

**TIES THAT BIND: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF
THE COVERAGE OF THE MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT
GOALS IN THE MAIL AND GUARDIAN.**

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*Make your own notes.
NEVER underline or
write in a book.*

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Abstract

This study analysed the representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the Mail and Guardian from 2000 to 2007. It drew on perspectives from cultural studies, the constructionist approach to representation and the sociology of news production. Through the use of the quantitative and qualitative research methods, content analysis and critical discourse analysis, this study established first, that few significant changes have occurred within the newspaper's coverage of the MDGs during this period, and second, that the people most affected by the MDGs and affiliated programmes are seriously under-represented and that the manner of representation marginalises and subordinates them.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION TO TEXT

Chapter I: Introduction

This study analyses the representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the Mail and Guardian from 2000 to 2007, using the MDGs as a lens through which to explore how the newspaper has discursively constructed development over time in the context of debates around development. Drawing on the cultural studies approach to media and society, and the constructionist theory of representation, (Hall 1997, 2001; Kellner 1995), this study uses critical discourse analysis to examine how the Mail and Guardian creates frameworks for understanding the MDGs and affiliated programmes through the meanings it offers its readers in its news articles.

Although there is a great deal of research on the economic and social impact of development programmes in Africa, there is little information on how this key issue is dealt with by the media in Africa. The literature devoted to the media and development (for example, Besley et al 2002; Anam 2002; Stromberg 2002) focuses primarily on the media as a tool for furthering democracy and development, with the exception of a recent textual analysis on the coverage of development issues in the Eastern Cape (Banda 2008).

The aim of this study is to further our understanding of how the Mail and Guardian represented the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) over a period of seven years by examining two main hypotheses: the first is concerned with whether the coverage of development has changed over time, not only in terms of the content covered, but also whether the concept of development reflects a particular development paradigm. The second examines which kinds of sources are quoted as authorities on the MDGs and their affiliated programmes, as a means of examining whether the Mail and Guardian sustains or transforms the subordinate status of developing countries and their people.

As the first of five chapters, this chapter provides an outline of the structure of the thesis. This study, which is the result of reading in the field, a content analysis and a critical discourse analysis, is divided into the following sections:

Chapter II: Theoretical perspectives and literature

Chapter II presents a review of the literature relevant to my study. The chapter is divided into three different sections. The first examines cultural studies as a theoretical framework, the history and context of this tradition and the relationship critical discourse analysis has to cultural studies. The second and third sections examine the history of development theory, the different development paradigms and their relation to the Millennium Development Goals. The final section examines the context of my case study, the Mail and Guardian, and its coverage of development.

Chapter III: Research methodology

The third chapter describes my methodology and analysis of the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals over seven years. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section examines qualitative studies of texts within a cultural studies framework. The second discusses thematic content analysis, my piloting schedule and the analysis of data. The third section examines critical discourse analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysis provides the necessary theories and tools to discern the relationship between social and cultural events and the discourses that either establish and maintain or challenge the status quo.

Chapter IV: Critical discourse analysis

This chapter builds on the quantitative findings of the previous chapter, through a critical discourse analysis of five of the texts selected from the content analysis study. My analysis begins with a general characterisation of the news texts that I worked with in the first section, followed by a textual analysis that reveals some of the main discursive patterns that the Mail and Guardian employed in its representation of the Millennium Development Goals in the second section. The third section examines the representation of news actors and sources through ideational processes. The fourth section uses discourse practice to explain why the news texts are what they are. Lastly, I discuss several of the broader social issues that help shape the textual feature and influence the production of the news, before

concluding the chapter with a discussion of the main issues raised within this critical discourse analysis.

Chapter V: Conclusion

In this chapter, I discuss the key findings from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the Mail and Guardian's news texts about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and affiliated programmes produced between 1 January 2000 and 31 October 2007, in relation to the objectives of the study. The aim of this study is to further our understanding of how the Mail and Guardian represents the MDGs by answering two main questions:

1. Whether the coverage of development has changed over time; and
2. Whether those most affected by poverty and development were quoted as authoritative sources in development stories.

The overall objective is to be able to state whether the Mail and Guardian's representation of sources and subjects of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) over the seven year period serves to sustain or transform the subordinate status of developing countries and their people. This chapter also provides recommendations to the Mail and Guardian on how it may improve its representation of the MDGs and suggests some areas for further research.

THESIS CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a literature review on theoretical debates surrounding development paradigms and the media. The chapter is divided into three different sections. The first examines cultural studies as a theoretical framework, the history and context of this tradition and the relationship critical discourse analysis has to cultural studies. The second and third sections examine the history of development theory, the different development paradigms and their relation to the Millennium Development Goals. The final section examines the context of the Mail and Guardian, and its coverage of development as a case study.

2.1 Theoretical framework

This study examines the media's constructions of development through a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of how the Millennium Development Goals have been portrayed in the Mail and Guardian.

My study is situated in the field of cultural studies, using its definition of culture as “a way of living... that encompasses all the meanings of that social experience” (Fiske 1987: 254-5). The ‘circuit of culture’ depicts how meaning is constructed at four interrelated points: production, texts, reception and lived cultures (Johnson 1987). My study will foreground production and texts, and contextualise them within the circuit of culture, examining texts “not for their own sake, but for the cultural and subjective forms which they realise and make available” (Johnson 1987: 62). Issues of production are examined through cultural studies critiques of news practices, such as sourcing and news values (Schudson 2000, Soloski 1997). These critiques will focus on how development coverage is a socially constructed process informed by particular news values.

I will therefore take a constructivist approach to representation, which is concerned with how humans “construct meaning, using representational systems” (Hall 1997: 25) and

the implications of these constructed positions. Given the theoretical focus of my study, the next section attempts to address the history of cultural studies.

2.1.1 Context for cultural studies:

In the last 30 years, the concept of 'culture' has been taken up in different social spheres from the political to the academic (Du Gay and Hall et al 1997: 1). As a term, it is difficult to define because it has been used to convey a range of different concepts (Thompson 1990: 122, Storey 1993: 2), from culture as a way of life to culture as the production and circulation of meaning (Du Gay and Hall 1997:13). The understanding of culture as a "whole way of life of a society" (Williams as quoted in Dahlgren, 1997: 56) differed greatly from previous understandings of culture as an aesthetic issue, as in "high culture" and "folk culture". They use the notion of culture "as a way of life" to understand how people make sense of their world and the social texts they engage with.

The cultural studies approach, which emerged roughly in the late 1950s in Britain, stemmed from a humanities background, focusing on literature, history and anthropology – three fields that dealt with lived experiences and texts. An important historical development for cultural studies was the foundation of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in 1963. The Centre was headed first by Richard Hoggart and then Stuart Hall, who have both been great contributors to its body of knowledge.

As a field of study, cultural studies is primarily interested in examining the relationship between meaning and power, and how the media reproduce relations of power, as John Hartley explains:

It's the study of power within the context of meaning. So if you're looking at the contemporary media, for example, cultural studies is classically the way in which media meanings reproduce relations of power, usually unequal relations of power, based on class or some other kind of demographic difference. That's the standard approach to cultural studies these days. Power and meaning. (Hartley in an interview with Brooker 1998: 124)

Marxist principles have been integral to British cultural studies (Fiske 1987; Sparks 1996), linking the process of making meaning to the social structures in which people

operate, and how societies are divided by various axes, such as race, class and gender (Fiske 1987). In this, social relations are seen in terms of a struggle for dominance, in which the more powerful groups “attempt to ‘neutralise’ the meanings that serve their interests into the ‘common sense’ of the society as a whole” (Fiske 1987: 255), while the subordinate classes resist this domination in various ways. Based on Marx’s base-superstructure model, cultural studies examines how cultural forms help ingrain the dominance of the dominant class, and in turn how subordinate classes resist (Kellner 1995:6).

Antonio Gramsci’s work on hegemony and counter-hegemony is seminal in understanding this cycle of domination and resistance. According to Inglis, hegemony is defined as “the complex interlocking of cultural institutions... which won the wholehearted consent of the people to the way things were” (1993: 76), and counter-hegemony is the resistance to this process. However, because of its continual need to win consent, hegemony is not a fixed power relationship but is continually negotiated (Fiske 1987; During 1995).

In addition to Gramsci’s work, Louis Althusser’s theory of ideology helped shape cultural studies. Althusser, who made many crucial contributions to this tradition, sums up his understanding of the media’s connection to Marxist theory in the following sentence: “Ideology is understood not as an intellectual abstraction but as a concrete social process embodied in the material signifying practices of a collectivity of ‘ideological apparatuses’ – the family, school, churches and the media” (quoted in Bennett, 1982: 52). Althusser’s ‘ideological apparatuses’ encourage people to think and behave in socially acceptable ways (Fiske 1987: 256), in which individuals are seduced by ideology because it enables them to make sense of the world, while reproducing unequal social relations. However, this notion has been criticised for not taking into account the ability of individuals and communities to shape their own meanings. One of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies’ most prominent theorists, Stuart Hall, later re-examined Althusser’s ideology, which he used as “a diagnostic instrument for the analysis of motive” (Inglis 1993: 84).

According to Murdock, cultural studies serves to examine discourse and how “meanings are reproduced, negotiated, and struggled over in the flow and flux of everyday

life" (1995: 94 as quoted in Dahlgren, 1997: 48). Thus, for many cultural studies theorists, the media is not the only determining factor of how we are socialised, but rather a mere contributing factor. Tomlinson uses the concept of 'the interplay of mediations' to explain the relationship between mediated reality and lived cultures, which form the way individuals conceive the world. These theorists argue that the context of the reader is an essential factor in how they interpret any texts. Thus, as a reader, I am affected by my background as a middle-class, white woman in South Africa, who was socialised to view the world in a particular way by my parents, schooling and other institutions, of which the media is but one. Cultural studies theorists would therefore take into consideration these aspects in examining my understanding of certain programmes or articles.

In order to study audience reception and lived cultures, cultural studies theorists generally ignore quantitative methods in favour of more qualitative methods. These methods view meaning making as a process rather than a product, giving cultural studies theorists the chance to examine the process of meaning making. Dahlgren (1997) accounts for the different methodological research perspectives in his article. One of these perspectives is ethnography, which tries to answer two basic questions: first, what are the use-values of cultural forms and, second, what are the outcomes of cultural forms (Johnson 1986: 72). In other words, why are certain texts popular, and do these texts reinforce roles of dominance and subordination?

Hall (1980) goes a long way towards answering these questions with his concept of dominant, negotiated and oppositional codes. These three codes are means of interpretation with which the audience can 'read' a text. Thus, although producers may envision certain interpretations of their work, the reader is at liberty to construe the message in a variety of ways. This largely depends on subjectivity and the ability of the reader to see themselves represented within the text. This idea comes from the semiotic concept of 'polysemy', which implies that one sign can have many signifieds, and thus one text can be read in a multitude of ways to produce a variety of meanings (During 1995). A dominant reading would be one in which the reader interprets the text in a similar way to that which the producers intended. This would generally happen if the reader's social position (class, gender, age) was similar to that of either the character portrayed or the producer. A

negotiated reading occurs when the reader identifies with some, but not all of the text's assertions, and thus has a mixed response. Lastly, an oppositional reading occurs when the reader is highly critical of the text, disagreeing with most of the message. It is important to note that a television programme showing a young, white American as the hero and a young, Hispanic man as a criminal may not necessarily be read oppositionally by an impoverished, young, Hispanic viewer, simply because he is not the targeted subject. Depending on her/his lived experiences, s/he may read the text as an accurate reflection of reality, because the images of poor Hispanic criminals have been reinforced at home and in the media, until they have become naturalised. This focus on the agency of the individual is a compelling part of cultural studies.

Criticisms about cultural studies are that even if our understandings of the media are mediated by our social backgrounds, such as our parents and schools, the society that we expect to help us interpret the media has, in turn, been influenced by the media and by the structures that shape the media. This means that we may be indoctrinated into a social system of subordination that we cannot read oppositionally, because we lack the capacity to see outside the discourse, which is presented to us and reinforced in all the structures we live in and the texts we read. For a woman in a patriarchal society, it is difficult to see pictures on television of women confined to doing only "women's work" as oppressive if these social constructions of womanhood are continually reinforced by your family, church and school.

I will therefore now examine Stuart Hall's constructivist approach to representation within texts in greater detail, as my thesis rests on this idea.

2.1.2 Constructivist approach to representation

A constructivist approach is concerned with how humans "construct meaning, using representational systems" (Hall 1997: 25), and what the implications of these constructed positions are. There are two variants of constructivism: the semiotic and discursive approaches. I will briefly outline the semiotic approach, before exploring the key aspects of the discursive approach in detail, since this variant is central to my critical discourse analysis.

The principles of constructivism can be seen in the work of the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand Saussure, who conceived of language as a system of signs. The semiotic approach, or the science of signs, is based on Saussure's work in which he divided signs into two key elements: the signifier and the signified. Signifiers are the words or images which represent an object, and signifieds are the mental conceptions of the object. This concept of sign as a construction is crucial to current perceptions of representation because of their implication: first, that signifiers are arbitrary and have no inherent or natural link to the object to which they refer and, second, that the signified is only a concept of an object, which is largely dependent on the culture of the person decoding the signifier, rather than the actual object itself. For instance, the signified of the sign "dog" may hold an image of a four-legged, domesticated furry creature for a person, who was raised in a culture where dogs are pets; however, for a Korean person, the concept of "dogness" may consist of an image of a furry, four-legged creature, which is edible. Otherwise put, "words shift their meanings [and] the concepts (signified) to which they refer also change, historically, and every shift alters the conceptual map of the culture, leading to different cultures, at different historical moments, to classify and think about the world differently" (Hall 1997: 32). Saussure further divided language into two parts: the rules and codes of a linguistic system or the *langue*, and then the particular instances of speak-acts and writing or the *parole*. As a structuralist, Saussure was interested in how language works to produce meaning, but is critiqued by later theorists, such as Hall (1997), for not looking at why certain meanings are produced, and what the power relations are.

Saussure's theories of language were later taken up by the French theorist, Roland Barthes, who wrote a collection of essays on mythologies. Barthes uses the term 'myth' to refer to a second level of signification, in which a previous sign, such as a "rose" (which is made up of the signifier "r-o-s-e" and the signified: a concept of a flower), becomes a signifier for a different sign, such as romance. This second signification operates on a connotative level, whereas the first level of signification is denotative. The level of denotation is merely descriptive, and generally holds a similar meaning within a consensus, thus "jeans" would be seen as a pair of pants. The level of connotation, however, requires decoding and a level of knowledge about fashion to interpret jeans in a particular way, such

as casual wear. Barthes's addition to Saussure's work is important, because it begins to examine power relations within signification through studying how myths operate, and Barthes frequently uses examples in popular culture, such as adverts, to study the implications of these representations.

The semiotic approach examines how signs operate within language as forms of representation but, as Hall (1997: 42) explains, "in a culture, meaning often depends on larger units of analysis – narratives, statements, groups of images, whole discourses which operate across a variety of texts". Foucault's discursive approach, thus, presents this broader field of analysis.

Foucault's discursive approach is divided into three main ideas: the concept of discourse, the relationship between knowledge and power, and the notion of the subject. Foucault (1981) was concerned with the production of knowledge through discourse, which he defines as practices that systematically form the object of which they speak. As such, discourse "attempts to overcome the traditional distinction between what one *says* (language) and what one *does* (practice)" (Hall 1997: 44). In this way, discourse shapes not only what a person can and cannot say, but also restricts ways of acting or doing things. The concept of discourse is much wider than its linguistic definition; it encompasses a variety of texts, institutions and forms of conduct. An example of this is a patriarchal discourse, which operates within religious texts and institutions, cultural practices, educational systems and even individuals' homes. For Foucault, "nothing meaningful exists outside discourse" (Hall 1997: 44), which does not deny the fact that there is a material world with material objects in it, but rather implies that humans can only come to understand these objects and the material world through discourse.

In order to study discourse, one would have to examine the following six points (Hall 1997: 45-6): first, statements about an idea, such as development, which give us certain types of knowledge about that concept; second, the rules which limit certain ways of talking about the concept, and govern what a person can think and say about that concept within that historical moment. Third, one must study the subjects who personify the concept or discourse, such as the 'underdeveloped'. Discourses around 'development' construct knowledge of what it is to be developed within a certain historical and cultural

context, and thus certain attributes are given to the subjects of these discourses. Fourth, one is required to examine how knowledge about this concept becomes a 'truth' or acquires authority within that historical moment. Fifth, one needs to examine the institutional practices for dealing with the subjects of this discourse, and lastly, acknowledge "that a different discourse or episteme will arise at a later historical moment, supplanting the existing one, opening up a new *discursive formation*, and producing in its turn new conceptions" of 'development' (Hall 1997: 46). One of the key concepts that arise from these six points is that discourses are rooted in a specific social and historical setting, and thus the practices that are derived from a discourse are only meaningful within that context.

Foucault's foregrounding of the relations of knowledge, power and discourse in his later work was an important development for the constructivist approach. It moved from the realm of formal theory into a historical and practical context of operation. Foucault believes that power operates within an institutional apparatus and its technologies. He gives the apparatus of punishment as an example; it is supported by a variety of institutions (court systems), discourses (laws), architectural arrangements (jails, correctional facilities), morality, etcetera. This apparatus is sustained and supported by the types of knowledge that surround it. He inverts the old idiom "knowledge is power", stating that power gives an individual or group the ability to create knowledge or assert their forms of knowledge as 'truth'. This concept is similar to Marx's assertion that the ruling ideas were those of the ruling class, who held the means of production, but it is important to note that Foucault rejects Marxism on the basis of its economic and class reductionism. Foucault's second argument against Marxism stems from his belief that all political and social forms of thought are "caught up in the interplay of knowledge and power" (Hall 1997: 48), and that no perspective is an absolute truth. The notion of 'truth' comes into play when knowledge is powerful enough to assert itself as the truth. According to Foucault, discursive formations sustain a "regime of truth" (Hall 1997: 49), in which the ideas and practices of a discourse become so powerful that they produce material effects. Foucault's notion of power differs radically from previous conceptions in a number of other ways. First, he states that power does not radiate from the top to the bottom, but rather is interconnected and permeates from all levels of society. For instance, discourses (the thoughts and

practices) about sexuality come not only from our political leaders, but from our families, our neighbours and the media. Second, Foucault notes that power is not just repressive, as Marx believes, but also productive, since it creates systems, institutions, forms of knowledge and discourses to sustain itself.

So what is the role of the subject within the discursive approach? Foucault was deeply critical of the conception of the subject as the primary source of all meaning, who has full agency and acts independently. For Foucault, subjects do not produce knowledge, even though they may produce texts, but rather discourses produce subjects, and no subject can operate outside of discourse. For instance, I am a subject of a gendered, patriarchal society, which has material effects not only on my body, such as the way I dress and behave, but also on the way I perceive myself. Since birth, female children are dressed in particular ways (in pink or yellow skirts and dresses, as opposed to blue and black baggy pants), and throughout their lives are taught to behave in certain ways (act demurely, learn to cook, etcetera) by their families, through educational systems and other institutions in their society. A female becomes a subject of a gendered, patriarchal discourse unwittingly and eventually regulates her own behaviour to match the expectations of her society. Through proscribing certain ways to behave, discourses also exclude other ways of act or think. By taking up subject positions within discourses, we are then subject to its power and knowledge.

The discursive approach allows for multiple discourses to operate at the same time, and enables people to be subjects of multiple discourses, such as capitalism or socialism, and patriarchy or feminism. These discourses will sometimes conflict and at other times support each other, and individuals can be the subject of multiple discourses simultaneously.

In my study, this approach allows me to examine how power operates within society through the examination of discourses. I find this a far more useful concept than that of Marxist ideology, which denies the interplay of power outside that of the ruling ideas, or the semiotic approach, which does not examine power relations at all. However, the works of Saussure and Barthes are still an extremely useful starting point for any textual

analysis and cannot be discounted. The notion of discourse is essential to an understanding of the methodology used in chapter three.

2.1.3 News practices and values

As discussed in the section above, our social 'realities' are part of a constructed process, in which certain discourses are continually negotiated and represented to us through a variety of institutions. The media is one such institution, which helps maintain consensus and constructs our social norms and realities:

Things and events in the world do not contain or propose their own, integral, single and intrinsic meaning, which is then merely transferred through language. Meaning is a social production, a practice. The world has to be *made to mean* ... what insight put at issue, then, was the question of which kinds of meaning get systematically and regularly constructed around particular events. (Hall 1982: 67)

The news is one of the ways in which certain "kinds of meaning get systematically and regularly constructed around certain events" (Hall 1982: 67), and is how certain representations of racial groups are continually maintained. Within media studies traditions, the selection and framing of media stories is an ideological power: "The power to signify is not a neutral force in society. Significations enter into controversial and conflicting social issues as a real and positive social force, affecting their outcomes" (Hall 1982: 69). This power is frequently discussed by both cultural studies and political economist theorists through examinations of how newsroom cultures and conventional journalistic practices shape news production:

... information which is transmitted from sources to audiences, with journalists – who are both employees of bureaucratic commercial organizations and members of a profession – summarizing, refining and altering what becomes available to them through sources in order to make the information which is transmitted from sources in order to make the information suitable for their audiences.
(Gans 1979:80)

News production is based on professional routines for the organisation of sources, the interaction among journalists, and the construction of 'reality'. It is through these processes

that news systematically constructs a dominant perception of the world that is preferred over others. Several theorists have researched the social construction of news (Cohen and Young (eds.) (1981); Gans (1979); Golding and Elliot (1979); and Tuchman (1978)). These studies show that news is a reconstruction of reality based on the values and norms of a society.

The constructivist view of news critically examines the identity of the journalists, whose 'reality' they report on, and the way in which they do it. This point of view shows that news and other media products are based on social values and cultural assumptions which are presented according to the dominant view in a society. Questions as to why the Mail and Guardian or any newspaper should report on the Millennium Development Goals, and how these stories should be told, are generally constituted within the newsroom's policies and practices. Many of these conventions date back a hundred years, such as the inverted-pyramid, and continue today because they have become naturalised within the journalistic practice as the only way to operate. One important convention that dictates which type of stories get preference is "news values", which define what becomes 'news'. Since the articles I am reviewing fall under the category of news, I have attempted to identify several of the news values that define it as such. First is, "importance", which is defined as "news... about those events, ideas, institutions and practices which feature largely in the lives of readers" (Ansell 2002: 2-3). A second news value is "proximity", and a third is "relevance", which is described as events that are "relevant to readers' lives ... or reflect overall values of the publication". For Roscho (1975), the concept of "timeliness" is central to the definition of news, and is accounted for by three elements: the source of the information, the channel in which it is transmitted and the stance of the audience to the information. News focuses on what is immediate, and consequently, as soon as information becomes available it must be published. Moreover, because information is considered to be a commodity, the news media want to beat the competition. The principle that news needs to be 'current' applies to the relevance of the information to the audience, and it is for the journalist or news editor to decide on the relevance of a story, according to his/her understanding of the audience. News values make it possible for one event to become news over others. The newsroom norms, professional standards and deadlines, from which

journalists operate, decide the selection of events considered 'newsworthy'. News values structure events according to their deviant from the 'ordinary' or in the way they veer from our normal expectations of social life (Hall, 1978). It is these news values that make news a socially constructed product. Hall argues:

News values are one of the most opaque structures of meaning in modern society. All "true journalists" are supposed to possess it: few can or are willing to identify and define it. Journalists speak of "the news" as if events select themselves. Further, they speak as though which is the "most significant" news story and which "news angles" are most salient are divinely inspired. Yet, of the millions of events which occur every day in the world, only a tiny proportion ever become visible as "potential news stories" and of this proportion, only a small fraction are actually produced as the day's news in the news media. We appear to be dealing then with a "deep structure" whose function as a selective device is un-transparent even to those who professionally most know how operate it. (Hall 1973:181)

In order to understand how these news practices came about, it is important to examine the beliefs that underpin journalism, and modernity – the context from which it grew.

The basis of modernity is the belief in progress and development, and the dissemination of these ideas. The mass media can then be said to be an effect of modernity, as a logical progression from the printing press. Modernity heeded a change in the thinking of man: "...the move from a traditional social order and traditional set of beliefs about the world to new forms of social structure and ways of thinking about the world, which were distinctively modern" (Hall 1992: 29). Some of the principles behind modernity were reason and rationality as ways to organise knowledge, science as the key to expanding *all* human knowledge, and progress to result in an ever-increasing level of happiness and well being (Hall 1992: 21-22). They also embraced the ideas of greater knowledge as freedom from traditional constraints on, amongst other things, communication and social interaction. Modernity and the Enlightenment promoted the development of an 'Information Age', where information is a commodity (Hall 1992), and the notion of journalism rose from this paradigm: "through the application of reasoned and empirically-based knowledge, social institutions could be created that would make men happier and free them from cruelty, injustice and despotism" (Hall 1992: 37). The media, as the fourth estate, are denoted as a

separate and detached social institution that would free men through the advancement of knowledge.

Journalism, as an objective practice which disseminates the 'truth', was born out of the modernist tradition of rationality and reason. However, the notion of objectivity within the media has been contested numerous times by media theorists (Hackett 1984). Should objectivity be obtainable (which a constructive approach would suggest is impossible), several barriers would prevent a journalist from obtaining it. First, when journalists are brought into a newsroom, they are indoctrinated with that corporation's notions of newsworthiness; these are frequently limited to national or even local concepts of news. Second, the conventions within the newsroom on how to select, frame and write stories within a certain word count or timeframe would further restrict their ability to tell a balanced story. Finally, every newsroom relies on a sourcebook or set of 'reliable' sources that can be called upon to provide certain kinds of information on certain topics. Since newsrooms constitutively rely on more or less the same sources, particularly 'official' sources within government departments and certain business sectors, they continually tend to promote the discourses used by those sources. As Dahlgren (1992) suggests, this cornerstone of journalism derived as much from economic imperatives as it did from lofty principles:

It is interesting to note that in the history of journalism, central concepts such as objectivity and bias entered the canonical texts around the turn of the century, partly as a response to the commercial need for a standardised product. (Dahlgren 1992: 9)

However, a journalist's personal beliefs are often masked, both to their audiences and themselves, through these conventions and newsroom practices:

Such framing is not necessarily a conscious process on the part of the journalists; it may well be the result of the unconscious absorption of assumptions about the social world in which the news must be imbedded in order to be intelligible to its intended audience. (Hackett 1984: 247-8)

As ingrained and naturalised as news values and news definitions have become, the fact that they differ across different cultures and are “rooted in a nation-specific political culture” (Schudson 2000: 192) indicates that these conventions are merely cultural constructions. But in these constructions lies the discursive power to create knowledge through the ways in which individuals and institutions are depicted within the news: “a cultural account of news helps explain generalised images and stereotypes in the news media” (Schudson 2000: 189). In this way, the mass media have become this filter for dominant discourses in their selection and construction of certain ‘truths’, such as what goes onto broadcasts and, more importantly, which people and which classes and races are represented favourably and how the ‘other’ is represented:

Reporters who may adhere to the norms of ‘objectivity’ in reporting on a political campaign ... will not blink to report gushingly about a topic on which there is a broad national consensus (the ‘sphere of consciousness’) or to write derisively on a subject that lies beyond the bounds of popular consensus (the ‘sphere of deviance’). (Hallin 1986 in Schudson 2000: 192)

In this way, the news not only validates particular ‘truths’, but its own importance: “the reality journalists manufacture provides not only a version and a vision of ‘the world’ but of ‘journalism’ itself” (Schudson 2000: 193).

2.2 The history of development theory

Development has been conceptualised and reconceptualised over the past few decades “with different and inconsistent meanings, which vary according to who invokes the notion and according to the circumstances under which it is invoked” (Schlegel 1977 in Gecau 1993: 36). Such theories of development are framed by the various contexts and ideological paradigms. The dominance of any one paradigm is materially significant because it affects development policies and their practical application, and thus their effectiveness in reducing poverty. Although the premise behind development has been the reduction of poverty, it is becoming increasingly clear that often the process of development, and the way in which it is conceptualised and carried out, is “associated with greater poverty levels” (Melcote et al 2001: 328). Three particular paradigmatic shifts have been identified:

development as modernisation, development as dependency, and “multidimensional development” (Servaes 1986: 211).

2.2.1 Modernisation paradigm

Development as modernisation, which became the dominant paradigm between 1945 and 1965, comes out of the Western tradition that identifies development with “the metaphor of growth and the idea of progress” (Servaes 1986: 205). The modernisation paradigm perceives development as a linear and irreversible process of imitation, through which ‘developing’ countries become ‘developed’ countries by moving from traditional societies to more industrialised ‘modern’ ones through a series of consecutive phases (Rostow 1960). This paradigm, which largely measures development through economic indicators, such as income per capita and unemployment rates, is based upon the Western notion of growth and progress. But the progressive paradigm was supported ideologically by a range of different theorists including classical Marxists and neo-liberals, such as Keynes, who argued about the means rather than the measure of development. In short, they were more interested in whether development could be achieved through greater state or market control, rather than questioning whether economic objectives for development were effective at all. The modernisation paradigm of development considers underdevelopment in terms of quantitative differences between rich and poor countries, in which the subjects of underdevelopment are to blame individually for not embracing reform and new technologies.

Lerner (1958) stresses the connection between economic expansion, which is equated with development, and a set of modernising variables, such as literacy, mass media consumption, urbanisation and democratic participation. The ‘modernisation’ was to be achieved by bypassing the industrial phase and leapfrogging into an ‘information society’ through embracing technology. This technical know-how and the technologies themselves were to come from the developed North and West, in order to aid production in everything from agriculture to education (Melcote 1991). Another facet of the modernisation paradigm is the stress on the role of the media “teachers for change and modernisation” (Shramm 1964 in Rostow 1960).

The modernisation paradigm still continues through many aid programmes today. However, the policies and programmes that embrace this paradigm are frequently critiqued on the basis that at the macro-level there are only tenuous links between development aid and improved living conditions, and at the micro-level, only a few programmes appear to outlast their donors' largesse (Gibson 2005):

Scepticism about the desirability of such aid increases has tended to emphasise economic and management issues. Some observers have expressed concerns about the capacity of low-income states to absorb large new flows in addition to the flows they already receive, and have pointed to the weak management capacities of governments, the dearth of good new projects and programs to fund, or the ambiguous association between aid and measurable development outcomes. (Moss et al 2006: 2)

In South Africa in 1996, the African National Congress (ANC) replaced its Reconstruction Development Programme (RDP) with the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, which reflected the neo-liberalist conception of development:

It can be argued that the World Bank and the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the investment arm of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have since influenced South African government thinking – away from its RDP commitments towards infrastructure and service for all based on entitlement and welfare – towards a cost recovery approach which can deprive poor communities of their basic rights to an adequate provision of social services, such as water. In this way, the more welfare oriented approach of the RDP gradually gave way to both pragmatism and neo-liberalism... This is clearly a modernisation-based approach to development.” (Banda 2008: 7)

In the 1960s, critiques of the modernisation paradigm, many of which came from Latin America, began to be heard. Frank (1973), one of the best-known critics of the progress paradigm declared that in practice it was incapable of engendering a development process because it had an inadequate theoretical foundation. This will be discussed in the next section which deals with the dependency paradigm.

2.2.2 The dependency paradigm

In the late 1960s, the modernist approach to development was challenged by neo-Marxists, especially the Latin American *dependista* school. In his renowned essay, dependency theorist and Mexican sociologist Rodolfo Stayenhagen (1966) claimed that the development of 'modern' societies and underdevelopment were interrelated processes: "in other words, growth and modernisation had brought with them greater inequality and underdevelopment". Frank (1973) argued that underdevelopment is the outcome of past and present economic, political and cultural relations between countries of the centre and periphery, and suggested that the periphery nations needed to delink their economies from the world market in order to flourish. Over the past two decades, several other neo-Marxist academics and political economists (Radmann 1974, Schreyögg et al 1989, Newell et al 2002) have similarly claimed that development and aid projects mostly benefit the first-world countries that were 'investing' in these schemes.

There are clearly areas of potential conflict between serving the needs of the poor and accommodating the demands of international capital when preferences for welfare provision and the provision of state support for key economic and social sectors are considered to be anti-competitive or trade restrictive. (Newell et al 2002: 7)

In summary, "the most important hindrances to development are not the shortages of capital or management, as the modernisation theorists contend, but the present international system. The obstacles are thus not internal but external" (Servaes 1986: 208).

For many dependency theorists, the aversion to the Western notions of modernisation as growth do not merely stem from concerns of economic dependency but from the fear of 'cultural imperialism': "It is often claimed that the world capitalist economy is posing a threat to national sovereignty and a threat to national culture in the form of 'westernisation'" (Newell et al 2002: 2). Globalisation reproduces unequal processes that are not just material but ideological, through the constant barrage of foreign media and educational programmes. Geacu links globalisation and development to neo-colonialism, and poses the question: "Can we talk of a global culture when we do not have global control of production and its associated principles and processes?" (1993: 35-6).

In South Africa, the dependency model is best represented by the ANC's Reconstruction, Redistribution and Development programme (RDP):

The political objectives of 'reconstruction', 'redistribution' and 'development' seemed to be a departure from the apartheid regime's modernist conceptions of economic growth. (Banda 2008: 9)

However, the dependency school was in turn criticised for overstressing the importance of external factors and failing to recognise the contradictions and inequalities within the peripheral nations themselves: the "view of dependency translated into political terms primarily serves the interests and desires of the Third World bourgeoisie" (Servaes 1986: 210). Moreover, similarly to the modernisation paradigm, it also relied heavily on economic variables. Furthermore, the direct problem of policy was not given the necessary attention because of the dependency theory's focus on the macro-perspective (Gecau 1993, Smaller 2006). Bernstein suggests that "the various radical or so-called neo-Marxist approaches (the 'development of underdevelopment', the 'structuralist' approach, the 'dependency school', etcetera.) have remained at best at the level of descriptive concepts" (1978: 11).

2.2.3 'Another development' paradigm

In the 1970s, the 'another development' paradigm developed as an alternative to the modernist and structuralist views:

In contrast with the more economically and politically oriented approach in the modernisation and dependency paradigms, the central idea here is that there is *no* universal development model; development is an integral, multidimensional and dialectic process that can differ from society to society. (Servaes 1986: 211)

This paradigm advocates the notion of self-development or participatory alternatives for change. There are six essential criteria for 'another' perspective: development must be founded on principles of basic needs, endogeny, self-reliance, ecology, participative democracy, and structural change (Servaes 1986). Another important factor of the 'another

development' paradigm is the notion that underdevelopment occurs within both central and peripheral nations; because of inequalities inherent in every society no nation can claim that it is fully 'developed'. This new development paradigm seeks to address many of the issues that were neglected in the previous two through the creation of development policies that are tailored to communities in a grassroots fashion.

Formulated in terms of 'multiplicity', the notion of 'another development' assumed that there were no universal models of development. Each society should define its own approach for development in a holistic way at all levels – social, cultural, economic, religious, etc. This has become the theoretical foundation for participatory alternatives for change through development. (Nair & White 1994: 157 quoted in Banda 2008: 9-10)

'Another development' is sometimes referred to as 'participatory development' because of its emphasis on the need for active participation amongst countries, communities and individuals when determining the best development strategy for them (Mohan 2002). In this way, the subjects of the participatory / 'another development' paradigm are seen as empowered individuals, whose own cultural knowledge is essential to their own development. This is a far cry from the modernist notions of the underdeveloped as either ignorant or helpless because they are held back by their own "outmoded customs and traditions" (Remenyi 2004: 33 as quoted in Banda 2008: 10).

Within the South African context, the multi-dimensional approach can be identified in the argument for a basic income grant (BIG):

The BIG Coalition argued that although the government had made poverty eradication its top priority, it could not solve the poverty problem, because economic growth could not happen fast enough (AfricaFocus 2004 in Banda 2008: 10).

On an international scale, the re-conceptualisation of development has led to the creation of several strategies for development (Remenyi 2004). These include items such as gender-sensitive development and environmentally-conscious development strategies. The Millennium Development Goals reflect the important changes in how the 'another development' paradigm has affected international development policy.

2.3 The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Declaration of 2000, which was signed by the leaders of 189 countries, stems from the ‘another development’ paradigm. The eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are a collection of the “most important commitments made separately at the international conferences and summits of the 1990s” (United Nations Development Programme website).

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health
- Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
- Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

The tenets of the ‘another development’ paradigm are reflected predominantly within goals seven and eight, which emphasises the need for both the individual participation of each country in their own development and environmentally-viable development.

The Millennium Declaration of 2000 set in motion one of the biggest and most ambitious anti-poverty movements in our history:

The MDGs commit the international community to an expanded vision of development, one that vigorously promotes human development as the key to sustaining social and economic progress in all countries, and recognises the importance of creating a global partnership for development. (Country report 2007: 9)

In South Africa, the annual *South Africa's Millennium Development Goals Country Report* examines the implementation and implication of the MDGs in the country.

According to the 2005 report, although South Africa has already met some of the MDG targets, there are still many that have not yet been achieved. In the section below, I will examine how each Millennium Development Goal has been tackled within the South African context.

The first Millennium Development Goal (MDG) has two targets: first, to halve the number of people whose income is less than a dollar a day between 1990 and 2015, and second, to thereby halve the proportion of people who suffer from malnutrition. According to *South Africa's Millennium Development Goals Country Report of 2007*, there has been visible income growth within poor communities in SA; however, the 2007 report also indicates that although there has been strong overall income growth, especially amongst the poorest communities, income inequality (as measured by Gini-coefficient) seems to have increased over the same time frame. There has, however, been a decline in cases of severe malnutrition amongst children under the age of five from 88 971 in 2001 to 30 082 in 2005 (Country Report 2007: 5).

The second MGD sets a target to ensure that all children will have access to a complete primary school education by 2015. In South Africa, according to Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), which conducted a General Household Survey (GHS) in 2006, more than 98% of seven to thirteen-year-old children had attended education institutions. The same study also showed that youth literacy remained above 96%.

Goal three aimed to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education institutions by 2005, and in all educational sectors by 2015. However, at a primary school level, more boys than girls are currently enrolled (Country Report 2007: 6). However, at secondary school level, more girls are enrolled than boys. Finally, in tertiary education, gender distribution is also skewed in favour of female students throughout the country.

That aim of goal four is the reduction of the mortality rate of children under the age of five by two thirds before 2015. In South Africa, increased immunisation programmes continue to protect children against diseases and viruses like polio, HIV, malaria, etcetera.

Goal five, which is linked to goal four, attempts to reduce maternal mortality rates by two-thirds:

As reflected in the SA MDGs Country Report for 2005, the 1998 SADHS survey found that the maternal mortality ratio (MMR) was 150/100 000. In 2002, Stats SA, the official statistics collecting agency, reviewed all registered deaths and estimated MMR to be at 124/100 000. This figure suggested that the country was on track towards decreasing MMR over time (Country Report 2007: 7).

Goal six is linked to the prevention of major diseases and viruses such as HIV and AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis. HIV prevalence amongst the youth (20-years-old and younger) has decreased from 15.9% in 2005 to 13.7% in 2006 (Country Report 2007: 8). There has been a considerable decline in HIV within South Africa as a result of various programmes:

In order to strengthen its efforts to combat HIV and AIDS, SA produced a Comprehensive Plan for HIV and AIDS, as well as the intersectoral Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS for 2007 to 2011, which builds on the gains of the Strategic Plan for 2000 to 2005. The Strategic Plan serves as a framework for the country's response to the challenge of HIV and AIDS. At present, 90% of public health facilities provide VCT and PMTCT. Furthermore, by April 2007, a cumulative total of 282 200 patients had been put on antiretroviral treatment, in 316 sites of the Comprehensive Programme for HIV and AIDS Management, Care and Treatment (CCMT) across the nine Provinces. Additional sites are found in correctional services facilities as well as in the private for profit and not for profit health sectors (Country Report 2007: 8).

Goal seven is concerned with sustainable development practices that will aid in the reverse of environmental degradation, give all people access to safe drinking water and reduce the prevalence of slums. In South Africa, a range of legislative, policy and institutional developments have occurred since 1994, to bring about sustainable development, including an increase in RDP housing:

Cumulatively, government has spent R40 billion on housing development since the inception of the housing programme. This has contributed to the construction of houses and the preparation of sites totalling 2.4 million. Major progress has been made with regards to provision of basic water and sanitation services as access to basic services increased from 59% of the population in 1994 to 94% of the population in March 2007. (Country Report 2007: 8)

MDG eight deals with issues such as non-discriminatory trading and financial systems, participatory and need-based development programmes, addressing debt problems, and creating greater national access to affordable pharmaceuticals. In South Africa, the state has actively supported several advocacy and awareness-raising programmes to promote the achievement of the MDGs by developing countries in Africa. This can be seen in its role within the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which is "Africa's primary socio-economic development programme through which most of the MDGs are addressed" (Country Report 2007: 9).

2.4 Previous studies on development programmes and the media

I am undertaking a critical discourse analysis of how the Millennium Development Goals have been portrayed in the Mail and Guardian because, although there is a great deal of research on the economic and social impact of development programmes in Africa, there is little information on how the media in Africa deal with this important issue. The literature devoted to the media and development focuses primarily on the media as a tool for furthering democracy and development. These works either discuss the role of the media as an educator (Marchant 1988), which can stimulate development through platforms such as social awareness campaigns (Besley et al 2002, Gecau 1993), or examine how the media affect policy formation around development (Stromberg 2002, Arntsen 1993).

The limited amount of research that has focused on textual analysis of coverage of development issues includes a study of development coverage in the Eastern Cape (Banda, 2008). In his study, Banda states that "it is evident that the concept of development is still a heavily contested one, sometimes seeming 'modernistic', other times 'dependent', and some other times 'participatory'" (2008: 11), but concluded that from his research of the Herald Online and the Dispatch Online, that "the discourse of development is still largely framed in the modernist strictures of discourse development" (2008: 32).

This study similarly attempts to explore the discourse of development in South Africa, but differs significantly through its focus on the Millennium Development Goals specifically, in the Mail and Guardian from 2000 to 2007. I will conduct a critical discourse analysis, using the Millennium Development Goals as a lens to explore how the Mail and

Guardian has discursively constructed development over time in the context of debates around development.

2.5 History of the Mail and Guardian

A study of the Mail and Guardian's coverage of development is of particular interest to me because of this newspaper's history as part of South Africa's 'struggle' press, which initially held a strong interest in development and labour issues.

Established in 1985 by Anton Harber and Irwin Manoim during Apartheid's renewed states of emergency, the Weekly Mail (later known as the Mail and Guardian) viewed itself as an independent, alternative newspaper. During this period, the newspaper focused on politics, economics and labour (Steenveld 2007). The staff, who comprised of several former Rand Daily Mail employees, described the paper's policy in the following manner:

The paper would be 'non-partisan' and non-polemical. It will not, in general, carry an editorial comment. Its policy will be broadly critical of the status quo in South Africa, but without affiliation to any political party or organisation. It will concentrate on critical, independent analysis, rather than pursuing a particular 'line'. (Manoim 1996: 5 as quoted in Steenveld 2007: 115)

In 1990, in light of the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of oppositional political parties and labour unions, the Weekly Mail, now no longer an 'alternative' newspaper, attempted to become a daily paper. However, this endeavour was unsuccessful, with the Daily Mail lasting a meagre forty-four editions and driving the publication into debt as advertisers pulled their funding. The paper returned to its weekly format by the end of 1990, with the backing of Caxton, but continued to bleed money until 1994 when it merged with the UK Guardian. The Guardian Group was chosen by the editors of the Weekly Mail because of its backing by the Scott Trust, a trust fund that enabled the Guardian to keep political and economic independence:

Two trajectories were evident in this period – both developments from the earlier period. The focus on investigative journalism was an extension of the *Weekly Mail's* identity as a paper that expressed moral outrage at happenings in society; it was a paper that represented what was right – regardless of where the political flak might

fall. Its professed independence was presumed to legitimate its stance both politically and professionally. (Steenveld 2007: 136)

The change in South Africa's political system in 1994 heralded a change within the Mail and Guardian. The newspaper's identity needed to be redefined, as what it meant to be 'oppositional' was questioned. As argued by Steenveld (2007), the editorship of a small newspaper like the Mail and Guardian has a great influence on the identity of the newspaper and content produced. For instance, while Phillip Van Niekerk was editor from 1997 to 2000, the newspaper's content aligned strongly with labour and development issues:

We are very strong on traditionally progressive issues: environment, gay right, gender rights ... like rape, HIV/AIDS. Issues that in other societies might be regarded as progressive if a newspaper took them up ... culturally, quite a strong libertarian trend as well – belief in freedom of expression ... (Van Niekerk 2000: 9 as quoted in Steenveld 2007: 152)

Van Niekerk was critical of the ANC government's stance on HIV and AIDS during his period as editor. This is evident in many of the articles relating to the virus and to Goal Six of the Millennium Development Goals, which are outlined in my analysis section.

Another of Van Niekerk's influences as the editor is the insertion of *Monitor*, a development section in the Mail and Guardian, which was introduced in 1998. It is the inclusion of *Monitor* and the debates surrounding development coverage within the newspaper, which occurred between 1998 and 2001, that make the Mail and Guardian of particular interest to my research topic.

Monitor was created to "track issues of development, governance and transformation during a crucial period in the country's history" (Steenveld 2007: 209), but was subsequently removed because of journalists' complaints that it "ghettoised" (Steenveld 2007: 209) development issues by positioning these stories at the back of the paper:

Previously that sort of stuff would have been in the paper, perhaps under other sections, or within the news or features section, but the effect of it being another section and it being a sort of throw away section – being there to get advertising... government advertising ... meant that it didn't have the same impact as the news section and as the political section. (Cowling 2003: 9 as quoted in Steenveld 2007: 171).

Another reason that Mail and Guardian journalists cited for the failure of *Monitor* was a lack of strong leadership, which it gained only briefly through the work of Barbara Ludman, who was the editor of *Monitor* for a brief period.

In 2001, the new editor of the Mail and Guardian, Howard Barrell, changed the paper's economic focus from broad economic issues, including labour and policy, to personal finance and investment issues. This change potentially impacted on how development issues were treated during this period and were possibly sidelined as a result of *Monitor*'s demise. This will be examined in my analysis chapter in more detail.

In 2002, Newtrust Company Botswana Limited, the company of Zimbabwean publisher Trevor Ncube, bought out the Guardian's majority shareholding:

Ncube has begun to turn the newspaper around, weaning it off *The Guardian*'s deep pockets and insisting that it be run on its own steam. For the first time ever, we have fights with advertising, complaining that there's too much of it! Shrinking space is often a nightmare to edit around, but financial independence from donors and from large overdrafts is an essential part of the newspaper's independence. (Haffajee 2005 in Steenveld 2007)

Another landmark event to follow in 2002 was the appointment of Mondli Makhanya as the newspaper's first black editor. During this period, the paper managed to recoup many of its losses and recorded its first small operating profit at the end of the 2004. Twenty months later, when Makhanya left to edit the Sunday Times, Ferial Haffajee took on the role of editor. However, the Mail and Guardian maintains that its mission has not changed over the past twenty-three years:

Though changed in many ways, the *M&G* is in essence the same newspaper that first saw the light on June 14 1985. Its mission is still to promote freedom, justice, equality and the unity of humankind. It aims to create space for debate and diversity, to fight restrictions on the free flow of information and to combat racial, political and religious prejudice. It is patriotic but not blindly so, taking as its lodestar the values of our new Constitution. It continues to take “the worm’s eye view”, regarding authority with deep suspicion and instinctively siding with the powerless and vulnerable. (Forrest 2005 in Steenveld 2007)

Throughout its thirteen years of publication, the Mail and Guardian has maintained that it is a critical, independent newspaper. As a newspaper with the long history of coverage of the labour movement and economic welfare, the Mail and Guardian is a logical choice for my research on development and the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals. However, it is important to note the audience of such a paper in any analysis. From 1985 onwards, the Mail and Guardian’s imagined target audience consisted of the white, middle-class elite and the newspaper was seen as part of the ‘white press’. Today, the paper still caters for South Africa’s elite, with a majority readership in the higher Living Standards Measurements (LSMs) who are of a similar age (an average of 40 years old).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the literature surrounding cultural studies, development theories and the Mail and Guardian. In my next chapter, I will discuss how some of these theoretical perspectives link to my research methodology.

CHAPTER III: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction

This chapter describes my methodology and analysis of the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals over seven years to ascertain how development is discursively constructed over time in the context of debates around development and globalisation. The chapter is divided into five sections. The second section examines qualitative studies of texts within a cultural studies framework. The third discusses thematic content analysis, my piloting schedule and the analysis of data. The fourth section examines critical discourse analysis. The research involves an examination of how development is constructed in the media by asking questions about where development news is positioned in relation to other news in the Mail and Guardian, how it is written about and the kinds of values it promotes. Content analysis is used in a preliminary, thematic study to examine the focus of, and the sources used in, the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmesⁱ. Using content analysis as a research method helped me identify themes within this period, which I then examine in more detail through a critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides the necessary theories and tools to discern the relationship between social and cultural events and the discourses that either establish and maintain or challenge the status quo. I then describe the study's sampling procedure. Finally, I locate this research within the study of development discourse.

3.1. Qualitative approach to research

As my study is text based, I first examined the cultural studies understanding of texts as cultural objects, where meaning is completed by the audience's understanding. While the term 'text' refers to the message, for example a news story, the dominant understanding in cultural studies is that texts represent the meaningful outcome of the encounter between readers and content (Fiske cited in McQuail 1994). Qualitative analysis through a case study of texts was considered the most suitable method to examine the kind of representations encoded by the Mail and Guardian: "Generally speaking, a case study is not

a specific research technique, but a way of organising social data so as to preserve the unitary character of the social object being studied” (Goode and Hatt in Punch 1998:150). A case study is a type of qualitative design that explores enclosed entities such as media organisations, individuals, communities and events (Jensen 2002) in order to derive descriptions that have larger social implications. As in other qualitative research, case studies examine phenomena in their everyday contexts, and the thematic interrelations with other phenomena and contexts (Jensen 2002). According to Bryman (1988), context is critical within qualitative research, and cultural products need to be examined in the context within which they are produced. This context includes the practices, values and underlying structures of any society. Unlike quantitative studies, case studies do not produce results that can be generalised; rather they are used to discover an in-depth understanding of a particular case. The role of a case study is to make a contribution where knowledge is “shallow, fragmentary, incomplete or non-existent” (Punch 1998:55).

The analysis of texts about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in this thesis considered the production context of the Mail and Guardian, the context of its audience, and the wider social issues in South Africa at the time. The construction of the Millennium Development Goals within the Mail and Guardian is influenced to a large extent by the socialisation of the encoders and the decoders of the newspaper messages and the meanings they construct. My case study of the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals in the Mail and Guardian seeks to understand how development is constructed in this particular case.

I have therefore chosen two complementary research methods that provide me with a fuller understanding of the texts that I analysed: thematic content analysis and critical discourse analysis. First, I examine the research processes, benefits and short-comings of my chosen methods.

3.2 Content analysis

As a research method, content analysis has a long and distinguished pedigree that goes back as far as the eighteenth century. The primary benefit of content analysis is that this method provides a reliable and systematic approach to texts:

The great advantage of content analysis is that it is *methodical*. It stipulates that all material within a chosen sample must be submitted to the same set of categories, which have been explicitly identified. To this extent it ensures a reasonable degree of reliability in the establishment of a pattern of media representation (Deacon et al 1999: 1).

Content analysis is primarily used as a quantitative approach to research. However, for the purposes of my research, thematic content analysis, a qualitative research method, is being used. Thematic content analysis can be considered as “a loosely inductive categorisation of interview and observational extracts with reference to various concepts, headings, or themes” (Jensen 1982: 247) in which elements of meaning are compared and contrasted. This approach has been used in studies about crime (Ericson et al. 1991), health (Kristiansen and Harding 1985), and race (Hartmann et al. 1974). In this study on how the Millennium Development Goals are portrayed, the topics I examine through content analysis are education, health, politics, and economic development, because these topics are aligned with the eight Millennium Development Goals.

The purpose of conducting content analysis research was to discover whether my three hypotheses about the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals were correct. My first is concerned with whether the focus of the coverage of development has changed over time, not only in terms of the content covered, such as health and education, but whether the concept of development still reflects the modernist paradigm. While content analysis will not be able to answer the latter half of that question, it should give an indication of which topics received prominence throughout the seven-year sampling period. The second hypothesis, which is related to the first, speculates that those most affected by poverty and development are seldom quoted as authoritative sources in development stories. If this is true, then it contradicts the participatory goals upon which the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmes are founded. My third hypothesis considers the placement of the texts within the newspaper and how this placement affects their significance. I believe that different kinds of discourse work within the various sections of the newspaper, and would like to analyse whether different discourses operate within development stories in the financial sections to those in *Monitor*.

Content analysis is used to indicate where the majority of texts have been placed, which will give an indication of the significance when conducting the critical discourse analysis. Finally, I use content analysis to show the frequency of coverage the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmesⁱⁱ received over time. I believe that the absence of images in certain texts is far more telling than what is included, and the comparison of what images are frequently portrayed versus ones that are almost never portrayed are important to my study. Thus, I am curious as to whether there is an absence of particular goals or programmes in the newspaper I am studying. Using content analysis as a research method helps me identify themes within the investigated period, which I will then examine in more detail through a critical discourse analysis.

Content analysis consists of a six-step process in which the researcher defines the research problem, selects the appropriate media sample, defines analytical categories, constructs a coding schedule, pilots the coding schedule and then finally prepares and analyses the data. Hansen et al explain the first step, defining the research problem, by asking “what is it that we would hope to be able to say something about analysing a body of media texts?” (1998: 99). In my research study, I use content analysis to discover themes within the texts about the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmes.

The second step is the selection and sample of media. Berelson (1952) delineates three further steps: the selection of media or titles, the sampling of issues or dates, and the sampling of relevant content. As explained in Chapter II, I have selected the Mail and Guardian because of its pioneering work in reporting on development in South Africa through the inclusion of supplements such as *Monitor* and *Investing in the Future*. The second step requires thought on how best to sample issues and dates. I chose to avoid an event-specific period but rather selected a broader sample. For the purposes of this study, a period of seven years from 2000 to 2007 was selected. This seven-year period was chosen in order to examine how the changes within the newspaper and South Africa affected the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals from their inception through to the current period. An April and October selection is arguably an appropriate choice because they are uneventful periods six months apart with no annual development conferences that would skew my data. The archives of the Mail and Guardian were then

searched using the term “Millennium Development Goals” or the names of official affiliated programmes. Articles were scanned for these words over the period of several weeks. The articles sought were not of a specific genre. The basic unit of analysis used in this study is the individual news item, which is defined here as any Mail and Guardian ‘news story’, ‘editorial’, ‘feature article’ or ‘letter to the editor’ with the relevant key words.

This method of sampling texts could be called ‘purposive’ or non-random sampling. Ideas specific to sampling strategies vary and “reflect the purposes and questions guiding the study” (Punch 1998:193). The purposive or non-random sampling approach used in this project resulted in the eventual sample containing two-hundred and twenty-two (222) stories.

After identifying the relevant articles, I defined my analytical categories, including only dimensions that were pertinent to the research question. The dimensions included the position of story within the newspaper, genre, the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) or affiliated programme named, the MDG potentially related to that programme, sources, and actors in each story. All news items were coded by their date of publication as to identify when a particular news item was carried, and as an identification method, which helped to establish the total number of news items carried by the Mail and Guardian during the seven-year period. Through an examination of the total number of news items, it was possible for me to calculate how many of the articles contained news about the MDGs. I coded the location or placement of each news item in the publication, because this placement reveals a great deal about the meaning of the event. A news item that appears on the front page is considered more prominent than one that appears on one of the subsequent pages.

The genre or type of news item was also coded, using the basic identifier categories for the classification of news genres: a ‘news story’, ‘editorial’, ‘feature article’, and ‘letter to the editor’. This was considered important to my study because different media genres set different limits for what can be articulated by whom through what format and context (Hansen et al. 1998:107). The concept of genre is important to both researchers because they outline the codes and conventions of a particular text; moreover, “some genres are

perceived as having more verisimilitude or connection to the 'real' than others, which makes a key difference to assumptions as to what their ideological work might be" (Branston and Stafford 1999: 111). During the analysis, I coded each news source and actor presented in each news item, and then divided these sources and actors into bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic sources/actors. The motive for this research was to examine who was spoken about and which groups' opinions and voices were privileged as sources. An actor/source is considered bureaucratic if they were speaking on behalf of or in their capacity as a representative of an agency, organisation or government. Non-bureaucratic sources included citizens of any country, children, refugees and activists who were not affiliated with a non-governmental organisation (NGO).

Lastly, my analysis looked at a variety of topics that were highlighted in the Mail and Guardian's representation of the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmes. While 'topics' could be any number of things, these categories were defined by the upside-down pyramid structure in which the most important issue is put first. So in the case of an article about war, if the first line was not about the war itself but about an NGO, then it would be classified under charity. Topic categories were decided on after reading the headline, the introduction and several paragraphs within a news article, based on the conventional inverted pyramid writing style. For articles such as news analysis, features and opinion pieces, which do not generally conform to the inverted pyramid writing style, more than three paragraphs of the story were read to determine the category under which they fell. The following categories were examined:

Politics

The category 'politics' included stories covering elections, campaigns, parliamentary debates on governance and stories covering international relations and diplomacy.

Business and economics

The articles in this section ranged from news about the economy, such as inflation, taxation and the national budget, to news about a company launching a new social initiative.

Health

The health category included articles about medicine, patients, sanitation, donations to the health sector and government programmes related to the health sector.

Education

Stories in the education category ranged from government policy on education to student and teacher activities in schools. Stories included primary school feeding programmes, and the problems with the government's school-fee-exemption policy.

Environment

This category dealt with articles about the protection or degradation of natural resources and attempts to achieve sustainable development.

Labour

Articles about labour included any worker disputes or programmes to increase employment.

Natural disasters

This category was included in my coding schedule after several articles about aid and child mortality occurred in the wake of the 2005 tsunami. These stories also include flood damage and drought.

Development

Articles in this section tended to be about positive developments or governmental plans for social development.

Aid/charity

This category included stories about donations or aid from foreign donors, NGOs and religious organisations to either 'Africa' in general or to specific programmes.

Civil unrest and war

For this study, many of the MDG-related aid programmes were featured in articles about civil unrest and war, and thus a separate category needed to include these items, even if this category was not directly related to the MDGs themselves. Articles that fell under this category included those about fighting rebels, military intelligence and liberation struggles.

Unnatural disasters

These stories included man-made disasters, such as train-wrecks, and mass killings that could not be classified as war or civil unrest.

Human rights violations

This category covered the violation of people's rights, including articles about cases of child abuse, wife/husband battering, or racial discrimination and torture.

Agriculture

While this category did not include many stories, it was added because several articles about farming and agricultural research came up during my pilot.

Other

Any stories that did not fall into the above categories were placed here. There were not many stories in this category, but enough to warrant an additional category.

3.2.1. Data collection and analysis procedures

During this research, all sampled news items were subjected to the same methodical process and clearly identified categories that content analysis demands. My coding frame comprised of both a 'coding schedule' and a 'coding manual' (Deacon et al. 1999; Hansen et al. 1998). The coding schedule was developed to show which aspects of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their affiliated projects got the most coverage, and thus infer which ones are considered newsworthy. I was particularly interested in discovering which programmes and goals did not receive coverage in my seven-year sample. Lastly, because of the nature of development, which has been explained in Chapter II, I wished to explore who the subjects of these articles were and who spoke on behalf of these subjects, before conducting a critical discourse analysis to define how they were spoken about.

The coding schedule (Appendix 1) contains a list of variables, such as those listed above, and the coding manual (Appendix 2) contains the values associated with each variable. The actual coding process, which was completed on an Excel spreadsheet, consisted of completing one coding schedule for each sampled news item.

3.2.1.1. Piloting

The coding schedule was first piloted to check for any inadequacies and inconsistencies and to assess the reliability of the coding process (Deacon et al. 1999). Piloting the coding schedule is one of the most difficult parts of content analysis, largely because it often means redefining the analytical categories, which are often too broad or too narrow to be meaningful. However, it is an essential part of discovering whether meaningful data counts are being achieved.

My initial proposal suggested a sample of April and October editions from 2000 to 2007. However, after extensive research, I discovered that this sample was still too limited. While the affiliated programmes of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were mentioned several times in that span, the MDGs were seldom referred to in that initial sample. I thus extended my sample to include the 1st and 7th months of the year, giving a 2 month gap between each sample. Although approximately one-hundred and twenty-eight

(128) issues of the Mail and Guardian newspaper were studied (4 weekly papers per month, over 4 months for 8 years), only twenty-eight stories contained the phrase “Millennium Development Goal”.

The most challenging aspect about piloting my research was defining the programmes affiliated with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). My initial guide came from the *South Africa’s Millennium Development Goals Country Reports* of 2003 and 2005, but during my sampling, I collected several articles which also seemed to espouse the principles of the goals yet are not clearly identified as being related to the MDGs. The World Summit for Sustainable Development (WSSD), which came up in my June – July 2002 sample, shares many of the principles of the MDGs and, according to the United Nations website, the WSSD reiterated several of the MDGs. However, since this summit is neither mentioned in the country reports nor in the official MDG documents, I decided to examine only articles that specifically mentioned the WSSD in relation to the MDGs. In April 2003, the Mail and Guardian published a supplement on sustainable development called *Greening the Future*. Again, while sustainable development is an overarching goal of the MDGs, unless the article explicitly mentioned the MDGs or one of the programmes from the Country Report, I did not include it in the sample. Programmes, such as the World Food Programme, that espouse the values of the first MDG, but do not explicitly refer to either the goal or the many other programmes related to it, were also not included in my sample.

3.2.1.2 Adjusting the coding schedule

In the course of my research, it became clear that in order to discover themes within the coverage of the ‘Millennium Development Goal’, I would have to undertake a second content analysis involving additional criteria for the articles that specifically mentioned the Goals themselves.

The set of criteria would include an examination of the articles against the criteria that differentiated the three development paradigms: modernisation, dependency and ‘another development’ paradigm. While I am aware of the conceptual dangers of compartmentalising and over-simplifying complex concepts like the development

paradigms in this analysis, I believe that well-stated criteria, ensued by further research through my critical discourse analysis will compensate for any analytical discrepancies.

As explained in Chapter II, the ‘development as modernization’ paradigm is characterized by the notion that development is a linear process of growth, which is largely measured through economic indicators and notions of modernisation, such as literacy, urbanisation and democratic participation. My new coding schedule now includes a category for articles that contain phrases linking development with “economic growth”, or make reference to “income per capita and unemployment rates” and improvement through technology. The second development paradigm is far more difficult to assess within news texts, as it defines itself largely through its opposition to the modernisation paradigm. When examining whether articles contained elements of the dependency paradigm, I searched for sentences that referred to ‘underdevelopment’ as an outcome of past and present economic and cultural relations between countries of the centre and periphery (Frank 1973). This included negative references to globalisation as “global domination through corporate capitalism” (Mail and Guardian, January 30 to February 5, 2004), and phrases about the ‘marginalisation’ of Africa and other developing countries. The final categories I added to my new coding schedule include the basic tenets of ‘another development’ paradigm. Key phrases were: “needs-based” orientation, “ecologically” sound development programmes, and references to participatory development and endogenous processes. A final category was added to the coding schedule to mark articles where the distinction between the different paradigms could not be drawn, either because two or more paradigms appeared to be represented within one article, or because the tone of the article made it difficult to ascertain the author’s stance (this generally occurred with articles from the commentary and analysis section).

The piloting process helped me to adjust my final coding schedule. The sampling exercise for this project took thirteen weeks, since, after several unsuccessful attempts to find a suitable online archive of the Mail and Guardian’s from either SAMedia or M&G Online, I had to resort to reading archival copies kept in the Rhodes University Cory Library. These bound copies can only be accessed during office hours on weekdays and are not allow to be removed. Moreover, it was not possible to hire coders, and thus I single-

handedly undertook the coding process. While this ensured that there were no misunderstandings or discrepancies between coders, it did make the research process lengthy. To guarantee that I reliably coded all the articles, only a specific number of news items were coded over a specific period so that as much consistency as possible in the interpretation of the categories was maintained. The information gathered was then analysed using an MS Excel spreadsheet as a means to discover trends (Hansen et al. 1998) and calculate the numerical information gathered.

3.2.2. Content Analysis Data

During the first, fourth, seventh and tenth months of the years from 2000 to 2007, two-hundred and twenty-two (222) articles contained either the phrase “millennium development goals” or mentioned one of the forty-five (45) affiliated programmes. These articles were then divided into genre, as depicted below:

Table 1: Entire sample sorted by genre

Genre:	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total	Percentage
1. News story	9	6	19	8	15	18	10	9	94	42%
2. Features article	6	5	12	2	7	3	5	1	41	18%
3. Editorial	2	4	16	7	6	14	7	8	64	29%
4. Letter	1	2	4	3	0	1	2	0	13	6%
5. Other	0	2	4	1	0	2	1	0	10	5%
Total	18	19	55	21	28	38	25	18	222	100%

As the table above shows, of the 222 news items analysed, 18 were counted for 2000, 19 for 2001, 55 for 2002, 21 for 2003, 28 for 2004, 38 for 2005, 25 for 2006 and 18 for 2007. These news items were distributed across the five genres as follows: 94 were news stories, 41 were feature articles, 64 were editorials, 13 were letters to the editor, and the 10 which were counted as ‘other’ included structured interviews, press-releases and edited reports published by the Mail and Guardian. A note should be made here that one publication was missing and therefore did not form part of the sample. Also not included in the sample were

news items from the sports and motoring sections, for the *Friday* entertainment supplement and the classified pages.

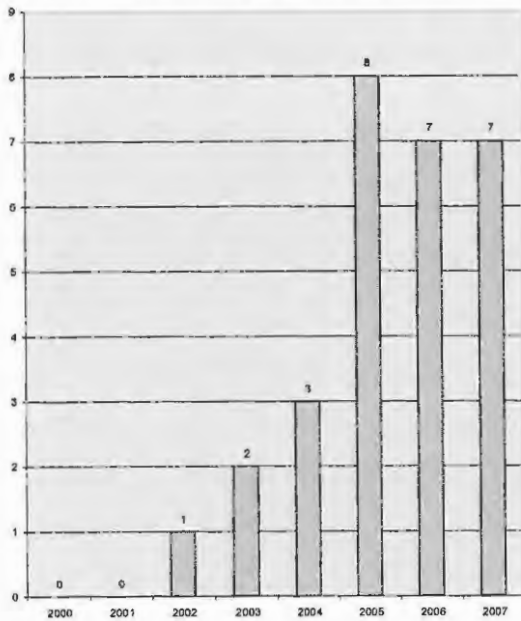
Out of this sample, one-hundred and fifty-six (156) articles were only remotely related to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); they discussed the purpose of at least one of the goals, but did not necessarily explicitly mention the MDGs. In total, only twenty-eight articles within the seven-year sample referred explicitly to the MDGs.

Table 2: 'Millennium Development Goals' articles sorted by genre

Genre:	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total	Percentage
1. News story	0	0	0	0	1	4	3	3	11	39%
2. Feature article	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	5	18%
3. Editorial	0	0	0	1	1	2	3	4	11	39%
4. Letter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
5. Other	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	4%
Total no. of articles	0	0	1	2	3	8	7	7	28	100%

This in itself is a valuable observation, suggesting that although the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were indirectly of interest to the newspaper through their affiliated programmes, their association with the MDGs was not seen as newsworthy. An unexpected trend within my research is that the coverage of the MDGs increased over time, from no coverage at the turn of the millennium in 2000 and 2001 to seven articles in both the years 2006 and 2007.

Table 3: Frequency of MDGs articles



The most likely explanation for this trend, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter IV, is the approach of the halfway mark towards meeting the Millennium Development Goals and concerns that these Goals would not be realised. Articles from 2005 to 2007 frequently contain headlines such as the one in the Mail and Guardian 13 to 19 July 2007 article: “Millennium Development Goals are headed for failure”.

3.2.2.1 Findings within texts containing the phrase “Millennium Development Goals”

The primary goal of my research is to examine how the Mail and Guardian represents the discourse of development, and whether this representation has changed over time. This section of the research focuses on my analysis of the articles about the Millennium Development Goals in relation to the three development paradigms.

Of the twenty-eight (28) sampled articles, seven articles, or 25%, contained elements of the modernisation paradigm. These elements, which are based on the aforementioned criteria, can be found in articles such as “Write off Africa debt, says UN” (Mail and Guardian, October 8 to 14, 2004) and “Let us not be naïve” (Mail and Guardian,

January 21 to 27, 2005), which is an interview with South African Minister of Finance, Trevor Manuel. The two articles posit that higher economic growth is the solution to meeting the Millennium Development Goals. Of the twenty-eight articles sampled, only four were categorised in the Mail and Guardian's *Economy & Business* section, three of these contained elements of the modernisation paradigm. Another of the remaining modernisation-styled four stories was found in *Investing in the Future*, a supplement about corporate investment. None of the 'development as modernisation' stories were contained within *Monitor*. While I could draw conclusions from this, I believe an in-depth exploration of one of these articles through critical discourse analysis would bear more fruitful results.

Aspects of the dependency paradigm appear in only three of the sampled articles (11%). A notable example is in the article "A world gone crazy" (Mail and Guardian, January 10 to 16, 2003), which discusses the Millennium Development Goals in relation to America's "voracious consumer[ism]":

...So it comes to pass that 20% of the world's population are stick thin, dying of starvation, Aids and preventable diseases ... while the 20% at the other end of the scale is eating 80% of the world's resources, commanding most of its money, and dying of obesity, cancer, heart disease, diabetes and strokes. (Mail and Guardian, January 10 to 16, 2003)

Another example in which the discourse of the dependency paradigm is used is in the *Comment and Analysis* section article by Brazilian President, Luiz Inacio Lulu da Silva, which states: "Abundance and injustice were the major features of the 20th century. In the past 40 years, world gross domestic product doubled while economic inequality between the centre and the periphery of the planet tripled" (Mail and Guardian, January 28 to February 3, 2005).

Articles that signalled the 'another development' paradigm were surprisingly abundant, making up ten of the twenty-eight articles (36%). Many of these articles, such as "We must focus on Africa's development" (Mail and Guardian, April 19 to 25, 2002) and "Running out of time" (Mail and Guardian, July 6 to 12, 2007) make reference to both participatory development, or the 'endogenous process', and needs-based aid. A clear example of this is in the article "Poverty reduction stalled":

In a context of extreme inequality and chronic poverty such as that experienced in Southern Africa, there is a need for a mix of a 'rights-based approach' (that is a needs-driven, social justice and supply-side focus) to ensure social equity and a 'sustainable livelihoods approach'. (Mail and Guardian, October 27 to November 2, 2006)

The other eight articles in the sample were less easily classified. In a few instances, the reason for this is that while the article referred to the Millennium Development Goals, neither the Goals nor development were the focus of the story. Two such stories are: 1. "No names named policy favoured at the Africa Union" (July 8 to 14, 2005), which is about the African Union's hopes to receive two permanent seats at the United Nations Security Council; and 2. "Triple Sentence" (Mail and Guardian June 30 to July 6, 2006), which discusses the plight of people with disabilities, and briefly mentions the Millennium Development Goals. Another reason for difficulty in assessing the stance of the journalist is that the tone of articles in the *Comment and Analysis* section of the Mail and Guardian is often playful, cynical or facetious. Binyavanga Wainaina's article "The power of love" (Mail and Guardian July 14 to 20, 2006) is one example.

The results of this section of the content analysis have countered my initial hypothesis that the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals would only reflect the modernisation paradigm of development. It has also complicated my plan to examine how this coverage has changed over time in relation to the different development paradigms, since multiple paradigms appear to be at work within the seven-year span. The articles containing modernisation paradigm span from 2004 to 2006, while the articles containing the dependency paradigm lie between 2003 and 2005, and stories with aspects of 'another development' paradigm can be found in each year. This would suggest that not only has the Mail and Guardian's concept of development not undergone any changes, or at least none that are visible through a rudimentary lens like content analysis, but that the newspaper does not appear to have a fixed view on development. In this respect, critical discourse analysis could provide a more in-depth insight into several of the articles mentioned to explain these findings.

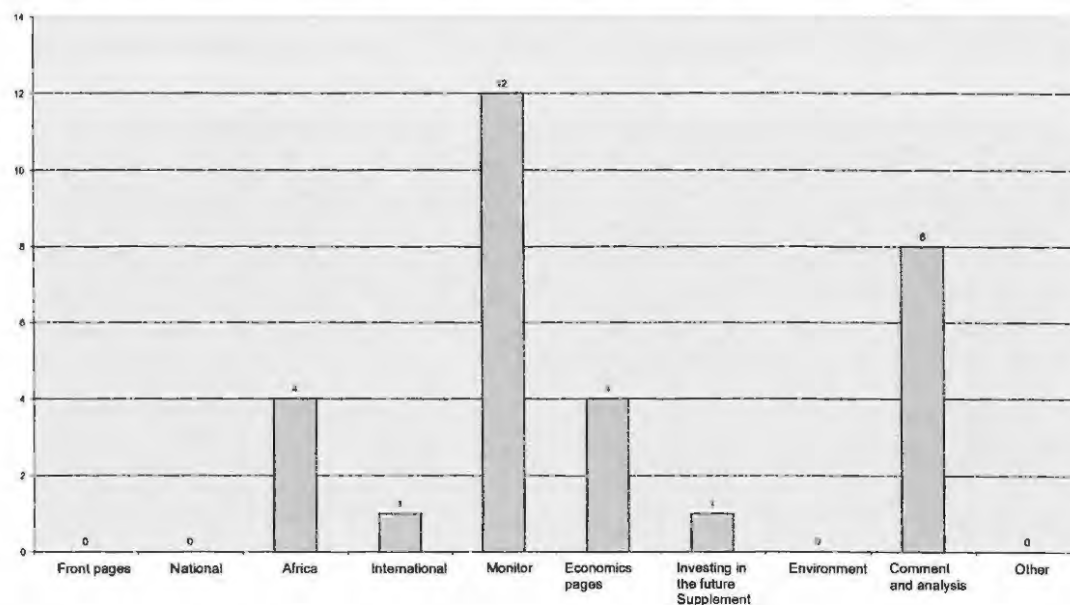
The sections below examine these initial twenty-eight articles within the broader context of the two-hundred and twenty-two articles about the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmes.

3.2.2.2 Findings for the assumption that articles about the Millennium Development Goals are placed in less prominent sections of the Mail and Guardian

The Mail and Guardian is broken down into a variety of sections and supplements. Front page news is followed by the *National* section, then news about Africa and *International* news. These are the only categories whose placement has remained reasonably stable throughout the seven-year sample. The ‘economics and business’ section of the paper has changed name, placement and focus several times according to the editor’s wishes, as explained in Chapter II, and has appeared both inside the paper and as a supplement. During Van Niekerk’s editorship, *Monitor* became a supplement, which the newspaper’s reporters complained had further diminished the importance of the development news within the paper (Steenveld 2007), and thus *Monitor* was reinstated as a permanent section of the newspaper. It is important to note, though, that *Monitor* is frequently placed at the back of the newspaper, before the job-placement adverts and after the *Comment and Analysis* section, making its articles appear much less urgent to readers.

As Table 4, below depicts, the articles containing the phrase “Millennium Development Goals” or “Millennium Summit” did not appear within the first five main pages of the Mail and Guardian at any point during the seven-year sample, but were rather located in the less prominent sections of the paper devoted to development, such as *Monitor*. Many of the articles about the MDGs were also located in the *Comment and Analysis* section of the paper, with several editorials featuring them. One trend that I had anticipated was the frequency of articles about the MDGs in both the economics pages, since the Goals are frequently portrayed through their economic imperatives, and *Africa* section of the issues sampled.

Table 4: Distribution of the MDGs articles throughout the newspaper



The total distribution of articles about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and their affiliated programmes, contain many more prominently situated articles, with *National* articles making up one fifth of all articles in the sample distribution. From my research data, it is clear that the articles placed in the *National* section of the *Mail and Guardian* involve the New African Partnership for Development (NEPAD), which took root in 2002, where the greatest frequency of ‘national’ stories are listed.

Table 5: Distribution of the articles about the MDGs and affiliated programmes

Newspaper section:	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total	Percentage
1. Front pages	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	2%
2. National	4	2	11	4	7	7	6	4	45	20%
3. Africa	1	1	0	2	8	2	3	1	18	8%
4. International	0	2	6	0	1	7	0	0	16	7%
5. Monitor	8	5	6	3	4	8	7	5	46	21%
6. Economics pages	0	1	4	1	2	4	0	0	12	5%
7. Investing in the Future	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	1%

Supplement										
8. Environment Supplement	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0%
9. Comment and Analysis	2	6	19	10	4	8	8	6	63	28%
10. Other	2	0	6	0	1	1	1	2	13	6%
Total no of articles	18	19	55	21	28	38	25	18	222	100%

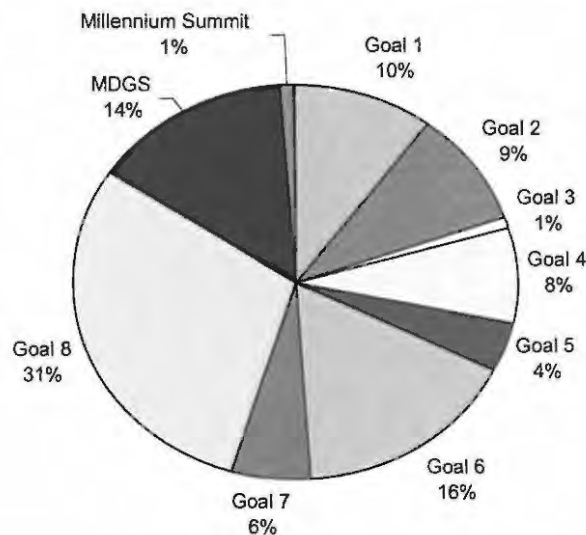
Monitor similarly contained twenty-two percent (22%) of these articles, while *Comment and Analysis* articles accounted for twenty-eight percent (28%) of all articles about the MDGs and affiliated programmes.

This research indicates that the majority of stories including the phrase “Millennium Development Goals” have occurred within *Monitor*, and while it is still a prominent category when examining the number of articles including the affiliated programmes, the *Comment and Analysis* section contained more of the articles in the broader sample. When conducting my critical discourse analysis, I attempted to gather a proportional number of articles from the different sections of the newspaper for analysis in order to examine how coverage changed between the different sections.

3.2.2.3. The differing coverage of the eight Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmes

Another interesting trend within this research was the frequency with which certain goals appeared. As mentioned earlier, this is important to my study because it provides an insight into which issues are considered newsworthy enough to report on. While the frequency of a news item “may not have power of *direct effect* on behaviour and belief, many would argue that they can *influence* audiences by their selection of items for news. They are able to set the agenda of issues which we find ourselves thinking about, selecting some information for consideration and leaving some unannounced” (Branston and Stafford 1999: 161). Of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Goal Eight (‘develop a global partnership for development’) has received the most substantial coverage (31%), while Goal Three (‘promote gender equality’) only constituted 1% of the total coverage.

Table 6: Percentage of coverage received by Goals



Goal Eight, “Develop a global partnership for development”, contains many stories about then-president Thabo Mbeki’s New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD), which make up 69 articles (31%) most of which (34 articles) occurred during the launch of NEPAD in 2002. NEPAD is considered newsworthy largely because it involves African leaders, such as former-president Thabo Mbeki, and thus contains the news values of “reference to elite nations and persons” (Hartley 1988: 78), and relevance.

Goal Three, the goal to “promote gender equality and empower women”, however, only occurred in two of the sampled articles (1%). This suggests that the MDG programmes associated with women empowerment such as the Girls Education Movement (GEM), the Programme of Action (POA), Southern African Development Community’s Declaration on Gender and Development and the Women’s Retirement Fund, were not considered as newsworthy. There are several possible explanations for this kind of presentation. As mentioned in Chapter II, events are not in themselves newsworthy but become so when they are selected according to the journalistic criteria of news values. Several studies have

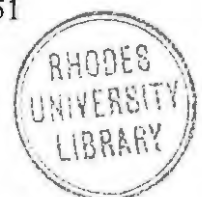
been conducted by Media Watch (1995) and by MISA and Gender Links (2003) about gender representation in the media, which I unfortunately cannot discuss in any detail here.

The struggle against HIV/Aids, which is encompassed in Goal Six, received the second highest coverage (16%); the greatest number of these occurred in coverage of the 2000 Aids Conference in July of that year. However, this topic has continued to be of great interest throughout subsequent years largely because of then-president Mbeki's and then Minister of Health, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang's Aids 'denialism', and the Treatment Action Campaign's (TAC) attempts to secure free anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment.

"Eradication of extreme poverty and hunger" or Goal One received 10% of the coverage due to frequent news interest in programmes such as the Integrated Nutrition Programme and the Primary School Feeding Scheme, which were initiated by the South African government. Britain's 2005 "Make Poverty History" campaign also contributed to the frequency of these articles.

Goal Two, which aims to increase universal primary education, made up nine percent (9%) of the total coverage of the Millennium Development Goals. The adoption of the no-fees policy by the South African government and the subsequent problems with the implementation of this policy received consistent coverage throughout the seven-year period.

The reduction of child mortality, or Goal Four, made up 8% of the articles. A large number of these articles were not specifically MDG related, but rather referred to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which appeared in articles about child slavery and orphans after the 2005 tsunami and other natural disasters. Articles related to this Goal were often indistinguishable from those of Goal Five, the improvement of maternal health. Both Goals are further related to Goal Six in articles about the prevention of mother to child transmission of HIV (PMTCT) and several of the South African government's programmes regarding the prevention and cure of HIV/Aids, malaria and tuberculosis. Articles in these cases were distinguished from each other by who the primary actor was; thus if the story was primarily about mothers, then it was placed under Goal Five. The result of this was that Goal Five only comprises of 5% of the articles.



Environmental sustainability, Goal Seven, featured in a variety of articles namely in 2003 and 2005, with several articles about development projects such as Working for Water and from the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment report. This Goal made up only 6% of the total coverage.

My research in this area suggests that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), while hailed as an important initiative across the world, are not in themselves considered newsworthy except in relation to the current news trends of the time. This can be seen in the frequency of stories related to Goal Two: “Primary education” during the beginning of each school year, or Goal Six during times when the Treatment Action Campaign was struggling for greater ARV access, or the frequency of articles related to Goal Eight during the 2002 launch of NEPAD. As mentioned above, which will be analysed in greater detail in the next chapter, the MDGs are only considered news events because of the news values ‘negativity’ and ‘consonance’.

This observation is illustrated in the table below, which depicts the frequency of different news topics, including ‘politics’, which includes many of NEPAD stories, ‘education’ and ‘health’:

Table 7: Frequency of topics from 2000 to 2007

Topics:	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total	Percentage
1. Politics	1	1	20	6	8	3	3	1	43	19%
2. Economics / Business	0	0	3	1	4	4	2	1	15	7%
3. Health	9	2	9	2	5	7	5	6	45	20%
4. Education	2	1	4	3	3	4	6	3	26	12%
5. Environment	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	0	8	4%
6. Labour	2	1	2	0	1	1	0	0	7	3%
7. Natural disasters	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	5	2%
8. Development	1	7	7	3	2	1	2	1	24	11%
9. Aid/charity	1	3	2	0	2	10	5	5	28	13%
10. Civil resistance / war	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	1%
11. Unnatural disasters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0%
12. Human rights	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	6	3%

13. Agriculture	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0%
14. Other	0	2	2	2	1	2	1	1	11	5%
Total:	18	19	55	21	28	38	25	18	222	100%

3.2.2.4. Changes within the content covered in the Millennium Development Goals articles over the seven year sample

According to Hansen et al, thematic content analysis is useful for the classification of topics or themes that are covered within a chosen area of coverage, and “thus studies of war-coverage would want to examine what aspects receive the most coverage (for example ‘technology/weaponry’, ‘political negotiations’, ‘dissent’, ‘troop morale’, strategy and military progress’, ‘civilian suffering’)” (1998: 112). In my attempt to discover which themes came up around discussion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and which aspects received the most coverage, I created Table 7 (above). Of the fourteen categories initially defined in section 3.3, six of the categories contained over four-fifths (82%) of the total coverage of the MDGs. In descending order, these six are: ‘health’, ‘politics’, ‘aid/charity’, ‘education’, ‘development’ and economics.

During 2000, the South African government’s Strategic Plan for HIV/Aids came into effect and thus in that year, ‘health’ articles received the lion’s share of the coverage, which is calculated as forty-nine percent (49%), with ‘labour’ stories ranking second with only eleven percent (11%) of the total coverage. In 2001, ‘health’ coverage (11%) was overshadowed by ‘development’ articles, which made up thirty-seven percent (37%) of MDG coverage that year, while ‘aid / charity’ articles grew from 6% in 2000 to 16% to become the second-most prominent category in 2001. The increase in ‘development’ articles in 2001 was related to Mbeki’s Millennium African Recovery Plan, which he instituted in that year. In 2002, political stories related to the MDGs received the most coverage at 36%, largely due to NEPAD, and continued to contain the largest number of articles (28%) in both 2003 and in 2004. In 2005, the ‘politics’ category of MDG related stories dropped to only eight percent (8%), while ‘aid/ charity’ stories (25%) and ‘health’ issues (18%) became the focus. The MDGs received their highest amount of coverage in 2005, but the articles in this year often spoke about Africa’s ‘begging bowl’ or aid programmes, rather than development strategies, which is a possible reason for the increase

in 'aid/charity' stories. The MDG's coverage in 2006 centred around education (24%), due to the increase in articles about the 'no-fees' policy for impoverished school children. Education coverage diminished to 17% in 2007, when 'health' stories increased to thirty-two percent (32%).

3.2.2.5. Sources versus subjects used in the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals

The final hypothesis, which I later test using content analysis, relates to the different development paradigms explained in Chapter II. I hypothesised that although the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) stem from an 'another development' paradigm, which advocates participation at a grassroots level, the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the MDGs and affiliated programmes would not frame the stories in such a participatory manner. Thus, while the subjects of many aid programmes (the impoverished, children, refugees and ordinary citizens of African countries) would be discussed in the articles, I suspected that the majority of sources quoted would come from spokespeople for the South African government, the United Nations, the World Bank and other aid organisations. To confirm this, my coding sheet included six categories, three for the first three subjects of the article, which comprised of people and organisations discussed but not quoted, and three categories for the first three sources or people quoted in the article. These subject and source categories were ranked in terms of when they featured in the article, not by how many centimetres of column space they were given.

My coding manual contains a list of all potential sources and subjects within the sampled articles, and divides both of these groups into two categories: bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic sources and subjects. Bureaucratic sources and subjects include spokespeople for the United Nations, the World Bank, presidents and government ministers from any country, unions, experts and any aid organizations or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Non-bureaucratic sources comprised of citizens from any country, children, workers, volunteers, activists and 'Africa' when referred to as a subject. Of the articles examined regarding the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and affiliated programmes, eight-hundred and forty-one (841) sources and subjects were coded.

As Table 8 below depicts, the overall number of bureaucratic sources and subjects used far exceeds the number of ‘ordinary’ people’s voices heard within the articles, with at least seventy percent (70%) of subjects and sources categorised as bureaucratic.

Table 8: Distribution of subjects and sources

No. 841	Bureaucratic	Percentage	Non-bureaucratic	Percentage	Total
Subject 1	151	70%	66	30%	217
Subject 2	143	75%	48	25%	191
Subject 3	118	88%	16	12%	134
Source 1	170	94%	10	6%	180
Source 2	73	87%	11	13%	84
Source 3	31	89%	4	11%	35

In total, of the five-hundred and forty-two subjects of these articles, less than one quarter (24%) were ‘ordinary’ citizens or the people the projects should be assisting. More important, however, is the fact that of the two-hundred and ninety-nine people quoted as sources within these articles, only eight percent (8%) of voices quoted as authoritative sources were those most affected by poverty and development, which contradicts the participatory goals upon which these programmes are founded. Table 9 below, which is drawn on the articles that are solely about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), depicts a similar trend to the one above, which includes all of the affiliated programmes.

Table 9: Subjects and sources in the MDGs articles

N 109	Bureaucratic	Percentage	Non-bureaucratic	Percentage	Total
Actor 1	21	70%	9	30%	30
Actor 2	18	69%	8	31%	26
Actor 3	16	76%	5	24%	21
Source 1	25	96%	1	4%	26
Source 2	4	80%	1	20%	5
Source 3	1	100%	0	0%	1

3.2.2.6 Conclusion of findings

As the broader content analysis research has revealed, there were more bureaucratic sources and subjects than non-bureaucratic sources and subjects used in the Mail and Guardian during the seven- year sample period. The selection of which news subject/source to use in the presentation of a news article about development is tied into the nature of the events selected by reporters for inclusion in the newspaper. The selection for inclusion into a newspaper is determined not only by the journalistic criteria of news values (Hartley 1994) as explained in Chapter II, but by the selection of sources to accompany such news events, which in turn is determined by criteria which include the source's newsworthy attributes or qualities. Hartley (1994) identifies controversy, prominence, proximity, personalisation and elite persons as some of the news values, which may guide the selection of events and sources. This notion is illustrated in my study through the stories about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which focus solely on NEPAD because of its ties to prestigious people, such as African leaders.

There are several potential explanations as to why non-bureaucratic sources are numerically under-represented in the Mail and Guardian. As discussed earlier, persons engaged in events are not 'newsworthy' in themselves; they become 'newsworthy' when they are selected according to the ideological journalistic criteria of 'news values'. Literature on the sociology of news production, as mentioned in Chapter II, gives another explanation for the under-representation of non-bureaucratic sources in the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals. These explanations examine the routinisation of the news production process in its relation to the economic interests of the newspaper industry, which implies that institutional voices that are easier to access, and are therefore used more frequently as sources.

Furthermore, news values can be seen to dictate which topics and MDGs are presented in the media as newsworthy, based on similar criteria, as the above analysis has demonstrated. News values appear to function as a discourse that legitimates the kinds of sources and events that qualify to be included or excluded from the news.

While this context is important in my overall understanding of the coverage of the Millennium Developments Goals, the main findings of this research centred around the

twenty-eight articles that specifically mentioned the Goals. This key finding was the discovery that the sampled selection of the Mail and Guardian's coverage contained elements of all three development paradigms, without an obvious pattern.

This content analysis constituted the first phase of the two-phase research process. Using this method, I was able to identify specific news items in which the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were represented, which provided the data for analysis in the second-phase of the research, which employs the techniques of qualitative analysis, in this case, discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis was undertaken to critically analyse a selection of news items that displayed a typical-case representation of the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated programmes (Deacon et al. 1999). A researcher uses typical-case sampling to identify a case that epitomizes the key aspects of the investigated phenomenon. The next section outlines the use of discourse analysis as a qualitative research technique.

3.3 Critical discourse analysis

I undertook a critical discourse analysis of how the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have been portrayed in the Mail and Guardian because, although there is a great deal of research on the economic and social impact of development programmes in Africa, there is little information on how the media in Africa deal with this important issue. The limited amount of research that has focused on textual analysis of coverage of development issues includes a study of development coverage in the Eastern Cape (Banda, 2008). In this study, Banda concludes that “the discourse of development is still largely framed in the modernist strictures of discourse development” (2008: 32). This study similarly attempts to explore the discourse of development in South Africa, but differs significantly in its focus on the MDGs specifically, in the Mail and Guardian from 2000 to 2007. I will conduct a critical discourse analysis, using the MDGS as a lens through which to explore how the Mail and Guardian has discursively constructed development over time in the context of debates around development.

In Chapter II, I examined how discourse constructs, defines and produces its object of knowledge by providing a common language for representing knowledge about a given

theme. Fiske describes discourse as “a language or system of representation that has developed socially in order to make and circulate a coherent set of meanings about a topic area” (1987: 14). At the Mail and Guardian, reporters acquire discourses, or a way of framing discourses about development, which give the term a specific meaning to readers. As discussed in Chapter II, the meanings of these discourses serve the interests of the section of society within which the discourse originates and work ideologically to naturalize those meanings into common sense. If notions of development are held to mean technological advancement and adoption of Western ideologies by a certain society, then this is how its members will think about it. As such, discourse is clearly related to the concept of ideology and power, which for Fairclough is “most effective when its workings are least visible” (1989:85). Critical discourse analysis thus attempts to deconstruct the ways in which the particular discourses have been constructed.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides the necessary theories and tools for discerning the relationship between social and cultural events and the discourses that either establish and maintain or challenge the status quo. This approach is ‘critical’ because it is concerned with relations of power, most particularly unequal relations of domination. Discourse here is not limited to the linguistic definition, but rather takes on Foucault’s concept. Discourse “is a form of social practice which both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social practices” (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 61). It is the power to name something or direct knowledge about a certain issue, and a question of what is at stake by naturalising a representation in a certain way rather than another. Mamdani (2007) calls this the politics of naming, whereas Foucault indicates that those who have power can shape other the knowledge on a specific topic. “Here the critical project is a matter of denaturalisation of the taken-for-granted understandings of reality” (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 186).

Norman Fairclough, one of the leading theorists of critical discourse analysis (CDA), has developed a three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis. This model is depicted by three interconnected boxes, which are all necessary for analysis in order to interpret each other. These boxes represent: social practice, discursive practice and finally, the texts themselves. Social practice refers to the larger social and cultural practices

that inform the subject and conditions about which the text is concerned. In the case of this research, the social practices would refer to the international context of development, the different development paradigms, and the projects and policies each has negotiated, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). It would also include the context of the Mail and Guardian. The second box, discursive practices, refers to the conditions of production and consumption of the text. For instance, what are the political stance and economic imperatives that drive the Mail and Guardian to write about the MDGs in a certain way, who is the newspaper's target audience, and given their lifestyles and education, how this audience are likely to receive such a text. The last box refers to the text itself, using linguistic and discursive strategies to analyse the text, and as part of this. Fairclough's model incorporates other techniques, allowing the analyst to interpret the text, not as a singular entity divorced from social and economic constraints, but as a factor that both is constituted and constitutes current social relations.

Throughout my critical discourse analysis, I drew on Thompson's (1990) strategies through which discourse operates. His five strategies are: legitimisation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification.

Within legitimisation, rationalisation indicates a chain of reasoning that attempts to persuade an audience that an institution or set of social practices are worthy of support. Thompson presents another two strategies of legitimisation, alongside rationalisation; universalisation and narrativisation. The strategy of universalisation argues that the interests or needs of an individual or group are the interests of all, and narrativisation is a strategy whereby claims are legitimised through stories. In order to understand this use of narrativisation, it is necessary to refer to the work of theorists Todorov and Propp (as cited in Wigston 2001), who each developed methods for narrative analysis. A story becomes a story because of a quest that is set up initially; according to Todorov, the best means of discovering this quest is to look for three stages: the equilibrium, the disequilibrium or disruption, and finally the re-equilibrium. Propp builds on Todorov's idea, extending the disequilibrium and re-equilibrium into narrative functions, and adding character functions, such as the hero and villain who embark on a quest. The use of narrativisation as a means

of legitimisation implies that if you create a hero, you will ultimately create a villain, even if this role is only implied.

Thompson (1990) identifies this process of vilifying someone as “expurgation of the other” as a strategy of fragmentations, which is one of his modes to depict how discourse operates in symbolic forms. Expurgation of the other can work through creating an “us and them” situation or through creating binary opposites, which Levi-Strauss (1972) defines in his work.

Unification, the third mode, attempts to construct a collective identity at a symbolic level, and thus mask inequalities. Unification consists of the strategies of standardisation and symbolisation of unity. Standardisation promotes a shared symbolic exchange, such as a national language, and the symbolisation of unity attempts to put forth the notion of unity through symbolic structures like flags, sporting teams and anthems. Unification works in close proximity with fragmentation by creating a sense of unity amongst the remaining populous, who have not been ‘othered’ or expurgated.

A fourth *modus operandi* that discourse uses in texts is dissimulation, or the concealing of existing relations and processes of domination. One strategy of dissimulation is ‘euphemisation’, or the positive valuation of a negative term, such as the use of “counter-insurgence” rather than “attack”.

The final mode that I will discuss is reification. Reification works through ‘naturalisation’ and ‘eternalisation’, in which a transitory state of affairs is represented as if it were either natural or permanent; or through ‘passivisation’, which works by constructing representations in the passive form, thus removing agency from either the perpetrator or the victims, and suggesting that these processes and actions occur naturally. These are important aspects of critical linguistics, upon which I shall be drawing.

Critical discourse analysis has been promoted as “a systematic and operational approach to different kinds of coding, including consensual and thematic” which “avoids the condensation and decontextualisation of meaning which is implicit in grounded theory as well as most quantitative versions of coding” (Jensen 1982: 248). According to Foucault, no discourse operates merely in language, but rather in institutions and practices. In using Fairclough’s discursive practices model to examine news articles, it is necessary both to

examine the publication's stance and codes of conduct and on the practice of journalism as a whole in order to provide more insight about the conditions of production, which I have attempted to do in Chapter I.

3.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented and explained the quantitative and qualitative methodology involved in my research, giving particular attention to content analysis. This chapter dealt with the broader context of the 222 'news items' sampled from the publication Mail and Guardian in January, April, July and October from the beginning of the year 2000 to the end of 2007. These findings in this section of the analysis assisted me in confirming several hypotheses I had about the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and affiliated programmes in the newspaper. I first examined the coverage of the different MDGs, noting that the MDGs that did not contain key news values, such as Goal Three about women empowerment, seldom received coverage, whereas MDGs that included important figures or bad news elements, such as disease and death, were more frequently represented in the newspaper. My second finding confirmed that many of the articles about the MDGs themselves had been located in the back sections of the paper, in the development section, *Monitor*, while stories about affiliated programmes such as NEPAD were placed in more favourable locations within the Mail and Guardian. My third hypothesis explored the changes within the coverage of the MDGs by examining the different topics, such as health and education, through which development stories were categorised. My final finding in this section is that 'ordinary' citizens or non-bureaucratic sources were numerically under-represented in the Mail and Guardian during the sampled period – a finding that confirms the last hypothesis of the study.

The second set of findings within this research related specifically to the twenty-eight articles about the Millennium Development Goals. The main finding of this research concluded that no divisible pattern can be established through content analysis about the shifts in the different development paradigms used within the Mail and Guardian from 2000 to 2007.

CHAPTER IV: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.0. Introduction

This chapter builds on the quantitative findings of the previous chapter, with an in-depth examination of the Mail and Guardian's development news discourse on the representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to reveal the ideological construction of development. Fairclough's three-dimensional framework of analysis (1992b; 1995), explained in Chapter III, was used on selected texts from the content analysis sample, which were analysed to reveal the frameworks the Mail and Guardian creates for its audience's understanding and interpretation of development, namely the MDGs. The purpose of this kind of analysis is to demonstrate how properties of socio-cultural practices mould news texts.

As discussed in Chapter II, discourse is both an instrument and an effect of power, which reflects and helps shape the social structure by defining a legitimate way of representing aspects of reality. News texts, such as those in the Mail and Guardian, similarly provide a means of defining and legitimating ways of understanding development. Thus, an analysis of the way in which the Mail and Guardian defines how its readers understand development and the social ideological effects of such representations is critical.

However, it is equally important to note that the media do not merely passively reflect reality, as the notion of the 'objective' outsider journalist implies (Bennett 1995), but rather are an integral part of the active construction of that reality. In this construction, the media have the power to maintain systems of domination within society (Kellner 1995). The interplay between dominant and subordinate groups can be seen in the struggle over meanings that shape and define reality through cultural practices such as news texts: "discursive practice can be seen as an aspect of a hegemonic struggle that contributes to the reproduction and transformation of the order of discourse of which it is part (and consequently of the existing power relations)" (Fairclough 1995 in Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 76). In this way, news texts play a role in sustaining the status quo, because of their position in society as a site where cultural meanings are produced and circulated.

My analysis begins with a general characterisation of the news texts that I worked with in the first section, followed by a textual analysis that reveals some of the main discursive patterns that the Mail and Guardian employed in its representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the second section. The third section examines the representation of news actors and sources through ideational processes. The fourth section examines discourse practice to explain why the news texts are what they are. Lastly, I discuss several of the broader social issues that help shape the textual feature and influenced the production of the news. I then conclude the chapter with a discussion of the main issues raised within this critical discourse analysis.

4.1. A general characterisation of the texts under analysis

For the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of the Mail and Guardian's representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) during the seven-year sample, I used the typical-case sampling technique to select only one or two news items that exemplified each of the three categories of development categorised in the content analysis in the previous chapter. As Deacon et al (1999:171) assert, typical-case sampling allows the researcher to identify a case that exemplifies the key features of a phenomenon being investigated.

The five news items that I selected are: "Write off Africa debt, says UN" (October 8 to 14, 2004) and "Up aid or fail Africa" (April 15 to 21, 2005) from the modernisation as development paradigm; "An indivisible destiny" (January 10 to 16, 2003) from the dependency paradigm; and "We must focus on Africa's development" (April 19 to 25, 2002) and "Running out of time" (July 6 to 12, 2007) from the 'another development' paradigm. Reproductions of these news items are contained in the appendixes.

There are several reasons why I selected these five news items. First, as mentioned above, because the goal of my study is to examine both whether and how the three different development paradigms are represented in the Mail and Guardian, I have attempted to select one or two seemingly typical-case articles from each paradigm. Second, since my study of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) centres around an examination of their representation over a period of seven years, I decided to select as broad a range as possible. This was not an easy task given my earlier indication of how the articles, which

seemingly encompassed the different development paradigms, were spread throughout the sampled seven-year period. Unfortunately, the fact that each of these news items revolves around different subject matters increases the problem of comparatively analysing completely different news items that focus on different subjects, since different subjects would entail bringing in different issues to resonate with the subject matter at hand.

In terms of genre, of the five news items analysed there are two feature articles, one commentary piece and two typical news stories. Feature articles are soft news, characterised by in-depth accounts and analysis of events (McNair 1998) that may extend back a few days, weeks, months and even years. The opinion pieces are personal narratives that have many of the qualities of features. The hard news is characterised by the inverted-pyramid style. Two of the articles are situated in the *Economy & Business* pages, one is part of *Comment and Analysis* and the final two can be found in the *Monitor* section. Below are brief summaries of the contents of these texts.

In my analysis, I refer to a particular article by citing the headline. Four of the articles are composed of both text and photographs, but given the space limitations, I pay particular attention to the linguistic aspects of the texts. A critical textual analysis of the articles reveals a number of underlying ideological patterns that the Mail and Guardian uses in the representation of the Millennium Development Goals that perpetuate the subordinate status of countries on the periphery.

4.2.1. An analysis of how texts are articulated within the development as modernisation paradigm

In my chapter on content analysis, I identified seven articles that contained the 'development as modernisation' paradigm. This paradigm is characterised by the notion that development is a process of growth, which is largely measured through economic indicators and notions of modernisation, such as literacy, urbanisation and democratic participation. Of these seven articles, three were in the Mail and Guardian's *Economy & Business* section, and thus two of the articles that I have selected come from this section of the newspaper. A summary of the two articles is featured below:

Date	Headline, and summary of the article's contents
October 8 to 14, 2004	<p data-bbox="512 421 911 454">“Write off Africa debt, says UN”</p> <p data-bbox="512 495 1264 663">This article states that debt should be cancelled if Africa is to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), arguing that with the increased “level of domestic savings and investment” that debt cancellation would bring, Africa will be able to increase economic growth and reduce poverty.</p>
April 15 to 21, 2005.	<p data-bbox="512 712 783 745">“Up aid or fail Africa”</p> <p data-bbox="512 786 1264 1158">The article, which is based on a report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation (OECD) examines development aid from the previous year (2004) and concludes that current levels of aid are not enough, “even though the level reached last year was a record high” (paragraph 1). It discusses the 2005 average proportion of gross domestic product (GDP) spent on aid in 22 countries, which was 0.25%, while the “internationally agreed United Nations target is 0.7% of GDP” (paragraph 12). It further argues that fair global trade “is critically important for achieving the millennium goals” as a means to reduce poverty in Africa.</p>

As explained in my methodology chapter, my critical discourse analysis utilises Thompson’s five modes of ideology to analyse these texts and break down how the modernisation paradigm of development is constructed within.

The first article “Write off Africa debt, says UN” validates the discourse of economic growth through Thompson’s first modus operandi, ‘legitimation’, which can be achieved through rationalisation, universalisation and narrativisation. Universalisation can be seen in both articles, in which “economic growth” is seen as something positive for everyone, even if it is neither the best solution to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), nor the most pressing need.

The second most apparent form of legitimation within these texts is rationalisation, which is achieved in this article through the build up of an argument to increase aid. When laid out in chronological order, the text’s argument becomes clear:

Between 1970 and 2002, loans to the value of \$540-billion were given to Africa. By the end of 2002, “despite paying back close to \$550-billion in principal and interest” (paragraph 2), Africa “still had a debt stock of \$295-billion” (paragraph 2). The “high poverty and wretched social conditions” are a result of subsequent “low levels of saving and investment” (paragraph 3) and a current consequence of Africa’s inability to attract investment and increase savings is the inability to develop economically. This failure to expand their economies has led to the “increasing recognition” (paragraph 1) that many African countries are “struggling to service their debt while striving to reach the United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals” (paragraph 1). Last week, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) released a report urging for a “full debt write-off” (paragraph 1), but states that this will not be sufficient and “would have to be followed up with increased official development assistance grants until the continent increased the level of domestic savings and investment” (paragraph 5). These increased savings and investments will then increase the economy, which will lead to the realisation of the MDGs.

Using Propp and Todorov’s methods of narrative analysis, one can identify aspects of narrativisation at play. This ‘story’ is still centred on what Todorov calls ‘disequilibrium’, but outlines a plan towards reaching ‘final equilibrium’. Using Propp’s narrative analysis, this story would play out within the ‘complication’ parts of his narrative functions: 8a. lack: “member of family lacks or desires to have something”, 9. mediation: “a misfortune is made known and the hero is dispatched”, and 10 counteraction: “seeker decides or agrees on counter-action”. In this narrative, “Africa” is the “member of the family that lacks something” in this case, economic growth. The United Nations Conference for Trade and Development (Unctad) acts as the “dispatcher”, who sends the hero on a quest to help reduce poverty “by half by 2015”. The action decided upon to bring this change is “a full debt write off” (paragraph 5). The “hero” here is presumed to be either the donor countries, the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank, since they have the ability to achieve re-equilibrium through the magical agent “development aid”, in this case seen as a “full debt write-off”.

The Mail and Guardian also legitimates the economic position of both articles through the use of statistics and official sources, such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) report and the report by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development.

The ideology of development as modernisation is further demonstrated in the texts through reification. Reification works through ‘naturalisation’ and ‘eternalisation’, in which a transitory state of affairs is represented as if it were either natural or permanent; or through ‘passivisation, which works by constructing representations in the passive form, thus removing agency from either the perpetrator or the victims, and suggesting that these processes and actions occur naturally. Both naturalisation and eternalisation are used several times within this article, which omits any direct reference to the wealthy countries and aids donors, as seen in the paragraphs below:

The report, *Debt Sustainability: Oasis or Mirage?* said Africa had received about \$540-billion in loans between 1970 and 2002. Despite paying back close to \$550-billion in principal and interest, it still had a debt stock of \$295-billion at the end of 2002. (“Write off Africa debt, says UN”: paragraph 2).

The report omits both who Africa owes money to and who would be responsible for cancelling Africa’s debts. As a result, no nation is responsible for the fact that “many African countries [are] struggling to service their debt while striving to reach the United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals” (paragraph 1). Thus, although the article discusses Africa’s debt problems, it masks the reasons why Africa became indebted in the first place, naturalising this process.

An example of the process of dissimulation through displacement can be found in paragraphs two and three, in which the link between debt, low levels of investment and “wretched social conditions” is assumed. The text seems to argue that although African countries were loaned money, they did not use this money to increase domestic savings and investments, which has lead to “high poverty and wretched social conditions” (paragraph 3). The applied assumption that the reader will connect these three conditions reinforces the ideological notion that development can be achieved through modernisation.

Similar ideological modus operandi can be identified in the second text “Up aid or fail Africa” (April 15 to 21, 2005). This article, which was published a year after “Write off Africa debt, says UN”, argues that current levels of aid are not enough, “even though the level reached last year was a record high” (paragraph 1). The source, a report by the

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), goes on to outline aid efforts from the previous year, specifically the percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) contributed by “leading donor nations”, an average of 0.25%. What is notable about this article is fact that although it mentions that the target percentage of GDP required to meet the Millennium Development Goals is 0.7%, neither the structure nor the language of the article emphasises the gap between the target and delivered percentage. The strongest sentence of condemnation within this article is: “Aid is being delivered but not fast enough and efforts have to be stepped up if this target is to be reached” (April 15 to 21, 2005: paragraph 10). This is strongly contrasted with the 2007 article “Running out of time”, which states “rich countries must be answerable for failing to put their money where their mouths are” (paragraph 6). Aside from the headline, “Up aid or fail Africa” and the sub-header “paltry levels of aid ‘seriously jeopardise’ Millennium Development Goals”, the article maintains the disinterested, objective journalistic stance. Interestingly, the article was written by a British Guardian reporter in London, whereas, in accordance with newsroom practices, the headline and subheading were most likely added by a South African Mail and Guardian subeditor. The aforementioned ‘objective’ journalistic stance acts in a similar manner to the reification noted in the previous article, “Write off Africa debt, says UN”, neutralising any sense of blame.

Dissimulation through ‘displacement’ also occurs within this text. For example, the text associates macro-economic “growth” with poverty reduction, so that one becomes the other. This is counter to the fact that while a country may become wealthy in terms of objective macro-economic indicators such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, the people most affected by poverty may not benefit from this wealth. Thus the discourse of ‘economic growth’ as the sole means of poverty-reduction masks the dominant and subordinate relationships between and within countries.

The final mode of ideology used, which I will discuss in relation to this article, is ‘fragmentation’, which sets up an “us and them” relationship through binary opposites (Levi-Strauss 1972). In this case, the binary opposition is between “rich countries” who supply the donations, and aid receivers in “sub-Saharan Africa”. Positive evaluative statements are used to represent donor countries positively in several ways. Many of these

statements work in binary opposition. The following words on the left have been picked out from the texts and their antonyms are listed on the right, which represent the donor countries and Africa respectively:

Donor Countries:	Africa:
“rich”	poor
“give”	take
“act boldly”	behaves timidly
“mobilise”	do not work together
are “generous”	are miserly
are “keen”	are apathetic

Clearly, this manner of representation enhances the image of donor countries to the detriment of the countries that receive aid. The fact that the lexical terms selected to represent wealthy and poor nations are binary opposites drawn from the good-bad evaluative continuum could be seen as a powerful ideological tool that the Mail and Guardian employs to construct the understanding of donor nations. Unsurprisingly, all the desirable traits or values listed on the left are attributed to donor countries and appear in the two articles linked to the modernisation paradigm. However, the articles framed as modernisation stories are not the only ones that contain unfavourable comparisons between first and third world countries, as I will explain in my discussion on the sources and subjects used in the Mail and Guardian’s representation of the Millennium Development Goals.

4.2.2 An analysis of how texts are articulated within the dependency paradigm

The dependency paradigm is characterised by the notion that ‘underdevelopment’ is an outcome of past and present economic and cultural relations between countries of the centre and periphery (Frank 1973). Aspects of the dependency paradigm appeared in three of the twenty-eight articles about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Of these three articles, two were situated in the Mail and Guardian’s

Comment and Analysis section and one was a commentary within the *Economy & Business* section. Given that the articles that encompassed the dependency paradigm only equalled a small proportion of the total coverage, I will only analyse the one article that displays the typical-case example. A summary of the article is featured below:

Date	Headline, and summary of the article's contents
Jan 28 to Feb 3, 2005.	<p>“An indivisible destiny”</p> <p>The article, a letter from Brazilian President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, argues that “efficiency without values strips human rights out of the language of economics” (subheading)</p>

It is important to note the position of the author in relation to the text. Since this article is a letter within the *Comment and Analysis* section, it more obviously articulates the opinion of the author, in this case, the President of Brazil. Moreover, President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, who grew up during the same time as the *dependista* movement in South America, came into power as the leader of the ‘Workers’ Party’, a progressive party allied with trade unions. The writings of such a man therefore reflect his socialist stance.

However, while this text contains many elements of the discourse of ‘dependency’, it also contains discourses of modernisation and economic development. Fairclough identifies this interaction between discourses within a text or communicative event as ‘interdiscursivity’. According to Fairclough (1992b), depending on the nature of the interdiscursivity, it can either signify and drive change or actively work towards the stability of the dominant order:

Creative discursive practices in which discourse types are combined in new and complex ways – in new ‘interdiscursive mixes’ – are both a sign of, and a driving force in, discursive and thereby socio-cultural change. On the other hand, discursive practices in which discourses are mixed in conventional ways are indications of, and work towards, the stability of the dominant order of discourse and thereby the dominant social order. (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 73)

I argue that the selected text, “An indivisible destiny” (January 28 to February 3, 2005), is an example of a creative discursive practice, in which economic discourses are incorporated to legitimise a text that represents the dependency paradigm.

Within the text, the ideological effects of unification are used to construct a pseudo unity of all nations in an attempt to override differences and divisions. Paragraph one states that “all borders are common” and that the “new geopolitics of human existence demonstrates an unprecedented capacity to fight for large *collective interests* and to demand solutions that are coordinated and in *solidarity*” (my emphasis). However, the members of this unity are identified in paragraph four as “poor countries” who need to organise “into regional blocs” in an “effort to channel the energy of world trade into the fight against inequality”. Through these and the use of the word “we”, the author sets up a sense of unity, as seen in paragraph 10: “the path that is needed is not the existing one, but the one we are building: we must broaden and deepen it”. However, the workings of unification often lead to fragmentation, in which the ‘we’ separates ‘us’ from ‘them’, in this case the nations on the ‘periphery’ from the nations at the ‘centre’. Fragmentation is used here to indicate the need for the ‘other’ to “reform”, in this case, the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and wealthy countries:

The reform of the UN and particularly the Security Council is part of this agenda. But the line of inequality will not shift as long as political power remains locked in place by a financial system that perpetuates current relationships. Forty-five percent of the decision-making of the World Bank is assigned to the seven richest countries. Five central economies hold 40% of the votes in the International Monetary Fund, while 23 African nations prostrated by hunger have 1%. (paragraph 5)

The use of figurative language within the text helps to build the sense of wrongdoing. The author purposefully connects both the tragedy of the 2005 tsunami and the hunt for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and Afghanistan, which prompted the donation of millions of dollars of aid from the European Union and United States respectively, with the starvation of millions of people, who could not access basic resources. This is most apparent within paragraph three of the article:

Abundance and injustice were the major features of the 20th century. In the past 40 years, world gross domestic product doubled while economic inequality between the centre and the periphery of the planet tripled. The richest 25% of the planet consume 80% of available resources, while almost two billion people live beneath the poverty line, on less than two dollars a day. The industrialised economies spend \$900-billion to protect their borders but dedicate less than \$60-billion to poor countries, where hunger is the primary weapon of mass destruction, killing 11 children each minute, 24 000 people each day — the equivalent of one tsunami a week.

The author, President Lula da Silva, argues that a civilisation that allows such inequality “rains death upon its own children” (paragraph 4). This statement is echoed in the other texts identified in my sample as containing elements of the dependency paradigm, an example of this is in paragraph 20 of the article “A world gone crazy”:

And so it comes to pass that 20% of the world’s population is stick thin, dying of starvation, Aids and preventable diseases, while the 20% at the other end of the scale is eating up 80% of the world’s resources, commanding most of its money, and dying of obesity, cancer, heart disease, diabetes and strokes. (January 10 to 16, 2003)

As mentioned above, this text “An indivisibly destiny” (January 28 to February 3, 2005) does not strictly hold to the ideology of the *dependistas*, diverging from the dependency theory by declaring that the solutions to inequality cannot be found in “isolation and autarky”, or an economy that does not take part in international trade. The author frequently makes reference to economic discourses, but subverts them to create new meanings. An example of this is in paragraph one: “we should examine another area of devastation *evident in the statistics of our time*: a silent earthquake reverberating from the ravines of global inequality that raises again the great challenge of winning the world’s people to the project of mass cooperation in the 21st century” (my emphasis) and in paragraph six “debts must be honoured, but payment must not mean the *euthanasia of the debtor*” (my emphasis). The best use of economic language to convey human-rights discourse within the text is the sentence: “Efficiency without values strips human rights out of the language of economics” (paragraph 7).

Thus, although this article is a hybrid of the development paradigms, the use of interdiscursivity in this case can be seen as a sign of discursive and socio-cultural change.

4.2.3 An analysis of how texts are articulated within the ‘another development’ paradigm

The articles that were considered to encompass the ‘another development’ paradigm, contained the phrases “needs-based” orientation and “ecologically” sound development programmes, and made reference to participatory development and endogenous processes. Both of the two articles identified in this section were found in *Monitor*, the development section of the Mail and Guardian. One of the articles is a feature and the other is a straight news story. Below is a summary of the two articles:

Date	Headline, and summary of the article’s contents
April 19 to 25, 2002	“We must focus on Africa’s development” This article is an abridged version of a keynote address by British Secretary of State for International Development, Clare Short. In this article, she argues that the “challenge” of meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) lies with the New Economic Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD).
July 6 to 12, 2007	“Running out of time” This article, which was run in the wake of the MDGs’ mid-term evaluation report, states that “sub-Saharan Africa will fail to meet the millennium development goals”.

The two articles presented were selected because while they both contain aspects of the ‘another development’ paradigm, these aspects manifest in different ways and are weighted differently within the articles. A similar problem with interdiscursivity develops when examining the article that seemingly encompassed the ‘another’ development paradigm.

The first is a feature article. While it discusses the need for aid with involvement at a local level and the empowerment of the people affected by aid, it only engages with this content at the end of the article in paragraphs twenty-four to twenty-six:

But equally important is the commitment to improve the quality of aid. Against considerable resistance, aid is gradually being untied *from the narrow national interests of donors and consultants*, to be *focused where there are large numbers of poor people* and used to back reformers.

In addition, progressive countries have moved away from funding a proliferation of projects to *backing poverty-reduction strategies drawn up by developing countries themselves*. (my emphasis)

Ninety percent of the article, the first twenty-three paragraphs, postulates an argument for population reduction, increased economic growth and reform, which can be seen as an element of the modernisation paradigm. It achieves this firstly through the use of 'rationalisation' in a step-by-step plan of action for the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) to first change the "trend" of population growth outstripping economic growth in paragraphs four to six and again in paragraphs sixteen to nineteen:

16. Current trade rules create serious barriers to the processing that *Africa needs to speed up economic growth*, to generate higher income for workers, and to be able to afford the imports needed to invest in the better transport infrastructure *necessary for development*.
17. But Africa can also do more to encourage trade within the continent. Trade barriers between African countries are high. This creates obstacles to regional integration, *economic growth and inward investment*. It is entirely within Africa's own gift to agree to the lowering of these barriers, which would contribute significantly to improved *economic growth*.
18. The fourth issue that is high on the NEPAD agenda is inward investment and the need for increased investment in infrastructure. There is no doubt that poor transport systems in Africa are a major barrier to *economic development* and add massively to the cost of exports. Other weaknesses in infrastructure are a reflection of underdevelopment. Most Africans have never used a telephone; less than 10% of rural Africans have access to electricity.
19. The important point is that the reforms needed to *encourage the growth of a strong domestic private sector* in Africa are the same reforms that are needed to attract more inward investment. And urgent reform is essential because in current conditions 40% of Africa's savings, which should be the basis for increased domestic investment, leave the continent and are invested elsewhere.

As illustrated in the above paragraphs of the text, there is a great emphasis on "economic growth" and "economic development", which appear twelve times in total within this

article. This emphasis is reminiscent of the justification used in the articles categorised under the modernisation paradigm to show that growth is the best means of achieving the Millennium Development Goals.

The strategy of dissimulation, or the concealing of existing relations and processes of domination, is utilised several times within the text to reaffirm this point. For instance, population growth is attributed to increased poverty several times. Dissimulation is also used to conceal the broader social reasons for increasing poverty in the developing world. While paying lip service to role of colonialism, the article again emphasises that Africa is to blame for its current poverty, not only through overpopulation but through its economic policies: “we must also face the fact that part of the explanation of the present situation in Africa lies in the policies that have been pursued by many African governments in recent decades” (paragraph 8). These policies are then implicitly and negatively compared to those of colonial ‘white’ governments before the independence movements within Africa: “Africa’s per capita income is lower now than it was 30 years ago, in the heyday of the independence movement” (paragraph 9). This negative comparison foregrounds the role of Africa as the creator of its own poverty, masking the larger implications of development and underdevelopment in the world.

The comparison between Africa and first world countries is part of the ideological process of fragmentation, in which an ‘other’ is vilified through the creation of binary opposites, which Levi-Strauss (1972) defines in his work. In the list below, the vocabulary attributed to African nations is conveyed in the left column:

Africa:

“Poorest continent”
“Population outstripped growth”
“Degraded and exploited”
Needs “reform”
“Deals in unprocessed commodities”
Pursued bad economic policies
Does not have “properly functioning states”

Europe

wealthy continent
growth outstrips population
untarnished
do not need reform
“industrialised”
has good economic policies
has functioning states

Many have “never used a telephone”	technologically proficient
25-million people infected with Aids	lower infection rate
20% of people live in “armed conflict”	peaceful
“Need to increase levels of economic growth”	has increased economic growth
“Requires better economic & political governance”	has good governance
Does not “encourage trade” within Africa	Encourages trade in Europe
“Trade barriers” between African nations are high	reasonable trade barriers in EU
“Poor transport systems”	good transport systems

This table of binary opposites shares similar qualities to the table within my discussion of the articles featuring the modernisation paradigm. The negative representation of Africa within the texts helps reinforce the notion that Africa is to blame for its current economic state. An example is paragraph 15’s statement that “better economic and political governance throughout Africa” is required in order to increase economic growth, implying that the current economic and political governance is insufficient.

In this text, I argue that the modernisation paradigm and discourses of economic growth have been foregrounded, despite the articulation of aspects of the ‘another’ development paradigm. In this case, the interdiscursive practice, which mixed the discourses in conventional ways, is an indication of and helps work towards the “stability of the dominant order of discourse and thereby the dominant social order” (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002: 73).

The second article flagged as ‘another development’ story, “Running out of time” (July 6 to 12, 2007) focuses on the participatory aspects of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) over the strict economic growth model presented by the previous article. However, while this article discusses participatory development, it is still similar to the first article in its use of sources: the two main voices that discuss participatory development are both first-world members of the United Nations. The first is the head of the United Nations’ Millennium Campaign, Eveline Herfkens, who argues that citizens of the developing world need to “mobilise and hold their governments responsible”, and the second source is Jeffery Sachs, who foregrounds the need for aid to be supplied and managed at a local level. Sachs,

who is presented in the text as “the intellectual pin-up of the development aid world”, is an economist at Columbia University, who became a ‘special advisor’ to the United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon. He is also the founder of the non-profit organisation, the Millennium Promise Alliance, and was the director of the United Nations Millennium Project from 2002 to 2006. Thus, their representation of the MDGs reflects the United Nations’ interests.

This article argues two points: first, donor countries are failing to invest in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and second, that more aid is needed at a local level to aid participatory development. The first point is evident in the first two paragraphs of the article:

1. When United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon announced this week that sub-Saharan Africa will fail to meet the millennium development goals (MDGs), it came as no great surprise.
2. The mid-term evaluation of progress made in reaching the objectives has been presaged by years of missed benchmarks, donors renegeing on aid promises and the maintenance of crippling trade terms, which keep the developing world mired in poverty.

In this article, the journalist foregrounds the negative role of donor countries through the argument that they have kept the “developing world mired in poverty”, both actively through “the maintenance of crippling trade terms” and “renegeing on aid promises”, and through negligence by missing benchmarks. The journalist then uses official United Nations sources to legitimate this position, as paragraph five indicates:

She doesn’t pull her punches on the track record of the rich countries, rattling off statistics and anecdotes at a bewildering pace: “Debt relief as aid definitely stinks! — only Britain and the Nordic countries give untied aid. Portugal’s aid creates jobs for Portuguese nationals. 78% of Germany’s [aid] budget for primary education is spent on consultants with no thought about recurrent costs or sustainability... European agriculture is destroying livelihoods and making development impossible in Africa ...” (July 6 to 12, 2007)

Paragraph twelve and thirteen, which contain Sachs’ opinions, reiterate the same notion: that donors are self-motivated, disinterested bureaucrats (“If their jobs actually depended on

meeting these goals — such as reducing child mortality rates — they would be sending money straight to local governments”), who “don’t really know what they are doing and aren’t accountable for results”. This stance clearly suggests a shift within the status quo, which was maintained in the previous articles examined. Several of those articles narrativised wealthy donor nations as heroes, who had the power to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, whereas a narrative analysis of this article relegates donor nations to the role of the false heroes, if not the villains through the implication that their “maintenance of crippling trade terms” (paragraph 2) is “destroying livelihoods and making development impossible in Africa” (paragraph 5). The fact that this article is the last in the sample, and was printed in the wake of the mid-term evaluation report, might account for the disillusionment of the author and sources.

The second argument made by the article is the need for better aid at a local level. This point is legitimised through a series of arguments by both Herfkens and Sachs. Herfken’s argument that “citizens of the developing world” need “to mobilise and hold their governments responsible for meeting the goals” (paragraph 6) and “should use the MDGs to put pressure on local authorities, which have the political weight to lobby national government on behalf of their constituents” (paragraph 7) assumes that the “local authorities” are concerned about the MDGs, and that these authorities have the “political weight to lobby national government”. Both of these assumptions are highly suspect, given the political record of local government in South Africa. But this premise is further legitimised through the use of a prestigious official source Kofi Annan, who “believes that up to 70% of the goals should be achieved through local government”. The latter half of the article, which includes comments from Jeffery Sachs, continues the process of legitimisation through rationalisation:

He expresses frustration with much development aid which, he says, is “too little, poorly targeted and directed at the wrong level of government. If everything remains at the general level we don’t get results.” He is not advocating opposition to national governments, but points out that putting money straight into the local level allows donors to skip two or three steps and save on attendant transaction costs. (paragraph 10)

While many of the points of this argument are valid, it masks the fact that many of the programmes affiliated with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), such as the no-fees education policy, were conceived and are implemented at a national level.

While the tenet of needs-based, locally-driven aid are given validity in this article, it is important to note that the text is not entirely free of the discourses of modernisation that drive many of the other articles about the Millennium Development Goals. An example of this paradigm within the text occurs in the discussion of Sachs' Millennium Villages, which are represented as the ideal aid programme within the text:

Millennium Villages are those that have successfully used technologies, investment and community-led interventions to escape extreme poverty and meet the MGDs. They have used modest financial support to move from subsistence farming to self-sustaining commercial activity. (paragraph 9)

He also is a fan of the twinning arrangements between developed and developing cities, which allow, for sharing of skills and resources, facilitated by the United Cities and Local Governments organisation (paragraph 11).

The modernisation paradigm – which equates growth and development with the greater use of technologies, capitalistic methods and development through imitation – is clearly portrayed within this section of the text. The strategy of displacement here links the “escape” from extreme poverty to the successful use of “technologies” and capitalist practices, again concealing the fact these are not the only or the best means of development. Euphemism can be seen in the phrase “*sharing* of skills and resources” (my emphasis), which would imply that there will be a free, two-way flow of resources and skills between the “developed and developing cities”. However, as the literature in Chapter II suggests, this process often amounts to cultural imperialism.

As mentioned above, the two articles that were selected for this section both contain aspects of the ‘another development’ paradigm, but these aspects manifest in different ways and are given different weights within the article. While the first article included the discourses from both paradigms, it was heavily biased towards the modernisation as

development paradigm, whereas the second article gave more prominence to participatory development.

4.2.4. Changes within the representation of development over the seven-year sample

My earlier content analysis revealed that there was no discernable pattern in the representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in relation to the three development paradigms. The articles containing the modernisation paradigm span from 2004 to 2006, while articles containing the dependency paradigm are positioned between 2003 and 2005, and stories with aspects of 'another development' paradigm can be found in each year. After engaging in a critical discourse analysis of this coverage, I have come to the conclusion that while the Mail and Guardian's concept of development is not fixed to one paradigm, the modernisation paradigm is the most pervasive, with the discourses of modernisation through economic growth and technological enhancements entering into each of the texts about the MDGs.

4.3 The representation of bureaucratic versus non-bureaucratic sources

Several patterns of representation emerged in the previous chapter, including the fact that 'ordinary' people or non-bureaucratic voices were infrequently used as news actors/sources in the Mail and Guardian's coverage of development stories. An examination of this pattern is important because while the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) stem from a participatory or 'another development' paradigm, a content analysis of the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the MDGs and affiliated programmes showed that the newspaper did not frame its stories in such a participatory manner. Thus, while the subjects of many aid programmes (the impoverished, children, refugees and ordinary citizens of African countries) were discussed in the articles, the majority of sources quoted came from spokespeople for the South African government, the United Nations, the World Bank and other aid organisations. The overall number of bureaucratic sources and subjects used far exceeds the number of 'ordinary' people's voices heard within the articles, with at least seventy percent (70%) of subjects and sources categorised as bureaucratic. More importantly, however, is the fact that of the two-hundred and ninety-nine (299) people

quoted as sources within these articles, only eight percent (8%) of voices quoted as authoritative sources were those most affected by poverty and development, which contradicts the participatory goals that these programmes were founded on. It is important to note, however, that there is no direct correlation between greater coverage and better representation. Thus, even though a particular source is frequently mentioned, it does not mean that s/he is represented in a better manner than others because s/he may not be an active participant at all but merely a subject of the other people's representations. This is especially true of the representation of Africa and African people.

A critical discourse analysis of the substance of what is presented in the articles reveals a number of noteworthy ideological patterns of representation. As noted above, Thompson's (1990) work on the mobilisation of meaning in the interest of the powerful group/s, here identified as bureaucratic sources from developed nations, is significant in this regard through ideological patterns that sustain the status quo by representing the 'poor' from developing countries as being subordinate.

A critical textual analysis shows, for example, how the Mail and Guardian consistently assigns negative characteristics to Africa and developing countries, while developed nations and sources from these countries are frequently assigned positive personal attributes. There is a systematic construction of Africa and Africans as incompetent and thus dependent on the largesse of the developed world. Moreover, the Mail and Guardian frequently represents Africans as passive and donor countries as active participants in the texts. The patterns of representations used in the Mail and Guardian sustain, rather than transform, Africa's subordinate social, economic and political status in the world, and reproduce the hegemonic relations of power between developed and developing nations.

4.3.1. The construction of negative traits for Africa and Africans

As explained in Chapter II, several factors aid in the selection and presentation of sources in a news story. In this case, the journalistic news value highlighting the importance of elite persons and countries (Hartley 1994) plays a significant role in the selection and presentation of events and news subjects and sources. This news value enables journalists

to construct comprehensible news stories by reducing complex historical and institutional processes to the actions of individuals, thus evoking empathy or disapproval through identification (Gans 1979).

A comparative look at the characteristics attributed to both African countries and people and developing nations and people shows that the Mail and Guardian consistently assigns negative values to non-bureaucratic sources, which the content analysis identified as largely African people, while concurrently assigning positive terms to bureaucratic sources. A review of some of the lexical terms (including their synonyms) used helps to illustrate this.

First, however, it is noteworthy that in the sampled articles, non-bureaucratic sources were not used at all, effectively silencing those who are most affected by the success or failure of the Millennium Development Goals. The primary sources used were the British Secretary of State for International Development, the Organisation for Economic Development's Brian Hammond, head of United Nation's Millennium Campaign Eveline Herfken, former-UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development report, economist Jeffery Sachs, President of Brazil Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, the International Monetary Fund and finally the World Bank, which appeared as a source in two of the articles. With the exception of sources that appeared as both actors within the newspaper and as sources of information, such as Herfken, Sachs and the United Nations, the sources were mainly attributed with the verbal processes and mental processes. The verbal processes in the texts include "said", "have called on", "expresses" and "argued", while the mental processes include "estimates", "believes" and "feels frustrated".

When sources are used as subjects, then relational processes come into play. In the case of the sources, the relational processes tend to be favourable. For instance Jeffery Sachs is "the intellectual pin-up of the development aid world" (July 6 to 12, 2007), and Eveline Herfken "is refreshingly direct" (July 6 to 12, 2007).

Subjects, on the other hand, include and are subscribed a variety of processes; those of sensing (mental) e.g. Jeffery Sachs clearly feels frustrated; of doing (material) e.g. donor countries pledged aid; and of being (relational) e.g. Africa is the poorest continent or donor countries are generous. Others are processes of behaving (behavioural), of existing

(existential) and of saying (verbal) e.g. the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development report commented on aid. Mental processes have a sensor and a phenomenon; material processes have an actor (or agent) and a goal (or patient); and verbal processes have a speaker and a listener (Fairclough 2003). An analysis of the selections made from the system of transitivity, which is a part of the ideational function of language, in the representation of actors or subjects and their associated processes reveals a systematic passivisation of non-bureaucratic actors and sources. Thus, when we examine who is constructed as doing what to whom and with what effect in the articles, it is evident that donor countries appear to be doing or taking actions that benefit Africa and African people, who are presented as passive.

The non-bureaucratic sources identified within the texts are people in the developing world and 'Africa'. The ideational functions attributed to the people in the developing world, largely identified in the texts as Africans, are relational (of being) and material (of doing). However, the majority of these processes are framed in a negative manner, often depicting lack or inaction. Examples of lack as depicted through material processes are: people in the developing world "live in abject poverty", have "never used a telephone", and need "to mobilise and hold their governments accountable". All of these examples are suggestive of what people in developing countries are not doing or have not done. Similarly, the one relational process related to the 'people' also contains negative implications: "twenty percent of the people in Africa are living in conditions of conflict" (April 19 to 25, 2002). The few positive processes dedicated to the people in the developing world, which are found in the article "Running out of time" (July 6 to 12, 2007) indicate a potential for 'doing' that has not yet been realised: "citizens *can* have the most direct impact" or "citizens *should* use the MDGs to put pressure on local government" (my emphases).

'Africa', which is frequently given agency in these articles, suffers from equally negative representations. The relational processes attributed to Africa similarly suggest lack and need. Examples of this are: Africa "is the poorest continent", "is set to become steadily poorer", needs "to speed up economic growth", and is "prostrated by hunger". This representation of Africa as needy and destitute perpetuates the notion of Africa as a vast

'begging bowl'. The material processes likewise invoke negative imagery of a continent that needs aid because it is unable to take action for itself. Examples of this are that Africa "pursued" bad policies and "needs to become development-oriented, create jobs through labour-intensive industry, diversify its economy, maintain law and order" (July 6 to 12, 2007). This representation of Africa as dependent on aid reinforces the existing power relations, helping maintain the status quo.

4.3.2 The construction of bureaucratic subjects and sources

Bureaucratic subjects were identified throughout the five articles as the United Nations, the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the governments of South Africa and Britain, United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon and donor countries, which were also described as 'developed nations' and 'rich countries'. These bureaucratic actors are attributed a far greater range of processes, and, in the case of donor countries, both with negative and positive connotations, but in these kinds of presentations, donor countries or developed nations are generally represented as engaging in processes that benefit the developing countries.

Unlike the non-bureaucratic actors, who are effectively silenced, bureaucratic actors are attributed verbal processes, e.g. the "United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon announced" or the United Nations "called a special assembly". A list of relational processes connected with these bureaucratic participants include: the governments of South Africa and the United Kingdom "are strongly committed" and "are in a position to make considerable progress" (April 19 to 25, 2002) towards conflict resolution. Examples of the material processes attributed to the United Nations, the governments of South Africa and Britain, and the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) are: NEPAD "must lead to a steep shift in the pace and depth of African development" (April 19 to 25, 2002) and "United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown has pledged to double Britain's aid flows to 0.7% of GDP by 2013" (Mail and Guardian, April 15 to 21, 2005).

I have purposefully not mentioned the ideational processes attributed to the 'rich' donor countries in relation to the other bureaucratic sources, because while the United

Nations and the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) are positively depicted in all related articles, the sentiments about the donor countries shift depending on the author's position and the paradigm used. The positive evaluations of the donor countries appeared in the articles "Up aid or fail Africa" and "We must focus on Africa's development", where these foreign donors are described as "generous". Positive material processes ascribed to donor countries are: "mobilised", "increased their aid", "donated", "pledged" and "act boldly". These attributions can be seen as binary opposites to the ways in which Africa is described in the same texts. The two lists of binary opposites in my analysis of the articles "Write off Africa debt, says UN" in section 4.2.1 and of "We must focus on Africa's development" in section 4.2.3 are another example of how these positive and negative characterisations can help reinforce existing power relations.

However, as discussed in the sections above, not all of the representations of donor countries within the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are favourable. Negative relational processes tied to these representations include the phrases that donor nations "must be answerable for failing to put their money where their mouths are" and "are not paying attention to the MDGs". These descriptions depict donor countries as both negligent and accountable for the failure to achieve the MDGs. Moreover, the negative material processes presented in certain articles counter the positive imagery of the "generous" donor nations portrayed in the articles mentioned above. Examples of these are: "reneging on aid promises", maintain "crippling trade terms", and "consume 80% of available resources". Both material processes attributed to the donor countries are negative; one describes Germany as a country that "gives no thought to recurrent cost or sustainability" of development and the other states that "most donors don't really know what they are doing" (July 6 to 12, 2007).

4.4. Interpretation and explanation for the ideological patterns of representation in the Mail and Guardian

There are several explanations as to why the articles analysed above represent the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) as they do. The first is the nature of genres that the Mail and Guardian used and the discourses the newspaper drew upon in the

construction of the texts, as well as the social and institutional conditions of the discourse practice. The second explanation is that the wider social issues of the social practice in which the Mail and Guardian is produced encompass financial and audience considerations, which decide both which sources and events are portrayed and how they are represented in the news. I start by briefly analysing the discourse practice below before examining the social practice.

4.4.1. Analysis of the discourse practice

According to Foucault, no discourse operates merely in language, but rather in institutions and practices. In using Fairclough's discursive practices model to examine news articles, it is therefore necessary both to examine the publication's stance and codes of conduct, and the practice of journalism as a whole in order to provide more insight into the conditions of production. It is important to note, however, that although Fairclough intends this section of the model to include reception studies alongside production studies, that task is simply too ambitious to take on within this research, and thus will be limited to include research about the newspaper's typical readers.

As mentioned in Chapter II, the Mail and Guardian, which positioned itself as part of the 'struggle press' during Apartheid, with a strong interest in development and labour issues, currently characterises itself as:

Broadly critical of the status quo in South Africa, but with out affiliation to any political party or organisation. It will concentrate on critical, independent analysis, rather than pursuing a particular 'line'. (Manoim 1996: 5 as quoted in Steenveld 2007: 115)

Prior to 1994, the Mail and Guardian, then the Weekly Mail, was an independently owned newspaper, but merged with the UK Guardian in that year because of financial difficulties. The Guardian Group was chosen by the editors of the Weekly Mail because of its backing by the Scott Trust, a trust fund that enabled the Guardian to keep political and economic independence (Steenveld 2007). In 2002, Newtrust Company Botswana Limited, the

company of Zimbabwean publisher Trevor Ncube, bought out the Guardian's majority shareholding.

However, the Guardian's influence can be seen in the selection of articles for the development section, in which seven of the twenty-eight articles (25%) about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), were written by British Guardian reporters. One example of this is the article "Up aid or fail Africa" (April 15 to 21, 2005). The ownership of the newspaper is one of the reasons that can explain why the competing discourses of modernisation and participatory development are represented in the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the MDGs.

Another important influence on the Mail and Guardian's content is the editor. Between the sample range of 2000 and 2007, the Mail and Guardian changed editors several times. Steenveld (2007) attributes changes within the paper to the changes in editorship. In 2001, a new editor Howard Barrell, who took over from Phillip van Niekerk, changed the paper's economic focus from broad economic issues, including labour and policy, to personal finance and investment issues. The impact of this change on how development issues were treated during this period can be seen in the decrease of HIV/Aids-related stories in favour of articles about economic development. The number of stories about the Millennium Development Goals and affiliated projects within *Monitor* also sharply declined during his time as editor.

In 2002, Mondli Makhanya, the newspaper's first black editor was appointed. During this period, while the paper recorded its first small operating profit, articles about the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) were the driving focus of the articles on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The article, "We must focus on Africa's development" (April 19 to 25, 2002), which was published during this period, discusses the MDGs in relation to NEPAD. In 2004, Ferial Haffajee took on the role of editor. The majority of the articles that specifically mention the MDGs have occurred during her time as editor.

However, over the past twenty-three years, the Mail and Guardian maintains that its mission has not changed:

Though changed in many ways, the *M&G* is in essence the same newspaper that first saw the light on June 14 1985. Its mission is still to promote freedom, justice, equality and the unity of humankind. It aims to create space for debate and diversity, to fight restrictions on the free flow of information and to combat racial, political and religious prejudice. It is patriotic but not blindly so, taking as its lodestar the values of our new Constitution. It continues to take “the worm’s eye view”, regarding authority with deep suspicion and instinctively siding with the powerless and vulnerable. (Forrest 2005 in Steenveld 2007)

As my analysis above indicates, while the Mail and Guardian certainly “[creates] space for debate and diversity”, particularly diverse opinions on development, it does not always manage to “instinctively [side] with the powerless and vulnerable”.

The content of the Mail and Guardian also reflects the newspaper’s expectations of its audience and the costs of production. This publication is an extremely successful newspaper, with a weekly readership of five-hundred thousand, eight hundred and forty-eight (500 848) readers; this means that 1.6% of South Africa’s population of approximately thirty-one million people buy the Mail and Guardian (South African Advertising Research Foundation website 2008). In comparison to the Sunday Times, which boasts the highest readership of any weekly South African newspaper (12.8% of South Africans are readers) in 2008, this is a paltry amount. However, according to the South African Advertising Research Foundation’s (SAARF) 2008 All Media Products Survey (AMPS), the Mail and Guardian caters for the second-wealthiest readers of any weekly newspaper in South Africa (just after the Beeld Naweek), in which the household income of the average Mail and Guardian reader is R16 453 per month, placing them in the top Living Standards Measurement (LSM) categories. Moreover, the average age of its readers is 40-years-old. These statistics indicate that the Mail and Guardian attracts a large readership comprising of some of South Africa’s influential intellectuals and business leaders, who own the majority of the country’s wealth and businesses (or what Marx would call the “means of production”). These readers are more likely to be people who may be interested in, but will not directly benefit from, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) or their affiliated programmes. This readership is also likely to include a few high-level government officials, who are in decision-making positions over the implementation of development programmes and

the achievement of the MDGs. In this instance, it is clear why articles about the Millennium Development Goals more often focused on programmes like NEPAD, since for the target audience, interest in the economic implications of NEPAD's actions would be greater.

Another important factor that shapes news production is the conventions of journalistic practice and the news genre. Questions of why a newspaper should report on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and how these stories should be told, are generally constituted within the newsroom's policies and practices. Many of these conventions date back a hundred years, such as the inverted-pyramid, and continue today because they have become naturalised within the journalistic practice as the only way to operate. As mentioned in Chapter II, one important convention that dictates which type of stories get preference is "news values", which define what is considered newsworthy. Since the articles I am reviewing fall under the category of news, I have attempted to identify several of the news values that define them as such. These are, first, "bad news and conflict", in which there is an argument that the MDGs cannot be attained. Second is "importance", which is defined as "news is about those events, ideas, institutions and practices which feature large in the lives of readers" (Ansell 2002: 2-3); arguably any news about our government and its health and educational institutions is important. The third news value is "proximity", which might also account for why the MDGs themselves were so seldom portrayed, unless in reference to the national programmes developed to meet them. The final news value, I have identified in this case is "elite personalities and countries", given the frequency of articles about the MDGs that refer to prominent foreign and local politicians and institutes, such as the World Bank.

4.4.2. Social economic factors of news production

The socio-cultural practices surrounding these texts include the worldwide views on development and aid programmes, and Africa's, more particularly South Africa's, position within these practices. The notion of development dates back to the 17th century, but for the purposes of examining the social, economic and cultural practices that lead to the creation

of the articles examined above, this section will only examine the past few decades of development theory, which were laid out in Chapter II in more detail.

The concept of development has changed several times over the past few decades “with different and inconsistent meanings, which vary according to who invokes the notion and according to the circumstances under which it is invoked” (Schlegel 1977 in Gecau 1993: 36). The dominant paradigm of development is materially significant because it affects development policies and their practical application during the time that it becomes part of common discourse. Three particular paradigmatic shifts – development as modernisation, development as dependency, and ‘another development’ – have been identified.

Development as modernisation, which became the dominant paradigm between 1945 and 1965, comes out of the Western tradition that identifies development with “the metaphor of growth and the idea of progress” (Servaes 1986: 205). The modernisation paradigm perceives development as a linear and irreversible process of imitation, through which ‘developing’ countries become ‘developed’ countries by moving from traditional societies to more industrialised, ‘modern’ ones through a series of consecutive phases (Rostow 1960). Lerner (1958) stresses the connection between economic expansion, which is equated with development, and a set of modernising variables, such as literacy, mass media consumption, urbanisation and democratic participation. The ‘modernisation’ was to be achieved by bypassing the industrial phase and leapfrogging into an ‘information society’ through embracing technology. This technical know-how and the technologies themselves were to come from the developed North and West, in order to aid production in everything from agriculture to education (Melcote 1991). In Africa, the modernisation paradigm can be seen through the debt accumulated between the 1970s and the present day, which came from developing nations borrowing money in order to improve their infrastructure through the purchase of technologies. In South Africa, the modernisation paradigm can be seen in the 1996 deployment of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy.

In the late 1960s, the modernist approach to development was challenged by neo-Marxists, especially the Latin American *dependista* school. Stayenhagen (1966) claimed

that the development of 'modern' societies and underdevelopment were interrelated processes: "In other words, growth and modernisation had brought with them greater inequality and underdevelopment." For many dependency theorists, the aversion to the Western notions of modernisation as growth does not merely stem from concerns of economic dependency but from the fear of 'cultural imperialism' as "it is often claimed that the world capitalist economy is posing a threat to national sovereignty and a threat to national culture in the form of 'westernisation'" (Newell et al 2002: 2). Globalisation reproduces unequal processes that are not just material but ideological, through the constant barrage of foreign media and educational programmes. In South Africa, the dependency model is best represented by the African National Congress' (ANC) Reconstruction, Redistribution and Development programme (RDP).

In the 1970s, the 'another development' paradigm developed as an alternative to the modernist and dependency views. This paradigm advocates the notion of self-development or participatory alternatives for change. Within the South African context, the 'another development' approach can be identified in the argument for a basic income grant (BIG). The Millennium Declaration of 2000 and the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also stem from this paradigm.

In South Africa, the annual *South Africa's Millennium Development Goals Country Report* examines the implementation and implication of the MDGs in our country. According to the 2005 report, although South Africa has already met some of the MDG targets, there are still many that have not yet been achieved. In the section below, I will examine how each MDG has been tackled within the South African context.

According to the *South Africa's Millennium Development Goals Country Report* of 2007, there has been visible income growth within poor communities in South Africa. The 2007 report also indicates that although there has been strong overall income growth, especially amongst the poorest communities, the concern is that income inequality seems to have increased over the same time frame. There has, however, been a decline in cases of severe malnutrition amongst children under-five years old from 88 971 in 2001 to 30 082 in 2005 (Country Report 2007: 5).

The second Millennium Development Goal (MDG) set a target to ensure that all children would have access to a complete primary school education by 2015. In South Africa, according to Statistics South Africa (Stats SA), more than 98% of seven to thirteen-year-old children had attended education institutions. The same study also showed that youth literacy remained above 96%. In South Africa, the policy regarding exemption from school fees received a great deal of coverage because of both its successes and failures.

Goal Three had aimed to eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005, and in all educational sectors by 2015. This Goal received minimal coverage in the Mail and Guardian.

The aim of Goal Four is the reduction of the under-five mortality rate by two-thirds by 2015. In South Africa, increased immunisation programmes continue to aid children against diseases and viruses like polio, HIV, malaria, etcetera. Goal Five, which is linked to Goal Four, attempts to reduce maternal mortality rates by two-thirds. Few of these programmes were reported on in the Mail and Guardian.

Goal Six, which is linked to the prevention of major diseases and viruses such as HIV/Aids and malaria, received a great deal of attention in South Africa from both the media and activists because of then-president Thabo Mbeki's denial of the link between HIV and Aids.

Goal Seven is concerned with sustainable development practices that will aid in the reversal of environmental degradation, give all people access to safe drinking water and reduce the prevalence of slums. Programmes such as Working for Water in South Africa were extremely influential.

Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Eight deals with issues such as non-discriminatory trading and financial systems, participatory and needs-based development programmes, addressing debt problems and creating greater national access to affordable pharmaceuticals. In South Africa, the state has actively supported several advocacy and awareness-raising programmes to promote the achievement of the MDGs by developing countries in Africa. This can most particularly be seen in its role within the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which is "Africa's primary socio-

economic development programme through which most of the MDGs are addressed” (Country Report 2007: 9).

Numerous newspaper articles reported on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and affiliated programmes. However, not all the articles reported on the MDGs in a similar way: several were entrenched within the modernisation paradigm of development, focusing primarily on aid and economic growth, while others examined the poverty-reduction and empowerment strategies presented by the different affiliated programmes.

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have conducted a critical discourse analysis of five articles as a means to qualitatively analyse the representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and to enrich the quantitative findings of the previous chapter. Using analytical tools from Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework of analysis, I have illustrated how the Mail and Guardian represented the MDGs in different ways: a few that served to transform, but most which sustained the dominant relationships between developed and developing countries. I have further examined the nature of the discourse and the social practice to assist in the explanation of why the news texts are the way they are.

The textual analysis, for instance, has shown how lexical signs and metaphors played an important role in the Mail and Guardian’s construction of both the different development paradigms and the actors within the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals. Representations of Africa and Africans tended to be negative, whereas representations of donor countries were largely positive.

My analysis of the transitivity system revealed the active role that the Mail and Guardian plays in constructing and positioning developing countries as patients and developed or donor countries as agents in the material process. By infrequently using impoverished people from third world countries as news subjects and sources and by representing them as incompetent and inactive, the power relations between the dominant developed countries and the subordinate developing countries in the social structure are undoubtedly reproduced and sustained. In summary, my textual analysis revealed many features that help to reproduce the hegemonic power relations.

The next chapter will summarise some of the main findings from both the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis as a way of concluding this study, and integrate them together in a discussion that gives the general impression of the representation of the Millennium Development Goals in the Mail and Guardian between 2000 and 2007.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

5.0. Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the key findings from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the Mail and Guardian's news texts about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and affiliated programmes produced between 1 January 2000 and 31 October 2007, in relation to the objectives of the study. The aim of this study was to further our understanding of how the Mail and Guardian represents the MDGs by examining my two main hypotheses. My first hypothesis was concerned with whether the coverage of development has changed over time, not only in terms of the content covered, such as health and education, but whether the concept of development still reflects the modernist paradigm. In order to ascertain this, I examined the content covered, the placement of the texts and the different discourses within each text. I believe that different kinds of discourse work within the various sections of the newspaper, and thus analysed whether different discourses operate within development stories in the financial sections compared to those in *Monitor*.

My second hypothesis speculated that those most affected by poverty and development are seldom quoted as authoritative sources in development stories, which would contradict the participatory goals upon which the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and affiliated programmes were founded. The overall objective was to be able to state whether the Mail and Guardian's representation of sources and subjects of the MDGs over the seven-year period serves to sustain or transform the subordinate status of developing countries and their people.

This chapter also provides recommendations to the Mail and Guardian on how it may improve on its representation of the Millennium Development Goals and suggests some areas for further research.

5.1. Changes in the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals

The key findings of this research showed that while various aspects of the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have changed over

the seven-year period, others have not. Important changes within the coverage of the MDGs include the frequency of articles and the content or focus of the articles.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are not frequently represented in the Mail and Guardian, and are often not prominently located. Of the thousands of articles published in the Mail and Guardian between 2000 and 2007, the MDGs were only mentioned in 28 stories, and many of these stories were located at the back of the newspaper in sections like *Monitor*. Coverage of the MDGs only increased towards their midterm evaluation, when it became apparent that they would not be attained. This decision is based on news values, such as 'disaster' and 'bad news'. The research also notes that certain of the MDGs and their affiliated programmes, received greater coverage based on news values. As discussed earlier, news values stem from unclear assumptions about what makes events newsworthy and what audiences expect (Hartley 1994), but since they form cultural 'maps' of the social world, news values plainly have consequences for the representation of the MDGs and affiliated programmes in the news. As Hartley (1994) notes, the news is part of the social relations it seeks to report on, categorising society into distinct spheres that are also hierarchically arranged. This constructivist point of view shows that news and other media products are informed by social values and cultural assumptions which are presented primarily according to the dominant view in a society. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that did not contain key news values, such as Goal Three, which deals with women empowerment, seldom received coverage and were located at the back of the newspaper. In contrast, MDGs that included important figures or bad news elements, such as disease and death, were more frequently represented in the newspaper, and were given coverage within the first few pages.

As noted in Chapters III and IV, throughout the seven-year sample, different topics, such as 'health' or 'education', received greater coverage depending on both the prominent events during that period, such as the 2002 launch of the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the interests of the Mail and Guardian's editor at the time.

More important to this study, however, was an examination of the kinds of discourses competing within these articles, and whether the articles were framed within a

particular development paradigm. While my research shows that the different Mail and Guardian's articles on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) appear to stem from different concepts of development at different times, there is no discernible pattern in the way in which the three development paradigms were used from 2000 to 2007. Articles containing the modernisation paradigm span from 2004 to 2006, while the articles containing the dependency paradigm lie between 2003 and 2005, and stories with aspects of 'another' development paradigm can be found in each year.

The articles containing aspects of the modernisation paradigm, which were largely found within the *Business & Economics* section of the newspaper, foreground economic growth as the solution to meeting the Millennium Development Goals. Aspects of the dependency paradigm appeared in only three of the sampled articles (11%), two of which were found in the *Comment and Analysis* section of the Mail and Guardian, and thus did not necessarily reflect the newspaper's concept of development.

Of the twenty-eight articles on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), ten signalled the 'another development' paradigm. These articles were generally situated in the development section of the newspaper, *Monitor*. However, as my critical discourse analysis illustrates, while these articles made reference to the discourses of participatory development and needs-based aid, they also included the modernist notions of economic growth and development through technological advancement to varying degrees.

My conclusion is that the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals contains a range of different perspectives depending, not on a coherent view of development that the newspaper has established, but on the sentiments of the author of each article (whether they be the newspaper's own reporters, those of foreign news agencies or readers who have sent in letters).

My second hypothesis speculated that those most affected by poverty and development are seldom quoted as authoritative sources in development stories, which would contradict the participatory goals upon which the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and affiliated programmes were founded. The overall objective was to be able to state whether the Mail and Guardian's representation of sources and subjects of the MDGs

over the seven-year period serves to sustain or transform the subordinate status of developing countries and their people.

5.2. The representation of different sources within the Mail and Guardian

The Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) revealed that 'ordinary' citizens or non-bureaucratic sources were numerically under-represented during the sampled period. A textual analysis showed how lexical signs and metaphors played an important role in the Mail and Guardian's construction of the actors and sources within the coverage of the MDGs. Representations of donor countries were largely positive, whereas representations of Africa and Africans tended to be negative. The infrequent use of people from third world countries as news sources/actors and the representation of these actors as incompetent or inactive helps maintain the unequal power relations between developed countries and developing countries. In summary, my textual analysis revealed many features that help to reproduce the hegemonic power relations.

A potential reason for this stems from the structure and routines of newsrooms, in which 'official' sources are given preference not only because they are considered more credible but because they are easier to contact and frequently deal with the media. Every newsroom relies on a sourcebook or set of 'reliable' sources that can be called upon to provide certain kinds of information on certain topics. Since newsrooms constitutively rely on more or less the same sources, particularly 'official' sources within government departments and certain business sectors, they continually tend to promote the discourses used by those sources. As Dahlgren (1992) suggests, this cornerstone of journalism derived as much from economic imperatives as it did from lofty principles. While the people most affected by the Millennium Development Goals are 'official' sources of their own experience, both time and financial constraints on journalists often prevent them from seeking out these sources.

Equally important as the sources selected is the representation of actors or subjects within the news articles. In these constructions lie the discursive power to create knowledge through the ways in which individuals and institutions are depicted within the news: "a cultural account of news helps explain generalised images and stereotypes in the news

media” (Schudson 2000: 189). It is in this way that the mass media have become a filter for dominant discourses through their selection and construction of certain ‘truths’, such as which people and which classes and which races are represented favourably and how the ‘other’ is represented:

Reporters who may adhere to the norms of ‘objectivity’ in reporting on a political campaign ... will not blink to report gushingly about a topic on which there is a broad national consensus (the ‘sphere of consciousness’) or to write derisively on a subject that lies beyond the bounds of popular consensus (the ‘sphere of deviance’). (Hallin 1986 in Schudson 2000: 192)

My analysis revealed the active role that the Mail and Guardian played in constructing developing countries as patients and developed or donor countries as agents in the material process. By infrequently using impoverished people from third world countries as news actors and by representing them as incompetent, the power relations between the dominant developed countries and the subordinate developing countries in the social structure are undoubtedly reproduced and sustained. In this way, the Mail and Guardian is not transforming, but actually reproducing the status quo. The marginalisation and under-representation of impoverished people in developing countries within the news serves to reproduce the social structure. As Fairclough (1995) notes, it is through the occupation of particular subject positions in discourse that these positions are socially reproduced; and the power relations, in this case between both developed and developing countries and bureaucratic and non-bureaucratic sources/actors, are maintained. By placing ‘ordinary’ people from developing countries into subordinate positions within news articles (where they are either silenced or dominantly affected by the actions of others) and bureaucratic sources from developed countries in dominant positions (as the doers of things or dominant speakers), the Mail and Guardian contributes towards the reproduction of those positions within society.

5.3. Limitations of the study and areas for further research

This study attempted to conduct a longitudinal survey of the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) within the Mail and Guardian to determine whether there had been significant changes in the representation of the MDGs during the last eight years.

As mentioned in Chapter III, because of the difficulty gaining access to the seven-year sample of articles during office hours, the time-frame in which this study could be conducted was limited to two months. While a critical discourse analysis of the articles containing the phrase “Millennium Development Goals” was sufficient for this task, an in-depth analysis of articles containing each of the Millennium Development Goals would have further enriched these findings. Moreover, time constraints meant that this study’s examination of discursive practices was limited, whereas Fairclough’s critical discourse analysis method calls for both production and reception studies in order to better interpret the texts used. A further study could incorporate a textual analysis, such as this one, with a production study containing interviews with journalists and editors from the Mail and Guardian, and a reception study with the readers of the Mail and Guardian. In this way, the researcher could retrieve information from the journalists about the criteria chosen in the selection and presentation of development news and the sources identified as newsworthy. An analysis of all of the aspects of the circuit culture would give a more well-rounded view of the nature of the media and its representations.

5.4. Recommendations for the Mail and Guardian

Given the status of the Mail and Guardian as the newspaper with the second highest level of readership for a weekly publication in South Africa with a nationwide circulation, the researcher recommends that the Mail and Guardian should consider implementing a policy that would encourage the newspaper’s reporters to actively seek out and interview ‘ordinary’ people as sources, in a manner similar to that of a community newspaper. Furthermore, the Mail and Guardian should balance news about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) from an international reporter, such as the Guardian, with those of local sources, in order to give this news greater relevance to its South African audience. As the study indicates, there are disparities in the selection and the presentation

of news subjects and sources in the newspaper's coverage of the MDGs and affiliated programmes. The implications of this manner of representation are that, when it comes to the topic of development and the achievement of the MDGs, only the views of the powerful from developed nations are propagated, giving a skewed, generally economic-based, image of development issues.

5.5. Conclusion

Working from the cultural studies approach and the constructionist theory of representation, this study intended to critically analyse the Mail and Guardian's coverage of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with an emphasis on the active role that the media plays in constructing reality. To highlight the Mail and Guardian's role in the selection and representation of both the MDGs and the news subjects and sources, this study relied on the influence of news values to determine the inclusion and exclusion of subjects and sources.

This study's analysis of the representation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in the Mail and Guardian from 2000 to 2007 has established, first, that few significant changes have occurred within the newspaper's coverage of the MDGs during this period, and second, that the people most affected by the MDGs and affiliated programmes are seriously under-represented and that the manner of representation marginalises and subordinates them.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Coding Manual for MDG Study:

Genre:

1. Main News Story
2. other news story
3. feature article
4. editorial
5. letter
6. other

Sections:

1. Front pages
2. National
3. Africa
4. International
5. Monitor
6. Economics pages (Rands and Cents, etc)
7. Investing in the Future Supplement
8. Environment Supplement
9. Comment and Analysis
10. Other

Topics:

1. Politics
2. Economics / Business
3. Health
4. Education
5. Environment
6. Labour
7. Natural Disasters
8. Development
9. Aid / Charity
10. Civil resistance / war
11. Unnatural disasters
12. Human rights violations
13. Agriculture
14. Other

Related MDG:

1. Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education

3. Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
5. Goal 5: Improve maternal health
6. Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7. Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development
9. Millennium Development Goals
10. Millennium Council
11. Millennium Summit
12. other
13. Millennium African Recovery Plan

Affiliated Project Mentioned:

1. Global Alliance for Improving Nutrition (GAIN),
2. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
3. Micronutrient Initiative
4. Poverty Alleviation and Food Security Strategy
5. Integrated Nutrition Programme
6. Primary School Feeding Scheme

7. The adoption of a policy on no-fee schools
8. Learner Transport policy
9. Quality Education Development and Upliftment Programme (QEDSUP)
10. Girls Education Movement (GEM)

11. Programme of Action (POA)
12. SADC Declaration on Gender and Development
13. Women's Retirement Fund

14. Reach Every District (RED)
15. Integrated Management of Childhood Illnesses (IMCI)
16. The Saving Mothers
17. Comprehensive Plan for HIV and AIDS,
18. Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS
19. Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (LSDI)
20. national tuberculosis (TB) crisis management plan
21. Vision 2020 Prevention of Blindness Programme
22. Maternal Child and Women's Health programmes
23. Expanded Programme on Immunisation (EPI)
24. Service Transformation Plans (STPs)
25. National Human Resources for Health (HRH) Strategic Framework
26. District Health Plans (DHP)
27. National Strategic Plan for Tuberculosis

28. PMTCT – prevention of mother to child transmission
29. REDI
30. UNAids

31. The Cape Action for People and the Environment (C.A.P.E)
32. the Succulent Karoo Ecosystem Programme (SKEP)
33. Subtropical Thicket Ecosystem Planning (STEP)
34. Working for Water
35. Working for Wetlands
36. LandCare
37. Coast Care

38. Integrated Sustainable Rural Development programmes
39. New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)
40. South-South co-operation
41. India Brazil South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA)
42. Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries (2001-2010)
43. Capacity Building Task Force on Trade, Environment and Development (CBTF)
44. Third United Nations Conference on Least Developed Countries (UNLDC III)

45. Millennium Labour Council?
46. Millennium Council
47. Millennium Africa Recovery Plan
48. MDGS
49. WSSD
50. Growth and Development Summit
51. Basic Income Grant
52. Millennium Ecosystem Assessment
53. Millennium Declaration
54. Make Poverty History

Actors (1, 2, 3):

Bureaucratic Sources:

1. United Nations
2. UN Aids
3. UNICEF
4. International Aid Organisations (World Bank, IMF, World Health Organisation)
5. South African NGOs and workers
6. International NGO and workers
7. Religious organization / worker
8. South African Government
9. NEPAD

10. Thabo Mbeki
11. Jacob Zuma
12. Minister of Health (SA)
13. Minister of Education (SA)
14. Minister of Environmental Affairs (SA)
15. Minister of Foreign Affairs (SA)
16. Minister of Finance (SA)
17. Gov Health organizations
18. Gov Education organizations
19. Gov Aid organizations
20. teachers / education professionals
21. nurses / health care professionals
22. SA opposition party and members
23. Researchers South Africa
24. Researchers Other
25. Experts / Specialists
26. Zimbabwe Government
27. Robert Mugabe
28. Member of Zanu-PF
29. Member of MDC
30. Other African president
31. Other African Government
32. US President
33. South-American President / Prime Minister
34. British Prime-Minister
35. Other EU ruler
36. Military SA
37. Military Zim
38. Military UN
39. Military US
40. Military Africa
41. Military other
42. Business & business people (including pharmacies)
43. Celebrity
44. Judge / legal professionals
45. Unions (SA)
46. Unions (other)
47. Civil rights organizations and members (SA)
48. Civil right organizations and members (Africa)
- 49.

Non-Bureaucratic:

50. Africa
51. citizen SA
52. citizen Zimbabwe

53. citizen other Africa
54. citizen other
55. slaves / refugees
56. volunteer
57. Activists
58. children (0-18)
59. workers (non-gov)
60. farm workers
61. journalists

Sources (1, 2, 3):

1. Journalist

Bureaucratic Sources:

2. United Nations chairperson
3. UN spokesperson
4. UN Aids
5. UNICEF
6. International Aid Organisations (World Bank, IMF, World Health Organisation)
7. South African NGOs and workers
8. International NGO and workers
9. Religious organization / worker
10. South African Government spokesperson
11. NEPAD
12. Thabo Mbeki
13. Jacob Zuma
14. Minister of Health (SA)
15. Minister of Education (SA)
16. Minister of Environmental Affairs (SA)
17. Minister of Foreign Affairs (SA)
18. Minister of Finance (SA)
19. Gov Health organizations
20. Gov Education organizations spokesperson
21. Gov Aid organizations spokesperson
22. teachers / education professionals
23. nurses / health care professionals
24. SA opposition party and members
25. Researchers South Africa /surveys
26. Researchers Other
27. Experts / Specialists
28. Zimbabwe Government spokesperson
29. Robert Mugabe

30. Member of Zanu-PF
31. Member of MDC
32. Other African president
33. Other African Government
34. US President
35. South-American President / Prime Minister
36. British Prime-Minister
37. Other EU ruler
38. Military SA
39. Military Zim
40. Military UN
41. Military US
42. Military Africa
43. Military other
44. Business & business people (including pharmacies)
45. Celebrity
46. Judge / legal professionals
47. Union spokesperson
- 48.
- 49.

Non-Bureaucratic:

50. Africa
51. citizen SA
52. citizen Zimbabwe
53. citizen other Africa
54. citizen other
55. slaves / refugees
56. volunteer
57. Activists
58. children (0-18)
59. worker (non-gov)

Appendix 2: Content Analysis Coding Schedule

Headline (verbatim):
.....

Date (Month, days, year):

Genre: Section: Topic:

Related MDG: Affiliated project mentioned:

Actor 1: Actor 2: Actor 3:

Source 1: Source 2: Source 3:

For MDG articles:

Modernisation: Dependency: 'Another':

Appendix 3: Mail and Guardian, October 8 to 14, 2004

Headline: "Write off Africa debt, says UN"

Reporter: Irin News Service

Section: *Economy & Business*

1. There is an "increasing recognition" that, with many African countries struggling to service their debt while striving to reach the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals, all the continent's debts should be written off, says a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) report released last week.
2. The report, *Debt Sustainability: Oasis or Mirage?* Said Africa had received about \$540-billion in loans between 1970 and 2002.
3. Despite paying back close to \$550-billion in principal and interest, it still had a debt stock of \$295-billion at the end of 2002.
4. The report argued that low levels of saving and investment, leading to high poverty and wretched social conditions, were among the biggest constraints on growth in low-income African countries.
5. If poverty is to be reduced by half by 2015, as called for by the Millennium Development Goals, growth levels in Africa would have to at least double to some 7% to 8% annually for the next decade, according to Unctad.
6. A full debt write-off, however, would only be a first step towards restoring growth and meeting the Millennium Development Goals.
7. Unctad commented that the total debt cancellation would have to be followed up with increased official development assistance grants until the continent increased the level of domestic savings and investment required for sustainable growth.

Appendix 4: Mail and Guardian April 15 to 21, 2005

Headline: "Up aid or fail Africa"

Subheading: Paltry levels of aid 'seriously jeopardise' Millennium Development Goals

Reporter: Charlotte Moore in London

Section: *Economy & Business*

1. Rich countries need to increase the amount of aid given to poor nations even though the level reached last year was a record high, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) said this week.
2. At the same time, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have called on rich nations to act boldly this year if global poverty is to be reduced, especially in sub-Saharan Africa.
3. The announcements came ahead of the two bodies' biannual summit this weekend.
4. In a review of official aid by leading donor nations, the OECD said rich countries increased their aid flow by 13, 7% to a record \$78, 6-billion. When inflation and the effect of the weaker dollar are stripped out, however, the increase in real terms was 4, 6%.
5. Aid to Iraq and Afghanistan, particularly from the United States, increased last year. Iraq received \$2, 9-billion in aid and Afghanistan \$875-million. Last year's tsunami led to an exceptional mobilisation of private and official resources for relief.
6. As a proportion of gross domestic product (GDP), the average for the 22 nations surveyed was 0, 25%. Norway was the most generous nation, donating 0, 87% of its GDP, while Italy came in lowest at 0, 15%.
7. The US is the most generous donor in volume terms, giving \$19-billion last year. As a proportion of GDP, however, this is only 0.16%.
8. Aid from the US was nearly a quarter of the total donated, its highest proportion since 1986 and nearly double the low point of 12,5% in 1995.
9. The 15 members of the European Union have pledged to donate 0,39% of their GDP by next year. Taking this, and other pledges into account, the target for all nations is 0,30%.
10. "Aid is being delivered but not fast enough and efforts have to be stepped up if this target is to be reached," said Brian Hammond, head of statistics for the OECD's development assistance committee."

11. One of the Millennium Development Goals aims is to halve the number of people living in severe poverty by 2015.
12. Hammond said estimates for the additional funds necessary to achieve these goals ranged between \$50-billion and \$100-billion a year. The internationally agreed United Nations target is 0,7% of GDP.
13. Currently, five out of the 22 nations donate 0,7% or more: Norway, Luxembourg, Denmark, Sweden and The Netherlands.
14. United Kingdom Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown has pledged to double Britain's aid flows to 0,7% of GDP by 2013. France, which gives 0,42% of GDP, has matched the UK's pledge.
15. UK Prime Minister Tony Blair and Brown are keen to use the country's presidency of the EU and the G8 nations to reduce poverty in the developing world.
16. In a report ahead of this weekend's meeting, the World Bank and IMF said the developed world had to double aid by 2010 and speed up global trade talks if the Millennium Development Goals were to be met.
17. James Wolfensohn, the bank president, said: "Without early and tangible action to accelerate progress, the goals will be seriously jeopardised – especially in sub-Saharan Africa."
18. The report said Africa needed at least 10 years of sharply accelerated growth, at 7% a year - double the current rate — for poverty to be halved by 2015.
19. As most Africans rely on agriculture, persuading rich countries to stop subsidising their farmers and create a fair global market would dramatically reduce poverty in the continent, the report said.
20. Zia Qureshi, a senior adviser at the bank, said: "Achieving a global fair trade environment is critically important for achieving the millennium goals. We hope this report and other similar messages will amplify this message to a crescendo ... if the rich nations can summon up the political will to act, the outlook for the developing world is much more propitious today because economic growth in the developing world ... is strong." he added. — © Guardian Newspapers 2005

Appendix 5: Mail and Guardian January 28 to February, 2005

Headline: "An indivisible destiny"

Reporter: Brazilian President, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva

Section: *Comment & Analysis*

1. The metaphor of the century took on devastating proportions in the massive waves that swept south Asia at the end of last year. The violent tsunami reminded us that in history as in geography, isolation is impossible, and all borders are common. The new geopolitics of human existence demonstrates an unprecedented capacity to fight for large collective interests and to demand solutions that are coordinated and in solidarity.
2. It is no longer a question of opposing the inevitable overrunning of borders by globalisation with calls for autarky or isolationism, but rather of reinforcing borders with a convergence of wealth and rights and reaffirming the human component of economy and progress. From this renewed perspective we should examine another area of devastation evident in the statistics of our time: a silent earthquake reverberating from the ravines of global inequality that raises again the great challenge of winning the world's people to the project of mass cooperation in the 21st century.
3. Abundance and injustice were the major features of the 20th century. In the past 40 years world gross domestic product doubled while economic inequality between the centre and the periphery of the planet tripled. The richest 25% of the planet consume 80% of available resources, while almost two billion people live beneath the poverty line, on less than two dollars a day. The industrialised economies spend \$900-billion to protect their borders but dedicate less than \$60-billion to poor countries, where hunger is the primary weapon of mass destruction, killing 11 children each minute, 24 000 people each day — the equivalent of one tsunami a week.
4. The idea of a civilisation that rains death upon its own children is terrifying. If we do not manage to stop the growth in inequality, if the Millennium Development Goals are not met, it will be the greatest human defeat of this century. To conquer injustice, indifference must be conquered as well. The meeting against hunger and poverty attended by 100 countries and dozens of heads of state at the United Nations in September 2003 is a part of this collective undertaking. The organisation of the poor countries into regional blocs is another effort to channel the energy of world trade into the fight against inequality.

5. Above all else, it is essential to reform the hierarchy of the multilateral institutions. If poor countries are to be able to make the fight for development a priority of the global agenda, democracy must be deepened at the centre of power. The reform of the UN and particularly the Security Council is part of this agenda. But the line of inequality will not shift as long as political power remains locked in place by a financial system that perpetuates current relationships. Forty-Eve percent of the decision-making of the World Bank is assigned to the seven richest countries. Five central economies hold 40% of the votes in the International Monetary Fund, while 23 African nations prostrated by hunger have 1%.
6. Solidarity with life must always overcome the mechanisms of death. Debts must be honoured, but payment must not mean the euthanasia of the debtor, the holders of the surplus of financial wealth must consider the social deficit afflicting three-quarters of humanity. This cannot be done simply by applying some automatic accounting formula. Rather, it is a matter of bringing about the major renewal expected of democracy in this century: the transformation of social justice into the new border of sovereignty in the global arena.
7. Efficiency without values strips human rights out of the language of economics. The tragic illusion of the 1990s, with the unrestrained gamble on technology and the free movement of capital, decreed me irrelevance of the debate on development. To reverse this error, we must now affirm the appropriateness of using public funds for the rebuilding of society and solidarity and the promotion of growth. It is, in many cases, a matter of reviving the foundations of community life, such as the right to food, childhood and old age, which are forms of affirmative action in the globalised world.
8. The international fight against hunger and the Zero Hunger programme in Brazil are the result of this strategic conviction. The Family Scholarship programme already assures a minimum income to 60% of poor families. It is the largest programme of income assistance in Latin America, reaching 6 571 830 homes. The 20-million people who benefit from this programme including 15-million children who attend school as a condition for receiving the funds. By the end of 2006, the Family Scholarships will cover more than 11-million families, reaching all of Brazil's poor and extremely poor.
9. The same concern guides other initiatives of my government, such as the promulgation of the statute on the elderly, the strengthening of family agriculture, productive land reform, the broadening of microcredit and affirmative policies that open universities to poor and black youth.
10. The path that is needed is not the existing one, but the one we are I building: we must broaden and deepen it. We live in an age of unparalleled human possibilities. None of the excuses given in the past for the failure to realise great hopes has any

technological or financial justification. And wherever an obstacle emerges, dialogue can be started to restore the human condition to the course of history.

11. Included in this approach is the task of discussing possible common areas between the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, which is taking place at the same time. It is not a matter of asking people to stop being who they are but of establishing links between communities united by an indivisible human destiny. No one should fear having the right word or the right interlocutor. More than ever before, another world is possible, and any form of isolation and autarky will be overcome in time in which the anxiety about justice is as strong as the power of democracy to realise it. - © IPS

Appendix 6: Mail and Guardian April 19 to 25, 2002

Headline: "We must focus on Africa's development"

Subheading: Can Africa halve its poverty by 2015? This is the challenge for NEPAD, says Clare Short

Reporter: Clare Short, British Secretary of State for International Development.

Section: *Monitor*

1. In the year 2000, to mark the new millennium, the United Nations called a special assembly – which was attended by more heads of state than have ever previously attended any UN meeting.
2. At that meeting the leaders of the world committed themselves to work together and to mobilise the energy and capacity of the international community to meet a series of millennium development goals.
3. The overarching goal was the halving of the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. Among other goals necessary for the achievement of this aim were that all children should be in primary education, that infant and child mortality be cut by two thirds and that maternal mortality be cut by three quarters — all by 2015.
4. The paradox of our times is this: more people have lifted themselves out of poverty in the past 50 years than in the previous 500 years; but because the world population has grown so significantly, there are more poor people than ever before. There are now 1, 2-billion people living in abject poverty out of the six billion who share our planet.
5. This is the challenge facing NEPAD – the New Economic Partnership for Africa's Development – to which the government of South Africa and the government of the United Kingdom are so strongly committed.
6. Africa is the poorest continent. Two-thirds of the poor of the world live in Asia, and one-third in Africa. But poverty is deeper and more entrenched in Africa. Half the population of sub-Saharan Africa is dollar-a-day poor in purchasing parity terms. This means that what they have to survive on is the equivalent of what a dollar would buy them in the United States — very little indeed.
7. During the 1990s population growth outstripped economic growth and, therefore, if this trend continues the continent is set to become steadily poorer. The challenge of NEPAD is to change this trend. I believe that this is possible, but it will require a very strong commitment to reform from Africa's leadership — and a real partnership from the industrialised countries to support that effort.

8. There is no doubt that history has been cruel to the people of Africa. Slavery and colonialism degraded and exploited the continent and left a bitter legacy. Apartheid and the Cold War continued the destruction. But if we are to learn from history we must also face the fact that part of the explanation of the present situation in Africa lies in the policies that have been pursued by many African governments in recent decades.
9. Africa's per capita income is lower now than it was 30 years ago, in the heyday of the independence movement. Added to this, we now face the tragic and brutal reality of more than 25-million African people living with HIV/Aids. On present trends none of the millennium development goals will be met and Africa will become ever poorer.
10. The purpose of NEPAD is to reverse these trends. We must be ambitious about what can be achieved — but all sides of the partnership must be clear that business as usual will not do, and NEPAD must lead to a steep shift in the pace and depth of African development.
11. The first issue is armed conflict. Twenty percent of the people of Africa are living in conditions of conflict. These cause terrible suffering and hold back economic development in the affected countries. The extent of conflict is so great that the whole continent is affected, and this creates a major barrier to inward investment.
12. The World Bank estimates that conflict is costing Africa 2% economic growth every year. But on conflict resolution we are in a position to make considerable progress. We have learned in Sierra Leone that, with concentrated international effort, conflict can be ended and the institutions of a properly functioning state can begin to be rebuilt. It is also now clear that in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola and the Sudan conditions are now ripe for progress towards peace.
13. This should be the top priority for the NEPAD/G8 meeting in Canada in June. The second major issue for Africa is the need to increase levels of economic growth. After the negative growth in many countries in the late 1980s and early 1990s, sub-Saharan Africa is now achieving an economic growth rate of around 3%. But in order to halve poverty by 2015, sub-Saharan Africa needs 7% economic growth each year from now until 2015. This is not impossible. Countries like Uganda, Mozambique and Botswana are achieving such levels of growth — and the commitment to reform in countries like Ghana, Tanzania, and Ethiopia is likely to lead to significantly greater progress.
14. But the NEPAD partnership must not be satisfied until there is a commitment to reform that is generating 7% annual economic growth across the continent.
15. This requires better economic and political governance throughout Africa. Poor people need political rights to be able to express their views and preferences, and

social and economic rights in order to enjoy their humanity and see their children grow and thrive.

16. The third issue, which is crucial to NEPAD and its partnership with the G8 and beyond, is fairer terms of trade. Seventy percent – and more – of Africa's exports are unprocessed commodities, and most commodity prices are falling consistently. Current trade rules create serious barriers to the processing that Africa needs to speed up economic growth, to generate higher income for workers, and to be able to afford the imports needed to invest in the better transport infrastructure necessary for development.
17. But Africa can also do more to encourage trade within the continent. Trade barriers between African countries are high. This creates obstacles to regional integration, economic growth and inward investment. It is entirely within Africa's own gift to agree to the lowering of these barriers, which would contribute significantly to improved economic growth.
18. The fourth issue that is high on the NEPAD agenda is inward investment and the need for increased investment in infrastructure. There is no doubt that poor transport systems in Africa are a major barrier to economic development and add massively to the cost of exports. Other weaknesses in infrastructure are a reflection of underdevelopment. Most Africans have never used a telephone; less than 10% of rural Africans have access to electricity.
19. The important point is that the reforms needed to encourage the growth of a strong domestic private sector in Africa are the same reforms that are needed to attract more inward investment. And urgent reform is essential because in current conditions 40% of Africa's savings, which should be the basis for increased domestic investment, leave the continent and are invested elsewhere.
20. The fifth issue crucial to Nepad's success is increased investment in human development, to secure rapid progress in education and the delivery of effective health-care systems. The high levels of communicable disease in Africa are a major burden holding back the development of the continent. Malaria, tuberculosis and HIV/Aids create a disease burden that is causing great human suffering and severe economic loss.
21. Recent developments point the way forward in HIV/Aids. Senegal and Uganda have demonstrated that levels of HIV/Aids infection can be drastically reduced with a strong commitment to public education, testing, treatment of sexually transmitted disease and widespread availability of condoms. Many countries are putting in place arrangements to prevent mother-to-child transmission, and to take up the pharmaceutical companies' offers of reduced-price anti-retrovirals. In the longer term, the research evidence is clear that we will have an Aids vaccine and a microbicide that will enable women to protect themselves from infection.

22. Similarly education is a basic human right but also a crucial investment for a successful economy. Obviously our aspirations must not stop at primary education.
23. The final issue is that NEPAD and the Monterrey Consensus call for more and better overseas development assistance. Studies have suggested that we need a doubling of development assistance from the current \$50-billion to \$100-billion if the world is to meet the millennium development goals. At Monterrey the European Union committed to increase its overseas development assistance from the current level of 0, 33% of gross national income to 0, 39% by 2006. This means the EU will spend an additional \$7-billion a year by 2006, when the US will also be giving an extra \$5-billion a year.
24. But equally important is the commitment to improve the quality of aid. Against considerable resistance, aid is gradually being untied from the narrow national interests of donors and consultants, to be focused where there are large numbers of poor people and used to back reformers.
25. In addition, progressive countries have moved away from funding a proliferation of projects to backing poverty-reduction strategies drawn up by developing countries themselves. The consequence has been considerable strengthening of the quality and effectiveness of local institutions including finance ministries, central banks, health and education systems, revenue collection agencies, courts and security sector. This is itself an improvement in the quality of governance. And the consequent improvement in public financial management enables development agencies to transfer resources direct to government budgets, thus helping to fund rapid improvements in health education and other poverty-reducing services. NEPAD must build on these reforms.
26. My conclusion then is clear. If NEPAD is to succeed it must transform the relationship between Africa and the rest of the world. It must bring a new drive, a new political energy and a greatly sharpened focus to our joint efforts to push forward the development of Africa. Most important of all, the people of Africa must be empowered to demand more of their governments and of the international community.

Appendix 7: Mail and Guardian July 6 to 12, 2007

Headline: "Running out of time"

Journalist: Nicole Johnston

Section: *Monitor*

1. When United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon announced this week that sub-Saharan Africa will fail to meet the millennium development goals (MDGs), it came as no great surprise.
2. The mid-term evaluation of progress made in reaching the objectives has been presaged by years of missed benchmarks, donors renegeing on aid promises and the maintenance of crippling trade terms, which keep the developing world mired in poverty.
3. As international bureaucrats go, Eveline Herfkens, head of the UN's Millennium Campaign, is refreshingly direct. Clearly she is frustrated by the fact that the blame for poor progress on achieving the goals is heaped constantly at the UN's door.
4. "The degree to which commitments are kept depends largely on people outside of the UN system. We don't have a police force which we can send over to make sure member states keep their promises," she says bluntly. "The UN can create the platform, but only the citizens of those states can hold their governments accountable."
5. She doesn't pull her punches on the track record of the rich countries, rattling off statistics and anecdotes at a bewildering pace: "Look, there's a lot that stinks in aid budgets. Debt relief as aid definitely stinks! Aid needs to be effective — but only Britain and the Nordic countries give untied aid. Portugal's aid creates jobs for Portuguese nationals, 78% of Germany's [aid] budget for primary education is spent on consultants with no thought about recurrent costs or sustainability... European agriculture is destroying livelihoods and making development impossible in Africa ..."
6. But she emphasises that, although rich countries must be answerable for failing to put their money where their mouths are, not much is heard about the flipside of the coin: the need for citizens of the developing world to mobilise and hold their governments responsible for meeting the goals.
7. It is at local government level, she believes, that citizens can have the most direct impact. She explains that while poverty and exclusion are experienced locally it is — conversely — at the local level that services such as water, schools and clinics are provided. She believes that citizens should use the MDGs to put pressure on local authorities, which have the political weight to lobby national government on behalf of their constituents.

8. The global trend towards decentralisation of power from national to local government, combined with rapid urbanisation — about half of the world's population now lives in urban areas — has thrust local government firmly into the spotlight. Former UN secretary general Kofi Annan believes that up to 70% of the goals should be achieved through local government.
9. Jeffrey Sachs — the intellectual pin-up of the development aid world — not only agrees, but goes so far as to argue that aid should be channelled directly to cities and towns, as is the case with his Millennium Villages project. (Millennium Villages are those that have successfully used technologies, investment and community-led interventions to escape extreme poverty and meet the MDGs. They have used modest financial support to move from subsistence farming to self-sustaining commercial activity.)
10. He expresses frustration with much development aid which, he says, is "too little, poorly targeted and directed at the wrong level of government. If everything remains at the general level we don't get results." He is not advocating opposition to national governments, but points out that putting money straight into the local level allows donors to skip two or three steps and save on attendant transaction costs.
11. He also is a fan of the twinning arrangements between developed and developing cities, which allow, for sharing of skills and resources, facilitated by the United Cities and Local Governments organisation (the voice of local government at the UN).
12. None of this suggests that Sachs has a high opinion of the donor community. "They are not paying attention to the MDGs. If their jobs actually depended on meeting these goals — such as reducing child mortality rates — they would be sending money straight to local governments." This lack of measurement results is a major contributor to the world's failure to meet the goals, says Sachs, who emphasises the need to move from words to action.
13. He clearly feels frustrated by all the talk-shopping that the MDGs have generated: "Most donors don't really know what they are doing and aren't accountable for results. Sometimes I feel they are up in the clouds and not grounded in specific problems."
14. This lack of focus and direction often leads to a call for "capacity building" — a topic guaranteed to get Sachs steaming. "Too much money is spent on conferences and workshops, which are then called 'capacity building', but don't really lead anywhere and aren't part of a detailed and thoughtful development strategy. There is too much 'capacity building' as a stand-alone activity — it's a lazy way of thinking. It's all theoretical, but the goals are all quite specific. There is no sense of urgency and their jobs don't depend on it. But when anything goes wrong they say, 'Africa did it wrong — we need to build capacity',"

15. Sachs points to Joburg as an example of an African city where money “shows up in real results”. But he says that while it has the infrastructure to attract foreign investors — which cities such as Nairobi and Dar es Salaam don’t — it needs to become development oriented, create jobs through labour-intensive industry, diversify its economy, maintain law and order and become an internationally competitive export city.
16. He points out that, without the necessary financing for projects, all the capacity in the world becomes hypothetical. "Start with the money - it's the energy you need to make everything else work. If African cities could make basic investments in infrastructure such as roads and sanitation, the capacity would come in the context of actually carrying out such programmes."

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ⁱ By affiliated programmes, I mean programmes and strategies that were created in South Africa after 1999 to meet the requirements of the Millennium Declaration as listed in the *Millennium Development Goals: South Africa Midterm Country Report 2007*. These are:

1. Global Alliance for Improving Nutrition (GAIN),
2. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
3. Micronutrient Initiative
4. Poverty Alleviation and Food Security Strategy
5. Integrated Nutrition Programme
6. Primary School Feeding Scheme
7. The adoption of a policy on no-fee schools
8. Learner Transport policy
9. Quality Education Development and Upliftment Programme (QEDSUP)
10. Girls Education Movement (GEM)

12. Programme of Action (POA)
13. SADC Declaration on Gender and Development
14. Women's Retirement Fund
15. Reach Every District (RED)
16. Integrated Management of Childhood Illnesses (IMCI)
17. *The Saving Mothers: Comprehensive Plan for HIV and AIDS*,
18. Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS
19. Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (LSDI)
20. national tuberculosis (TB) crisis management plan
21. Vision 2020 Prevention of Blindness Programme
22. Maternal Child and Women's Health programmes
23. Expanded Programme on Immunisation (EPI)
24. Service Transformation Plans (STPs)
25. *National Human Resources for Health (HRH) Strategic Framework*
26. District Health Plans (DHP)
27. National Strategic Plan for Tuberculosis

28. The Cape Action for People and the Environment (C.A.P.E)
29. the Succulent Karoo Ecosystem Programme (SKEP)
30. Subtropical Thicket Ecosystem Planning (STEP)
31. Working for Water
32. Working for Wetlands
33. LandCare
34. Coast Care

35. Integrated Sustainable Rural Development programmes
36. New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD)
37. South-South co-operation
38. India Brazil South Africa Dialogue Forum (IBSA)
39. Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries (2001-2010)
40. Capacity Building Task Force on Trade, Environment and Development (CBTF)
41. Third United Nations Conference on Least Developed Countries (UNLDC III)

