

REPRESENTATIONS OF AFRICA IN THE
WESTERN MEDIA:
Helsingin Sanomat and the Guardian online news

Master's thesis
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| <p>Tiivistelmä - Abstract</p> <p>Miten Afrikkaa kuvataan länsimaisessa uutismediassa? Mitä tavallinen kansalainen tietää Afrikan maiden tapahtumista uutisten välityksellä? Median luomat representaatiot vaikuttavat siihen, kuinka ihmiset kokevat ympäröivän maailman. Asiat, joita media nostaa esiin ja toisaalta jättää huomiotta, sekä äänenpainot, joilla asioista kerrotaan, rakentavat osaltaan kuvaa maailmasta. Tämän vuoksi on tärkeää analysoida uutisten synnyttämiä representaatioita ja kielellisiä keinoja, joilla niitä rakennetaan.</p> <p>Tämä tutkimus pyrki selvittämään länsimaalaisen median tapoja kuvata Afrikkaa ja keinoja, joilla se rakentaa representaatioita. Aiheeseen perehdytään ulkomaan uutisten ja erityisesti kehitysmaauutisoinnin kautta. Lisäksi teoreettisena viitekehysenä on kriittinen diskurssintutkimus, jonka avulla syvennytään representaation käsitteeseen. Kriittinen diskurssintutkimus pyrkii keskittämään huomion yhteiskunnan valtarakenteisiin ja epätasa-arvoon, joihin kielenkäytöllä on suuri vaikutus.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen aineistoina oli Helsingin Sanomien sekä The Guardianin verkkosivujen Afrikka-uutiset touko- elokuussa 2018. Metodeina tutkimuksessa käytettiin sisällönanalyysia sekä kriittisen diskurssianalyysin menetelmiä. Sisällönanalyysi selvitti, <i>mitä</i> Afrikasta sanotaan uutismediassa. Tärkeimmiksi Afrikka-uutisten teemoiksi nousivat politiikka, väkivalta ja ihmisoikeudet. Selkeä enemmistö uutisista oli negatiivisia, kun vain pieni vähemmistö käsitteli positiivisia aiheita. Yli puolet uutisartikkeleista käsittelivät vain muutamaa Afrikan maata. Kriittinen diskurssianalyysi puolestaan vastasi siihen, <i>millä tavoin</i> Afrikkaa representoidaan. Viiden ydintekstin analyysi keskittyi niiden kielellisten valintojen tutkimiseen, joilla erilaisia representaatioita luodaan. Erityisesti kohteena olivat nimeäminen ja viittaaminen sekä kuvaileminen ja erilaiset sanavalinnat. Esimerkiksi sanavalintojen ja kuvailun keinoin Afrikasta luotiin stereotyyppistä kuvaa köyhyyden, korruption ja väkivallan kanssa kamppailevana mantereena. Lisäksi nimeämisen ja viittaamisen keinoin tuotiin esiin haluttuja ominaisuuksia artikkelien keskeisistä henkilöistä ja luotiin tätä kautta tietynlaisia representaatioita, korostaen esimerkiksi karismaattisuutta, ikää tai perhetaustaa.</p> | |
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1 INTRODUCTION

“There are as many Africas as there are books about Africa – and as many books about it as you could read in a leisurely lifetime. Whoever writes a new one can afford a certain complacency in the knowledge that his is a new picture agreeing with no one else’s, but likely to be haughtily disagreed with by all those who believed in some other Africa... Being thus all things to all authors, it follows, I suppose, that Africa must be all things to all readers.” - Beryl Markham

What do we know about Africa through media? How do newspapers describe modern Africa in the daily news? Media representation has great impact on how people see the world around them. What and how is written in the media, has a role in how the reader constructs reality. News are generally seen as the common truth, even though behind every news article is a group of journalists and editors with their own ideas, beliefs and ideologies and an access to certain news sources.

The role and power of media is emphasized, when it comes to foreign news and news about developing countries – for many, media is the only source of information about countries on the other side of the world. What kind of representations does the media create about other countries? From whose angle are wars and violent attacks reported? How many of the daily news articles we see are positive? How are the regions and countries far away presented to us, which events are emphasized?

Reporters and news agencies have the power to decide on which topics they bring to the public discussion and which topics are omitted and excluded. Which events are more important than others? Which countries are considered so distant and irrelevant that we do not really hear from them in Europe? The media also makes choices about which angle and whose point of view things, people and events are represented. Reporting is never solely ‘reporting the truth’, as so many factors on the background define what and how things are presented. Hence, it is important to study how the media creates news and representations.

This study examines the representations of Africa in the Western media. More precisely, I will concentrate on the African representations in Helsingin Sanomat (HS)

and the Guardian online news. HS, which is by circulation the biggest subscription newspaper in Finland, reaches thousands of Finns every day. Furthermore, the Guardian is one of the biggest and most popular daily quality newspapers in the UK, also having a broad international audience all over the world. Hence, both HS and the Guardian deliver news that impact thousands of people every day. My aim is to study how these two main news mediums represent Africa in their news and what are the differences and similarities in the representations.

Many international studies (such as de Beer: 2010, Brookes: 1995, Ojo: 2014) claim that the coverage of Africa in the Western media often stereotypically focuses on negative events such as disasters, wars and poverty. In contrast, newer studies (Nothias: 2016, Scott: 2009 and 2017) argue that this might not be the case after all. Scott (2016) suggests that there is not enough thorough research yet to make generalizations about how the Western media covers Africa in the news and more versatile studies should be done on the topic. It is extremely important to continue researching this phenomenon and to question whether the ways news is created today could be improved.

News about developing countries and specifically African countries in the Finnish context has not yet been researched sufficiently. At the University of Jyväskylä, there have been few studies during the past decade about Africa's representation in the media. To mention some, Frilander (2012) compared the cholera epidemic in Zambia and its coverage in the Finnish and Zambian media. Fisk (2010) researched how the women of developing countries are represented in STT and Helsingin Sanomat. Sihvonon (2016), looked at the representations of two African presidents in the media. Similarly to these examples, most current studies concentrate on a specific country or an event. However, a more generalized picture of Africa's representation is needed to form further conclusions. The aim of this study is to find out more about the overall image of Africa in these two online newspapers.

In the UK, plenty of studies on African representations in the Western and especially British media have been conducted (for instance Brookes: 1995, de Beer: 2010, Scott: 2009 & 2017), but most of them use data from years back. The studies have shown quite a negative representation of Africa. However, a lot has changed in twenty years, when

it comes to globalization and foreign reporting, which is why more research on the current situation, using up-to-date data, is needed.

Even though more and more people nowadays access the news online and the future of the news will most likely be in electronic form, the majority of earlier studies about Africa's media representation focus only on traditional newspaper articles. Therefore, I have decided to concentrate on online news.

My research questions are:

- 1) How is Africa represented in the online news?
- 2) What are the major differences in the representations between Helsingin Sanomat and the Guardian?
- 3) How are these representations constructed in the texts?

As stated above, my study will provide more information about African representation in the Finnish and UK media and compare the possible similarities and differences in these two newspapers. The study will provide two examples of the Western media reportage on Africa and enable us as Westerners to get more insight on how we create discourses about Africa. This will, again, allow us to critically scrutinize the ways we create news.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter discusses the theoretical background of the study. The basis of the study lies in critical discourse analysis and in foreign journalism, specifically in media coverage on developing countries. In the first sub-chapter, I will define the term foreign journalism and discuss the power and responsibility of journalism in society. I will look at the history and current situation of foreign journalism in the Western context. Sub-chapter two discusses the reporting on developing countries. The terms *developing country* and *reporting on developing countries* will be explained and their role in this study will be discussed. African representation in the Western media and previous research on the topic will also be examined. I will then move on to the third sub-chapter, where the focus is on another main theory behind this research, critical discourse analysis. Finally, the concept of representation is introduced and discussed in terms of media presence.

2.1. Foreign reporting

This chapter discusses one of the contextual bases of this research, foreign reporting. First, it is important to define what exactly is meant by the term foreign reporting (suomeksi: ulkomaanjournalismi). The term is often used synonymously with the terms *foreign journalism* and *international journalism*. In this study, however, I use the definition introduced by Hafez: “system of the journalistic information mediation, in which information and news cross state-borders” (see Hahn & Lönnendonker 2009: 499). In practice, I will study how a British and a Finnish newspaper report news from other countries.

According to Pietiläinen (1998: 15), the early studies on foreign reporting have mostly focused on how international events are reported in different countries and which events are selected to be reported in the first place. Unesco has had a great role in researching the international mass media and communication. It conducted two major studies on international news flows already in 1948 and again in 1979. Pietiläinen (1998: 15-20) also mentions The Flow of News research as one of the most important

comparison studies. It was conducted by the International Press Institute in 1952-1953 and it compared the foreign news between newspapers in India, the United States and several West European countries. Another important study on news criteria was published by Galtung and Ruge in 1965, focusing on the factors that add news-value to an event. I will discuss the study and its most important findings in the next chapter.

According to Pietiläinen (1998: 29-31), the studies conducted from 1950s to 1980s have some common results. The Anglo-American perspective seemed to be overrepresented in the foreign news and the focus of the news was mostly on elite countries and people. It also seemed that cultural closeness and culture imperialism affect the news selection process. These points, raised in Galtung and Ruges' study (1965), will be discussed in the next section. Since those early days, many international studies on foreign reporting have been conducted.

At the University of Jyväskylä, journalism students have studied foreign reporting from several views during the last decade. Paaanen (2016), for instance, studied the role of social media in the Ukrainian conflict reporting in Finland. Fisk (2010) focuses on women in the developing countries and how they are represented in the foreign news. Moisio's study (2013) discusses the ways in which Finnish foreign correspondents in Berlin construct the representation of Germany in the Finnish media. Latvala (2016) conducted a news flow study concentrating on foreign news 'world map'. She focused on YLE foreign news online.

2.1.1 The power of news: role and responsibility of foreign reporting

I will continue by explaining the role and function of foreign reporting and why it is crucial to study the ways national media discusses international affairs. As discussed above, media representations and the journalistic choices have influence on the impression that the audience has about a given situation. Uskali (2007:17) notes that the news can never subjectively deliver the whole truth about events, as they always alter the reality one way or another. He (2008: 9) reminds that news are often seen as the absolute truth, even though reporters are always making 'journalistic

interpretations', influenced by many different factors. As Nossek (2004: 346) explains, the basic concept in foreign news studies suggests that reporters and editors act as 'gatekeepers', who are constantly doing news selection on which events are to be reported. The choices such as which countries are considered 'primary' or 'secondary' when selecting international news topics, from whose point of view to report wars or violent bursts and which nouns and verbs to use when reporting about foreign politics - all these are a part of the journalistic selection and decision-making process, which will affect how the reader sees international events. Foreign news is an interesting area of study due to the fact that news affects the perception the audience gets about different countries and cultures. Indeed, Uskali (2007:10) states that foreign journalism has a crucial role in constructing the general perception about the world in people's minds. For many, news is the only source of information about other countries and international events. Without any personal ties one would not receive the information about what is happening on the other side of the world. Therefore, the role and responsibility of foreign reporting is great - the news must pass information accurately and fast, in a neutral manner.

Furthermore, the news does not only affect the man in the street, but there is another aspect of the role of foreign news introduced by Hachten (2005:123). He sees foreign news necessary in informing our leaders and politicians about foreign dangers and possibilities. If our leaders use the information shared by the media in forming their perception about foreign states, which then affects the decisions they make in our society, it is extremely important to study how accurate media representations actually are. For these reasons, Pietiläinen (1998:15) sees foreign reporting as a part of a nation's foreign policy structure. Indeed, he (1998: 39) raises the question, to what extent is it acceptable that the reality and the content of news do not correspond? Even though media representations are, as the name suggests, only *representations* of a given situation, Pietiläinen suggests that in ideal situation, the content of the news is not so far from the reality that it will hinder the reader from constructing a realistic worldview.

Who is then responsible for creating reputable journalistic content? Today, the lack of resources determines the course of foreign reporting in many newspapers. Otto and

Meyern (2012: 205-206) note that due to the financial crisis, many Western news organizations and foreign bureaus have been closed during the past years, which has had its impact on foreign reporting, its quality and depth. However, it has been argued that the decline in foreign correspondents can be compensated by using the information produced by eyewitnesses and local observers. Struggling with financial issues, this is what many newspapers are counting on (Otto and Meyern, 2012: 209).

Instead of sending foreign correspondents around the world, more newspapers buy their stories from international news agencies (Luostarinen, Kivikuru & Ukkola 1996: 219). For a long time, these news agencies, most of them founded already in the 19th century, have been the most important source of foreign news for many national media houses. News agencies, of which Reuters, Bloomberg, Associated Press and Agence France-Presse are some of the biggest ones, have resources to gather together a great number of 'raw' news and sell them to smaller national media houses and newspapers with affordable price. National newspapers then edit the raw material and publish them as news in different locations around the world. This way, global news agencies have a great role in setting the 'agenda' of daily news (Rantanen, 1998: 44-45).

2.1.2 News criteria - what is important enough to become news?

News agencies and reporters are constantly making conscious and subconscious decisions on which events should be reported and from which point of view they should be represented. The news that we read every day already indicate the selection process. If the news was published, it was considered newsworthy by the news providers. But when one cannot possibly report all the interesting news, what criteria is the news selection process based on?

It has been widely criticized how foreign news tend to focus on events and countries that are in some way connected to the reporting country and turn a blind eye on those who are not economically, socially or geographically close. Hachten (2005:124) puts it well: "- - You can rely on international news to turn a profit only when it's actually

domestic news". By this he means that the more foreign news has to do with issues affecting the reporting country, more likely it is seen as newsworthy.

Pietiläinen (1998: 31-32) supports this view. He notes that cultural and geographical closeness influences which events make it to the headlines. By cultural closeness, he means historical, political and economic bonds and relationships. Former colonial relations, political allies and economic ties are all examples of bonds that may increase the news value of an event. When it comes to geographical closeness, Pietiläinen (1998: 65) states that the continent where the reporting country is located in, is usually overrepresented in the foreign news section of that given country. This confirms the idea that the areas geographically close have more news value than the countries on the other side of the world.

Luostarinen, Kivikuru & Ukkola (1996:221) argue that the focus of foreign news in the Western world is mostly in Europe and the United States and less in the developing South. Indeed, she (1996:219) notes that developing countries have very little impact on Finland, which is why Finnish foreign journalism typically has little interest in events concerning the South. In the Finnish news media, reports on Asia have been steadily increasing, but the emphasis is not on the developing countries. On the contrary, the focus is often on countries like Japan, whose economic-political status in Europe is more important than before. Furthermore, she (1996: 218), states that South- and Central America have minimal presence in the Finnish news. Developing countries makes it to headlines with wars, catastrophes and funny events when there is not enough news back home (Luostarinen, Kivikuru & Ukkola, 1996: 222).

Many of the points mentioned follow the criteria introduced by Galtung and Rugen already in 1965. Galtung and Rugen studied the foreign news criteria in the Norwegian press and composed a list of the most important factors that define the news value of an event outside Norway. They argue that the more factors apply to a given event, the more news value it gets and the more likely it will be published as news. Galtung and Rugen (1965: 70) list these factors, news criteria, as follows: frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons and reference

to something negative. They (1965: 71) say these criteria are not independent but form inter-relations between each other. Furthermore, they list a few pairs that are considered specifically newsworthy: news about elite people in elite nations, news of a negative nature relating to elite nations, news of a negative nature relating to elite people, news of a negative nature relating to persons.

Galtung and Ruge (1965: 84-85) introduce a simple policy implication – trying to counteract all the factors listed above. This means, for instance, more coverage on positive events and non-elite people and nations. They encourage journalists to report more from culturally distant areas even if the content has no links to the reporting country.

2.1.3 Only bad news is good news?

The saying goes: *Bad news is good news* and *Bad news travel fast*. But is it really true that negative events are reported more than positive ones? As mentioned previously, Galtung and Ruge (1965) studied the news criteria and found out that specific features are more likely to end up in the news. One of the twelve features that they found to increase the news-value is a reference to something negative. They also noticed that some feature pairs are considered extremely newsworthy: negative news relating to elite nations, negative news relating to elite people and negative news relating to persons - in other words; power conflicts, struggle for power and scandals (Galtung and Ruge, 1965: 71).

Later studies seem to come to the same conclusion. According to Pietiläinen (1998: 77), foreign news often concentrates on negative events. The further a country is located, the more likely the news are about wars and catastrophes. Still, the emphasis of the news stays on the Western nations and economically wealthy countries.

Uskali (2007:26) points out that sudden, negative changes reach the foreign news well, whereas slower, positive changes are not considered newsworthy enough to be reported. This will then result in a negative representation of the world. Pietiläinen (1998: 39) adds that the distortion in the news representation is caused by emphasizing conflicts and negative events in the news selection. Uskali (2008: 26) calls for more

follow-ups when reporting about accidents, catastrophes and conflicts, so that the audience will have a chance to see the other side of the story as well. How are the locals cooperating when a hurricane hits a city? What happens after a building collapses? How does the government react to corruption allegations? Some of the policy implications pursued by Galtung and Rugen are, indeed, putting more emphasis on the positive events, reporting more of long-term development, not only events, and doing more follow-ups, so that the reader gets the idea how a problem has been counteracted.

2.2 News coverage of developing countries

In this thesis, I discuss the news coverage of developing countries in the Western context. First, it is important to explain what exactly is meant by the term developing country. The term is problematic to describe, and the definitions vary. However, developing countries generally have some connecting factors, such as insufficient economical resources, low level of education and healthcare, and even the lack of basic necessities such as nutrition. Economical growth, social structure, history, culture and societal services are some of the important factors analyzed when categorizing developed and developing countries. Practically, almost all Africa and South Asia and the poorest nations of northeast Asia, Middle-East and Latin America can be considered developing countries. However, some debatable nations such as China, Saudi-Arabia and Turkey are included in some definitions and excluded in others (Koponen 2007: 30).

Often the definition is made by comparing national income indicators or human development indicators. A developing country can also be defined by its status as a nation receiving development aid. For instance, the Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) lists all countries and territories eligible to receive official development assistance – those countries can be seen as developing countries. The list consists of all low- and middle-income countries based on gross national income (GNI) per capita as published by the World Bank (OECD). Another common way to define developing countries is

using the above-mentioned UN's Human development index. In addition to economic factors, it takes into account social indicators such as life expectancy, adult literacy rate and educational record (Koponen 2007: 39).

2.2.1 Crisis-oriented reporting?

Reporting of developing countries is often considered problematic due to the assumption that biased representations about third world countries are created. Indeed, Raunio (2006: 10) suggests that Western news creates a negative image of developing countries and their population. Luostarinen, Kivikuru & Ukkola (1996) and Pietiläinen (1998) agree that the coverage of developing countries tends to be crisis-oriented. Rather than explaining and analyzing details and complicated phenomena, it focuses on wars, catastrophes and casual funny incidents (Luostarinen, Kivikuru & Ukkola, 1996: 222 and Pietiläinen, 1998). Developing countries make it to the headlines mostly when something surprising, abrupt or negative happens, or when there is less news to publish in the reporting country (Raunio, 2006: 24, 222).

Fisk (2010: 123) suggests that in journalism a miserable situation means intriguing news - the worse the situation, the better the news. She criticizes that reporting on developing countries is seen as a synonym to conflict and crisis reporting. Raunio (2006) studied Finnish youth and their perceptions about developing countries through media. Most of the children interviewed in Raunio's study mention media as their primary or even the only source of information about developing countries. Half of the interviewees believe that the media distorts the image of developing countries. When asked to describe developing countries, all youngsters used negative words.

Reporting of developing countries has been an interesting target of study for many scholars because of the claims of it being strongly West-oriented and West-produced. The major news agencies creating and delivering news for smaller media houses, are in fact from Western origin, which means that the news is mostly created by Westerners, from the Western point of view. Raunio (2006: 8) points out that most articles about development aid interview Western politicians, authorities and representatives of different organizations as experts, instead of local experts.

Luostarinen, Kivikuru & Ukkola (1996: 226, 231) support this view and argue that more ordinary people should be seen and heard in the news from the developing South. This came up in Raunio's (2006: 38) research as well. The youngsters interviewed in her study stated that they would like to see more of the everyday life of the people from the developing world. According to the interviewees, media representations of developing countries focus too much on war, crises and violence.

When describing a developing country, for many interviewees, the most typical representation was an African country that suffers from poverty, hunger and the lack of water (Raunio 2006: 58, 62). Indeed, when asked to mention a typical continent with developing countries, most interviewees named Africa (Raunio 2006: 35, 62). I will continue discussing the role and representations of Africa in the Western media in the following chapter.

2.2.2. Africa in the Western media

Starving children with big bellies, corrupted countries under authoritarian regimes and life-threatening diseases spreading around. Is this the picture of Africa represented by the Western media? Or is it more about the thriving young entrepreneurs, fascinating wild life and technological innovations?

Many international studies (such as de Beer: 2010, Brookes: 1995, Frilander: 2012) point out that the media coverage of Africa in the Western media often stereotypically focuses on negative events such as disasters, wars and poverty. According to Löytty (1994: 115-116), the Africa discourse in the West still defines Africa as it was defined a hundred years ago. Furthermore, he claims that the false representations and subjective ways to see Africa in the Western culture become our reality, because the meanings they create dominate the relationship we have with Africa. He argues that the Western way of constructing Africa is based on ethnocentrism. By ethnocentrism he means placing value to other cultures by using the standards from our own culture, hence accepting only one truth and one world view (ibid.) Löytty describes the Western relation to Africa by (1994: 116-117) referring to Stuart Hall's work on representing race in the media. He explains that in ethnocentric discourses, Africa is

seen as a silent participant as all the meanings are created on the outside. Furthermore, he suggests that these meanings are defined in the terms of *otherness*. By otherness he means that there are always two opposites, where one of the participants is considered positive and the other one negative. This, again, leads to a world of 'us' and 'them'.

Ojo (2014: 44) agrees with the view that the Western image of Africa as primitive and savage is still strong, although the colonial era is long gone. He studied African coverage in the Canadian press and found out that the three most prominent themes of news from Africa were politics, HIV/AIDS, and business or economic news. Ojo (2014: 53) claims that the readers of the studied newspapers are not getting a diverse enough picture of the versatile African countries. Also Frilander's (2012: 77) study reinforced the perception of how African countries are presented in the Finnish news media. She found out that the African reality appears in the Western media as expected: as poor, miserable and diseased.

Newer studies (such as Nothias: 2016, Scott: 2009 and 2017) however challenge the idea of an overly negative image of Africa in the media. Nothias' (2016: 17) research shows that the media image of Africa as tribal and dark, homogenized and voiceless is not empirically supported. The media image of Africa is not overly dominated by Western voices, does not represent Africa as one country or focus on common stereotypes of Africa as 'tribal' or 'dark'. Nothias suggests that the results may testify to improvements in reporting about Africa. This, however, needs to be studied further. My research will indeed discuss the themes and topics that come up in the Africa's news and focus on which ways Africa is presented to the readers. Is Africa still presented stereotypically in terms of tribality and darkness, or is there more room for diverse presentation and a versatile image of Africa in today's news?

Scott (2017) did a comprehensive scoping review, focusing on the research about the UK and US media representations of Africa between 1990 and 2014. He argues that it is actually a myth that we know how Africa is represented in the US and UK media, when in fact there is not enough thorough research yet to make generalizations. There is a common belief that Afro-pessimism in the Western media is very dominant and that the media coverage of Africa is mainly negative, supporting colonial stereotypes

of backward and war-torn Africa (Scott 2017: 191). However, Scott claims that this belief is not grounded with enough evidence. According to him, there is not enough evidence to argue, for instance, that the representation of Africa in the Western media is Afro-pessimist. He argues that more research on various African countries needs to be done and different media sources must be analyzed to be able to claim that we know how Western media portrays Africa. (Scott 2017: 206)

According to Scott's study, the focus of the existing research is actually quite narrow, and it mainly covers former British colonies, elite media sources and print media. In contrast, there is very little research done on the Francophone Africa, North Africa, radio content and non-news genres. Scott also found out that the existing studies mainly look at the specific events or time periods in specific countries – for instance the Rwandan genocide rather than Rwandan representation all together. He also points out that the studies do not discuss the representational differences between geographical regions such as North and West Africa. According to his review, over 50% of the studies focus on one of the six most common countries of reporting. Moreover, all together 28 African countries are not represented at all. (Scott 2017: 200-203). Scott (2017: 192) emphasizes that the assumptions and beliefs we have about the media representations of Africa affect the journalistic work and are implicated within the political and commercial agendas. Therefore, it is extremely important to take a critical look on the previous studies and do more thorough research on the topic.

Instead of focusing on specific events, my research generates information on the overall themes and topics that are brought to the public discussion about African countries. It will also bring more knowledge on which areas and countries are reported in the news and which ones are considered less news-worthy. I will look at this topic from the point of view of critical discourse analysis, focusing on language-use as social practice and the ways language and society are intertwined. The foundation of critical discourse analysis is discussed in the following chapter.

2.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

Before moving to the foundation of critical discourse analysis, it is first significant to define one of the most important key words in this study. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of discourse analysis, the term *discourse* has been defined variously by different scholars. In this study, I use the definition explained by Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009). They (2009: 22-23, 50) explain the term *discourse*, without the article as an uncountable noun, meaning language-use as social action. It is the theoretical basis of the study field. Furthermore, Fairclough (1997: 75) explains discourse referring to both written and spoken language, but also other ways of meaning-making, such as nonverbal communication, graphics and pictures. The countable noun *a discourse* (or *discourses*), however, stands for the fairly established ways to use language, describe events and make meaning from a specific point of view (ibid). Valtonen (1998: 98) calls them *discursive frameworks*. For instance, abortions can be portrayed and discussed very differently depending on the discourse – for example through medical discourse, feminist discourse or religious discourse.

2.3.1. Foundation and aim of Critical Discourse analysis

“The main mission of CDA is to examine social injustice which is manifested in various social practices and to take a stance against social abuse, racism, social prejudice and discrimination against dominated or marginalised people with less power.”
(Lê and Lê 2009: 4)

In discourse analysis, language is seen as a social practice. It has a crucial role in today's world as it can be used as a tool in politics and decision-making processes. Discourse analysis is a field of study, which focuses on language use in a social context. Critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA) examines language use critically, seeing language as social practice that is a part of the society and culture. Valtonen (1998: 107) summarizes CDA as analyzing language use as a social action in a specific place and a specific time. Language-use is also connected to culture and history. In CDA, discourse is said to be constructive and dialectic by nature. It means that language use has social impact on the surrounding world and, correspondingly, the surrounding social context affects the ways language is used (Fairclough 1997: 76, Pietikäinen 2008: 192).

According to Fairclough (ibid.), all language-use constructs social identities, social relations and knowledge- and belief systems.

One of CDA's goals is to better understand our social reality. According to Fairclough (1995: 36), people are often unaware of the ways their speaking is socially determined and the possible social effects of it. Indeed, CDA aims at *critical language awareness*, which means recognizing and understanding the ideologies forwarded through language (Blommaert 2005: 33). The idea is that no language-use is 'objective'. Instead, the writer or speaker always puts forward their own agenda, ideology or opinion, either consciously or subconsciously. Blommaert (2005: 24, 33) argues that discourses always construct ideologies, "group-schemata", which are cognitive structures in the human mind affecting speaking, thinking and behavior. CDA aims to bring attention to these often hidden ideologies and specifically those that sustain injustice.

CDA combines linguistics and social sciences by studying language-use in social context and focusing on societal power structures. In the early years of CDA, the 'critical linguists' in the University of East Anglia at the end of 1970's worked around the relationship between language-use, ideology and social power, with an aim to develop an analytic model based on Halliday's systemic functional grammar. The main idea was that meanings are social and cultural, and attention should be paid to the fact that the writer's linguistic choices, such as the one between active and passive voice and the word choices, include ideological meanings. This group of critical linguists, nowadays well-known names such as Kress, Hodge, Fowler and Trew, are considered as pioneers in critical discourse analysis (Blommaert 2005: 22, Pietikäinen 2008: 194, Väliverronen 1998: 26). Some other well-known CDA specialists to this date are Norman Fairclough, who is interested in socio-cultural change, Ruth Wodak, concentrating on interactional studies, and Teun van Dijk, who focuses on the socio-cognitive version of CDA.

Since the days of CDA pioneers, many versions and ways to study the relationship between language and society have emerged and there seem to be as many trends in CDA as there are researchers. Valtonen (1998: 96) notes that discourse analysis is better described as a theoretic-methodological framework than a research method. Indeed,

van Dijk (2001: 96) notes that rather than a theory or method aiming to contribute a specific school or theory, CDA is a critical perspective of research. He (2008) prefers using the name Critical discourse studies instead of Critical discourse analysis. CDA is often combined with other approaches, as a multidisciplinary approach is needed to study broad socio-cultural issues. The combining factors within the umbrella term and the broad field of critical discourse analysis, are the interest in language-use in the socio-cultural context and the critical viewpoint.

2.3.1.1. Norman Fairclough and the three-dimensional framework

According to Blommaert (2005: 22-23), Fairclough's *Language and power* (1989) can be seen as the leading study marking the beginning of the critical discourse analysis. In later years, Fairclough continued working with CDA, social change and media and sketched a theoretical and methodological model for understanding and analyzing how language and society are interwoven. This so-called three-dimensional model of critical discourse analysis focuses on text, discursive practice and social practice.

The first dimension of the model is discourse as a text. According to Fairclough (1992: 75), texts should be analyzed through four categories: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and text structure. His framework suggests paying attention to features such as word choices and metaphors, transitivity structures, how clauses and sentences are linked together and to other parts of the texts.

The second dimension, discourse as discursive practice, has to do with producing, distributing and consuming texts. It should be noted that texts are produced and consumed in various ways in different social contexts. For instance, poetry and academic journals are produced in different ways, and most likely consumed in different social contexts. There are also differences between text distribution. According to Fairclough, some texts such as informal conversations between friends portray a simple distribution, whereas others, like an international political speech, have complex distribution.

Fairclough adds three important aspects of analysis under text production, circulation and distribution. The aspects of *speech acts* (or force of utterances), *coherence* and

intertextuality also have an important role. (Fairclough 1992: 78-86). He explains force of utterances as the types of speech acts the texts consist of; for instance, requests, answers or explanations. Speech acts are used to 'perform' something, so for instance to ask for something, give an answer or explain. He continues that coherence should rather be seen as a property of interpretations than property of texts. This is because texts only make sense to a person who is able to infer meaningful relations when there are no explicit markers. Fairclough defines a coherent text as a text whose different parts together 'make sense' and relate to each other meaningfully. This is case even when there is relatively little explicit cohesion.

The last important aspect according to Fairclough, *intertextuality*, means the property of texts being linked to other texts. Texts refer to others explicitly and implicitly and consist of other texts to which they respond. He (1992: 102) explains that all utterances constitute of snatches, elements of other's utterances. Texts always transform prior texts one way or another and generate new conventions.

The third dimension of Fairclough's CDA model is discourse as social practice, where discursive events are seen as instances of social practice. Analysis should at this point pay attention to the broader social issues that influence the text. What do the texts tell about the society that we are living in and how do the power structures and possible inequalities manifest in the texts? What are the societal preconceptions present in the texts? Fairclough (1992: 86-96) explains that discourse operates within ideological effects and hegemonic processes. He (1992: 87) sees ideologies as "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of dominations". Furthermore, Fairclough emphasizes the textual view of ideology: ideologies manifest in texts. Although texts carry traces of ideological processes and structures, discovering those ideologies may be tricky. This is because meanings are created through different interpretations, which vary in their ideological stance. Ideologies within discursive practices are most effective when they are seen as the 'common sense', when they become naturalized. However, Fairclough (1992: 90) notes that people are often not aware of the ideological investments of their

own practices. He states that more emphasis should be put in raising the critical awareness of ideological processes.

Fairclough (1992: 92) describes hegemony as the leadership and predominance over others in different domains of a society, taking political, cultural, economic and ideological forms. However, rather than just dominating subordinate classes, he sees it as building alliances and integrating those classes through ideological means. He describes text production, distribution and consumption as being part of the hegemonic struggle.

In addition to the three dimensions explained above, Fairclough's model also incorporates three stages of practical CDA analysis: description, interpretation and explanation (Fairclough 2001: 91). Description focuses on linguistic features of the text, whereas interpretation deals with the relationship between text and interaction. The third stage, explanation, is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context. (Fairclough 2001: 91, 116).

2.3.2. CDA and power

CDA takes special interest in the relationship between language and power and aims to critically scrutinize inequality as it is expressed in language. To Blommaert (2005: 1-2), the most important task of CDA is analyzing the power effects on texts, the outcome of power, how it affects the social context and how power regimes are organized in the society. He (ibid.) argues that the most significant effect of power through language use is inequality. To understand societal power relations better, CDA's focus is on the language use as a part of forms of inequality.

CDA deals with discourse dimensions of power abuse and injustice, and inequality that results from it (Van Dijk 1993: 252). Van Dijk describes social injustice as often institutionalized and organized. The focus is on social power - institutions, organizations and groups - instead of personal power, and it is about having control over another group due to the privileged access to important resources such as education, health or status. (ibid. 254-255).

According to van Dijk (1993: 241), CDA concentrates on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of exercising social power. Furthermore, the scholars aim at finding out which structures or properties of verbal interaction support the modes of reproduction and that way sustain social inequality.

However, Blommaert (2005: 25) states that it is not enough to simply reveal the social meaning of language use, but the analysis should bring about real change in the society, such as empower people to fight injustice or give more say to those who are typically unheard. Indeed, Wodak and Meyer (2011: 11) note that CDA often takes the perspective of those who suffer the most from the power abuse and brings attention to the existing injustice. Furthermore, CDA critically targets the power elite that sustains and legitimizes the inequality (ibid., van Dijk 1993: 252). In language use, simple linguistic choices such as choosing to use active instead of a passive voice, contains ideological meanings that often stay unnoticed. CDA tries to unravel these meanings and take a stance against inequality.

Fairclough (2001: 41) discusses mass-media discourse in relation to power. He notes that the mass-media power includes *hidden* relations of power. He points out that the media discourse is one-sided, as there is a clear division between those who produce media texts and those who consume and interpret them. Furthermore, although media discourse is targeted for vast audiences, the producer always has an 'ideal audience' in mind. This ideal audience, then again, affects the ways in which the discourse is produced (ibid). I will continue to discuss representation and its role in news media more in-depth in the next chapter.

2.4. REPRESENTATION

Basically, reality is not 'out there', easily available to be grasped in any straightforward and simple way; it is socially constructed, with language playing a centrally important role, so that the patterning of vocabulary and sentence structure shows us reality in a particular light and guides our apprehension of it.
(Montgomery 1986: 250).

Montgomery's early definition describes representation at the level of language. The multidimensional term *representation* is used in various ways in different fields of study, such as in psychology and art. At the language-level, representation is a way of describing the world. According to Montgomery (1986: 223-4), language enables us to talk with each other *about something* through representation. The ideational possibilities of language enable us to understand ourselves, others and the world we live in. He (1986: 224-5) introduces two opposing positions in the ways in which language represents the world: the universalist and relativist positions.

The universalist view sees language as 'a vehicle for expressing the conceptual system which exists independently of it.' According to the view, people are equipped with conceptual primes, from which more elaborate patterns of thought are constructed. Thought determines language and due to this, different languages represent the world in quite similar ways.

The relativist position, then again, sees thought and language as woven together – thinking depends upon language. According to the relativist view, concepts only take shape when there are structures and words to express them with. Due to this, different languages most likely understand, experience and represent the world in different ways. Furthermore, there is not an entirely neutral way to understand and represent the world, as language-use always evaluates experiences. (Montgomery 1986: 229). The choices done on the level of language are not necessarily made consciously. Indeed, Montgomery (1985: 250) brings up the level of intentionality in text production. He discusses awareness and deliberation as two different issues. As texts are usually produced by several people, such as the reporters and sub-editors, focusing on the aspect of intentionality is not easy, nor necessary. Indeed, he (1996: 248) sees intention and awareness in the text production as irrelevant, because what matters is how the texts are interpreted and how they affect our thoughts and behavior.

"Teasing out the embedded, underlying meanings of texts". This is how Webb (2009: 1) defines analyzing representation. She (2009) argues that when analyzing representation, it is crucial to ask who is performing the representation, what it means and what effects it has. She sees representation crucial to everyday life, because the

ways we see ourselves and others, are a part of representation. According to Fairclough (1995: 17-18), we constantly make conscious and subconscious decisions on how to represent the world, events and people around us, and which roles to assign to participants in different situations. Pietikäinen & Mäntynen (2009: 62) agree that rather than an impartial description of the world, representation is a subjective point of view, one way to present the world through language and discourse. They continue that words alone do not create meaning and representation, but they work together with the context and receiver's interpretation. Language-use is always interaction, and meanings are created in interaction with others. Webb (2009: 117) notes that personal ideologies are often seen as the only reality and truth. However, she (2009: 107) argues that in fact, all representation is limited and flawed, as considering something 'true', means only that it is coded true by people. Seeing things 'as they are', only means seeing things as one's culture frames them or wants them to be. For another person, group or culture, the truth might be something else.

Representational choices are made on the levels of grammar and vocabulary. Fairclough (1997: 143-144) points out that the decisions between different expressions and words for a specific situation are an important part of constructing desired representations and assigning different roles to participants. He (1997: 143) calls this *naming*. One can create very different kinds of representations of the same situation by using different nouns. For instance, a reporter writing a news article might name an event *homicide*, *murder*, *manslaughter* or a *massacre*. By choosing the suitable word for a specific situation, the reporter makes a choice of what kind of representation to create. In addition to naming, Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 72), emphasize *describing* as another way of creating representations. Choosing descriptive words such as adjectives, adverbs and metaphors to describe people, events and phenomena create a certain kind of an image of the target.

Besides lexical features, grammatical choices create representations as well. Transitivity structures that deal with processes and participants have a crucial role in forming representations of events and actions. Transitivity has to do with making decisions whether to present something as an action or as an event and choosing between the agents and objects of the text. The same situation can be represented very

differently depending on the transitivity choices. There may be differences in what has been omitted and what included in the text. Indeed, Fairclough (1997: 147-148) talks about *nominalization* as one of the ways to fade out one or more participants of an event. Nominalization means producing a noun from another part of speech. Basically, an action is transformed into a nominal, which might then be a part of another action (ibid.) For instance a sentence "Violence and disorder increasing in East-Helsinki" uses the nominalized words *violence* and *disorder*, leaving unsaid who are the people using violence and causing unrest and who are the targets of these actions. Furthermore, focus might be on the event rather than the participants: "Aggravated robbery in downtown Helsinki." With a lot of nominalization, the text becomes abstract and distanced from concrete events. In addition to nominalization, passive clause structure is one way to fade out an actor that is responsible for a specific action: "A teenager was robbed in downtown Helsinki." Väliverronen (1998: 27) notes that with the use of passive, the writer can choose from whose angle to report the news. Furthermore, referring to Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Grammar, Fairclough (1997: 144-149) presents five different types of actions, which all represent an event in different ways and deal with the participants variously. He explains that *an Act* always has two participants - the actor and the target. Typically, an Act has a transitive structure, for instance: *The maid cleaned the apartment*. In *an Event*, either the actor or target is omitted, so the clause only has one participant and an intransitive structure: *The apartment was cleaned*. A *State* describes being, not an action, and forms an equative structure; *The apartment is clean*. According to Fairclough, a *Mental process* deals with an event or phenomenon and the 'senser'. He differentiates three types of mental processes: cognition, perception and affect, so basically verbs are used to describe processes that may be either mental or concrete action. For instance: *I knew that I had to clean the apartment*. Lastly, a *Verbal Process* includes an actor and what has been said: *He said that I must clean the apartment*.

Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 72-73) have a different way to divide representational choices into three categories: micro level, discourse level and the level of language-use. When studying representational choices, micro level means choices between the different words and structures. This is the concrete level of lexico-

grammatical choices – whether to call someone a migrant, an immigrant or a foreigner creates different kind of representation about the person in question. The choice of a verb to describe an action is another example of micro-level decision: A researcher *arguing, stating* or *suggesting* something present various degrees of certainty. It should be noted how and why these decisions are made. Discourse level deals with choices such as the tone and form of the language-use, so for instance whether the language-use is formal or informal, or whether the text is in a form of a poem, a letter or a news article. Different representational choices are done when writing a newspaper article and an opinion. Whereas the context of news reporting traditionally requires a more neutral, formal and objective viewpoint, an opinion can be more subjective and informal. For instance, a text-message to a friend is quite informal and personal, whereas an email to a university professor usually follows a certain protocol with appropriate greetings and professional distance in tone and voice. The third level, language-use, stands for the actual situation – is it a conversation between close friends, classroom setting with a teacher giving a lecture, or a job interview. Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 73) emphasize that the situation defines how language is used. For instance, a student in exam must be able to show knowledge of the scientific discourse – a joke about the subject matter will not be enough to pass the exam.

2.4.1. Representation in the news media

Media texts and news are sensitive indicators for social change. This was stated by Fairclough (1997: 83), indicating that there is a lot to learn about society and the way it functions, by analyzing the media. Indeed, when using language, we are constantly making choices. We make choices between different tones, words and sentence structures to create a certain kind of representation. This should be understood especially when it comes to media texts – the voices, ideologies, opinions and mindsets of the text writers and producers are behind every text we read. Several people are involved in the process of creating a piece of news. Väliverronen (1998: 32-33) sees texts as tracks that can be analyzed, in order to learn more about the communication

and media. Texts have traces of their writers, institutions, other texts and text types and assumed readers. Pietikäinen & Mäntynen (2009: 98) explain news being made, not simply reported. Indeed, Fairclough (1997: 136) states that media texts do not only reflect and report reality, but they create their own, subjective versions of the reality. These versions vary according to the text creators' social status, objectives and interests. Furthermore, social motives, ideologies and power relations have a role in the process as well.

News agencies, reporters and others involved in the process make choices of what and how to represent in the news: what to include in the text and what to leave out, which issues should be expressed directly and which ones indirectly, what is considered primary information and what secondary (Fairclough 1997: 136). Fairclough (1997: 139-140) suggests that even though representation analysis deals with what is said in the text, it is important to pay attention to what is missing as well: what could have been present in the text? He goes on explaining that all texts include explicit and implicit meanings – things that are said directly and things that are only implied in the text.

Hence, journalists and news agencies have a great role in building representations, affecting the audience's world view and in a way constructing the world. Väliaverronen notes that linguistic representations are the results of several choices. This means that journalism describes issues and events from one angle. Furthermore, the choice of words and terms in the news favor some news sources and their interpretations of the world, while others are left unnoticed – and unreported. Pietikäinen & Mäntynen (2009: 106) agree that the media has the power to ignore some issues and events and bring up others, and this way attract the audience's attention to certain topics and away from others. They call this *agenda-setting*. Agenda-setting is one example of the media's important role in influencing how people see and understand the surrounding world. Valtonen (1998: 103) talks about hegemony, position of power, as some discourses become stronger than others.

Another example of the media power and responsibility is introduced by Webb. She (2009: 115-116) brings up the issue of representation causing harm to groups of people

when one or more individuals of that group are represented in a negative way. For instance, if individual representatives of a certain ethnic group are constantly highlighted in the media in a negative light, this might cause damage to the status of the whole group. It is easy for people to start seeing the whole group of people in the similar way. This issue should be noted when reporting events and when analyzing news coverage. Webb (2009: 116) emphasizes the role of media in making meanings, creating certain ways of seeing the world and influencing people. According to her, media power is so significant because those images, ideologies and stories are constantly repeated in different medium. When they are repeated numerous times, they begin to seem true and convincing.

This study aims to reveal the 'truths' that the media repeat about Africa. Some researchers argue that the African representation is one-sided and misleading, whereas others suggest that the amount of information to make any generalizations is lacking. Studying the content of powerful quality newspapers HS and the Guardian will provide us with information about what kind of images are forwarded to the readers. What happens in Africa according to HS and the Guardian? Who are the Africans who made it to the headlines? Are there patterns that seem to come up in the data? And most importantly, why are the representations as they are - what is their connection to our social reality?

3 THIS STUDY: DATA AND METHODS

In this chapter, the data and methods of the study will be discussed. I will go through the data-collection process in detail and present the collected data. I will continue by introducing Helsingin Sanomat and the Guardian, whose articles will be analyzed in this study. Finally, I will separately discuss the two methods that will be used; content analysis and critical discourse analysis and explain the analysis process step-by-step.

There is certainly a need for more thorough research on the ways of representations of Africa in the Western media. A great number of British studies on African representation focus on older data from years or decades back. Media is in the constant turbulence of change and the world today is more globalized than ever before. We cannot base our perception of Africa's representation on the data collected from a very different time, with different political and cultural ties.

3.1. Data of this study

In Finland, few media studies focus on Africa. Those that do, deal with specific African countries or events during a specific time frame. However, a more general picture of Africa's representation is needed – which regions and countries in Africa are present in the Western media and which ones are excluded? Which events from the vast continent make it to the headlines, are being reported and discussed in the media, and how?

Three research questions were formed:

- 1) How is Africa represented in the online news?
- 2) What are the major differences in the representations between Helsingin Sanomat and the Guardian?
- 3) How are these representations constructed in the texts?

To answer the questions above, content analysis and critical discourse analysis are combined to present both the themes and topics prevalent in the news media, as well

as the ways linguistic features that are used to create meanings. The findings are then discussed in relation to their social context, reflecting societal issues. According to Fairclough (1997: 139), textual micro analysis combined with content analysis is an efficient way to study how the media discusses and presents a certain topic. Whereas micro analysis focuses on the details of language use, such as vocabulary, grammar and metaphors, content analysis gives more of a general picture about the data.

The data of this study consists of online news articles collected from Helsingin Sanomat and the Guardian websites. It should at this point be noted that the two newspapers, both representing the top-quality news within the nation, have very different reader profiles. Helsingin Sanomat is the national newspaper of Finland, mostly read by the Finnish citizens. It does, however, publish some of the news in the English edition website, with an aim to 'deliver comprehensive English-language coverage about Finland for foreigners in Finland and Finland-interested audiences abroad' (Helsingin Sanomat). The Guardian, instead, is a truly international newspaper with readers from around the world. In addition to the original UK online edition, the Guardian also has the US and Australia online editions. Furthermore, the Guardian publishes translated articles from international quality newspapers. Hence, the target audience of the Guardian is quite international, which influences the number of international news and news from Africa.

As the aim of this study is to analyze the current situation of Africa's representation in the news media, the data comprises news published in 2018. Because the number of Africa news in Helsingin Sanomat was considerably lower than in the Guardian, the span of the data collection period had to be several months. In order to find enough data from HS, the data was collected between the 1st of May 2018 and 31st of August 2018. Altogether, 21 articles from Helsingin Sanomat and 201 articles from the Guardian were collected. In May 2018, Helsingin Sanomat published 4 news articles with a primary focus on Africa, whereas the Guardian published 45 articles. In June, 7 articles were published in HS and 40 in the Guardian. In July, HS published 4 articles and the Guardian 52 articles. In August, 6 pieces of news was published in HS and 64 in the Guardian.

Table 1 The number of collected articles

| Month (Year 2018) | Helsingin Sanomat | The Guardian |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| May | 4 | 45 |
| June | 7 | 40 |
| July | 4 | 52 |
| August | 6 | 64 |
| total: | 21 | 201 |

The data was collected from the HS and the Guardian online archives, where all the news regarding Africa are chronologically listed in one section. The selection of news was based on the title, topic and content of the article. First, all the articles listed under the tag 'Africa' during the specific time frame were collected. However, in many cases, African countries or African nationalities were only briefly mentioned in the article, but the actual focus of the news was on something else. For instance, the Guardian published a great number of articles about the refugee crisis on the Mediterranean Sea, discussing UK's foreign policy and the actions of the coast authorities in Turkey and Italy. If the primary focus of the news was on Western actors and countries, the article was excluded from the data. Furthermore, the amount of data would have grown unreasonably high for a master's thesis, if all articles with a link to Africa had been analyzed. In addition, the above-mentioned exclusions were required to get data that includes enough information about the African representations. Due to these reasons, the data was restricted only to news articles primarily referring to Africa or to an African country or countries or to an African person during the data collection period. As the focus of this study is in analyzing professional news articles, other types of publications such as columns, photo reportages and opinions were excluded. Especially the Guardian publishes a lot of different types of media texts under different

categories. For instance, obituaries, comments by politicians and journalists and interviews are published regularly. However, as the focus in this study is on hard news, other publications were left out of the analysis. This was also necessary to limit the amount of data to a reasonable level.

The articles were coded by using the first letter/s of the newspaper's name, the publishing date, and the number of the article on that given date. For instance, G010818/3 refers to an article in the Guardian, published on the 1st of August in 2018 and it is the third article published that day. It should be noted that the HS headlines have been translated from Finnish to English for the purposes of this research, and the list of the original titles and their translations can be found in the appendix 1.

Next, I will briefly introduce the newspapers used in the data collection.

3.1.1. Helsingin Sanomat

Finland has a strong reading tradition and even during the years of big changes in the media structures, the local media companies have sustained their strong presence and active readership. According to Reuters Institute Digital News report (2018), one reason for this might be that the readers still have access to a great amount of free news content online. For instance, the national broadcasting company YLE and the daily tabloids *Iltalehti* and *Iltasanomat* still offer online news free of charge and without restrictions. Still, the number of paying digital subscribers in Finland has in fact increased during the past few years, whereas the print circulation of the Finnish newspapers has been in decline (*ibid*). According to the Reuters Institute Digital News report (2018), the combined number of print and online subscribers of the national daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* has increased for the first time in 25 years. The number of readers paying for news online is in fact higher than in the neighboring countries, and Sanoma Media describes HS as 'the front runner in subscribable digital journalism.'

By circulation, HS is the biggest subscription newspaper in Finland and in the Nordic region. It was first founded in 1889 with the name *Päivälehti*, with an aim to support a movement, which later formed the Young Finnish Party. Some of the founders of the

newspaper were Arvid Järnefelt, Eero Erkko and Juhani Aho. Today, Sanoma Media Finland owns HS. Kaius Niemi has been the editor-in-chief since 2013 and the same year, HS also shifted from a broadsheet to a tabloid form. In hs.fi, unsubscribed visitors are allowed to read five articles a week free of charge. After that, registration and subscription are required to access more content. In 2017, HS print newspaper had a circulation of over 230 000 and the print and online circulation of over 320 000 people (MediaAuditFinland 2017). Approximately 670 000 people read HS every day (ibid). In addition to the daily newspaper and website, the HS product family also includes the weekly supplement *Nyt*, the monthly supplement *Kuukausiliite*, the HS Teema magazine, freesheet HS Metro, HSTV and e-books services HS Kirjat. With the different forms, HS reaches nearly 2 million Finns weekly and it has a major influence in forming the public opinion in the Finnish society.

3.1.2. *The Guardian*

Quality newspapers in the UK are increasingly putting up paywalls and encouraging readers to purchase news content online. Still, according to the data by the Reuters Institute Digital News report (2018), less than 7 percent in the UK pay for online news. One of the UK's most popular newspapers, the Guardian, shifted from a broadsheet to a tabloid format in the beginning of 2018. Now with a new online strategy focused on donations and membership, the Guardian has 800,000 paying supporters.

Formerly known as the Manchester Guardian, it was founded in 1821 in the liberal interest to support the reform in the beginning of the 19th century. Founded by cotton merchant John Edward Taylor, the newspaper gained international reputation and prestige over the following years. Together with the Sunday-edition *the Observer* and the special-edition *Guardian Weekly*, it forms *The Guardian Media Group*. It is owned by the Scott Trust, created in 1936, with an aim to ensure that the liberal values and editorial interests remain free of commercial pressure (The Guardian 2015). In 2018, the Guardian still shares the same liberal ideology and has a politically left-leaning audience. Its print circulation today is close to 140 000 a day, making the Guardian one of the most influential daily newspapers in the UK (The Guardian 2015).

In this study, however, the focus is on the online articles published in the Guardian website, theguardian.com. All the content of the print versions is published on the website as well. In addition, the website also has additional content that is only published online. All news is free for use, without paywalls or registrations. Launched in 1999, theguardian.com has become one of the most popular online news-providers in the UK. In 2014, it was ranked the second most popular English-language newspaper website in the world, with 42.6 million unique visitors (Sweney 2014). According to Meyhew (2018), the Guardian is now the most read UK newspaper on desktop, with nearly 9 million readers a month.

3.2. Content analysis in this study

Content analysis (henceforth CA) was chosen as one of the methods in this study because it offers the tools for systematical analysis of large textual data. With the means of CA, over 200 articles were organized and categorized to get preliminary information about the data and for the sake of further analysis. According to Krippendorff (2004: 18), CA is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”. Also, it “entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessary from author’s or user’s perspective” (Krippendorff 2004: 3).

Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2011: 91) explain that content analysis can be defined as a method as well as a theoretical framework. In its broadest sense, CA means the analysis of written, spoken or seen content. They (2011: 103) continue that CA allows the researcher to analyze documents systematically and objectively. It is used as a tool to organize the collected data for making further conclusions. One way of organizing the data is classification, where different classes are formed based on the data. It is then calculated and analyzed, how many times one class appears in the text. Another common work method of CA is organizing the data thematically. In this case, the data is organized into different thematic categories, which helps the researcher to compare the occurrence of themes in the data. Furthermore, content analysis was used in this

study as the preliminary analysis, to gain better understanding of the data and direct the focus of the study. (Tuomi and Sarajärvi 2011: 93). Both classification and thematical organization of texts were used to answer the question what is said about Africa.

I will now explain the analysis process in detail. Firstly, I began the analysis by reading through all the titles and skimming through the articles. This helped me to form an overall perception about the data and the topics discussed in the media. The great difference in the number of articles was taken into account in the preliminary content analysis, as it already reflects the newspapers' stance and volume on reporting about Africa. Secondly, the articles were roughly categorized according to their themes and topics. It was discussed, whether similar events and situations are reported in both newspapers or if there are differences in which stories are brought to the public discussion. Are some events totally excluded in the reportage of one newspaper while they are thoroughly discussed in the other one? Which topics make it to the headlines? This gave me a rough idea about the most common topics in the data and the main differences between the two papers.

Thirdly, the news articles were categorized to a positive, negative or neutral class according to the overall theme of the article. It was analyzed whether the news can be seen as mainly positive, mainly negative or neutral. Lastly, all the articles were tabled according to the country which they primarily refer to. This clarifies which African countries or areas are emphasized or considered important in the Western news coverage and if some areas are totally excluded. The role of the former British colonies and current economic or socio-cultural ties was noted when analyzing which countries are reported on.

As Weber (1990) explains, measurement has an important role in content analysis. Counting the occurrences of meaning units, like themes and topics, words or categories, will reveal information about the data. In this case, content analysis was used to structure the data into different topics and themes so that it was easy to examine how many times certain themes come up in the news and which themes are the most prevalent ones in the African news. It was tabled, how many articles are

mainly categorized positive or negative based of their content, and which countries are reported the most.

3.3. Critical Discourse Analysis in this study

After the preliminary content analysis, five key texts were chosen for a more thorough analysis, which was conducted in the means of critical discourse analysis. In this study, CDA was used to answer the question how Africa is reported in the media. As the focus of the analysis was determined by the themes coming up in the data, this study is data driven. Hence, the key texts for the critical discourse analysis were chosen from the most prevalent thematic categories. To ensure that the analysis represents the data as well as possible, it was also taken into consideration that news reports from the most prevalent countries and from the groups of negative, positive and neutral news were chosen as key texts.

CDA is focused on the language use and how it is connected to our understanding of the society. Language is seen as social practice and CDA offers a framework for analyzing how language-use affects our perception of the social reality. Fairclough's three-dimensional model of discourse analysis was used in this study to gain more information on the ways Africa is represented in the Western media and how those representations are created. According to the framework, discourse should be analyzed as text, discursive practice and social practice.

I began the analysis with the first dimension by analyzing the textual features. First, I examined the lexical features of the articles and studied how vocabulary is a part of representation. I analyzed the lexical choices and paid attention to the naming of the text participants, adjectives and attributes used to describe events and people and the headlines summarizing the main topic of the news. The metaphors and words creating semantic groups, the choice of verbs and structure of the text was studied. How is coherence created in the news articles and what are the intertextual references? I also examined the grammatical structures such as transitivity. This was done by studying the text participants and their role and activity. It was analyzed, who are presented as

the active doers and who as passive participants – who are the subjects and objects of the texts. Are things represented as events or as state of affairs, or rather as actions?

Secondly, the context, producer and the audience of the texts was analyzed in relation to the social meanings the texts create. Which representations does language-use construct and what do they tell about the world around us? Thirdly, the effects of the lexico-grammatical choices were analyzed and discussed so that the links to our sociocultural context could be examined as well. As discursive events are seen as instances of social practice, the analysis discusses the broader social issues and how representations are connected to them.

4 CONTENT ANALYSIS: WHAT IS WRITTEN ABOUT AFRICA

This chapter presents the findings of the content analysis. The first research question, ‘what is written about Africa?’ will be answered. First, the analysis of the data from the Guardian will be presented. Secondly, the results of Helsingin Sanomat analysis will be discussed.

4.1. The Guardian

4.1.1. *Negative/Positive/Neutral topics*

The data of this study was organized into three classes according to the theme of the article – whether the overall tone of the news is positive, negative or neutral. This categorization was done by assessing the headline and the main content of the article. Very often, the classification was quite clear, based on the title of the news: *Ethiopia and Eritrea restore ties after 20 years of enmity* (G090718) and *10-year-old girl bleeds to death after female genital mutilation in Somalia* (G200718-2).

The overwhelming majority of the data fell into the category of negative news. Altogether 140 articles of the Guardian’s 201 collected pieces of news were classified as negative news. As the Figure 1 below presents, negative news makes up to 70 percent of all the data. This goes in line with the overall perception of news material being predominantly negative. As discussed in the chapter 2, the amount of negative news is emphasized when it comes to news from developing countries.

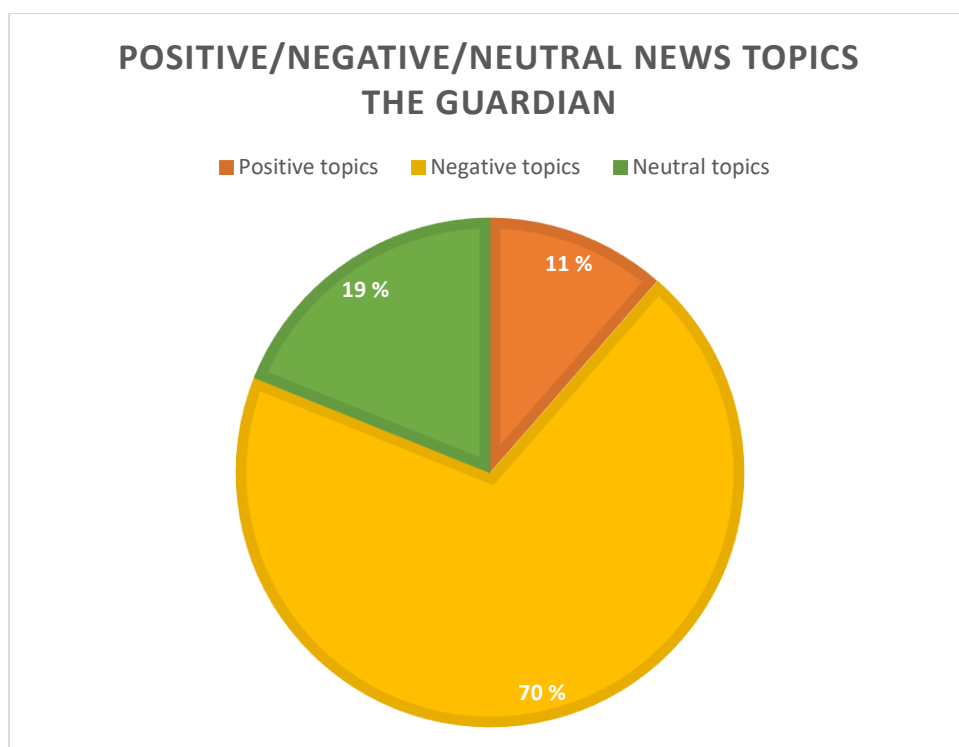


Figure 1 News topics in the Guardian

The data shows that negative news often deals with four main topics: politics, human right violations, violence and diseases. News on outbursts of violence, political instability and blatant crimes against human rights are published on a daily basis: *11 South African taxi drivers shot dead in minibus ambush (G220718-1)*, *Zimbabwe activists go into hiding as security crackdown intensifies (G0808-1)*, *Twelve men arrested over alleged abduction and rape of Moroccan girl (G310818-1)*. Diseases were a current topic during the summer 2018 as well, and the majority of those news report on the Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo: *Ebola reaches DRC city, raising epidemic fears as 11 new cases confirmed (G180518-1)* and *Ebola: medics brace for new cases as DRC outbreak spreads (G240818-4)*. In addition to this, other health risks such as malaria and cholera are discussed in the news as well. To balance this constant media focus on disasters, crimes and violence, the Guardian publishes articles under the title 'The Updown' every week. The aim is to show people that there is hope in the world, by finding innovative solutions to real-life problems. However, The Updown articles were excluded from the data of this study, as they are full weekly articles, whereas the focus of this study is on daily news.

The share of positive daily news in this study is quite modest – only 23 articles were assessed to have mainly positive content. Several of them focus on good political relations or international cooperation: *Champagne and roses on first Ethiopia-Eritrea flight in two decades* (G180718-2), *Theresa May busts out dance moves one more time on Africa trip* (G300818-4), *Macron visits Fela Kuti-founded nightclub during Nigeria visit* (G040718). Others report on the positive changes in global crises or problems: *Scientists hail malaria breakthrough as bed nets prove deadly to mosquitoes* (G110818) and *Two Britons held hostage in Democratic Republic of Congo freed* (G130518-2).

It should be noted that in the category of positive news, there are also several borderline cases, where the news is good in principle, but the context of the news includes negative aspects. For instance, the article titled *DRC Ebola outbreak is officially declared over* (G240718-1) obviously tells good news based on the headline. However, the main body of the news primarily discusses the terrible consequences of Ebola in Western Africa. Regardless of the negative context of the article, it was still categorized as a positive one, due to the main information forwarded – that the outbreak was now over. Similarly, the following articles were categorized as positive, regardless of the negative context and due to the positive main information: *British army unit will tackle threat from female suicide bombers* (G070818-1) and *Couple keep wedding date after bride loses arm in crocodile attack* (G070518). The former piece of news is about the issue of women and children used as suicide bombers around the world's conflict zones and the reasons behind it. However, the positivity comes from the fact that the British army has found new ways of tackling the problem and is actively working to improve the situation. The latter piece of news, although it mainly discusses the horrible accident, it provides new positive information about the couple's plans to wed regardless of the accident.

Articles with neutral topics comprise 11 percent of all data, which means 38 articles. This category consists of articles that simply report a topic which cannot be identified as positive or negative. Several of these articles are from the thematic areas of archeology, international visits and cooperation and politics. Political issues are the main topic in the neutral news category as well. Many of the articles in this category discuss the domestic policy in different African nations: *Social media use taxed in Uganda*

to tackle 'gossip' (G010618-1), *Algeria blocks internet to prevent students cheating during exams* (G220618-3), *Robert Mugabe: I won't vote for Zanu-PF in Zimbabwe election* (G290718), *Joseph Kabila ruled out as DRC election candidate* (G080818-3). Some of the political reports also deal with the UK policy and especially with the case of Abdel Hakim Belhaj: *Settlement in Abdel Hakim Belhaj rendition case to be announced* (G090518-2) and *Britain apologizes for 'appalling treatment' of Abdel Hakim Belhaj* (G100518-1).

News about archeological findings are reported in quite a neutral manner as well: *No hidden rooms in Tutankhamun burial chamber, says Egypt* (G060518), *Archaeologists prepare to open huge granite sarcophagus in Egypt* (G120718-1), *Kenya burial site shows community spirit of herders 5,000 years ago* (G200818). International visits such as Theresa May's trip in Sub-Saharan Africa obviously caught attention in the British media, in the Guardian as well. The news on her journey were published daily and it mainly reported the phases of her visit: *Theresa May to make first trip to sub-Saharan Africa by UK leader in five years* (G260818-4), *May begins Africa trip with nod to rightwing Tories on overseas aid* (G270718-3) *Theresa May dances at South Africa school on first day of trade trip* (G280818-2).

To sum up, this study supports the claim that the news coverage on Africa is mainly negative, as 70 percent of the data of this study focuses on negative issues such as violence, human rights violations and diseases. The smallest number of articles were categorized as positive, with topics such as international relations and political visits. Neutral news covers the themes of archeology, international visits and cooperation and politics.

4.1.2. Categorization by country

All the news articles used as data in this study were categorized according to the country or area, they primarily refer to. The United Nations recognizes 54 African countries, and out of those, 32 countries are referred to as the most prevalent nation in one or more articles. This constitutes approximately 60% of all African nations. However, there are 22 African countries that did not make it to headlines once during

the four-month data collection period. Still, it could be argued that in terms of regional coverage, the Guardian reports quite successfully about different parts of Africa. Then again, it should be noted that most of the countries are only mentioned once or twice, as more than half of the news only concentrate on the six most prevalent countries. The table below presents all the nations prevalent in the data with the number of published articles.

Table 2 The Guardian articles categorized according to the country they primarily refer to

| Country | Number of articles |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| Zimbabwe | 20 |
| South Africa | 19 |
| Libya | 18 |
| The Democratic Republic of Congo | 17 |
| Africa in general | 16 |
| Egypt | 16 |
| Kenya | 13 |
| Nigeria | 11 |
| Uganda | 9 |
| Ethiopia | 8 |
| Sudan | 7 |
| Somalia | 6 |
| Mali | 5 |
| Burundi | 4 |
| Tunisia | 3 |
| Cameroon | 3 |
| Niger | 3 |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Tanzania | 3 |
| Gambia | 2 |
| Central African Republic | 2 |
| Malawi | 2 |
| Rwanda | 2 |
| Ghana | 1 |
| South-Sudan | 1 |
| Eritrea | 1 |
| East Africa | 1 |
| Sierra Leone | 1 |
| Algeria | 1 |
| Senegal | 1 |
| Morocco | 1 |
| Burkina Faso | 1 |
| Mauritania | 1 |
| Ivory Coast | 1 |
| Lesotho | 1 |

With 20 news articles, Zimbabwe was the most reported African country during summer 2018. The data collection period undoubtedly affected the high number of articles, as Zimbabwe's presidential elections were held in July 2018. This may have caused an increase in the number of articles on Zimbabwe. The following three most prevalent African nations in the Guardian are South Africa, Libya and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Surprisingly, only the first two of the most-reported countries are former British colonies, as the third one on the list is Libya with 18 articles and the fourth one the Democratic Republic of Congo with 17 news articles. Indeed, 115 out of 201 articles refer to British colonies.

The 19 articles reporting from South Africa are quite versatile concerning the topics of the news. International relations, wild life and violence are some of the most common topics with several articles per each category: *Donald Trump's land seizures tweet sparks anger in South Africa* (G230818-2), *Outrage after American woman hunts and kills rare giraffe in South Africa* (G030718-1), *Former Perth student guilty of axe murder of parents and brother in South Africa* (G210518-1). However, there are many other countries in southern Africa that have stayed completely out of the Guardian's news radar. Angola, Zambia, Namibia, Botswana and Mozambique were not in the focus of the news once during the summer 2018.

The third most reported country is The Democratic Republic of Congo, with news mostly consisting of reports on the outbreak of Ebola and the case of former warlord Jean-Pierre Bemba's conviction on war crimes: *Congo turmoil means Ebola vaccinators will need armed escorts, experts warn* (G080818-2), *WHO chief calls for end to fighting in Congo to halt Ebola spread* (G150818), *DRC set for turmoil as Jean-Pierre Bemba expected home within weeks* (G230618-1), *Former warlord returns to DR Congo from prison to run for president* (G010818-3). Central African Countries without any mentions in the headlines are Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Republic of Congo and Gabon.

The fourth most prevalent category is 'Africa in general', where Africa is referred to as a whole, as one continent, or several African countries are on the focus of one article. There is only one clearly dominant topic in this category - migration and refugees: *EU rebuked for €36n refugee pushback gambit* (G200618-2), *Mediterranean: more than 200 migrants drown in three days* (G030718-3), *May vows to use overseas aid to curb illegal migration and organised crime* (G280818-3). Other than that, no specific categories can be formed, as there are mostly independent articles from different topics.



Figure 2 Regional coverage of the Guardian news on the map (Source: GeoCurrents Customizable Base Map)

North Africa is well-reported in the Guardian news, as all the North-African Arab League countries are mentioned as the primary nation at least once in the data. Furthermore, there are over 15 articles of Libya and Egypt. Indeed, Libya is among the most reported countries, which is likely to be explained with the cooperation between Libya and several European countries concerning the problematic migration situation in the Mediterranean. Furthermore, most news articles about Libya discuss the refugee crisis and the horrific conditions in the Mediterranean: *Italy's deal with Libya to 'pull back' migrants faces legal challenge* (G080518-1), *UN accuses Libyan linked to EU-funded coastguard of people trafficking* (G080618-2), *Libya rejects EU plan for refugee and migrant centres* (G200718-4), *Deaths at sea expose flaws of Italy-Libya migration pact* (G230718). Another important theme in the Libyan news reportage is the torture case of Abdel Hakim Belhaj between Libya and the UK: *Settlement in Abdel Hakim Belhaj rendition case to be announced* (G090518-2), *Britain apologises for 'appalling treatment' of Abdel Hakim Belhaj* (G100518-1), *Tony Blair refuses to apologise to Libyan torture victim Abdel Hakim Belhaj* (G220518-3).

In Western Africa, only Nigeria seems to make it to headlines quite regularly with 11 articles, whereas Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Togo and Benin are the only nations without any remarks in the data. On the other side of the continent, East African countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia are all well-covered in several articles. The only country not mentioned in the news at all is Djibouti in the Horn of Africa. In addition, none of the six sovereign island nations are reported.

In conclusion, it could be argued that the Guardian reports on Africa quite frequently, and regionally the continent is well-covered. However, most of the reports focus on a few selected countries while others are reported occasionally. The data shows that Zimbabwe, South Africa, Libya and the Democratic Republic of Congo are the most prevalent African countries in the Guardian.

4.1.3. Thematic categorization

The data of this study was categorized thematically. This was done by dividing each article into a group according to the theme it primarily discusses. At first, almost 30 very specific categories were formed, most of them only including one or two articles. Hence, the groups were adjusted, and similar topics were combined to form broader categories. I ended up with 20 categories, which seems fair as I want the different topics to stand out on their own and to gain a broad understanding of the themes in the Africa coverage. This categorization also depicts well the great differences in the number of articles of certain topics.

In many cases, there is overlap in the themes of the articles. Several news, for instance, have to do with human rights violations that include brutal violence. In those cases, it was assessed whether the more prevalent theme and the newsworthiness is violence or human rights violations – in other words, the articles were categorized according to the most prevalent theme.

The table below portrays the number of the articles in each category. The amount of data from Helsingin Sanomat is included in the table to illustrate the differences in

both the number of the news and the thematic interests between the two papers.

Table 3 News themes of Helsingin Sanomat and the Guardian

| Theme | Helsingin Sanomat | The Guardian |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Politics | 6 | 31 |
| Human rights | 1 | 27 |
| Violence | 2 | 25 |
| Immigration and asylum | 1 | 23 |
| Diseases | 3 | 18 |
| Women's rights and gender equality | | 14 |
| Nature and wildlife | 1 | 11 |
| International cooperation and aid | | 11 |
| Terrorism | | 6 |
| Archeology | | 5 |
| Tourism | | 5 |
| Accidents | | 4 |
| Corruption | 1 | 4 |
| Business and economy | 3 | 5 |
| Art and culture | 2 | 3 |
| Obituaries | | 2 |
| Global development | | 2 |
| Education | 1 | 1 |
| Sports | | 2 |
| Intoxicants | | 2 |
| Total: | 21 | 201 |

Five main themes constitute over 60 percent of the all the Guardian's news data in this study. 124 out of Guardian's 201 African pieces of news deal with politics, human rights violations, violence, immigration and asylum and diseases.

Politics forms the most prevalent thematic category in the Guardian with 31 pieces of news. Especially reports on elections and the domestic policy of several African countries are common in this category: *Egyptian president may seek to break two-term limit, petition suggests* (G010818-1), *Motorcyclists banned from wearing hoodies as Uganda gets tough on crime* (G200718-1), *Egypt's Sisi is sworn in for a second term, amid crackdown on dissent* (G020618). There are many articles about the process of Zimbabwe's presidential elections. In addition, often the UK is somehow connected to the politics news: *Zimbabwe: UK's bet on post-Mugabe ex-colony hangs in the balance* (G020818-2), *May's gawky, awkward moves in Africa not confined to dance steps* (G310818-2).

The second most prevalent category is human rights violations, consisting of news addressing various issues: *Sri Lankan 'war criminals' deployed as UN peacekeepers* (G210718-1), *Claims of 'non-stop cycle of torture' involving top officials in Ethiopian jail* (G050718-2), *Tanzania president says prisoners should be kicked and made to work 'day and night'* (G150717), *Protests in Kampala as pop star politician blocked from leaving Uganda* (G310818-3), *UK Somali teenagers taken 'on holiday' and forced into marriage* (G260818-2). Also, the case of Abdel Hakim Belhaj demanding an apology from the British government concerning his rendition to Libya, has been in the headlines. Another prevalent topic in this category is horrific human rights violations linked to armed conflicts and war zones. These crimes often have to do with civilians, children and women: *Mass rape and killings in South Sudan may constitute war crimes, says UN* (G100718-1), *Video shows Cameroon army killing women and children, says Amnesty* (G130718-2), *Cameroon to investigate mass killing in northern village* (G100818-3). There is often overlapping with the news about violence and those about human rights violations. In addition, sometimes it was difficult to categorize news between the two groups of human rights violations and women's rights. However, those articles that pay more emphasis on women's rights specifically or address sex-based discrimination and crimes, form a category on their own.

Third most news articles report on different forms of violence. The majority of them report the violence linked to political changes and instability: *Violence ahead of Burundi vote to extend president's term to 2034* (G140518-1), *Zimbabwe's president calls for peace after stadium blast attack* (G230618-3), *Zimbabwe opposition face wave of detentions, beatings after election loss* (G050818-1). This category also includes news about murders and other types of violent outbursts: *Police say 86 people killed after weekend violence in Nigeria* (G240618-1), *Russian journalists killed in Central African Republic ambush* (G310718-3), *11 South African taxi drivers shot dead in minibus ambush* (G220718-1), *Coptic monk arrested over murder of bishop in Egypt* (G120818-1). In addition, news about violent military actions in Africa are reported: *Pentagon investigation into lethal Niger ambush finds multiple failures* (G100518-2), *US forces accused of complicity in Somalia raid that left five civilians dead* (G170518-2), *One US soldier killed and four wounded in Somalia attack* (G090618). News addressing terrorism and terroristic violence is separated from this category, as I want to show the difference and the number of news discussing strictly terroristic acts and violence versus other types of violence.

The fourth category with 23 articles discusses immigration and asylum: *Sierra Leonean athlete can stay in UK after three-year legal fight* (G180518-4), *Gay asylum seeker faces deportation from UK to Nigeria* (G110618-1), *Widowed father ordered to leave UK against advice of Home Office's own lawyers* (G160718-2). 11 of the articles in this category concentrate on the migrant crisis on the Mediterranean and the politics on tackling the issue: *Libyan coastguard accused of abandoning three migrants in sea* (G180718-1), *Pregnant women among migrants stranded at sea off Tunisian coast* (G250718-2), *Deaths at sea expose flaws of Italy-Libya migration pact* (G230718).

The fifth most news articles report on various diseases such as Ebola, malaria, HIV and cholera: *Book lifts lid on litany of mistakes in Ebola outbreak that killed 11,300 people* (G300718), *Alarm as Ugandan politicians back plans for compulsory HIV testing in schools* (G260718-3), *Uganda launches major vaccination drive as deadly cholera outbreak bites* (G030518-2). The 2018 Ebola outbreak in the Republic of Congo is likely to cause increase in the number of articles in this category, as are several articles concerning only this issue. Even though the category consists of mostly negative reports on casualties and the spreading of diseases, there are also some positive glimpses about

promising drug trials and health campaigns: *Biker nun on a mission to free Tanzania from grip of HIV* (G220718-2), *DRC: experimental Ebola vaccine to be administered in Mbandaka* (G200518), *Wider use of rotavirus vaccine urged after 'potent' success of Malawi trial* (G130818-1).

Other prevalent thematic categories, all of them having over 10 articles, report on women's rights and gender equality, nature and wild life and international cooperation and aid. Perhaps surprisingly, the themes of terrorism and business and economy are quite low on the list with five to six articles. In addition, the topics of archeology, tourism, corruption and art and culture are primarily discussed in only three to five articles. At the bottom of the list are the themes of global development, education, obituaries, sports and intoxicants, with only or two articles.

4.2. Helsingin Sanomat

4.2.1. Negative/Positive/Neutral topic

In the data from Helsingin Sanomat, there are nine negative articles and seven positive articles about Africa. Five articles were categorized as neutral.

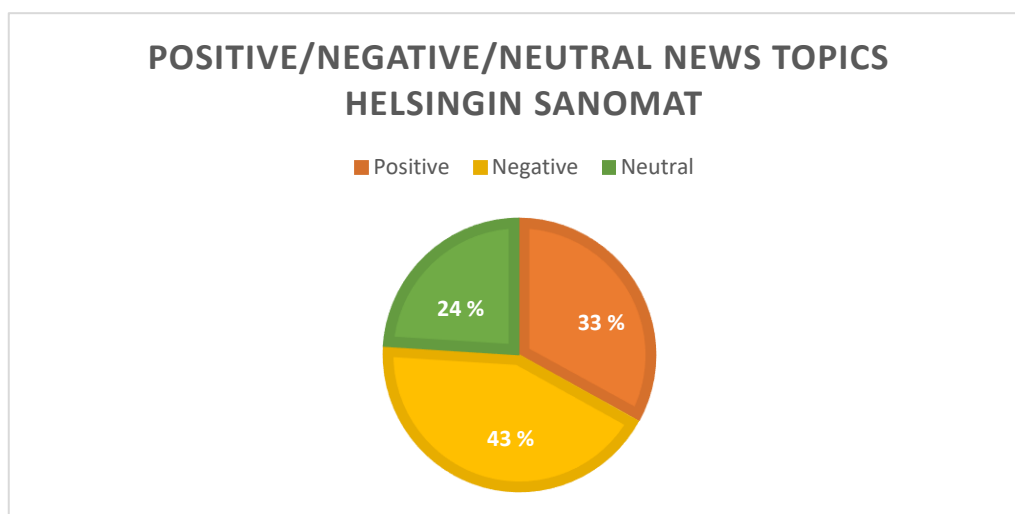


Figure 3 News topics in Helsingin Sanomat

Articles in the negative category discuss issues such as diseases, violence, political instability and wild life. Two of the articles report on the Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo: *New cases of Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo – the previous epidemic was tackled only weeks before* (HS020818) and *The latest Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo has already killed 55 people* (G210818-2). Political instability is also in the focus of the news: *Zimbabwe voted Mugabe’s mastermind Emmerson Mnangagwa to the country’s lead – Opposition does not approve the results of the historical elections* (HS030818), *Gaddafi’s son, who is condemned to death, is the most plausible candidate for Libya’s president – elections should be organized this year even though the country is in war* (HS290618-1).

The third prevalent theme within the negative news is violence related to armed conflicts and wars: *More people have died in Nigeria due to the war between the farmers and the cattlemen than in the Islamist attacks – Governor says over 200 people were killed during the weekend* (HS290618-2) and *UN: Over 200 civilians killed and 120 raped in the hostilities lead by the government of South Sudan* (HS100718-1). In addition, the data includes three single articles reporting on a wildlife accident, a corruption suspect and an abolished sentence of war crimes. Together, circa 43 percent of the articles are negative.

Furthermore, seven positive news articles make up to 33 percent of all articles. Two positive reports on Africa deal with economy: *Early 2000’s favorite artist Akon launched his own cryptocurrency and a city run by it – “I came up with the concept and let the nerds figure out the rest”* (HS220618) and *Trump is starting a trade war, but a free trade agreement was made in Africa – Director of the Nordic Africa Institute: Underlying reason is the integration of the continent* (HS160618). Similarly, international cooperation and specifically the relation between Eritrea and Ethiopia was in the headlines during the summer 2018: *The longest standing conflict in Africa might come to an end – Ethiopia makes a peace offer to Eritrea* (HS080618-2) and *Ethiopia and Eritrea suddenly reconcile after 20 years of hostilities* (HS090718). The ending of the Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo was reported as well: *WHO: Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo mainly in control* (HS200618).

In addition, there are two articles from the categories of education and culture: *The president of Sierra Leone wants children to attend free education – Parents might even end up in jail if a child stays at home* (HS210818-1), *Young educated women are heading to the top of African literacy – We give voice to the forgotten, says Nigerian author Ayòbámi Adébayò while visiting Helsinki* (HS250518).

Five articles categorized as neutral are from the fields of politics, economy, culture and migration. Two political reports discuss the Zimbabwean situation with the presidential elections during the summer 2018: *Young priest challenges “the woolen soft” crocodile – First time in almost 40 years Zimbabwe will have a president who is not a Mugabe* (HS300718) and *The Head of Delegation of the European Union to Zimbabwe, Timo Olkkonen, travels to Zimbabwe – The economy of the country is in shambles, but Olkkonen stays positive* (HS300818). Culture topics, economy and migration are discussed as well.

4.2.2. Categorization by country

10 countries out of the 54 African nations were in the primary focus of one or more news articles in Helsingin Sanomat during the summer 2018. This is only 19 percent of the African countries, leaving 44 countries without any notions. See the figure below for a visual representation.



Figure 4 Regional coverage of the Helsingin Sanomat news on the map (Source: GeoCurrents Customizable Base Map)

The Democratic Republic of Congo is the most prevalent African country in HS news. As noted before, DRC is also one of the most-reported countries in the Guardian. Similarly to the Guardian's data, the articles in HS focus on the Ebola epidemic and the case of Jean-Pierre Bemba and his sentence on war crimes: *The international criminal court overturned the Congolese war lord's sentence for war crimes* (HS080618-1).

The most prevalent African nation in the Guardian holds the second place in Helsingin Sanomat. All three articles about Zimbabwe report on the presidential elections and Finland's political connections to Zimbabwe: *Zimbabwe voted Mugabe's mastermind Emmerson Mnangagwa to the country's lead – Opposition does not approve the results of the historical elections* (HS030818), *The Head of Delegation of the European Union to Zimbabwe, Timo Olkkonen, travels to Zimbabwe – The economy of the country is in shambles, but Olkkonen stays positive* (HS300818) and *Young priest challenges "the woolen soft" crocodile*

– *First time in almost 40 years Zimbabwe will have a president who is not a Mugabe* (HS300718).

Equally to Zimbabwe, there are three articles about Ethiopia. One of them deals with economy and the textile business, whereas the two others report on the reconciliation between Ethiopia and Eritrea after decades of hostilities.

Nigeria and Kenya are both in the focus of the news articles from summer 2018. Articles about Nigeria discuss both culture and violent outbursts, whereas Kenyan news reports on a wild life accident and a corruption case: *Hippo killed a tourist in Kenya – The world's most dangerous mammals kills an estimated 500 people in Africa every year* (HS120818), *Finland's development cooperation partner arrested over corruption suspicion – The Foreign Ministry: No proof that Finland's money had been stolen* (HS080718).

The rest of the news articles report on Libya, South Sudan, Niger, Sierra Leone and Senegal, all of them only discussed in one article concerning themes like politics, violence, education and economy.

Table 4 Helsingin Sanomat articles categorized according to the country they primarily refer to

| Country | Number of articles |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| The Democratic Republic of Congo | 4 |
| Zimbabwe | 3 |
| Ethiopia | 3 |
| Nigeria | 2 |
| Africa in general | 2 |
| Kenya | 2 |
| Libya | 1 |
| Niger | 1 |
| Senegal | 1 |
| Sierra Leone | 1 |

| | |
|-------------|---|
| South Sudan | 1 |
|-------------|---|

4.2.3. Thematic categorization

The articles published in Helsingin Sanomat were divided into ten thematic groups. Similarly to the Guardian, politics comprise the most prevalent news category in Helsingin Sanomat as well. Six articles about Africa were published during the summer 2018. Second and third on the list are diseases and economy and business.

Table 5 News themes of Helsingin Sanomat

| Theme | Number of articles |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| Politics | 6 |
| Diseases | 3 |
| Economy and business | 3 |
| Violence | 2 |
| Culture | 2 |
| Immigration and asylum | 1 |
| Human rights | 1 |
| Corruption | 1 |
| Nature and wild life | 1 |
| Education | 1 |
| Total: | 21 |

The political news in HS focus on the Zimbabwean presidential elections, reconciliation between Eritrea and Ethiopia and the Libyan presidential elections. In one of the articles, Zimbabwean political situation is being linked to Finland by interviewing The European Union's new Head of Delegation in Zimbabwe: *The Head*

of Delegation of the European Union to Zimbabwe, Timo Olkkonen, travels to Zimbabwe – The economy of the country is in shambles, but Olkkonen stays positive (HS300818).

The second most prevalent theme is diseases, with 3 news articles discussing the two Ebola outbreaks in the Democratic Republic of Congo: *WHO: Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo mainly in control (HS200618)*, *New cases of Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo – the previous epidemic was tackled only weeks before (HS020818)*, *The latest Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo has already killed 55 people (HS210818-2).*

Economy and business news is also prevalent in the data, with three articles discussing African free trade agreement, cheap labour used in textile business and a new cryptocurrency Akoin: *Trump is starting a trade war, but a free trade agreement was made in Africa – Director of the Nordic Africa Institute: Underlying reason is the integration of the continent (HS160618)*, *When an Asian employee is too expensive, the clothing industry shifts to Africa – “With the price of one Vietnamese employee, we can hire five Ethiopians” (HS080518)*, *Early 2000’s favorite artist Akon launched his own cryptocurrency and a city run by it – “I came up with the concept and let the nerds figure out the rest” (HS160618).*

Violence is the main theme in two news articles, reporting from Nigeria and South Sudan: *More people have died in Nigeria due to the war between the farmers and the cattlemen than in the Islamist attacks – Governor says over 200 people were killed during the weekend (HS290618-2)* and *UN: Over 200 civilians killed and 120 raped in the hostilities lead by the government of South Sudan (HS100718).*

The remaining five articles represent the thematic groups of immigration and asylum, human rights, corruption, nature and wild life and education. HS240518 is an interview with a Finnish crisis specialist, who is predicting a population explosion in Europe due to heavy migration. HS080618-1 discusses the overturning of a war crime sentence, whereas HS080718 reports on a corruption suspect with Finland’s development cooperation partner in Kenya. HS120818 deals with unfortunate wild life accident Kenya and HS210818-1 is about Sierra Leone’s idealistic plan to get all children attend free education.

It should be noted that the amount of data from Helsingin Sanomat is only a fraction of amount the published in the Guardian during the same time period. 21 articles discussing African countries during the summer 2018 is quite a small number and more data should be analyzed to form further conclusions. However, it already gives an idea about the news-worthiness and value of African coverage in Helsingin Sanomat. In addition, content analysis provides us with some directional understanding of the themes and topics that are discussed.

5 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: HOW IS AFRICA REPRESENTED?

In this chapter, the results of the critical discourse analysis will be discussed. I will focus on the second and third research question and analyze how Africa is represented in the Finnish news media and how these representations are created. Based on the results of the content analysis, five key texts were chosen for further analysis. In CDA, the focus is on the level of language and the aspects of vocabulary and grammar are scrutinized in order to present how language choices create representations. In this study, special attention is paid to lexical features of vocabulary, naming, referring and describing.

To obtain the most representative sampling possible, a few issues were considered when choosing the key texts for critical discourse analysis. Firstly, based on the results of the content analysis, the five key texts were chosen from the four most prevalent themes – politics, violence, human rights and diseases. The Guardian news are from the thematic groups of politics, violence and human rights, whereas the ones from Helsingin Sanomat deal with politics and diseases. Secondly, due to the large amount of data in the Guardian, three articles were chosen from the Guardian and only two pieces from Helsingin Sanomat.

Thirdly, to choose articles that give good general impression of the data, news from all three categories of positive, negative and neutral news was chosen for critical discourse analysis. As the majority of the articles in both the Guardian and HS were negative, two of the key texts are from this category as well. The second most prevalent category of neutral news is represented in the key text analysis with two articles as well. One of the articles analyzed here was categorized as positive.

Lastly, the regional representation was taken into consideration when choosing the key texts. As Zimbabwe, South Africa, The Democratic Republic of Congo and Libya are the most prevalent countries of news coverage, the key texts discuss these countries.

5.1. Politics

Two key texts discuss the theme of politics, one from Helsingin Sanomat and one from the Guardian. Both articles report on the political situation in Zimbabwe. The Guardian article G270618-1 with the title *Zimbabwe's president blames rally attack on Grace Mugabe faction* focuses on the political relations between the current president Emmerson Mnangagwa and the former first lady Grace Mugabe.

The political situation in Zimbabwe is presented as unstable by describing the upcoming presidential elections as *a turning point in the most tumultuous few months*. Furthermore, it is said that the opposition fears the attack may be *a pretext for a wide-ranging crackdown by the government or military*. In this article, the political instability is tied to another prevalent theme – violence. Again, lexical choices present the underlying theme that represent Zimbabwe's political scene as violent: *blast that killed two people, grenade thrown at the podium, an apparent assassination attempt at a political rally, the attack killed two people and injured 49, the attack had been calculated to achieve bloodbath, the bombing may serve as a pretext, an apparent poisoning last year*.

However, the fact that there is no evidence revealing the link between Grace Mugabe and the rally attack is taken into consideration in the article. Mnangagwa is portrayed as an unreliable source, by presenting his claims as only his personal accusations. This is done by the choice of verbs that indicate personal perspective: Mnangagwa *blames rally attack on Grace Mugabe faction, has blamed an apparent assassination attempt on a faction, stopped short of blaming the former first lady directly, said he believed the so-called G40 faction was responsible*. Furthermore, it is stated that *a number of previous alleged assassination attempts have been blamed on the G40 by Mnangagwa and his supporters*. However, *no evidence has emerged to implicate any individual or group*.

It is important to pay attention to the people given voice in news articles. Part of creating representation is including some people – giving them voice by quoting or paraphrasing them – and leaving out others. Very often in news articles authorities such as politicians, experts and specialists are given voice and power. In this article,

Mnangagwa's comments are given value by including them in the article and this way making him a powerful actor in the text. It should be noted that for instance Grace Mugabe has not been interviewed in the article, and the reader lacks her point of view completely. This creates a one-sided representation of the situation.

Social identities and relations are constructed through language use. One way of creating these representations through lexical features is naming and referring. The naming of president Mnangagwa presents him in quite a neutral manner. Different ways of referring constructs different representations: *the president of Zimbabwe, the 75-year-old leader, current president, a veteran of Zimbabwe's liberation wars and close aid to Mugabe for decades*. Mentioning the president's age, for instance, draws attention to the fact that the country is currently lead by a person who in most European standards would not be eligible for presidency. Furthermore, focusing on his history in the liberation wars emphasizes his role in fighting for independent Zimbabwe and building the country. Already the term *veteran* usually has connotations to brave soldiers serving their country. Then again, mentioning his political connections to Mugabe has different connotations. If close to Mugabe, who has been the dictator of Zimbabwe for the last decades, perhaps Mnangagwa is likely to continue similar dictatorship.

In conclusion, the picture painted from Zimbabwe focuses on political instability, difficult relations between political leaders and political violence. These representations are created by lexical choices such as choice of words, naming and describing.

Helsingin Sanomat article HS030818 addresses the unstable political situation in Zimbabwe as well, with a focus on the presidential elections. In the short introductory paragraph, the situation in Zimbabwe is described as *chaotic*, due to delayed election results. It is also mentioned that six people have died and that the opposition does not accept the election results. By listing those issues already the introduction, creates a representation of a country with many problems - the picture of the unstable, struggling Zimbabwe is constructed. Furthermore, Zimbabwe is later in the article

referred to as *the nest of poverty, corruption and high employment rate*. In addition, the country's agriculture, infrastructure and the freedom of the press is described to be *in shambles*. These colorful descriptions strengthen the discourse of political chaos.

It is explained that during the former president Mugabe's authoritarian rule, Zimbabwe has isolated from the outside world and the new president is now expected to build up new economic and diplomatic ties. Indeed, Mnangagwa has promised to focus on improving what is described as *the catastrophic state of economy*. As discussed in the previous chapters, this description of a developing country possessed by dictators, poverty and corruption is quite common in foreign news. Especially when it comes to Africa, the role of the struggling government and the misery of everyday life is often unnecessarily emphasized. The theme of violence is also present in the article. It is mentioned in the introductory paragraph that six people have died in the violence erupted after a delay in publishing the election results, and this is repeated later on in the report. It should be noted, however, that this article was categorized as neutral, because of the prior message it conveys – that Emmerson Mnangagwa has been elected as the new president.

The main characters in the article are indeed current the president Mnangagwa and his opponent Nelson Chamisa. They are both given voice in the report, as they are being quoted and paraphrased several times. The juxtaposition of the two politicians is in the focus of the article and they are both referred to in colorful ways. Chamisa is referred to as the *opposition leader, opposition's opponent, charismatic opposition representative* and *charismatic speaker*. He is described as the *refreshing breeze* in the political scene compared to *stout Mnangagwa*. The way Chamisa is presented is more positive compared to Mnangagwa. His opposition role and natural charisma is emphasized several times in the article and the age difference to elderly Mnangagwa is embedded in the descriptive impression of *refreshing breeze*. Mnangagwa, then, is in the title referred to as *Mugabe's mastermind*, linking him to the politics Mugabe has been sustaining for the last decades – authoritarian power and hard discipline. In addition, he is said to be rewarded for his political wit with a nickname *Crocodile*. Regardless of his pretentious nickname, the article does not represent him in a flattering light. On the contrary, it is mentioned that in his earlier years, Mnangagwa

has not avoided cruel, inhumane means to help Mugabe remain in power. This will obviously raise questions, whether he will continue ruling in similar ways in the future.

Similarly to the Guardian's article analyzed above, also the Helsingin Sanomat article focuses on the power battle between political leaders and the poor state of Zimbabwe, culminated in the struggle against corruption, poverty and bad governance. Lexical choices and describing emphasize the stereotypical picture of a struggling African country, whereas naming and referring represent the differences between the two president candidates.

5.2. Violence

The theme of violence is discussed in the Guardian article G210518 that reports on the case of a South African youngster, who allegedly attacked his family members with fatal consequences. The article, titled *Former Perth student guilty of axe murder of parents and brother in South Africa*, discusses the court decision of convicting van Breda, who persistently assures his innocence, for killing three family members and injuring the fourth one, and explains the background of the horrible events.

Different representations about the main character, Henri van Breda, are created through naming and reference. He is referred to in the article not only by his full name but also as *a former Perth student*, *the accused* and *a privileged son*. The fact that van Breda used to study in Perth is mentioned in the title and several times in the article, which seems to put a lot of emphasis on his background. It also raises a question whether his tuition had been mentioned several times if he studied in a local university in South Africa. Furthermore, it is mentioned that the family has been living in Australia for several years and then returned to South Africa in 2014. The connection to Australia and his terrible crime seems to be of interest in the article. Why is his connection to a Western university worth emphasizing and how is it related to the crime he committed? Also, the family's wealth is emphasized several times, as the report notes

the family's luxury house, their home on an exclusive golf estate, luxury residence on the highly-guarded golf estate, their fortune of estimated at \$16 million and van Breda as the privileged son. Is the focus on the family's property linked to the idea that wealthy people are unlikely to commit such crimes compared to the less privileged? Then again, characterizing van Breda as the privileged son implicates that his troubles may indeed be embedded to his wealthy background.

As common to news articles, the voice is often given to authorities by interviewing people in power. In this case as well, the only person quoted in the article is the judge Siraj Desaj, who provides arguments for the reasons of convicting van Breda. Indeed, the horrific crime is explained in the article, which is why there is a lot of violence-related vocabulary: *axe used in the attack was kept in the house, near-fatal injuries to her head, neck and throat, unleashing a savage attack on his family, to slit throat, perpetrator of the crime, family brutally attacked and left for dead, guilty on three counts of murder.* Van Breda is presented as an emotionless attacker with no remorse: *he struggled to stay awake in court, showed little emotion and was nodding heavily as the grisly deaths of his family were detailed.* Furthermore, dramatic vocabulary is used to describe his crimes: *frenzied axe attack, unleashing a savage attack,* representing him as a ruthless killer. It is also said that the recording of his emergency call reveals him giggling briefly after telling that his family members were *bleeding from the head.* This description emphasizes the representation of him as a disturbed killer. Interestingly, the case of the van Brenda family is in the article compared to the Oscar Pistorius case, where a South African sprint runner was convicted of shooting dead her girlfriend. Pistorius claimed that he thought there was an intruder in the house and he mistakenly shot his girlfriend four times through the bathroom door. Both men were eventually convicted of murders.

5.3. Human rights

The Guardian article G090518-2 *Settlement in Abdel Hakim Belhaj rendition case to be announced* sheds light on the complicated rendition case that tied the UK and Libya together. Belhaj and his wife Boudchar have demanded for compensation and apology concerning their kidnap in 2004 and the role of British intelligence officers in it.

The two main characters of the report are referred to as *victims of a so-called rendition operation, a husband and wife and the couple*. In addition, Belhaj' current role is mentioned: *Belhaj, now a military commander in Libya*. Through naming, different representations are created. Whereas Belhaj' role as a *military commander* emphasizes his involvement in the politics and military actions, the term *husband and wife and the couple* construct quite a different representation – the one of an ordinary couple, separate from the political instability. Furthermore, the term *victims* represents the couple as the sufferers in the operation.

In addition to Belhaj and Boudchar, several British politicians are in the focus of the article. Former foreign secretary Jack Straw and former head of counter-terrorism in MI6 Sir Mark Allen have been sued by the couple, and their role in the kidnapping is discussed in the article. Again, it should be noted whose voices are given the power by including quotes in the article. For instance, a piece of evidence, a letter from Allen addressed to Gaddafi's intelligence chief, has been quoted to present his involvement in the actions resulting in kidnapping and maltreatment of Belhaj and Boudchar. In addition, a quotation of Boudchar's interview, explaining the maltreatment during the kidnapping, is included in the article. This gives the power to Boudchar by allowing her voice and view of the situation to be reported.

One of the important lexico-grammatical features that CDA pays close attention to is the choice between active and passive voice. Whether something is presented as an action or as an event has an important role in what kind of representations are constructed. In this article, passive voice is used to describe the kidnapping and torture of Belhaj and his wife: *the couple were hooded and shackled, Belhaj was tortured and sentenced to death, she had been taped head-to-toe 'to a stretcher, husband was shackled, Saadi and Belhaj were held for more than six years, they were subjected to torture*. The maltreatment of the couple is this way represented as an event, rather than an action with a named actor. Hence, the focus is faded away from *who* the kidnappers and torturers actually are, implicating that these things just 'happened'. Furthermore, the actions of the sued MI6 officers are not discussed in detail, but only mentioned briefly: -- *papers -- revealed the role that British intelligence officers played in their kidnap*.

5.4. Diseases

Helsingin Sanomat article HS200618 discusses the theme of diseases and is one of the three articles reporting on the Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The article, titled *WHO: Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo mainly in control*, is primarily a short report providing information about the current situation of the Ebola epidemic and briefly explaining its progress.

In the article, Ebola is referred to with different names: *hemorrhagic fever*, *Ebola*, *epidemic*, *disease* and *contagious disease*. Furthermore, the health and medical discourse and specific vocabulary is used extensively to describe the circumstances: *vaccination campaign*, *new outbreaks of disease*, *infection*, *medical monitoring*, *Ebola risk assessment*. The language and vocabulary of the article are quite moderate, and no dramatic expressions are used to describe the background and progress of the epidemic. The casualties of the outbreak are reported in a matter-of-fact manner: *The hemorrhagic fever Ebola has been spreading in the country killing at least 28 people since April*. In addition, the last reported Ebola victim and those still in medical monitoring are mentioned briefly.

The discourse of fear is common in news reporting about diseases, especially when it comes to Ebola. Pulkkinen (2017) studied the culture of fear in the context of Western news coverage of the 2014 Ebola outbreak in Western Africa. She claims that the concept of fear was often overrepresented in the news reporting the wide-spread Ebola outbreak of 2014. It should be noted that the discourse of fear is present in this Ebola article as well. Already the title of the news states that the disease is now *mainly* in control. This is because new cases of Ebola had not been identified in several days. It is also stated that unless any new outbreaks are identified before a certain date, the epidemic will be declared officially over – *for now*. This state of uncertainty is repeated in the text twice, indicating that a new epidemic is expected to break out at some point. The report also states that this was the ninth time Ebola had been spreading in the Democratic Republic of Congo and that there was *fear* of it spreading through waterways to the capital city or to neighboring countries Republic of Congo and Central African Republic.

The article is based on the information shared by the World Health Organization. In addition to WHO, news agency Reuters is used as a source of information. It should be noted that local sources are not mentioned or quoted in the article, and the information is solely based on Western sources. Local organizations, hospitals or aid workers have not been given voice in this article. It has been argued by several scholars before that often in news reporting from developing countries, Western voices are given more emphasis compared to the local ones. This is the case with this article as well.

To sum up, Helsingin Sanomat article discusses the Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo in quite a neutral manner, focusing mostly on reporting the most recent progress in the fight against Ebola. Therefore, health and medical vocabulary is used extensively. However, the discourse of fear is present in the article, as the possibility of new outbreaks are emphasized in the article through lexical means. In addition, the lack of local voices and experiences should be taken into consideration.

6 CONCLUSION

For many Westerners, foreign news may be the only source of information from developing countries. What media presents to readers and viewers, has an effect on how people understand the surrounding world. Generally, we trust the information delivered to us through news agencies and reporters. However, all news is in a way subjective, as the ideologies and viewpoints of the news producers are always behind the texts. Hence, it is important to study what kind of representations are constructed by reporting and through various language choices.

Some of the previous studies on African representations in the media contradict each other. Whereas de Beer (2010), Brookes (1995) and Ojo (2014) claim that the coverage of Africa concentrate on negativity, Nothias (2016) and Scott (2009, 2017) argue that enough studies on the topic have not yet been done to make generalizations.

Indeed, the aim of this study was to bring forth new examples of the coverage of Africa in the Western news. The goal was to analyze how Africa is represented in the Western media and which lexico-grammatical means are used to construct those representations. The following research questions were used to analyze the news: How is Africa represented in the online news? What are the major differences in the representations between Helsingin Sanomat and the Guardian? How are these representations constructed in the texts?

First, what is said about Africa in the news, was addressed in chapter 4 through content analysis. In the case of Helsingin Sanomat, only 21 articles on Africa were published during the four-month data collection period in 2018. Already the number of news indicates that African countries are not considered crucial in HS coverage. Furthermore, as there are few news pieces from Africa, individual articles about certain countries are given a lot of emphasis, when creating representations. Out of 154 African nations, only 10 countries were in the focus of news in Helsingin Sanomat during the summer 2018. This equals to 19 percent, leaving 44 countries without any notions. The most prevalent African countries in HS are the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia, being discussed in two or more articles. The data

shows that the most prevalent themes in HS are politics, diseases and economy and business. Furthermore, 43 percent of HS articles were categorized as negative, whereas 33 percent were positive.

The data from the Guardian consisted of 201 articles published within four months. As an international paper read around the world, the Guardian has invested in extensive reporting on the African continent and Africa is regionally quite well-covered. All together 32 of all 54 African nations were reported. However, most news report from the few most prevalent countries, while others are discussed only occasionally. Zimbabwe, South Africa, Libya and the Democratic Republic of Congo are the most reported African countries in the Guardian. As identified in the previous studies, also in this study the majority of the news from Africa are negative, whereas 19 percent were categorized as neutral and only 11 percent as positive. Indeed, the most prevalent themes are politics, human rights and violence, constituting over 60 percent of the all data.

Chapter 5 presented an overview of the critical discourse analysis done with the five key texts. The linguistic and lexical choices used in the articles to create certain representations were identified and analyzed. Special attention was paid to lexical choices such as naming and referring, describing, vocabulary and voice.

In the two articles discussing the Zimbabwean political situation, Zimbabwe is quite stereotypically represented as a struggling country, suffering from political instability, poverty and violence. These representations are created by word choices and describing. Furthermore, the role of vocabulary is important in creating representations in the Guardian article reporting the conviction of a South-African murderer. Dramatic, violence-related vocabulary is used to describe his crimes and the perpetrator himself.

Another way to create representations in news texts is giving voice to some people whereas leaving others out. In the case of the HS article discussing the Ebola outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo, only foreign voices of international authorities are included. Local voices and experiences are left out from the article, indicating a status of power given to international authorities rather than local ones.

In the article discussing the rendition case of Abdel Hakim Belhaj, the choice between active and passive voice is a major tool in building representation. Passive voice is used to describe the kidnapping and torture of Belhaj and his wife, representing it as an event, rather than an action. This way the attention is directed away from the actors. This study leaves space for further research. It offers two examples of the ways Western media reports on Africa today. The results discussed here can be seen as an indication of the current trends in the news media, but more thorough research should be done to draw conclusions and form reliable generalizations. Due to the scope of this study, only five articles were analyzed with the means of critical discourse analysis. To have a better picture of the lexico-grammatical means of building representations, in-depth analysis on extensive data should be done. Furthermore, future research could focus more on multimodal features of the articles, such as images and videos.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Translations and original headlines of Helsingin Sanomat articles

Helsingin Sanomat

1. HS080518: When an Asian employee is too expensive, the clothing industry shifts to Africa - "With the price of one Vietnamese employee, we can hire five Ethiopians" (Kun aasialainen työntekijä on liian kallis, vaatteiden valmistus siirtyy Afrikkaan - "Yhden vietnamilaisen hinnalla saamme palkattua viisi etiopialaista)
2. HS240518: Crisis specialist Kirsi Henriksson blocked the migrants' route in Niger - Now the risk is a population explosion that will have its effect in Finland too (Kriisiasiantuntija Kirsi Henriksson pani Nigerissä "ison tulpan" siirtolaisten reitille - Nyt huolena on väestöräjähdyks, joka tuntuu Suomessa asti).
3. HS250518: Young educated women are heading to the top of African literacy - We give voice to the forgotten, says Nigerian author Ayòbámi Adébayò while visiting Helsinki (Nuoret koulutetut naiset marssivat nyt Afrikan kirjallisuuden huipulle - Annamme äänen vaiennetuille, sanoo Helsingissä vieraileva nigerialaiskirjailija Ayòbámi Adébayò)
4. HS080618-2: The longest standing conflict in Africa might come to an end - Ethiopia makes a peace offer to Eritrea (Afrikan pitkäkestoinen konflikti saattaa päättyä - Etiopia tarjosi yllättäen Eritrealle sovinnon kättä)
5. HS160618: Trump is starting a trade war, but a free trade agreement was made in Africa - Director of the Nordic Africa Institute: Underlying reason is the integration of the continent (Trump käynnistää kauppasotaa, mutta Afrikassa solmittiin vapaakauppasopimus - Afrikka-instituutin johtaja: Taustalla pitkään jatkunut mantereiden yhdyntymisen)
6. HS200618: WHO: Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo mainly in control (WHO: Ebolaepidemia saatu pääosin hallintaan Kongon demokraattisessa tasavallassa)

7. HS220618: Early 2000's favorite artist Akon launched his own cryptocurrency and a city run by it - "I came up with the concept and let the nerds figure out the rest" (2000-luvun alun menestysartisti Akon julkisti oman kryptovaluutan ja sen avulla toimivan kaupungin - "Keksin konseptit ja annan nörttien selvittää loput")
8. HS290618-1: Gaddafi's son, who is condemned to death, is the most plausible candidate for Libya's president - elections should be organized this year even though the country is in war (Kuolemaantuomittu Gaddafin poika on uskottavin ehdokas Libyan presidentiksi - vaalit pitäisi järjestää vielä tänä vuonna, vaikka maa on sotatilassa)
9. HS290618-2: More people have died in Nigeria due to the war between the farmers and the cattlemen than in the Islamist attacks - Governor says over 200 people were killed during the weekend (Viljelijöiden ja karjankasvattajien sodassa Nigeriassa kuollut enemmän ihmisiä kuin islamistien iskuissa - Kuvernöörin mukaan viikonloppuna surmattiin yli 200 ihmistä)
10. HS080718: Finland's development cooperation partner arrested over corruption suspicion - The Foreign Ministry: No proof that Finland's money had been stolen (Suomen kehitysyhteistyön kumppani pidätettiin korruptioepäilyistä - Ulkoministeriö: Ei näyttöä siitä, että Suomen rahat olisi kähvelletty)
11. HS090718: Ethiopia and Eritrea suddenly reconcile after 20 years of hostilities (Etiopia ja Eritrea lopettivat yllättäen sotatilansa lähes 20 vuoden jälkeen)
12. HS100718-1: UN: Over 200 civilians killed and 120 raped in the hostilities lead by the government of South Sudan (YK: Yli 200 siviiliä tapettu ja 120 raiskattu Etelä-Sudanin hallituksen johtamissa väkivaltaisuuksissa)
13. HS250718: 80 000 visitors at Maailma kylässä festival in Helsinki during the weekend - Next year's theme is climate change (Maailma kylässä -festivaaleilla 80 000 kävijää viikonloppuna Helsingissä - Ensi vuoden tapahtuman teema on ilmastonmuutos)

14. HS300718: Young priest challenges "the woolen soft" crocodile – First time in almost 40 years Zimbabwe will have a president who is not a Mugabe (Nuori pastori haastaa "villanpehmeän" krokotiilin - Zimbabwessa valitaan ensimmäistä kertaa lähes 40 vuoteen presidentti, joka ei ole Mugabe)
15. HS020818: New cases of Ebola in the Democratic Republic of Congo – the previous epidemic was tackled only weeks before (Uusia ebolatartuntoja todettu Kongon demokraattisessa tasavallassa – edellinen epidemia taltutettiin vain viikkoja aiemmin)
16. HS030818: Zimbabwe voted Mugabe's mastermind Emmerson Mnangagwa to the country's lead – Opposition does not approve the results of the historical elections (Zimbabwe äänesti Mugaben takapirun Emmerson Mnangagwan maan johtoon – Oppositio ei hyväksy historiallisten presidentin vaalien tulosta)
17. HS080618-1: The international criminal court overturned the Congolese war lord's sentence for war crimes (Kansainvälinen rikos tuomioistuin kumosi Kongon sota päällikön tuomion sotarikoksista)
18. (HS120818) Hippo killed a tourist in Kenya – The world's most dangerous mammals kills an estimated 500 people in Africa every year (Virtahepo tappoi turistin Keniassa – Maailman vaarallisin maa nisäkäs surmaa Afrikassa vuosittain arviolta 500 ihmistä)
19. HS210818-1: The president of Sierra Leone wants children to attend free education – Parents might even end up in jail if a child stays at home (Sierra Leonen presidentti haluaa maan lapset ilmaisen koulutuksen piiriin – Vanhempia uhkaa jopa vankeus, jos lapsi jää kotiin)
20. G210818-2: The latest Ebola epidemic in the Democratic Republic of Congo has already killed 55 people (Tuorein ebolaepidemia Kongon demokraattisessa tasavallassa on vaatinut jo 55 kuolonuhria)
21. HS300818: The Head of Delegation of the European Union to Zimbabwe, Timo Olkkonen, travels to Zimbabwe – The economy of the country is in shambles, but Olkkonen stays

positive (Timo Olkkonen lähtee EU-edustuston päälliköksi Zimbabween – Maan talous on murskana, mutta Olkkonen on silti positiivinen)