

**CHINESE PRINT MEDIA'S PORTRAYAL OF CHINA IN AFRICA:
A CASE OF *CHINA DAILY AFRICA***

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this project is my own original work. It has not been published or presented in any other institution. All the material obtained herein from other sources is dully acknowledged.

Signature.....

Date.....

Student Name:.....

SUPERVISOR:.....

I hereby declare that this project has been presented for examination with my approval as appointed instructor.

Signature.....

Date.....

Supervisor's Name...Dr. Samuel Siringi.

DEDICATION

I dedicate my project work to my family and friends who have stood by me through the whole process. I wish to express my gratitude to my loving parents Jacob and Alice Mboya whose words of encouragement and unending support continues to push me forward. My Sister Anne and Brother Brian who have stood by my side in every situation; my success is your success.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Frames: Frames were measured according to Entman's (1993) criteria and were determined via qualitative frame analysis.

Tone: Tone was measured according to Breuer and Napthine (2008) criteria that tone refers to the writer's attitude or emotion towards their subject matter or audience.

Sources: These are the contributors of news items and opinion pieces in China Daily Africa.

Portrayal: This refers to how an issues or an item is presented in terms of value or description.

Page lead story: This refers to the story of major importance in a particular page.

Diplomatic ties: These are stories that dwell on the bilateral and multilateral relationship between China and African states and focus on the relations and how China conducts its affairs in Africa.

Economic ties: These stories dwell on the economic consequences of China's engagement with Africa and focus on matters related to trade, investment, and economic development.

Cultural ties: These stories dwell on human and cultural interaction between Chinese nationals and African nationals and focus in issues related to Tourism, Volunteerism, education, Art and Gallery etc.

ABSTRACT

The entry of Chinese media organisations in Africa has drawn interest from scholars, journalists and policy makers worldwide. In December 2012, *China Daily Africa* was inaugurated in Africa to cover the Sino-African relations with an aim of improving communication and cooperation between China and Africa. This study seeks to investigate Chinese print media's portrayal of China in Africa, with *China Daily Africa* as the case study. The study was based on the media framing theory. Qualitative approach was utilized in this study while content analysis of newspapers was used as the research method. Primary data interviews were conducted with key informants while thematic and frame analyses were used to analyse the data. Data was presented using tabulations and narrative method. A sample 106 page lead stories in 12 editions of *China Daily Africa* were examined. A population of 106 page lead stories and a sampling frame of 12 editions of *China Daily Africa* were used in the study. The derived samples were limited to a period between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015. The study revealed that three key frames dominated the coverage of China in *China Daily Africa*; diplomatic ties, economic ties and cultural ties. Majority of the news sources for the themes were Chinese nationals and thus they presented a Chinese perspective of the relationship between China and Africa. It emerged that *China Daily Africa* frames the China-Africa relationship in positive light to portray a positive image of the country in Africa. The study concludes that *China Daily Africa* is a central agent of Chinese diplomacy and propaganda and its coverage of China in Africa is meant to improve China's image and standing in Africa. The researcher recommended the adoption of a more balanced narrative of China-Africa relations by having more African sources and the inclusion of an African perspective of the relationship since the audience is the African audience.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Overview

This chapter gives background information to the study and a description of the problem statement to highlight the need for this study. It also outlines the objectives of the study and the research questions. It provides justification and significance of the study to affirm the research purpose. The theoretical framework; the research scope and limitations have been highlighted.

1.1 Introduction

China's resurgence in Africa is one of the most striking developments in recent times. As China engages more with the African continent to enhance cooperation and build stronger ties, the media has been utilized as an important tool for public diplomacy and cultural and people to people exchanges. For this reason, Chinese media organisations with a global presence have set off their operations in Africa. Most often, China and Africa learnt about each other in the media from a third party, which was western media. International opinions have always been and still are led by western media. Chinese, African and other regions' voices have been relatively weak. However, the entrance of Chinese media and the close exchanges and collaboration with African media is intended to balance the situation. China now has a platform communicate with Africa more effectively, build mutual trust and eliminate misunderstanding (Guangyuan 2013).

China Daily Group, with 16 print publications, is widely considered as a reliable source of information, analysis, commentary and entertainment for global readers with an interest in China. In December 14th 2012, the Chinese state run media outlet inaugurated the *China Daily Africa*; a publication meant to cover the Sino-African relations and significantly improve communication and cooperation between China and Africa (Rotberg 2013). It offers 32 pages of Sino-Africa news and information each week and circulation covers countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Ghana. It circulates among government offices, public institutions, diplomatic personnel, businesses and leading companies, think tanks, universities, and international organizations across Africa (China Daily website).

“China daily, often referred to as “Voice of China” and “Window to China”, is not only one of the most authoritative and influential English media outlets in China, but also the only national English-Language newspaper that sends timely and abundant information on Chinese politics, economy, society and culture to readers all over the world. Its commitment to helping the world know more about China and the country’s integration with the international community is critical for China’s image and interests in Africa” (Guangyuan 2013).

Prior to the establishment of *China Daily Africa* together with other Chinese media outlets in Africa, Africans and the Chinese people depended on western media for news and information about each other. However, Western media’s reporting did not represent the voice of China in Africa and vice versa: Most of the reporting was done from a

western perspective which often framed China in negative light (D'hooghe, 2015). China has for a long time perceived a negative bias in how the western media reports it. It has historically accused them of casting a negative image of China's engagement with Africa. It saw these media outlets as "extensions of western government's policies that aimed at "containing" China abroad and derived content from outdated "neo-colonialist attitudes" (Hanauer and Morris, 2014).

There was therefore a need for the establishment of Chinese media outlets in Africa to represent the Chinese voice and Chinese interests in Africa. The huge investment and expansion of Chinese media outlets in Africa were therefore driven by China's frustration about western media's dominance and the west's stereotypical reporting of China and its policies (D'hooghe 2015).

China's media drive began in January 2009 when the central government of China announced plans to allocate 45 billion Yuan (6.6 billion USD) to fund the expansion of state media across the globe. They are; Xinhua News Agency, China Central Television (CCTV), China Daily and China Radio International (CRI). Although China Radio International and Xinhua News Agency had already established operations in Africa, Xinhua News Agency expanded its bureaus to more than 20 African countries in 2009. Soon after; CNC world began broadcasting news to African audiences via satellite and cable in early 2011. In January 2012, state owned China Central Television established CCTV Africa with its headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. In December 2012, the

latest of several Chinese media initiatives in Africa was established in the form of China Daily Africa (Hanauer and Morris 2014).

1.2 Problem Statement

The entry of Chinese media organisations in Africa has attracted significant attention from scholars, journalists and policy makers worldwide. China has rapidly become an important player in Africa's media space. Critics and observers have questioned its media agenda in Africa while others have shown appreciation for its media entry and engagement with Africa. China's increasing media engagement in Africa is emerging as an important area of study that can offer a critical "entry point" to understanding the broader socio-political implications of Sino-Africa relations. Is it a strategy simply aimed at improving its image abroad, or is it attempting to support discourses alternative to the west (Gagliardone 2010)?

To date, the story of China's engagement with Africa has been mostly narrated by western media. Often, it is framed in the context of land-grabbing, resource-snatching, neo-colonialism, and invasion. While *China Daily Africa* has already been utilised to give the Chinese side of the story; one of solidarity and cooperation, it is of academic importance to study how the paper specifically frames China in Africa (Green 2012). While many studies conducted on Chinese media reporting in Africa dwell on spheres of influence that China and other big powers compete for in Africa, none or very few of them have attempted to critically analyze the role of Chinese media from a purely African

perspective. This paper seeks to fill this knowledge gap by analyzing how *China Daily Africa* portrays China in Africa in the context of Media framing theory.

1.3 Main Objective

The main objective of this study is to identify the key frames that dominate the coverage of China's engagement in Africa as presented in *China Daily Africa*.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

1. To find out the key frames presented in *China Daily Africa* and how they relate to the general image of China in Africa.
2. To establish the key figures and sources of news on the existing relationship between China and Africa in the *China Daily Africa*.
3. To determine the tone in the stories about China – Africa in the *China Daily Africa*.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How are issues about China framed in *China Daily Africa*?
2. Who are the key sources of information on China Africa relationship as portrayed by *China Daily Africa*?
3. What is the frequency of what could be considered positive reporting in *China Daily Africa* vis a vis negative reporting of issues regarding Sino-Africa relations.

1.5 Justification

Having learnt from the field of communication studies that the media educate and inform the public, and also have the ability to influence perceptions depending on how issues are covered and framed, it is critical that the entry and impact of Chinese media outlets in Africa be thoroughly examined and understood in the context of Sino-Africa relations and what it means for the African audience. The intention of this research is to provide a comprehensive analysis of how *China Daily Africa* frames China in Africa and how that affects how its audience perceives China as well as its impact on the information arena with regards to China and Africa relations.

The outcome of this research has hopefully demystified and eventually resolved the mystery surrounding the huge Chinese investments and presence in Africa. It is likely to influence audiences and those enthusiastic about Sino-Africa relations in the way they consume news and reports about China in Africa and enable them interrogate these from an informed position.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study has been undertaken at a time when there is a growing interests and appetite for China's engagement in Africa; especially it's Media expansion in Africa. The study is very relevant because as yet, there is no other study on the how Chinese media frame China in Africa. It is therefore a pioneering effort in this emerging intellectual area of study.

This study is important because it highlights the intricacies of media involvement in promoting foreign policy and state interest abroad. It will show that in one way or the other, that the media willfully or otherwise promote certain aspects and prefer certain contexts in their reporting of state relations especially when it comes to state owned media. The study highlights the critical role that the media can play in influencing perceptions and building relationships between parties. It draws a nexus between media framing theory, public communication and development communication. It hopefully also helps explain the case of Chinese media and other global media outlets in Africa.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The research was grounded on media framing theory with development communication in mind. The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and construed as having implications for multiple outcomes. Media framing is the process by which an issue is portrayed in the news media as salient and provide boundaries around the news story that determines what is newsworthy or not. (Gamson and Modigliani in (D'angelo and Kuypers, 2010) define Media framing as a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events. Etman in D'angelo and Kuypers (2010) explain that to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality in such a way that it promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment and /or recommendation.

The way a situation is explained or framed has a direct impact on how audiences perceive it. These choices create persistent patterns of coverage that may influence the way

audiences perceive events (Sellnow and Seeger 2013). Journalists often consciously choose images and words that have power to influence how audiences interpret and evaluate issues and policies Tewksbury and Scheufele in (Bryant and Oliver 2009).

In framing research, there are two accepted approaches to frame identification; Deductive and Inductive methods (De Vreese 2005). The inductive approach involves analyzing media content with an aim of identifying possible frames and is suitable for small samples. A deductive approach on the other hand involves operationalizing of frames prior to analysis of media content to verify the extent to which they occur in the news and is suited for larger samples. The key objective of my research is to identify the key frames that dominate the coverage of China's engagement in Africa as presented in *China Daily Africa*. To answer my research questions, the theoretical underpinnings of framing theory elaborated above are suitable for the analysis of contestations on Chinese media presence and their agenda in Africa. The theory will help me uncover the basic strategies of selection, emphasis and exclusion embedded in "complex and contradictory" media artefacts (Lenz 1991).

1.8 Scope and Limitations

This research seeks to establish how Chinese media frame their reports in the coverage of Sino-Africa relations. The study targets *China Daily Africa*; recently launched in Africa and a subsidiary of China Daily group, China's largest English-language newspaper with a global presence. The research was carried out within a period of 180 days from February 11, 2015 to August 15, 2015 due to time constraints. Time constraints and

availability of *China Daily Africa* limited the number of copies and media texts collected for analysis to 12 copies covering a three month period which provides a small sample size for a valid generalization. The units of analysis consists of total of one hundred and six articles and news stories consisting of only page leads appearing in the sample of 12 copies of *China Daily Africa* between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015. This research had limitations associated with qualitative methodology employed in data collection and analysis. There are concerns about the validity and reliability as well as the generalizability of qualitative research (Sullivan and Spilka, 2011).

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the background information to the study and a description of the problem statement. It has also outlined the objectives of the study and the research questions. It has provided justification and significance of the study, the theoretical framework; the research scope and limitations. The next Chapter will discuss the historical background, the key players in framing of China in Africa, the Chinese media's agenda in Africa, the key scholarly arguments and characteristics of Chinese media in Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter presents a review of existing literature that supports this study. It provided a brief historical background on China's engagement with Africa with a focus on its media engagement and entry into Africa. The chapter provides a brief discussion of the key players in framing China in Africa, the characteristics of Chinese media in Africa and the key arguments arising from previous studies.

2.1 Historical background

Much of China's previous history tells a story of a nation that is remote, xenophobic and self contained. Of course, all this has changed thanks to its economic miracle coupled with spectacular growth and modernization. China has inevitably integrated into the global economy and become a major player in international trade and politics increasing its sphere of influence. This dramatic rise has been significantly abetted by the media (Scotton and Hachen 2010). Recently, China embarked on a robust articulation and implementation of the "going out" policy which led to a grand scale internationalization of Chinese media, language and culture. There was expansion of Chinese state media across the globe since 2009. Xinhua News Agency, China Central Television (CCTV), China Daily and China Radio International (CRI) all established bureaus outside China;

including Africa (Hanauer and Morris 2014). The scale and speed at which Chinese media expanded is increasing their footprint across the entire world (Sun and Sinclair 2015).

Pelens in (Taylor, Kopinski and Polus 2014) avers that the media is an important tool by which a country conveys its messages to promote its culture and values and explain its foreign policy to audiences across its borders. Governments conduct their public diplomacy through the media by influencing the content of information and the form of communication directed towards foreign audiences. Taylor, Kopinski and Polus (2014) support this notion by claiming that the Chinese government is devoted to sending positive messages to a wider audience as long as it serves its foreign policy well.

According to Sun and Sinclair (2015), following China's success in hosting the Beijing Olympics and the disappointing failure to translate the same into an impressive image and the dominant negative publicity associated with human rights issues related to Tibet, China realizes three things; One; there is an inconsistency between China's status as an economic power and its lack of influence through "soft power". Two; for China to contest the west's hegemonic representation of China, China must be able to gain a footing in the global media and communication arena to be able to tell the world its own story and let the world know and understand China from the Chinese perspective. Three; The media and communications sector forms the basis of China's soft power project.

Nye (2014) describes the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion as "soft power". He explains that it arises from the attractiveness of the country's culture, political ideals and policies. In the early 2000s, China launched its soft

power diplomacy with a view to rebranding its image (Kurlantzick 2007). According to Lai and Yiyi (2012), Chinese soft power has been mainly manifested in two aspects. One is China's foreign policy and international behavior, characterized by multilateralism, economic diplomacy and a good neighbor policy. The other is the external influence of the Chinese model on the developing world.

According to Wang in Sun and Sinclair (2015) the soft power project dubbed "going out" or "going global" is primarily aimed at gradually changing China's image in the international arena from negative, to neutral to positive. Sun and Sinclair (2015) add that to be specific, China wants to engage in soft power exercises through its media to achieve four key objectives. First is to encourage a wider and global understanding of its policies which are based on the principal of a "harmonious society" and "scientific development." Second is to be seen as a stable, reliable and responsible economic partner that does not pose any threat to the international community. Third is to be seen as a trustworthy and reliable nation that is actively contributing to world peace and fourth, is to be acknowledged and respected for its contribution to culture and civilization.

In efforts to achieve its soft power goals, China and its media organizations have been caught in a mix of nationalism and internationalism or globalism. The strategy of "peaceful evolution" through "global integration" has led China to embrace capitalism as it seeks to elevate its international status and standing. Its eagerness to join the World Trade Organization and host and sponsor the Olympic games reflects a nation that is yearning to join the "elite power club" in the international system (Chin-Chuan 2003).

However, according to Chang (2001) in (Chin-Chuan 2003), the Chinese media have in actual fact mixed state-indoctrinated nationalism with populist reactive nationalism, effectively blurring the boundaries between nation and state. This in fact, could be the reason why Chinese media's are also the weakest link in comparison with China's other initiatives in other domains such as the Confucius institutes that have been established to promote language and culture in educational institutions throughout the world (Sun and Sinclair 2015).

According to Chin-Chuan (2003), Chinese media are making extraordinary profits largely courtesy of state protection rather than free market competition and they are controlled by the propaganda departments. Zhou (2000) in Chin-Chuan (2003), says that China media have basically been transformed from a brainwashing state apparatus to what he refers to a "Party publicity Inc", whose task is to promote a positive image of the party state. In their engagements with Africa, there have been complaints especially from the African audiences that Chinese media have a bias toward positive news and pro-government reporting. However, western media also have a tendency to overstate and distort the scale of popular African discontent. They often cite Chinese workers taking over African jobs and the common reference of low quality Chinese goods and infrastructure as sources of African resentment (Thrall 2015).

Kurlantzick (2007: 56) argues that in their engagements with Africa, Chinese officials promote China as an economic model of success. Scholars such as Brautigam (2009) have documented China's economic progress and argued that it is good for Africa's

development. Li and Ronning (2013) reveal that since 1990's, Chinese soft power shifted from "opening up" to "going out". The media going out was a key strategy in achieving the soft power aspects. Moreover, Chinese communication scholars have since confirmed that indeed an outbound Chinese media strategy of "going out" has been in place, however, they are quick to add that it is global rather than directed at Africa as has been cast by many news reports (Wekesa and Zhang 2014).

Taylor, Kopinski and Polus (2014) affirm that Communication is a key element for making sources of soft power work. They support this argument by explaining that the media is a key instrument of soft power by virtue of being used as channels for conveying messages meant to explain foreign policy and promote a country's culture and values. However, according to Hoffman (2010), whether controlling communication channels and having a voice is enough "to win friends and influence people" remains to be seen. If "soft power" is about whose story wins, rather than whose army wins, then the way China is rewriting the narrative about itself for the world through its media becomes an important subject matter (Sun and Sinclair 2015).

2.2 Key players in framing of China in Africa

In 2010, China's state news agency, Xinhua news agency, commenced news coverage on mobile phones in Africa; Soon after, CNC world began broadcasting news to African audiences via satellite and cable in early 2011. In the same year 2011, China central Television (CCTV) established CCTV Africa with its African broadcast hub in Nairobi,

Kenya; and in December 2012 Xinhuanet, an online service of the Xinhua news agency, launched its African edition (Umejei 2013).

China Daily launched its African edition, *China Daily Africa*, in an attempt to communicate the relationship between China and Africa, comprehensively to the general public. Zhu Ling, *China Daily's* publisher and editor in Chief said “the relationship between the two parties is growing “complex and not always understood -not just by those in other parts of the world but Africans and Chinese, too.” “We hope to set that straight,” he added (Adegoke 2012).

The expansion of Chinese media to a global reach and especially to Africa has elicited heightened scholarly and journalistic attention. Of major interest has been their media content. China's shift towards soft power recognizes the need to influence the hearts and minds of the people in Africa, and to facilitate a better understanding of Africa in mainland China (Li and Funeka 2013). Shi Anbin (2013) reiterates that China's media activities are a “charm offensive” to win hearts and minds of the African people. This development has already elicited an unprecedented global attention and reaction. There is mounting apprehension behind China's media drive, especially in Africa as manifested in the African media industries, government agencies, policy think-tanks, the business community and the public in general (Sun and Sinclair 2015). China desires to change the negative perceptions of Africa in a bid to promote its relations with Africa. It also seeks to address the imbalances regarding international news coverage and combat cultural invasion and infiltration to safeguard the sovereignty and dignity of China and African countries (Li and Funeka 2013). This has not gone down well with its political

competitors in Africa who view China as a threat to their influence and interests in Africa. U.S secretary of state, Hillary Clinton remarked that “we are engaged in an information war, and we are losing that war” (Rotberg 2013).

China has been a victim of the west’s domination of global media that has undermined its efforts in Africa. Brautigam (2009) notes that the frames that have been propagated by the west have often depicted China negatively. According to Gonzalez (2013), western media is awash with shallow propaganda regarding China’s presence, motives and cultural and economic activities in Africa. He adds that most of their reporting and analyses border on what he terms as “robotized paranoia’ depicting China as a country that is only interested in resource rich nations in Africa.

China’s officials became cognizant of the fact that a disparity exists between China’s growing economic strength and its media’s relatively weak influence in Africa. They have long felt aggrieved by the unfair treatment of the western press with regards to their policies and engagement with Africa. As these concerns grew, so did the government’s support for the expansion of state owned media outlets (Shin and Eisenman 2012).

2.3 Chinese Media’s agenda in Africa

In a bid to raise China’s voice in the world stage as well as compete with western media, China launched an ambitious “going abroad/out” project providing a reported 8.7 billion USD mainly to the four leading state run media outlets. These are Xinhua News Agency, China Central Television (CCTV), China Radio International (CRI), and China Daily

(Mingxun and Robertson 2013). It is through this ambitious project that saw the four media outlets expand their activities in the African media space as some of them already had operations in the continent.

Part of the overall strategy was to make China's media less propagandistic and laying emphasis on serious and competent journalism coupled with a more diverse coverage of global issues. This was initiated in 2009 when the Chinese government handpicked post-graduate students and assigned them to Xinhua News Agency, CCTV and China Daily. These were the first in a wave of students who received specialized multi-disciplinary training aimed at extending China's reach abroad (Mingxun and Robertson 2013).

Since the media push in 2009, China's state owned media began making in-roads and asserting themselves in Africa. Although China Radio International and Xinhua News Agency had already set up base in Africa, Xinhua News Agency expanded its bureaus to more than 20 African countries in the same year. In early 2011, CNC world began broadcasting news to African audiences via satellite and cable. In January 2012, state owned China Central Television established "CCTV Africa" with its headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. In December 2012, *China Daily Africa* was officially launched in Africa (Hanauer and Morris 2014).

China put in huge investments in the African media space to deflate the west's demonization of its motives and good name (Gonzalez 2013). According to Shin and Eisenman (2012), China's state controlled media are its best bet for this mission and the

most effective channels for information distribution in Africa. Gonzalez (2013) affirms that China's major state controlled media are aggressively taking over the media space in Africa effectively challenging the voice of America (VOA) and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) as the new kids on the block.

Through its media presence in Africa, China intends to encourage a multi-level and comprehensive exchange and cooperation with Africa's media to facilitate mutual understanding and enable objective and balanced media coverage (George 2014). Shi (2013) asserts that its media activities in Africa are less of a calculated strategy to extend the power of the rising Chinese nation state but rather, a response to existing stereotypes propagated by western media. "A greatly expanded number of Chinese-owned news outlets operating in Africa are a means of presenting a "Chinese face" in a media environment historically dominated by the west" (Hanauer and Morris, 2014:74). D'hooghe (2015) argues that western media's dominance in the African space and their stereotypical reporting of China and its policies in Africa is the main motivation behind China's recent huge investments and dramatic expansion of its media presence in Africa. He adds that the aim is to provide the African public with Chinese perspectives on its activities in Africa.

While China's media engagement with Africa became more aggressive and focused after the media push in 2009, the engagement and media strategy begun way back. As early as 1963, political scientist June Teufel Dreyer identified "disseminating Chinese propaganda" and "aiding African leaders sympathetic to the Chinese cause" as China's

two main policy objectives in Africa. As early as 1961, Xinhua news agency already had operational offices in various parts of Africa. They maintained offices in Accra Ghana; Dakar, Senegal; Conakry, Guinea; Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; and Rabat, Morocco. Their reporting focused on these five major themes: African repression under colonialism; the anti-colonial struggle in Africa; China's support for African people's liberation struggle against colonialism; China as a model for oppressed nations; and peaceful and friendly relations between China and African countries (Shin and Eisenman 2012).

During China's reform and opening up period, there were considerable amounts of propaganda materials that were translated into foreign languages, distributed and broadcasted to a worldwide audience by state run Xinhua news agency. At the time, the head of Renmin University's school of Journalism explained that the reason for the expanded foreign content is that "foreigners differ from Chinese in both languages and ways of thinking". He added "let foreigners understand thoughts, behaviors and values of Chinese people. "Both the language and culture should be translated"; to mean telling Chinese stories should be told to the outside world in languages and manners that are understandable and acceptable to foreign audiences (Shin and Eisenman 2012). This argument posits that China's media activities were meant to facilitate a better understanding of Chinese people and their culture.

McQuail (2003) attributes the move towards a global media culture to the increased capacity to transmit sounds and images at low cost across borders around the world thus overcoming the limits of space and time. In terms of soft power aspects and the interest

of the Chinese government, McCombs and Ghanem (2006) in (Reese, Gandy Jr. and Grant (2001) argue that public opinion is “shaped and influenced’ as the media deliberately choose and sift certain elements of news, which makes the targeted audience think along a certain pattern. They are supported by Walter Lippman in (Little John and Foss 2008) in his agenda setting theory where he argued that “the public responds not to the actual events in the environment but the pictures in our heads.

However, Wekesa (2013) points out that media engagement between China and Africa needs to be analyzed from a broader historical perspective. He traces China’s media re-emergence to the 3rd Ministerial meeting of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC III) in 2006 where Chinese and African leaders agreed on modalities to improve their engagement with each other. In 2000, China and Africa established the Forum on China Africa cooperation (FOCAC); a consultative forum to improve trade, aid, development cooperation and bilateral relations between China and Africa. However, it is its 3rd edition, officially referred to as the 3rd Ministerial session of FOCAC in 2006 that China proclaimed Africa a mutual partner in its quest for further development and growth by also declaring it “Africa’s Year (FOCAC 2006).

China will unswervingly carry forward the tradition of China-Africa friendship, and, proceeding from the fundamental interests of both the Chinese and African peoples, establish and develop a new type of strategic partnership with Africa, featuring political equality and mutual trust, economic win-win cooperation and cultural exchange (FOCAC 2006).

Despite the presence of a consultative mechanism where China and Africa negotiate their engagement and plans of action, western media have continuously sought to portray China's soft power initiatives as and media expansion in Africa as media and cultural imperialism. They have accused China of exporting a form of journalism that resembles their own less free and independent media (Farah and Mosher 2010).

Chinese media in Africa are supported by China's central government to enhance their media influence abroad (Xin Xin 2012) and western media have used their links to the state as a basis to present them as less credible. Wang-Thomas (2012) cites former BBC Africa editor, Martin Plaut challenging the independence of Chinese media institutions at a conference. "He pointed out the BBC's extensive coverage of damage wrought by Western companies, and the lack of a Chinese equivalent, asking, "How do you cover those stories where there is a critical Chinese involvement, where it is a difficult one for you? That is the critical test of credibility."

2.4 Key arguments

China's engagement with Africa is dominated by the perceptions that China is a good partner or a dangerous predator in Africa (Le Pere 2007). Whether China's engagement with Africa is beneficial or detrimental to Africa remains hotly debated. China's quest to improve its image abroad has received a lot of impetus in the last decade through "soft power" diplomacy through the media. The "going out" strategy and unprecedented media expansion especially in Africa has received mixed reactions and even stereotypes in Africa. The Chinese government claims that it aims to enhance and further strengthen the

existing relationship between China and Africa by have alternative and authentic storytellers of this relationship. Therefore, instead of just countering the negative press from western media's overly critical and biased reporting of China –Africa relations, Chinese media organizations offers a platform for China to tell its own story to the African continent (Zhang 2014). Franks and Ribet (2009) are of the opinion that existing western studies about China's media engagement in Africa do not exhaustively investigate the local networks of these media industries and instead are focused on “propaganda” or “ideology” deployed as a concept to critique China's media in Africa.

Whereas many western opinions of China's media engagement with Africa are awash with negative criticism, there are a number of western scholars who have attempted to view this engagement with a measure of balance and objectiveness. Gagliardone, Repnikova and Stremlan (2010) in their paper “China in Africa: A new approach to media development” seek to demonstrate the positive aspects of Chinese media engagement in Africa. Kapchanga (2013) observes that the fact that China's media is state owned has led many to believe that they are driven by the motive to defend the interest of the Chinese government and its allies in Africa. He asserts that in actual fact, Chinese state owned media adhere to China's foreign policy of non-interference and therefore in their reporting, stories on Sino-Africa friendship and partnership are given more priority. According to Shubo and Ronning (2013), Chinese state media are caught up in a complicated mix where they strive to be liberal and diverse while at the same time perform their role as instruments of Chinese “Soft Power”. They refer to this as a “Libertarian model” verses the Soviet Communist model.

Despite support from some scholars regarding Chinese media's independence from the state, Shin and Eisenman (2012) argue that for instance Xinhua news agency is facing difficulties reconciling its role as a loyal mouthpiece of the Communist Party of China and a trusted source of news and information that is all rounded and objective.

Xin Xin (2012) argues that the government sponsored "going abroad/out" project was meant to project China's image to the rest of the world and therefore the state owned media organizations are expected pursue these government interests abroad. He adds that "they are required to respond to any "negative" reports about China's presence in Africa , particularly those which appear in western and African local media (Xin Xin2012:123).

With the help of its own media presence in Africa, China is able to fight off international suspicions of its political and media intentions in Africa (D'hooghe 2015). For instance, as a means to counter the "China as a threat" narrative from the western press, Xinhua adopted some news tactics. Journalists were encouraged to cover news stories highlighting China's as a peace loving country that supports unity of states and stability while and stands for equality amongst states and justice in the international system. Xinhua also attempted to address suspicions associated with the "China model" which was and still is of interests to many African countries. Their emphasis on China's status as a developing country is meant to ease western and African concerns over the "China threat" narrative.

Li and Funeka (2013) posit that there is some similarity between Chinese media's reporting and western media's reporting of Africa. They point that Chinese media just like western media tend to adopt a one-sided approach to problems by giving more coverage to war, diseases, poverty and corruption and less coverage to development issues. However, Moeller (1999) refutes this claim by insisting that while western media report issues from the extreme negative perspectives that fits into the media's watchdog role, China's media have adopted an approach different from the watchdog role (Farah and Mosher 2010). Shek (Al Jazeera 2013) captured these sentiments by quoting Plaut, a research fellow at Institute of Commonwealth studies who said "The western media tend to be too concerned with the bad news while the Chinese tend to be rather too concerned with the good news". There is not much in-depth knowledge on whether or how successful China's media "going out" or "going global" project has been so far, what strategies are in place and what obstacles and challenges lie ahead (Sun and Sinclair 2015).

2.5 Characteristics of Chinese Media in Africa

Hanauer and Morris (2014) maintain that in recent years, China has begun to disseminate a positive narrative to Africans through its media. They state that despite criticism and doubts by western media and some African media organizations that follow the "negative reporting approach", Chinese media have insisted on a desire to use "positive reporting" in telling the African story as well as Sino-Africa relations and therefore, controversial political stories regarding the two are likely to be ignored by the Chinese media who are keen to build a relationship (Yick 2012).

Gagliardone (2013) describes “positive reporting” as a narrative that emphasizes on the collective achievements of China and Africa rather than divisive issues that dominate the western media reports. He concedes that this kind of journalism may have positive outcomes for Africa in the long run. D’hooghe (2015), states that Chinese media pay more attention to positive stories about development issues in Africa than the west do. Moreover, they provide a platform for Africans to speak their view. Salim Amin of A24 Media; one of CCTV Africa’s partners explains that “positive reporting” constitutes “focusing on African leaders, African heroes, African entrepreneurs, positive stories about business and sports, and music and the art, the environment, health.....to tell very different stories of Africa that other international media houses are not doing at the moment” (Al Jazeera, December 2012).

This argument is supported by Ma Shukun from Xinhua News Agency who stated; ‘Xinhua Africa regional bureau is endeavoring to present not only the challenges the Africa is facing but also its positive developments. Chinese media platforms have made inroads into the African media space and are technically able to reach a large number of audiences, including inhabitants in small villages in Africa. These people have limited choice in terms of channels in their native languages and may often appreciate China’s positive reporting and the positive tone of their reports (D’hooghe 2015). It has indeed been noted that Chinese media have access to and offer insightful information because of their close relations with African political leaders as well as its avoidance of narratives that would disappoint African leaders (Xiaoling 2013).

Li and Funeka (2013) suggest that China and Africa should maintain some elements of Sino-Africa media exchange cooperation as the west is unlikely to change its media practices on its own. They conclude that it is unlikely that the west will ever pay attention to South-South cooperation or have a positive outlook on this relationship. It is against this background that Zhang and Matingwina (2014) propose that “constructive journalism” should be considered as a new paradigm and concept to examine China’s media in Africa.

According to Zhang and Matingwina (2014), the use of constructive journalism is a demonstration by Chinese media that they are committed to showcase the fact that Africa, just like other parts of the world has numerous challenges but at the same time, Africans are actively involved in shaping their destiny and finding solutions to their challenges. According to Xiaoling (2013) who studied CCTV in its early days in Africa, observed that it is determined to create a new discourse and shape a new way of thinking through its reporting that will drive global discussion of media norms and values and challenge the existing status quo.

However, some Chinese media scholars criticized Chinese media for overwhelmingly focusing their coverage on their country’s economic achievements (Xin xin2012). For example CCTV’s Talk Africa shows are dominated by economic frames that more than often set to link China’s economic prosperity to that of Africa. When issues are not framed economically, it is the general good image of China that include China’s role in peacekeeping in places such Sudan, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of Congo

(Wekesa 2014). “Soft power items are ingeniously tucked and weaved into stories and run as secondary items. Just as soft power is expended coyly, so is criticism of the west (Wekesa and Zhang 2014).

Wekesa and Zhang (2014), confirm these assertions by pointing a vivid example of one such talk show where despite there being no direct praises of China, the former U.S secretary of State, Hillary Clinton was heavily criticized for taking a jab at China while on tour in Senegal. They argue that; this is the soft power dimension of CCTV Africa. In his content analysis of Talk Africa shows, Wekesa (2014) notes that it is common to find China inserted into topics and episodes that are not expressly related to China. He argues that this could perhaps be an indication that CCTV could be deliberately or not doing public diplomacy on behalf of China through a restrained strategy.

Nonetheless, other analyses of CCTV Africa and reports have contradicted earlier suppositions that Chinese media would majorly serve a propaganda role for Chinese interests in Africa or overly project positive stories of China and Africa. Instead, commentators have concluded that their reports are not keen on burnishing a superlative image of China in Africa than was initially supposed (Wekesa and Zhang 2014).

Shubo and Ronning (2013) in their research findings have found that solidarity with Africans is a key theme in Chinese media coverage of Sino-Africa relations. They are supported by Xiaoling (2008) who points out that compared to western media; that is CNN and BBC, Chinese media generally report positively about China and Africa more often framing China and Africa as allies.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter presents the research methodology employed in the study. It discusses the methodological approaches to this study, and their appropriateness to the aims and objectives of this study. The chapter provides a brief discussion of the research design, with emphasis on epistemological underpinnings of qualitative research paradigm. There is a discussion of the sampling procedures implemented followed by data gathering techniques applied in the study, including: population, sample size and selection and frame analysis. In conclusion, the researcher discusses the coding techniques for frame analysis employed in this study.

3.1 Philosophical Paradigm

3.1.1 Ontology

As a qualitative researcher, the relativist approach was adopted ontologically to address the question, what is the nature of reality? Qualitative researchers assume multiple and dynamic realities that are context dependent and their ontology denies the existence of external reality. Therefore, there is no objective reality but multiple realities socially from one's own contextual interpretations (Klenke 2008). This research was based on the subjective understanding of the reality with the belief that individuals undergo different experiences that shape their understanding and basic assumptions of issues. It takes into account that individuals think and act differently and therefore context has to be taken

into consideration. The ontological presumption that reality exists independent of human consciousness and experience influenced how research observations were made through a comparison between subjective experience and objective observation and reasoning to attempt to determine the truth.

3.1.2 Epistemology

The process of scientific inquiry is not linear; there are different approaches that rely on certain epistemological positions. The researcher adopted an interpretivist approach epistemologically to address the question. How do I know what I know (Klenke 2008)? This is because interpretive research is concerned with meaning and seeks to understand meanings in context. This is basically what this research paper is about; identifying frames and interpreting their meanings. Interpretive research assumes that knowledge and meaning are individual interpretations, thus there is no objective knowledge outside individual interpretations. Interpretivist perspectives are focused on subjective meanings on how individuals apprehend, understand and make sense of events and settings (Swanson (2005).

This epistemological presumption that knowledge is filtered through personal biases influenced the research in a way that personal experience and individual reflections and observations were considered in determining the “truth”. This allowed for independent subjective interpretation with the full understanding that an external reality may exist and another researcher may interpret the same phenomena differently.

3.2 Research Approach

The qualitative approach is that approach which is less formalized and the scope is more likely to be undefined with a more philosophical mode of operation adopted (Mouton and Marais 1988). Qualitative research design is fundamentally concerned with “exploring the ways that people make sense of their social worlds and how they express these understandings through language, sound, imagery, personal style and social rituals” (Deacon et al. 2007: 5). In this tradition, the most fundamental characteristic is its express commitment to viewing events, actions, norms and values “from the perspective of the people who are being studied” (Bryman 1988: 61).

In the qualitative tradition, analytical meanings are always evolving and never complete (Deacon et al. 2010). Moreover, qualitative research “inevitably generates a wealth of qualitative materials from interrogating media representations (Deacon et al. 2007). Qualitative analysis is therefore appropriate to the study of the agenda behind China’s media engagement in Africa its interests and that of its sources and contributors. It will allow me to make independent interpretations which do not necessarily have to conform to any pre-determined conclusions and allow for evolution of analytical meanings.

3.3 Research Method

3.3.1 Case Study

The study will use a case study because the method involves a careful and complete observation of a social unit (Innes, 2006: 212). It enables us to understand fully the behavior pattern of the concerned unit. Although case studies research sometimes focus

on individual representation of a group, more often it addresses a phenomenon e.g. a particular event, situation, program or activity. It is useful when the focus of the study is to answer “how” and “why” questions (Hancock and Algozzine 2006). Case study will help this research in answering “how” Chinese print media portray China in Africa. Using a case study is beneficial because it examines the contemporary on-going phenomena that are not divorced from real-life context (Yin 2003). It would have been impossible to have a true picture of framing or portrayal of China in Africa without the context with which it occurred.

3.4 Population and Sampling

In research, the term ‘population’ does not necessarily mean people; it can be texts, institutions, or anything else under investigation. A population of interest is dependent on what the researcher is investigating (Deacon et al. 2007: 43). Generally, qualitative research design does not generate data that can be generalized to a greater population. Therefore, the selected sample of analysis is from a population deemed to be suitable to address my research objectives. The research will be focusing on key frames that are portrayed in *China Daily Africa* newspaper and the frequency at which they appear. The target population therefore linked to this study is basically 106 page lead articles and news stories about China and Africa appearing in the 12 editions of *China Daily Africa* published between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015. Access and availability of copies of *China Daily Africa* limited the sample population as they were not readily available in the market.

3.5 Sample selection and size

My sampling frame consists of a total of 12 copies of *China Daily Africa* between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015.

A sample of one hundred and six page lead articles and news stories about China Africa appearing the 12 copies of *China Daily* between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015 were considered. In media discourse, “news and opinion are examined together as part of a complex whole to the construction of public discourse” (Tucker 1998: 146).

The sample for this study was done purposively, which qualifies my sampling technique as non-random. In random sampling “every unit of a population has an equal chance of being selected, while in non-random, it cannot be guaranteed that every unit of population has an equal chance of being selected” (Deacon et al. 2007: 44). The sample was drawn from *China Daily newspaper* over a period of three months between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015. This sample period is considered appropriate for the present study because it covers a variety of media content that spans a wide area with sufficient content of China’s engagement in Africa. Each copy of *China Daily Africa* offers 32 pages of Sino-Africa news and information each week and circulation covers countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Tanzania and Ghana. Editorials, news, and features articles will be the units of analysis because frame analysis favors whole articles as the main discourse unit (Marthes 2009).

3.6 Data Collection

For this study, the researcher examined newspaper documents. More specifically, the researcher examined print-edition stories published by *China Daily Africa* newspaper from October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015. The researcher chose a sample frame of 12 editions of *China Daily Africa* between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015 due to the unavailability of ready copies in the market. The copies were requested from *China Daily Africa* headquarters in Nairobi. A population of all page lead stories about China-Africa in the sample frame was considered to conform to the research questions and validate the study. A coding sheet was used to identify page lead stories relevant to the research question and research objectives. A purposive sampling technique consisting of page lead stories about China-Africa in the sample frame yielded a total sample of one hundred and seven articles and news stories. The sample was used to for analysis to determine the hypothesis and derive findings in this research.

3.7 Content Analysis

Content analysis is defined as a research method developed for the specific purpose of investigating a problem in which the content of communication is the basis of inference (Holsti 1969). Content analysis may be qualitative or quantitative and may be applied in an inductive or a deductive way depending on the purpose of the study (Elo & Kyngas 2008). Qualitative content analysis is concerned with analyzing themes and issues in media content (Berelson 1952). This study employs qualitative content analysis because it is interested in analyzing themes and issues in media content.

Through content analysis, the researcher examined frames, sources and tones in the coverage of China Africa relations. More specifically, the research was concerned with the portrayal of China in *China Daily Africa* newspaper which were established through frame analysis, source and tone analysis.

3.8 Frame Analysis

The primary method of analysis employed in this study is frame analysis. Frame analysis is used to analyze how an issue is represented in the newspaper, on television or on a website (Kitzinger 2007: 138). The study will investigate how Chinese media have covered Sino-Africa relations since their establishment in Africa using *China Daily Africa* as a case study. It will analyse the Chinese media reporting of Sino-Kenya with Media framing in mind.

This study employs qualitative frame analysis because it is interested in how themes and issues are presented in *China Daily Africa*. Frame analysis has become an important method which can be used to analyze how an issue is represented in the newspaper, television or online (Kitzinger 2007). There are two broad approaches to frame analysis: deductive and inductive methods.

3.8.1 Deductive method

A deductive approach is when frames that have been developed prior to the analysis of texts are operationalised to verify the extent to which they occur in the news and suited to large samples (De Vreese 2005).

The deductive method on the other hand derives frames “theoretically from the literature and code them in standard content analysis” However, the most fundamental limitation of the deductive approach is that “frames are known before hand and they suit the topic currently under investigation” (Marthes & Kohring 2008: 262).

3.8.2 Inductive method

The inductive approach involves analyzing media content with an open view to identify possible frames. This approach is well-suited to small samples (De Vreese 2005). In inductive method, “frames are described in-depth, with detailed quotes, but without quantification” (Matthes 2009: 351). This study employed an inductive approach to study how Chinese media portray China in Africa by identifying frames in a relatively small sample of articles in China Daily newspaper.

3.9 Interview with Key Informants

Interviews are some of the common data collection methods in qualitative research. It is a powerful way to gain insight into educational and other social issues through individuals whose lives reflect those issues (Seidman 2013). Even though other qualitative methods have been used, they do not reveal the participants’ “everyday world” (Kvale 1996). This study involved conducting an interview with Bureau Chief and a reporter to gain an insight into how or if they participate in framing China-Africa issues as well as how they place these stories in the in the China Daily Africa newspaper.

3.10 Coding Procedure and Framing Devices

The articles were coded in a cohesive narrative and analyzed against the media framing theory using available frames as manifested in *China Daily Africa* newspaper. In a qualitative approach to frame analysis, framing devices were used to identify and measure frames in the media content (Tankard 2001). Tankard proposes: “headlines; subheads; photos; photo captions; leads; sources selection; quote selection; pull quotes; logos; statistics and charts; and concluding statements and paragraphs” as framing devices (Tankard 2001: 101). In particular, this study examined page leads stories about China-Africa and analyzed keywords, sentences, metaphors, catch-phrases, exemplars and depictions in headlines, subheads. It also analyzed sources selection and used tone analysis to identify the sources tone in the coverage of China’s media engagement in Africa by *China Daily Africa* newspaper (De Vreese 2005) and (Entman 1993). A purposive sample of 106 Articles and news stories were coded using the variable “China-Africa”. These are stories about the relationship between China and Africa in the 12 editions of *China Daily Africa* newspaper.

3.11 Ethical Issues

During the course of this study, ethics were given due consideration. According to Walliman (2006) ethics are the rules of conduct in research. All qualitative research materials should be based on authentic and accurate research; there should be fabrications or fraudulent materials (Christian in Brennen 2012). The paper was submitted to a panel at the University of Nairobi for review as well as stakeholders including *China Daily Africa* Bureau Chief Mr. Songxin Xie and Chief of Information and Public Affairs at the

Chinese Embassy. The research proposal was defended to a panel and the final copy was defended before another panel before approval. *China Daily Africa* also granted permission to conduct this research. Honesty in terms of ownership and plagiarism; Supporting ideas have been cited and acknowledged accordingly and data analysis and interpretation has not been influenced by any personal beliefs and preferences.

3.12 Reflexivity

Reflexivity has become an increasingly significant theme in contemporary social research. It involves the use of “self” as a powerful tool in research by using personal experience as a legitimate source; It is the capacity of the researcher to acknowledge how their own experiences and contexts to inform the process and outcomes of inquiry (Etherington 2004). This enhances the trustworthiness of the findings and outcomes of research. Reflexivity in this case is applicable because as a staff working in the information and press section of the Embassy, The researcher works closely with *China Daily Africa* reporters, serving the same purpose of informing and reporting about China in Africa. The researcher has a familiarity and a better understanding of some aspects within *China Daily Africa* that may influence the process and analysis of research; however, the researcher has contextualized himself so that the reader could recognize potential biases and how previous knowledge and experience would inform the study (Etherington 2004).

3.13 Data Reliability and Validity

This research has limitations which are associated with the qualitative methodology employed in data collection and analysis. These include document observation and

interview analysis. There are concerns about the validity and reliability as well as the ability to generalize a sample in qualitative research. Qualitative research might not be generalizable because the number of samples involved is often small (Green, 2005). The researcher chose a sample frame of 12 editions of *China Daily Africa* between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015 due to the unavailability of ready copies in the market. The copies were requested from *China Daily Africa* headquarters in Nairobi. While this is considered a reasonable sample for the intended research objectives, it may not capture trends over time or changes in policy etc. For instance data collected from the interview analysis may be contradicted by an outsider or an entity away from China Daily setting and the context may change over time.

3.14 Data Presentation

After collection of the data, results were counter checked against objectives, research question and hypotheses to ascertain relativity. These were then be used to describe the research findings, draw conclusions and come up with possible policy implications of the study. In addition, the results will be used to show gaps in research still existing in order to recommend further research.

Data was presented in a qualitative narrative form, consisting of illustrative descriptions of key aspects of the case representing the whole population. Tables and figures have been used to highlight and summarize the key findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

The previous chapter presented the research procedures employed in this study. This Chapter analyses the data to enable interpretation of the results. The findings of the 106 news stories in the 12 editions of *China Daily Africa* will be used to make conclusions and recommendations for this study.

4.1 Description of Sample

The sample consists of 106 articles, consisting of “page lead Articles”, hard news, feature, commentary and opinion pieces about China-Africa. These articles were selected from *China Daily Africa* newspaper between October 31, 2014 and February 5, 2015. In media discourse, “news and opinion are examined together as part of a complex whole to the construction of public discourse” (Tucker 1998: 146).

4.2 Frame Analysis

As discussed in the previous chapter, frame analysis is used to examine the ways in which *China Daily Africa* frames China’s engagement with Africa. It has been used to identify identify the key frames that dominate the coverage of China’s engagement in Africa as presented in *China Daily Africa*. This was the main objective of this study.

Frame analysis involves examining keywords, sentences, metaphors, catch-phrases, exemplars and depictions in headlines, leads, sources selection, quotes selection and concluding paragraphs in the text (De Vreese 2005; Entman 1993). This study employs qualitative frame analysis because it is interested in how themes and issues are represented in the newspaper. A general analysis of the samples reveals three dominant frames about China in Africa as portrayed by *China Daily Africa*.

4.2.1 Diplomatic Ties

These are stories that dwell on the bilateral and multilateral relationship between China and African states and focus on the relations and how China conducts its affairs in Africa. For example the story “*China steps up its military cooperation*” coded 31/10/03/D/2, falls under this category and talks about how China’s enhanced military cooperation with Cameroon is helping the African nation cope with terrorism.

4.2.2 Economic Ties

These stories dwell on the economic consequences of China’s engagement with Africa and focus on matters related to trade, investment, and economic development. For example the story “*Forum opens doors to African investment*” coded 31/10/23/E/2, falls under this category and talks about how China’s investors are taking up economic opportunities in the African continent.

4.2.3 Cultural Ties

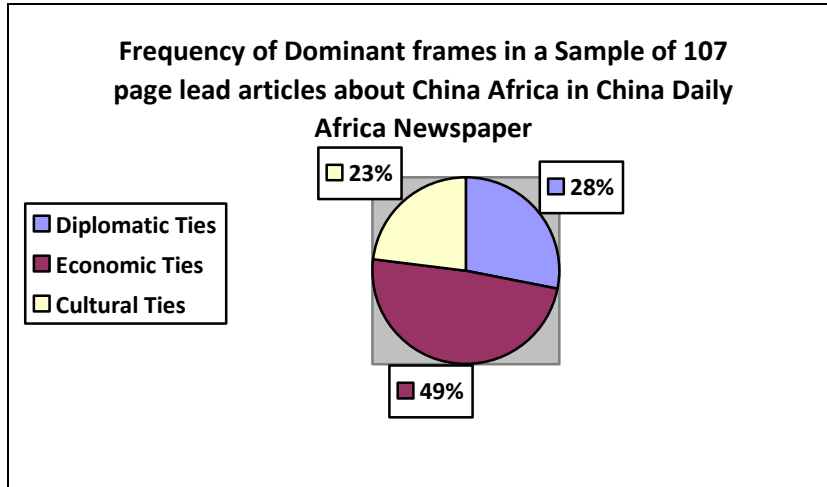
These stories dwell on human and cultural interaction between Chinese nationals and African nationals and focus in issues related to Tourism, Volunteerism, education, Art and Gallery etc. For example the story “*Back to school is the lesson*” coded 31/10/28/C/1, falls under this category and encourages Africans to learn more about China’s culture to help solidify China-Africa relations.

Table 1: Frequency of Dominant Frames in *China Daily Africa*

DOMINANT FRAMES	Sub frames	Frequency	Percentage
DIPLOMATIC TIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Bilateral/Multilateral cooperation ✓ Consultative meetings ✓ Political Ally/Friend ✓ Aid/Philanthropy ✓ Role model ✓ Win-win cooperation 	30	28
ECONOMIC TIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Investment partner ✓ Infrastructure provider ✓ Trade partner ✓ Economic role model ✓ Development Partner ✓ Employment provider ✓ Industrial experience 	52	49
CULTURAL TIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ History ✓ Cultural exchanges ✓ Art & Gallery ✓ Education ✓ Scholarships ✓ Schools ✓ Exchange programs ✓ Tourism ✓ Volunteerism ✓ People to people exchanges 	24	23
Total			<u>100</u>

Source: Researcher 2015.

Figure 1: Frequency of Dominant Frames in *China Daily Africa*



From table 1, it is evident that three dominant frames manifest in the analysis of a sample of 106 news stories appearing in *China Daily Africa*. Among the three major dominant frames, Framing of economic ties between China and Africa take almost half the number of Articles sampled. A total of 52 news stories out of the total 106 fall in this category representing 49% of total coverage. Examples include; “*In step with expansion in Africa*” Coded 21/11/15/E/18 which explains how development fund has stepped in to finance some of China’s largest investments in Africa and “*Opportunities knock far away*” Coded 28/11/22/E/28 which states that there is more to Africa than just natural beauty in terms of Business opportunities.

Framing of diplomatic ties also received considerable space taking a total of 30 News stories out of the total 106 representing 28% of total coverage. Cultural ties make up the remaining space consisting of 24 news stories out of the total 106 representing 23% of total coverage. An example is the story “*The fruits of model bilateral ties*” Coded

5/12/11/D/19 which explains how China and Ethiopia have forged a sincere friendship and working together for common development.

Under these dominant frames, there are sub-frames that constitute of themes that make up the dominant frames in each category. The three mega frames represent the multiple aspects that are prevalent in the coverage of China's engagement with Africa. Under the Diplomatic ties frame, there are sub-frames that include; China as a political ally, China as a good friend, China as a role model, China as a savior and China as having good and enduring relations with Africa etc. For instance in the news article "*Aid Takes Back Seat*" by Li Lianxing coded 31/10/01/D/1, China is portrayed as a good friend of Africa; one that is bringing transformation to the African continent. An Official of the New Partnership for Africa's Development, Symerre Grey-Johnson is quoted in the Article promoting this frame by saying "*China-Africa relations need to focus more on the continental level to push forward the transformation agenda*".

In another story by the same author, "*How China is making a difference*" coded /31/01/08/D/3; China is portrayed as an important partner that stands with Africa in difficult times. The Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, Carlos Lopez is quoted affirming this frame by saying "*China sees opportunities because it has a long term vision but others don't. You have a lot of investors in London who have liquidity and are looking for opportunities for investment, but when you talk about Ebola, they do not invest anymore. This is the difference between China and others*"

Under Economic ties frame, sub-frames include; China as an investment source, China as a provider of Africa's much needed infrastructure, China as a development partner, China as an economic role model etc. For instance in the news story "*Forum opens doors to African investment*" by Chen Yingun, coded 31/10/23/E/5, China is portrayed as an important investment source for African countries. The secretary of the China –Africa Business Council is quoted saying "*Qingdao has become one of the most important private forces of investment in Africa, and many entrepreneurs are keen to know more about Africa*".

In another story under economic ties, "*Slowdown comes at 'bad time'*" by Andrew Moody coded 31/01/14/E/1; China is portrayed as a vital impact on the African economy. The sub-heading says "*what China's slowing economy means to Africa and the rest of the world*". The Author begins the story by stating that China is slowing and this could be bad for Africa. He adds that weaker demand from China has already hit the Africa resources sector. In this article, China is also framed as a model of economic success that Africa should emulate for the revival of their economies. Under the Cultural ties theme, sub-themes include; the history of China and Africa's engagement, Cultural similarities and differences, cultural exchange, education, scholarships, tourism, art and gallery among others. For instance in the news article "*Back to school is the lesson*" by Loraine Tulleken coded 31/10/28/C/1, *a scholar urges South Africans to learn more about China's culture, market and politics to help solidify nation's relationship*.

In another article under Cultural ties, “*It takes a village*” by Abduel Elinaza coded 7/11/26/C/2; the sub-heading reads “*A Chinese expert on African Art and his wife, long time residents of Tanzania, fulfill their dream of opening a showcase for the continent’s culture in Beijing*”. The Article emphasizes the importance of cultural links between China and Africa. Mr. Li, the owner of African Village in Beijing is quoted saying “*It is not our personal property but a belonging of China, of future generations devoted to promoting African culture and art and China-Africa friendship*”.

The study has provided evidence to support claims that the mass media can frame issues to help shape the audience perceptions of the same issue. This study analyzed how *China Daily Africa* used frames to report on China-Africa relationship.

Findings answer the question posed by (Gagliardone 2010) as to whether *China Daily Africa* is simply aimed at improving its image abroad, or is it attempting to support discourses alternative to the west? It has emerged that *China Daily Africa* is playing both roles albeit not exclusively as the African image and discourse has also been taken into account. (Guangyuan 2013) acknowledged that *China Daily Africa* sends timely and abundant information on Chinese politics, economy, society and culture to readers all over the world and added that its commitment to helping the world know more about China and the country’s integration with the international community is critical for China’s image and interests in Africa.

The findings of the study revealed three dominant frames in the analysis of a sample of 106 news stories appearing in *China Daily Africa*. Among the three major mega frames,

Framing of economic ties between China and Africa take almost half the number of Articles sampled. A total of 52 Articles and News stories out of the total 106 fall in this category representing 49% of total coverage. This can be interpreted to mean that Economic ties come first in terms of priority in *China Daily Africa's* portrayal of China in Africa. This finding is supported by the interview by China Daily Africa's Bureau Chief who acknowledged in the interview that economic relations get priority, followed by Diplomatic and Cultural ties respectively.

Frame analysis suggests that the dominance of economic frame can be attributed to China's economic power and this power is being deliberately projected in *China Daily Africa* as beneficial to Africa. This is a valid interpretation as majority of stories under the economic frame suggest that Africa has a lot to gain from economic cooperation with China and that China offers an economic model for Africa to emulate. For instance in the story "*How China is making a difference*" coded /31/01/08/D/3; by Li Lianxing, the head of a giant pan-African economic institution, Mr. Carlos Lopez is quoted saying "*Africa should welcome Chinese investment because currently, China is the No 1 trading partner for Australia, Brazil, Columbia, Italy, Peru and the United States. Why not us?*"

Framing of diplomatic ties also received considerable space taking a total of 30 News stories out of the total 106 representing 28% of total coverage. This can be interpreted to mean that there is complimentary relationship between diplomacy and economics and is further proof that *China Daily Africa* is entirely keen to promote Chinese economic and diplomatic interests in Africa. The sub themes presented under the diplomatic ties

dominant frame include win-win cooperation between China and Africa, China as a political ally and friend, China's aid and philanthropy among others.

Cultural ties make up the remaining space consisting of 24 news stories out of the total 106 representing 23% of total coverage. Cultural ties are used to promote the need for mutual understanding between Chinese people and African people and this in turn promotes the other aspects of economy and diplomacy. While Culture receives a marginal representation in coverage of China-Africa relations, it remains an important aspect in improving China's image in Africa and vice versa.

4.3 Source Analysis

Source analysis is used to analyze the sources quoted in the 106 sample of Articles and news stories about China's engagement with Africa. Source analysis is used to identify sources of information in order to "acknowledge the evidence which pluralist accounts provide competition and contestation within the news encoding process" (Manning 2001: 41).

Source analysis was used to determine the origin of the news sources and relating them to the frames presented and underlying contesting or converging interest. There was a total of 120 sources quoted in the stories sampled with some sources appearing more than once and others appearing in one story. This was analyzed in terms of Chinese sources and non – Chinese sources.

Table 2: Frequency of Chinese Sources vs. non- Chinese Sources in *China Daily Africa*

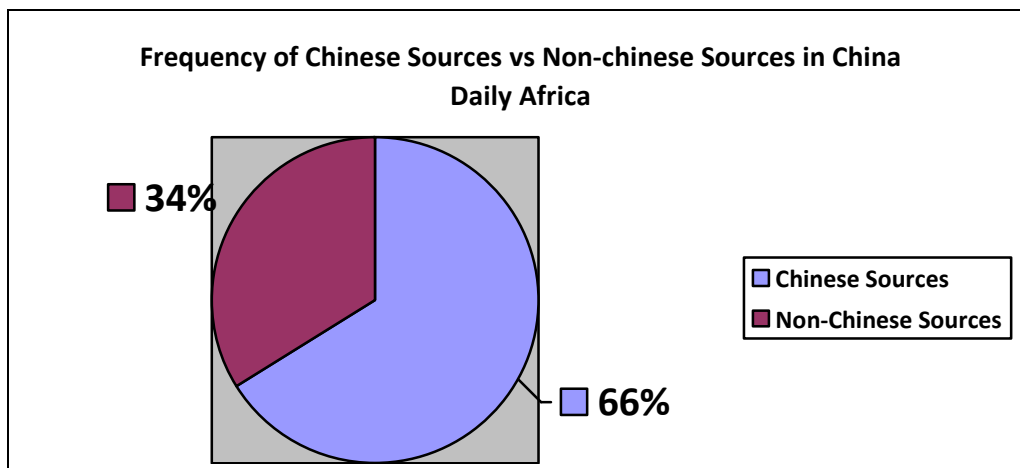
SOURCES	Frequency	Percentage
Chinese sources	79	66
Non-Chinese sources	41	34
Total		<u>100</u>

x= of sample

n= total sample

Frequency = $x \cdot 100 / 106$

Figure 2: Frequency of Chinese Sources vs. non- Chinese Sources in *China Daily Africa*



In this category, Chinese sources comprise a majority taking up a total of 52 out of 120 sources quoted, accounting for 66%. They range from *China Daily* reporters, to Chinese investors narrating their experiences, to experts giving their advice and ordinary Chinese sharing their stories and opinions on China’s engagement with Africa.

Under the Chinese sources category, 75 out of 79 sources are affiliated to *China Daily* making up 95% of sources in this category. Only 4 out of 79 of the sources are not reporters or contributors of *China Daily Africa* making up only 5% of sources in this category.

Table 3: Frequency of Chinese Sources affiliated to *China Daily* vs. Chinese Sources not affiliated to *China Daily Africa*

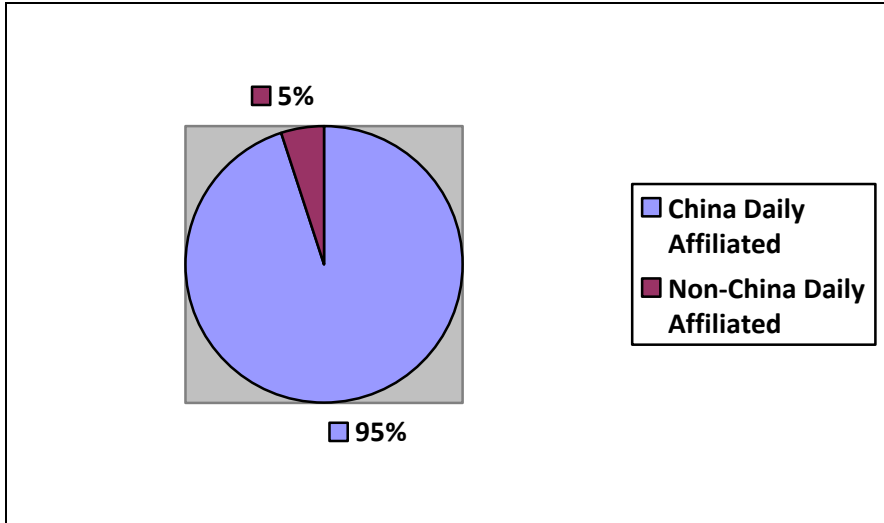
Sources	Frequency	percentage
China Daily contributors	75	95
Non-China Daily contributors	4	5
Total		<u>100</u>

x= of sample

n= total sample

Frequency = $x*100/106$

Figure 3: Frequency of Chinese Sources affiliated to *China Daily* vs. Chinese Sources not affiliated to *China Daily Africa*



The Chinese sources that are not *China Daily* reporters or not affiliated to *China Daily Africa* include a politician, two experts on matters discussed in the story and an independent contributor sharing person experiences in Africa.

Non-Chinese sources comprise a considerable portion taking up 41 out of 120 sources quoted, accounting for 34% of total quoted sources. Non-Chinese sources comprise of *China Daily* reporters, experts on China-Africa relationship, government officials who have interacted with China and its nationals, to ordinary Africans sharing their stories and opinions on China's engagement with Africa.

In this category, the number of non Chinese sources affiliated to *China Daily* and those that are not reporters or affiliated to China is almost equal. There are 21 non Chinese sources affiliated with *China Daily* while 20 Non-Chinese sources are not affiliated to

China Daily Africa. Out of those not affiliated to China, there are two politicians or government officials, 12 experts in the area covered in the story and 8 independent reporters sharing their personal opinions and experiences. Those affiliated with *China Daily* are African reporters working for *China Daily* and non-Chinese experts who regularly contribute on *China Daily Africa*.

Table 4: Frequency of Non-Chinese sources affiliated to *China Daily Africa* vs. Non-Chinese Sources not affiliated to *China Daily Africa*

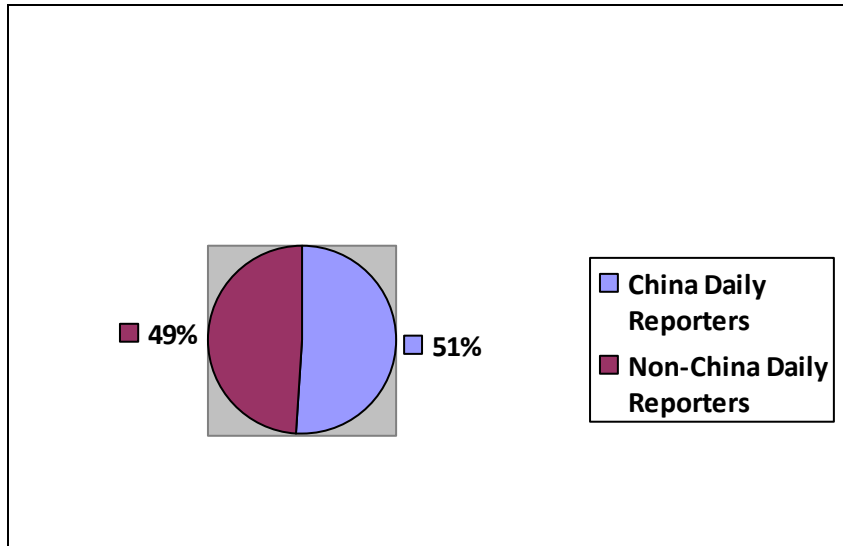
Non-Chinese Sources	Frequency	percentage
<i>China Daily</i> Reporters	21	51
Non- <i>China Daily</i> Reporters	20	49

x= of sample

n= total sample

Frequency = $x * 100 / 106$

Figure 4: Figure showing the frequency of Non-Chinese sources affiliated with *China Daily* vs. Non-Chinese sources not affiliated with *China Daily*



From table 3, it is clear that majority of Chinese sources in *China Daily Africa* are actually reporters and writers affiliated to China taking up 95% and leaving only 5% to Chinese sources who are neither reporters nor writers for *China Daily Africa*.

However, for the Non-Chinese sources, table 4 shows that the number of Non-Chinese sources affiliated to *China Daily Africa* and those that are non-affiliated with *China Daily Africa* is almost equal. Under the non-Chinese Sources, 21 out of 41 sources are *China Daily* reporters, taking up 51% while 20 out of 41 non-Chinese sources are non-*China Daily* reporters or non-affiliated with *China Daily*, taking up 49% of the total.

The findings of the study also revealed that generally, majority of Sources in *China Daily Africa* are Chinese sources taking up a total of 66% of sources (See Table 2). The fact

that majority of sources are Chinese is testimony that the stories and ideas presented are particularly from a Chinese perspective. Moreover, 95% of the Chinese sources are either reporters or regular writers on *China Daily Africa*. This shows that *China Daily Africa* has a direct influence on the frames reported and that the reporters are deliberately promoting the frames that manifested in the paper. The Dominance of Chinese sources could explain the dominant frames and the tones of reporting in *China Daily Africa*.

The same is the case for Non-Chinese sources in *China Daily Africa*. Non-Chinese sources include *China Daily Africa* reporters, African government officials, academics, experts in the subjects and ordinary citizens sharing their person experiences and opinions on the relationship between China and Africa. 95% of Non-Chinese sources are either reporters or regular writers of *China Daily Africa* (See Figure 3) leaving only 5% to Non-Chinese sources who are neither *China-Daily* reporters nor regular contributors to *China Daily Africa*. This further confirms the influence of the paper on what which frames are portrayed by the reporters and regular writers.

The dominance of these three key frames can be interpreted to mean that there is a deliberate strategy to promote them in *China Daily Africa* and that the sources used in the reporting of China-Africa relations are either aware of this strategy or are selected on this basis. It can also be interpreted that there is a consensus among the sources of *China Daily Africa* that China's engagement with Africa is beneficial, good and needs no criticism.

Source analysis depicts that there is a consensus among both Chinese sources and Non-Chinese sources on the issues of salience on China-Daily Africa in terms of frames projected and the tone of reporting. Moreover, the exclusion of dissenting voices and critics of China's engagement with Africa proves that there is an understanding among the sources and what content is acceptable on *China Daily Africa*. The exclusion of these voices points to a systemic bias of alternative or dissenting views and opinions in *China Daily Africa*. It can also be interpreted that the dominance of Chinese sources in *China Daily Africa* is a deliberate agenda to promote a positive narrative of China-Africa relations.

4.4 Tone Analysis

“Tone” refers to the way sources express themselves; what they decide to say and how they say it. Mc Combs, Holbert, Kiousis, and Wanta (2011), assert that tone is a major part of framing. They state that “News stories are both denotative messages conveying tone and emotion. (2011: 110). According to Koneru (2008), tone refers to “the way you express yourself. What you decide to say and how you say it. It involves selection of words that have a pleasant and optimistic view. Breuer and Napthine (2008) assert that tone refers to the writer's attitude or emotion towards their subject matter or audience.

Therefore, in this case, a story is considered to have a positive tone when it focuses on the good aspects of China Africa relationship, when it uses pleasant words and generally portrays an optimistic view of the relationship. A negative tone would be the exact

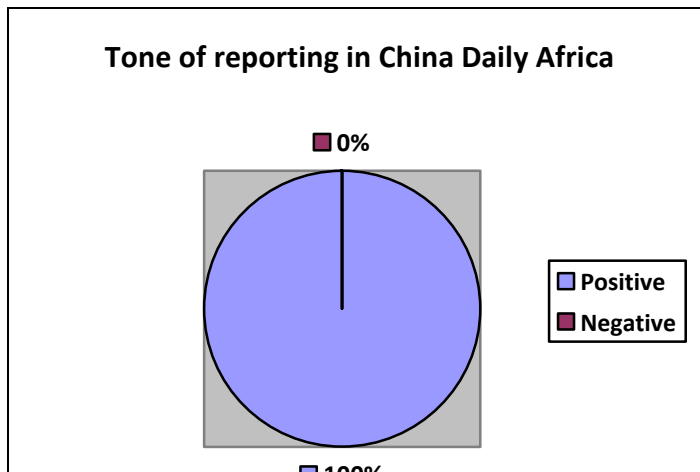
opposite and may include use of harsh words, critical view and focus on the unpleasant aspects.

Tone analysis was used to determine whether the stories about China-Africa in *China Daily Africa* were covered positively or negatively.

Table 3A: A table showing the Tone of reporting Stories covered in *China Daily Africa*

TONE OF STORIES	Frequency	Percentage
Positive Stories	106	100%
Negative Stories	0	0%

Table 3B: A Pie Chart showing the tone of reporting stories covered in *China Daily Africa*



In this category, all the 106 Articles about China's engagement with Africa are framed positively. All articles irrespective of the topic portrayed China in a positive light. The stories fit perfectly with the dominant frames identified portraying China as a viable partner, a model of economic success and a trustworthy ally.

Despite having stories that would generally be considered negative in nature, China still ends up being framed in a positive way. For instance the Article "*Slowdown comes at 'bad time'*" by Andrew Moody coded 31/01/14/E/1; despite the fact that China's economy is slowing down, the story is framed positively to suggest that this is not just a concern for China but for Africa and the rest of the globe. The deputy director and professor of finance at the Shanghai Advanced Institute of Finance is quoted saying "*China is now so integrated into the global system, that whatever happens to its economy is headlines everywhere, and that Africa is unlikely to escape*" He adds "*China accounts for a quarter of global growth. We have reached a stage where you cannot fully understand the global economy without understanding the Chinese one*".

Another story that would generally be considered negative in nature, manages to portray China in positive light and apportion blame and the negative aspects to a second party. The Article "*Businesses cite biggest barriers in Africa*" by Li Lianxing coded 5/12/09/E/32 begins the first paragraph by saying "*Chinese investors and potential investors have long regarded a good China-African relationship as a solid basis on which they can build success. But often when the uninitiated finally step onto the African soil they realize how simplistic the term "China-Africa relationship" really is. It goes on*

to report that “*Fifty-three percent of the 75 Chinese companies sounded out in the survey said corruption is “a very significant obstacle” to doing business in Kenya, and 15 percent said it is “a significant obstacle”.* Sixty-three percent of respondents said crime, theft, disorder and personal safety were significant or very significant obstacles.

The general tone of reporting is positive in 100% of the Articles and news stories sampled and those that appear negative in nature, conveniently spare China the negative tone in the reporting. These findings suggest that frames not only carry specific views but also influence how the audience perceives a matter of how they can be oriented towards an issue.

Table 3A shows that there is consistency in *China Daily Africa* that every story and every contributor portrays an optimistic view of China-Africa relationship. 100% of all the sources and stores in *China Daily Africa* focus on the good aspects of the relationship.

The findings reveal that China is generally portrayed in a positive tone the source notwithstanding. It can therefore be interpreted that there is a deliberate strategy to shape the perceptions of *China Daily Africa* readers and influence their attitudes towards China’s engagement in Africa by presenting a positive narrative and impression.

4.5 Results from Interview Analysis

The researcher conducted two qualitative interviews with the Director of *China Daily Africa* Mr. Songxin Xie and a Non-Chinese reporter who works for *China Daily Africa*,

Ms. Lucy Morangi. The interviews were based on the research questions and general objectives as well as preliminary findings of the research. The purpose of the interview was to give context to content analysis data and to ask participants to give their views on *China Daily Africa's* portrayal of China in Africa based on experience.

The *China Daily Africa* bureau chief acknowledged that coverage of China in Africa has significantly improved since the launch of *China Daily Africa* and that the newspaper's presence in Africa has opened up access to Non-Chinese sources and reporters in the news stories. He said *China Daily Africa's* sources are multi-sources but mostly from China and Africa. They include *China Daily Africa* reporters; both Chinese and non-Chinese, government officials, politicians, business people and scholars. However, the number of Chinese reporters and contributors is still very high. He said

“Our main sources are our reporters, both in China and Africa but we welcome expert opinions and personal experiences from government officials, politicians, academics and ordinary Chinese and Africans to share their stories on China Daily Africa.”(Songxin Xie, September 11, 2015)

The Bureau Chief also explained the dominance of economic ties frame in *China Daily Africa* by stating that the paper has a business bias. They focus on investment, trade, economy and employment etc, followed by state relations who fall under the diplomatic theme and cultural theme respectively. He said *“We do all kinds of relevant stories but we have a bias for business, investment, trade, economy, employment etc.”*

On the tone of reporting, the bureau chief said rejected the notion that *China Daily Africa* is a propaganda publication but acknowledged that the prominence of positive reporting is a deliberate long term and permanent strategy meant to bring the best of China and Africa. When asked what is the tone of reporting China in Africa in *China Daily Africa* newspaper? Positive, Negative or Neutral? He said

“Our stories are balanced. We do not exaggerate or tone down issues but focus on the good relations between China and Africa.” He added *“This is a long term and permanent strategy as our goal is to let Africans and their Chinese counterparts know more and learn about each other.”*(Songxin Xie, September 11, 2015)

This is further supported by the Non-Chinese *China Daily Africa* reporter, Lucy Morangi who said *“China Daily focuses on the positive going-ons between China and Africa. This therefore highlights the positive stories that otherwise go unreported in the local and other international media.”*

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented both findings and discussion of this study. This Chapter has reached three important conclusions that respond to the research questions and the objectives of the study. Three dominant frames have been identified, the sources and their frequency have been established and the tone of reporting China’s engagement has been established. The next Chapter will discuss these findings and draw conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

The previous Chapter presented the data analysis and presentation of this study which showed the key frames that dominate the coverage of *China Daily Africa*. This chapter presents a summary of the findings conclusions and recommendations based on the findings in Chapter four.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Based on the data and analysis conducted, the following hypotheses were identified.

5.1.1 Key frames in *China Daily Africa*

The key frames portrayed by *China Daily Africa* are diplomatic, economic and cultural frames. This finding is not strange as previous research has suggested that *China Daily Africa* is the “voice of China” and seeks to present a positive narrative of China-Africa relations to improve communication and cooperation between China and Africa.

5.1.2 Key sources of news

The key sources of news in *China Daily Africa* are Chinese nationals and majority of them are either reporters are regular contributors in the newspaper. The few non-Chinese contributors are also dominated by *China Daily Africa* reporters based here in Africa with a few non-Chinese contributors sourced from academics, government officials and

ordinary Africans telling personal stories and opinions on their view on China-Africa relations.

5.1.3 Tone of reporting

The tone of reporting in *China Daily Africa* is positive with not a single story highlighting the negative aspects of China-Africa relationship. This finding may be connected to the reasons behind the establishment of *China Daily Africa* and its agenda in Africa where the focus is on promoting good relations and presenting a positive image of China in Africa.

It has been established that the sources in *China Daily Africa* have generally adopted a positive attitude or emotion towards China and the subject matters in their news items and stories. The finding that China Daily Africa reports on a positive tone is based on Koneru's (2008) assertion that positive tone involves the selection of words that have a pleasant and optimistic view.

5.2 Conclusion

A key conclusion is that *China Daily Africa* is a diplomatic vehicle and a propaganda tool that seeks to project China's interests in Africa, enhance understanding and boost cooperation between China and Africa. The sources used by *China Daily Africa* are aware of the role they are playing in promoting the interests of China in Africa. This conclusion supports Gagliardone, Repnikova and Stremlan (2010) in their paper "China

in Africa: A new approach to media development” argue that Chinese media seek to demonstrate the positive aspects of Chinese media engagement in Africa.

The outcome of this research has demystified and eventually solved the mystery surrounding the huge Chinese investments and presence in Africa. It is clear that the government sponsored media expansion into Africa was meant to project China’s image to the rest of the world and therefore the state owned media organizations are expected pursue these government interests abroad.

5.3 Recommendations

The dominance of the three frames in *China Daily Africa* is a limitation on the broader issues and content that can be tapped for the benefit of China-Africa relations. Apart from economic, diplomatic and cultural frames in the coverage of Sino-African relations in *China Daily Africa*, it is recommended that diverse other areas that would be of interest to the African audience and that respond to their immediate concerns are adopted. For instance, instead of highlighting only the positive employer and employee relations between a Chinese company and local employees, it would be of much significance to highlight what stakeholders are doing to improve the broader challenges and negative perception associated with poor employer and employee relations between Chinese investors, companies and their African employees.

The focus on the positive aspects of China-Africa relations is another challenge on the credibility of *China Daily Africa* newspaper. It is recommended that the paper provides a balance between positive reporting and negative reporting to shed the ‘propaganda tag’

that many associate it with and win the hearts of its African audience. A critical voice would benefit the credibility of the paper and *China Daily Africa* would be a great source of information for all stakeholders on the challenges faced in this relationship and how to improve areas strained or the negative aspects of the relationship between China and Africa.

This study recommends that *China Daily Africa* adopt a suitable journalistic approach by including a better narrative of Africa by having more stories by African sources and from an African perspective. The domination of Chinese sources projects a Chinese dominated perception of China Africa relationship. *China Daily Africa* should consider having more African contributors as well as Non-Chinese and African sources to present a balanced view of the relationship. The fact that the audience is majorly composed of Africans based in Africa, it is imperative that they hear more from one of their own to balance the perspective and add the African voice in *China Daily Africa*.

Further research on the subject is recommended to explain some of the findings and explore further aspects of the role and impact of “*China Daily Africa*” especially on the African audience. Future research should also try to solicit the opinions of China Daily Africa’s Audience on how they perceive its reporting of China-Africa relations and if it conforms to their perceptions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR CHINA DAILY AFRICA BUREAU CORRESPONDENT

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE **SONGXIN XIE, DIRECTOR CHINA DAILY AFRICA**

Introduction and purpose

My name is Cliff Mboya, a graduate student in communication Studies at the University of Nairobi. I am currently working on my thesis which examines how Chinese print Media portray China in Africa.

Will you please assist in this study by completing the attached questionnaire?

Instructions

This questionnaire includes items that seek your newspaper's content, themes, sources and tone of reporting. However, your general knowledge about the topic and additional information that may enrich this research is welcomed.

It is estimated that this questionnaire can be completed in 15 minutes.

I seek your voluntary participation in this study. You may skip questions or items to which you may feel uncomfortable responding.

Contact Information

For further information, please contact Cliff Mboya, graduate student, in communication Studies at the University of Nairobi. Tel: +254 727474772

E-mail: cliffmboya@gmail.com

Confidentiality: Your responses will be kept confidential and no comments will be attributed to any individual in any report that may be produced from this study. However,

we do ask you to provide your name and e-mail address so we can monitor our responses and findings and share the final report to you and your organization.

QUESTIONS

- 1) What is your background and how long have you been involved in China Daily Africa?

I have worked at China Daily newspapers for 30 years. I Started as a Business editor, then worked as News editor for China Daily US edition, followed by Europe Edition and now Director of Africa edition; China Daily Africa.

- 2) What is the main goal of China Daily Africa?

The main goal is to expand all over the world and be a bridge between China and the rest of the world.

- 3) Has coverage of China in Africa improved since the launch of China Daily Africa? In what way?

Yes: Sources were limited before the launch and we used to rely on y-copies but now we are on the ground and getting stories from the horse's mouth. We are now publishing original conversations between China and Africa.

- 4) What kind of stories does your paper publish? What are the main themes?

We do all kinds of relevant stories but we have a bias for Business, investment, trade, economy, employment etc.

- 5) Who are the sources of your news reports, features and or opinion stories?

Our main sources are our reporters, both in China and Africa but we welcome expert opinions and personal experiences from government officials,

politicians, academics and ordinary Chinese and Africans to share their stories on China Daily Africa.

- 6) What kind of stories between news, features and opinion receive most coverage?

We do not give preference to either news, features or opinions. Our stories are based on major events/happenings and trends at the time that dictate what is published or not.

- 7) What is the tone of reporting China in Africa in China Daily Africa newspaper?
Positive, Negative, Neutral.

Our stories are balanced. We do not exaggerate or tone down issues but focus on the good relations between China and Africa.

- 8) Has the African audience influenced coverage in China Daily Africa?

Yes: Our concept is we must understand what the story means for the African audience.

- 9) Is the prominence of positive reporting a temporary trend or a permanent strategy to help bring the best of China and Africa?

This is a long term and permanent strategy as our goal is to let Africans and their Chinese counterparts know more and learn about each other.

The following are statements people make about China Daily Africa. To what extent do you agree with these statements?

China Daily seeks to bring a better understanding between China and Africa through a positive narrative.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

China Daily published propaganda from China.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

Thank you very much for participating in this Interview.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

LUCY MORANGI, REPORTER CHINA DAILY AFRICA

Introduction and purpose

My name is Cliff Mboya, a graduate student in communication Studies at the University of Nairobi. I am currently working on my thesis which examines how Chinese print Media portray China in Africa.

Will you please assist in this study by completing the attached questionnaire?

Instructions

This questionnaire includes items that seek your newspaper's content, themes, sources and tone of reporting. However, your general knowledge about the topic and additional information that may enrich this research is welcomed.

It is estimated that this questionnaire can be completed in 15 minutes.

I seek your voluntary participation in this study. You may skip questions or items to which you may feel uncomfortable responding.

Contact Information

For further information, please contact Cliff Mboya, graduate student, in communication Studies at the University of Nairobi. Tel: +254 727474772

E-mail: cliffmboya@gmail.com

Confidentiality: Your responses will be kept confidential and no comments will be attributed to any individual in any report that may be produced from this study. However, we do ask you to provide your name and e-mail address so we can monitor our responses and findings and share the final report to you and your organization.

QUESTIONS

1. What is your background and how long have you been involved in China Daily Africa?

I have worked as a journalist for the last twelve years specializing on business news.

2. Does the Chinese government influence your reporting?

Yes. Policies such as "one road, one belt movement initiative," influence the kind of stories we focus on.

3. Has coverage of China in Africa improved since the launch of China Daily Africa?
In what way?

Yes. China Daily focuses on the positive going-ons between China and Africa. This therefore highlights the positive stories that otherwise go unreported in the local and other international media.

4. What kind of stories does your paper publish? What are the main themes?

We give emphasize on human interest stories. We work under themes such as people-to-people exchange, culture, education, sports and arts.

5. Who are the sources of your news reports, features and or opinion stories?

Sources include high level government officials and scholars

6. Why these sources?

We lean on their credibility

7. What kind of stories between news, features and opinion receive most coverage?
Why?

Features: Because we believe that there is more to a story besides the headline.

8. What is the tone of reporting China in Africa in China Daily Africa newspaper?
Positive, Negative, Neutral.

Positive

9. Has the African audience influenced coverage in China Daily Africa?

Yes

10. Is the prominence of positive reporting a deliberate policy by China Daily Africa or to help bring the best of China and Africa?

Yes

The following are statements people make about China Daily Africa. To what extent do you agree with these statements?

China Daily seeks to bring a better understanding between China and Africa through a positive narrative.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

China Daily published propaganda from China.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

Thank you very much for participating in this Interview.

APPENDIX B

CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET

Themes	Item	Code
Date/Month/Page	31 st October, Page 3	31/10/03
Frames	Diplomatic ties	
	Aid takes back seat	31/10/03 D/1
	China steps up its military cooperation with Cameroon	31/10/03/D/2
Sources	Chinese Sources	
	Non-Chinese Sources	
Tones analysis	Positive Tone	
	Negative Tone	