quantity of news articles provides critical correlations between the imperialist and economic aspects of news coverage. Countries importing their products into African nations should be covered more in international news in Africa and that coverage should be positive, as this study suggests.

Implications and significance of this dissertation study

Based upon the findings of this study, there were clear links between quantities of articles (e.g., number of articles about certain topics), frames of news and determinants of

132

news coverage in this analysis. It is for this reason that international news coverage should not be limited to a numerical count or to a content examination, especially studies involving economic aspects of international news coverage. News coverage today is complex, and many factors challenge the conventional notion of international news coverage and international news flow, such as the plurality of news corporations, the growth of social media, and the development of all media in poorer nations.

There are more players on the media scene in Africa, including international media outlets such as BBC and Al Jazeera, as well as independent media who provide varying perspectives about key global issue related to the countries. In Nigeria, where the number of independent media surpasses 100 and the media enjoy fewer restrictions than their Kenyan counterparts, Nigeria's independent media may be able to present more diverse views on key economic issues. In rural areas where the publications may be written in local, native languages, economic issues may be framed differently, which is worthy of future inquiry. Of course, the voices of Africa's rural population may not prompt as much economic or political change as the readers of the publications presented in the current study. Nonetheless, a broader analysis may provide more support for the generalization of frames and valence in Africa's news coverage of economic issues.

On the other hand, the Kenyan government's low tolerance of independent media through legislative and provoking tactics could alter the messages that represent popular public opinion. In order to avoid the government's scrutiny, Kenyan media may adapt their messages to partially or completely align with the government's economic policy. Further investigation could also examine the relationship between government policy and media coverage in African economic news coverage to rule out the impact of restrictions on the

media. For example, it is possible that the government more strongly supports China's economic policies, and the media's coverage subsequently mirrors that support.

This study confirms that framing theory holds true, even in the context of the developing world. Africa has been relegated to a position of inferiority through 'famine', 'war' and 'disease' frames. However, framing theory, which was developed by Western scholars using Western perspectives, was found to be applicable in two different African countries and remarkably, about two different superpower nations. This could point to Africa media's coming of age in that they are conforming to Western media's standards. On the other hand, it may suggest that framing theory is an organic, universal process that naturally occurs regardless of country context and economic vantage. In order to reaffirm the framing of economic involvement in Africa, future studies should examine other African countries' with differing economic and diplomatic relations with the U.S. and other emerging, economic powers.

Relatedly, this study shows that Africa's media have resisted the urge to adopt a strictly Western angle in their news reporting. According to Campbell (2008), "African peoples and governments are not passive bystanders in the global struggles for a multipolar world" (p. 103). Even though the U.S. receives a greater volume of news coverage, the depth of news content reveals challenges to the Western hegemony. As Mulavi & Odhimabo (2013) point out, China's strong presence "calls for rethinking of the U.S. relationship with Africa in terms of investment and trade opportunities" (para. 3).

Part of the reason for the absence of a Western bias in news reporting in Kenya could be the *Daily Nation (Kenya)'s* editorial policy (Nation Media Group, 2014). The policy states that the newspaper "will originate original Africa content positioning NMG as the Media of

Africa for Africa and thereby counterbalancing editors' potential excessive reliance on international news agencies for news about the continent" (para. 43). Thus, there is a push for Kenya's media to write their own stories instead of relying upon outside sources, and the journalists' views and frames may not lean necessarily towards the U.S. or other Western nations.

At the same time, *Daily Nation (Kenya)* encourages the publication of international news. According to their policy, "foreign or international stories will not always be confined to their designated sections"…"but will be considered as lead stories for the day"… " taking cognisance of the fact that the public needs to be informed of significant events outside its own national borders" (para. 50). Again, the newspaper is committed to covering international issues, but in a holistic sense. Therefore, the placement of either China or the U.S. in the newspaper could vary depending on which sectors foreign countries are involved in, thus making *Daily Nation (Kenya)* ripe for even further analysis on a broad range of subjects.

Unlike many previous studies about economic engagement with the continent, the analysis incorporates the United States into the scholarly analysis, which brings a more balanced perspective to the China-Africa economic narrative. International news has long been reported about and studied about from a strictly Western point of view. Through this research, a side-by-side comparison was possible between the two economic superpowers.

Africa's media are no longer delegated to an inferior position, and the affective attributes that Africa's media assign to superpower nations can have lasting political and economic impacts. After all, the media have the power not only to inform but also to persuade. Africa's independent media, which are run by elites within African societies, can

shift public opinion away or toward superpower nations' issues through their coverage. Furthermore, Africa's media serve as a barometer for international engagement, which can aid superpower nations in their efforts to shift public opinion in African nations.

Caveats, limitations, future research

Communication scholars have dissected the framing of issues for issue-specific and generic news frames for decades. Although this study focuses on issue-specific frames, namely economic involvement with Africa, some generalizations can be made about news coverage in Africa especially given that select findings on quantities, valence, frames and determinants were consistent across nations. At the same time, it is important to note that this study's significance is limited in that it only involves two African nations and two superpower nations. The world is more multipolar, "with new constellations such as the rising economies of the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa)" (Nordenstreng, 2013, p. 351), and many of these foreign countries have taken an active interest in investing in Africa. Previous studies that have analyzed determinants have utilized robust regression models that incorporate countless countries along with multiple determinants of news coverage. This study, with a scope of four countries and a three-year time frame, does not allow for a rigorous statistical analysis to determine which determinants influence news coverage the most.

The advantage of focusing on a particular issue in a multi-theoretical perspective affords the opportunity to examine what is really going on, as news coverage is not produced and distributed in a linear process. One limitation of this study is that it does not analyze the processes that produce the media's frames as well as newsroom standards that affect news

content, such as editors' roles. However, future research could investigate the processes involving the production of African media content as related to subsequent content. As several framing scholars have noted (Entman, 1993; Scheufele & Scheufele, 2010), it is also important to gauge the connections between a particular framing and the public's interpretation of the frames. Several studies have examined public attitudes of China in Africa (Hanusch, 2012; Wang & Elliot, 2014), and one has shown that Africans hold the same attitudes towards Chinese and Western powers, while others have focused on examining economic framing of China using content (Zhang, 2005). Continued research that provides a comprehensive analysis of the connections between content frames and audience frames in international settings can provide more insight on global economic frames and framing effects. Additionally, future research should examine the editorial policies of African newspapers in depth. While an editorial policy was available for *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, one was not readily available for *ThisDay (Nigeria)*.

While this research shows that there were similarities in the frames, one should still be wary of studies that group all African countries into one homogenous unit of analysis or studies that overgeneralize results based on the analysis of a few countries in the continent. Africa's countries are progressing in many areas, and the countries in the current study have both made significant democratic and economic progress since the turn of the century. At the same time, one must be careful not to overgeneralize the progress made in Africa. Todd Moss, a professor of public policy, cautions against being "blindly optimistic" and "dismissing any problems [about Africa] as mere media representations" (Moss, 2011, p. 12). Longitudinal studies, namely ones that analyze decades of news coverage as opposed to a few years, would provide for an analysis that takes into account the variations in

development, leadership and policy within African nations. Additionally, an analysis of units over time could take into account external news or issues that may trump economic coverage of either the U.S. or China.

Future research should also evaluate other types of media. The digital divide is slowly beginning to close in Africa, as mobile phone technology has enabled millions of Africans to access international news and conduct business transactions. Additionally, radio and television have become an important source of news in many African countries. These outlets, that do not require high levels of literacy, would enable media frames to have a broader reach. Comparative analyses of frames using different types of media, combined with analyses of audience perceptions, would provide a clearer understanding of the effects of frames in developing countries.

In years past, Africa was considered a remote, inferior place or an exotic subject to be studied. Even when research did take place, access to data was hampered by gaps in technology or lack of transparent data. As globalization opens many borders and connects more people, researchers — Westerners and non-Westerners — can now take advantage of access to content data in Africa. For example, *Daily Nation* and *ThisDay* are now available online. Additionally, international organizations such as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank and International Monetary Fund publish pertinent economic and political data about the world's nations, including Sub-Saharan African countries. As shown in this study, data collection was more of a problem for gathering information about China, whose international economic data such as FDI are difficult to obtain.

Final Word: The Eagle Vs. The Dragon in Africa: Economic News Frames in Nigeria And Kenya on the U.S. and China's Economic Pursuits

There is a battle in Africa, and the competition has heated up between the U.S. and China for economic and political partnerships with African nations. Many have argued that the United States' economic engagement with the continent has come too late. Between diplomatic visits, large economic deals and cooperation forums with Africa, China has established its foothold in the continent for several decades, while the U.S. has been focused on other international objectives such as the war on terror in the Middle East. Additionally, the United States' reputation has suffered as foreign aid and conditionality has typically characterized the bond between the U.S. and Africa. The debate about which country has Africa's best interest has been carried out primarily in political and media circles unabated.

This research has offered an empirical framework for understanding the dynamics between the U.S., China, Nigeria and Kenya. China appears to have won the battle for advancing its interests in the media sphere, as evidenced through its positive portrayals in Kenya and Nigeria's foremost print publications. Likewise, stories related to China's strategic, business-oriented objectives in Africa have taken precedence over the U.S.' goals related to politics. Befittingly, the examination of economic determinants illustrated that there is a relationship between several economic determinants and news coverage. In applying framing theory in a more all-inclusive analysis about international economic news, it is evident that China's business-oriented focus that is discussed in political and economic circles is also manifested in the relationship that emerges between antecedents of news, or determinants, and the resulting news coverage.

Communication scholars have lamented that framing is the fractured paradigm, but to extend framing theory across domestic borders while considering broader economic factors advances the theoretical tool. Groups, or countries, wishing to promote a particular frame in news coverage must do so within the confines of the existing frame schemata in order for it to resonate with journalists and the public. China and the U.S., as demonstrated in the analysis, have been framed using very similar frames. To change these frames would require a country to create new, more powerful frames. As new nations begin to engage with Africa, the battle for Africa and its frames may take on new dimensions, but this research provides a benchmark for framing of the U.S. and China.

In conclusion, this research opens the door for a better understanding of Africa's news reports and media frames. This research reverses the imperialistic trends that academic scholars have used in researching news coverage. Additionally, it reinforces the importance of a more all-inclusive analysis of economic variables and their relationship with news coverage. Future research should continue to examine the relationship between the economy and news reporting in developing nations. Many developing nations, specifically ones in Africa, are gaining ground economically and developing their communication portals. As more African governments encourage allow for greater press freedoms, Africa's media outlets can foster an open discussion of economic issues in the media that in turn, holds superpower nations accountable for their actions and moves the African people's agenda into the spotlight. As stated earlier, the economic field in Africa is getting crowded. Many other nations are pursuing Africa's resources, such as India, Brazil and Japan, and analyses of economic news coverage in the continent will continue to be important assets for nations in the ongoing scramble for Africa.

APPENDIX A through APPENDIX J

The following appendices provide supporting materials for the study, including the coding protocol that was used by the researcher and supporting coder to analyze the news articles in the study. Appendices B through J provide examples of deductive frames found in the sampled articles. Article examples are provided for each of the top four frames identified in the study: partnership, controversy, competition, and watchfulness. The countries in parenthesis indicate the foreign country and the country of the publication (e.g., U.S.-Nigeria indicates that the article is about the United States' involvement in the Nigerian publication, *ThisDay*).

APPENDIX A

Coding Protocol for *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*

This coding protocol is aimed at assessing the prominence, valence and framing in articles about China and the United States' economic engagement with Africa in two of the largest newspapers in Nigeria and Kenya, *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)* between January 1, 2011, and December 31, 2013. The unit of analysis for the study is the newspaper article in its entirety.

News article
A newspaper article in this study is defined as non-advertisement and non-obituary materials, and includes only the textual aspects of news stories. An economic news article includes the country association, "United States" and America (or American), as well as one of the following terms: trade, investment, agriculture, oil, infrastructure, loan, aid, grants, economic development, macroeconomic, or interest rates. In addition, the above terms were searched with the country association, China or Chinese.

Research Questions

- **Which country, U.S. or China, receives more substantive economic news coverage in Nigeria and Kenya?**
- **How do economic frames of the U.S. and China compare in *ThisDay (Nigeria)* and *Daily Nation (Kenya)*?**
- **Among all international news determinants, which one(s) best explicate economic news coverage of the U.S. and China in Nigeria and Kenya?**

Key Dependent Variables

Quantity of coverage about China and the United States. The number of times that each external country—defined as the United States or China in this study—appears in news coverage will provide a quantitative measure for which country is more visible in news coverage.

Prominence of each country. This study also provides an opportunity to provide a more in-depth assessment of prominence, using the electronic version of *Daily Nation (Kenya)*, available at http://www.nation.co.ke. Prominence will be measured as the number of words in the article (*level of measurement: interval*) times the position of the article *(level of measurement: ordinal)*. Overall prominence would be measured at the interval level.

Imperialism variables. Imperialism variables provide an assessment of the extent to which a country influences the culture and/or media in another country. This study specifically studies the influence of China or the U.S. on the African country's media. One of the key

variables used to assess imperialism in this study is the topic of each news article (*nominal*). The topic of each article will be identified. Additional imperialism-related variables include: author of the story (*nominal*); countries mentioned in the article (*nominal*); types of actors (*nominal*); country of key actors (*nominal*); quoted source's country affiliation (*nominal*).

Valence. The valence, or tone, of the article illustrates the newspapers slant towards each country. Valence will be measured as positive, negative or neutral. *Level of measurement: nominal*

Frames. Using a deductive approach, this research seeks to identify how the United States and China are framed in Kenya and Nigeria's print media. As Entman (1993) stated, framing involves selecting aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a text so as to define problems, identify causes, make moral recommendations and recommend solutions. One frame will be selected for each article. Articles that cannot be categorized will be noted accordingly. *Level of measurement: nominal*

Procedure

The following steps should be taken in the content analysis coding described below (V. stands for variable). All relevant articles have been pre-selected based on selection criteria for economic articles mentioned in the coding protocol. During the coding, each article will be read and coded using variables 1-6. If the article meets the criteria specified in variable 6 – the foreign country is economically involved with the African economy – then coding will continue for the remaining variables 7-14. Articles will be read once at the beginning of coding, then a second time to assess valence (v.12). Then, the article should be read a third time to assess the frame (v.13).

v.1.   **Article identification number**. A unique identification number has been assigned to each article. Using the spreadsheet that lists all articles with the identification numbers, record the identification number that is listed in the far left column, which begins with a capital letter followed by a number, ranging from 1-999.

v.2.   **Headline of article**. The article's headline also appears in the spreadsheet. Using the spreadsheet from the above step, record the title of the article associated with the id from v.1. Then, copy and paste the title into the LexisNexis' search box. When the correct article is retrieved, read the article in its entirety. When the article is retrieved on LexisNexis Academic, ensure that the title corresponds to the date and/or author listed in the spreadsheet.

v.3. **Type of article**. Using a classification system adapted from Mody's (2010) study of newspaper coverage of the crisis in Darfur, the type of article will be identified using the following categories:

1=Hard news, news brief, or press event
2=News feature and background
3=Opinion
4=Other

---

1. Hard news, news brief or press event
- *Hard news*: This is news that needs to be reported as rapidly as possible or it will lose its value. This includes new facts, recent developments, unexpected events or prescheduled announcements, speeches, and meetings that are reported within two days (the day of and the day following) of an event and in which announcements of policy changes or other substantive measures are made.
- *News brief*: This is a news article that is very short (4 paragraphs or less, generally under 100 words) that gives a new fact or recent development. A news brief usually (though not always) does not contain any quotes or if it does, the quote is from a news release prepared by a government or organization.
- *Press event*: This is an article about a pre-arranged event that includes a scripted component for the press. This event, unlike Hard News, will not include any substantially new policies or announcements and will generally provide a forum to "raise concern" about any economic changes. Summits and meetings that reach no conclusion or do not announce any new actions fall into this category.

2. News feature and background
- News feature: This is an article focusing on a person or group of people, work by an aid organization, or other article that considers the country's economy as an issue, rather than a specific event. It is sometimes called soft news because it is usually based on unscheduled or ongoing events and does not need to be published in a "timely" manner (i.e., it is not immediate. Feature stories are usually prepared by the reporter over several days and include information from many sources. Although all news sources have pressure to disseminate information rapidly, news features are generally issue oriented, rather than event oriented, and do not require immediate release. A news feature would generally not include any breaking news, and would focus on ongoing activities related to the economy. It will not present any analysis or commentary from the writer, editor or publisher.
- Background: This is an article that gives background information or facts. The article summarizes the history of situations or events and does not present any new or recent developments.

3. Opinion Column
This is an article that express the opinion of the medium (writer, editor, or publisher), or an article that is heavily weighted to analyzing and commenting on the situation. These are usually labeled "editorial" or "opinion" (though not always). An article can still be an opinion column if it expresses the writer's opinions or evaluates a situation or event and reaches a conclusion about what needs to be done (by any of the principal players). It is not an opinion column if the opinions are quotes or attributed to one of the players.

4. Other
This is an article that does not fit into one of the above categories. This category should be avoided and only used when no other category is nearly appropriate (i.e., when non of the other categories are a good fit).

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v.4. **Number of words.** The number of words appears near the top of the news article after the word *Length*. For articles retrieved from the *Daily Nation (Kenya)* website, copy and paste the text of the article (beginning with the first word of the article not including the author's name) into Microsoft Word, and record the value for total word count.

v.5.   **Topic of article.** Use the following topical index (Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006) to determine a single topic that best describes the article:

Internal politics

101   Legislative activities (e.g., discussion of a new law)
102   Executive activities (e.g., announcement by the president)
103   Judicial decisions
104   Constitutional issues
105   Elections
106   Political fundraisers and donations
107   Political appointments
108   Statements and activities of individual politicians
109   Interparty relations
110   Internal party relations
111   Activities of interest groups
112   Referendum
113   Public opinion/polling
114   Abuse of political power, corruption
199   Other

International politics

201   Activities of international political organizations
202   Activities of individual politicians
203   Activities of political parties
204   Diplomatic visits
205   Diplomatic negotiations and agreements
206   Foreign aid or cooperation
207   Policy statements
208   Wars between countries
209   International tensions and disagreements
210   International terrorism
211   Embargo
299   Other

Military and defense

301   Military activities
302   Appointments and firings in the military
303   Government defense policy and action
304   Protest at government defense policy
399   Other

Internal order

401	Civil war
402	Peaceful demonstrations
401	Violent demonstrations
401	Terrorism
401	Crime
401	Petit-crimes
401	Police
401	Fire brigade
401	Prisons
401	Corruption (not political)
401	Espionage
499	Other

Economy

501	State of economy (inc. currency values)
502	Economic indexes (e.g., domestic production numbers)
503	Job market
504	Appointments
505	Fiscal measures
506	Budget issues
507	Natural resources
508	Monopolies
509	Tariffs
510	Economic legal issues
511	Donations
599	Other

Labor relations and union

601	Union activities (e.g., lobbying)
602	Disputes
603	Strikes
604	Legal measures and policy
605	Foreign/guest workers
699	Other

Business/commerce/industry

701	Business activities
702	Legal measures and policy
703	International business and investment
704	Globalization
705	Stock market
706	Mergers and acquisitions

707   E-commerce
708   Technology
709   Tourism
710   Agriculture
711   Trade with foreign countries
712   Appointments and firings
799   Other

Transportation

801   Transportation infrastructure/transportation systems
802   Public transportation issues
803   Automobiles
804   Driving behavior
805   Driving conditions
806   Parking issues
807   Aviation
808   Railway/trains/subway
809   Transportation-related construction
899   Other

Health/welfare/social service

901   State of health system
902   Health policies and legal measures
903   Health insurance issues
904   State of social services
905   Nonprofit organizations
906   Benefit events for a good cause
907   Developments in medical practice
908   Malpractice suits
909   Poverty
999   Other

Population

1001   General population statistics
1002   Immigration
1003   Emigration
1004   Visa issues
1099   Other

Education

1101   General educational facilities
1102   Higher education (colleges and universities)

1103   Teachers and faculty
1104   Students
1105   Parental issues
1106   Level of teaching and teaching standards
1107   School curricula
1108   Relations between teachers and parents
1109   Relations between teachers and students
1110   Registration
1111   Opening and closings of schools
1112   Preschool education
1113   Sectorial education (e.g., religious versus secular)
1199   Other

Communication

1201   Industry-wide issues and statistics
1202   Journalism and media in general
1203   Newspapers
1204   Network television
1205   Cable television
1206   Radio
1207   Magazines
1208   Internet
1209   Phones/cell phones/mobile phones
1210   Media regulation
1211   Technical aspects of communication
1299   Other

Housing

1301   Housing supply
1302   Living conditions
1303   Construction
1304   Mortgages
1305   Building permits
1306   City planning
1307   Housing demolition
1399   Other

Environment

1401   Threats to environment
1402   Activities of environmental organizations
1403   Garbage collection
1404   Conservation
1499   Other

Energy

1501   Energy supply
1502   Energy costs
1599   Other

Science/technology

1601   Standards
1602   Inventions
1603   Individual scientists
1604   Scientific organizations
1605   Computer issues
1606   Multimedia issues
1607   Space exploration
1608   Problems related to science/technology
1699   Other

Social relations

1701   Gender relations
1702   Sexual orientation issues
1703   Ethnic relations
1704   Class relations
1705   Age differences
1706   Religious groups
1707   Family relations
1708   Minority-majority relations
1799   Other

Disasters/accidents/epidemics

1801   Natural disasters
1802   Traffic accidents (includes airplane crashes)
1803   Work accidents
1804   Military-related accidents
1805   Home accidents
1806   Crowd accidents
1807   Health epidemics (e.g., AIDS)
1899   Other

Sports

1901   Competition/results
1902   Training

1903   Records
1904   Individual athletes/coaches/teas
1905   Leagues
1906   Fans/supporters
1907   Legal measures
1908   Appointments and firings
1999   Other

Cultural events

2001   Music (including musicals)
2002   Theatre, opera, ballet, and cabaret
2003   Film and photography
2004   Literature and poetry
2005   Painting and sculpturing
2006   Television shows (e.g., soap operas)
2007   Radio shows
2008   Museums
2009   General exhibits
2010   Festivals and competitions
2011   Prizes and awards
2099   Other

Fashion/beauty

2101   Fashion shows
2102   Beauty contests
2103   Models
2104   Fashion products
2105   Fashion trends (e.g., trend colors, body piercing)
2199   Other

Ceremony

2201   Official government/political ceremonies
2202   Holidays
2203   Ethnic ceremonies/commemorations
2204   Anniversaries
2299   Other

Human Interest

2301   Celebrities
2302   Noncelebrities
2303   Animal stories
2304   Travel stories

2305   Record attempts
2306   Supernatural or mystical stories
2307   Mystery
2308   Food
2309   Advice
2399   Other

Weather

2401   Weather maps and statistics
2402   Weather forecasting
2403   General weather stories (e.g., coldest winter)
2399   Other

Entertainment

2501   Horoscopes
2502   Comics
2503   Crossword puzzles and other games
2504   Gossip
2505   Lottery, betting, raffles, contests
2506   Literature, short stories
2507   Poetry
2599   Other

Other

2600   Specify
2601   Diaspora

v.6.   **Involvement.** Involvement refers to the extent to which China or the U.S. is directly engaged with the country publishing the newspaper in the article, whether the involvement is related to trade, health or terrorism, to name a few examples. For example, a country building a new road in an African country would have an impact on the country's transportation infrastructure and economy.

0=No involvement
1=Involvement

If response to this question is 0, STOP and code the next article in the sample as the remaining questions focus on articles in which the foreign country has a direct or indirect involvement in the African country.

v.7.   **Author of the story**. This variable is used to identify the reporting source of the story (e.g., a reporter, an external individual/group, or unidentified). Stories bearing an author would be considered in-house staff. In-house staff refers to people who are

paid by the organization. Outside sources would include people who are not direct employees of the media outlets such as citizens (e.g., letter to the editor) or another news agency. Lastly, articles that do not reference an author in the byline or in the article would be categorized as unidentified sources.

1=In-house staff
2=Outside sources
3=Unidentified sources
4=Combination of any two or more categories above

v.8. **Foreign countries mentioned in the article.** Indicate whether the United States or China is mentioned in the article, or if both countries are mentioned in the article. Alternatively, indicate if the U.S. or China is mentioned in conjunction with any other country.

1=U.S.
2=China
3=U.S. and China
4=U.S. and other countries
5=China and other countries

v.9. **Type of actor(s).** Choose the type of actor that is the primary actor in the article. If the foreign or African nation is performing the action that is the subject of the article, then code the actor as the state. On the other hand, if the focus is on a single government official, then the category would be governmental official. If there is more than one actor in an article, code it as mixed.

1=State/Nation
2=Government official
3=Governmental organization
4=NGO/Organized group
5=Companies
6=Individuals
7=Mixed

v. 10. **Country of key actor(s).** Using the response in question 9, choose the country with which the primary actor is affiliated in the article. For example, if the focus of the article is a Chinese company that is opening a new factory, then the country of the key actor would be China.

1=U.S.
2=China
3=Kenya
4=Nigeria
5=Another African country (not including Kenya or Nigeria)
6=A combination of two or more categories above

6=None of the above choices

v. 11.   **Source's country affiliation.** Find the first direct quote in the article. Indicate the country with which the quoted person is affiliated. For example, a quote by the Kenyan Minister of Finance would indicate an affiliation with Kenya. A quote by a United Nation's official would be categorized as "none of the above countries." If no quotes appear in the story, choose "no quotes."

1=U.S.
2=China
3=Kenya
4=Nigeria
5=Another African country (not including Kenya or Nigeria)
6=None of the above countries
7=No quotes

v.12.   **Valence.** Read the article a second time, and indicate if the valence, or tone, is positive, negative or neutral. Negative news stories convey the U.S. or China as a threat to countries in Africa or to Africans. Positive news stories are ones that express shared interests or values between the African country and China or the U.S. Neutral stories demonstrate a "balance of both positive and negative information" (Wanta et al., 2004, p. 370) and stories that do not include judgments about the superpower nation's relationship with Africa. For example, the United States commending Nigeria "for its renewed commitment to economic reforms" is an indicator of a positive frame (Osagie, 2011a, para. 7). On the other hand, a negative frame would suggest, for example, that two nations disagree on policy decisions, such as "The mismatch between U.S. foreign aid and citizen priorities is bad development policy" (Masinde, 2013, para. 7).

Using the scale below, indicate the tone of the story:

1=Negative
2=Neutral
3=Positive

v.13.   **Frame of article**. Read the article a third time, highlighting words, phrases or sentences that possibly denote a frame, or central idea. Then, select one of the following categories that best describe the frame of the article. Select only one. If multiple frames seem to apply to a given article, select the frame that best describes the frame. If none of the first six frames seem to fit the article, choose "7" (other) and describe a probable frame along with text from the article that exemplifies the proposed frame.

1=Controversy
2=Competition
3=Partner

154

4=New Partner
5=Refutation
6=Watchfulness
7=Other

Controversy: This frame suggests that the relationship between the external country and the African country/countries is complicated, ranging from negative to positive outcomes.
- Unfair/unequal trade
- Fake goods
- Poor working conditions
- Illegal workers in the African Country
- Potential for the next Cold War

Competition: This frame emphasizes competition between one external country with another external country, typically over resources and markets.

Partner: This frame suggests that the relationship between the external country and the African country/countries is one of cooperation and collaboration. Articles have more a promotional slant and may be exemplified through the following subframes:
- Economic win-win (for example, mutual investments)
- Political camaraderie
- Investor in industries and infrastructure development
- Praising historical good relations and current benefits

New Power: This frame focuses on the external country as a new economic power a model for development, or an influential global market power. For example, frames in this category focus on China as a new power, or a new model for development.

Refutation: This frame focuses on one external country refuting another external country's allegations.

Watchfulness: This frame depicts the external country as being a threat to the other external country. For example, a story focusing on the United States' fear that China would overtake its economic position would fall into this category.

Other: This should be reserved for articles that do not fit into any of the above categories.

v.14. **Position of article.** In order to measure prominence for articles appearing on the *Daily Nation (Kenya)* website, located at http://www.nation.co.ke, indicate the section in which the article is published. The position of the article is available by searching for the title of the story using the search box in the upper right hand corner. Once the results appear, look at the title of the requested article, and the section name is located

155

immediately below the article excerpt. Articles retrieved from LexisNexis Academic should be coded as "0." The news section is the first section that appears in the print version of *Daily Nation (Kenya)*.

7=News (Politics, Africa, World, Diaspora)
6=Business (Corporates, Enterprise, Markets, Tech, Seeds of Gold)
5=Counties (Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri)
4=Sports
3=Blogs & Opinion (Blogs, Commentaries, Editorials)
2=Life & Style (Art & Culture, Family, Health, Showbiz, Travel, Women, Beauty)
1=Elsewhere
0=Retrieved from LexisNexis Academic

Coding Sheet

v.1.   Article identification number   _____

v.2.   Headline of article   _____

                                       _____

v.3.   Type of article   _____

           1=Hard news, news brief, or press event
           2=News feature and background
           3=Opinion
           4=Other

v.4.   Number of words   _____

v.5.   Topic of article (see attached coding categories)   _____

v.6.   Economic involvement   _____

           1=Direct involvement
           2=Indirect involvement
           3=No involvement

If response is 3, STOP and code next article.

v.7.   Author of the story   _____
           1=In-house staff
           2=Outside sources
           3=Unidentified sources
           4=Combination of any two or more categories above

v.8.   Foreign countries mentioned in the article   _____

           1=U.S.
           2=China
           3=U.S. and China
           4=U.S. and another country (not including China)
           5=China and another country (not including U.S.)

v.9.   Type of actor(s)   _____
        1=State/Nation
        2=Government official
        3=Governmental organization
        4=NGO/Organized group
        5=Companies
        6=Individuals
        7=Mixed

v. 10.   Country of key actor(s)   _____
        1=U.S.
        2=China
        3=Kenya
        4=Nigeria
        5=Another African country
        6=A combination of two or more categories above
        7=None of the above choices

v.11.   Source's country affiliation   _____
        1=U.S.
        2=China
        3=Kenya
        4=Nigeria
        5=Another African country
        6=None of the above countries

v.12.   Valence   _____
        1=Very negative
        2=Somewhat negative
        3=Neutral
        4=Somewhat positive
        5=Very positive

v.13.   Frame of article   _____
        1=Controversy
        2=Competition
        3=Partner
        4=New Partner
        5=Refutation
        6=Watchfulness
        7=Other

v.14.   Position of article   _____
        7=News (Politics, Africa, World, Diaspora)
        6=Business (Corporates, Enterprise, Markets, Tech, Seeds of Gold)
        5=Counties (Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri)
        4=Sports
        3=Blogs & Opinion (Blogs, Commentaries, Editorials)
        2=Life & Style (Art & Culture, Family, Health, Showbiz, Travel, Women, Beauty)
        1=Elsewhere
        0=Retrieved from LexisNexis Academic

ThisDay (Nigeria) (Lagos)

March 15, 2013

U.S. Firm Seeks FG's Partnership On Infrastructure Devt

BYLINE: Obinna Chima

LENGTH: 438 words

Acrow Corporation of America, a firm based in the United States Thursday disclosed plans to collaborate with the Federal Government in infrastructural development in Nigeria.

The Director of International Development, Acrow Corporation, Mr. Paul Sullivan, who was part of a US trade delegation in Nigeria, revealed this at a media briefing in Lagos.

Specifically, Sullivan who said the delegation met with the President Goodluck Jonathan, Minister of Works and some other ministers earlier this week said that his firm planned to deploy bridges across the country.

He explained: "We have outlined a comprehensive bridge development programme to directly address the infrastructural deficit in Nigeria and a lot of African countries. What that means is that we try to present a package that includes a large quantity of bridges and we arrange the financing in the international capital market.

"This will be supported by the Export-Import Bank of the United States. We will carry out extensive training of local engineers and contractors for the assembly and maintenance of these bridges. Bridges are critical for connecting communities, to boost commerce and can really transform lives."

Sullivan maintained that the project would also lead to transfer of skills in the country, even as he listed Ghana and Angola among countries that had benefitted from the programme.

Earlier, the Executive Vice President, Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), Ms. Mimi Alemayehou, declared that since the Obama administration, OPIC had committed about $600 million to Nigeria.

She also disclosed that OPIC committed $250 million loan to a fertiliser facility in Edo State to support local fertilisers to boost farm yields as at December last year.

"We see tremendous opportunities in Nigeria and that is why we are on this trade mission. I strongly believe that with the reforms taking place in Nigeria, with the privatisation in the power sector, as a government (United States), we have a lot of role to play. Nigeria is a very important market for the US. It is an important strategic partner for the US. OPIC has been here since 1976 and we are committed to supporting private sector investments in Nigeria," Alemayehou added.

On his part, the Vice President, Corporate Council of Africa, Ambassador Robert Perry, insisted that the partnership between Nigeria and the US would create network of opportunities and build more trade investments between both countries.

Also, the President, Nationwide Group, US, Mr. Ed Kostenski, stressed the need for policy makers in Nigeria to continue to create awareness on the opportunities in the country.

How the partnership between America and African States is helping the people

Last month, I went on a nine-country trip that took me from West Africa to East Africa and the Horn, and to Southern Africa. At every stop, I saw how America is working with our African partners

HILLARY CLINTON

Last month, I went on a nine-country trip that took me from West Africa to East Africa and the Horn, and to Southern Africa. At every stop, I saw how America is working with our African partners — governments, the private sector, and civil society — to deliver concrete benefits.

This work doesn't always draw headlines, and too few Africans and Americans are aware of what we're doing together.

So it's worth taking a closer look at what we can accomplish when we build sustainable relationships that empower rather than exploit — that are based on partnership, not patronage.

I saw this in action in Malawi, where I visited a girls' camp and saw teachers and Peace Corps volunteers working together to help young women realise their potential.

This partnership model is what we're trying to foster in our work around the continent, from Senegal to South Sudan to South Africa.

Our partners in Africa have asked us to focus on four areas in particular, and in each area, we're making tangible progress — together.

Ultimately, it's not the promises that matter — it's the specific results. And the sheer magnitude of the results we've produced is exciting.

The first area is sparking development and opportunity. Perhaps the signature US development initiative is the President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief (Pepfar), which since 2004 has helped provide millions of people across Africa with the chance to live up to their potential.

Through Pepfar, the US supports treatment that keeps over four million people with HIV in Africa alive.

In 2011 alone, Pepfar programmes allowed 200,000 newborns to begin life HIV-free.

Our work extends far beyond health, from education to food security to humanitarian relief.

The US has funded nearly half a million scholarships for girls and boys since 2004, helping Africans develop the skills they need to compete in the global economy.

Through the President's Feed the Future initiative, we're partnering with 12 African countries to significantly reduce poverty and malnutrition — and we can see the results.

I met some farmers in Malawi who, with US support, have contributed to a 500 per cent increase in milk production over the last decade.

In Kenya, nearly 300,000 households have seen increases in incomes and food security.

And when disaster strikes, the US helps save lives, providing more humanitarian assistance to Africa than any other country.

Across the Sahel, the US has delivered emergency aid to more than three million people, and we provided food, shelter, and healthcare to nearly five million people in the Horn last year during the height of the drought.

The second area is economic growth, trade, and investment. We know that seven of the 10 fastest growing economies in the world are in Africa, and that economic growth in Africa can support the aspirations of people across the continent, as well as global prosperity.

That's why the US has helped to create hundreds of thousands of jobs in Africa through the African Growth and Opportunity Act (Agoa).

And it's why, last year, our Overseas Private Investment Corporation supported private-sector investments totalling over $1.7 billion in Africa, including projects that will provide clean energy and improved access to high quality medical care.

The third area is a commitment to shared security and regional problem-solving.

We've trained more than 200,000 African peacekeepers since 2002 to help address security challenges from the DRC to Darfur, and we've dedicated more than $500 billion to provide equipment, training, and logistical support to the African Union Mission in Somalia as it expands from 12,000 to 18,000 soldiers.

The fourth area is promoting good governance, democracy, and human rights.

Africa's record on democracy is far better today than it was 20 years ago, but there's still a long way to go.

The US continues to support the development of democratic institutions and the empowerment of marginalised groups across Africa.

One way we do this is through our Millennium Challenge Corporation compacts, which have invested nearly $6 billion in 14 African nations that have shown a commitment to strong democratic institutions, accountability, and transparency.

Mrs. Clinton is the United States Secretary of State.

DAILY NATION

20/4/2011

China increases varsity scholarships

By NATION CORRESPONDENT

China has increased the number of university scholarships to Kenyans from 30 to 64 a year to strengthen its ties with Kenya.

Mr Li Changchun, the fifth ranking official in the Chinese government, will also sign an agreement today with Kenyatta University to build a training referral hospital there.

He said that exchange programmes with Africa would help develop strategic partnership in international affairs.

"We are encouraging our companies to come and invest here so that they create more employment which will further aid in poverty reduction," he said. The official said his government assistance would focus on education, agriculture and healthcare after working with Kenya on international peace and development.

He said that the his government would particularly focus on promoting exchange programmes to make an impact on the social-economic growth in Africa.

"China and Kenya has collaborated for a long time and a high level of mutual trust has been created and China therefore sees Kenya as an important partner in East Africa," said Mr Changchun.

The official, who was on his first visit to Kenya Wednesday, attended a public lecture at the University of Nairobi dubbed 'Strengthen China-Africa Cooperation to build a better tomorrow'.

He is expected to meet President Kibaki, Vice-President Kalonzo Musyoka and House Speaker Kenneth Marende.

Mr Changchun added that the renewed ties would build mutual political trust, promote economic progression to encourage easier investment between the two countries.

"China Television will make a documentary on Kenya as a tourist attraction so that more tourists from China can visit Kenya to see the cradle of mankind," he said.

This Day (Lagos)

June 7, 2012 Thursday

No Final Decision On Boko Haram Yet, Says U.S.

BYLINE: Tokunbo Adedoja and Michael Olugbode

LENGTH: 1109 words

United States government has said no decision had been taken on designating Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation (FTO), but added that deliberations were "ongoing and internal."

Also, the clash between the Joint Task Force (JTF) and members of the Boko Haram in Maiduguri, the Borno State capital, which reportedly led to the death of about 16 persons has created great humanitarian crisis in the town as many residents have fled the troubled area.

But US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. Johnnie Carson, while responding to a question asked by THISDAY on whether an FTO designation was considered as an option during the two-day high-level meeting with Nigerian officials, said the issue came up during the internal deliberations within US government.

He specifically disclosed that the issue was being discussed by officials at the Department of State, National Security Council, legal and law enforcement agencies, including the Justice Department and FBI. He however added that, "At this time, there has been no final decision made on designating Boko Haram sect as a foreign terrorist organisation."

He said notwithstanding this, US would continue to work very closely with Nigerian authorities at all levels - police, military, intelligence and foreign ministry - in trying to help country tackle "the very serious threat that Boko Haram sect is."

Also, Deputy Secretary of State, William Burns, in his closing remarks, said the Regional Security Working Group of the BNC discussed strategies to help educate the Nigerian public about the government's efforts to secure its citizens and prevent the spread of violent extremism.

"We will continue to work with our Nigerian partners to improve the capacity of its military and police units as part of the government's overall effort to respond to the needs of communities vulnerable to violent extremism," he said.

Meanwhile, military sources said the confrontation with

the sect which was majorly on Lawan Bukar street, Abbaganaram, Budum and Shehuri wards of the town left several others sustaining varying degrees of injuries.

Although, it could not be ascertained whether any member of the JTF was killed during the gun duel, the Field Operations Commander of the JTF, Col. Victor Ebhaleme, told

journalists, that those killed were all members of the terrorists, and none of his men was killed.

Burns, who is the highest ranked foreign service officer in US, added: "Nigeria's future, full of promise and risk, has no shortage of unknowns. But let me close with one certainty; that future will be brighter if we approach it together."

Nigerian Ambassador to US, Prof. Adebowale Adefuye, however, told journalists why the Federal Government was opposed to the calls on the US to designate Boko Haram as an FTO.

Adefuye said: "An FTO in any country is subject to America's search and destroy operation which includes the sending of drones and other unmanned weapon as it currently happens in Pakistan, Somalia, and Yemen."

While noting that such could also have impact on other citizens, Adefuye said: "We do not want that in Nigeria."

Adefuye also said if Boko Haram was designated as an FTO, "Nigerian citizens arriving at American ports will be treated as inhabitants of an FTO based country and each traveller will have to prove that he does not belong to Boko Haram."

According to him, "this will involve intensive search and interrogation of Nigerians as it happened in the aftermath of Mutallab's episode."

The envoy, who noted that designating Boko Haram would enhance its image and prestige among other terrorist organisations which might be encouraged to strengthen it for more impact, also said that would give the impression that Nigeria was unable to contain the violent sect when it had successfully contained Niger-Delta militants who were more focused, better organised and deadlier.

Another reason he gave was that an FTO designation would militate against Nigeria's drive for American foreign investment.

He however expressed happiness that President Goodluck Jonathan and Nigerian embassy in Washington enjoy tremendous cooperation and confidence of the American government, adding, "the views expressed above are strongly supported."

Kano State Governor, Ibrahim Kwakwanso, and his Borno State counterpart, Kashim Shettima, were also at the high-level meeting to shed light on the security challenges in their respective states.

In one of the sessions, Borno State governor delivered a presentation on "Northern views on violent extremism and government's role", which was concluded with a discussion on, "Serving community needs during military and police operations; addressing challenges of IEDs, ordnance disposal, and post-blast investigations."

The Coordinator, Counter-Terrorism, Major-General Sarkin Y. Bello, Under Secretary of Defence for Policy, James Miller, AFRICOM Deputy Commander, Vice Admiral Charles Leidig, and US Counterterrorism Deputy, Robert Godec, were among defence and intelligence chiefs at the meeting.

Meanwhile, Military sources said the confrontation with the sect which was majorly on Lawan Bukar street, Abbaganaram, Budum and Shehuri wards of the town which left several others sustaining varying degrees of injuries.

The gun duel and multiple explosions which rocked the city on Tuesday evening up to Wednesday morning was said to have left residents in the affected areas to remain indoors in the last 24 hours. It was gathered that the JTF who had cordoned off the area had warned residents to stay in their houses throughout as they engaged the terrorists who had on Tuesday decided to come out to engage them in open confrontation.

Although, it could not be ascertained whether any member of the JTF was also lost in the confrontation, but the Field Operations Commander of the JTF, Col. Victor Ebhaleme, told journalists, that those killed were all members of the terrorists, and none of his men was killed.

Abbaganaram, Budum and Lawan Bukar streets are where the family house of the serving governor Kashim Shettima is located, but they had been forced to flee from the troubled area a day before the latest confrontation.

It was gathered that the latest confrontation started at about 4pm on Tuesday when some suspected sect members attacked one of the JTF local base in Budum which made the JTF to re-strategise and repelled them off in a gun battle and multiple explosions on Tuesday night.

It was gathered that the JTF had cordoned off the notorious Lawan Bukar area known for many attacks by the sect including the assassination of late All Nigeria Peoples Party (ANPP) gubernatorial candidate in the state, Fannami Modu Gubio.

DAILY NATION

24/7/2012

Fresh queries over Chinese coal firm awarded Sh8bn job

By TOM MOSOBA tmosoba@tz.nationmedia.com

Controversy surrounding the award of a multi-billion shillings coal mining tender to a suspect Chinese company is set to intensify with new details pointing to possible collusion with a Kenyan firm operating from behind the scenes.

Some politicians are also shown as having clashing interests in the coal project, filing contradicting reports in support and opposition to the Chinese company's suitability for the lucrative tender.

Fenxi Industry Mining Group was picked last November by the Ministry of Energy to develop block C and D of Mui Coal Basin in Kitui County in an investment valued at more than Sh8.5 billion, but the deal has now run into controversy over corruption claims.

Water minister Charity Ngilu and Mutito MP Kiema Kilonzo have vowed to lobby to shoot down the tender in the Cabinet and in Parliament, claiming the Chinese company was a "proxy", and that it was awarded the tender irregularly at the behest of powerful individuals angling for a share.

Law Society of Kenya chairman Eric Mutua is also lining up a suit this week to block the signing of an investment agreement between the government and Fenxi before full disclosure on the company.

Inquiries by the *Nation* have established inconsistencies that raise several intrigues on Fenxi Industry Mining Group and the process leading to the award of tender.

Our investigations reveal how competing political and economic interests for the coal project found their way into the ministry, and now threaten to derail exploitation of the coal reserves in the area estimated at over 500 million metric tonnes.

Several documents and official correspondence in our possession show that Fenxi Industry Mining Group could have been working with a Kenyan company that did not feature anywhere during the tender award process.

Documents also show the ministry went ahead and awarded the tender to Fenxi despite conflicting reports by two teams — among them, its own officials — which toured China

early this year to assess whether the company was suitable for the job.

Assistant minister for Defence David Musila led the first 15 member delegation to China in March and filed a report, giving Fenxi a clean bill of health to proceed. The LSK boss was apparently a member of this delegation whose cost for their one week trip was fully paid for by the Chinese company.

In May, the government paid for 14 people led by Mr Kilonzo for a similar trip to China and upon their return, the team that included the ministry's procurement officer Ms Mukami Kaburu, wrote a report pointing out that Fenxi Industry Mining Group was a "briefcase" company that did not exist in China.

Mr Kilonzo's report indicated that while in China, Fenxi introduced a firm called Jingu Group as a partner but according to them, the company was a real estate development one without any experience in coal mining.

Further, Mr Kilonzo said they were told by the Jingu Group Board chairman, Mr Li Yu Xin that a Kenyan company identified in their report as Great Lakes would co-own 30 per cent shares in the coal project.

Their opposition, they said, was based in the fact that while Fenxi appears non-existent, Jingu and Great lakes were being introduced outside the normal tender process.

The Musila report did not mention Great Lakes and described Jingu Group only as Fenxi's holding company.

Interviewed by the Nation, Musila and Kilonzo maintained their positions, with the former saying their brief in China was to tour coal mining activities and "not carry out due diligence on Fenxi."

Mr Kilonzo said the Chinese firm "hoodwinked" the delegations by taking them on a tour of mining sites owned by different Chinese corporations.

In Nairobi, an independent investigation by the Nation established Fenxi Industry Mining Group was not listed in the Chinese mining companies' directory. It has no official website, while questions put to the Chinese Embassy for verification were directed to the Ministry of Energy.

A visit to the location given as Fenxi's offices led to apartment number 13 at Yaya Tower Apartments where a lady who identified herself as a personal assistant to the general manager lives. No one is allowed in.

A search for the company's two given postal addresses in Nairobi showed that one of them belonged to a local bank (name withheld) and the other a local hotel (name withheld).

When reached for comment and asked about the claims on Fenxi, Energy minister Kiraitu Murungi asked the *Nation* to contact the PS for any answers on the project.

However, efforts to get Mr Wanyoike were futile the entire week. Messages sent to his three different mobile phones had not been answered as at Tuesday.

DAILY NATION

29/3/2011

China set to outstrip US in science research output

By AFP

China has shot to second place in the number of articles published in international science magazines and in a few years will take the top spot from the United States, according to a new report.

"China has already overtaken the UK as the second leading producer of research publications, but some time before 2020 it is expected to surpass the USA," said the report by the Royal Society in London.

While the top 10 is still dominated by the major Western powers, their share of research papers published is falling, the report said.

And as well as China, Brazil and India are coming up fast.

"The USA leads the world in research, producing 20 percent of the world's authorship of research papers, dominating world university league tables, and investing nearly $400 billion per year in public and private research and development," said the report released Monday.

"The UK, Japan, Germany and France each also command strong positions in the global league tables, producing high quality publications and attracting researchers to their world class universities and research institutes," it added.

But while these five countries alone produced 59 percent of all spending on science globally, their dominant position was nevertheless slipping.

China shot up from sixth place in the period 1999-2003 (4.4 percent of the total) to second place behind the United States with 10.2 percent over the years 2004-08, overtaking Japan.

While the United States remained in the top spot, it saw its share shrink from 26.4 percent to 21.2 percent.

Britain remained third with its share at 6.5 percent, down from 7.1 percent.

In a statement last week after Britain's budget however, the Royal Society welcomed finance minister George Osborne's promise of another £100 million (114 million euros, $160 million) of capital investment in science.

170

Japan slipped from second to fourth place, falling from 7.8 percent to 6.1 percent, said the report.

Germany, in fifth place, published six percent, down from seven percent, while France, in sixth, published 4.4 percent, down from five percent.

Rounding off the top 10 were Canada, Italy, Spain -- and India, which pushed Russia out of the top 10, moving up from 13th position.

"China's rise up the rankings has been especially striking," said the report.

"China has heavily increased its investment in R&D (research and development), with spending growing by 20 percent per year since 1999 to reach over $100 billion a year today," it continued.

That came to 1.44 percent of the country's GDP in 2007, it added.

"China is also turning out huge numbers of science and engineering graduates, with 1.5 million leaving its universities in 2006," the report added.

Further down the rankings, but making dramatic progress, were Iran and Turkey.

Turkey's improved scientific performance had been almost as dramatic as China's, the report said, noting that it had declared research a public priority in the 1990s.

The country had increased its research and development nearly six-fold between 1995 and 2007, and during the same period, the number of researchers there had increased by 43 percent.

Iran was the fastest-growing country in terms of numbers of scientific publications, rising from 736 in 1996 to 13,238 in 2008.

"The scientific world is changing and new players are fast appearing," said Chris Llewellyn Smith, who chaired the study at the Royal Society, Britain's national science academy.

"Beyond the emergence of China, we see the rise of southeast Asian, Middle Eastern, north African and other nations.

"The increase in scientific research and collaboration, which can help us to find solutions to the global challenges we now face, is very welcome.

"However, no historically dominant nation can afford to rest on its laurels if it wants to retain the competitive economic advantage that being a scientific leader brings."

The Royal Society's findings were published in its report entitled "Knowledge, networks and nations: Global scientific collaboration in the 21st century".

DAILY NATION

Daily Nation (Kenya)

July 24, 2013 Wednesday

AMUTABI: A second Cold War has broken out in Africa

BYLINE: MAURICE AMUTABI -1

LENGTH: 635 words

The second Cold War has started over Africa, but this time round, it is about economic factors - resources and markets.

This war is between the United States and China, the two biggest economic powers in the world.

It is not about the US and Russia as many may have imagined, because Russia does not have massive economic interests in Africa compared to China and the US.

The first Cold War started over the occupation of Germany by allies after the World War II and ended in 1989, but the second Cold War is about Africa. It started in 2006 when China hosted 48 African Heads of State at a summit in Beijing.

This was the first time that such a large number of African leaders were converging in one place to discuss economic issues. Not even the Commonwealth or African Union meetings have attracted such huge turnouts of African leaders.

The world could not help but notice the $50 billion given to various African countries after the summit. Kenya was given $1 billion which went towards the construction of Thika Superhighway and Mama Lucy Referral Hospital.

Evidence of a second Cold War is seen in the competition over Africa between China and the US. In 2012, China's trade with Africa reached $200 billion, an increase from $170 billion in 2011.

America's trade with Africa has declined to $100 billion in 2012 from $120 billion in 2011, and is the reason why President Barack Obama and other high-level US officials are paying close attention to Africa.

China started the second Cold War by making it clear that it was prepared to do everything to replace Western powers in trade and utilisation of the continent's resources. More than 35 African countries have received Chinese direct investment in infrastructure development.

In Kenya, out of four referral hospitals, three have been built by China. Of the two national stadiums, one, which is the best, has been built by China.

In 2010, President Xi Jinping toured South Africa, Angola and Botswana when he was vice-president. He also visited South Africa, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

President Obama visited two of these countries - South Africa and Tanzania - this June.

In 2013, Mr Xi made his first overseas trip to Africa as president, making it clear that the continent was the number one priority for China.

He visited many countries with goodies that no Western country has been able to match. Many people believe Mr Obama's trip to Africa was meant to undo the gains made by China in the continent in the past three years. Europe and the US took Africa for granted and China took full advantage of this to replace them as Africa's most strategic partner.

Former US President George W. Bush visited Africa once, while Bill Clinton did so twice. President Obama has visited Africa only twice since becoming president in 2008.

On the other hand, former Chinese President Hu Jintao visited 17 African countries in just 10 months. During his 10-year rule, he visited 20 African countries including giant economic players such as South Africa and Nigeria, as well as minor players like Kenya, Mali, Mauritius, Namibia and Cameroon.

This is different from the approach of US presidents who will only visit democracies they have previously approved of.

But during his June visit to Africa, President Obama seemed to borrow a leaf from China, putting more emphasis on investment, trade and economic growth than on democracy and military interests.

He stoked the fires of a second Cold War rivalry by taking a swipe at China, saying in a town hall event in Soweto: "So if somebody is building a road here in Africa, make sure they're hiring some Africans."

Kenyans and other African countries are expecting a visit from Chinese President Xi with counter-offers.

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173

This Day (Lagos)

June 30, 2013

Obama - We Don't Need Energy From Africa

BYLINE: Festus Akanbi

LENGTH: 983 words

United States President Barack Obama Saturday confirmed the fears in some quarters that the days of crude oil importation from African oil producing countries, including Nigeria, were numbered, as oil export from Nigeria is on a downward trend.

Speaking at a press conference with South African President Jacob Zuma during his visit to that country as part of his three-nation African visit, Obama said his country does not need energy from Africa.

"Well, the truth is, the United States, at this point, on issues of energy, for example, frankly, we don't need energy from Africa. Because of advances that have been made, we're seeing oil production and natural gas production, as well as clean energy production all growing at a rapid rate in the United States," he said.

"So our primary interest when it comes to working with Africa on energy issues has to do with how do we power Africa so that it can be an effective market creating jobs and opportunity in Africa, but then we also then have somebody to trade with and sell iPods to, and airplanes, and all kinds of good stuff," he added.

He challenged Africans to insist on equitable deals from the various foreign investors who are swarming the continent.

Over the years, the US, Nigeria's biggest oil customer, has been slashing down its oil imports from the country amid surging output and refinery closures in North America, prompting Nigeria's oil marketers to find alternative markets in Asia, twice the distance of America.

And according to Managing Director Petromix and a Switzerland-based consultant, Oliver Jacob, "It's a very plausible scenario that one day the U.S. won't need to import crude oil from Nigeria."

Following the Organisation of Petroleum Producing Countries, (OPEC), Nigeria's dwindling oil exports to the United States (U.S.) has crashed further to the lowest in 15 years, noting that it was up to Nigeria to seek out new markets on its own.

Also speaking when he fielded questions from a crop of young leaders from the African continent, the US President said his administration wanted a more equitable partnership, which would help African economies to grow into consumer powerhouses.

He spoke of the readiness of the US to encourage the adoption of the use of clean energy technology and strategies by African nations in an effort to reduce carbon emission.

The US President urged Africans to ask more questions about lopsided deals with some foreign investors, while dismissing talk of a Chinese and US scramble for influence on the continent. Obama said he welcomed renewed interest from larger emerging markets.

According to him, "I actually welcome the attention that Africa is receiving from countries like China and Brazil and India and Turkey." But he urged African nations to make sure trade was not a one-way street.

"When we look at what other countries are doing in Africa, I think our only advice is, make sure it's a good deal for Africa.

"Somebody says they want to come build something here: Are they hiring African workers? Somebody says that we want to help you develop your natural resources: How much of the money is staying in Africa?"

He regretted that too often foreign investment did not benefit locals and actually encouraged the type of corruption and resource-stripping that guts economies.

"I do think that it's important for Africans to make sure that these interactions are good for Africa.

"There has been a long history of extracting resources from Africa, you take raw materials, you send them to someplace else where they get used processed, sometimes sold back to Africa.

"The profits stay there, the jobs stay there and not much stays in Africa," he said.

Chinese investment in Africa was estimated at $218 billion last year, fuelling uncertainty among US businesses, which have expressed concern that Africa is a diplomatic blind spot for their government.

In March, China's new President Xi Jinping visited Africa, as well as Russia, on his first foreign trip, signing a raft of business and energy deals signalling Beijing's intent to deepen ties further.

Responding to a question on the war against terror from a youth leader from Nigeria, Obama said his administration was making a considerable effort in tackling insecurity and curbing terror with the death of Osama Bin Laden but he was quick to recognise existence of Boko Haram in Nigeria.

"There is no doubt in the progress we have made in dealing with some extremist groups, for example core Al Qaida and Bin Laden" he said stressing that "they have been greatly diminished".

He, however, noted, "What is also true is that in some ways the problem has also metamorphised, we have more regional terrorist organisations like Boko Haram in Nigeria espousing an extremist ideology, showing no regard for human life."

He admitted that despite not having a transnational capacity like the other organisations "they are doing great harm in Africa and in the Middle East and in South Asia."

Obama blamed the upsurge of terrorist groups on the fact that "countries are not delivering for their people and where there are sources of conflict and underlining frustrations that have not been adequately dealt with."

To curb such uprisings, Obama said, "we have to build institutions, a lot of what we talked about in terms of responsiveness, governance and democracy. Those things become defence mechanisms against terrorism, they are the most important defence against terrorism," he said.

He ruled out military solutions in tackling terrorism but said the more governments "give people opportunity, education and resolve conflicts through regular democratic processes, the less likely they are to take root."

The US president, whose itinerary did not include seeing the hospitalised South African anti-apartheid icon Nelson Mandela, however paid glowing tributes to the man he eulogised as a hero to the world. He also later met with the Mandela family.

This Day (Lagos)

August 16, 2011 Tuesday

A Caution On China [opinion]

BYLINE: Chidi Amuta

LENGTH: 1668 words

It has become fashionable to welcome the rise and incursion of China into the African market as an unmitigated blessing. Chinese goods are cheap relative to what we get from the West. The Chinese offer business and funds without silly conditionalities. China used to be a Third World country that has risen rapidly to constitute a counter civilisational force in the world.

The Chinese do not necessarily come to you with supremacist swagger. They do not overtly lecture you on any anything. They talk to themselves mostly in a language many do not understand and which requires patience and artistry to write. We can go on with the list of attractions and curiosities about the new China.

I do not share this sense of euphoria. My attitude is that we need to take a long-term strategic view of China's coming if we have any degree of national self-interest left. At this point in time, the best attitude is one of great strategic caution and informed engagement. If we are a serious nation with an eye on the future of our children instead of our present greed, we need to have put in place a team of people who have a capability for strategic thinking to fashion out a China policy. This is imperative not just because that is what other serious nations are doing but because it is the sensible thing to do because of who we are and the position we ought to occupy in the emerging world order that is staring us in the face. There are lessons to be learnt and dangers that are clear and present.

We have a huge population. But of our over 150 million people, our collective real productivity earns less than 20 per cent of our foreign exchange. In other words, if we take out oil and gas, we are a very unproductive people because the funds we generate through real sectors and activities are hardly enough to keep this flag flying for longer than 30 days. But our potential and inherent capacity exceeds the over 80 per cent of earnings from oil and gas. The rest of the money we are fighting and quarrelling over comes as oil and gas rents, explored by others with technologies we are reluctant to master and sold at prices determined by forces we do not control.

But we remain the largest number of Africans hurdled up in one nation state. In that capacity, we have a potential to generate enough diplomatic noise to engage any major external force that wants to do business with Africa. I guess that for these reasons, we present an attractive curiosity to the Chinese. Their perception of our weaknesses and potentials largely informs their presence and nature of activities in our midst.

But we cannot afford to ignore China. The reasons are simple. First, it is perhaps the first nation in human history that is developing simultaneously as an economic, military,

diplomatic and civilizational force with a population that is one and a half billion strength and still growing, even if weakly. Second, the rise of China is the historic antitheses of the values and assumptions that colonized, imperialised and have informed our economic development strategies and international relations to date. Literally, China challenges us to learn new wisdoms in middle age.

China's Confucian wisdom knows something that most of us do not realise: globalisation unites humanity not around the fear of America's big guns but around the desire to possess the same goods - cheap cell phones, computers, clone wrist watches, fake denim, T-shirts, modern homes and appliances that make life easy and encourage people to feel special and a sense of belonging in a new train of civilization. And China goes on churning out those goods, thereby uniting humanity faster than the merchants of fear and humanitarian imperialism.

In terms of our contemporary reality, a few things are true. Made in China goods are relatively cheap. Chinese finance and credit come without obvious conditionalities. Most times, Chinese contractors bid lower and mobilise faster on projects. These contractors inundate the project sites with Chinese workers and therefore deliver fast because the communism-induced work ethic of the average Chinese leaves little room for indolence. In any case, they are too many to afford the luxury of laziness.

More importantly, China's centralised political system and its heavy dose of ideology have ensured that every Chinese has imbibed the growing sense of national global mission; the mission to provide a counterweight to Western, especially American, world dominance of the international economic system. So, Chinese are going everywhere in the world, learning local languages and customs, trying to understand and fill real needs of real people.

But a few other things are worrying. For every dozen Chinese workers involved in projects here, that many Nigerians cannot find the same jobs. And most of these jobs are not specialised in any sense. China's indifference to the domestic and international policies of their host African countries is a dangerous veneer for condoning vicious human rights abuses as in the case of its relationship with Sudan and its heavy involvement in that country's oil industry while Darfur festered. The working conditions in Chinese factories in Nigeria violate nearly every code of minimally decent labour laws.

The influxes of cheap Chinese exports means that Nigerian manufacturers cannot compete even in the most basic of sectors and in most cases have to close shop after heavy investments and massive borrowing. Most importantly, the aggregate lowering of standards of quality for goods imported from China simply because we are poor does not deliver value for money in the long term.

Chinese participation in African economies is unrestricted and therefore making incursions in areas where our people should ordinarily be left to thrive in order to reduce poverty. At Oshodi and Aswani markets in Lagos, there are Chinese retailers. The poultry industry in Nigeria and Zambia is heavy with Chinese participants. So also bakery, basic carpentry, furniture, garments etc. They are no longer content with importing their produce. They are setting up manufacturing plants and workshops here as well.

There is every advantage in pursuing diversity in the national economy. There is also value in globalisation and the encouragement of competition so that our manufacturers can raise their

standards and seek ways of producing cheaply, more efficiently and better products. May be the Chinese incursion is an advantage in this regard. But no country leaves its economic borders unprotected simply because you want to belong to some phantom global village. Both China and the United States have strict laws on which industries should be left to local participants and which should be open to external competition. Nigeria with its population and large-scale unemployment needs to be even more aggressive in this regard without being overtly protectionist.

There is an even greater worry. Why try to do something that someone else is doing for you cheaply and effortlessly? I recall that until the influx of cheap Japanese calculators in the 1970s, we went through the horrors of long multiplication, long division, use of log tables, slide rule etc. in Mathematics classes in high school. Our Mathematical instincts were honed in the arduous tasks of arriving at solutions through a long process. You were punished for arriving at answers to Mathematical questions without showing clearly, stage by stage, how you got there. Not anymore.

There are calculators everywhere now: in cell phones, on street sides, in computers, in the remotest villages etc. Our kids do not need to worry about how to arrive at answers. The answers have been provided by others. We need not ask questions. The answers are ready and waiting. Your daughter does not need to be trained by her mother on how to wake up early to make breakfast. The microwave oven is plugged and ready, set at two minutes! Food is ready! You can even set a reminder on the device.

The same goes with the ability to innovate, which is one area where Nigeria has failed woefully. Our ability to innovate, to come up with unusual solutions to our myriad problems are directly proportional to the pain we feel in those areas of problems. The Chinese are helping in providing us cheap solutions and therefore engendering a new culture of dependency and patent laziness. When you get used to too much of a good cheap thing, you may not need to work hard to do the same things for yourself. That is my worry.

But that worry can be converted into a national advantage. Forget the wheel. It has been invented for you while you were snoring. Wake up and pick what is already there and run as fast as you can. Those who advocate a leapfrog approach to our development challenges have a point in this regard. But we are not doing that.

The Nigerian state may be powerless in constructively engaging China on trade and skills because we have not even tried to understand that new frontier. But there are a few basic things we can do if we are minimally strategically minded as a nation. First, introduce Chinese language as a compulsory subject in our school syllabus. You cannot ignore the language and culture of a nation of one and a half billion people that is in clear and present prospect of assuming world economic domination. Our agreements and contracts with Chinese governments should include clauses for active exchange of skills and training of Nigerians in Chinese industries. We also have a huge population of unemployed citizens. We should minimally protect some of our rudimentary industries from Chinese dumping. Most importantly, we should have the political will to protect our industries from unfair competition.

Our obligation to our children in this China matter is even simpler: let us equip them with the language and culture of the power that will tomorrow determine what they wear, how they

travel, communicate, study and see the rest of the world. We learnt the language and culture of our colonial and imperial masters.

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