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1. Introduction

Working on the assumption that framing is a communication paradigm, implying that it can serve as the framework for the analysis for most areas of scholarship in this field, this study assesses journalistic quality or performance within the confines of framing.

In the broad field of journalistic quality research, various theoretical approaches and models have been applied, but framing has been largely absent. If framing is a communication paradigm, then it should be able to serve as the basis for analyzing journalistic quality.

There are three main goals that I have set out to attain. The first is to establish a logical basis for understanding journalistic quality (also known as news quality) within the framing paradigm. This is done by exploring and analyzing already established conceptualizations of framing and journalistic quality, as well as the normative dimensions of both concepts. The second is operationalizing traditional journalistic quality criteria using media frames. This entails synthesizing the concepts of framing and journalistic quality, so that media frames serve as the basis for designing an instrument to assess journalistic quality. The third is using this instrument to effectively assess journalistic quality from a framing methodological perspective. At the end of the study, it will be possible to evaluate the efficacy of this approach, draw conclusions and make recommendations. In a broad sense, therefore, this an exploratory study that tests the waters of empirical evaluation of journalistic quality within the framing paradigm.

The study is anchored on the United Nations Millennium Developments Goals (MDGs). These development objectives, eight in number, were adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2000 and will run until 2015. This topic was chosen because much of framing research is hinged on the coverage of topics with clear-cut lines of controversy, as well hot-button issues which receive intense media coverage over a relatively short span. Such studies raise questions about the generalizability of findings, especially as pertains to journalistic quality, where media performance should be assessed even for routine coverage and coverage of issues that are not necessarily colored by much drama, or that do not necessarily project obvious contours of controversy.

For their part, the MDGs are hardly controversial, are not very high profile and run over a relatively long time span. At the same time, they were conceived, in principle, to apply to all

member states of the United Nations, implying that they are global objectives. Their implementation also envisages actors that run the gamut from supra-national organizations, through governments, to civil society. However, it was expected that within the coverage of the MDGs, there would be some instances of controversies and debates, as well as high profile events, which makes it suitable for a generalizable study. At the same time, the MDGs are a public issue, requiring the interventions of various stakeholders including governments, state institutions, inter-governmental organizations and civil society, providing the avenue to study their portrayal in the text. Furthermore, because the MDGs encompass a wide range of issues, it affords the possibility for the media to project many different perspectives. It is, therefore, a suitable topic to study the contours of public communication over a relatively long span.

Framing is understood to occur at all levels of the mass communication process – at the level of sources of information (politicians, elites, special interests) and producers of content (PR, journalism); in the text (media content) and at the level of the audience (Entman, 2004, pp. 9 – 13; Dahinden, 2006, p. 16). Similarly, quality is assessed not only at the levels of producers of content and media output, but by the audience as well (Arnold, 2009, p. 134-228). While there have been several moves towards an integrative source/sender-content-recipient approach, including the feedback loop, in both framing and journalistic quality research, this study is limited to framing and journalistic quality at the media content level. There is, however, vertical integration, as framing and journalistic quality are brought together, each playing a different role in the theoretical and methodological chain of analysis.

The quality of media coverage through the framing of the MDGs is assessed in three quality newspapers in three European countries (one from each). The three countries, the United Kingdom, France and Germany are Europe's biggest aid donors (*The Guardian*, 2011, n.p.) and incidentally former colonial powers. The newspapers include, *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom; *Le Monde* in France; and *Frankfurter Rundschau* in Germany. The analysis spans a decade of coverage and covers the period 2003 – 2012.

PART ONE: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

2. Research Background

Journalistic quality and framing are two domains in communication research which have virtually run parallel to each other. Both are relatively new areas of scholarship and have separately been receiving increasing attention from scholars (Hagen, 1995, p. 35; Meier, 2007, p. 224; Arnold, 2009, p. 80; Dahinden, 2006, p.13; D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010, p. 1). While framing research is seldom conceptualized from the perspective of journalistic quality, and vice versa, tidbits from extant literature suggest interconnectedness between the two areas.

In a study on the framing of television news, for instance, Iyengar (1991) compares the relative frequency between episodic and thematic frames. The episodic frame focuses on specific events and cases, while the thematic frame provides analyses and gives general context (p.2). Iyengar finds that episodic frames dominate TV news, and observes that this “provides a distorted depiction of public affairs” (p. 143). This is obviously an assessment of journalistic performance. What is more, a full-blown study on the quality of Swiss newspapers used Iyengar’s episodic and thematic frames to assess topicality, one of the major evaluated quality criteria (fög 2011, p.103).

Indeed, much of framing research makes implicit normative assumptions about journalistic quality, and some have explicitly linked framing and journalistic quality (Lawrence, 2010). She notes further that “many scholarly studies of news frames at heart are concerned about the quality of information provided to the media by the public” (p. 266). Framing scholars have increasingly addressed questions similar to those tackled in the journalistic quality discourse. For instance, news framing has been criticized for violating the journalistic standard of objectivity. However, this negative take on news framing is not usually about the phenomenon itself, but rather about the dominance of certain frames and the neglect of others. In such criticisms, news framing is often used as a synonym for bias. Conversely, the framing phenomenon has been positively assessed from the systems theoretical perspective. In this view, framing helps to filter the deluge of information and reduce complexity at all levels of the communication process, including PR, journalism and the audience (Dahinden, 2006, pp. 315-316). Again, these are assessments of communication output, which is at the

core of the journalistic quality discourse. Journalistic quality, it should be noted, is often referred to as news quality by scholars (e.g. Zaller, 2003; Porto, 2007; Lawrence, 2010).

The fact that some issues addressed by journalistic quality scholars coincide with those examined in framing scholarship should, however, not belie major conceptual differences between journalistic quality and framing research. An easy way to understand quality is to borrow a definition used in the business world, where it is described as the degree to which a product satisfies clearly defined requirements (Arnold, 2008). In journalism, these requirements are professional standards, which are operationalized as quality criteria. Quality is about journalistic output meeting these criteria. In fact, McQuail (1992), referred to journalistic quality as “performance assessment of the media”. At its core, therefore, journalistic quality is normative. Conversely, the underlying conceptualization of news framing is not normative. Most framing research is more concerned with what is, than what should be (see Lawrence, 2010, p. 278), or otherwise the “how”, meaning the investigation of processes and their effects (Reese 2010, 19). Framing studies typically identify and analyze thematic units called frames (D’Angelo, 2002) and investigate their effects (Sheufele, 1999).

At the content level, both journalistic quality and framing are concerned with the attributes of media content. Journalistic quality research ascertains whether the attributes of a particular report, for instance, meet particular pre-defined criteria. Framing research, for its part, identifies and analyzes certain attributes of the report, especially, as Entman (1993) notes, the aspects of issues which the media selects and make more salient “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (p. 52). Journalists inevitably frame in order to simplify complex events and issues and make them accessible to audiences (Valkenburg, Semetco & de Vreese, 1999). Framing equally occurs because journalists must decide what to report and which facts to include in their stories (Nelson, Oxley & Clawson, 1997). As Entman (1991) notes, frames “reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them” (p. 7). If frames contribute to the news narrative, then it should logically follow that they also affect the quality of the news.

A great body of research has examined the effects of news framing on how individuals think about issues and, at the macro-level, the relationship between framing and public opinion (e.g. Nelson, Oxley & Clawson 1997; Valkenburg et al., 1999; Scheufele 1999; Druckman,

2001). Other scholars have investigated the influence of elite framing on journalistic output (e.g. Callaghan & Schnell, 2001), as well as the effects of framing on policy options by governments (e.g. Evans, 2010). Most people get information on public affairs from the media (Hofstetter & Dozier, 1986; Pöttker 1996, p. 59; Entman, Matthes, & Pellicano, 2009, p. 179). Ascertaining whether, on the one hand, elite framing affects news framing, and on the other, how news frames affect public opinion, is therefore important. In this light, various studies have established evidence that framing not only influences individual and public opinion, but also journalistic output and policy decisions by governments.

These findings have prompted a number of scholars (e.g. Entman, 1993, 2010; Druckman, 2001; Nesbit, 2010, Lawrence, 2010) to draw attention to the implications of framing on citizens' competence, democracy and even journalistic performance, as well as its normative dimensions. These scholars worry that if citizens are manipulated through elite framing, they would not effectively play their assigned role in a democracy, where they are supposed to form opinions, attribute responsibilities and make choices on a range of critical issues. For this reason, framing scholars have reflected on how the media can purposefully engage in framing and mediating or countering elite framing to safeguard citizens' competence and democracy.

Similar normative questions have been explored in the journalistic quality discourse. Journalistic quality scholars have often argued that having and maintaining professional standards is important because the media play a key role in society (e.g. McQuail, 1992; Arnold, 2006; Meier, 2007), as most people learn about public issues from the mass media which, judging from a wide array of scholarly evidence, influence their opinions and decision-making. In a democratic society, this is even more crucial because the quality of the media impacts directly on the quality of democracy (Hofstetter & Dozier, 1986; Zaller, 2003; fög, 2011, p. 35).

Framing analyses and journalistic quality assessment have been performed at all levels of the communication process. Having a complete understanding of how they interrelate may require analyses at all these levels. In fact, both framing and quality research have seen several parallel scholarly calls and efforts at integrated approaches (e.g. Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Dahinden, 2006; Arnold, 2009; Scheufele, 2009, Matthes, 2012). Furthermore, there have been calls for the integrated approach to include both textual and visual analyses (Iorgoveanu & Corbu, 2012). All of these imply studying these two concepts

through the gamut of the communication process, from input, to output to the reception by the audience and the feedback loop, as well as textual and visual analyses. In the case of assessing journalistic quality within the confines of the framing paradigm, that would entail also tracing the links between frame building, frame setting and the feedback loop, including visual and textual elements, and how these relate to journalistic quality at all these levels. That will, however, be a huge research undertaking, considering that there are hardly any full-fledged quality studies within the framing paradigm. The current exploratory study therefore focuses on assessing journalistic quality through the lens of the framing paradigm at just one level – the content level – as a first step towards a more comprehensive understanding of the convergence between framing and journalistic quality. It is a vertically integrated approach, whereby framing and journalistic quality are theoretically brought together, but empirically investigated only at the content level. Future research could adopt a more encompassing integrated approach.

3. Conceptualization and Research Questions

3.1 Problem

In a study on the effects of the framing of international conflicts, Evans (2010) makes a crucial observation that implicitly touches on the quality of so-called elite or quality publications:

Readers of elite publications, such as the New York Times, may consider themselves well informed about the most important issues and events around the world. Upon finishing a clear, well-constructed article, readers form opinions on the causes, actors and significance of the events reported. However, the apparently factual news items presented to the public often lead the public to understand events from a particular perspective, or frame, advanced by the media. The effect of this framing can be far more powerful than the opinions expressed in editorial columns (p. 210).

This raises a critical question which is implicitly or explicitly at the center of much of framing research – whether news framing compromises independent journalism and negatively affects the quality of journalistic output (Lawrence, 2010, p. 266). As Entman (1993, p. 56) argues, even when journalists respect traditional quality guidelines such as objectivity, they still often frame issues in ways that prevent the audience from making a balanced assessment. Callaghan & Schnell (2001) emphasize this point, noting that while “media professionals assert that they just report the news with truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance, the research evidence suggests that journalists and editors exert considerable power over the media’s ‘construction of reality’” (p. 188), while also being influenced by elite framing (also see Entman, 1991). Some scholars have criticized the framing phenomenon for violating the widely-accepted quality norm of objectivity (Dahinden, 2006, p. 315). Entman (2010) has equally observed systematic bias by even elite media in the U.S.

These claims are disturbing. Elite newspapers, judging from scholarly evidence, generally respect professional norms and are therefore of relative good quality. These norms include objectivity, balance, diversity, topicality, and independence, amongst others. But evidence from framing research suggests otherwise. This therefore puts in doubt the conceptualizations of journalistic performance within the quality research tradition. Even more so, framing research raises questions about the suitability of widely accepted instruments designed to

assess journalistic quality. As Porto (2007) maintained, traditional “standards about news quality (...) have several important blind spots that limit their ability to solve some of the most fundamental problems in the fields of citizen competence and media performance” (p. 309).

Journalistic quality scholars would have to respond to the questions raised by framing research. But traditional schools in journalistic quality research, which include the normative democratic, journalistic-analytic, and audience-centered approaches (Arnold 2009, p. 84), have typically not factored-in framing in journalistic performance assessment.

Even making matters more complicated, some framing scholars have dismissed widely-accepted quality criteria such as objectivity, describing them as outdated (Abduran & Colceriu, 2010). Framing scholar Nisbet (2010), while challenging traditional notions of “objectivity”, “impartiality” and “neutrality”, even argues that the question among journalists should not be whether to employ framing, but how to effectively frame messages (pp. 44-45).

Adding to the complexity of this debate, framing scholars have equally established that professional norms such as objectivity and balance play a major role in news framing (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; Lawrence, 2010, pp. 265-266). If journalistic quality norms play such a central role in framing, which in turn affects journalistic quality, then it follows that a better understanding of this process is essential.

As already mentioned, normative questions about framing, and which pertain to journalistic quality, have been raised by a number of framing scholars (e.g. Iyengar, 1991; Entman, 1993; Dahinden, 2006; Porto, 2007; Entman, 2010; Lawrence, 2010). However, these scholars have not fully taken into consideration the normative standards conceptualized and operationalized within the confines of contemporary journalistic quality research.

This has prompted framing researcher Dahinden (2006) to recommend the inclusion of the normative questions of framing in the realm of journalistic quality research, where quality criteria have already been operationalized (p. 316). This study has embraced that challenge by integrating traditional journalistic quality standards and framing analysis.

3.2 Rationale of Study

This research project fills an important gap in extant literature in both framing and quality research. Framing research has not sufficiently operationalized the concept in terms of journalistic quality, just as, to the best of my knowledge, there is no substantial work within quality research that wholly leans on the framing approach. This research fills that gap by evaluating journalistic quality within the confines of framing.

Furthermore, Entman (1993) called on communication scholars to raise framing to the pedestal of a research paradigm. Although it is contestable that framing can already be considered a paradigm, given that it may require time to mature, it at the very least has the potential of becoming one (Dahinden, 2006, p. 320). Since Entman's call, there has been a great body of research on framing (de Vreese, 2012). This study works on the assumption that framing qualifies to be considered as one of paradigms within the communication discipline. In that light, scholars should be able to analyze most aspects of communication, including quality, within this paradigm. Even if some bits and pieces need to be added for framing to qualify as a paradigm, adding quality research into the mix will not hurt the maturing process.

3.3 Research questions

The following four research questions guide this study:

1. How are the MDGs framed in elite European newspapers?
2. To what extent does the framing of the MDGs meet journalistic quality criteria?
3. Do framing and quality of the coverage of the MDGs change over time?
4. Is the newspaper's country of publication a determinant factor with respect to framing of the MDGs and journalistic quality?

4. Theoretical Framework

4.1 Framing as a Research Framework

In recent years, a large body of research has leaned on the concept of framing to understand various aspects of the communication process. There is hardly an issue of a communication journal without at least one article on framing (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010, p.1). Framing is seen as appropriate for mass communication research because its conception runs the gamut of the communication process, from media input, through media output, to the recipient, as well as the feedback loop (see Entman, 1993, 2004; Dahinden, 2006; B. Scheufele and D. Scheufele, 2010).

This includes aspects such as the framing of messages by special interest groups, public relations and corporate communication practitioners and journalists, as well as, at the cognitive level, the framing that is located in the minds of individuals (see Entman, 1993, Scheufele, 1999; Dahinden, 2006; Entman et al., 2009; Nesbit, 2010; B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010). The latter is concerned with the study of framing effects, which constitutes a large body of research in this area.

Apart from these, framing theory is also an appropriate framework for studying public communication because of some points of convergence with systems theory, and its suitability to be used within the three paradigms endemic to communication, including the cognitive, constructivist, and critical (Abduran & Colceriu, 2009; Scheufele, 1999; D'Angelo, 2002;). Because framing raises normative questions about journalistic performance, it is essential to have a closer look at the relationship between framing and journalistic quality (Dahinden, 2006, p. 316). Therefore, framing forms the theoretical basis of this study.

4.2 Framing as a Paradigm

There is no consensus as to whether framing is a theory, paradigm or something else. Some scholars have argued that framing cannot be pinned down to any one paradigm (e.g.

D'Angelo, 2002; Nesbit 2010). D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010) have highlighted different ways in which framing has been classified. While noting that at the basic level framing is obviously a concept, they aver that through epistemology and practice, framing is conceived by scholars in multiple ways and has been variously referred to as an "approach", a "theory", a "class of media effects", a "perspective", an "analytical technique", a "paradigm", and a "multiparadigmatic research program" (p. 2).

In this study, framing is the theoretical foundation and the foundation of the analytical techniques in the methodology. Above all, it is a paradigm. Paradigms are the "fundamental points of view characterizing" a scientific discipline (Babbie 1998, p. 42) or, according to Entman (1993), "a general theory that informs most scholarship on the operation and outcomes of any particular system of thought and action" (p. 56).

While there is still debate about the status of framing, it has been argued that at least it clearly has the potential to become a paradigm (Dahinden 2006, p. 320), while some scholars such as Scheufele and Iyengar (n.d.) have referred to framing as a paradigm. If framing is a paradigm, that would make it appropriate for research on most aspects in the field of communication. In fact, Entman (1993) calls on communication scholars to capture ownership of framing by establishing a coherent theory and developing it into a paradigm. Achieving this goal, Entman argues, would entail bringing together the fractured pieces of framing dispersed in multiple disciplines in one location. Communication scholars are consequently urged to construct a coherent narrative from the "scattered conceptualization" of framing, establishing consistent meanings for frames and framing, and showing how the disparate uses of framing invariably involve communication (p. 51). A common understanding in the field of mass communication scholarship, Entman postulates, would help develop framing into a paradigm.

D'Angelo (2002), however, criticizes Entman's (1993) call, noting that framing research has been enriched by the diversity of paradigms on which scholars rely. He argues that the "three research paradigms endemic to communication, namely, cognitive, constructivist, and critical, "enable the news framing research program to function" (p. 871). Asserting that Entman makes the error of conflating a dominant theory with a paradigm, D'Angelo asserts that different, and even competing theories, may be necessary to get a full grasp of framing. He favors a broader approach whereby researchers lean on various theories to understand particular aspects of framing.

Although D'Angelo makes strong points, it is not clear why the three paradigms he names should remain the only paradigms within the communication discipline. As Babbie (1998, p. 42) notes, there is a tendency to resist the emergence of new paradigms, citing for instance the once entrenched idea that the sun rotated around the earth and the brutal resistance that greeted the attempt at a paradigmatic shift to the notion that it was the other way round. Furthermore, in the social sciences, "paradigms offer a variety of views, each of which offers insights the others lack, but ignores aspects of social life the others reveal" (p.43). In any case, framing could emerge as a paradigm on its own, even when it has borrowed aspects from other paradigms. Moreover, framing can co-exist with other paradigms.

Judging from various framing research projects that have been undertaken since Entman made the call for framing to be developed into a paradigm two decades ago, it is obvious that there have been many attempts by communication scholars to build a coherent narrative of framing within the discipline, while at the same time pooling ideas and approaches scattered in various disciplines (see Scheufele, 1999; Dahinden, 2006; D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; Matthes, 2012). For the above reasons, this research proceeds on the assumption that framing is a paradigm in the communication discipline.

4.3 Accessing Quality through the Framing Paradigm

Although framing is usually not seen as a basis on which journalistic quality should be assessed – and Dahinden (2006) called for normative questions on framing to be handled in the quality discourse arena – at least the framing platform is already seen as promising for quality assessment. Dahinden saw framing as an appropriate framework for assessing diversity (p. 316), one of the quality criteria used in this study, and also propounded by Hagen (1995) as well as used by Fögl (2011) in an in-depth study on Swiss media performance.

Lawrence (2010) already theorized on news quality from the perspective of framing. Similarly, Porto (2007) propounded a normative thesis on framing, and argued for a framework through which certain aspects of news quality should be assessed with respect to how news is framed. Another opportunity area for the intersection between framing and

quality, according to Dahinden (2006), is the transparency of sources, especially how sources impact on framing, and, consequently, the performance of the media. Incidentally, the Föglund (2011) study operationalized another quality criterion, topicality, in terms of the above mentioned episodic and thematic frames. Extending this trend, this study assesses three other quality criteria within the confines of the framing paradigm.

In the next two sections, I will review the research literature on framing and journalistic quality. This study is as much about framing as journalistic quality. Because these two domains of research have largely run parallel to each other, their literatures are reviewed separately.

5. Framing Research Literature

In this section, I elaborate on the main strands of conceptualizations of framing and review extant literature on what distinguishes framing from other concepts in the field of communication. I will also examine the normative and political implications of framing effects. Finally, I will outline a framing topology.

5.1 Contours of Framing and Framing Research

Both the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of the concept of framing have been somewhat amorphous and some scholars have complained of either a lack of clarity or contradictions in its conceptualization. This is partly because framing studies are based on a number of approaches and paradigms, and draw from many disciplines including sociology, economics, psychology, cognitive linguistics, political science, and communication (Scheufele, 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Entman et al., 2009; Borah, 2011).

Various communication scholars emphasize different aspects in their definition of framing, although there are several commonalities. Framing is how an issue is constructed and defined (Nelson, Oxley and Clawson 1997, p. 228). It is the particular way a news story is composed to optimize audience accessibility (Valkenburg, Semetco & de Vreese, 1999, p. 550). Framing entails selecting particular aspects of perceived reality and making them more prominent (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Frames are emphases “in salience of different aspects of a topic (de Vreese, 2005, p. 53) and “organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese, 2010, p. 17). Attempting a standard definition that takes into consideration different perspectives, Entman (2004) defines framing as “selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation and/or solution (p. 5).

Because frames organize and structure, apart from riding the waves of ideological processes, “they tend to be more general and encompassing than news themes, topics and issues” (Reese 2010, p. 18). Emphasizing the difference between frames and just plain persuasive messages and assertions, Entman, Matthes, and Pellicano (2009) invoke the repetitive and diachronic

nature of the phenomenon, noting that framing “calls to mind currently congruent elements of schemas that were stored in the past. Repeating frames over time in multiple texts gives a politically significant proportion of the citizenry a chance to notice, understand, store and recall the mental association for future application” (p. 177).

The idea of schemas (or schemata) was also used by Ervin Goffman, who is often considered to be the progenitor of the conceptualization of framing in the social sciences, to explain how individuals make sense of the world around them and their interactions with other people. In his 1974 book, *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*, Goffman used the notion of frames to label “schemata of interpretation” that allow individuals or groups to mentally organize experiences. These schemas help people to answer simple questions such as “what is going on here?”, thereby enabling them to locate, perceive, identify and label issues, events and topics (Dahinden 2006, p. 38; Nisbet 2010, p. 46). Dahinden argued that schemas, as used in psychology, and frames, as defined in communication scholarship, basically share the same attributes and therefore used them as synonyms in his framing study (p. 30). However, B. Scheufele and D. Scheufele (2010) have noted that while framing scholars tend to use the terms schemas and frames as synonyms, they are not exactly the same. Drawing from theories in psychology, they make a distinction between cognitive frames and cognitive schemas. The latter, according to them, are “a configuration of salient attributes that helps us process subsequent information” (p. 116). They are mental representations of objects or relations between objects. Schemas are activated in the brain when we get new information to enable us to make connections. A terrorist schema, for instance, contains a number of attributes of the characteristics of terrorists as well as schemas about causes of terrorism and measures against terrorism. Schemas are activated depending on how the media frames an issue. Frames therefore interact with schemas to make people interpret information in particular ways.

Framing does not only occur at the levels of the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture, frames are found in different arenas and domains including policy, journalism and the public (Entman, 1993; Reese, 2010). In relation to frames in the media system, they are seen as being located at three levels: at the cognitive level (cognitive frames of journalists), discursive level (frames occurring and changing in the newsroom) and the textual level (frames in media reports)(B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010, p. 116). Cognitive frames can also be located in the minds of the audience (Borah, 2011). Scholars have made distinctions

between frames that are mediated or generated by journalists and those that other actors such as politicians, PR practitioners of different stripes, advocacy groups, and others employ or sponsor to try to “use” the media to influence public opinion and policy initiatives. The frames that occur in journalistic texts or reports are variously referred to as journalistic frames, news frames, frames in the text, and media frames (see Entman, 1993; Dahinden, 2006; Valkenburg, 2010; D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2010; B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010; Bora, 2011).

Frames that manifest in the media, the focus of this study, are generated by a network of professional communicators such as reporters, bloggers, political satirists, editorial writers, pundits and politicians. The framing may be strategic, whereby there is an attempt to push particular interpretations or points of view. Or the communicator may not be interested in achieving particular interpretations or goals. This is usually the case with news media journalists (Entman et al., 2009, p. 176), although journalists also sometimes frame on purpose to influence outcomes, especially on issues such as climate change and poverty that they may consider imperative (see Nisbet, 2010).

Framing has been used to study a wide range of topics such as coverage of the nuclear energy debate, debates over genetic engineering, animal experiments, private gun ownership, drugs policy, abortion debate, xenophobia, conflict over asylum centers, climate change, poverty, European politics, campaigns, plane crashes, peaceful protests, as well as risk communication (see Dahinden 2006; D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). There have also been framing studies on other issues such as international conflicts (e.g. Evans 2010), the economic crises in Europe (Abduran & Colceriu, 2010), NGOs (De Souza, 2010), and “green jobs” (Kouri & Clarke, 2012). Much of framing research is on public policy issues (An & Gower 2009), and have predominantly been descriptive. But there is a place for normative questions about framing, such as whether a frame is justified and whether there can be distortion of reality due to framing (Dahinden, 2006, p. 19; also Porto, 2007; Entman, 2010; Lawrence, 2010).

D’Angelo (2002, p. 873) identified the “hard core” objectives pursued by framing research across the different theoretical and paradigmatic perspectives. According to him, framing scholars:

- “identify thematic units called frames”;
- “investigate the antecedent conditions that produce frames”;

- “examine how news frames activate, and interact with, an individual’s prior knowledge to affect interpretations”; and
- “examine how news frames shape social-level processes such as public opinion and policy issue debates”.

A number of approaches to framing studies have been identified in the literature and they typically differ on the aspects of framing they focus on. Broadly, framing is conceptualized in studies as a sociological process or psychological process. In the sociological approach, the focus is generally on the manifestation of frames in communication texts based on framing devices and the processes that lead to their construction. The psychological conceptualization sees frames as occurring in the minds of individuals (Borah 2011). However, other conceptualizations take account of both the sociological and psychological aspects of frames (e.g. Dahinden, 2006; Entman et al., 2009; B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010). However, Entman et al. have noted that many studies focus exclusively on framing in the minds of individuals and its effects, and caution that while this cognitive aspect is important, it must equally be borne in mind that framing “is also an organizational process and product, and a political strategic tool” (p. 175). In a study of framing literature spanning a period of 10 years, Borah, however, found that most studies on framing are based on the sociological conception, which seems to be at variance with observations by Entman et al.

Another way of classifying framing approaches has been suggested by B. Scheufele and D. Scheufele (2010), who categorize them according to two models that they identify as forming the foundation of framing scholarship. The models are the *horizontal-vertical matrix for frames, framing and framing effects* and the *dependent-independent-variables matrix for framing research*. The first model places framing along a horizontal-vertical axis (in which frames occur horizontally in different arenas such as the media system, political system, in society and among counter publics), and on a vertical-axis (where they occur at different levels, including the cognitive, discursive and textual levels). The second model, the dependent-independent variables matrix, is not as detailed as the first, but introduces a time element, in which framing is considered as a dynamic process. This model, which mainly applies to framing effects, identifies four subprocesses that form an interconnected typology, and any framing study can be located within this typology. These subprocesses are frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects of framing, and feedback loops that include journalists in the audience that is affected by framing. Within this typology frames are either

dependent or independent and are studied at social and individual levels of analysis. Concerning the first model, three framing research approaches to theorizing framing are identified. The first is the public discourse or social movement approach and focuses on how groups promote specific frames to influence public opinion and advance their interests. In this approach media are generally considered to be mere conduits of frames produced by social and political groups. The second is the journalistic approach, which tries to find out the cognitive frames that inform news production, how these frames influence journalistic output and how these frames are reflected in the media. The third approach focuses on the effects of frames on individuals, including at the psychological level, attitudes, opinions and decision-making. Concerning the dependent-independent variables matrix model, the aforementioned four subprocesses represent causal relationships at various levels of analysis. There are therefore four broad approaches. Examples of studies that fall under these approaches include: establishing the magnitude of impact of frames produced by group agents on the frames reflected in journalistic output (frame building); the extent to which audience frames mirror frames in media texts (frame setting); experiments on how specific frames influence judgments by individuals (individual-level effects); and investigating the interconnectedness of framing effects from the individual level, to journalists and various audiences, whereby everybody from producers of frames, through journalists and audiences may be affected by framing, including their own (feedback loops).

The classification of framing research can equally be hinged on whether the major preoccupation is answering the “what” or the “how” question (Reese 2010, p. 19). The *what* approach is more frame-centric and takes a close look at the content of the frame, including the “the network of concepts and the unique narrative and myths that make it work”. It also identifies linguistic structures such as metaphors, visual icons and catchphrases that reflect frames, otherwise known as framing devices. Furthermore, it uncovers underlying aspects of the text such as keywords and reasoning devices. Examples of the latter include problem identification and moral evaluation. Conversely, the *how* approach is more focused on the process of framing and its effects. It looks at issues like the process of the construction and propagation of frames by political and social groups, and how competition amongst elites who construct these frames play out. Reese notes that some framing effects studies downplay the *what* aspect, cautioning that both approaches are important for a rounded understanding of frames and framing. The *what* perspective, he avers, “leads to deeper inspection of frames in the social arena; that is, to identifying the key organizing principles and most relevant

values that inevitably help guide the *how* studies that are more concerned with examining specific effects” (p. 20).

Similar to the aforementioned recommendation by Reese (2010), and the feedback loops approach we saw in this section, there are a number of studies that emphasize an integrative approach to framing research. For instance, Dahinden (2006) published the findings of an integrative framing study. Similarly, in 2012 the journal *American Behavioral Scientist* published a special issue reporting findings of an integrative framing study that investigated frame building, frames, and framing effects (see de Vreese, 2012).

There have been criticism that framing studies predominantly focus on verbal expressions to the detriment of visual images, leading to yet another classification of framing research based on whether it privileges verbal expressions or visual images (Iorgoveanu & Corbu, 2012). They note that apart from studies that emphasize on verbal expressions in the media and those that focus on visual, there is yet a third way; an integrative approach that combines verbal discourse and visual images.

5.2 Framing Mechanism and Functions

Framing works by repeatedly invoking “the same objects and traits, using identical or synonymous words and symbols in a series of similar communications that are concentrated in time. These frames function to promote an interpretation of a problematic situation or actor and (implicit or explicit) support of a desirable response, often along with a moral judgment that provides an emotional charge”.

As already noted, a core aspect of framing is making information more salient. This happens through the prominence of the placement of specific information in a text, by repetition, or by associating such information with culturally familiar symbols. Concerning the latter aspect, even an item that is not very prominently placed may be very salient, if it aligns with the receiver’s existing schema. Similarly, a highlighted piece of information may not be easily noticed, interpreted or noticed by the receiver because of her existing schema. Schemas come about through socialization processes and other types of social learning and reflect the

receiver's belief systems including things like religious and ideological beliefs, as well as predispositions and prior knowledge levels (Entman, 1993; Nisbet, 2010, p. 47; B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010, p. 114). Therefore, framing works not only in the way the information is coded and displayed, but also depends on the receiver's schema. There is interaction between the present framing and the receiver's existing schema, which was shaped by earlier framing. What is emphasized or relegated affects the response of receivers, as different reactions may be elicited from the audience (Entman, 1993).

This idea of the receiver's schema highlights the cognitive dimension of how frames work. The framing mechanism is based on applicability, a cognitive understanding of the phenomenology of framing. Applicability refers to how specific frames activate particular receivers' schemas (B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010, p. 114). It explains how framing works when the receiver is able to establish a connection between two concepts. An example is how a news report may suggest a link between tax policy and unemployment rates. "The news message may suggest that the best way to think about whether higher or lower taxes are desirable is through a consideration of whether one wants higher or lower unemployment. Thus, the message has said that considerations about unemployment are applicable to questions about taxes" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 15). Therefore, framing would have been effective if the receiver were able to make a connection between tax policy and unemployment rates. For the receiver to make this connection, existing schema must resonate with how these concepts were framed in the news report (also see B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010).

Frames can equally be in competition. This is evident in political news, for instance, where framing by politicians of different persuasions and journalists compete with each other. Frames, consequently, have an impact on the power play in the political arena. The frame in a news text reflects this reality as "it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text" (Entman 1993, p. 55).

With respect to the functions of frames, they play key roles in the selection of aspects of perceived reality and the structuring of this perceived reality in communication texts (Dahinden, 2006, p. 14; also see Entman, 1993; Reese, 2010). Selection, structuring and organization of information are a practical matter for journalists who, constrained by deadline pressures and limited space or airtime, must reduce the complexity of information and hence

enhance a report's conciseness and coherence. This does not, however, mean that most journalists frame stories consciously (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Evans, 2010).

Entman (1993) also identifies additional four functions of frames. They are, in his words:

- i) *Define Problems*: frames determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values.
- ii) *Diagnose Causes*: frames identify the forces creating the problem.
- iii) *Make Moral Judgments*: frames evaluate causal agents and their effects.
- iv) *Suggest Remedies*: frames offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects (p. 52).

When looking out for the manifestation of frames, note must be taken that not all of these elements are necessarily present in a single sentence, for instance. While some sentences may perform one or more or even all of these functions, some may, in this regard, be function-neutral (Entman, 1993). The David vs Goliath frame may help illustrate how these four frame functions play out. This frame label is inspired by the widely known biblical story of the battle between the little David, armed only with his sling, and the heavily-armed and giant Goliath, who is also the aggressor. In the biblical narration, the “weaker” David won. In our context, this frame depicts a situation of conflict between two parties in which one of them is perceived to be far more powerful. Typically, the problem definition is the unequal match with respect to the respective strengths between the parties in the conflict. The cause is diagnosed as the abuse of power by the stronger party. In this frame, the moral judgment is made in favor of the weaker party. Remedies, or course of actions, are implicitly made, and are different for the two parties. For the supposed stronger party, on the one hand, there is the suggestion that the weaker side should be taken seriously. On the other hand, for the perceived weaker party, the frame carries the message that despite their disadvantaged position, they can emerge victorious if they strategically deploy their limited resources (Dahinden, 2006, p. 14).

5.3 Framing, Priming and Agenda-setting

There has been some debate about similarities and differences in the theoretical underpinnings of agenda-setting, priming and framing, three models in communication research. Some scholars argue that they are all rooted in the same theoretical premises, and can all be subsumed under the agenda-setting rubric, while others disagree (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). They aver that while there is some merit to the arguments in favor of subsuming all concepts under one umbrella, especially looking at framing as second-level agenda-setting, the separation of these concepts is necessary in order to ensure precision and clarity in communication research.

Classical conceptualizations of agenda-setting, one of the most influential approaches in communication research, postulate that the effect of the audience's exposure to media content is not so much that it changes their attitudes and behavior, but rather that it influences what the public considers as important (Dahinden, 2006, p. 84). In other words, agenda-setting occurs when media content influences what people think about.

Like agenda-setting, priming is a psychological phenomenon. When media focus on particular issues or aspects of issues, this helps the audience to subsequently remember these issues and use them to evaluate new information, especially political information. It deals with the activation of memory content; the issues that have been emphasized by the media and therefore stored in the memory are made more accessible to recipients when they are in future confronted with new information and hence influences which concepts they use in their evaluation processes (Kühne et al., 2011). According to Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) priming "occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments" (p. 11). They note that priming is often considered an extension of the agenda-setting model. This is in the sense that priming is similar to agenda-setting, only that it has the added element of time. This view holds that by influencing what people consider important, as in the agenda-setting model, the media also influences what concepts people use when making subsequent judgments about political actors and issues, as in the priming model. In this line of thought, both agenda-setting and priming are accessibility based models, whereby the media's emphasis on particular issues makes them to be subsequently more cognitively accessible to the audience.

Proponents of the idea that the three models should all fall under the agenda-setting rubric argue that framing is synonymous with second-level agenda-setting, otherwise known as attribute agenda-setting. While first level agenda-setting influences which issues are salient in the minds of the audience, second level agenda-setting is about the aspects of these broader issues that are made salient. In that sense, framing is seen as making certain aspects of issues more prominent, thereby affecting the attitudes of members of the audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Dahinden, 2006, p. 85). McCombs and Ghanem (2003, pp. 67-79) equally favor a convergence between agenda-setting and framing. According to them, agenda-setting theory provides the basis for tracking the meanings and types of frames and guides framing researchers by directing them to study those issues that have gotten to the top of the public agenda.

Dahinden (2006), however, argues that there are significant differences between agenda-setting and framing. For instance, agenda-setting is preponderantly issue specific, while framing is often issue-agnostic. Furthermore, agenda-setting is short-term, while framing is long-term and cumulative. In addition, at the methodological level, issues are the independent variable in the agenda-setting approach, while in the framing model they are both dependent and intervening variables (p. 85). Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) concur with Dahinden, arguing that while agenda-setting, priming and framing are all psychological processes, framing is fundamentally different from the other two models. At the psychological level, they aver, the major difference “between agenda-setting and priming, on the one hand, and framing, on the other hand, is ... the difference between whether we think about an issue and how we think about it” (p. 14). Agenda-setting and priming are accessibility models, while framing is an applicability model. Accessibility is about the likelihood of recall of issues by members of the audience due to the frequency of their occurrence in the media, and their evaluation as a consequence of this recollection. Applicability, however, refers to the mental connection of different concepts by recipients as a consequence of the mode of presentation of information in the media. It is how an issue is presented, and not simply that the issue is presented, that enables recipients, based on their schemas, to connect the dots between concepts. Therefore, the difference between accessibility and applicability sets apart agenda-setting and priming, on the one hand, and framing, on the other. In agenda-setting, effects are likely to occur by mere exposure to information, while in framing effects are unlikely if the recipient does not pay attention. This is because with agenda-setting, the emphasis is on the

issues per se, while with framing, the mode of presentation of issues and the linking of the mental dots by recipients are what matter.

However, while pointing out the differences between framing, agenda-setting and priming, Entman (2010) proposes that the three concepts should be “integrated under the conceptual umbrella of bias to understand the media’s role in distributing power, revealing new dimensions and processes of critically political communication” (p. 335).

5.4 Framing and Journalism

Among the multitude of things going on in the world, journalists and newsrooms must choose what to cover, since they do not have unlimited time, space and resources. Two fundamental functions of journalists and the media are the selection of information and the subsequent organization and structuring of this information (Kübler, 2003, p. 145; Dahinden 2006, p. 67; Evans, 2010), in order to reduce complexity for the benefit of the audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In editorial conferences, journalists are routinely asked about “the angle” – professional parlance for the slant or aspect to be emphasized – of a story even before they start writing it (Reese et al., 2003, p. 312). These practical news production processes inevitably lead to framing, whereby certain aspects of information are emphasized, making them more salient, and certain interpretations are promoted and desirable responses implicitly and explicitly supported (Entman et al., 2009, p. 177). Indeed, “frames have to be considered as schemes both for presenting and comprehending news” (Scheufele, 1999, p. 106). Therefore, “framing is an unavoidable reality of public communication” (Nisbet, 2010, p. 44).

At the same time that journalists frame information, they are also exposed to framing by institutional and political actors, as well as interest groups, who want to push their points of view and influence public opinion (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; D’Angelo & Kuypers, 2010, p.1; Lawrence, 2010, p. 265). When journalists read news from tickers or similar sources, as well as from other respectable media, these “will resonate with some of the journalists’ schemas, thereby shaping his or her issue-specific cognitive frame” (B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010, p. 119). This implies that when a journalist does a report based on the facts

from the ticker, for instance, she will also bring in her perspective by consciously or unconsciously framing it in a particular manner. Inferring from this process, it can be seen that frames from politicians, interests groups and news sources interact with a journalist's cognitive schemas, and this in turn influences the framing of news report.

In deciding which stories to cover, journalists are also guided by professional norms and news factors, a concept in the theory of newsworthiness, otherwise known as the news values theory (Weber, 2010; also see Dahinden, 2006, pp. 67-72). As Table 1 shows, there are some points of convergence between the news values theory and framing theory. A brief exposition of news values theory should help in the subsequent clarification of these similarities and differences.

Table 1: Comparison between news factors and generic frames

News factor Elders & Wirth 1999:44)¹	Similar generic frame
Personal status	Partly personalization
Personalization	Personalization
Status of location	Partly economy, conflict: globalization
Damage	Partly economy, conflict: scandal
Benefit	Partly economy
Scope	Partly economy
Controversy	Partly conflict or moral
Unexpectedness	Partly conflict: scandal
Factuality	No similar frame available
Simplicity	No similar frame available
Frequency	No similar frame available
Establishing topics	No similar frame available
Consonance	No similar frame available

Source: Dahinden (2006: 70). This depiction is an adaptation from the German original

¹ Reference given by source: Eilders, C., Wirth, W. 1999. Die Nachrichtenwertforschung auf dem Weg zum Publikum: Eine experimentelle Überprüfung des Einflusses von Nachrichtenfaktoren bei der Rezeption. In: *Publizistik* 44, 1, p. 35 – 57.

News values theory explains the grounds on which the media go about deciding which stories are covered. This theory postulates that there are certain criteria (news factors) that determine the likelihood that the media will cover an event or issue, and the more these are present in a particular story, the likelier it will attract the media's attention. Stories with more news factors are therefore likelier to be given more prominence in the media than those with less (Weber 2010; Dahinden, 2006, p. 68). Different scholars have advanced varying news factors, but the list on Figure 1 is typical.

A distinction has equally been made between causal and final approaches to news values theory. The causal approach can be classified under the objectivity theoretical school. It holds that news factors are objective characteristics of events, which portray the reasons why journalists select particular stories. The final approach is grounded on similar theoretical premises as the constructivist school of thought. News factors, in this perspective, are not a given as they are constructed by journalists during the processing of news. In this light, available news factors could be abandoned during information processing and new ones introduced (Dahinden, 2006, p. 69).

From the foregoing, it can be seen that there are some similarities between news values theory and the framing approach. First, both news values theory and framing theory are premises for the investigation of the selection of information by the media. Second, the central concepts, "news factor" and "frame", can be described as issue agnostic. Third, news factors and generic frames² share similar nomenclature (Dahinden, 2006) as shown in Figure 1. Perhaps, another similarity is that both framing and the final approach of news values theory can be analyzed within the framework of the constructivist paradigm.

There are, however, major differences between these two theories, and a few will be mentioned here. Methodologically, news factors can be considered micro-concepts as they describe single, isolated aspects that can be operationalized only with a single variable. Conversely, frames are multi-dimensional and complex (Dahinden, 2006, p. 71). Furthermore, while news factors are sometimes considered to differ from culture to culture, these differences are so slight as not to make any significant difference. Therefore, news factors are considered universal and do not change with time (Weber, 2010). According to Dahinden, unlike news factors, frames are culture-dependent and diachronic. Another difference is the causal approach in the news values theory, on which basis future news

² An on generic frames is found in Section 5.6.

coverage can be predicted. Conversely, frames usually do not form the basis of prognostication of news coverage.

Whatever differences and similarities exist between news factors and frames, there is scholarly evidence that the values of newsworthiness and the need for commercial media to attract audiences influence journalists' decisions on issues to highlight and how they frame stories. Politicians and interest groups are aware of the media's susceptibility to this and apply framing accordingly. Journalists are therefore likely to disproportionately use frames that meet newsworthiness criteria such as drama, conflict, novelty, timeliness, and visual appeal. Furthermore, just "as policy actors need the media to put forth their message to the public, so too do the media need political elites to serve as spokespersons, fill news holes, provide drama, and add issue balance" (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001, p. 177).

Similarly, journalistic frames (which are influenced by news factors) play a key role in news framing. Scholars have observed journalists "prefer information that is consistent with their journalistic frames" (Entman et al., 1999, p. 180). This implies that in their routine work, according to Entman et al., information that resonates with journalistic frames "is more likely to be used for the construction of a news report than inconsistent information".

Highlighting a journalist-source-audience axis in the manifestation of frames in the media, Entman, 1991, stated: "News organizations shape their reports to elicit favorable reactions from readers and viewers, and the anticipated reactions of the public also affect the rhetoric and actions of political elites, who are the primary 'sponsors' of news frames" (p. 7).

Journalists' high dependence on external actors underlines the delicate position they find themselves in, as there is the possibility of other actors exploiting them to push across specific frames. A number of scholars have examined this issue, highlighting the connection between frames generated by politicians, interest groups, and institutional actors and their reflection in the media (e.g. B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010; Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; Kouri & Clarke, 2012). In a study on the gun ownership debate, Callaghan & Schnell illustrate how elite policy debate plays out amongst politicians, pressure groups and the media. They found that the media disproportionately favored the frames used by the gun-control lobby over those of the rifle owners' association, which campaigns for the right of civilians to own guns with little or no regulatory constraint. The results also showed that the media sometimes intervened in the issue framing process by combining frames of various

actors and acting as the final arbiter. At the same time, media even created their own frames. Callaghan & Schnell suggested that the media's favoring of the frames of the gun-control lobby is partly because the pro-gun group is far more powerful with respect to lobbying resources and capability. They also reported that of all the frames used, nearly half was a single frame, the "Crime and the Culture of Violence" frame (p. 201). Even though they do not say so, the overall picture presented in the results of this study seems to lay credence to what Dahinden (2006) described as the David vs Goliath frame, whereby the perceived weaker party is framed more favorably by the media (p. 15).

Journalists don't necessarily frame issues deliberately (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 2002; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007), and insist their reporting is guided by the norms of truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance (Callaghan & Schnell 2001). However, both professional constraints and journalistic culture routinely lead to framing (Entman, 1991; Reese et al., 2003, p. 312). According to Entman, when there is a new breaking event, for instance, "it is the initial interactions of sources and journalists that set the framing process in motion" (p.7). Journalists typically rely on government sources for information and perspective on such events, and these interact with pre-existing schemas to establish a new one pertaining to the event. This schema determines the subsequent framing of the issues surrounding the event, even though as coverage evolves, some journalists may challenge the dominant narrative (pp. 7-8).

In addition, there is evidence that even considerations about journalism standards such as objectivity affect journalists' framing of messages (Lawrence, 2010, p. 265). Nisbet (2010) argues further that journalists don't have a choice but to frame issues, and the question can only be whether their framing is effective. He cautions that while journalists may dismiss his claim on the grounds that they go against their traditional norms of objectivity, impartiality and neutrality, the "meaning and usefulness of these notions are questionable, and "they are perhaps more challenged in today's world, where pressing problems such as climate change are decided within a dramatically different media and political landscape from just a decade ago" (p. 45).

Entman (1993) concurs with the idea that journalists should apply framing techniques to serve their audiences better. He, however, cautions that this "would require a far more sophisticated role for reporters than they now take" (p. 57). Also calling on journalists to avoid the shortcomings of some traditional journalism norms by consciously framing

messages to target audiences, Nesbit (2010) nevertheless cautions that this must be done responsibly to avoid hyperbole and inaccuracies. In the wider context, Entman (2010) has warned of “systemic bias in media framing of issues, actors and events” (p. 333). He observed for, instance, that on a number of issues, some mainstream news organizations in the U.S. persistently use frames favored by liberals, while on others, they use conservative frames.

As some scholars have noted, the origins of the concept framing in the communication arena are rooted in practical media production processes (e.g. Dahinden, 2006, p. 53; McCombs & Ghanem, p. 71). The term framing, with regards to communication, specifically related to techniques in cinematographic and photographic production. These techniques aim at ensuring that the image is such that that viewer’s attention is drawn to the subject. These techniques were later used in television news production. Furthermore, framing techniques have also been used in the design of newspapers. McComb and Ghanem, citing research findings, note that newspaper design decisions, such as the placement of text, ultimately could have effects on the audience, including their reaction towards crime and decisions to read certain stories over others. Although framing, as described here, is different from the theoretical conceptualization, there is a clear connection.

Other scholars have explicitly suggested normative standards for news framing. One of such scholars is Porto (2007), who argued that traditional standards of news quality are inadequate. His solution is to use the model of the “interpretative citizen”, whereby ordinary citizens are able to make consistent choices in a democratic society through a diversity of “interpretative frames”. In this view, a diversity of interpretative frames should be the standard for judging journalistic quality.

The foregoing exposition on the connection between framing and journalism, especially its implications for professional standards, suggests that there is need for deeper reflection on the normative questions pertaining to framing.

5.5 Framing Effects: Normative and Political Implications

A core aspect of framing that obviously has ethical and other normative implications is the so-called framing effects. Framing effects, in the view of Scheufele & Iyengar (n.d.), are “behavioral or attitudinal outcomes that are not due to differences in what is being communicated, but rather to variations in how a given piece of information is being presented (or framed) in public discourse” (p. 1). This view of framing effects has received extensive experimental testing (McElroy & Seta, 2003). One of the foremost examples of such experiments is the extensively cited Asian disease problem by Kahneman and Tversky (1984). One group of participants in the experiment was presented with the following choice:

Imagine that the U.S. is preparing for the outbreak of an unusual Asian disease, which is expected to kill 600 people. Two alternative programs to combat the disease have been proposed. Assume that the exact scientific estimates of the consequences of the programs are as follows: If Program A is adopted, 200 people will be saved. If Program B is adopted, there is a one-third probability that 600 people will be saved and a two thirds probability that no people will be saved. Which of the two programs would you favor? (p. 343)

A second group of participants, presented with the same hypothetical situation, was asked to choose between Program C and Program D, which were framed in terms of number of deaths, unlike the earlier scenario which was framed in terms of lives saved. Program C stated that 400 people will die, while Program D provided the scenario of a one-third probability that nobody will die and a two-third probability that 600 people will die. In the first group, 72 percent preferred Program A, while 28 percent chose Program B. Although the options presented to both groups were logically equivalent, participants in the second group went in the opposite direction: 78 percent opted for Program D, while 22 percent preferred Program C. When the scenario was framed in terms of gain, participants were risk-averse and opted for certainty (200 people to be saved). But when framed in terms of loss, they were risk-seeking and went for the uncertain option (one-third probability that nobody will die and a two-third probability that 600 people will die). People’s perception of issues, therefore, can be affected by the framing of a message and this experiment illustrates that highlighting certain aspects of a message can influence what people focus on and how they remember a problem (Entman 1993; de Vreese, 2010; Borah, 2011). In an analogy that echoes the results of this experiment, Entman noted that if news texts repeatedly emphasize that a glass is half empty, rather than half full, the likelihood is that the majority of the audience will perceive it as such.

Plausible evidence of powerful framing effects has raised concerns about audience autonomy and citizen competence in a democracy (Entman, 1993). The media, the main conduits of frames to the public, have throughout history played a crucial role in promoting debate and providing information to citizens to take decisions (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012). But with increasing short attention spans of the audiences (Dean, 2010), which only exacerbates the tendency of people not being generally cognitively active, “framing heavily influences their response to communications” (Entman, 1993, p. 56).

In a democracy, citizens can only reasonably play their expected role if they are competent. Druckman (2001) elaborates on two conditions that qualify citizens to be competent:

- “competent citizens’ preferences should not be based on arbitrary aspects of how an issue or problem is described” (p. 232)
- “competent citizens’ preferences should not be the product of elite manipulation”. (p. 233).

On the first qualification, Druckman (2001) concludes that citizens would not be considered competent if their preferences reflect the results of the Asian disease experiment. On the second score, he notes: “If elite influence occurs automatically such that citizens subconsciously form preferences in accordance with elite discourse, then citizens will nearly always be vulnerable to manipulation” (p.3). Although there is little evidence that the effects of framing on citizens is that automatic, as already noted, frames have significant influences on citizens (see Entman, 1993, 2010).

Another issue that may be inserted into the debate about citizens’ vulnerability to framing effects is the apparent unequal power relations between individuals and groups. In their theory of group agency, List and Pettit (2010) state:

[Group agents] count as persons, albeit ones of an institutional rather than a biological kind. To be sure, group agents are not flesh-and-blood persons. They are pachydermic and inflexible in many ways, and lack the perceptions and emotions of human individuals. But they nonetheless have the basic prerequisites of personhood. Not only do they form and enact a single mind, ...displaying beliefs and acting on their basis. They can speak for that mind... (pp. 176 – 177).

List and Pettit (2010) go on to assert that the power of group agents such as states, governments, corporate agents and advocacy organizations, far outstrips that of individuals and should therefore be heavily regulated to guard against abuse (pp. 180-185). In the web of power relations in the political environment involving governments, political parties, interest groups, media corporations (which are also group agents), and ordinary citizens, the latter seem to be particularly weak if claims of the group agency theory are accurate. This surely has disturbing implications for citizens' ability to play a useful role in a democracy. Groups appear to have lopsided power in relation to ordinary citizens in determining which issues dominate the public arena, but also the terms under which these issues are debated. Entman (2010) recognized the disadvantaged position of ordinary citizens, despite potential mitigating factors for framing effects, stating that they are "quite susceptible to framing effects in the real world."

On the political impact of framing, Iyengar (1991), who studied the coverage of a number of issues in the U.S., conducted experiments to ascertain whether and how episodic and thematic framing affects citizens' attribution of responsibility. Episodic frames are akin to straight news, while thematic frames provide context (see description of episodic and thematic frames in Section 5.6). He noted that episodic frames caused people to attribute problems of poverty, for instance, to the individual. Conversely, thematic frames caused people to attribute responsibility to society or government. Iyengar highlights the political consequences of these framing effects as follows: "Individuals attributing responsibility for personal economic problems to themselves are significantly more approving of government than those attributing responsibility to society-at-large. Voters tend to reward or punish governments depending on the state of the economy. A preponderance of episodic frames weakens this 'reward-punishment' electoral cycle by discouraging [members of the audience] from making societal attributions for issues" (p. 9.).

However, there is other evidence that suggests that citizens may not be as vulnerable to frames as generally thought (see Druckman, 2001; Druckman & Nelson, 2003). The Asian disease experiment, for instance, involved equivalency frames, where logically equivalent scenarios are framed differently. Druckman notes that not all scenarios can be framed in only two different, but logically equivalent ways. Communication processes are typically more complex. In news reporting and in the political arena, there are a multitude of reference points from which various actors and journalists can frame issues. Here, emphasis frames

dominate. Frames in this case arise from the emphasis that is placed on particular aspects of an issue. This suggests results obtained in the Asian disease experiment may not be extrapolated to make valid generalizations about effects in the real world. In fact, there are questions marks in extant literature whether there are significant framing effects at all (e.g. Druckman, 2001; Sniderman & Theriault, 2004; Brewer & Gross, 2010). A typical news day would see a multitude of different, and often conflicting, frames and this has implications on how framing effects work. Druckman examined evidence of framing effects in a number of other experiments where the options for participants were not as straight-forward as the Asian disease experiment. For emphasis framing, these studies examined factors that mitigated framing effects such as predispositions, citizen deliberation, political information, source credibility, and competition. He concluded that these effects were not always evident, adding that “framing effects are remarkably complex. Sometimes they work and other times they do not” (p. 246).

The impact of elite framing on public opinion is equally not always evident. Druckman and Nelson (2003) note that ordinary citizens form opinions about issues not only from media exposure, but also after discussing with other people, such as friends, family and colleagues. Results of experiments they conducted suggest that conversations among ordinary citizens sometimes mitigate or cancel elite framing effects. Prior framing effects tend to persist only when the conversation involves issues where there is little disagreement among the interlocutors, but are eliminated when there are opposing views. In addition, elite framing effects are short-lived. Druckman and Nelson, however, point that while their results are indicative that elite manipulation of citizens may not be as pervasive as generally thought, “elite framing effects do regularly occur and have important consequences” (p. 741). Moreover, previous research has shown that interpersonal communication usually takes place among people with similar views, the type where prior framing effects usually persist.

Indeed, there is ample evidence that suggests the power of frames to influence individuals, and policymakers. Journalists, who act as conduits for, and arbiters of, frames applied by competing political actors and interest groups are also influenced. Frames impact on how people think about issues, and therefore influence public opinion and policy (Callaghan & Schnell 2001; McElroy & Seta 2003; Evans 2010; Brewer & Gross 2010).

Even if elite framing has limited impact on ordinary citizens, it can have an outsized impact. As Entman (2010, pp. 333-334) argues, if, in a political contest, for instance, a frame

influences less than 10 percent of the electorate, that could still determine who emerges as winner or loser. That is because in established democracies, elections are typically won or lost by slim margins. Similarly, Entman maintains, a small framing effect, which under experimental conditions may be statistically insignificant, can decide which policy direction is favored in opinion polls. Weighty policy options, such as a nation's decision to go war, or to offer humanitarian aid to people in far-flung countries in dire need, are often influenced by public opinion, which in turn is influenced by framing (Cunningham, 2003; Evans, 2010).

5.6 Typology of Frames

There are many frames identified in the literature and the nomenclature differs from author to author. In this section, I explain some of these frames, with a focus on news frames. Distinctions are made between equivalency and emphasis frames; media and individual frames; strategic and non-strategic frames; issue-specific and generic frames. Finally, I elaborate on various types of generic frames which will eventually form the backbone of the empirical evaluation in this study.

Equivalency vs Emphasis Frames

In a situation where a scenario can be presented in two different, but logically equivalent ways, equivalency framing can occur. A mundane illustration is describing a glass as half-empty, when it could as well have been described as half-full. These are identical representations of the level of the contents in the glass, but are presented differently. Equivalency framing is when one of the two options of describing the glass takes precedence. Equivalency framing typically presents gain and risk-seeking or loss scenarios, like in the Asian disease experiment reported in Section 5.5. Emphasis framing, for its part, is when certain aspects of an issue are highlighted while other potentially relevant aspects are ignored or downplayed. Emphasis framing effects would occur when exposure causes the receiver to focus on the emphasized aspects of a communication when forming an opinion (Druckman, 2001).

Media vs Individual Frames

The phenomenology of frames is both sociological and psychological. Entman (1993) refers to “frames in the communication process” (p. 52), which is basically a sociological conceptualization (Borah, 2011). For our purposes, these frames in the communication process can be identified in public discourse. Much of public discourse takes place in the media. According to Entman et al. (2009), “[c]itizens do not acquire much of their political knowledge from personal experience. Instead, they get most of their information from the media and the elites the media portray” (p. 179). Entman et al. also refer to frames in “media content”. These are frames that can be identified in the media. These frames are the product of elite discourse and journalistic input. When journalists report on events and issues, they often bring in their own perspective, and mediate between competing frames. The frames that manifest in media content are therefore the product of a complex communication process. These frames are often labeled media frames or news frames (see de Vreese, 2005; Nesbit, 2010; Lawrence, 2010). De Vreese, Peter & Semetco (2001) aver that broadly speaking, there are media frames and audience frames. According to them, media frames can be identified in news reports. De Vreese (2010) also referred to the frames that manifest in news media as “journalistic news frames”, which are at the same time emphasis frames (p. 190).

Psychological conceptualizations of framing are mostly concerned with studies on framing effects. In this conceptualization, frames are located in the minds of individuals (members of the audience and journalists) and are therefore labeled individual frames. For instance, while members of the audience are recipients of news frames, they are not passive. Information they receive interacts with their cognitive schemas, which allows them to make sense of the information. There are equally journalistic frames. Just like members of the audience, journalists hold cognitive schemas that help them process incoming information (B. Scheufele & D. Scheufele, 2010, p. 119). In other words, journalistic frames are “professional frames that guide information processing and text production by journalists” and are “akin to scripts or menus that guide selections of issues and construction of news reports” (Entman et al., 1999, p. 179). According to Entman et al., journalistic frames are both individual to the journalist, and collective, as there are frames that are shared by the entire newsroom.

News frames and individual frames could be similar, as the media influences the individual frames. At least one study identified some frames deduced from interviews with members of

the audience as identical to those that manifested in news on current affairs (de Vreese, 2005).

While audience frames have typically been conceptualized as a psychological phenomenon, the rise of new forms of interactive media such as social media platforms has brought in a new social dimension. These new media platforms have often been used to carry-out strategic campaigns, in which ordinary citizens become not only consumers of content, but producers as well. Media are often targeted in these campaigns and there have been instances where social media have forced the agenda on the media. In such cases, what would ordinarily have been considered as audience frames, take a new “bottom-up” dimension, where journalists are at the receiving end (see Nesbit, 2010, pp. 74-76).

Strategic vs Non-Strategic Frames

When a message is framed with the goal of achieving specific outcomes, such as influencing public opinion on an issue, this is known as strategic framing. Politicians, bloggers, editorial writers and pundits often engage in this type of framing. Journalists of partisan publications also frame strategically (Entman et al., 2009, p. 176).

Strategic frames are generally used in the study of political news. Unlike politicians and other actors aiming to influence opinion, news reporters in mainstream publications who are guided by traditional journalistic norms, such as objectivity and balance, typically frame unconsciously and do not intend to achieve any particular strategic goals. Journalistic frames (explained above) are therefore non-strategic. However, that does not mean strategic frames are absent from news reports in mainstream media, even when the journalists stick to professional norms such as objectivity and balance. Strategic frames also get into news reports. The success of PR is often measured by how much the original strategic frame appears unaltered in the media (Entman et al., 2009, pp. 176, 179; Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; de Vreese, 2005).

Strategic frames have generally been mapped in analyses of political reporting. A strategic frame in the news focuses on: “winning and losing”; “includes the language of war, games, and competition”; “contains ‘performers, critics and audiences’”; “focuses on candidate style

and perceptions”, and “gives weight to polls and candidate standings” (de Vreese, 2005, p. 55).

Issue-Specific vs Generic Frames

News frames could be either issue-specific or generic. Issue-specific frames are identified with specific issues or events (de Vreese, 2005). In framing research, issue-specific frames tend to be peculiar to the study in question, or to studies on a particular topic of coverage. For instance, Kouri and Clarke (2012) did an analysis of the media’s coverage of “green jobs” in the UK and identified the following frames: “environment-economy bridge”; “green entrepreneurship”; “nascent industry creation”; “structural adjustment”; and “internal industry transformation”. Another example is a study by De Souza (2010), who investigated the coverage of NGOs by elite newspapers in India shortly after the tsunami that hit that part of the world in December 2004. She identified the “do-good”, “protest”, “partner”, and “public accountability” frames as specific to this coverage (p. 482). A study on the coverage of former U.S. President Bill Clinton, during the latter part of his administration, provides a further instance of the identification of issue-specific frames. Three recurrent frames were identified in this study, which included “Clinton behavior scandal”, “Conservative attack scandal”, and “Liberal response scandal” (see de Vreese, 2005, p. 55). In all of the above three examples, these frames are only applicable to a specific topic.

While issue-specific frames allow for in-depth analysis in the study of a particular topic, the “high degree issue-sensitivity make analyses drawing on issue-specific frames difficult to generalize, compare, and use as empirical evidence for theory building” (de Vreese, 2005, p.55). He equally argued that the lack of comparability often leads researchers to find what they are looking for.

Unlike issue-specific frames, de Vreese (2005) explains, generic news frames are applicable to a variety of topics covered by journalists. Some generic news frames can even be used to analyze coverage “over time and in different cultural contexts” (p. 54). Proof that a frame is generic is usually established after its applicability has been tested across different contexts and topics. Generally, studies on generic frames either focus on the coverage of politics or “frames that are structural and inherent to the conventions of journalism”. De Vreese cites a

number of studies which suggest that the generic frames identified in the coverage of elections in the U.S. are predominantly strategic.

Below I take a closer look at some generic news frames.

Episodic vs Thematic Frames

Iyengar (1991) identified two frames, the episodic and thematic news frames. The distinction is based on the style of a journalistic report. Both frames are generic. According to Iyengar, the episodic frame depicts “issues predominantly as concrete instances or events”, while the thematic frame depicts “issues more generally, either in terms of collective outcomes, public policy debates, or historical trends” (p. 18). He notes, however, that the two types of frames are typically present in the same report, even though one may dominate. But overall, episodic frames dominate network television coverage in the United States. The example of the coverage of terrorism, as reported by Iyengar, illustrates the difference between episodic and thematic news frames. When, for instance, there is a live coverage of an act of terrorism which basically chronicles what happened, that report would be considered to have been framed episodically. But when it discusses terrorism as a political problem, it can be said to have been framed thematically (pp. 26-27).

Angle of Article Frame

A number of scholars have noted that the “angling” of journalistic articles constitutes framing (e.g. Mendelsohn, 1993; Pavlik, 2003). According to Mendelsohn (n.p.), the “selection of a news ‘angle’ or ‘storyline’ which transforms an occurrence into a news event, and that, in turn, into a news report, is a frame”. The “angle” is professional journalistic parlance for the slant of the article or the aspect to be highlighted. This is in line with Entman’s (1993) explanation of frames to the effect that they “call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements” (Entman, 1993, p. 55). The angle of the article frame is also a generic frame.

The “angling” of stories plays a central role in news gathering and presentation. Pavlik (2003) notes that “‘What’s the angle?’ on this story is perhaps the second-most frequently

asked question in editorial meetings, second only to, ‘Who are the sources?’ The simple fact is that in most traditional newsrooms the culture of journalism is to determine the basic nature of a story before assembling all, or even most, of the facts” (p. 312).

Interpretative Frames

Porto (2007) put forth the idea of “interpretative frames”. According to him, these frames “offer a specific interpretation of a political event or issue” and are sponsored by “various social actors that promote specific interpretations of political reality, including politicians, organizations, and social movements” (p. 312). He states that interpretative frames perform one of the following functions: (1) problem definition; (2) attributions of responsibility and causes; (3) assessments about the significance of political events or issues; (4) arguments about consequences; and/or (5) treatment recommendations. These are remarkably similar to the functions and dimensions of framing which Entman (1993, 2004) had elaborated, and Porto obviously borrowed from that conceptualization. Judging from its conceptualization, interpretative frames can be classified under the broad heading of generic frames.

Another Category of Generic News Frames

A number of studies have identified frames that recur across topics and contexts. For instance, Neuman et al. (1992), identified five frames that are preponderant across U.S. media, irrespective of topic or context. These frames include, the conflict, economic consequences, human impact, powerlessness and morality frames (pp. 66-74). In another study inspired by the Neuman et al. project, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) deductively derived five similar frames from the literature. They are conflict, human interest, economic consequences, morality, and attribution of responsibility frames. Dahinden (2006) deductively arrived at a similar set of generic news frames. These include conflict, economic, progress, morality (including ethics and law) and personalization frames (p. 108).

The current study adopts the generic frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The frames are explained below:

Conflict: This frame highlights conflicts and disagreements among different parties. Several studies have demonstrated that the media tend to highlight conflicts (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Dahinden, 2006, p. 107).

Economic: The economic domain is at the heart of this frame. It is often about the economic impact of an issue, decision, problem or event on individuals, groups, organizations, countries and even regions. In this frame can also be found issues of efficiency (such as savings) as well as efficacy (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Dahinden, 2006, p. 108).

Morality: At the center of this frame are moral, ethical, and even sometimes legal considerations. Unlike in the conflict frame where issues are presented at the level of individuals or groups, this frame deals with universal values and sometimes with codified laws and regulations (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Dahinden, 2006, pp. 108-109). Typically, journalists in mainstream newspapers do not make brash moral judgments because of their professional norm of objectivity. Instead, they do so indirectly by employing journalistic devices such as quotes and inference (Neuman et al., 1992, p. 72).

Human Interest: On the one hand, this combined frame is about bringing “a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” (Semetko & Valkenburg 2000, p. 95). On the other hand, it focuses on individual, personal experiences, often giving a subjective, biographic perspective (Dahinden, 2006, p. 109).

Attribution of Responsibility: In this frame, there is usually either praise or blame. An individual or group, institution, organization or government, is attributed responsibility for a problem, issue or remedy (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

6. Quality Research Literature

In this section, I expound on the justification of quality criteria in journalism and communication scholarship and the meaning of journalistic quality; and trace the evolution of the quality discourse as well as the ongoing debate on the decline of the newspaper industry. But before delving into the crux of the quality discourse, I elaborate on the ethical debate, which is at the origin of it all.

6.1 Justification for Journalistic Quality Assessment

Like any profession, journalism has specific services it is supposed to perform in society. Cooks prepare dishes and doctors treat patients, for example. A good cook is one who prepares delicious dishes, and a competent doctor makes his patients get better. Similarly, good journalism is when the journalist performs her role well. Therefore, there is a need to know whether journalists perform their roles well (Pöttker, 2000, p. 375; Arnold, 2009, p. 166).

The problem is that unlike the aforementioned medical and culinary professions, the role of journalists is not always so clear-cut (Pöttker, 2000), especially as it is a liberal profession with virtually open access to all and sundry. However, there is general agreement on the broad strokes of what journalists – and the media – are supposed to do. From the democratic-normative theoretical perspective, Meier (2007) notes, the role of journalists is basically to inform as well as criticize and control. This is similar the perspective by Zaller (2003), that journalist would only have performed satisfactorily if the news they serve provides “citizens with the basic information necessary to form and update opinions on all of the major issues of the day, including the performance of top public officials” (p. 110).

These normative roles for journalists and the media are important in modern, democratic and pluralistic societies for a number of reasons. One of the core reasons is that citizens need to be well informed of societal happenings and issues in order to make up their minds. Furthermore, information enables public debates on societal problems. Another reason is that in a democratic society, there are supposed to be checks and balances. The three arms of government, namely the executive, legislature and judiciary, are supposed to check each

other. The media, considered the fourth power, for its part, is supposed to act as a check on these other powers. In this role, the media should expose malpractices, wrong decisions, corruption and administrative arbitrariness. For a democracy to be healthy, the media needs to effectively play its role, hence the need for quality (Meier, 2007, pp. 14-16; also see Arnold 2009, pp.185-200).

Pöttker (2000) sees the role of journalism in a similar light. To him, the main role of journalism is reducing complexity for the ordinary citizen, so that they could connect the dots between issues and events, and thereby have the possibility of properly participating in societal affairs. To achieve this, journalism should draw attention to connections between different, isolated realities, and make this accessible to the public. In this perspective, journalism is at the functional level a public service institution. It is from this role that quality standards for the media emanate (pp. 377-378).

Overall, the justification of quality criteria for the media are grounded on the central role the media play in society, no matter whether it is viewed from the functional-system perspective, the democratic-normative perspective or the audience based-approach (see Arnold, 2009, pp. 162-229). However, this justification is often linked with democratic ideals and notions of social responsibility as well as the public interest. In fact, it has been observed that the quality discourse is growing in importance in communication research because state and societal processes are increasing more dependent on the role of the media (Hagen, 1995, p.35). Since the society is so dependent on the media in democracies, it is important that there is independent, quality journalism so that citizens are competent to play their assigned role (see McQuail, 1992; Druckman, 2001; Bentele, 2008; Arnold, 2009; fög 2011).

Both from normative and practical-contingent perspectives, therefore, the media have a crucial role to play in a democratic society, and press freedom is enshrined in the constitutions of virtually all advanced democracies. The media serves as a watchdog for society, checking the other three arms of government. But who is checking the media, which are also fallible, and can thereby make mistakes and abuse their power? There are various regulatory mechanisms including state laws, watchdogs, self-regulatory bodies, think tanks, and “crowd-sourcing” activities conducted online to control the media. Crowd-sourcing refers to mass participation surveys (Meier; 2007, p.16, Stavitsky & Dvorkin, p. 15).

Although self-regulation is about media organizations and journalists adhering to ethical and professional norms, Blum (2011) argues that this has not been effectively done, in the case of Switzerland at least. He equally dismissed the notion that the media can be effectively controlled by market forces, a point that has been corroborated by a number of scholars. In addition, newspapers, for instance, which are not state-owned, are not legally bound to work towards opinion formation of the public, for example, which is important for the well-being of society. But that is a normatively crucial role for the media in a democracy. Democracy would not be possible without the contribution of the media and it would be disastrous if the media increasingly absconded from “reflective, enlightening public discourse”. Blum therefore argues that apart from the other forms of control of the media, independent assessment of journalistic quality by scholars is very necessary for the health of democracy (pp. 7-8).

There are also at least two commonsense reasons why quality assessment is important: it offers the media information which they could use to improve and motivates media professionals to maintain standards.

6.2 Ethics and Journalism

Journalistic quality, otherwise known as news quality, or what has also been described by McQuail (1992) as “performance assessment”, is an offshoot of the ethical debate. To better present the issue of journalistic quality, I am, therefore, first taking a brief excursion to the realm of ethics, including its definition and its evolution in communication scholarship, before comparing it with journalistic quality.

Ethics is derived from the Greek word *ethos*, which has a number of meanings including habit, character or disposition. In philosophy, where the study of morality is thought to have begun, ethics basically deals with questions of proper conduct, the good life and rational decisions. In other words, it is a system of moral principles (BBC, n.d.; Meier 2007: 233). Starck (2001), clarifying the meaning of ethics, explains that it “concerns itself with what is morally good or bad, right or wrong. These matters, in turn, are determined by the values and standards by which behavior is judged”.

In philosophy, there are three main sub-categories in the study of ethics: applied ethics which examines controversial moral questions such as war; normative ethics, which is concerned with the content of moral judgments and answers questions of what is right or wrong and why; and meta-ethics which scrutinizes the nature of morality (BBC, n.d.; Miller 2003, p. 1).

In meta-theoretical terms, parallels could be drawn between ethics and communication, especially as relates to the perception of reality. Just like in communication scholarship where theoretical approaches such as constructivism have questioned traditional notions of reality, so too are meta-ethical theories concerned with the phenomenology of morality and its relation with reality. In meta-ethics, the main theoretical lines of battle have been drawn between cognitivists and non-cognitivists. Cognitivists hold that moral judgments are truth-apt, meaning that they could be true or false, representing an objective reality. Non-cognitivists, on the other hand, argue that moral judgments are not truth-apt and rather express non-cognitivist states such as emotions or desires (Miller, 2003, p. 3).

An example of a non-cognitivist theory is quasi-realism, propounded by Simon Blackburn, who argues that evaluative properties, such as moral judgments, “are projections of our own sentiments (emotions, reactions, attitudes, commendations)” (Miller, 2003, p. 52). They are not truth-apt. While Blackburn holds that there are no distinctively moral facts, and while moral judgments basically express sentiments of approval and disapproval, his theory explains why human beings can still earn the right to talk about morality as if it were truth-apt.

Another meta-ethical theory norm-expressivism by Allan Gibbard, attributes moral judgments to the expression of non-cognitive attitudes towards a “system of norms”. In the norm-expressivist conception, an action is “morally wrong” only when it is rational for the agent who performed it to feel guilty and for the rest of us to feel resentful towards her. Norm expressivism therefore analyses morality from a non-cognitivist perspective of rationality. “X is rational” is a statement that neither ascribes a property to X nor does it mean it is truth-apt. It is simply expressing the acceptance of a system of norms (Miller 2003, p. 95).

Quasi-realism and norm-expressivism therefore both see moral judgments as relative and intrinsically not “objective”. On the one hand, sentiments are individual and, on the other, norms could change from culture to culture and from society to society. However, ethical claims can be rationally evaluated.

The non-cognitivist approach therefore has a number of parallels with some ethical conceptualizations in communication approaches which see norms and standards as affected by history, culture, regulatory framework, among other things. In short, ethical norms can, and do change from society to society, are not static, and there are constructivist conceptions of journalism ethics (see Arnold, 2009, pp. 66- 77). As McQuail (1992), notes, “most of the standards of performance which are applied to the mass media in policy debates, ...are normative, prescriptive and in the end, subjective – a matter of preference, perspective and value judgment” (p. 12).

Professional ethics of journalism are concerned mainly with applied and normative ethics and refer to general rules of behavior which should guide journalistic practice. Various professional associations, media regulatory bodies and news organizations have established codes of ethics, also called codes of conduct. No common set of ethical norms are present, and they tend to differ across organizations (news organizations and professional bodies) as well as across media systems and countries (Stark, 2001; Meier, 2007, p. 241; van der Wurff & Schönbach, 2011; Plaisance, Skewes & Hanitzsch, 2012).

A number of studies have identified some ethical standards which tend to recur across various systems, but no common set of media ethical standards exist that apply globally (Meier, 2007, pp. 233-238; Starck, 2001; Plaisance et al., 2012). In a cross-country study on journalists’ perception of ethical issues across organizations and media systems, Plaisance et al. observed important differences among countries. Their findings led them to call for caution in the drive for globally applicable ethical standards.

Arnold (2009, p. 79) lists the following ethical criteria he identified in extant literature:

- Truth/truthfulness
- Objectivity, completeness, neutrality
- Balance
- Diversity
- Diligence and fairness in research
- Independence
- Criticism and control
- Attention
- Comprehensibility, background, proximity (to everyday life)

- Transparency
- Relevance
- Participation.

To these may be added separation of opinion and facts as well as respect for privacy, which appear in a number of journalism codes of conduct such as that of the Austrian “Presserat” (Österreichischer Presserat, 2012)

As already mentioned, each code is usually unique, although it would normally have similarities and differences with other codes. Nordenstreng (1984) narrates how in the early 1970s, efforts were made by UNESCO to promote a code of ethics that apply globally. In one UNESCO meeting, “several delegates referred to the importance of establishing professional codes of ethics for the mass media, with regard to both national and international media” (p.84). These efforts were accompanied by studies to determine common standards in ethical codes worldwide. Some of the recurrent ethical requirements found in these codes included objectivity, truth, and honesty. However, the attempt at a global code of ethics was subsequently abandoned.

6.3 Evolution of Journalism Ethics

Although ethical questions have been discussed since the beginning of philosophical reflections, the codification of journalism ethics is believed to have begun in the USA where, media historians say, a journalism association established a code of ethics in 1910 (Thomaß, 2004, p. 406).

Other sources even cite an earlier date of 1890, when the first journalism code of conduct was established in the USA. The codification of journalism ethics arose out of practical and political necessity. Because the press in the United States and Great Britain became more professionalized and commercialized, they morphed into an influential feature on the institutional landscape. Discussions about journalistic behavior, standards and professionalism emanated from the necessity for the media to legitimize their increasingly powerful position in society. The USA is also credited with being the birth place of ethical theories of the media. As universities started having journalism education in their curricula in

the 1920s, academic interest in ethics, which had hitherto been confined to philosophy, spilled over to journalism educators. This led to publications on journalism ethics. Among the outcomes of this scholarship in journalism ethics, was the notion of the media's status as a quasi-public institution and the concept of their responsibility to the society (Starck, 2001).

This notion of the media's social responsibility was further reinforced following the Hutchins Commission which, between 1944 and 1947, deliberated on the question of the ethical *raison d'être* of journalism. The opinion of commission was that the legitimacy of journalism is derived from its responsibility towards society. According to the commission, responsible journalists should work for the good of society and not seek to promote their personal interests. The work of the commission equally inspired other ethical theoretical developments in the U.S. and the rest of the world (see McQuail, 1992; Christians & Nordenstreng, 2004; Thomaß 2004). A prominent example is the social responsibility theory propounded by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm in their influential 1956 book, "Four Theories of the Press". Siebert and his colleagues endorsed the position of the commission, arguing that the media must act in the public interest. When media fail to be responsible, they held, it is justified for a public body to enforce standards (see Thomaß, 2004).

Even when not inspired by the work of the Hutchins Commission, other commissions across the world have done similar work, while several thinkers in various countries have put forth ideas that are quite similar to the commission's recommendations pertaining to the media's social responsibility (McQuail, 1992, p.15; Christians & Nordenstreng, 2004).

At the center of the recommendations of the Hutchins Commission and other social responsibility theories of the media is the idea of the public interest. In this light journalists must consider the interest of the public in the conduct of their work (Middleton, 2009; also see McQuail, 1992).

After the increased devotion to journalism ethics, interest dipped in the mid-twentieth century as a result of a shift towards empiricism, where notions such as objectivity held sway. But in the 1980s, the publication of a UNESCO report on journalism ethics again revived interest in the subject (Starck, 2001; also see Nordenstreng, 1984). Around this same period, attention started shifting towards issues about journalistic quality in the German-speaking world in Europe, where the audiovisual media sector opened up to private, commercial broadcasters and a number of scandals in the media lifted some ethical dust. With a changing media

landscape and an increasing realization that ethical discussions alone may not be adequate to address the performance of the media, journalistic quality gradually stole itself into media discourse. Since then, ethical issues and quality discourse have been closely linked, although there are major differences between them (see Thomaß, 2004; Arnold, 2009, pp. 65-75).

More recently, changes in the media landscape, partly occasioned by the ubiquity of the internet and the rise of social media, are raising new issues about ethics and journalistic performance, as practicing journalists increasingly find themselves in competition with ordinary citizens who are able to communicate to mass audiences without passing through a gate-keeper (Starck, 2001; Shapiro, 2010; van der Wurff & Schönbach, 2011).

6.4 Ethics and Journalistic Quality

Media ethics and journalistic quality are widely considered to overlap (see Thomaß, 2004; Meier, 2007; Arnold 2009), and McQuail's (1992) conceptualization of the media's "performance assessment" (journalistic quality) is deeply rooted in ethical traditions. Moral norms equally serve as the foundation for quality research (Hagen, 1995, p. 36).

This close link between media ethics and journalistic quality can be seen from a number of angles. A fundamental similarity between the two is that they are both concerned with what can be termed "good journalism". The norms that guide good journalistic practice straddle the ethical and quality domains. In Section 6.2, a number of ethical values were listed. As shall be later seen, some of the criteria on which journalistic quality is judged, are identical or similar to ethical norms (Meier, 2007, p. 233; Arnold, 2009, p.79). Codes that enshrine the norms that guide journalistic practice are typically labeled "code of ethics" or "code of conduct". This means these codes are basically in the ethical domain. However, these codes of ethics are also considered as instruments for the assurance of journalistic quality. As an example, van der Wurff & Schönbach (2011) conducted an interactive survey of 60 public communication experts in the Netherlands on quality issues in the media, especially in the context of the mushrooming of online media. They reported that amongst the recommendations for quality assurance in the media, "almost two-thirds of the experts can envisage a voluntary ethical code, developed and controlled by the profession itself" (p. 414).

Ethical values sometimes conflict. For instance, the respect for privacy requirement may conflict with the truthfulness and notions about the public interest. These have to be weighed against each other in some contexts. In the same way, quality criteria, which are similar to ethical norms, can also conflict in some contexts. Therefore, both ethical norms and quality criteria are often contextually applied.

There is also the issue of social responsibility, which dovetails with the concept of the public interest. Although the concept of social responsibility is emphasized principally in the ethical domain, there is a link between journalistic quality and the public interest (see McQuail, 1992). It has been argued that journalistic quality is necessary for a healthy democracy. For the sake of public interest, the media therefore have a duty in promoting a vibrant democracy by ensuring quality (Blum, 2011, pp. 7-8). This deontological angle to the quality debate is quite similar to the social responsibility requirement in the quality discourse.

Another area where the discourses over media ethics and journalism quality have commonalities is that all the five context-levels that affect communication apply to both concepts (Meier, 2007, p. 238). He enumerates these five levels as follows:

- Norm context: Societal conditions including the historical and legal contours of the media system.
- Audience context: This includes the size and composition of the audience, including their profiles and expectations.
- Organization context: This refers to the general organizational conditions in media houses including issues such as structure, ownership, manpower, economics and technical capacities.
- Context of media products and journalistic routines: This includes issues such as the nature of the medium in which journalists work, the types of sources available to them, and the type of products journalists work on. The context for print journalists, for instance, is different from radio journalists.
- Role context: Since journalists play different roles in a newsroom, the role each of them plays determines to some extent their behavior. However, they have some level of autonomy in decision-making, and their personal skills, ambitions and motivations could equally affect how they play their various roles (pp. 65-67; also see Fabris, 2000).

At least one scholar has included the category of ethics among the list of his quality criteria (Arnold, 2009, p.80). Also, Pöttker (2000) argues that quality consciousness is a part of journalistic professional ethos (p. 388). These reinforce the argument that the two domains intimately interact in both professional journalistic practice and scholarly conceptualizations.

Despite their bonds, there are some differences between ethics and journalistic quality. A major difference is that generally, ethics centers on the individual, while quality is more general. Ethics is normally concerned with rational reflections by individuals on the morally right or wrong course of action to take, and the norms that guide such rationalization and behavior. Journalistic quality, for its part, focuses on the product and its fulfillment of particular criteria. Quality defines what a good journalistic product looks like. Another difference is that on the whole, ethics is not concerned with whether or how its observance affects the commercial success of a media product. Conversely, the commercial aspects of a media's operation is considered important in the quality discourse. Although the audience context plays a role in some conceptualizations of ethics (especially those based on the functions of the media) the emphasis is typically on the implications for society as a whole. In quality discourse, significant attention is given to specific audiences; that is, those targeted by a media organ. Overall, it can be said that ethics is focused on the right course of action, while journalistic quality discourse addresses questions about how a media product should be made so that it makes commercial sense, while still being useful to the society. One difference between ethics and quality is in the methodological domain. The criteria for ethical journalism are similar to those of journalistic quality, but in the latter, the evaluation tends to be more empirical, systematic and precise. Furthermore, quality criteria are based more on the role of journalists and respond more to audience needs (Arnold, 2009, pp. 66-80; also see Meier, 2007, pp. 233-245).

6.5 Journalistic Quality: Definition and Core Principles

6.5.1 Definition

An exposition on quality assessment in the healthcare sector by Donabedian (1981) may serve as a springboard for arriving at a definition of *journalistic quality*, especially as

understood in the present study. Donabedian names the following three things that must be specified in (public health) quality assessment:

- a set of phenomena that are usually attributes of either a process or outcome;
- a general rule of what constitutes goodness; and
- a precise numerical statement of what constitutes acceptable or optimal goodness with respect to each of these phenomena (p. 409).

Before delving into details of these three specifications, let us assume that *journalistic quality* equates to “performance assessment of the media” (see McQuail, 1992; Hagen, 1995, p. 35). Good performance equates to high quality. In football, for instance, if the principal objective is to win, good performance would constitute winning matches. Given this clarification, let me now tackle the three recommended prescriptions.

On the first prescription, Donabedian (1981) states that these phenomena (which are attributes of process or outcome) should be clearly definable and measurable and must, in a specifiable way, be relevant to the definition of quality. He labels these phenomena “criteria”. Criteria are “those elements that are to be counted or otherwise measured in the process of quality [or performance] assessment” (p. 410). The second item is a rule of what constitutes goodness. For instance, the rule could be that the presence of these criteria is better than their absence. These general rules that define goodness may also be called norms. The third prescription is making a precise, numerical statement of what constitutes acceptable or optimal goodness with regard to each criterion under study. Optimal goodness, for example, could be that a criterion is present 100 percent of the times in a study sample. Or it could be that more than 50 percent is acceptable. “The precise count or quantity that specifies an adequate, acceptable, or optimal level of quality” is the standard (p. 410).

With that exposition, we can now turn to the matter at hand – journalistic quality. As Figure 3 (Section 6.6) shows, journalistic quality can be assessed at both the process and output levels. There are attributes that are more or less specific to each of these two categories. However, this study focuses on quality attributes at the output level; more specifically, newspaper content. With that out of the way, I now attempt a definition of journalistic quality in the context of this study. It follows:

Journalistic quality is the extent to which a newspaper article meets clearly defined and empirically measurable criteria, whereby good performance consists of the fulfilment of a majority of requirements that constitute each criterion.

In the current study, these criteria comprise diversity, relevance, topicality and professionalism. Following the aforementioned framework laid out by Donabedian (1981), these criteria must be relevant to the definition of quality. In Section 6.5.2 and Section 6.6, I elaborate on the principles from which these criteria emanate and elaborate on these criteria to show how they relate to the definition of quality. In addition, these criteria are operationalized and the rules for their measurement laid down in the methodology section. However, it is important to note here that, as Roß-Mohl (1992, p. 85) has averred, journalistic quality is a multi-dimensional concept that is neither absolute nor static (p. 85). Hence the above definition should be understood to be applicable only to the current study. For other purposes, the conceptualization of quality may have to include other aspects.

The above definition of journalistic quality is similar to that put forth by Hagen (1995). He roughly defines “allgemeine Informationsqualität” (general quality of information) as those attributes that for the receiver determine the value of a communication message, with regard to the transmission of knowledge. Such broad requirements become standards when they are mutually adopted by communicators. To Hagen, the word *information* (which he operationalizes in terms of the content of news) carries the connotation of knowledge transmission. Similarly, for a message to be considered informative, the element of knowledge transmission must be present. Information, he adds, can also be defined as the attributes of transmitted knowledge. As examples of those attributes that determine the value of messages, he names *amount of information, truth, relevance* and *comprehensibility* (pp. 32-34).

Arnold (2008) also conceptualizes journalistic quality in the same sense as in the current study. He explains the concept by going through the definition of quality as used in business. Here, quality is defined as the extent to which a product meets specific requirements. A product can therefore only be considered to be of good quality if it meets these requirements, which serve as standards. By extrapolation, journalistic quality consists of the extent of the fulfilment of these criteria.

6.5.2 Core Guiding Principles

Journalistic quality criteria arise from professional rules and norms. In a nutshell, they represent the broad standards of professionalism in journalism (Meier 2007, p. 225). However, there are multifarious conceptualizations of journalistic quality, and whatever approach a researcher opts for is unlikely to cover all purposes (McQuail, 1992, pp. 10-12). Despite the multiplicity of conceptualizations, there are core guiding principles in mainstream scholarship which have their roots in history, and applicable to modern political thinking (also see Hagen, 1995; Arnold, 2008).

McQuail's (1992) conceptualization of quality is rooted in the social responsibility theoretical tradition, which was an offshoot of ethical discussions of the role of the media in the 1940s. He argued for quality criteria based on the "public interest". According to McQuail, "the existence of some kind of public interest in the operation of mass media has clearly been widely accepted, and it has much to do with the rise of democracy and a 'public sphere', in which opinions are formed and expressed by citizens on the basis of common knowledge and widely held values" (p.4). But giving an all-purpose definition for public interest is difficult, if not impossible, as it is a hydra-headed, non-static concept. McQuail therefore opts to review the three main public interest theoretical approaches and, based on this, makes suggestions on how public interest claims can be assessed in specific circumstances.

The three public interest theoretical approaches, according to McQuail (1992, pp. 22-23) include, preponderance, common interest and unitary theories. The preponderance theory considers the "will of the people" as the public interest. It is what the majority of the people prefer. Common interest theorists, for their part, view the public interest as those things that are presumably of interest to all members of society, with little scope for disagreement. Examples include basic services such as public transportation, water and electricity. In the unitary theoretical perspective, the "public interest is seen as what is most in accordance with a single ordered and consistent scheme of values under which what is valid for one is valid for all". It is the notion of an ultimate good, to which all should aspire.

McQuail (1992) argues that the public interest approaches "which depend heavily on the voice of the people as expressed in opinion polls or market research and those that rely heavily on some absolute value commitment" are not suitable for public communication.

Conversely, the common interest theory passes his conceptual test, even though he maintains that aspects of the other two theoretical approaches are still relevant for particular issues (p.5). He goes ahead to present a “framework for identifying public interest claims” (pp. 26-30), details of which I will not delve into. Suffice to note that according to McQuail, the general idea of “public space”, presented above, qualifies as a public interest under the common interest theoretical approach. This is because the public space is a necessity in a democratic political system, and is therefore for the general good of society (p. 23).

This fits squarely with the exposition on the justification for quality criteria (Section 6.1), which are typically associated with the crucial role of journalism in a healthy democracy. In this conceptualization, democracy is seen as serving the general interests of the society. Furthermore, a free press is not only a product and constituent of a democratic society, but also an instrument for the nourishment of democracy. Furthermore, Arnold (2009, p. 201) points out, through laws, ethical codes and other regulatory instruments, all actors become aware of the standards to which the media should be judged, and which correspondent to democratic values.

After reviewing various press policies in Western democracies, including the U.S. and some European countries, McQuail (1992, p. 66-67) concludes that the general principles guiding these policies tend to recur. He avers that these principles represent core values of Western democratic society, which in turn guide media policy. These values include freedom; justice/equality; and order/solidarity. These values are rooted in the historical evolution in Western countries.

fög (2011) in a report on a study of the Swiss media, also hinge the principles guiding their quality criteria on the normative-democratic perspective. They aver that quality criteria in contemporary journalistic quality research have been transported from principles rooted in the enlightenment epoch. These principles include universality, balance, objectivity and relevance, and generally form the foundation on which journalistic quality criteria are built. These principles form the basis of the operationalization of fög’s quality criteria, on which the current study draws liberally from. Following are brief explanations of the principles from the enlightenment period:

Universality: This principle is grounded on the idea that all relevant topics and actors should be reflected in public communication. Therefore, no persons, groups, organizations, topics, points of view and potentially relevant actors should be excluded. The universality principle

ensures that public communication performs its roles as a forum for discussing general societal issues, the validation of legal institutions and the integration of citizens. This principle is closely associated with the quality norm of diversity (fög, 2011, p. 554).

Balance: Balance is the principle according to which issue debates in the public arena are fair and multifaceted. Debates should be focused on ideas rather than on people. At the same time, the various sides should have fair chances to air their views. Reason should guide public debates, rather than a resort to emotions as well as the private life of the protagonists or interlocutors. In this light, personalization, focus on the private sphere, and turning public discussions into conflicts of personalities is seen as detrimental to the quality of debate (fög 2011, p.543).

Objectivity: The thrust of this principle is that participants in public debates should base their arguments on facts and the truthful depiction of issues, while at the same time ensuring that their points of view are guided by norms and motivated by the general interest, rather than personal interest. The objectivity and balance principles are related (fög, 2011, p. 550).

Relevance: This principle is grounded on the idea that the general interest takes precedence over personal interests, and societal issues should have priority over personal issues. This implies issues that are conceptualized at macro-level are more important than micro-level issues. Similarly, issues that have a bearing on the wider society are important than issues that affect only a few individuals (fög, 2011, p. 553).

In the next section, I take a broad look at quality criteria and then elaborate on the journalistic quality criteria operationalized by fög (2011) in their study of the Swiss media, specifically the section on the newspaper press.

6.6 Quality Criteria

There are a number of quality criteria for information journalism in extant literature. These criteria can be roughly divided into two categories as shown on Table 2.

Table 2: *Quality criteria for information journalism*

Related to journalistic behavior	
Independence	Independence is ultimately responsible for credibility. Media organizations and editorial staff should fend off any attempts at influence and should also clearly separate paid content (adverts) from editorial reports.
Accuracy	Sacredness of facts.
Fairness	Quality of the research process (for instance the principle of “audiatur et altera pars”, meaning “hear the other side too”).
Topicality	News, relevant at the present time, speed.
Relevance	Topics chosen on the basis of importance/significance.
Originality	Own research, exclusivity, topic selection, intellectual approach (original is used here not in the sense of “amusing”, “humorous”, but rather in the sense of “unique”, “creative”).
Interactivity	Openness to dialogue by the editorial team; on “equal footing with the audience”; possibility of participation by the audience in topic selection and media content.
Transparency	Disclosure of conditions surrounding reports; revealing sources and critical assessment of sources; admission of error (for instance in a “correction corner”).
Related to product dimensions	
Diversity	From diversity in the entire editorial package (topic spectrum) to diversity in a single report (different perspectives and sources)
Impartiality	Balance (as opposite of bias and one-sidedness); impartiality and maintaining distance from the subject of the report; separation of news and opinion.
Comprehensibility	Appropriate language; clear and concise style; clear structure; in a broader context: functional media design (in online journalism, for instance: usability).
Appeal	Suspense, the dramatization of a report, program or issue; combination of text and image, speaker, direct quote and the atmosphere.
Attention	Grabbing audience attention; targeted addressing of the audience; appropriate choice of the genre; gripping headline, teaser, trailer etc.
Usefulness	Applicability in the everyday lives of the audience – as orientation, counsel and decision aid to the audience.

Source: Meier (2007, p. 227). This table is an adaptation from the German original.

The first category comprises criteria related to news gathering and processing; that is, criteria related to journalistic behavior. The second category is concerned with the output of journalistic endeavor; in other words, the product. This categorization is only illustrative for analytical purposes, and is based on the emphasis of the definition of each criterion, according to the original author (Meier, 2007). Other authors have different categorizations. In any case, many of the criteria straddle both categories. For instance, accuracy, which is all about the sacredness of facts, is categorized under the category related to journalistic behavior, but it could also be placed in the product-related category. This applies to virtually all the other criteria under this category. In any case, the differentiation into two levels of quality criteria highlights a basic fact: that news production processes impact on journalistic quality. For instance, at the level of information gathering and processing, if independence, research, topicality, and relevance are absent, journalism fails in its duties and role, and consequently its value and meaning to the audience. In that case, journalistic quality suffers. Some product-specific criteria such as comprehensibility, clarity, usefulness and appeal are generally more useful for other communication forms than news. These include public relations, adverts, and all-comers publications like weblogs (pp. 225-227).

There are some quality criteria (not listed on Table 2) for which journalists may not be in control. For instance, the requirement that a daily newspaper be available on time to all subscribers every morning is normally not within the purview of newspaper journalists. Neither is the accessibility requirement for online publications. Accessibility basically means that everybody should be able to use a website, including those with disabilities such as blindness and deafness.

Although many scholars suggest similar quality criteria, the lists are not always identical. Hagen (1995), for instance, in a study of German news agencies, identifies the following quality criteria: quantity, relevance, accuracy, transparency, factuality, balance, topicality, and comprehensibility (pp. 53-133). Kübler (2003), who draws from the literature, names as core quality criteria, objectivity, universality, actuality, and periodicity (p. 126-129). Arnold (2009) identifies the following quality criteria: diversity, topicality, relevance, credibility, independence, research, criticism, accessibility, balance, neutrality, respect for the individual, usability, and entertainment. He classifies these according to his conceptualization of the approaches to quality research, which include the functional-system, democratic-normative and the audience based perspectives (pp.162-223).

This is illustrative of the different perspectives on quality criteria. In a journalistic quality research of the Swiss media, fög (2011) chose only four from among the catalogue of available quality criteria in the literature to assess journalistic performance in the print media sector. These are diversity, relevance, topicality and professionalism. fög justified its decision by explaining that although the other quality indicators are useful and theoretically instructive, they are virtually impracticable in a large comparative study (p. 86). This research adopted fög's quality criteria for similar reasons. Although the operationalization is different (as will be seen in the methodology section), the general outlines are similar. These criteria, which are offshoots of the quality principles presented in Section 6.5.2, are explained below:

Diversity: Diversity is related to the universality principle. There are three areas where diversity is important. First, there should be diversity of opinions. In a democracy, diversity of opinion in public communication is critical for opinion-formation and decision-making by citizens as they exercise their rights. Second, there is a necessity for diversity of relevant actors to enable effective identification of societal problems and comprehensive discussions about possible solutions. Third, there should be a variety of topics as this is necessary in a democratic society (fög 2011, p. 555).

Relevance: Relevance, as explained in Section 7.6, is based on the principle that the general interest supersedes individual interests, and the society is more important than private persons. Topics are more relevant when they are treated at the societal level, rather than at the individual level. However, individuals who are presented in their official capacities in institutions and organizations are considered to be more relevant than if they were presented in the private role of citizen. Hard news on central topics such as politics, the economy, and culture are more relevant than soft news and sports, in a general sense (fög, 2011, p. 553).

Topicality: Topicality is based on the norm which requires that information media not merely focus on reporting in a timely manner, but to also include context and background information. It is not only about breaking the news; it is also about putting the event in context. One of the ways to understand topicality is the episodic and thematic frames perspective presented by Iyengar (1991; also see Section 5.6). News reports which merely give accounts of incidents may be considered as episodic reports, while those that provide context and background are thematic reports (fög, 2011, p. 543).

Professionalism: Professionalism is based on the objectivity principle. Other journalistic norms that are required for objectivity include, appropriateness, factuality, neutrality, transparency and balance. Professionalism therefore includes these attributes of quality. In addition, professionalism is also about fact-based and argumentative articles as opposed to an appeal to emotions as well as facts as opposed to journalistic opinions (fög, 2011, p. 551).

6.7 Evolution of Quality Research

Despite the historical origins of the quality requirement, and even though the issues have long been present, it is only recently that quality standards became a prominent issue in media discourse (Fabris, 2004, p. 393). In the German speaking world, even recently, ethical and quality discourses have been closely associated (Thomaß, 2004, p. 413). However, Arnold (2009) asserts that there is a long research tradition in journalistic quality, even if it was not labeled as such. According to him, since the 1940s, methods were already developed for communication focused research, which served as the basis for journalistic quality research (p. 18). Hagen (1995) confirms this, citing empirical research on bias, which started even much earlier (p. 39). Stavitsky & Dvorkin (n.d.) equally point to a study on accuracy in the 1930s, which established the tradition for journalistic quality research.

Reflections on journalistic quality and quality control take into account both the societal framework within which both journalists and the audience operate, as well as institutions, corporations, and media actors (Fabris, 2004, p. 394). However, Fabris notes that there is sometimes friction between practicing journalists and scholars on the question of quality criteria. In some cases, criteria by practicing journalists and scholars overlap, but in other instances, they could widely deviate (p. 402).

Journalistic quality discourse and research is multi-dimensional (Ruß-Mohl, 1992), and has been studied at different levels. Amongst others, it has been studied at the level of media content (e.g. Hagen, 1995); at the level of the audience (e.g. Meijer, 2012); at the infrastructural level (e.g. Ruß-Mohl, 1994); at the level of media concentration (e.g. fög, 2011), and integrated approaches (e.g. Arnold, 2009).

Ruß-Mohl (1994, p. 23) has argued that journalistic quality in a democratic society can only be ensured if it is a decentralized process that involves as many actors and diverse actors as possible. The network and synergy of these actors, both within and outside of the media system would enhance journalistic quality control.

Scholars have equally employed various theoretical approaches in journalistic quality research such as functional, systems, and social responsibility theories (see Burkart & Hömberg, 1992; McQuail, 1992; Arnold 2006). Some other approaches include the theory of the public good, concentration consequences research, value analysis, quality assessment, quality marketing, quality management, welfare, diversity, advertisement system, infrastructure, market and market failures, production control, regulation, amongst others. Most of these research traditions borrowed generously from other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. (Fabris, 2000, p. 367). There have equally been critical theoretical approaches especially within the ranks of Marxist and social responsibility critics, as well as critical cultural studies scholars. Within cultural studies, apart from Marxism, there have also been important contributions from fundamentalist and post-modernist critics (see Burkart & Hömberg, 1992; Hagen, 1995; Dyson & Homolka, 1996).

However, much of the research within the critical approaches predates contemporary quality discourse (see Arnold, 2009). Hagen (1995, p. 37), for instance, notes that Marxist and critical cultural approaches are different from contemporary quality research. Marxist and critical cultural studies focus on the negative or unintended effects of the mass media. Their analysis is typically pointed at two directions: first, whether so-called hidden messages in the media stabilize existing production relations, presumably between the working and capitalist classes; or second, whether they negate the interpretation of reality, which contradicts the dominant culture. Apart from the Marxist and critical cultural studies approaches, there are two other lines of critical quality research –empirical media critique and the social responsibility tradition. These latter two approaches have many things in common with more recent quality research. They have even been merged in at least one major scholarly work on journalistic quality.

Empirical media critique emerged after World War II. It built on an earlier tradition, the so-called bias research, which analyzed one-sidedness and imbalance in media content. It is typically not grounded in theory and implicitly proceeds on the assumption that balance and neutrality constitute objectivity. This means a report takes into consideration the equal

allocation of space (or consideration of similar factors) to different opinions, topics, persons, and groups, in addition to the journalist not inserting her own opinions in news stories. The empirical media critic approach went a step further by introducing critical analysis in empirical studies of the media (Hagen, 1995, p.39).

The social responsibility tradition, as already mentioned, predates the Hutchins Commission (Starck, 2001), which is often credited with being at the origin of this school of thought (e.g. Thomaß, 2004). Nevertheless, the principles advocated by the commission have influenced much of the subsequent developments in social responsibility research (McQuail, 1992, p. 15). The commission concluded that economic concentration could threaten press freedom. Furthermore, commercialization and sensationalism impede the press from playing its role of informing the society. Not trusting market forces to ensure the media stays responsible, the Hutchins Commission advocated state intervention when necessary. In 1949, another commission in Great Britain came to a similar conclusion. The social responsibility theory by Siebert and his colleagues further expounded on this notion (Hagen, 1995, pp. 37-38).

Other approaches that have been identified as precursors to contemporary quality discourse include studies on press concentration, as well as research on objectivity, comprehensibility/reading ease, and diversity. Since the 1950s and 1960s, there was already academic interest in the trend towards the corporate takeover of the press. Research on concentration was triggered by the observation that big corporations were amassing media houses. Consequently, fewer and fewer corporations were owning large swathes of the media landscape. Research in this area focuses on the effects of this concentration of ownership on the independence of the media, the power of quasi-media monopolies parts of some countries, the diversity of the media landscape, audience choice, amongst other things (Arnold, 2009, pp. 35-43). Media concentration continues to be an issue of academic interest today, including in some journalistic quality studies (e.g. fög, 2011).

In objectivity research, the basic assumption is that it is an obligation for the media to present the reality as accurately as possible, and that there is an objective social reality. This tradition consists of theoretical conceptualizations and studies to assess the extent of the media's objective presentation of reality. Research on comprehensibility is typically studying whether journalistic products are understood by the audience. Many of the studies center on speech analysis, analyzing syntax, lexicon and semantic structures. Others study the macro-structure of an entire report. For instance, there have been studies to find out whether the so-called

inverted pyramid is the most user-friendly structure for news presentation. The diversity research tradition promotes the idea that uniformity is a danger to democracy. According to this school, a plurality of voices, proposing different solutions to problems, is good for societal welfare. The media have a role to play to ensure diversity. It is an alternative to mere balance, where the points of view of opposing parties is given equal treatment. It is more about the media including different arguments, opinions, actors and institutions in their reports (Arnold, 2009, pp. 44-65).

In the 1980s and 1990s, many studies on quality were inspired by the emergence of private radio stations. Most of them were content analyses comparing the political programs offered by state-owned and private radio and the possibilities of the harmonization of both systems (Jarren, Donges & Weßler, 1996, p. 15). The competition between state and private radio was the starting point for wider journalistic quality debate (Bonfadelli, 2002, p. 109). Also, competition between private TV and daily newspapers animated the quality discourse (Arnold, 2008).

Due to this increased attention to quality, concrete empirical methods began to emerge for the scholarly evaluation of journalistic performance. Denis McQuail is considered to be one of the progenitors of this approach. He published a monograph in 1992 on the evaluation of journalistic quality in which he combined the social responsibility and empirical approaches (Arnold 2009, p. 23; Hagen, 1995, p. 37).

McQuail (1992) explains that his approach to journalistic quality is basically what he describes as “media performance in the public interest”. This entails the “deployment of criteria which represent the values and needs of ‘society’ (rather than of the state, audiences or communicators)”. His thesis is grounded on the idea that the media have a social responsibility, and therefore work for the general welfare of society. The public interest therefore has to be in the background of criteria to assess media performance. This approach leans on classic methods of social scientific enquiry. McQuail calls his model a “hybrid” variant of various approaches to analyzing journalistic quality, and draws from both the public interest and empirical traditions (pp. 11-19).

Earlier empirical research on quality had often investigated only single quality criteria at a time, a trend that shifted in the 1990s. Specific media were now studied as a whole, across multiple quality criteria. Equally, market economy requirements were also introduced in the

discourse. Another development was the operationalization of quality standards with the help of empirical methods. At the same time, there was more emphasis on the practical side of quality, with the issue also examined at the level of the newsroom (Arnold, 2009, p. 24).

Theories on journalistic quality can be classified in the following three categories: a fundamental level that focuses on the object of interest (for instance, a general understanding of quality); a goal-oriented approach (quality control as a democratic-political objective, for example); and a concrete dimension, such as TV program quality (Burkart & Hömberg, 1992, p. 2). Arnold (2009) also suggests a triadic classification, but with a different conceptualization. He names these as the normative-democratic, journalistic-analytic, and audience-centered approaches (p. 85).

The already mentioned conceptualization of media performance assessment by McQuail (1992) is a typical example of the *normative-democratic approach* (Arnold (2009, pp. 92-104). This approach uses already established normative principles, based on the notion of the media's social responsibility, to empirically evaluate journalistic quality. The *journalistic-analytic* approach moves away from societal values and focuses on the fundamental constitutional role of the media. In this approach, the media are seen as neutral transmitters of information from different actors. Citing Schröter (1995), Arnold enumerates quality criteria in this approach, which were derived from the theoretical framework and a critical analysis of professional manuals. They include: transparency of the transmission context (author's name); transparency of communication context (specification of the event on which the report is based); partner transparency (for quoted statements, the person, position and institution or group-membership should be given); transparency of transmission strategy (separation of news and opinion); substantive content (accuracy of quoted statements); topic universe (relevant aspects of a subject area); partner universe (variety, balance in those quoted); and variety of opinions (diversity of appraisals). The *audience-centered* approach examines whether market forces are enough to ensure quality or whether, as a result of market failure in the media sector, that is not already the case. There are reflections on business and journalistic norms, which can sometimes conflict. At the same time, there are questions about whether the media are products just like any other, and many scholars say that is not the case. So, the central questions in this approach are about how the economic dynamics of media affect audience satisfaction and quality.

Arnold (2009) however, argues that none of these approaches covers journalistic quality in all its ramifications (p. 105), and for that reason decides to bring them together (p. 133) by developing an integrative approach. This integrative approach conceives the media as a component of a societal system, developed and operating under the constraints of various forces, actors and peculiarities (p. 229). In an extensive analysis, Arnold uses a functional and systems theoretical framework as well as the normative-democratic, journalistic-analytic, and audience-centered approaches to develop his integrative thesis, noting that to get a full grasp of journalistic quality, all intervening variables and actors have to be included in the analysis. He adds that it is not enough for quality criteria to be fulfilled; the public must accept them. Journalistic output should also be useful and applicable to the concerned public (pp. 134-229). Meijer (2012), who concurs with this idea, believes that it is important to study not only the publics' views, but also how journalists and audiences experience quality information. This, she believes, would improve the quality of media products. While Arnold's (2009) argument for an integrative approach is plausible, it may still serve scholarship if specific aspects of quality are given a more in-depth look and, like in the case of this study, unexplored angles are pursued. The Forschungsbereich Öffentlichkeit und Gesellschaft der Universität Zürich (fög), for instance, has been carrying out for a few years now a series of in-depth studies on the quality of Swiss media that focus on specific aspects of the media arena. These studies, published annually under the title *Jahrbuch Qualität der Medien* have, by directing microscopic attention to specific aspects, provided a deeper understanding of quality issues concerning the Swiss media (see fög, 2011; fög, 2012). By focusing on media output through the lens of the framing paradigm, the present study affords a deeper look at this area than would have otherwise been the case.

Just like in the domain of media ethics, the quality discourse has equally been affected by changes in the political and economic environment as well as new technologies. The newspaper industry has been particularly hard hit (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012). In the next section, I will briefly explore these issues and look at their implications for journalistic quality.

6.8 New Challenges for Newspapers

Quality research has invariably been influenced by change. From the impact of the rising power of the media in the 1940s that inspired social responsibility notions, to the liberalization of the audiovisual media sector in Europe in the 1990s, change has inspired communication research (Hagen, 1995; Starck, 2001; Bonfadelli, 2002). Change appears to have been even more rapid in recent years, with breath-taking advances in technology and the ubiquity of the internet. The emergence of the network society has fundamentally reorganized contemporary power relations (Castells, 2000, p. 502), affecting the political arena and wreaking havoc on the media landscape (see Arnold, 2009; Siles & Boczkowski, 2012).

Even before the generation that was born into the internet age – the so-called digital natives or Generation X – fully came of age, significant changes in the media landscape were being observed before the turn of the 21st century. In a review of studies on transnational media trends over a decade ago, Swanson (2003) already observed heightened competition and commercialization in the media sector in Western countries, factors which were pushing news media towards increasing entertainment and sensational inclinations in political news reporting. Another effect was the tendency of media to emphasize conflict in their reports. This trend coincided with growing sophistication of political actors, who, using advanced political marketing techniques, were trying to manipulate the media to influence public opinion. NGOs and single-issue advocacy groups were also mushrooming and playing an ever more important role in setting the public agenda and influencing opinion. This was enormous pressure on journalists, who tried to counteract manipulation attempts by becoming more negative (pp. 58 – 65). Other scholars (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001) have equally observed commercial pressures on journalists, who, driven by the need to attract more audiences, give precedence to personality, sensationalism, drama and conflict in their reporting, “thereby downplaying the larger social, economic, or political picture” (p. 186).

As internet use has expanded, so too are audience preferences and attitudes changing. It is now common knowledge among media professionals and communication scholars that in this new order, traditional media have suffered a steady decline in audience attention, while internet use has increased significantly. A few years ago, media use studies had already confirmed the emergence of the internet as the single most important source of information (e.g. Franz, 2010; ARD/ZDF Online Study, 2011). The corollary is an exponential increase in individual publishing and broadcasting. According to Statistica (2012), there were 173 blogs

in 2011. Several estimates put the number of active users on social networking sites in 2013 at nearly two billion (e.g. eMarketer, 2013, n.p.). Grossman (2012) has reported that the average monthly uploads on YouTube – the most popular self-broadcasting site that attracted over 4 billion page views per day – represented more video than has been broadcast by the three biggest U.S. TV networks in the past 60 years. More than ever before, ordinary people cheaply publish and broadcast directly to mass audiences, thereby evading the mediation or gate-keeping of media institutions and journalists (van der Wurff & Schönbach, 2011).

In the newspaper sector, a crisis has been brewing for some time. Circulation figures have been falling steadily since the 1980s, but the decline has been even more rapid in recent years (Arnold, 2009, p. 244; Collins, 2011; Siles & Boczkowski, 2012). In all three countries in this study, the United Kingdom, France and Germany, newspapers have witnessed declining circulation, as more and more people turn to the internet to keep themselves up to date (Bromley, 2009; Kleinsteuber & Thomass, 2009; Pasquier & Lamizet, 2009).

Advertisers have left traditional media in droves and redeployed their efforts and financial resources on the internet where most audiences reside. This is a significant development, as it is advertising that “has sustained [the] production and provision of high-quality, pluralistic and affordable public media” in Europe (Collins, 2011, p. 1203). The recent financial and economic crisis which started in the United States in 2008, and then spread like a contagion to Europe and other parts of the world, has played a role in further weakening an already struggling newspaper industry. With shrinking revenue, many newspapers in developed countries have folded up. When they manage to stay afloat, executives in many newspaper organizations often resort to staff downsizing as a strategy to improve the financial bottom line. This leaves fewer journalists to report the news and this could have serious consequences on the quality of news reporting (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012; also see Arnold 2009, pp. 241-249).

Apart from lost advertising and sales revenue, another implication of the internet age is a change in news consumption habits (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012). This is characterized by short attention spans (Dean, 2010, p. 3), and many people are averse to reading “long” write-ups. This appears to be so pervasive that there is now an internet meme or slang for it – tl;dr, which is short for “too long; didn’t read”. Website comment sections are increasingly being inundated with the meme (Adee, 2012, April 17; Carson, 2013, April 2). A Google search for “tl;dr” yielded 32.6 million hits. This is symptomatic of the changing reading habits.

There have also been concerns that the transformed information ecosystem has led to widespread low quality information and a decrease in ethical responsibility, which could rub-off on newspaper journalists. Although research findings on this issue are so far ambiguous, there is at least some evidence that the quality of news in traditional media has suffered (van der Wurff & Schönbach, 2011). One of the strengths of the internet is its technical capability of simultaneous real-time updates by billions of people, but this could also be a weakness from the standpoint of quality of information. Although radio and TV, in principle, provide this same capability, the barriers of cost, required operational skills as well state and international regulations limit the number of actors who have access to these technologies and the audiences they can reach. But internet access is cheap and open to everybody, which practically means billions of people on a permanent basis. It is also accessible worldwide, except for a few countries where there are restrictions. With blogs, social media (including self-broadcasting sites such as YouTube), and other online media always accessible, there is a constant stream of new and recycled information. The internet, especially social networking sites, has therefore brought about a culture of constant updates. As a result, people generally expect to get the news in real time, and tend to spend as little time as possible on a single item. This could affect how journalists perceive quality. Because of the limitations of print technology, daily newspapers often get to the market with yesterday's news. To make up for this perceived shortcoming, journalists may want to attract the attention of impatient audiences with low tolerance for difficult and long articles by becoming sensational, too simplistic and failing to provide sufficient background information. This is exacerbated by staff downsizing in many newspapers which leaves journalists with less time for coverage and research (Adee, 2012, April 17; Carson, 2013, April 2; Dean, 2010, p. 97; Collins, 2011; Siles & Boczkowski, 2012; Cunningham, 2003). The concern that the quality of newspapers may be negatively affected because journalists are influenced by other thriving media platforms, ironically, goes against proposals that have been put forth by a number of scholars. In order to get out of the crisis, there have, in fact, been recommendations that newspapers should make their articles shorter, simpler, more entertaining, and add color as well as increase illustrations; indeed, mimic other media platforms (see Arnold, 2009, p. 301).

Some European states are responding to the widespread financial malaise in the newspaper industry by providing subsidies to the industry. But some scholars have expressed doubts that such measures will achieve their objective of sustaining the industry and improving quality (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012). Newspaper organizations are also adjusting to the recent threats

by going online, in addition to changes in the print versions from broadsheet to smaller, more compact formats. Readers are now served not only print versions, but also electronic news on their PCs and handheld devices such as smartphones and tablets (Bromley, 2009; Kleinstauber & Thomass, 2009; Pasquier & Lamizet, 2009). In France, Germany and the UK, for instance, reports show that major newspapers are attracting audiences to their online versions. Some are free, while others have erected pay walls based on either click-to-view or subscription models. But it is doubtful that the pay wall is a winning strategy, as people are still likely to turn to equivalent free options as long as they remain available. In any case, the online versions have not upset the income lost by newspapers due to the changed media and advertising landscape (Collins, 2011).

Scholars and experts have equally made a number of proposals on how the newspaper industry can face the new challenges. Some of these include experimenting new formats, cutting operational costs, adopting new business models that are less dependent on advertising, investing more attention on user-generated content, and geographical specialization. There are also proposals based on the assumption that newspapers have lost credibility due to ethical violations, characterized by practices such as plagiarism, fabrication and corruption. In this light, some suggested remedies include a refocus on ethical codes, improving the training of journalists, establishing observatories, amongst others (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012; van der Wurff & Schönbach, 2011).

Another issue that features prominently in scholarly analyses of the rise of the internet as a principal source of information and the consequent newspaper crisis is the implications for democracy. There is a general perception amongst scholars that newspapers no longer effectively act as watchdogs to governments and societal institutions. Furthermore, the internet has blunted the investigative, educational and analytic functions. These have affected newspapers' abilities to promote free speech and there have been observations that the public service orientation of newspapers is being abandoned due to financial pressures. These developments are perceived to have had negative effects on democracy (Siles & Boczkowski, 2012).

In addition to the rise of the internet, there have also been changes in the political landscapes of some countries, where partisan actors and advocacy groups engage in disinformation campaigns. Sophisticated strategies by political leaders to distort information to advance their goals and groups propagating fringe views on scientific issues such as climate change have

often caught journalists, trying to stick to ideals of objectivity and balance, in a tight corner. For the journalist, sticking uncritically to professional norms has sometimes meant information is distorted (Cunningham, 2003; Mooney, 2004; also see Nesbit, 2010).

In this new dispensation, fresh doubts have been raised about the applicability of traditional professional norms such as balance and objectivity. Mooney (2004), for instance, has observed “a rising chorus against a prevalent but lazy form of journalism that makes no attempt to dig beneath competing claims” (n.p.). Mooney cautioned against “false balance”, whereby journalists contend themselves with simply providing the versions of opposing parties without taking into account truth and accuracy. Cunningham (2003) has equally criticized the press for “allowing the principle of objectivity to make [them] passive recipients of news, rather than aggressive analyzers and explainers of it” (n.p.). Moreover, because of the notion of objectivity, journalists are hesitant to introduce new issues, making the press reliant on the government and political actors to set the news agenda. Nesbit (2010), who argues for a more pro-active approach by journalists on weighty issues such as poverty and climate change, notes that the deluge of misinformation campaigns by special interest groups has pushed some avant-garde journalists to strive to escape the “trap of ‘false balance’, even if it cuts against conventional notions of objectivity and independence” (p. 45).

7. Description of Coverage Topic: the MDGs

The current research analyzes newspaper coverage of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). In framing research, the context of the analysis is very important (Nesbit, 2010; Van Gorp, 2010), hence it is necessary to understand the background of the MDGs and how this fits into the nature of the ensuing public discourse and policy as reflected in the media.

The MDGs were inspired by the work of a diverse group of actors at both national and international levels. It mirrors earlier goals by various UN conferences since the 1990s, and equally builds on the International Development Goals laid down in 1996 by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the group of wealthy nations known as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). However, the International Development Goals were not enthusiastically embraced by developing countries and civil society because they were conceived by so-called donor countries and lacked input from the so-called recipient countries and civil society. On the other hand, the MDGs were the product of work from actors from virtually all UN members, including developed, developing and least developed countries (UNDP, 2003, p. 29).

An offshoot of a conference by world leaders at the dawn of the third millennium, the MDGs, according to the United Nations, reflect the desire by world leaders to focus on more robust global efforts to tackle the most pressing problems of the planet (UNDP, 2003, p. 15; also see World Bank, 2005). This gathering, officially known as the Millennium Summit, held in New York from 6-8 September, 2000. The major outcome of the meeting, attended by 149 heads of state and government as well as top officials from over 40 other countries, was the unanimously adopted Millennium Declaration (UN, 2013).

In the 32-point declaration, the world leaders held that in addition to their individual responsibilities to their own countries, they also had the “collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity at the global level.” World leaders averred that the central challenge facing the world was to ensure that globalization has a positive effect on all of the world’s people. Although globalization offers great opportunities, they noted, its “benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed.” In particular, they recognized that developing countries, especially the poorest and highly indebted ones, face special challenges and pledged to accelerate efforts that are equitable and

inclusive to help them overcome them. Such efforts, pledged the leaders, “must include policies and measures, at the global level, which correspond to the needs of developing countries and economies in transition and are formulated and implemented with their effective participation.” They equally recognized that success will depend on good governance both at the national and international levels, as well as on transparency in global financial, monetary and trading systems (UN, 2000).

Furthermore, the world leaders decided on a new partnership to reduce poverty, fight disease, improve the conditions of vulnerable persons around the world, end certain types of discrimination and ensure environmental sustainability. To concretize their vision for a better world, the leaders laid down clear goals and targets to be met by 2015 (UN, 2000).

Following up on that, the leaders asked the Secretary General of the UN to concretize these goals by producing a roadmap. This roadmap was eventually produced and came to be known as the Millennium Development Goals (UNDP, 2003, p. 27). In a report to the UN General Assembly in 2001, the organization’s secretary-general presented a road map for the implementation of the MDGs (see UN, 2001) and in December 2001, the world body decided on the need for an annual report. The UN secretary-general presented the first annual report in 2002 (see UN, 2002).

Apart from the annual reports, there were five-yearly progress reports by the United Nations. Other international organizations, such as the World Bank, also published reports to coincide with the UN assessment time-frame.

The MDGs

There are eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), 18 targets and 48 indicators (UNDP 2003, p. 27). The eight MDGs include:

- (1) Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger.
- (2) Achieve universal primary education.
- (3) Promote gender equality and empower women.
- (4) Reduce child mortality.

- (5) Improve maternal health.
- (6) Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.
- (7) Ensure environmental sustainability; and
- (8) Develop a global partnership for development.

The MDGs reflect a wide-range of subsets of the global development agenda at the time of its conception. However, it was often seen as partnership between developed countries at the giving end of financial resources and expertise and developing countries at the receiving end of financial aid and expertise. For instance, after the first five years of implementation, the President of the World Bank and the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) called developed countries to significantly increase aid to developing countries as well as dismantle trade barriers in favor of developing countries (Wolfensohn & de Rato, 2005). The World Bank and the IMF also saw the MDGs are a program that had the potential to lift a significant portion of mankind out of poverty, increase global trade and consequently improve the overall global economy, ensure prosperity for all, and enhance long-term security (see World bank, 2005).

8. Synthesis of Framing and Journalistic Quality

In previous sections, I elaborated on both framing and journalistic quality. Throughout these analyses, there have been several points of convergence between the two concepts. In this section, without attempting to retrace the ground already covered, I will briefly collate the two concepts, showing areas where they converge. Establishing the link between framing and journalistic quality is the crux of this study and it is important to clearly show how the two are interconnected. This should build the foundation on which journalistic quality will be assessed from within the confines of the framing paradigm.

8.1 Points of Convergence

Points of convergence between journalistic quality and framing can be pinpointed in at least five areas: normative-democratic theoretical perspective, functional/structural level, dimensions, level of analysis, and attribution of causality. There is some overlapping amongst these areas.

Normative-Democratic Theoretical Perspective: As has been seen already, the media are supposed to play a crucial role in a democratic society. The media can only play this role effectively if they adhere to the professional standards that ensure journalistic quality (see McQuail, 1992; Hagen, 1995; Zaller, 2003; Arnold, 2009). This is important because information that citizens obtain from the media helps them to form opinions and take decisions (Hofstetter & Dozier, 1986; Meier, 2007). Framing influences how citizens think about issues. No matter whether journalists frame deliberately or inadvertently, their framing has effects, especially on opinion formation and decision-making. Framing effects have triggered questions about citizens' competence in a democracy (e.g. Entman, 1993; Druckman, 2001). Frames are part of the information in the media; they "describe attributes of the news itself" (Entman, 1991, p. 7). Hence, if this information needs to be of a certain quality, these frames certainly have to be taken into consideration. That is why, at the normative level, some scholars have prescriptions on how journalists should frame the news

(e.g. Iyengar, 1991; Porto, 2007; Nesbit, 2010) just as there are recommendations about the attributes of the news media in the quality discourse (e.g. Hagen, 1995; fög, 2011).

Role/Structural Level: While making an analysis on journalistic quality, Pöttker (2000) stated that the main role of journalism is to reduce complexity so that citizens can understand the events and issues. In that light, journalists should make connections between discrete events and issues so that they become more accessible to audiences. This is, incidentally, one of the key roles frames play at the structural and cognitive levels. Frames help journalists to reduce complexity of information and make them more accessible to audiences (Valkenburg et. al, 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Journalistic quality is also about how information is organized and structured to help audiences comprehend and remember. For instance, the inverted pyramid structure is widely recommended for straight news stories, although its effectiveness has been questioned (see Hagen, 1995; Arnold, 2009). Incidentally, frames organize and structure information (Reese, 2010.) In fact, a frame has been defined as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987, p. 143). If organizing and structuring is important in the quality discourse, and frames are considered to do just that, then there is definitely a convergence in this area.

Dimensions: As seen in the discussion on the normative-democratic perspective on quality, the media helps various actors in a modern, pluralistic, and democratic society to identify problems, propose solutions, and have elaborate discussions about them. This can be considered as the dimensions of debates in a democratic society, and they should normally be reflected in the media. If the state of societal debate is not reflected in the media, there is a quality shortfall (Meier, 2007; fög, 2011).

Framing has similar dimensions, including problem definition, causal interpretation, evaluation, and/or endorsing remedies (Entman, 1993, 2005, p. 5). These dimensions also represent the different angles from which events and issues can be presented. For instance, a media report may emphasize the problem dimension, while another highlights the evaluation dimension. By looking at the dimensions of framing, it is possible to gauge whether the media reflects various facets on any issue, and by extension the quality of media content.

Levels of Analysis: This is similar to the issue of dimensions above. One of the attributes of quality is the media’s reflection of the diversity of relevant actors in any event or issue

(Hagen, 1995; Arnold, 2009; fög, 2011). These include individuals, civil society, governments, and the political opposition, amongst others. The types of actors involved are also important, as the diversity of actors is crucial in a democracy. Furthermore, a preponderant focus on individuals is known as personalization and is widely considered a quality shortfall. Just like in quality research, through framing, it is possible to analyze the coverage at all these levels, and hence make a quality assessment. This is especially true for coverage over an extended period from where we can also examine systemic skewing (see Entman, 2010). Here again, we can see a clear convergence between journalistic quality and framing.

Attribution of Causality: Quality criteria can be operationalized as dependent or independent variables. It is a dependent variable when it is studied as the outcome of journalistic processes, standards, rules, as well as organizational and societal factors. Quality is also studied as a causal factor; for instance, the impact of particular journalistic criteria on audience satisfaction or the impact of quality on democratic debate (see Hagen, 1995, p.; Arnold, 2009, p.; Meier, 2007, p.). Here, quality is conceptualized as an independent variable. Frames, too, can be operationalized as dependent or independent variables. As dependent variables, frames are conceived as “the outcome of the production process including organizational pressures, journalistic routines, and elite discourse”, while as independent variables they are considered “antecedents of audience interpretations” (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

8.2 Frame Elements and Journalistic Quality

Matthes and Kohring (2008) argue that frames are made up of a number of constituent parts which they label “frame elements”. According to them, each frame is a “certain pattern in a given text that is composed of several elements. These elements are not words but previously defined components or devices of frames” (p. 263). These frame elements cluster together in a text. In a study of news frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) referred to the elements that clustered together as “framing items”. In the current study, “frame elements” and “framing items” are synonymous. In their study on the framing of genetic engineering,

Matthes and Kohring started off by identifying four frame elements based on a definition of framing by Entman (1993). These four elements include problem definition, causal attribution, evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. Note that these are the same items enumerated in our discussion on dimensions above. Each of these dimensions was further split into content analytical variables. These include topics and actors (under problem identification); benefit attribution and risk attribution (under causal attribution); benefits and risks (under moral evaluation); and judgment (under treatment). In another study on genetic engineering, Dahinden (2006) used similar input variables.

In the aforementioned study by Semetko & Valkenburg (2000), which focused on European politics, the researchers used 20 questions as input variables. They labelled these questions framing items, and a number of questions clustered together to constitute a frame. Although coined as questions, these variables can be put under similar headings as those in the aforementioned studies by Dahinden (2006) and Matthes and Kohring (2008) to identify and measure frames. Some of these include problem definition, causal interpretation, evaluation, treatment recommendation, personalization, actors and topics.

These frame elements are similar to those that have been used in studies on journalistic quality. For instance, Hagen (1995) used variables such as attributes of actors, consequences, predictions and evaluation, which were quite similar to the variables used in framing studies.

PART TWO: METHODOLOGY

This study is exclusively concerned with the textual elements of three selected newspapers and therefore relies on the content analysis method. In the next three chapters, I will explain content analysis, the sample and the procedure used to gather and analyze data, as well as operationalization of quality criteria.

9. Content Analysis

Scholars have given different meanings to content analysis (Mayring 2010, p.12). Neuendorf (2009), for instance, defines content analysis as a “summarizing, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method” (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a priori design, reliability, validity, generalizability, replicability, and hypothesis testing) (p. 10). Neuendorf differentiates between content analysis and “other, more qualitative or interpretative message analyses”, which in his view do not follow the scientific method (pp. 10-11). Therefore, Neuendorf views content analysis as a strictly quantitative method.

Brennen (2013) also distinguishes between content analysis and “qualitative textual analysis”. Content analysis deals with counting and measuring, Brennen avers, while qualitative textual analysis aims at the bigger picture, focusing on aspects such as semiotics, structure and context (p. 193). But Mayring (2010) notes that in mass communication research, all content analysis is systematic and follows specific rules. According to Mayring, the six hallmarks of content analysis in communication research include:

- Communication is the object of the analysis. Communication includes (mainly) speech, music, pictures, and similar objects as well as symbols.
- The analyzed communication is in a permanent or recorded form.
- The procedure has to be systematic;
- The procedure must (or should) follow explicit rules;

- The analysis must be based on a theoretical framework;
- It should analyze specific aspects of the communication (pp. 12 – 13).

It is clear from the above criteria that Mayring (2010) considers that all content analysis studies, irrespective of whether they use a qualitative or quantitative, should be guided by the scientific method. Mayring also elaborates on quality criteria in content analysis such as validity and reliability, which should be respected (pp. 116 – 122).

In differentiating between qualitative and quantitative analyses, Mayring (2010) notes that one of the main differences is terminology, with the former employing simple, everyday language to name categories, while the latter leans on statistical terms (pp. 17-18).

Another difference is the scale used in measuring variables, with qualitative content analysis mostly based on a nominal scale. In quantitative analysis, ordinal, interval and/or ratio scales are used. This distinction does not, however, mean that quantitative terms do not sometimes show up in qualitative studies. Furthermore, statistical operations such as frequency and cluster analyses can also be performed with nominal values (Mayring 2010, p. 18). The implicit scholarly orientations of qualitative and quantitative content analyses are equally different. Qualitative analysis focuses on the specific (and single cases), while quantitative analysis aims at making generalizations from a data set. The former tends to be inductive, while the latter is essentially deductive (p. 19).

Despite these differences, there are several commonalities between the two methods. For instance, even in quantitative analysis, the researcher must first engage in procedures that are qualitative in nature. When the quantitative researcher gets the results, these must be interpreted, another qualitative procedure. The process of quantitative content analysis therefore begins with quality methods, then proceeds to the quantitative stage, and gets back to a qualitative procedure (Mayring 2010, p. 19 – 21).

In a similar vein, Loosen and Scholl (2012) argue for a combination of different methodologies to tackle the same research questions. Such an approach, they argue, allows for the strengths of one method to compensate for the weaknesses of the other (p. 9).

Although the use of computer software was more prevalent with quantitative content analyses, the situation is changing in the qualitative domain as well. Sophisticated software,

such as Atlas.ti now allow for the grouping, marking, and categorization of text in the computer. There is also a search function that allows the coder to work much faster. Such software allows for easy reference, as all codes can be easily accessed on the computer monitor (Mayring 2010, p. 112 – 115).

9.1 Content Analysis in Framing Research

Just like in other domains of communication scholarship, framing studies looking at media output rely on the content analysis method. However, there is no single approach to content analysis within framing research, as the technique of choice would depend on the goal of the researcher. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches have been used, and frames have equally been identified or extracted inductively and deductively (e.g. Entman, 1991; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Dahinden, 2006; Matthes & Kohring, 2008).

In the qualitative approach, frames are usually identified through an interpretative account of media texts. Under this approach, there are also linguistic studies where “frames are identified by analyzing the selection, placement and structure of specific words and sentences in a text.” In the qualitative approach, samples are typically small, and an in-depth account of the frame is given, usually with little or no quantification (Entman et al., 2009, p. 180). Quantitative approaches in framing analysis are similar to those used in other areas in the communication discipline. These entail standardized procedures, whereby on the basis of clearly spelled out variables particular categories are uniformly counted and measured across the investigated units so as to statistically ascertain trends and relationships within the data set. Within the quantitative approach, samples are generally large and researchers increasingly rely on electronic tools (Bonfadelli, 2002, p. 53).

The deductive approach entails that frames are first derived from theoretical reflections, before they are identified in the text. Otherwise, they are derived from previous studies. That implies the researcher determines the frames of interest before coding begins. Conversely, the inductive approach does not determine frames prior to the coding. Frames are identified or extracted after a close scrutiny of the text or during analyses after coding (Dahinden, 2006, pp. 201-206; Matthes & Köhring, 2008). Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) argue that although

the deductive approach allows for detecting the many ways an issue can be framed, the method is “labor intensive, often based on small samples and is difficult to replicate.”

Apart from these broad methods, there are different ways of classifying approaches to framing analysis. According to Entman et al. (2009), content analysis approaches in framing research include the qualitative, manual-holistic, manual-clustering and computer-assisted techniques. The qualitative approach was explained above. The manual-holistic approach generally entails inductive-qualitative identification of frames, which are subsequently manually coded as holistic variables in quantitative content analysis. Frames can also be deductively derived before the coding. Unlike the manual-holistic approach, single variables or frame elements are coded in the manual-clustering approach. It employs the quantitative method and cluster or factor analysis is used to reveal the frames. In the computer-assisted approach, techniques such as frame mapping are used. This method is based on the assumption that frames are manifested through specific words or word associations. More sophisticated techniques use sentences. The unit of analysis is usually the single paragraph, and no manual coding is done (pp. 180-181).

But there are new software highlighted by Mayring (2010), that allow for techniques identical to the qualitative method, only that this is done with the aid of a computer (pp.111-115). Therefore, the boundaries between qualitative and the computer-assisted methods have blurred.

Mathes and Köhring (2008) make a classification similar to that of Entman et al. (2009), but it is more detailed. According to them, there are five main approaches to content analysis in framing research. These include the hermeneutic, linguistic, manual holistic, computer-assisted, and deductive approaches. However, these five approaches are not mutually exclusive. The hermeneutic and linguistic approaches are subsets of the approach labelled by Entman et al. as the qualitative approach. Similarly, the manual holistic, computer-assisted, deductive and cluster approaches fit the descriptions already given above.

Dahinden (2006) classifies content analysis approaches to frame identification according to a whether they are a combination of qualitative and inductive or quantitative and inductive or deductive. Based on these premises, he identifies three main approaches to frame identification: the qualitative-inductive, quantitative-deductive, and quantitative-inductive approaches.

The approach notwithstanding, a news framing analysis often differs from regular news content analyses due to the separation of frame elements from “core news facts”. An example is a framing analysis by Neuman et al. (1992). Price et al. (1997, p. 488) used a different, but still along those lines. Their operationalization of frames was based on the introductory and concluding paragraphs of articles (cited by de Vreese, 2005).

Tankard (2003, p. 101) outlined a number of framing mechanisms, or focal points for identifying framing. These include:

- Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headline);
- Subheads;
- Photographs;
- Photo captions;
- Leads (the beginnings of news stories);
- Selection of sources or affiliations;
- Selection of quotes;
- Pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis);
- Logos (graphic identification of the particular series an article belongs to);
- Statistics and charts, and graphs
- Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles.

Generally, the steps for carrying out a content analysis, according to Neuendorf (2002, pp. 49-51), were adopted for this study. These include theory and rationale, conceptualizations, operationalizations (measures), design of codebook and coding form, sampling, training of coders and pilot reliability, coding, final reliability, tabulation and reporting. Methodological techniques were also borrowed Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) and Dahinden (2006).

10. Sample and Sampling Techniques

The sample in this study is derived from three elite (or quality) newspapers in France, Germany and the United Kingdom. These countries were chosen because apart from being Europe's three biggest aid donors (*The Guardian*, 2011, n.p.), they all administered colonies in the past, and therefore newspapers there are more likely to cover topics that also have relevance to developing countries (many of them former colonies) such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

One elite newspaper was selected for each country. There was consideration for the ideological leanings of newspapers, with the intention of having just one main ideological thrust of newspapers in the whole sample. The idea was that comparisons were going to be more straight-forward if the analysis did not have to factor in different editorial orientations of newspapers. Another consideration was that the newspaper was supposed to have published a significant number of articles on the MDGs during the investigation time-frame. Based on these considerations, the following newspapers were selected: *Le Monde* in France; *Frankfurter Rundschau* in Germany and *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom. All these newspapers lean towards the left in the ideological spectrum, even though the extent of the leftist tilt is arguably not the same for all the three newspapers. The choice of left-leaning newspapers was purely coincidental, as it was noticed that in Germany and the United Kingdom, it was difficult to get elite right-leaning newspapers with a significant number of articles on the MDGs.

The investigation period is 2003 – 2012, representing 10 years of coverage on the MDGs. A decade of coverage seemed appropriate because the MDGs are clear goals with timelines, most of which were supposed to run over a 15-year period. In addition, a 10-year time frame allowed for the analysis to include coverage during at least two of the envisaged three five-yearly reviews on the progress of the attainment of the MDGs. The first review was in 2005, the second in 2010 and the third is envisaged for 2015. Before 2003, there was skimpy coverage on the MDGs, reason why that year was chosen as the starting point.

Articles were retrieved through a keyword search of the Lexis Nexis data base. Only articles published in the print versions of the newspapers were considered. This is because not all newspapers had articles published exclusively in their online versions in the database for at least part of the investigation period. The keywords Millennium Development Goals

(English), objectifs du millénaire pour le développement (French) and Millenniumsentwicklungsziele were initially used to search for some articles on Lexis Nexis. After reading through the articles, the keywords were expanded to ensure that all articles relevant to the investigation were obtained. The expanded keywords included: Millennium Development Goals, MDGs, United Nations Millennium Development Goals, and UN Development Goals (for *The Guardian*); objectifs du millénaire pour le développement; Objectifs du Millénaire, Objectif du Millénaire, and les OMD (for *Le Monde*); Millennium-Entwicklungsziele, Millenniumsentwicklungsziele, Millenniumsziele, Millennium Development Goals, and MDGs (for *Frankfurter Rundschau*).

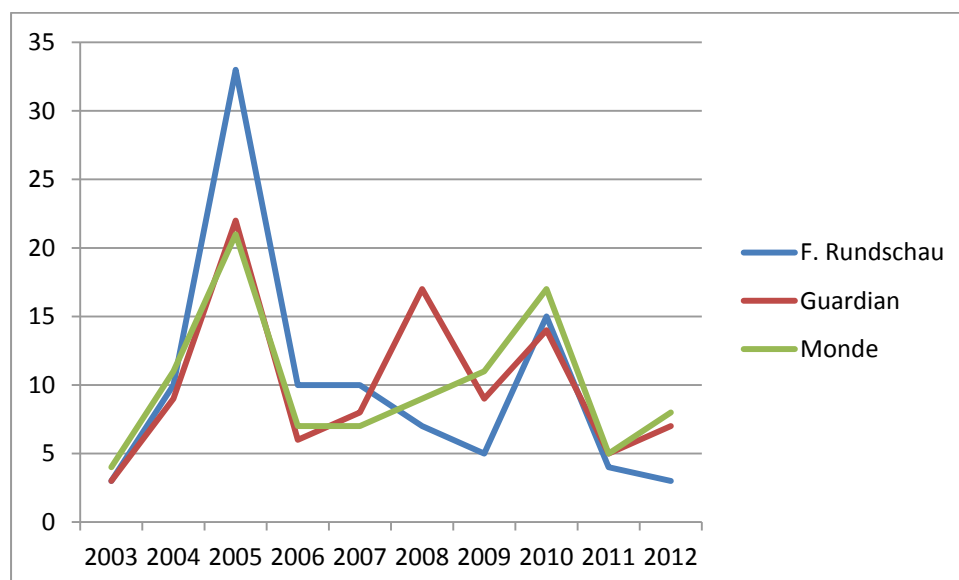
Articles that were obtained through the search were subsequently screened so that only those that had relevance to the MDGs were retained. Articles that only made referential mention of the MDGs were eliminated. In addition, only articles with journalistic input were retained. These included news stories and news features, editorials and journalistic analyses, as well as interviews. Opinion pieces written by non-journalists were not retained. The reason for the decision was that the study is about framing and journalistic quality, so it is frames that are transmitted, mediated or initiated by journalists that are of relevance. Only the textual part of articles were retrieved, so the analysis does not include visuals.

Once the articles had been screened for relevance, I proceeded to select 100 articles from each of the three newspapers, making a total sample (N) of 300. It was noticed that the amount of coverage differed from newspaper to newspaper, with *The Guardian*, for instance, having far more articles that satisfied the selection criteria than *Le Monde* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*. At the same time, coverage intensity varied from year to year, and the deviations were sometimes very large. To ensure a representative sample, a combination of stratified and multi-stage sampling techniques as described by Riffe, Lacy & Fico (2005, p. 108) and Neundorf (2002, pp. 86-87) was employed. The articles were first stratified into the various newspapers. Then they were further stratified into years of publication. The number of items in each stratum was subsequently determined. Based on the total number of articles for each newspaper, the percentage representation for each year for each newspaper over the 10-year time frame was determined. Since exactly 100 articles were to be selected for each newspaper, the percentage representation also corresponded with the number of articles that were to be selected. Percentages that contained fractions were rounded up. Articles were then randomly selected from each annual stratum corresponding to the percentage representation.

Riffe et al. and Neundorf have noted that studies have shown that such stratified sampling is most representative for daily newspapers.

As Figure 1 shows, the sample (which is representative of the population of articles that met the selection criteria), the intensity of coverage varied significantly across different newspapers. The year of most intensive coverage of the MDGs in all three newspapers was 2005, when incidentally the United Nations made the first five-year review of the implementation of the MDGs. A spike in coverage intensity was also noticed in all three newspapers in 2010, when the UN did the second five-year review of progress on the attainment of the MDGs.

Figure 1: Distribution of Articles in the Sample from 2003-2010



Because this study was also investigating whether framing and journalistic quality changed during different stages of the coverage of MDGs, the final sample was, for some purposes, sub-divided into two five-year strata; the first period of analysis was 2003-2007, while the second period was 2008-2012. The sample sizes for the various newspapers in the two periods of analysis are as follows:

The Guardian

2003-2007: 48 articles.

2008-2012: 52 articles.

Le Monde

2003-2007: 50 articles.

2008-2012: 50 articles.

Frankfurter Rundschau

2003-2007: 66 articles.

2008-2012: 34 articles.

To get a better understanding of the environment in which the coverage of the MDGs took place, I explore the press landscapes of the countries in which the analyzed newspapers publish and as well as the profiles of the three newspapers in the next two subsections.

10.1 Press Landscapes

United Kingdom

The UK has a vibrant press and counts 11 national dailies that also publish Sunday editions. Regional and local newspapers also have a strong presence. With about 1,250 of such publications, it is not surprising that they collectively dominate in market share even if individual publications have much smaller circulation numbers compared with the national dailies. Many of the regional and local papers publish once or twice a week. In 2009, about 70 percent of the British adult population read newspapers.

Newspapers are generally considered to fall under one of three categories – ‘quality’, ‘middle market’ and ‘red-top tabloid’, the latter being synonymous with the “boulevard press” in German-speaking countries. In the past, quality newspapers published in broadsheet format,

while the middle market and boulevard newspapers used the tabloid format. However, since 2003, quality newspapers have increasingly changed to “compact” formats, making them not very distinguishable from the tabloid papers (Keeble, 2005; Bromley, 2009). Quality newspapers include the *Financial Times*, the *Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Times* of London (Columbia University, 2012).

While the market is diverse, there is a high concentration of press ownership. The entire national press is owned by eight companies, four of which control 85 percent of the market (Bromley, 2009).

Newspaper circulation has been steadily declining over the years. In the five years leading up to 2012, newspaper circulation fell on average by 3.08 percent every six months, according to figures from the Audit Bureau of Circulations of the United Kingdom (ABC). Daily newspaper circulation fell by 22.5 percent during the same period, representing 2.6 million copies, excluding the Sunday papers (Jackson, 2012). ABC figures for July 2013 show that the trend has continued, with most national dailies experiencing year-on-year declines, although there were month-on-month increases attributed to the interest by the British public to the arrival of a royal baby (Hollander, 2013a).

Despite declining circulation figures, newspapers have an opportunity in connected devices, as their online editions are equally attracting readership. While each newspaper has a different magnitude of success with its online offerings, millions of British newspapers attract readers online. Figures from the National Readership Survey (which tracks the audience share of UK newspapers) published in August 2013 show that one of the quality newspapers with a more successful online offering, *The Guardian*, and its sister title, *The Observer*, have nearly as many online unique visits as readers of the print editions (Hollander, 2013b).

The magazine sector is also an important feature on the print media landscape. Varying estimates put the number of magazines at between 8,800 and 10,000 titles. About two-thirds of them are business or professional magazines, while the rest are consumer magazines. Most of the circulation is through circulation, with the business and professional titles having relatively modest readerships, while the more successful consumer magazines each count one million or more readers (Bromley, 2009).

France

France has a vibrant press, with hundreds of mass circulated newspapers and periodicals publishing at national, regional and local levels. The written press in France is generally classified in four broad categories. The first is the *Presse quotidienne nationale* (PQN) or national dailies, including freesheets. The second is the *Presse quotidienne régionale* (PQR) or regional dailies. The third is the *Presse hebdomadaire* or weeklies, which fall under two sub-categories: national and local. The fourth are magazines of various types. There are many niche magazines and nearly every French adult reads at least one each week (Pasquier & Lamizet, n.d.). The OJD (2014), a body that tracks circulation in France, lists 15 national daily print media publications as of 2013, amongst them about a dozen French daily newspapers. It equally provides a non-exhaustive list of 43 national weeklies; 53 regional weeklies; 184 regional weeklies, and 376 magazines and 137 professional publications that typically publish monthly, bi-monthly or quarterly; as well as 180 free publications.

Despite relatively smaller circulations compared with other major European countries, national dailies are an important symbol in France (Pasquier & Lamizet, n.d.). However, like in other European countries, daily papers have faced significant challenges in recent years. Figures in a report by the direction générale des médias et des industries culturelles (Department of Media and the Culture Industry) at the French Ministry of Culture and Communication suggest that national dailies have been facing stiff competition from the local/regional press as well as from specialized weeklies and periodicals (Ministère de la culture et de la communication français, 2012). In 2011, national news publications represented 14.6 percent of the total turnover of the print media, compared with 32.3 percent for the local press and 37.5 percent for mass circulated specialized publications. In general terms, print media revenue that averaged 1 percent of French GDP between 1970 and 1980, represented only 0.46 percent of GDP in 2011. The report by the French Ministry of Culture and Communication noted that the print media in the country was facing several challenges related to technological developments, such as online publications, the financial and economic crisis as well as changing attitudes by younger generations.

In the face of the challenges faced by the press, the French President created a commission, “les Etats généraux de la presse écrite”, in October 2008, to propose remedies for the malaise.

Among several measures taken on the recommendation of the commission were tax rebates and increased subsidies to the press to help in the restructuring and development of electronic services (Ministère de la culture et de la communication français, 2010).

However, the French press continues to struggle. In 2013, sales of seven of the eight major national newspapers declined compared to the previous year. This was compounded by plummeting advertising revenue, a significant 10.1% drop compared to 2012. Many newspapers therefore had a deficit (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 2013).

Germany

Germany has a very long press tradition, with some of the world's pioneer newspapers created there some 400 years ago. The print media landscape is vibrant and figures from 2008 show an impressive armada of 1512 newspapers, including local editions of all titles, in Europe's biggest print media market (Kleinsteuber & Thomass, 2013).

In terms of frequency of publication, there are daily, weekly, bi-monthly, tri-semester, and yearly publications (Abduran, M. & Colceriu, 2010). Some of these titles are national, others regional, while the bulk are local. A number of publications are international. Like in other countries, there are quality, mid-market and tabloid papers (known in the German-speaking world as the "boulevard press").

Daily newspapers, 351 in number as of 2011, are a cultural asset and a pillar of German democracy, promoting debates on the important issues of the day. The most important dailies are the eight national papers, which include, amongst others, *BILD*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), *Welt*, *Frankfurter Rundschau* (FR), *Tageszeitung* (Taz). *BILD*, a "boulevard" newspaper, is the highest selling daily, with a circulation of 2.9 million every day as at the second quarter of 2011 (Hanke, 2011). The main quality newspapers are national (see Abduran & Colceriu, 2010), and basically make up the aforementioned list with the exception of *BILD*.

However, in terms of readership, the print media market is dominated by local publications, which constituted 95 percent of all subscriptions in 2008 (Kleinsteuber & Thomass, 2013).

Figures for the third quarter of 2012 from the German Audit Bureau of Circulations show that out of a total sales of 18.02 million copies for daily newspapers each day, regional and local newspapers sold 12.95 million copies, accounting for 71.86 percent of total sales. National newspapers sold more than 1.5 million copies (circa 8.3 percent), while close to 3.5 million copies of newspapers were sold at newsstands (Pasquay, 2012).

Newspapers in Germany, like elsewhere, have faced, in recent years, both declining sales and advertising revenue. The financial and economic crisis that has beset Europe since late 2008 hit hard on the industry, with advertising revenue plummeting by up to 8 percent. German newspapers have equally been seriously challenged by the advent of the internet, as several studies have shown declining readership and sales (Kirchhoff & Krämer, 2010, p. 8; Pasquay, 2008). A 2010 media use study in Germany showed that newspapers were having a hard time attracting young readers, especially “digital natives” (14-29 year-olds), who resort to the internet as their prime source of information (Franz, 2010). However, print media organizations have reacted to this challenge by improving non-print options, and now serve a significant proportion of their readers through online versions and electronic editions accessed on mobile devices. According to Pasquay, for the first time, between 2011 and 2012, newspapers grew their online readership among 14-to-29 year-olds by 10 percent, raising the figure to a not-insignificant 62.6 percent. Overall, 72.4 percent of the German population above the age of 14 read a newspaper daily.

Another important arm of the German press is the magazine sector which counted some 906 titles in the general category and 1218 specialized periodicals in 2008. General titles had a circulation of nearly 118 million, while specialized magazines circulated about 13.6 million copies that year. The leading news magazine *Der Spiegel* had a circulation of about 1.07 million that same year, and is considered the most influential political publication in Germany (Kleinstauber & Thomass, 2013).

10.2 Analyzed Newspapers

The Guardian

Founded in 1821, *The Guardian* is one of the UK's most influential newspapers. It also has a reputation for coverage of international issues (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2013). Encyclopaedia Britannica describes its ideological orientation as "less conservative than ... *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Times*, its main London competitors, but its reporting is also marked by its independence." It is perhaps a euphemistic way of saying the paper can be placed around the center-left spot on the ideological spectrum. Columbia University (2012) describes *The Guardian* as "left-leaning". The paper also acknowledges its tilt to the left (Guardian, n.d.).

Like most newspapers in the UK, *The Guardian* faced serious challenges in the recent past due to the advent of the internet and changing readership habits, as sales plummeted alongside income. The paper responded with a number of reforms including, amongst others, a change in format and bold online initiatives. In 2005, *The Guardian* followed in the footsteps of the *Independent* which had adopted a tabloid format two years earlier by offering a so-called Berliner format. This format is bigger than a tabloid but smaller than a broadsheet (Keeble, 2005; Guardian, n.d.). According to *The Guardian* website, the paper started working on online offerings in 1994, and in 2008, it brought its disparate online offerings together in one portal, guardian.co.uk. This portal has been very successful and has won a string of awards. By 2010, *The Guardian*'s website had the second biggest audience of any English language newspaper worldwide after the *New York Times* (Columbia University, 2012).

Figures of the National Readership Survey, which tracks newspaper readership in the UK, show that *The Guardian* and its sister Sunday title the *Observer* had a combined weekly readership of 2,781,000, less than the combined weekly averages of the regular and Sunday editions of its closest London rivals, the *Times* (4,347,000) and the *Telegraph* (3,051,000). However, when the online audience was factored in, *The Guardian*'s weekly readership of 5,257,000 was above the 4,525,000 readers of the *Times* and the 4,899,000 readers of the *Telegraph* (Hollander, 2013b).

Since 1936, *The Guardian* has been owned by the Scott Trust, which pledged to plough back all profit into the publication. This has so far ensured the paper's independence and insulated

it from takeovers by more affluent media corporations (Columbia University, 2012; Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2013).

In the past few years, *The Guardian* has received acclaim internationally for its bold coverage of leaked U.S. diplomatic cables in collaboration with the anti-secrecy watchdog Wikileaks and revelations by whistle blower Edward Snowden about secret mass surveillance programs run by the United States National Security Agency (NSA). On April 14, 2014 *The Guardian* jointly won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize with the *Washington Post* for their coverage of the NSA surveillance program (Wulfhorst, 2014).

Le Monde

Le Monde, first published in 1944, is one of the two major national dailies in France, the other being *Le Figaro*. Its editorial stance can be described as left-of-center and it is at the same time generally considered to be France's most prestigious national daily (Columbia University Language Resource Center, n.d; Institut Français, n.d.). The daily has the second highest circulation in the national newspaper category, after *Le Figaro*, its main rival. According to the OJD, the organization that tracks newspaper circulation in France, its sales grew by a modest 0.23 percent between 2010 and the 2011-2012 period, reaching an average of 290,667 copies sold daily (OJD, n.d.). The paper had a better sales growth figure of 2 percent when only 2010 and 2011 figures are considered (Sigel 2012). However, as of 2013, the newspaper had an average daily circulation of 275,310 within French territory, compared with 317,225 for *Le Figaro*. That was a drop of over 4% from the previous year's figures. *Le Monde*'s declining circulation has been accompanied by lower advertising revenue and poor financial performance. The paper announced in late 2013 that it was expecting a deficit of about 2 million euros.

In recent years, the paper's audience has been enlarged by its online offerings. OJD figures show that *Le Monde*'s website registered 57,618,787 visitors in December 2013, of which 43,745,796 are based in France (OJD, n.d.). *Le Monde* equally boasts of several subsidiary publications, including the internationally reputed *Le Monde Diplomatique*.

Until 2010, journalists controlled a majority stake in the corporation. But with *Le Monde* weighed down by huge deficits in an environment of the financial crisis, the newspaper decided to recapitalize by bringing in new shareholders. After an open tender, existing shareholders voted in favor of a joint bid by three business magnates, Pierre Bergé, Xavier Niel and Matthieu Pigasse. The trio, who have since come to be widely known by the moniker BNP, have a controlling stake in *Le Monde*. Journalists of *Le Monde* obtained assurances of editorial independence from the trio before throwing their weight behind the new ownership structure (Renault, E., 2010; Renault, M.-C., 2010).

Frankfurter Rundschau

Frankfurter Rundschau is a left-leaning quality newspaper. For decades, it was the leading newspaper amongst leftist intellectuals. The paper typically defended workers' rights and espoused social justice and state intervention in the economy. In 2006 the publishing house Kölner DuMont-Verlag, which also publishes a number of regional newspapers acquired *Frankfurter Rundschau*. Reflecting its business challenges and changing readership culture, the paper changed from a broadsheet to a "compact" tabloid format in 2007. After the 2006 acquisition, the paper lost much of its former significance. From mid-2011, the national portion of the newspaper was produced in Berlin, together with *Berliner Zeitung* (Hanke, 2011). After some difficult financial times and some changes in its ownership structure over the years, *Frankfurter Rundschau*'s books remained in the red and in November 2012 declared bankruptcy (Kornfeld, 2012). In March 2013, the paper's ownership structure changed. It is now owned by Frankfurter Societät GmbH (55%), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH (35%) and the Karl-Gerold-Stiftung (10%). Frankfurter Societät GmbH also publishes the right-leaning *Frankfurter Neue Presse* (FNP) while Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH publishes the popular conservative daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. But despite the fact that these new owners also publish right-leaning papers, they promised to let *Frankfurter Rundschau* maintain its editorial stance and independence, adding that the other two publications will not share articles with *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Kressreport, 2013).

Figures published by the body that tracks newspaper circulation in Germany, the Informationsgemeinschaft zur Feststellung der Verbreitung von Werbeträgern (IVW), show

that in the fourth quarter of 2012 *Frankfurter Rundschau* had an average daily circulation of 112,797 and an average circulation of 124,006 for its Saturday issue (IVW, 2013). In the same quarter in 2003, the paper had an average daily circulation of 184,753 and 247,753 on Saturday (IVW, 2004). This represents a drop of 24.18% percent for the average daily circulation and 33.28% percent for the weekend issue. However *Frankfurter Rundschau* reached 600,000 readers the second quarter of 2013, including its online audience, according to figures by Media-Analyse (Frankfurter Rundschau, n.d.).

11. Measurements and Identification of Frames

The guiding empirical idea in this study is that by identifying and measuring frames and their constituent parts, meaningful and empirical assessments can also be made about journalistic quality. Therefore, the principal measurements are generic frames and specific frame elements. It is the frames and frame elements that form the constituent parts of the instrument that was designed to assess journalistic quality.

On the identification and measurement of frames, this study leaned mainly on the deductive quantitative approach, but equally used a subtle combination of deductive and inductive approaches as well as the manual holistic approach. In addition, “human coding” was done with the aid of the Atlas.ti computer software for some variables. There was the need to combine several methods because this study was not limited to the identification of frames, but equally used framing measures to assess journalistic quality criteria. Because no one method seemed to have been sufficient to examine all aspects of journalistic quality under consideration, there was necessity for some methodological innovation.

Two different sets of instruments were developed for measuring frames and frame elements in the current study. The first was based on a series of 23 questions, each of which served as a variable. All of the questions in the first instrument only had possible answers of yes or no. The second set was based on the variables with close-ended categories, but which did not require yes or no answers. I explain these instruments in the following two subsections.

11.1 Frame Measurement with Question-Based Variables

I used the deductive-quantitative approach (as defined by Dahinden, 2006) to identify and measure five generic news frames (explained in Section 5.6). In their seminal work, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) used the quantitative-deductive method to extract generic news frames, and the current research borrowed from their procedure. There are a number of advantages for using the quantitative-deductive approach in the current study. First, this study aimed at using the frames identified and measured as the basis for assessment of journalistic quality. Since generic frames are issue-agnostic and “are related to journalistic conventions”

(de Vreese, 2005, p. 56) and apply across time, they allow a greater likelihood for generalizability of the findings. Second, these frames have been used in different studies and are therefore tested (see Section 5.6). Third, the deductive approach enabled standardization, which I believe, reduced bias by the researcher. Fourth, the quantitative approach reduced the linguistic complexities that are inevitable in a study analyzing newspapers that use three different languages and operating in countries with slightly different journalistic styles.

However, as Matthes and Kohring (2008) pointed out, this approach has its shortcomings. Because frames are determined prior to coding, this eliminates the possibility of the emergence of new frames, therefore making the approach inflexible. New frames that might have otherwise emerged are forced into the pre-defined frames. But in the current study, the separate analysis of additional frames and some constituent parts of the five generic frames surely mitigates this shortcoming. In addition, frame elements and variables for the frame elements were inductively derived through an exploratory qualitative analysis.

The development of framing measures proceeded in three stages. In the first stage, the questions used in the study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) to identify five generic frames were adopted. They used 20 questions, but one related to images was eliminated because the current study was limited to textual analyses. Each of these questions could be coded either with a yes (1), meaning the framing element was present and no (0), if the frame element was not present. Semetko and Valkenburg acknowledged that this binary scale is not a high level of measurement compared with ordinal and interval scales. Correlations are also usually not as high as with ordinal and interval variables. However, intercoder reliability is usually high. In the current study, this binary scale allowed for a less complex instrument which facilitated the coding of newspapers across different countries, with different languages and slightly different news cultures.

The five frames were operationalized through the following 19 questions:

Attribution of Responsibility Frame:

Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) has the ability to alleviate the problem?

Does the article suggest solution(s) to the issue/problem?

Does the article suggest the issue requires urgent action?

Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) is responsible for the issue/problem?

Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?

Conflict Frame:

Does the article reflect the disagreements between parties-individuals-groups-countries?

Does the article refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?

Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?

Does the article refer to winners and losers?

Human Interest Frame:

Does the article provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?

Does the article employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?

Does the article emphasize how individuals or groups are affected by the issue/problem?

Does the article go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

Economic Frame:

Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?

Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

Is there a mention of the costs/degrees of expense involved?

Morality Frame:

Does the article contain any moral message?

Does the article offer special social prescriptions about how to behave?

Does the article make reference to morality, ethics, God, and other religious tenets?

There were a few minor modifications to the original questions. A modification to the morality frame was the addition of the word “ethics” to one of the questions. In all other questions where there is the word “article”, the original question had the word “story”. Furthermore, there was the addition of “(or a group of governments)” in the questions pertaining to the responsibility of governments. This addition was made to take into account the fact that governments from different countries were often portrayed to be acting in concert in the coverage of the Millennium Development Goals. This was determined in an exploratory analysis prior to the development of scales. Each of the 19 questions was a separate variable.

In the second stage, four questions that were deemed necessary for a more detailed examination of two elements of the attribution of responsibility frame were added. It had been determined in an exploratory analysis that there was a dichotomy in attribution of responsibility between governments in developed countries and governments in developing countries and their ability to alleviate or solve problems. On that basis, the following steps were taken: The question, “Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) has the ability to alleviate the problem?” was split into two to give additional questions: Does the article suggest that some level of government (in a developed country) or a group of governments (in developed countries) is responsible for the issue-problem? Does the article suggest that some level of government (in a developing country) or a group of governments (in developing countries) is responsible for the issue-problem? Next, the question, “Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) has the ability to alleviate the problem?” was split into two to give the

following two additional questions: Does the article suggest that some level of government (in a developed country) or a group of governments in (developed countries) has the ability to alleviate the problem? Does the article suggest that some level of government (in a developing country) or a group of governments (in developing countries) has the ability to alleviate the problem?

All the questions in the first two stages were then transferred to a codebook for subsequent entry and analysis in SPSS. They were coded with either a yes (1) for “frame element present” or a no (0) for “frame element absent”. The codebook also contained variables to identify the newspaper and period of analysis.

In the third stage, two frame elements that were deemed necessary to measure emotionalization and personalization of coverage, aspects that are useful in assessing journalistic quality, respectively, were identified. These frame elements have equally been conceptualized and operationalized in traditional quality research, and it is necessary to give a brief description of them here.

Emotionalization: This refers to journalistic reports that principally arouse emotions. fög (2011) links emotionalization and moralization. In the English-speaking world, emotionalization is usually subsumed under the concept of sensationalism. According to Grabe, Zhou and Barnett (2001), sensationalism is usually associated with the coverage of unexpected events and topics such as crime, disasters and sex. But it is also about form. A sensational report, according to them, provokes “emotional and sensory stimulation” (p. 641). It is this second part of sensationalism that is investigated in the current study. Here, it is termed emotionalization to distinguish it from coverage of only particular topics.

Personalization: Personalization is the focus of reports on individuals as opposed to systems, institutions and organizations (fög, 2011, p. 551). Personalization focuses on the private individual, rather than broader macro-structures of society. However, when individuals are portrayed in their official functions, rather than in their private life, that is not considered personalization.

A separate instrument was not necessary for measuring emotionalization and personalization, because these frame elements were already present in the questions adopted from the study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). Therefore, these items did not need to be coded separately. These question include:

For emotionalization: Does the article employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?

For personalization: Does the article go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

The unit of analysis was the article. As Kohring and Matthes (2008) noted, this is the approach used in most framing studies.

The researcher was the only coder, but a second coder was trained and used during the pilot phase of the project, and for a reliability check in the final phase. For the reliability check, 30 articles were randomly selected from *Le Monde* and *Frankfurter Rundschau* because of the language skills of the coder. This represented 10% of the entire sample. Inter-coder reliability was calculated separately for each of the newspapers, and it was 92.6% and 91.7% for *Le Monde* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, respectively.

After the coding, a principal component factor analysis with varimax rotation was conducted to map generic news frames on the basis of the 19 framing items derived from the aforementioned study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The five frames which emerged are identical to those identified by Semetko and Valkenburg. The frames include conflict, morality, human interest, economic and attribution of responsibility.

In the factor analysis, only items with factor loadings higher than .40 and Eigen value > 1 were included in the analysis. One item did not meet this threshold. This was the variable, “Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?” This item was expected to load alongside the other items in the attribution of responsibility frame. It was taken out and the resulting factor loadings are shown on Table 1. Based on the factor loadings, the items that constitute the five generic news frames are as follows:

Conflict Frame: Does the article reflect the disagreements between parties-individuals-groups-countries? Does the article refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue? Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another? Does the article refer to winners and losers?

Morality Frame: Does the article contain any moral message? Does the article offer special social prescriptions about how to behave? Does the article make reference to morality, ethics, God, and other religious tenets?

Human Interest Frame: Does the article provide a human example or “human face” on the issue? Does the article employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion? Does the article emphasize how individuals, groups or countries are affected by the issue/problem? Does the article go into the private or personal lives of the actors?

Economic Frame: Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future? Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action? Is there a mention of the costs/degrees of expense involved?

Attribution of Responsibility Frame: Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) has the ability to alleviate the problem? Does the article suggest solution(s) to the issue/problem? Does the article suggest the issue requires urgent action? Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) is responsible for the issue/problem?

The factor loadings explained 64.5% of total variance while the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure (KMO) of Sampling Adequacy was .679. Both were well above the recommended values of 50% of total explained variance and .50 for the KMO measure, respectively.

To verify whether the five factors were internally consistent, a reliability analysis was done and values for Cronbach’s alphas obtained. Except for the fifth factor (attribution of responsibility), all the other factors had scores that were greater than the generally recommended value of .7 (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). The economic factor had an alpha value of .812 (3 items); human interest a value of .720 (4 items); morality a value of .890 (three items); and conflict a value of .802 (four items). The responsibility factor had an alpha value of .606 (4 items).

Table 3: Factor Solution for 18 Framing Items

Framing Items	Factors				
	Conflict	Morality	Human Interest	Economic	Responsibility
Does the article reflect the disagreements between parties-individuals-groups-countries?	.880				
Does the article refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?	.843				
Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?	.802				
Does the article refer to winners and losers?	.531				
Does the article contain any moral message?		.930			
Does the article offer special social prescriptions about how to behave?		.905			
Does the article make reference to morality, ethics, God, and other religious tenets?		.861			
Does the article provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?			.809		
Does the article employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?			.786		
Does the article emphasize how individuals, groups or countries are affected by the issue/problem?			.694		
Does the article go into the private or personal lives of the actors?			.649		

Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?				.891	
Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?				.826	
Is there a mention of the costs/degrees of expense involved?				.818	
Does the article suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?					.727
Does the article suggest solution(s) to the issue/problem?					.697
Does the article suggest the issue requires urgent action?					.668
Does the article suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue/problem?					.612

Notes. Method: Principal Components. Rotation: Varimax. KMO Measure: .679. Only factors with Eigen Value > 1 were considered. Total explained variance: 64.5%.

New scales were developed for all five factors by averaging the unweighted scores on the individual items (frame elements) in each factor. The new scale had a lowest possible value of .00 (from absent), while the highest possible value was 1 (frame present). A value of 1 meant that all the frame elements were present, while a minimum value represented the complete absence of all the frame elements within that factor. Generally, high values meant a strong presence of the frame, while low values meant little presence or absence of the frame. For instance, if the value for the economic frame is 1, it implies the article mentions financial losses or gains now or in the future; makes reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action; and mentions the costs/degrees of expense involved. The same logic applies to the other frames. In many cases, not all frame elements were completely present or absent. On the basis of the new scales derived, it was possible to gauge

the use of the various frames in the entire sample, in the individual newspapers as well as across the two periods of analysis by comparing their mean scores.

The other four items derived from the responsibility frame were equally excluded from the factor analysis. These items were separately statistically analyzed on the basis of their unweighted scores. In addition to these four items, the personalization and emotionalization frame elements were analyzed in like manner. The analyses was descriptive, with frequencies and percentages obtained to determine the visibility of these frame elements.

11.2 Measurement of Other Variables

In the second part, measures were developed for the other frames and frame elements. In the first step, measures were developed for the episodic and thematic frames, interpretative frames and angle of article frame. The angle of the article frame was merged with the interpretative frame. Practically, the angle of the article was operationalized through the elements that make up the interpretative frame, which are the same as the dimensions of framing put forth by Entman (1993). Unlike with the framing measures in the first part, these frames were not measured with yes or no answers. However, the measurement instrument was similar in that it was meant to measure the presence or absence of the frame the various categories. The individual measures will be explained subsequently.

The second step entailed the development of measures for frame elements that had earlier been determined in a rudimentary inductive qualitative analysis as a prelude to manual holistic coding. These included actors and evaluation. The variable topic was also included to give a general idea of main issues that characterized the coverage of the MDGs. These variables, like the variables in the first step, were transferred to a codebook for subsequent manual coding. However, although this procedure is described here as manual, the coding was done directly on the Atlas.ti computer software. This distinction is made so as not to conflate the method used here with computer-assisted analysis in which data is automatically coded with the aid of software algorithms. Atlas.ti is principally a qualitative analysis software, and it was used initially in the exploratory analysis of the coverage of the MDGs, which was the prelude to determining the variables to be included in the analysis. Because it

is possible to also enter codes in this software, it was convenient to use it for the second set of variables. Furthermore, using the computer made it easier to count words during the coding of episodic and thematic frames.

Excluding the identification variables, the following variables were included in the second codebook:

Period of Analysis: This variable represented the two periods of analysis, each covering a five-year span. Categories here include the years 2003-2007 and 2008-2012. Each article was coded according to its date of publication.

Article Type: Categories here include News/News Feature, Analysis, and Interview.

Actors: This variable is one of the frame elements, and it has been included in other framing studies as input variables in cluster and/or factor analyses (e.g. Dahinden, 2006; Matthes & Kohring, 2008). Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) also had aspects of this framing element in their aforementioned study but the categories were too broad. Categories in the current study include Developed Country Government, Opposition Politician, Developing Country Government, International Governmental Organization; NGO, Activist; Celebrity, Academic/Expert; Ordinary People; and Other. Each category of actor featured in each article was coded. There could be more than one category of actor in each article, and all of them were coded. However, each category of actor could only be counted once for each article.

Evaluation: Evaluation is a framing element that has been included in a number of framing studies (e.g. Dahinden, 2006; Matthes & Kohring, 2008). It is one of the framing dimensions postulated by Entman (1993). Categories here include Generally Positive, Generally Negative, and Neutral/Fairly Balanced. For this variable, each instance of evaluation was counted. The total count enabled the coder to determine whether the article was generally positive, generally negative, or fairly balanced and coded accordingly. If the article contained no evaluation, it was considered neutral and coded as the Neutral/Fairly Balanced category.

Article Topic: For this variable, the main topic of the article was coded. Categories here include Development Aid, Economy, Education, Environment, Gender, Health, Politics, Poverty, Progress Report, Public Opinion, Regulation, and Other. Only the dominant topic was coded. The variable was included only for descriptive purposes and played no role in the substantive analysis.

Article Angle (Angle of Article Frame): The angle refers to the slant of the article. The article angle was operationalized using the dimensions of framing identified by Entman (1993) and the interpretative frames identified by Porto (2007). These include problem, cause, evaluation and treatment dimensions or interpretative frames. The angle is the interpretative frame or frames that are given most prominence in the article. Prominence here is reflected by placement. Placement takes into account the suggestion made by Tankard (2003) on the focal points of an article to consider in framing analysis. However, among the focal points suggested by Tankard, only the headline, kicker, and lead paragraph have been taken adopted. This is in addition to the rider (small headlines below the main headline), which are arguably as important as the kicker. The idea is that these are the most visible textual elements of the article, and reflect the aspects that are given the most prominence. Categories here include Problem, Cause, Evaluation, and Treatment.

Frame Form: This variable measures the distribution of the episodic and thematic frames as defined by Iyengar (1991, pp. 18-19). This variable measured episodic and thematic frames only in news articles. Analyses and interviews were excluded. News stories generally have a mixture of episodic and thematic frames. In his study on episodic and thematic frames, Iyengar determined which of the two frames was predominant in the text. He determined predominance by making separate word counts of the parts of each article that contained episodic and thematic frames. If there were more words for the episodic frame than the thematic frame, for instance, the text was coded as episodically framed. This approach was adopted in the current study. In the codebook, categories included, Episodic Frame, Thematic Frame and Not Applicable. The “Not Applicable” categories included interviews and analyses.

For this second set of variables, a second coder was used to check the reliability of the same 30 articles as in the first part. The inter-coder reliability was 83.7% for *Le Monde* and 86.2% for *Frankfurter Rundschau*. Basic statistical analyses were run after coding for each variable to determine the counts and percentages of the various categories.

11.3 Measurement of Journalistic Quality

Four quality criteria; notably diversity, relevance, topicality and professionalism, adopted from a study by fög (2011) were assessed in the current study (see Section 6.6). However, fög's study was conceptualized within the realms of journalistic quality research, and therefore the operationalization in the current study is different. This is because this study relies solely on frames and frame elements to assess journalistic quality. The four quality criteria were operationalized as follows:

Diversity

This criterion hinges on the diversity of opinions, actors and topics. Porto (2007) argues that news quality is ensured by a diversity of what he described as interpretative frames, alternatively labeled dimensions of framing in the current study. In the current study, diversity is measured through diversity in the following areas: the five generic frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000); angling of articles; actors; developed and developing country problem-solving abilities (or competence); and developed and developing country responsibility. High journalistic quality was adjudged to be a balanced distribution of the aforementioned frames and frame elements within the coverage. A preponderance of some frames and/or frame elements was considered to be a quality shortfall.

Relevance

This criterion is based on the principle that the general interest takes precedence over private interest, and the society has primacy over individuals (fög, 2011, p. 95). This criterion is validated in the present research at three levels. First, there is the comparison between the visibility of the human interest frame and the other frames. A higher than average visibility of the human interest frame was interpreted as a quality shortfall. Second, the visibility of official and individual actors was compared. A high occurrence of individuals as opposed to institutions or persons acting in their official capacity was adjudged to be a quality shortfall. Third, this criterion was assessed on the basis of the visibility of the personalization framing

element. Low visibility was considered as good journalistic quality while high visibility was assessed as to poor journalistic performance.

Topicality

The principle here is that there should be context to reporting. It does not suffice for media to report promptly, or focus on breaking news, but with little or no background information (fög, 2011, p. 103). In the fög study, topicality was operationalized through Iyengar's (1991) episodic and thematic frames. A preponderance of episodic frames suggested a quality shortfall. The present study adopted this operationalization.

Professionalism

Professionalism is a subset of objectivity, and encompasses several journalistic norms. It is related to norms such as truth, accuracy, transparency and balance. Public communication should be dominated by argumentative and deliberative reporting. This is contrary to moralistic and emotionalized reporting, which is characterized by subjectivity (journalistic opinions) and moral attributions (fög, 2011, p. 551). This study, relying on the framing paradigm, did not take into consideration aspects such as truth, accuracy, transparency, which are usually taken for granted in this area of research. Professionalism was operationalized at a number of levels, and satisfactory journalistic performance entailed that the following requirements were met: (1) Balance in the distribution of generic frames. An unbalanced distribution of the five generic frames was considered a quality shortfall. (2) Balanced distribution of the dimensions of framing as manifested in the angling of articles; an unbalanced distribution represented a quality shortfall. (3) Assessment of evaluation. A preponderance of balanced/neutral articles was indicative of good journalistic practice. (4) Balance of the competence and attribution of responsibility between developed and developing countries. A balanced portrayal of competence and responsibility was considered good journalistic quality. (5) Analysis of the distribution of episodic and thematic frames, whereby a preponderance of thematic frames was adjudged to be good journalistic quality.

(6) Reporting should not be emotionalized. A high presence of the emotionalization frame element in the coverage was assessed to be contrary to journalistic quality norms. (7) The visibility of the personalization frame element was analyzed, whereby a high visibility indicated a quality shortfall. (8) Assessment of systematic bias (see Entman, 2010). Here, the idea is that a systematic preponderance of particular frames over the analyzed 10-year period of coverage of the MDGs is indicative of underperformance vis-à-vis journalistic quality. The professional criterion is considered to have met when a majority of the aforementioned eight conditions are satisfied.

PART THREE: RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

12. Results

12.1 Types of Articles and Topics

Before dwelling on the results of the framing analysis, let me first elaborate on the main types of articles that featured in the final sample used in this study (N=300), as well as the main topics that were covered. This is to give the reader a clear idea of the nature of the sample. As Table 4 shows, news articles and news features dominated in both the first period of analysis (2003-2007) and the second period of analysis (2008-2012) as well as in all three newspapers in the study.

Table 4: Frequency and Percentage of Article Type in Analyzed Newspapers

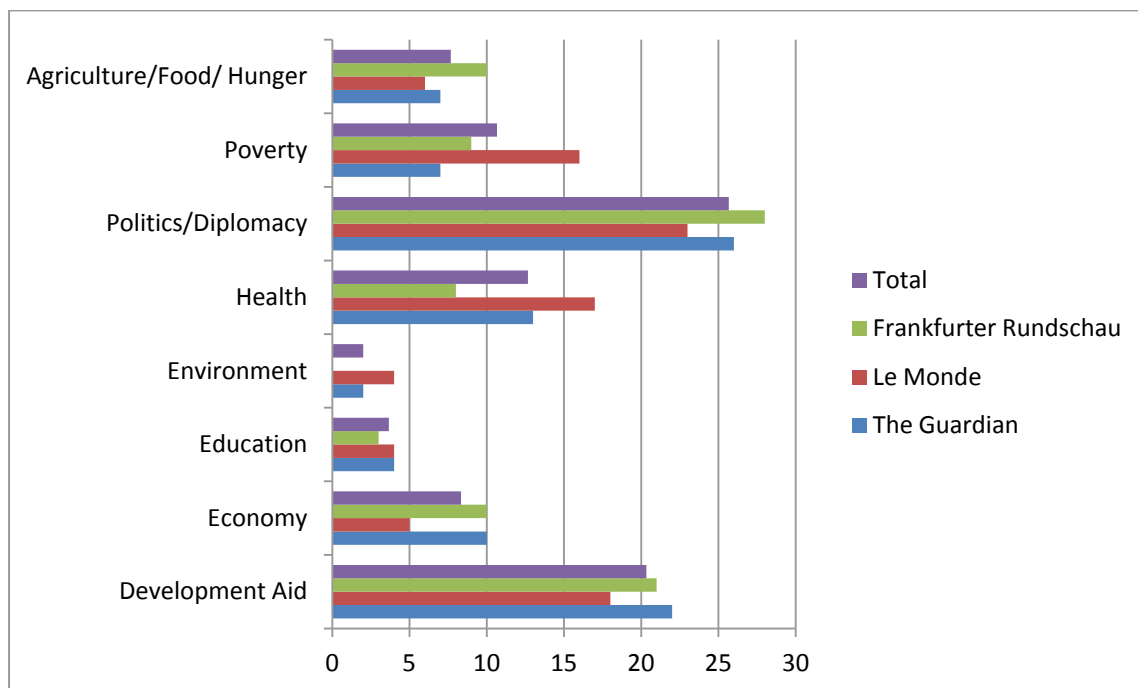
Newspaper	<i>The Guardian</i>			Le Monde			Frankfurter Rundschau		
Period	<i>2003-2007</i>	<i>2008-2012</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>2003-2007</i>	<i>2008-2012</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>2003-2007</i>	<i>2008-2012</i>	<i>Total</i>
News/ News feature	33 73%	38 73%	71 71%	25 50%	42 84%	67 67%	46 70%	23 68%	69 69%
Analysis	15 27%	14 27%	29 29%	19 38%	6 12%	25 25%	12 18%	7 21%	19 19%
Interview	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	6 12%	2 4%	8 8%	8 12%	4 12%	12 12%
Total (n)	48	52	100	50	50	100	66	34	100
Total (%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Notes: The values at the top of each cell represent the count for each item while the value at the bottom is the percentage ratio.

In *The Guardian*, news articles and news features, which also dominated, made up an identical 73% in both the first and second periods of analysis. Journalistic analyses, which were a distant second in terms of relative frequency, had an identical percentage of 27% in both the first and second periods of analysis. There were no interviews in the sample for *The Guardian*. In the entire sample, news articles and news features made up 73% of articles for *The Guardian*, while the rest of the 27% were journalistic analyses.

Although news and news features equally dominated in the sample of *Le Monde*, there was a relatively more balanced distribution than with *The Guardian*. In the first period of analysis, 50% of articles were news and news features, 38% journalistic analyses and 12% percent interviews. In the second period of analysis, news and news features constituted a lopsided 84% of articles, while journalistic analyses and interviews made up respectively 12% and 4% of articles.

Figure 2: Frequency of Topics Covered (Entire Sample)



Overall, 69% of analyzed articles from *Frankfurter Rundschau* were news and news features, 19% journalistic analyses and 12% interviews. Although news and news features dominated, the distribution was more balanced than in *The Guardian* and more stable across the two

periods of analysis than in *Le Monde*. News and news features constituted 70 % and 68 % of articles in the first and second periods of analysis respectively, while journalistic analyses made up 18% and 21%. Interviews constituted an identical 12% of articles in both periods of analysis. For both periods combined, 69% of analyzed articles in *Frankfurter Rundschau* were news and news features, 19% journalistic analyses, and 12% interviews.

In the entire sample across all three newspapers, there were 207 news and news features representing 69.0%, 73 journalistic analytical articles representing 23.3% and 20 interviews, representing 6.7% of the sample.

Table 5: Percentage of Topics Covered (Two Periods of Analysis)

Topic	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		Frankfurter Rundschau			
	Period						2003-2007	2008-2012
	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012		
Development Aid	25.0%	19.2%	24.0%	12.0%	21.2%	20.6%	23.2%	17.3%
Economy	10.4%	9.6%	8.0%	2.0%	12.1%	5.9%	10.4%	5.8%
Education	6.3%	1.9%	0.0%	8.0%	0.0%	8.8%	1.8%	6.2%
Environment	0.0%	3.8%	4.0%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.2%	2.6%
Health	8.3%	17.3%	8.0%	26.0%	12.1%	0.0%	9.8%	14.4%
Politics/Diplomacy	31.3%	21.2%	30.0%	16.0%	24.2%	35.3%	28.0%	24.1%
Poverty	10.4%	3.8%	22.0%	10.0%	10.6%	5.9%	14.0%	6.6%
Agriculture/Food/ Hunger	0.0%	13.5%	2.0%	10.0%	9.1%	11.8%	4.3%	11.7%
Others	8.3%	9.6%	2.0%	12.0%	10.6%	11.8%	7.3%	11.1%
Count	48	52	50	50	66	34	164	136
Total (%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%		100%

Several topics featured in all three newspapers during the decade under investigation but only a few received a fair amount of coverage as shown on Figure 2. Coverage of politics/diplomacy was most frequent on 25.7%, followed by development aid (20.3%), health (12.7%) and poverty (10.7). Topics such as the economy, education and agriculture/food/hunger were below 10%, while the environment barely featured. This tendency was generally reflected across the three newspapers, but with some variations. In

The Guardian, the three most frequent topics were politics/diplomacy (26%), development aid (22%) and health (13%), with economy in fourth place on 10%. In *Le Monde*, politics/diplomacy was the most frequent topic of coverage on 23%, followed by development aid on 18% and health on 17%. Poverty was a close fourth on 16%, while economy, education, environment and agriculture/food/hunger were all below 10%. Politics/diplomacy (28%) and development aid (21%) were clearly more dominant in *Frankfurter Rundschau* than the other topics. The economy and agriculture/food/hunger both had a relative frequency of 10%, just above poverty on 9%. Health was on 8% and education on 3%. There was no coverage focusing on the environment in the sample for *Frankfurter Rundschau* in the entire period under investigation.

The main topics that were preponderant in the entire sample were similarly predominant in both periods of analysis, but with one major variation. In both the first and second periods of analysis, the most recurrent topic was politics/diplomacy on 28% and 24.1% respectively, while development aid was the second most frequent topic. However, in the first period, poverty was the third most recurrent topic on 14%, but in the second period it was only the fifth most recurrent topic. Instead, agriculture/food/hunger was the third most recurrent topic in the second period of analysis on 11.7%, unlike in the first period when this category, on less than 5%, was barely visible.

There were few variations in the amount of coverage devoted to particular topics within newspapers across the two periods of analysis as shown on Table 5. In *The Guardian* politics/diplomacy was the most frequent focus of articles in the first period on 31.3%, followed by development aid (25%) and economy and poverty which had an identical 10.4% each. Health had a relative frequency of 8.3% and education 6.3%, while agriculture/food/hunger did not feature at all. Like in *The Guardian*, politics/diplomacy was equally the most recurrent focus of articles in *Le Monde* on 30%, followed by development aid on 24% and poverty on 22%. Poverty received 8% of coverage, while the other topics were less than 5%. In the second period, politics/diplomacy was the most recurrent topic in *The Guardian* on 21.2%, followed by health (17.3%), agriculture/food/hunger (13.5%) and economy 9.6%. The rest of the topics were below 5%. In *Le Monde*, health took precedence in the second period of analysis on 26%, followed by politics/diplomacy on 16% and development aid (12%). The visibility of poverty and agriculture/food/hunger was identical on 10%, while 8% of articles were about education. The environment and economy were both

below 5%. Politics/diplomacy was by far the most recurrent topic in *Frankfurter Rundschau* in the second period on 35.3%, with development aid following on 20.6% and agriculture/food/hunger a distant third on 11.8%. Education had a visibility of 8.8%, while the economy had an identical 5.9% each. Environment and health were absent from the *Frankfurter Rundschau* in the sample.

12.2 Visibility of Five Generic News Frames

This study measured five generic frames that loaded in a factor analysis, in addition to the other generic frames enumerated in Section 11. The five generic frames include conflict, morality, human interest, economic and attribution of responsibility. Following is the visibility of the five frames in the analyzed newspapers:

Entire Sample

Table 6: Mean Scores of the Visibility of Five Frames in Analyzed Newspapers

Newspaper	Frame					Count
	Conflict*	Morality*	Human Interest	Economic	Responsibility*	
<i>The Guardian</i>	.29 (.34)	.18 (.35)	.25 (.29)	.63 (.39)	.66 (.29)	100
Le Monde	.22 (.34)	.09 (.27)	.17 (.28)	.66 (.40)	.55 (.31)	100
Frankfurter Rundschau	.19 (.30)	.06 (.20)	.19 (.28)	.56 (.44)	.59 (.32)	100
Whole sample	.23 (.33)	.11 (.28)	.20 (.28)	.62 (.42)	.60 (.31)	300

Notes. The values in brackets are standard deviations. The mean score for the entire sample (N=300) is .35.

Among the five generic frames, there was a preponderance of the economic and attribution of responsibility frames in the entire sample. Table 6 shows the mean scores for the various frames in the entire sample. The highest possible value of the mean score is 1 while the least is 0; higher values imply higher visibilities or frequencies of occurrence of the frame. The

economic frame has a mean score of .62, implying it has a weight of 62% relative to the highest possible absolute score, while the attribution of responsibility frame follows closely with a mean of .60 (60 percent weight relative to the absolute possible score). These two frames were the predominant frames in the coverage across all three newspapers in the study.

The conflict frame has the third highest frequency with a mean score of .23, followed closely by the human interest frame with a mean of .20. At the tail end of the visibility rankings is the morality frame with a mean of .11 percent.

Table 7: Mean Scores of the Visibility of Five Frames in Analyzed Newspapers (2003-2007)

Newspaper	Frame					Count
	Conflict*	Morality*	Human Interest	Economic	Responsibility*	
<i>The Guardian</i>	.38 (.36)	.17 (.33)	.23 (.27)	.66 (.37)	.69 (.27)	48
<i>Le Monde</i>	.26 (.36)	.09 (.25)	.12 (.27)	.69 (.40)	.59 (.31)	50
<i>Frankfurter Rundschau</i>	.17 (.27)	.04 (.16)	.19 (.28)	.56 (.44)	.58 (.31)	66
Whole Period	.26 (.34)	.09 (.25)	.18 (.28)	.63 (.41)	.62(.30)	164

Notes. The values in brackets are standard deviations. The mean score for the entire period of analysis (n=164) is .36.

This trend was similar, although not identical in the different newspapers. In *The Guardian*, the responsibility frame was predominant, followed closely on its heels by the economic frame. Both frames had mean scores more than twice as high as the conflict frame, the third most visible frame. The human interest and morality frames were respectively the least frequently used frames. The economic frame was the most visible frame in the coverage of *Le Monde*, followed by the responsibility frame. The conflict frame was a distant third, while the human interest frame was only more visible than the morality frame. The latter rarely featured. In *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the responsibility frame occurred most frequently, followed closely by the economic frame. Sharing a distant third place were the conflict and

human interest frames. Like with the other newspapers, the morality was the least visible frame in *Frankfurter Rundschau*.

Periods of Analysis

In the first period of analysis, the economic frame was the most visible, but it was only slightly more visible than the responsibility frame as shown on Table 7. Both frames had mean scores more than twice as high as the conflict frame, the third most visible frame. The human interest frame was the fourth most visible frame, above the morality frame which had very low visibility.

Table 8: Mean Scores of the Visibility of Five Frames in Analyzed Newspapers (2008-2012)

Newspaper	Frame					Count
	Conflict*	Morality*	Human Interest*	Economic*	Responsibility*	
<i>The Guardian</i>	.20 (.29)	.19 (.37)	.25 (.31)	.60 (.41)	.63 (.30)	52
Le Monde	.19 (.32)	.09 (.29)	.22 (.28)	.63 (.41)	.51 (.30)	50
Frankfurter Rundschau	.23 (.34)	.09 (.25)	.18 (.28)	.55 (.46)	.61 (.58)	34
Whole Period	.20 (.31)	.13 (.31)	.22 (.29)	.60 (.42)	.58 (.31)	136

Notes. The values in brackets are standard deviations. The mean score for the entire period (n=136) is .35.

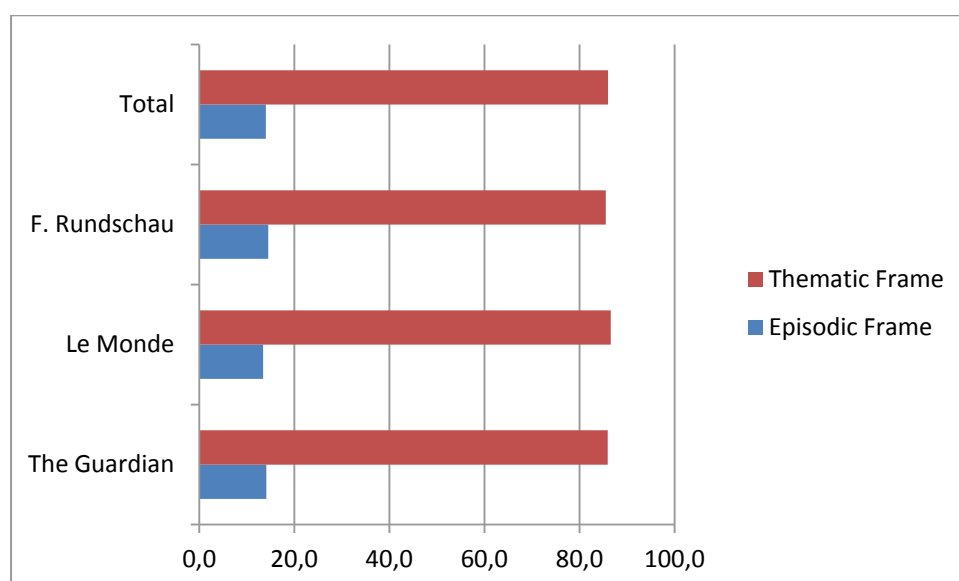
For *The Guardian*, the responsibility and economic frames were preponderant, although the former was more visible than the latter. Like in the whole sample, the conflict frame was in the third place in the visibility ranking. The human interest and morality frames were not very frequently used. Unlike in *The Guardian* where the responsibility frame predominated, it was the economic frame that was clearly preponderant in *Le Monde*. The responsibility frame was the second most recurrent, while the conflict frame was a distant third. The conflict frame was in fourth place, while the morality frame was seldom used. Like the other newspapers, the economic and responsibility frames were predominant in *Frankfurter Rundschau*. But

unlike *Le Monde* and like *The Guardian*, it was the responsibility frame that was most visible. Unlike the other newspapers, the human interest frame was slightly more visible in *Frankfurter Rundschau* than the conflict frame.

The trend in the second period of analysis was similar to the first as shown on Table 8. The economic frame was slightly more recurrent than the responsibility frame, while the conflict frame was a distant third. The human interest and morality frames were in fourth and fifth place, respectively. For the various newspapers, the trend was equally similar. The responsibility frame was more visible in *The Guardian* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, while the economic frame took precedence in *Le Monde*. In all three newspapers, the responsibility and economic frames were the two most recurrent frames, while the conflict frame was the third most visible. The human interest and morality frames were the least visible frames. The only difference between this overall ranking and the first period was that in *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the human interest frame was more visible than the conflict frame. In the second period, *Frankfurter Rundschau* reflected the general trend.

12.3 Episodic and Thematic Frames

Figure 3: Percentages of Episodic and Thematic Frames in News Articles (Entire Sample)



Only news stories were coded for episodic and thematic framing, with analyses and interviews excluded. In the entire sample as well as in all newspapers and periods of analysis, news stories were preponderantly framed thematically, as shown on Figure 3 and Table 9.

This is unlike the results in Iyengar's (1991) seminal work, which showed that television news in the United States was predominantly framed episodically. The preponderance of episodic framing in television news was also observed in a study of Dutch media by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). This same study, however, found that newspaper articles were predominantly framed thematically.

Table 9: Percentages of Episodic and Thematic Frames in News Articles (Periods of Analysis)

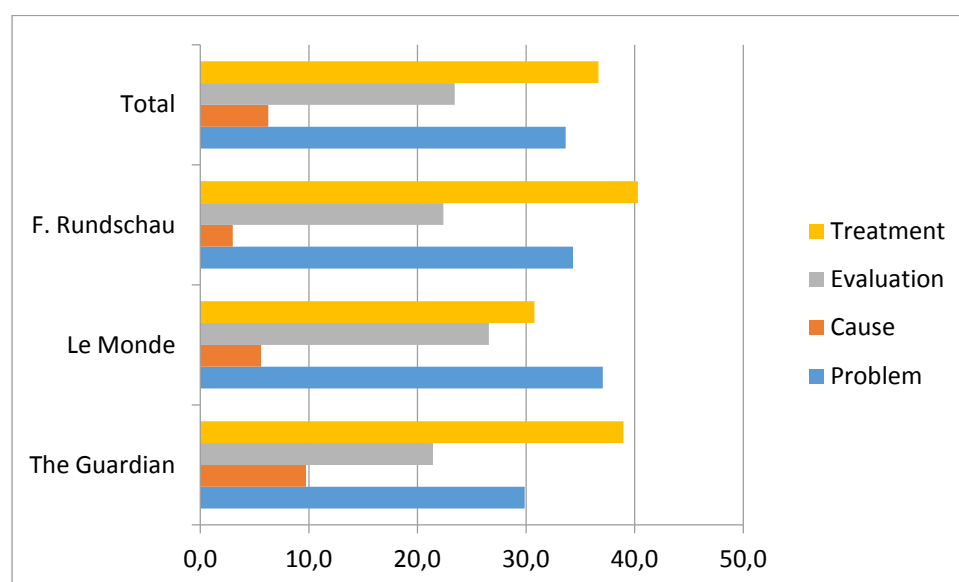
Frame	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period							
	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012
Episodic	21.2%	7.9%	20.0%	9.5%	15.2%	13.0%	18.3%	9.7%
Thematic	78.8%	92.1%	80.0%	90.5%	84.8%	87.0%	81.7%	90.3%
Total (%)	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Total (Count)	33	38	25	42	46	23	104	103

In the current study, 86% of news stories were thematically framed, while the rest of the 14% were framed episodically. This excludes journalistic analyses that made up 19% of the total sample and which, by their very nature, are thematic. In the entire sample, the distribution of episodic and thematic frames was almost identical across all three newspapers.

The distribution of the thematic and episodic frames varied only slightly among the newspapers in the first and second periods of analysis. Across all three newspapers, however, the thematic frame was more prevalent in the second period than in the first. In the first period, the thematic frame was most predominant in *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 84.8%, followed by *Le Monde* on 80%. The figure was 78.8% in *The Guardian*. However, *The Guardian* had the highest prevalence of the thematic frame in the second period on 92.1%. *Le*

Monde followed closely on 90.5%, while *Frankfurter Rundschau* had a prevalence of 87%. However, despite the higher prevalence of the thematic frame in the second period of analysis, the frame was clearly predominant in both periods of analysis.

Figure 4: Percentage of Interpretative Frames in Article Angles (Entire Sample)



12.4 Angling of Articles

The angling of articles was operationalized through the interpretative frames or dimensions of framing as identified by Porto (2007) and Entman (1993). These dimensions include the problem, causes, evaluation and treatment. Figure 4 shows the percentages of the interpretative frames or dimensions of framing as reflected in the angling of articles.

In all three analyzed newspapers, the treatment and problem dimensions predominate with percentage scores of 36.7 and 33.6. The evaluation dimension was in third place on 23.4% while the cause dimension was least evident on 6.3%. The overall trend was reflected in *The Guardian* with the treatment dimension present in 39% of all angling while the problem dimension was present in 29.9%. The evaluation dimension had a score of 21.4% and the

cause dimension a score of 9.7%. *Le Monde*, however, deviated from the general tendency. The problem dimension was the most recurrent on 37.1%, followed by treatment on 30.8% and evaluation on 26.6%. The cause frame dimension on 5.6% was the least visible in *Le Monde*. Similar to the results for *The Guardian*, the treatment dimension was most prevalent in *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 40.3%, followed by the problem dimension on 37.1% and evaluation dimension on 22.4%. Like in the other two newspapers, the cause dimension was least prevalent in *Frankfurter Rundschau* with a score of only 3.0%.

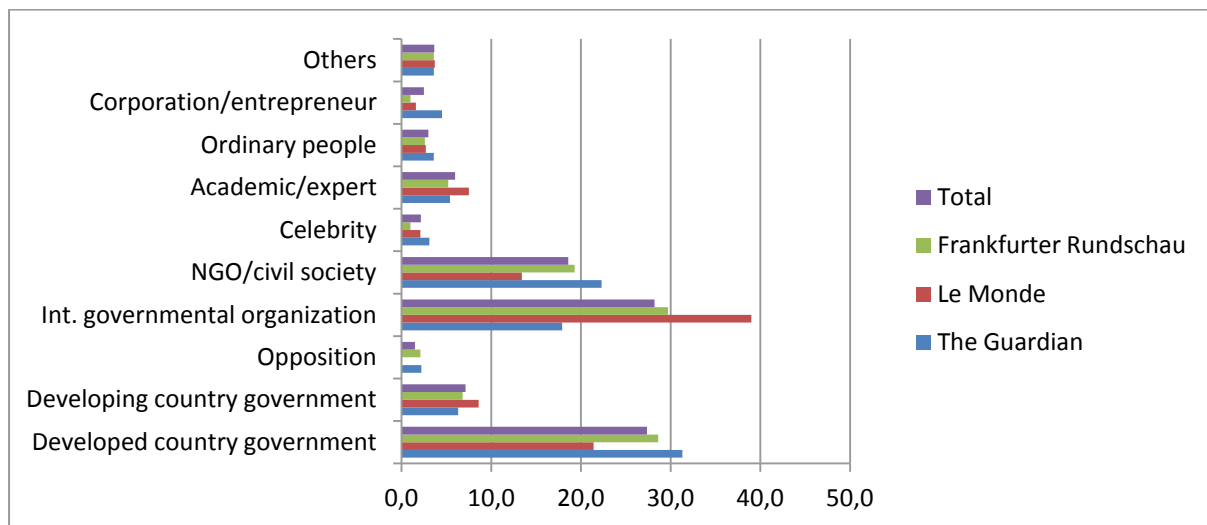
In the two periods of analysis, the treatment and problem dimensions were equally predominant, although emphasis differed amongst the three newspapers as shown on Table 10. The treatment dimension was more visible in *The Guardian* in the first period of analysis on 42.3%, followed by the problem dimension (29.6%), which was only a few percentage points more recurrent than the evaluation dimension (25.4%). The cause dimension on 2.8% was barely visible.

Table 10: Percentage of Interpretative Frames in Article Angles (Periods of Analysis)

Dimension	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period							
	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012
Problem	29.6%	30.1%	35.2%	38.9%	36.0%	31.3%	33.8%	33.5%
Cause	2.8%	15.7%	4.2%	6.9%	3.5%	2.1%	3.5%	9.4%
Evaluation	25.4%	18.1%	28.2%	25%	17.4%	31.3%	23.2%	23.6%
Treatment	42.3%	36.1%	32.4%	29.2%	43.0%	35.4%	39.5%	33.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100.0%	100.0%

In the second period, the treatment dimension was again most visible in *The Guardian* on 36.1%, followed by the problem dimension on 30.1% and the evaluation dimension on 18.1%. On 15.7%, the cause dimension was more visible in *The Guardian* during the second period than the first. While treatment and problem were the most visible dimensions in the angling of *Le Monde*, just like in *The Guardian*, the problem dimension took precedence in *Le Monde* over the treatment dimension in both the first and second periods of analysis.

Figure 5: Visibility of Actors in Analyzed Newspapers (Entire Sample)



In the first period, the score of the problem dimension was 35.2% compared with 32.4% for treatment, while in the second period, the figure was 38.9% versus 29.2% respectively. The percentage score for the evaluation dimension was 28.2 and 25 for the first and second periods of analysis, while the cause dimension was hardly visible on 4.2% and 6.9% respectively. *Frankfurter Rundschau* had a similar distribution of the dimensions as *The Guardian*. The treatment dimension took precedence in both the first and second periods of analysis on 43% and 35.4% respectively, compared with 36% and 31.3% for the problem dimension. In both periods, evaluation was the third most visible framing dimension on 25% and 17.4% respectively. Like in the other two newspapers, the cause dimension was least visible in *Frankfurter Rundschau* in both the first period (3.5%) and second period (2.1%) of analysis.

12.5 Actors

Overall, just a few categories of actors featured in any significant way in the coverage of all three analyzed newspapers in the entire decade of investigation as shown on Figure 5. The most visible category of actors was international governmental organizations on 28.2%, followed closely by governments in developed countries on 27.4%. The next most recurrent

group of actors was NGOs/civil society on 18.6%. Only 7.1% of the total number of actors mentioned in articles was developing country governments, which was only slightly higher than academics/experts on 6%. Other categories of actors such as ordinary people, celebrities, corporations/entrepreneurs and the political opposition were at visibility levels below 5%.

Table 11: Visibility of Actors in Analyzed Newspapers (Periods of Analysis)

Type of Actor		Newspaper						Total	
		<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
		Period							
		2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012
Developed country government	Count	36	34	26	14	37	18	99	66
	%	34.0%	28.8%	31.0%	13.6%	29.6%	26.9%	31.4%	22.9%
Developing country government	Count	7	7	8	8	7	6	22	21
	%	6.6%	5.9%	9.5%	7.8%	5.6%	9.0%	7.0%	7.3%
Opposition	Count	2	3	0	0	1	3	3	6
	%	1.9%	2.5%	0%	0%	8%	4.5%	1.0%	2.1%
International governmental organization	Count	21	19	33	40	36	21	90	80
	%	19.8%	16.1%	39.3%	38.8%	28.8%	31.3%	28.6%	27.8%
NGO/Civil society	Count	24	26	6	19	23	14	53	54
	%	22.6%	22.0%	7.1%	18.4%	18.4%	20.9%	16.8%	20.5%
Celebrity	Count	3	4	3	1	2	0	8	5
	%	2.8%	3.4%	3.6%	1.0%	1.6%	0%	2.5%	1.7%
Academic/Expert	Count	2	10	5	9	10	0	17	19
	%	1.9%	8.5%	6.0%	8.7%	8.0%	0%	5.4%	6.6%
Ordinary people	Count	4	4	2	3	3	2	9	9
	%	3.8%	3.4%	2.4%	2.9%	2.4%	3.0%	2.9%	3.1%
Corporation/Entrepreneur	Count	4	6	0	3	2	0	6	9
	%	3.8%	5.1%	0%	2.9%	1.6%	0%	1.9%	3.1%
Others	Count	3	5	1	6	4	3	8	14
	%	2.8%	4.2%	1.2%	5.8%	3.2%	4.5%	2.5%	4.9%
Total	Count	106	118	84	103	125	67	315	288
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

However, the coverage varied in the different newspapers. In *The Guardian*, the most recurrent group of actors was governments in developed countries on 31.3%, followed by NGOs/civil society on 22.3% and international governmental organizations on 17.9%. At a distant fourth position were developing country governments on 6.3%, followed by academics/experts on 5.4%. The other categories of actors were at visibilities of below 5%.

Le Monde had a slightly different tendency, with the most recurrent group of actors being international governmental organizations on 39%, followed by governments in developed countries on 21.4% and NGOs/civil society on 13.4%. The fourth most visible group of actors was developing country governments on 8.6%, which was slightly higher than academics/experts on 7.5%. The other categories of actors were below 5%, with the political opposition invisible. International governmental organizations were the most visible category of actors in *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 29.7%, followed closely by developed country governments on 28.6%. Civil society was the third most recurrent category on 19.3% and the distant fourth category was governments in developing countries on 6.8%, just before academics/experts at 5.2%. The rest of the categories were below 5%.

As shown on Table 11, three categories of actors predominated coverage in all three newspapers in both periods of analysis, namely developed country government, international governmental organization and NGO/civil society. Only in one instance did the developing country government category feature in the top three. In *The Guardian*, developed country government was most recurrent in the first and second periods of analysis on 34% and 28.8% respectively, followed by NGO/civil society on 22.6% and 22% respectively and international governmental organization on 19.8% and 16.1% respectively. The rest of the categories were below 10%, most of them lower than 5%. *Le Monde* gave precedence to international governmental organizations in both periods of analysis on 39.3 and 38.8% respectively. In the first period it was the developed government category that was second most recurrent on 31%, while in the second it was the NGO/civil society category on 18.4%. In the first period, the developing country category was a distant third on 9.5%, while in the second period it was developed country government on 13.6%. The rest of the actor categories were below 10%. The developed government category was the most recurrent actor category in *Frankfurter Rundschau* during the first period of analysis on 29.6%, closely followed by the international governmental organization category on 28.8%, while the third

was NGO/civil society on 18.4%. Apart from the developing government category on 8.8%, the rest of the categories were below 5%.

12.6 Article Evaluation

Table 12: Percentage of Evaluations in Analyzed Newspapers

Newspaper	Period	Generally Positive	Generally Negative	Neutral/Fairly Balanced	Total Count	Total (%)
<i>The Guardian</i>	2003-2007	10.4%	33.3%	56.3%	48	100.0%
	2008-2012	13.5%	48.1%	38.5%	52	100.0%
	Total	12.0%	40.0%	48.0%	100	100.0%
Le Monde	2003-2007	4.0%	28.0%	68.0%	50	100.0%
	2008-2012	16.0%	34.0%	50.0%	50	100.0%
	Total	10.0%	31.0%	59.0%	100	100.0%
F. Rundschau	2003-2007	19.7%	37.9%	42.4%	66	100.0%
	2008-2012	67.6%	20.6%	11.8%	34	100.0%
	Total	36.0%	32.0%	32.0%	100	100.0%
Totals						
2003-2007		12.2%	33.5%	54.3%	164	100.0%
2008-2012		27.9%	36.0%	36.0%	136	100.0%
Entire Sample (Count)		58	103	139	300	
Entire Sample (%)		19.3	34.3	46.3		100.0

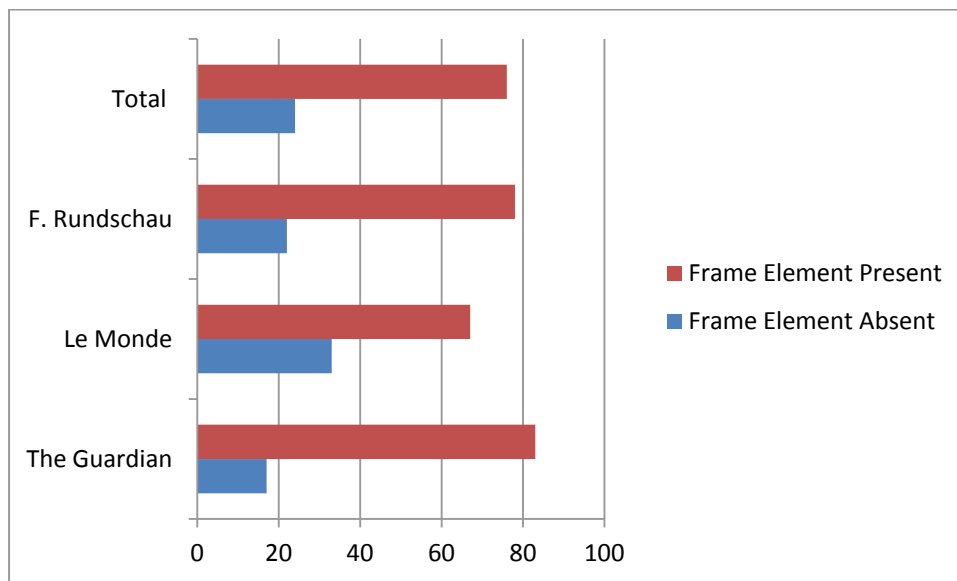
Overall, more articles were neutral or balanced than were positive or negative as shown on Table 12. In the entire sample, 46.3% of articles were neutral/balanced while 34.3% were generally negative and 19.3% were generally positive. *Le Monde* had the most impartial coverage, with 59% of articles being balanced/neutral, 31% generally negative, while 10% being generally positive. Nearly half of articles in *The Guardian* were balanced/neutral, while 40% were generally negative and 12% generally positive. The nature of evaluation in *Frankfurter Rundschau* differed from the other two newspapers, with positive articles taking

precedence on 36%, while generally negative and balanced/neutral articles had the same score (32%).

In the first period of analysis the majority of articles were neutral or fairly balanced, while 33.5% were generally negative and 12.2% were generally positive. There was a more even distribution of among the three categories in the second period. The number of balanced/neutral and negative articles were exactly the same (36% each), while 27.9% of articles were generally positive.

In *The Guardian*, neutral/fairly balanced articles dominated in the first period of analysis on 56.3%, followed by generally negative articles on 33.3% and generally positive articles on 10.4%. The tendency changed in the second period with generally negative articles taking precedence on 48%, followed by fairly balanced/neutral articles on 38.5% and generally positive articles on 13.5%. Fairly balanced/neutral articles were in the majority in *Le Monde* on 68% and 50% in the first and second periods of analysis respectively. In both periods, generally negative articles were the next most frequent category on 28% and 34% respectively. In the first period, there were only 4% of generally positive articles while in the second period, the figure was 16%. The tendencies varied in *Frankfurter Rundschau* between the two periods. Fairly neutral/balanced articles took precedence in the first period on 42.4%, followed by generally negative articles on 37.9% and generally positive articles on 19.7%. The generally positive category was preponderant in the second period on 67.6%, followed by the generally negative category on 20%. Only 11.8% of articles were fairly balanced/neutral.

Figure 6: Portrayal of Developed Countries' Problem-Solving Abilities (Entire Sample)



12.7 Developed and Developing Country Competence and Responsibility

A breakdown of two elements of the attribution of responsibility frame showed that in all three analyzed newspapers, governments in developed countries were largely portrayed as having the ability to solve or alleviate problems or issues or . A majority of articles did not portray developed countries as being responsible for problems, but they were far more likely to be portrayed as being responsible for problems than developing countries. Conversely, developing countries were not frequently portrayed as having solutions to problems or being responsible for problems.

On the question of whether a government in a developed country (or governments in a group of developed countries) has the ability to solve the problem, 76% of articles answered in the affirmative as shown on Figure 6. Only 24% of articles in the entire sample do not portray at least one government in a developed country as having a solution to the problem or issue. The highest relative frequency of the portrayal of at least one government in a developed country as having the ability to solve the problem is *The Guardian* on 83%, while the lowest is *Le Monde* on 67%.

Table 13: Portrayal of Developed Countries' Problem-Solving Abilities (Periods of Analysis)

Status of Framing Element	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period of Analysis							
	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012
Absent	14.6%	19.2%	22.0%	44.0%	19.7%	26.5%	18.9%	24.0%
Present	85.4%	80.8%	78.0%	56.0%	80.3%	73.5%	81.1%	76.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	48	52	50	50	66	34	164	136

This trend was largely reflected in both the first and second periods of analysis as shown on Table 13. In the first period, 81.1% percent of articles ascribed problem-solving abilities to governments in developed countries, while the figure is 76% percent in the second period of analysis. *The Guardian* maintained the highest visibilities of this frame element in the first and second periods of analysis on 85% and 80.8% respectively, while *Le Monde* had the lowest visibilities on 78% and 56% respectively.

Unlike developed countries, developing countries were not usually portrayed as having the ability to solve the problem or issue. As shown on Figure 7, only 30% percent of articles in the entire sample ascribed problem-solving abilities to at least one developing country, while 70% percent of the articles did not contain this frame element.

Figure 7: Portrayal of Developing Countries' Problem-Solving Abilities (Entire Sample)

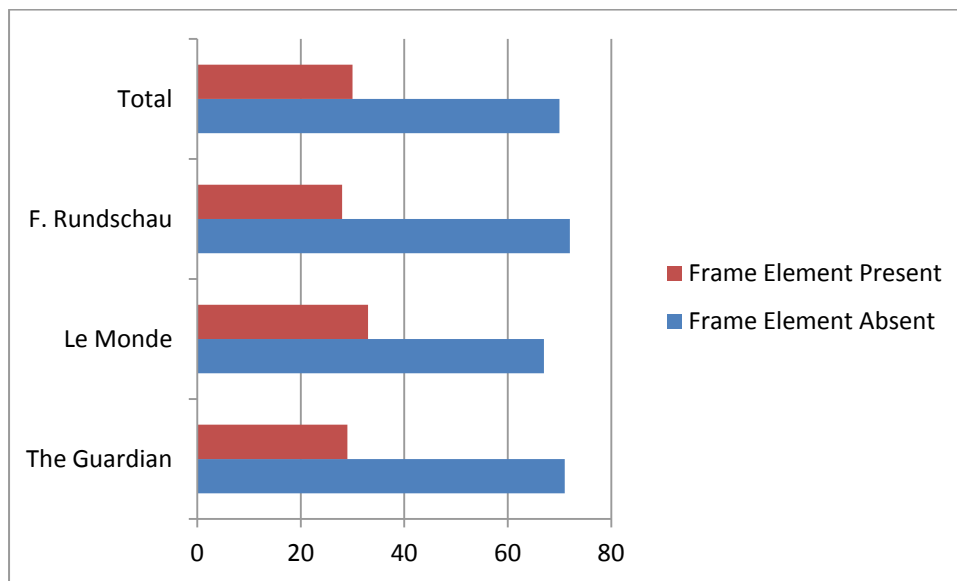


Table 14: Portrayal of Developing Countries' Problem-Solving Abilities (Periods of Analysis)

Status of Frame Element	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period							
	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012
Absent	77.1%	65.4%	66.0%	68.0%	69.7%	76.5%	70.7%	70.0%
Present	22.9%	34.6%	34.0%	32.0%	30.3%	23.5%	29.3%	30.0%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	48	52	50	50	66	34	164	136

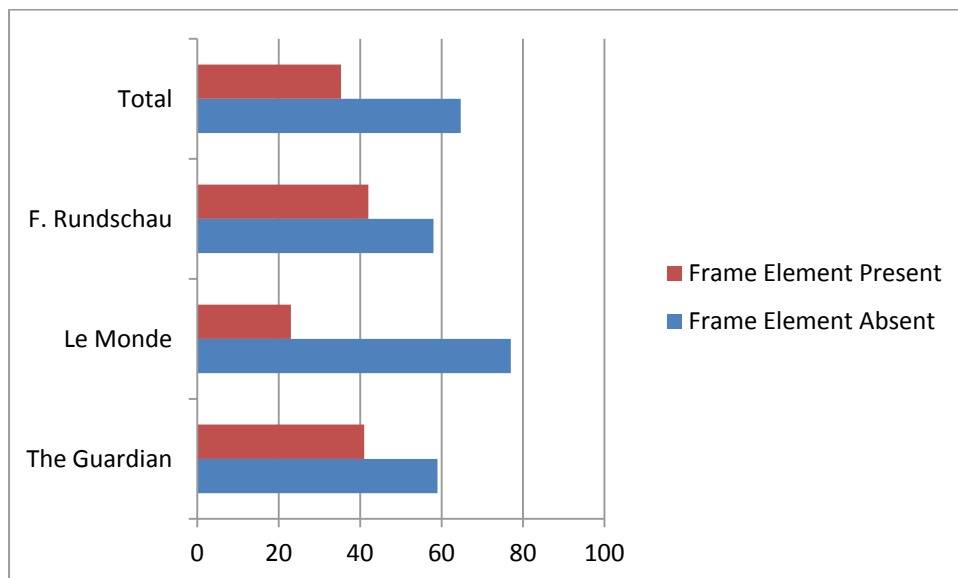
The highest frequency of the presence of this frame element was recorded in *Le Monde* on 33%, while the lowest was observed in *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 28%, which was just a percentage lower than the 29% in *The Guardian*.

As shown on Table 14, the prominence of this frame element did not significantly change across the two periods of investigation in all three analyzed newspapers. In the first period of

analysis, the frame element was present 29.3% of the times, while in the second period the figure was 30%.

Le Monde ascribed problem-solving abilities to developing countries more often than any of the other two newspapers in the first period, even though on 34% the frequency was relatively low compared with its portrayal of the same element for developed countries. The figure was 30.3% for *Frankfurter Rundschau* and 22.9% for *The Guardian* in the same time frame. In the second period, this frame element was more present in *The Guardian* (34.6%) than in *Le Monde* (32%) and *Frankfurter Rundschau* (23.5%).

Figure 8: Portrayal of Developed Countries' Responsibility (Entire Sample)

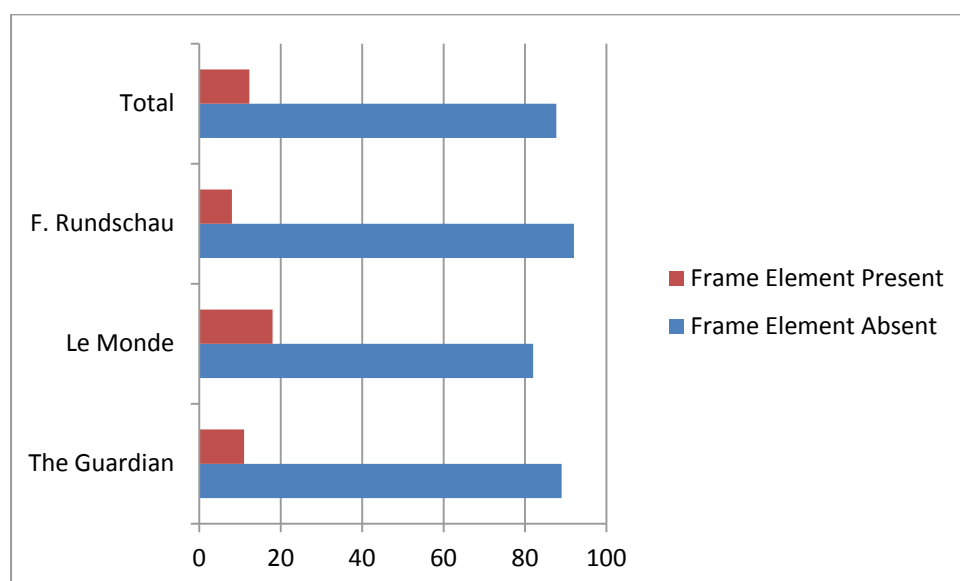


The frame elements pertaining to the portrayal of governments in developed and developing countries as responsible for the problem was absent in most articles, but the attribution of responsibility to governments of developed countries was more recurrent than for developing countries. Concerning governments in developed countries, 35.3% of articles portrayed at least one of them as being responsible for the problem, while this framing element was absent in 64.7% of all articles in the sample as shown on Figure 8. The frame element was most often present in *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 42%, closely followed by *The Guardian* on 41%. The frequency of occurrence of this frame element was significantly lower in *Le Monde* (23%) than in the other two newspapers.

Table 15: Portrayal of Developed Countries' Responsibility (Periods of Analysis)

Status of Framing Element	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period							
	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012
Absent	50.0%	67.3%	72.0%	82.0%	68.2%	38.2%	64.0%	65.4%
Present	50.0%	32.7%	28.0%	18.0%	31.8%	61.8%	36.0%	34.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	48	52	50	50	66	34	164	136

Figure 9: Portrayal of Developing Countries' Responsibility (Entire Sample)



The visibility of the frame in the three newspapers varied between the two periods of analysis, as shown on Table 15. In the first period of analysis, the frame element was present in 34.6% of articles and absent in 65.4%. However, the visibility of the frame element was different across the newspapers. Exactly half (50%) of articles in *The Guardian* attributed responsibility for the problem or issue to at least one government in a developed country.

This is significantly different from the visibility of the frame element in *Frankfurter Rundschau* (31.8%) and *Le Monde* (28%). In relative terms, the frame element was nearly as recurrent in the second period of analysis (34.6%) as in the first (36%). However, unlike in the first period when *The Guardian* most frequently attributed responsibility to the government of at least one developed country, in the second period this frame element was most recurrent in *Frankfurter Rundschau* (61.8%). This was nearly twice as high as the 32.7% for *The Guardian*, and more than three times as high as the 18% for *Le Monde*.

Table 16: Portrayal of Developing Countries' Responsibility (Periods of Analysis)

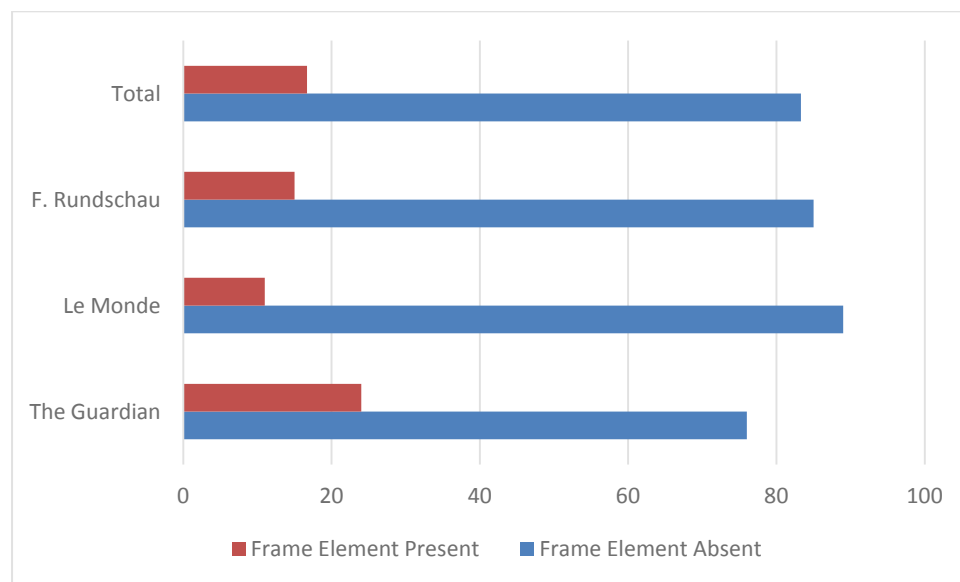
Status of Framing Element	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period							
	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012
Absent	89.6%	88.5%	80.0%	84.0%	92.4%	91.2%	87.8%	87.5%
Present	10.4%	11.5%	20.0%	16.0%	7.6%	8.8%	12.2%	12.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	48	52	50	50	66	34	164	136

Just like with developed countries, developing countries were not portrayed as being responsible for the problem or issue in the majority of articles. However, developing countries were portrayed far less as being responsible for the problem/issue. In the whole sample, only 12.3% of the articles portrayed developing countries as being responsible for the problem, while the rest of the 87.7% of articles did not, as shown on Figure 9. The visibility of the frame element was low for all newspapers, although on 18%, the frame element was more than twice as recurrent in *Le Monde* as in *Frankfurter Rundschau* (8%) and also higher than the 11% visibility in *The Guardian*.

The overall picture of the portrayal of developing country responsibility straddled both periods of analysis, with the visibility of the developing country responsibility frame element being low. However, there were different levels in the visibilities of the frame element in the

various newspapers, although none of them deviated from the general trend as shown on Table 16. In both the first and second periods of analysis, *Le Monde* more frequently than any of the other two newspapers portrayed developing countries as being responsible for the issue or problem on 20% and 16% respectively, but even these figures are relatively low. On 10.4% and 11.5% respectively, the framing element was more present in *The Guardian* than in *Frankfurter Rundschau* (7.6% and 8.6% respectively) in both the first and second periods of analysis.

Figure 10: Percentage of Emotionalization Frame Element (Entire Sample)



12.8 Emotionalization Frame Element

There was little emotionalization of coverage of the MDGs in all three newspapers and across the two periods of analysis as shown on Figure 10 and Table 17. Overall, just 16.7% of articles contained the emotionalization frame element, while 83.3% were bereft of it. Emotionalization was most prominent in *The Guardian* (24%), followed by *Frankfurter Rundschau* (15%), while only 11% of articles in *Le Monde* contained the emotionalization frame element.

However, there was relatively more visibility of the emotionalization frame element in the second period of analysis (20.6%) than in the first period (13.4%). The extent of the visibility varied amongst newspapers, but none bucked the general trend. The frame element was only slightly less frequently present in *The Guardian* in the first period of analysis (22.9%) than in the second period (25%). In *Le Monde*, only 8% of articles contained the emotionalization frame element in the first period of analysis, while the figure in the second period was 14%. *Frankfurter Rundschau* had the most significant difference in the level of visibility of the frame element between the first and second period periods of analysis on 10.6% and 23.5%, respectively. Even then, the visibility of the frame element was still relatively low in both periods of analysis.

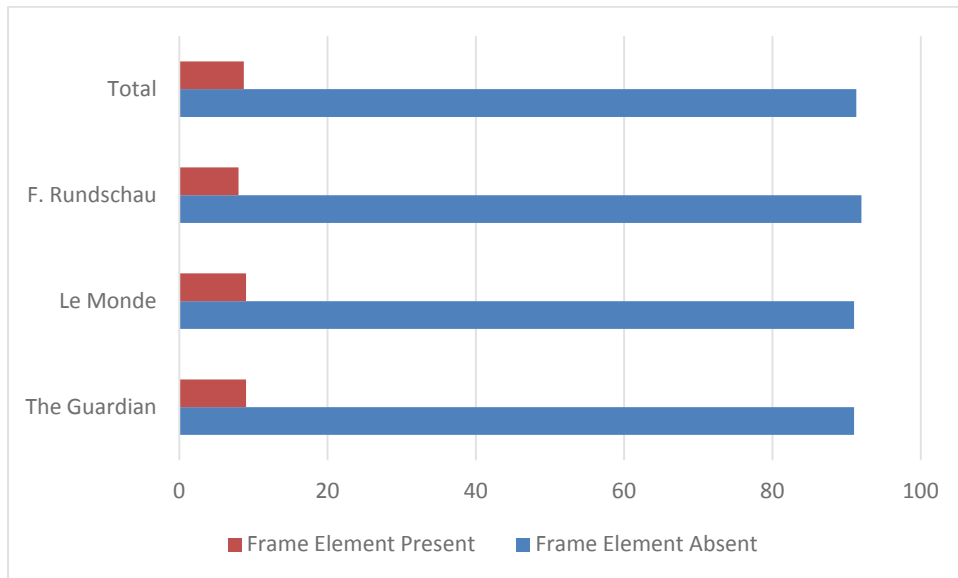
Table 17: Percentage of Emotionalization Frame Element (Periods of Analysis)

Status of Framing Element	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period						Period	
	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012	2003- 2007	2008- 2012
Absent	77.1%	75.0%	92.0%	86.0%	89.4%	76.5%	86.6%	79.4%
Present	22.9%	25.0%	8.0%	14.0%	10.6%	23.5%	13.4%	20.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Count	48	52	50	50	66	34	164	136

12.9 Personalization Frame Element

The personalization frame element, which a constituent part of the human interest frame, is present when the article goes into the private lives of individuals. Very few articles contained this frame element, irrespective of the period of analysis and the analyzed newspaper as shown on Figure 11 and Table 18.

Figure 11: Percentage of Personalization Frame Element (Entire Sample)



Only 8.7% of articles in the whole sample contained the personalization frame element; it was absent in a whopping 91.3% of articles. This trend was reflected in all three newspapers, with the figures being very similar.

There were variations in the levels of visibility of the personalization frame element in the two periods of analysis, but the relative frequency of the frame element was remarkably low for both periods of analysis. In the first period of analysis, 9.8% of articles contained the personalization frame element, while in the second period the visibility of the frame element was even lower on 7.4%. The figures for the individual newspapers were very similar. The highest visibility of the personalization frame element was witnessed in *The Guardian* at 10.4%, which was relatively low, when compared to a frame element like developed country government competence. In *Le Monde*, the visibility was only slightly lower than in *The Guardian* at 10%. In this time frame, *Frankfurter Rundschau* had the least visibility of the personalization frame element at 9.1 %.

Table 18: Percentage of Personalization Frame Element (Periods of Analysis)

Status of Frame Element	Newspaper						Total	
	<i>The Guardian</i>		Le Monde		F. Rundschau			
	Period							
	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012	2003-2007	2008-2012
Absent	89.6%	92.3%	90.0%	92.0%	90.9%	94.1%	90.2%	92.6%
Present	10.4%	7.7%	10.0%	8.0%	9.1%	5.9%	9.8%	7.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Count	48	52	50	50	66	34	164	136

In the second period of analysis, only 7.7% of articles in *The Guardian*, 8% of articles in *Le Monde* and 5.9% of articles in *Frankfurter Rundschau* contained the personalization frame element. As can be seen, the frame element was barely visible even in *Le Monde*, where it was most recurrent in this period of analysis.

13. Interpretation of Results

The interpretation of the results of the current study is guided by the four research questions outlined in Section 3.3.

13.1 Research Question 1

The first research question was: *How are the MDGs framed in elite European newspapers?*

This question was answered principally through 19 questions that measured five generic frames deductively derived from Semetko and Valenburg (2000), a variable that measured the presence of episodic and thematic frames (see Iyengar, 1991), and another variable that measured the angling of articles, in addition to the variables that measured the various selected frame elements.

Five Generic Frames

Although there were eight MDGs, implying that there was a variety of ways that newspapers could have framed articles, the framing was much skewed. The economic and responsibility frames were by far more visible than the other three generic frames. Incidentally, the extent of the visibility of these two frames was nearly identical. There was low visibility for the conflict and human interest frames, while the morality frame was barely visible.

This distribution of frames is at variance with the implicit and explicit normative assumptions on the distribution of frames with respect to journalistic quality, by which a diversity of frames and a fairly balanced distribution are desired (see Dahinden, 2006; Porto, 2007; Lawrence, 2010). However, a balanced distribution of frames was not manifest in any of the framing studies consulted in the current study. That notwithstanding, it was striking that despite the wide range of possible topics in the coverage of the MDGs, and the large number of possible perspectives, there was very little variety in the framing. The results, however, differed somewhat from those of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), who measured the same

five generic frames in European print and television news media. In their study, the responsibility frame was most predominant, just like in the current study. But the conflict frame was the second most visible frame, unlike the current study where the economic frame was nearly as visible as the responsibility frame. The economic frame and human interest frames had near identical visibility in Semetko and Valkenburg's study, while the morality frame, just like in the current study, was barely present. However, the extent of the predominance of the two most visible frames in the Semetko and Valkenburg study was less than in the current study. It is not clear why there were differences in framing observed in the current study and that by Semetko and Valkenburg. It is probable that the differences may be related to the topics covered. The current study investigated the coverage of the UN Millennium Development Goals while the Semetko and Valkenburg study focused on political news, especially those surrounding the summit of European heads of state in 1997.

Episodic and Thematic Frames

Unlike the original study on episodic and thematic frames by Iyengar (1991), which measured these frames only in television news, the current study exclusively analyzed reports in European newspapers. This may explain why, unlike Iyengar's study where episodic frames were preponderant, the reverse was true for the current study. Thematic frames were by far more visible than episodic frames. This difference may be explained by the nature of the medium. Television tends to be more focused on breaking news, while newspapers, which often publish only once a day, have more time for background, historical trends and analyses. A study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) equally measured episodic and thematic frames in television news and print media. They found that the episodic frame was predominant in television news, while the thematic frame was preponderant in newspapers. It therefore seems to be a general trend that television news is predominantly framed episodically, while thematic framing is preponderant in newspaper reporting. Iyengar argues that when episodic framing predominates the news, this is a distortion of public affairs, which is an implicit normative statement on news quality. The implication is that thematic framing of the news provides a more complete picture of public affairs, and therefore is a better news standard. fög (2011, p. 544) equally makes the case for thematic framing of the news, arguing that thematic reporting is one of the hallmarks of good journalistic practice. By framing the

coverage of the MDGs in predominantly thematic terms, the three analyzed newspapers therefore fulfilled the normative expectations of good quality journalism in this respect.

Angle of Article Frame

A skewed distribution of interpretative frames, or dimensions of framing, was observed in the angling of articles. The angling represents the elements to which the article gives the most prominence and, judging from the results of studies on framing effects, is likely to influence the reader. The treatment was the most prominent dimension in the sample, closely followed by the problem dimension. Together, they made up over two-thirds of the four dimensions. The other two dimensions are cause and evaluation. This implies that in the coverage of the MDGs, journalists highlighted remedies and consequences of the problems/issues the most (treatment), followed by identifying the problem. The evaluation dimension was a distant third in terms of prominence in the angling of articles. Therefore, journalists considered it only modestly important to highlight their assessments of actors, their actions, policies and policy outcomes. The cause dimension was barely visible in article angles. Journalists thus did not deem it necessary to put the causes of the problems they identified at the forefront. It should be noted that the angles do not necessarily mirror the overall visibility of the various framing dimensions. They only reflect the dimensions that were given most prominence by virtue of placement and, to some extent, repetition (see Entman, 1993; Tankard, 2003; Mendelsohn, 1993). Overall, the distribution of interpretative frames or dimensions of framing in the angling of articles was skewed and had negative implications on the quality of reporting.

Actors

Actor prominence was ascertained through repetition. Overall, there was an emphasis on a few categories of actors, while the majority of the other types of actors were largely neglected in the coverage. With more than a quarter of all actors mentioned in articles, international governmental organizations were the most prominent actors. Only three categories of actors, including international governmental organizations, governments in developed countries and NGOs/civil society, made up over two-thirds of the actor mentions in the coverage. The

results show that the coverage of the MDGs focused on government and state actors as well as, to some extent, civil society, which was a distant third in terms of prominence. The political opposition was almost completely invisible. These results suggest that in the coverage of the MDGs by European newspapers, voices outside officialdom were not given much prominence, while the political opposition and experts barely featured in the articles. In addition, actors in the developing world largely remained in the background. These results differ widely with those observed in a study on the framing of genetic engineering where 50 percent of actors mentioned in the coverage were from academia (Dahinden, 2006, pp. 241 – 242). Although there is no clear explanation for this difference, it is likely due to the fact that the MDGs were largely inspired by previous international development programs (see UNDP, 2003). For many governments, it was therefore just part, or an extension, of international development. In most Western countries, including those where the analyzed newspapers are located, international development is managed by a department in the foreign ministry or a structure that is under the authority of the foreign ministry. Framing studies have shown that journalists tend to rely on government officials as the main sources in matters related to foreign affairs (Entman, 1991; Lawrence, 2010, p. 267). The lack of actor diversity goes against the normative expectations within the realm of journalistic quality scholarship (see Hagen, 1995; Arnold, 2009; fög, 2011), as well as within the framing paradigm, where scholars emphasize the need for the media to equally highlight counter-frames (e.g. Entman, 2004, Porto, 2007). According to the normative-democratic school, to which some scholars of both journalistic quality and framing subscribe, it is necessary to have many different voices and perspectives in the media for democracy to function, and this can only happen if the media covers a variety of actors.

Evaluation

Evaluation, which is at the same time a frame element as well as an interpretative frame, was a variable that took a closer look at the broad picture that emerged from the coverage with respect to bias. Overall, a little under half of articles were neutral or fairly balanced. A significant proportion of articles were generally negative, while just a tenth of articles were fairly positive. The results show that although not by a wide margin, the majority of articles on the MDGs were not balanced. This is remarkable considering that balance is one of the central hallmarks of journalism, and all three analyzed newspapers are so-called elite or

quality newspapers that would be expected to respect the fundamental norms of the journalism profession. However, these results are not peculiar as another study that analyzed newspapers in 15 European countries plus Canada (Dahinden, 2006), also found that many articles were not balanced. However, the analyzed newspapers in that study were not exclusively elite newspapers. That notwithstanding, the fact that a majority of articles were not neutral/balanced reflects negatively on the quality of coverage of the MDGs.

Developed and Developing Country Competence and Responsibility

The implementation of the MDGs is considered to be a partnership between developed and developing countries. However, in the coverage of the MDGs, journalists principally portrayed governments in developed countries as being more competent and equally blamed them far more than developing countries for the problems associated with the implementation of the MDGs. This lopsided portrayal of the competence and responsibility of governments of developed countries vis-à-vis governments of developing countries might be partly due to the fact that European newspapers focused on the actions of governments in their home countries and the larger European Union. This may be explained by news factors such as proximity, with the newspapers focusing on issues they deemed were more likely to resonate with their readers. However, news factors alone would not plausibly explain the large gap between the portrayals of developed and developing country competence, on the one hand, and responsibility, on the other, especially as the implementation of the MDGs by its very nature involved both governments in developed and developing countries. One may even argue that governments in developing countries had a higher stake than governments in developed countries as the success or failure of the MDGs would have a far more direct impact on developing countries. Furthermore, developing countries committed to certain steps such as good governance in the implementation of the MDGs and one would have expected that the coverage reflects such responsibilities. Instead, the picture that emerged was that governments in developing countries were more or less helpless, and had very little role to play in the development of their own countries. These results buttress findings by other studies that show that Western media tend to reinforce images of competence of actors in developed countries, while reflecting negatively on the abilities of actors in developing countries, or otherwise portraying them as helpless victims (e.g. Giffard & Rivenburgh, 2000; Alam; 2007; Nothias, 2013). This skewed portrayal of the competence and responsibility of

actors in developed countries vis-à-vis actors in the developing world reflects negatively on the quality of coverage of the MDGs by the analyzed newspapers in the current study.

Emotionalization Frame Element

Less than one-fifth of articles contained any form of emotionalized reporting. Although the MDGs could offer many avenues for journalists to appeal to emotions, especially on aspects such as poverty, hunger, disease and underdevelopment in general, elite European newspapers did not take that route. This may be related to the fact that much of the reporting was thematically framed, rather than episodically. Episodic reporting could have offered more avenues for dramatization and sensational reporting. Another possible reason could be that much of the reporting was done in locations far removed from the places where the people targeted by the MDGs live. Although there was no variable to measure location of reporting, it was observed that many of the stories on issues such as poverty, disease and hunger drew from statistics provided by governments and international organizations, or decisions at high-level meetings on these issues, rather than on-the-ground reports from the affected countries or regions describing how populations were experiencing these problems. The impersonal nature of statistics might partly explain the absence of emotionalization of the coverage of the MDGs. In any case, emotionalization of reporting is generally viewed in a negative light with respect to journalistic quality (e.g. fög, 2011, p. 40). As already mentioned in Section 11.1, an alternative term, sensationalism, is often used in place of emotionalization in the English-speaking world. Emotionalization may be considered a subset of sensationalism, but for the most part the two terms are synonymous. Like emotionalization, sensationalism is considered to dilute the quality of journalism. Grabe et al. (2001) note that sensationalism pertains to media content that elicits improper sensory and emotional reactions, as opposed to appealing to the rational faculties of the audience. In that sense, it is distinguished from “useful news”, as noted by Hofstetter and Dozier (1986). Sensationalism, or what is referred in the current study as emotionalization, is therefore widely considered undesirable and a quality shortfall. The fact that there was hardly any emotionalization in the reporting of the MDGs by the analyzed newspapers in the current study thus had a positive effect on the overall quality.

Personalization Frame Element

Personalization was almost completely absent from reporting. Less than a tenth of articles contained any element of personalization. This reflects the type of actors highlighted by the analyzed newspapers in their coverage of the MDGs, as we have already seen. Personalization is when articles focus on private individuals, or public officials in their private capacities. But as already mentioned, much of the reporting focused on institutions or persons performing official functions. That does not mean the analyzed newspapers could not have resorted to reporting on the private lives of public officials. Therefore one must assume that absence of personalization was informed by professional choices. Personalization has generally been viewed negatively in the realm of journalistic quality scholarship (e.g. Fög, 2011, p. 550-551). Fög argues that excessive personalization of reporting leads to the media downplaying the macro-level and meso-level perspectives, while highlighting micro-level narratives. Such reporting fails to provide broad perspectives of systemic problems in society and structures as well as how they interrelate, thereby compromising the relevance of the reporting. The paucity of the personalization frame element in the coverage of the MDGs by the analyzed newspapers, viewed in this light, is positive.

13.2 Research Question 2

The second research question was: *To what extent does the framing of the MDGs meet journalistic quality criteria?*

The answer to this question is guided by the four journalistic quality criteria selected for the current study, namely, diversity, relevance, topicality and professionalism.

Diversity

Diversity was considered to be a balanced distribution of particular frames and frame elements in the coverage of the MDGs. The first measure of diversity is the variety in the use

of the five identified generic frames. On this score, there was little diversity, since only two out of five frames were predominant in the coverage of the MDGs. The second measure was variety in the distribution of the four interpretative frames (or framing dimensions) used in the angling of articles. Here again, there was the absence of variety as only two out of four framing dimensions represented over two-thirds of the article angles. The third measure was variety in the types of actors in the coverage of the MDGs. Of the panoply of possible types of actors, only three categories constituted more than two-thirds of mentioned actors. On this score, diversity was absent. The fourth condition for diversity was balance in attributing competence or problem-solving abilities to the governments of developed and developing countries. The attribution of problem-solving abilities was highly skewed towards developed countries. Here, diversity was hardly present. The fifth condition was a balance between the attribution of responsibility to governments of developed countries and governments of developing countries. Responsibility for problems was attributed to governments of developed countries far more times than developing countries. Here again, the distribution was not balanced. As has been demonstrated, all the five conditions for diversity were not met. This is a serious quality shortfall.

Relevance

There were three requirements to be fulfilled for the relevance criterion to be met. First, the visibility of the human interest frame should not be higher than the average visibility of the other generic frames. The overall mean visibility for the five generic frames was .35, while the visibility of the human interest frame was .20. Therefore, the visibility of the human interest frame was way below average. This implies the condition was met. Second, the visibility of private individuals should not be higher than the visibility of institutions and persons acting in their official capacities. Looking at the visibility of the various types of actors, it is evident that institutional actors and persons acting in their official capacities were by far more visible than private individuals. This condition is, consequently, met. Third, the personalization frame element should not have a higher than average visibility. Indeed, the personalization frame element was barely visible, as it was present in less than 10% of articles. Again, this condition was met. There was a high performance on the relevance quality criterion, as all three conditions were met.

Topicality

Topicality was measured through the episodic and thematic frames, with a preponderance of the former indicating a quality shortfall. The results, however, showed that thematic frames were predominant in the coverage of the MDGs in all three analyzed elite European newspapers. Therefore, the topicality criterion was met.

Professionalism

There were nine conditions for the professionalism requirement to be satisfied. First, there should be a balanced distribution of generic frames. As already mentioned, there was a skewed distribution of generic frames, so this condition was not met. Second, there should be a balanced distribution of interpretative frames or dimensions of framing. The results showed that this was not the case, so this requirement was not fulfilled. Third, a majority of articles should be neutral/balanced. The results showed that less than 50% of articles were neutral/balanced. On that basis, this condition was not met. Fourth, there should be balance in the portrayal of the competence of governments in developed and developing countries. As the results showed, the portrayal of the competence between developed and developing country governments was skewed. Therefore, this condition was not satisfied. Fifth, there should be a balance in the attribution of responsibility between governments of developed and developing countries. However, the distribution of the attribution of responsibility was not balanced, so this condition was not met. Sixth, there should be more of thematic than episodic reporting. There was a preponderance of thematic reporting, so this condition was satisfied. Seventh, reporting should not be emotionalized. The results showed that there were few instances of emotionalization. Therefore, this condition was met. Eighth, reporting should not be personalized. The amount of personalization observed in the reporting was relatively small. Thus, this condition was met. Ninth, the reporting should not manifest systematic bias; that is, the predominance of the same frames over different time periods. In the first period of analysis (2003-2007), the preponderant frames were the economic and responsibility frames. The economic frame was only slightly more visible than the responsibility frame. In the second period (2008-2012), these same frames were predominant. However, the responsibility frame was slightly more visible than the economic frame. But overall, it was

the same two frames that were predominant, implying that there was systematic bias. Of the nine requirements for professionalism, only three were fulfilled. On the whole, therefore, based on the instrument for measuring professionalism, one can conclude that there was a quality shortfall in this area.

As has been demonstrated, two of the four quality criteria, namely, relevance and topicality, were met. The other two, notably, diversity and professionalism, were not met. Judging from these journalistic quality criteria, the analyzed European elite newspapers thus had an average performance in their coverage of the MDGs.

13.3 Research Question 3

The third research question was: *Do the framing and quality of the coverage of the MDGs change over time?*

To answer this question, articles were coded according to two time periods, each representing half of the 10-year span of coverage analyzed in the current study. The first time period was the years 2003 to 2007 while the second was the years 2008 to 2012. The quality of reporting is dependent on the framing. Therefore, if the framing changes, the quality consequently changes. I will hence first take a look at the various frames and frame elements to determine whether there were changes over time, on the basis of which it can be ascertained whether there were changes in the quality of coverage.

Five Generic Frames

In both periods of analysis, the economic and responsibility frames were predominant. The visibility of the other three generic frames was remarkably similar in both the first and second

periods of analysis. There were no significant differences in the visibility of the five generic frames between the first and second periods of analysis.

Episodic and Thematic Frames

In both periods of analysis, news stories were predominantly framed thematically, while the use of the episodic frame was relative rare. There were only variations observed in the extent of use the two frames. For instance, the percentage of articles that were framed episodically was twice as high in the first period of analysis as in the second period. However, even in the first period of analysis, only 18.3% of articles were framed episodically, making the coverage still very much skewed towards thematic reporting. The trend did not therefore change from the first period to the second period of analysis.

Angle of Article Frame

Editorial choices on the angling of stories were largely unchanged between the first and second periods of analysis. The problem and treatment frames or dimensions of framing remained the most frequent choices of angling of articles in each of the periods of analysis. The evaluation frame was the third most frequent angling choice in both periods, while the cause frame was the least used angling option in both periods of analysis.

Actors

The same three categories of actors were predominant in both periods of analysis. The other categories of actors were far less visible in both periods of analysis. Therefore, the visibility of actors in the first period of analysis was similar to that in the second period.

Evaluation

There was a significant difference in the distribution of the types of evaluations between the first and second periods of analysis. The evaluation categories include generally positive,

generally negative, and neutral/fairly balanced. In the first period, most articles were neutral or fairly balanced. However, in the second period, there was a more even distribution of the types of evaluation, and no category was really predominant.

Developed and Developing Country Competence and Responsibility

Portrayal of the competence or the problem-solving abilities of the developed and developing countries were similar for both periods of analysis. Developed countries were by far more likely to be portrayed as having the ability to solve problems than developing countries in both periods of analysis. The trend was similar for the issue of attribution of responsibility; developed countries were much more likely to be portrayed as being responsible for problems or issues in both periods of analysis.

Emotionalization Frame Element

The emotionalization frame element was largely absent in both periods of analysis, although it was more present in the second period. However, even in the second period, the visibility of the emotionalization frame element was still quite low.

Personalization Frame Element

In both periods of analysis, less than 10% of articles contained the personalization frame element. There was therefore very little difference in the visibility of the frame element between the two periods of analysis.

Overall, there was only one variable which was sensitive to the periods of analysis; that is, the article evaluation variable. Evaluation was one of the conditions for the professionalism quality criterion to be met. As we have already seen, for the entire sample, only three out of the nine conditions for professionalism were met. If only the first period of analysis is considered, the picture changes slightly. One of the conditions for professionalism is for the

majority of articles to be neutral/balanced. This requirement is fulfilled in the first period of analysis. That will make four of the nine conditions that have been met. However, this will not change the assessment as less than half of the conditions have been met. Therefore, in the first period of analysis, there is still a quality shortfall with regards to the professionalism criterion. In the second period, there was no variable that deviated from the general trend; thus, the quality assessment for this period equally reflects the overall assessment.

From the foregoing, it can be concluded that there was little change in both framing and journalistic quality in the two periods of analysis.

13.4 Research Question 4

The fourth research question was: *Is newspaper country of publication a determinant factor with respect to the framing of the MDGs and journalistic quality?*

There were three newspapers analyzed, each from a different European country. These included *The Guardian* from the United Kingdom, *Le Monde* from France and *Frankfurter Rundschau* from Germany. I will first compare the framing of the MDGs among the different newspapers and subsequently ascertain whether there are differences in the quality of coverage. For clarity, I will go through frames and frame elements one by one.

Five Generic Frames

There were some minor differences among the various newspapers, but they were not significant. In all three newspapers, the economic and responsibility frames were more visible than the other three generic frames. This was true for both periods of analysis. The visibility of the other frames was not significantly different among the three newspapers.

Episodic and Thematic Frames

The framing of the MDGs was predominantly thematic in all three newspapers. Although the percentage of thematically framed articles was higher in the second period of analysis than the first, this was true for all three newspapers. Hence, the analysis of the episodic and thematic frames was not sensitive to country of publication of the analyzed newspapers.

Article Angle

All three newspapers opted for similar interpretative frames or framing dimensions when angling articles, with only minor differences. The two predominant types of interpretative frames were treatment and problem. However, while the treatment frame was the most prevalent angling choice in *The Guardian* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, it was the problem frame that was most recurrent in *Le Monde*. This tendency was reflected in both periods of analysis. The other two interpretative frames, notably cause and evaluation, had similar visibility in all three newspapers. Hence, there were no major differences in the angling of stories in the analyzed newspapers, implying the country of publication had very little impact on this variable.

Actors

There were a few differences in the prominence of actors among the three newspapers. While developed country government was the most recurrent type of actor in *The Guardian* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, it was the international governmental organizations category that was most prominent in *Le Monde*. The relative visibilities of other categories of actors also differed in the various newspapers. In addition, there were variations in the relative prominence of actors from one period of analysis to the other. But overall, the main actors were the same. Furthermore, only a few actors were predominant in each of the analyzed newspapers. All things considered, the emphasis on different categories of actors differed in the three analyzed newspapers, but all of them highlighted only a few categories of actors, indicating a lack of diversity.

Evaluation

Major variations were observed in the relative frequencies of the three categories of evaluations in the various analyzed newspapers. A significant majority of articles in *The Guardian*, for instance, were balanced/neutral. But no other newspaper had a majority of its articles classified under the balanced/neutral category. Although there were more neutral/balanced articles in *Le Monde* than negative or positive articles, these did not make up the majority of articles. In *Frankfurter Rundschau*, there were more positive articles than neutral/balanced or negative articles; however, these were well below half of the articles. Within newspapers, there were equally variations in the relative frequency of the various categories of evaluation between the two periods of analysis. For the evaluation variable, therefore, the country of publication was clearly sensitive to the analysis.

Developed and Developing Country Competence and Responsibility

In all three analyzed newspapers, the portrayal of the problem-solving abilities of governments in developed and developing countries as well as their responsibility for problems/issues or issues was remarkably similar. Developed countries were more likely to be portrayed as having the ability to solve problems than developing countries. At the same time, developed countries were more likely to be portrayed as being responsible for problems than developing countries. Although there were some differences in the extent of the visibility of these frame elements, the overall trend was the same. This was true for both periods of analysis. These variables were thus not sensitive to country of publication of the newspaper.

Emotionalization Frame Element

All three analyzed newspapers exhibited the same tendency of relatively low levels of emotionalization in their reporting. Although there were differences in the extent of emotionalized reporting, the visibility of the emotionalization frame element was modest for the analyzed newspapers, with the highest being *The Guardian* on 24%. The country of

publication of the newspaper, therefore, did not affect the analysis on the emotionalization of reporting in any meaningful way.

Personalization Frame Element

Like emotionalization, there was scant presence of the personalization frame element in all three analyzed newspapers. The trend held in the two periods of analysis. Hence, there was little impact of country of publication of the newspaper on the analysis.

It has been demonstrated, from the foregoing, that the country of publication had any meaningful effect only on the evaluation variable. This variable was one of the requirements for professionalism. For this requirement to be satisfied, a majority of articles are supposed to be balanced/neutral. The analysis showed that only *The Guardian* met this condition. For *Le Monde* and *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the overall quality assessment for professionalism (see Section 13.2) remains unchanged. For *The Guardian*, this result implies it satisfies four of the nine requirements for professionalism, unlike the other two newspapers which satisfy only three. However, the fulfillment of four out of nine requirements is not sufficient to change the professionalism assessment for *The Guardian*. As a whole, therefore, the quality assessment of all three newspapers, on the basis of the instrument used in the current study, is the same.

14. Conclusion

At the outset of the current study, three goals were set: first, to establish a logical basis for understanding journalistic quality within the framing paradigm; second, to use media frames to operationalize traditional journalistic quality criteria; and third, to effectively assess journalistic performance from a framing methodological perspective.

On the first goal, this was achieved by exploring extant literature on both framing and journalistic quality. By separately reviewing the state of research in these broad areas in communication scholarship, it was possible to better grasp the conceptual underpinnings in both areas and, consequently, decipher areas of possible convergence and divergence. With that in mind, a synthesis of framing and journalistic quality was made, which served as the substrate for using media frames to operationalize quality criteria adopted from a contemporary study on journalistic quality.

The second goal was a major challenge. Although some framing scholars have suggested a number of theoretical and methodological approaches to understanding media performance from the standpoint of framing research (.e.g. Porto, 2007; Lawrence, 2010; Entman, 2010), these approaches have hardly dwelled on traditional journalistic quality indicators or criteria. Therefore, there was little to build on. Nevertheless, I wholly adopted four quality criteria, namely, diversity, relevance, topicality, and professionalism, which had been operationalized in a contemporary study on journalistic quality. It was important to, as a first step, determine the types of frames to adopt, in order to make the study generalizable. I decided on generic news frames as the foundation for the operationalization of quality criteria because they have the advantage of applying to different contexts and time periods. I adopted the generic frames identified by Semetco and Valkenburg (2000) and the episodic and thematic frames of Iyengar (1991), which are also generic. In addition, I adopted the generic frame of angling in the sense of Mendelsohn (1993) and Reese et al. (2003), which I operationalized using the framing dimensions elaborated by Entman (1993) and the interpretative frames of Porto (2007). Pertaining to the five generic frames of Semetko and Valkenburg, the frames needed to be confirmed in a factor analysis. The 19 questions for the measurement of these generic frames proved to be suitable for the current study. The five frames that clustered in Semetko and Valkenburg's study were the same that emerged in the factor analysis. Matthes and Kohring (2008) have observed that another study that used the same approach yielded six

factors, rather than five. Even if that had been the case, it would not have fundamentally changed the findings of this study.

Drawing from the synthesis of framing and journalistic quality that had been made, as well as an exploratory analysis, it was possible to select the other aspects of generic frames that were suitable for the instrument intended to measure journalistic quality. A number of frame elements (see Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Dahinden, 2006; Mathes & Kohring), which complemented the analysis of the main frames were thus selected. Although this approach might appear like cherry-picking particular frame elements, the goal was to identify only those elements that would enable an adequate assessment of each of the four selected quality criteria. In principle, all frame elements could have been used for the complementary analysis, but that was not necessary in the current study. Using the selected frames and frame elements, the quality criteria were operationalized. This process was strictly guided by the conceptualization of the selected quality criteria in the fög (2011) study from which they were borrowed. Therefore, all the four examined quality criteria were assessed using theory-grounded measures.

The third goal envisaged the actual assessment of journalistic quality, using frames as the constituents of the measuring instrument. Generally, the instrument to measure the journalistic quality criteria under consideration, constructed from the selected frames and frame elements, was arguably effective. Judging from the conceptualization of the four analyzed criteria in the original study by fög (2011), three of them, namely, diversity, relevance, and topicality, were fully covered by the instrument. The assessment provided a more or less complete picture of journalistic performance in these areas. However, the instrument did not wholly cover the fourth criterion, professionalism, as conceptualized by fög. Aspects such as truth, accuracy and transparency, which were included in the fög study, were not covered by the instrument. This is partly because these aspects are usually taken for granted in framing studies, as “core news facts” are usually separated from framing devices (see Vreese, 2005). In addition, this study relied exclusively on the content analysis method and it was beyond its scope to investigate the truth or accuracy of newspaper reports.

At least two conjectures emanate from the fact that framing measures alone were not enough to make a complete assessment of professionalism as it is conceptualized within journalistic quality research. The first is that a combination of several methods may be necessary to fully measure journalistic quality within the framing paradigm. On that score, an integrative

methodological approach is an interesting idea to pursue. The second is that measures obtained from framing analyses are not sufficient to construct an instrument suited for assessing all aspects of journalistic quality. In that case, framing analysis may be used complementarily with measurement techniques typically used in journalistic quality research. That would entail that quality criteria which are most suited for assessment within the framing paradigm are separately analyzed from those that are best analyzed using methods developed within traditional journalistic quality research. Such an approach should, arguably, be more illuminating than when quality is analyzed only within the framing paradigm or when only traditional approaches in journalistic quality are used.

The foregoing analysis suggests that while the framing paradigm enhances our understanding of journalistic quality, and one may argue, provides an alternative to traditional approaches to journalistic quality, traditional journalistic quality research still has a place. Only four quality criteria were assessed in the current study, from among many possible others, and it is not clear that the majority of them can be assessed with an instrument constructed exclusively from media frames. At the same time, contemporary journalistic quality research, as Porto (2007) has argued, has its blind spots. He cites for instance, the requirement of balance in news reports. Following traditional notions of balance, it would be sufficient to present both sides of the story (in the case of a two party system as obtains in the United States). However, such a notion of balance, he argues, “contributes to building an artificially homogeneous environment that treats politics as a competition over a narrow range of issues” (p. 316). Iyengar’s (1991) seminal work on episodic and thematic frames also provides an example of how following traditional notions of quality may not necessarily tell the whole story of journalistic performance. One can easily imagine the coverage of an issue which fulfills most journalistic quality requirements using approaches within traditional quality research, but which is still predominantly framed episodically. Although such coverage would have fulfilled quality criteria in the traditional sense, it would still have provided a distorted picture of public affairs, according to Iyengar’s logic.

Entman (2004, p. 17; 2010, p. 333) maintains that framing analysis highlights the exercise of power in the political system in ways that may not be otherwise evident. Because ordinary citizens are cognitive misers who often use short-cuts to process incoming information, Entman contends, they can be manipulated by the media frames sponsored by elites. He believes the media should ensure their independence from powerful elites and prevent these

elites from manipulating ordinary citizens by helping citizens to construct counterframes. In an analysis of the U.S. media, Entman argues that “despite mainstream journalists’ apparent sincere commitment to objectivity norms and practices, in certain realms the U.S. media do exhibit lasting patterns of one-sided framing that help to augment the power of some interests while undermining the power of others” (2010; p. 335). Implicit in Entman’s analysis was journalistic performance and its implications on citizen competence in a democratic society, and he suggests that the bias, priming and framing concepts should be merged under the bias rubric.

Other framing scholars, drawing from normative democratic theory, have equally emphasized the need for the media to report in ways that enhance citizens’ competence (e.g. Druckman, 2001; Porto, 2007; Lawrence, 2010). Although much of framing research proceeds from implicit normative expectations such as the need for coverage to accurately reflect the range of perspectives on any issue, and the need for a diversity of frames, these have been explicitly stated by some scholars, according to Lawrence (p. 278). Porto’s idea of “news diversity”, whereby a diversity of interpretative frames is indicative of news quality, is one of them. His argument is that for citizens to make consistent choices in a democracy, they need exposure to a diversity of frames and it is the media’s responsibility to construct counterframes that counteract those sponsored by the elites. Nesbit (2010), using similar reasoning, equally advocates deliberate framing by journalists.

Such normative perspectives on framing are not uncontroversial. Lawrence (2010, p. 281) argues that this approach may actually go against the media’s understanding of objectivity. Journalists routinely seek information from the leading elites first and balance the information with the opposing elite. But if they have to actively construct one or more counterframes that are not promoted by powerful elites, it may be viewed as “unprofessional, even as ‘crusading’ journalism which the profession strongly discourages”.

Like in framing scholarship, journalistic quality research is equally concerned with how media content affects the ability of ordinary citizens to exercise power through decision-making in a democracy (e.g. McQuail, 1992; Hagen, 1995; Meier, 2007; Arnold, 2009; fög, 2011). This common thread offers opportunities for more integration of scholarship on framing and journalistic quality. Journalistic quality research could benefit from the illuminating findings within framing research on the distribution of power, while framing research could benefit from the conceptualization of journalistic quality within contemporary

quality research. This offers an opportunity for complimentary, if not integrated research. Future efforts could therefore aim at a more comprehensive integration of framing and journalistic quality than in the present study.

While the method of the current study was a content analysis, and was limited to textual analysis, an integrated study that employed other research methods and took into consideration the various stages of the communication process would surely have been more illuminating. Indeed, there have been a number of studies in both framing and journalistic quality that covered two or more stages of the communication process as well as examine other aspects such as other aspects such as visuals, as was mentioned elsewhere. The understanding has been that studying the same aspect of communication through the entire process – from the source of information, through the media production processes to the audience, as well as the feedback loop – enables a more complete understanding of that aspect of communication. I believe that also holds true for the integration of framing and quality research. Future research could therefore integrate framing and journalistic quality, while at the same time covering the entire spectrum of the communication process.

McCombs and Ghanem (2003, p. 69-72) have noted that the agenda-setting theory rode the waves of scholarship for over 30 years because it was compatible and complementary to other mass communication subfields. For this reason, other concepts and theories were either incorporated into or integrated with agenda-setting. Similarly, framing scholarship has been growing over the last few decades. Arguably, this is partly because it is complementary and compatible with other concepts such as agenda-setting, priming, and bias, amongst others. As has already been mentioned, it is also complimentary to journalistic quality. McCombs and Ghanem equally argue that framing has applications in television news production and the design of the daily newspaper. It is therefore “relevant to message production” and “could be applied by mass media professionals”.

This suggests that the framing concept should not be confined to the halls of academia, but should permeate the news media industry as well. Mountains of evidence that framing has implications for journalistic quality, therefore, necessitate a rethink of existing conceptualizations of quality standards. Entman (1993) had called for the schooling of practicing journalists on framing. Though, as he noted, this may require a more sophisticated and active role for journalists than is currently the case, there is no reason why the modus operandi of journalists should be static. As a number of scholars have argued, since

journalists are inevitably involved in framing, they could just as well become masters of their own framing rather than being inadvertent tools for political elites and special interests intent on propagating particular perspectives and interpretations. Scholars have a role to play in this regard in educating prospective journalists in the universities and promoting the understanding of framing in their interactions with media professionals. Journalists and journalism associations will equally need to initiate substantive reflections on whether and how framing should be adopted as a professional tool.

15. References

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Afrika zeigt sich krisenfest, 27.3.2010, p. 17.

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Hilferuf gegen Aids, 4.6.2005, p. 16.

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Kein Entwicklungsklima, 27.3.2007, p. 3.

KfW geht höheres Risiko bei Entwicklungshilfe ein, 29.6.2004, p. 11.

Kleinkredite helfen Afrikas Armen an den Start, 24.6.2005, p. 11.

Konferenz über Entwicklungsfinanzierung, 29.11.2008, p. 17.

Konfusion in Washington. Auflagen des Währungsfonds blockieren Entwicklungshilfe für Afrika, 9.6.2007, p. 17.

Kraftakt für Millenniumsziele, 24.6.2010, p. 12.

Luxusaufgabe, 19.2.2009, p. 17.

Mehr ins Zeug legen, 2.9.2008, p. 19.

Milliarden gegen Müttersterblichkeit, 23.9.2010, p. 9.

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Ministerin will Entwicklungshilfe stärken, 6.11.2004, p. 12.

Mit Popstars gegen den Hunger, 11.4.2007, p. 42.

Nebel Trickserei vorgeworfen, 22.9.2010, p. 1.

OECD will nachhaltig helfen, 8.4.2006, p. 12.

Paris will Sondersteuer zu Gunsten der Entwicklungsländer, 24.11.2005, p. 11.

Qualität und Quantität laufen Hand in Hand, 26.10.2010, p. 16.

Regierung soll Wort halten, 3.11.2005, p. 11.

Sauberes Wasser bleibt ein Luxus, 27.8.2004, p. 6.

Selbstverpflichtung mit Fragezeichen, 20.4.2005, p. 2.

Sorge über hohe Ölpreise wächst, 4.10.2004, p. 9.

Staaten blockieren einander, 9.9.2005, p. 6.

Testlauf bei Entwicklungshilfe, 3.2.2005, p. 5.

Transatlantischer Konflikt lastet auf Frühjahrstagung, 9.4.2003, p. 17.

UN mahnen stärkeren Kampf gegen Hunger an, 23.11.2005, p. 6.

UN prangern Diskriminierung als Ursache von Armut an, 16.7.2004, p. 7.

UN schlagen Aktionsplan gegen Armut vor, 9.7.2003, p. 16.

UN-Gipfel droht Fehlschlag, 15.9.2005, p. 11.

UN-Reform gescheitert, 14.9.2005, p. 1.

UN-Reform: Spielball der Mächtigen, 16.9.2005, p. 3.

Unterstützung nach Gutsherrenart, 9.11.2010, p. 15.

Verlorene Generation von 200 Millionen, 30.10.2012, p. 23.

Viele Zusagen, wenige Fortschritte, 8.7.2008, p. 5.

Wasserknappheit wird zum Kernproblem Afrikas, 3.7.2004, p. 9.

Weckruf für die Politik, 9.9.2011, p. 10.

Weltbank sichert Armutsbekämpfung zu, 18.4.2005, p. 9.

Weltweiter Hunger bleibt Nebensache, 25.6.2010, p. 2.

WHO will Millionen Menschen retten, 5.10.2005, p. 14.

WHO: Entwicklungsziele durch Aids gefährdet, 12.5.2004, p. 16.

Zahl der Armen in Lateinamerika steigt, 26.7.2005, p. 10.

Ziel verpasst: Erstmals seit Langem sinken weltweit Ausgaben für Entwicklungshilfe,
25.6.2012, p. 6.

Zwischenbilanz der Weltbank ernüchtert, 19.4.2005, p. 10.

17.2 Codebook for Question-Based Variables

Variable Description	Code
Article identification number (label on coding form: ID) Enter the code for the identification of the article. The article identification number consists of code for country (represented by a letter), plus the number of the article starting from 001.	COUNTRIES United Kingdom=a France=b Germany=c e.g. a001
Period of analysis (label on coding form: PD) Code the period of analysis as indicated.	2003-2007=1 2008=2012=2
Newspaper name (label on coding form: NN) Code the newspaper in which the article is published as indicated.	<i>The Guardian</i> = 1 Le Monde = 2 Frankfurter Rundschau = 3
For the following 23 questions (variables), carefully read the article several times and then answer each question with a yes or no. Enter only the code for “yes” (1) or “no” (0) in the coding form. For Question 1-4 ascertain whether a country is developed or developing by checking the attached classification of countries.	
Question 1 (label on coding form: Q1) Does the article suggest that some level of government (in a developed country) or a group of governments (in developed countries) has the ability to alleviate the problem?	
Question 2 (label on coding form: Q2) Does the article suggest that some level of government (in a developing country) or a group of governments (in developing countries) has the ability to alleviate the problem?	
Question 3 (label on coding form: Q3) Does the article suggest that some level of government (in a developed country) or a group of governments (in developed countries) is responsible for the issue-problem?	
Question 4 (label on coding form: Q4) Does the article suggest that some level of government (in developing countries) or a group of governments (in developing countries) is responsible for the issue-problem?	
Question 5: (label on coding form: Q5) Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) has the ability to alleviate the problem?	
Question 6: (label on coding form: Q6) Does the article suggest that some level of government (or a group of governments) is	

responsible for the issue/problem??
Question 7 (label on coding form: Q7) Does the article suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
Question 8 (label on coding form: Q8) Does the article suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
Question 9 (label on coding form: Q9) Does the article suggest the issue requires urgent action?
Question 10 (label on coding form: Q10) Does the article provide a human example or “human face” on the issue?
Question 11 (label on coding form: Q11) Does the article employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?
Question 12 (label on coding form: Q12) Does the article emphasize how individuals or groups are affected by the issue/problem?
Question 13 (label on coding form: Q13) Does the article go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
Question 14 (label on coding form: Q14) Does the article reflect the disagreements between parties-individuals-groups-countries?
Question 15 (label on coding form: Q15) Does one party-individual-group-country reproach another?
Question 16 (label on coding form: Q16) Does the article refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?
Question 17 (label on coding form: Q17) Does the article refer to winners and losers?
Question 18 (label on coding form: Q18) Does the article contain any moral message?
Question 19 (label on coding form: Q19) Does the article make reference to morality, ethics, God, and other religious tenets?
Question 20 (label on coding form: Q20) Does the article offer special social prescriptions about how to behave?
Question 21 (label on coding form: Q21) Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
Question 22 (label on coding form: Q22)

Is there a mention of the costs/degrees of expense involved?

Question 23 (label on coding form: Q23)

Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

17.3 Codebook for Other Variables

Variable description	Code
1. Article identification number The article identification number consists of a code for the country, plus the number of the article starting from 001.	UK = a France = b Germany = c e.g. a001
2. Newspaper name Select the code for the newspaper in which the article is published.	<i>The Guardian</i> = 2.1 Le Monde = 2.2 Frankfurter Rundschau = 2.3
3. Headline Code “3.” followed by the headline of the article in full.	e.g. 3. Donors add 25% to poverty lifeline.
4. Period of analysis Select the code for the period of analysis based on the year of publication of the article. The two periods of analysis are 2003-2007 and 2008-2012.	2003-2007=4.1 2008-2012=4.2
5. Article reference Code the full date of publication plus the page	Year format: DD.MM.YYYY

number of the article, separated by a coma.	Page format: p. and number e.g. 20.4.2004, p. 3
6. Article type Code the type of article.	News/news feature=6.1 Analysis=6.2 Interview=6.3
7. Actors Code the type of actors mentioned in the article. More than one type of actor could be mentioned in the same article. In the case of the categories “developed country government” and “developing country government”, a group of governments may be acting in concert. This should equally be coded as “developed country government” or “developing country government”. However, this should not be confused with international governmental organizations. Consult the attached list of developed and developing countries for these categories.	Developed country government =7.1 Opposition politician =7.2 Developing country government =7.3 Int. governmental organization = 7.4 NGO = 7.5 Activist(s) =7.6 Celebrity/celebrities =7.7 Academics/experts=7.8 Ordinary people= 7.9 Other (specify) = 7.10
8. Frame Style Determine whether the article is episodically or thematically framed and select the code for episodic or thematic frame. Because both frames are often present in the same article, code only the predominant frame by counting the words of the parts of the article that contain each frame. The	Episodic frame = 8.1 Thematic frame = 8.2 Not applicable = 8.3

predominant frame is the one that has more words. Code the predominant frame. Only news articles and news features can be coded as episodic frame or thematic frame. Analyses and interviews shall be coded as “not applicable”. Please see the attached “explanations” for details on episodic and thematic frames.	
9. Evaluation Determine whether the evaluation of actors, policies and outcomes is generally positive, generally negative or fairly balanced/neutral and select the appropriate code. Count each instance of evaluation and sum up the counts for each category to determine whether the article is generally positive, generally negative or fairly balanced/neutral.	Generally positive=9.1 Generally negative=9.2 Fairly balanced/Neutral=9.3
10. Article topic Determine the main topic of the article and select the appropriate code.	Development aid=10.1 Economy=10.2 Education=10.3 Environment=10.4 Gender=10.5 Health=10.6 Politics=10.7 Poverty=10.8 Progress report=10.9 Public opinion=10.10 Regulation=10.11 Other=10.12

11. Article angle Determine the dimensions of the article as reflected in the headline, kicker, rider and the lead paragraph and select the appropriate code. Please see the attached “explanations” for “article angle”.	Problem=11.1 Cause=11.2 Evaluation=11.3 Treatment=11.4
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Explanations:

Episodic and Thematic Frames

Episodic frames consist of concrete instances or events. Stories that are framed episodically focus on the particular or specific instances or individuals and provide little or no context (Iyengar, 1991). A straight news story that reports on an event without putting the information in a broader context or provides analyses, for instance, is episodically framed. Similarly, a story that focuses on individuals while providing little or no information on the larger context of the issue is episodically framed.

Thematic frames depict “issues more generally, either in terms of collective outcomes, public policy debates, or historical trends” (Iyengar, 1991, p. 18). Typically, a story that is thematically framed places the issue in a larger context and provides analyses and/or trends. For instance, a story that does not only report on an event, but also proceeds to give detailed information about the context of the issue in question and provides analyses and trends is thematically framed. Furthermore, a story that does not focus on a particular event but reports on issues of public interest and debate or about historical trends of a particular issue is thematically framed.

Article Angle

The dimensions of framing include problem, cause, evaluation and treatment (Entman, 1993). The angle of the article is measured through these dimensions. These dimensions are explained as follows:

Problem: Frames define problems by identifying “what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits” (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Problems could be defined through the coverage of events or issues. For instance, a breakdown in negotiations at a conference on poverty could be presented as a problem (event), while poverty could also be presented as a problem at the broader level of policy discussions (issue).

Cause: It constitutes the force or forces creating the problem (Entman, 1993). The cause is the source of the problem as presented in the article. Using the aforementioned example of negotiations at a conference on poverty, the cause(s) is an identification of the reason(s) for the breakdown in negotiations. In the same vein, if poverty is covered as an issue, the cause(s) would identify the reasons why poverty persists, for instance.

Evaluation: It is an assessment of causal agents and their effects (Entman, 1993). Evaluation is about judging actors and their actions, policies and policy outcomes. It usually involves praising and apportioning blame. In the example of the poverty conference, one party may be praised for trying to save the negotiations while another is blamed for avoidably causing the collapse of the conference.

Treatment: This is usually a recommendation of how a problem should be treated and/or justification for the treatment as well as a prediction of its likely effects (Entman, 1993). In other words, remedies to the problem are suggested, or already adopted remedies are justified and/or likely consequences predicted. However, the consequences could equally be presented as already occurring. Again using the example of the poverty conference, there could be recommendations of how the deadlock could be broken or there could be predictions of how people will suffer if the deadlock is not broken or there be mention of how the breakdown in negotiations has negatively affected stock markets in some poor countries, for instance.

Attached List of Developed and Developing Countries

Developing Countries	Chad	Honduras	Mauritania	Saint Vincent and
	Chile	Hong Kong, China (SAR)	Mauritius	Samoa (Western)
Afghanistan	China	Hungary	Mexico	São Tomé and Príncipe
Albania	Colombia	India	Micronesia	Saudi Arabia
Algeria	Comoros	Indonesia	Moldova, Rep. of	Senegal
Angola	Congo	Iran, Islamic Rep. of	Mongolia	Serbia and Montenegro
Antigua and Barbuda	Congo (DR)	Iraq	Morocco	Seychelles
Argentina	Costa Rica	Jamaica	Mozambique	Sierra Leone
Armenia	Côte d'Ivoire	Jordan	Myanmar	Singapore
Azerbaijan	Croatia	Kazakhstan	Namibia	Slovakia
Bahamas	Cuba	Kenya	Nauru	Slovenia
Bahrain	Cyprus	Kiribati	Nepal	Solomon Islands
Bangladesh	Djibouti	Korea, Dem. Rep. of	Nicaragua	Somalia
Barbados	Dominica	Korea, Rep. of	Niger	South Africa
Belarus	Dominican Republic	Kuwait	Nigeria	Sri Lanka
Belize	Ecuador	Kyrgyzstan	Occupied Palestinian	Sudan
Benin	Egypt	Lao People's Dem. Rep.	Oman	Suriname
Bhutan	El Salvador	Latvia	Pakistan	Swaziland
Bolivia	Equatorial Guinea	Lebanon	Palau	Syria
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Eritrea	Lesotho	Panama	Tajikistan
Botswana	Estonia	Liberia	Papua New Guinea	Tanzania, Territories
Brazil	Ethiopia	Libya	Paraguay	Thailand
Brunei Darussalam	Fiji	Lithuania	Peru	Grenadines
Bulgaria	Gabon	Macedonia, TFYR	Philippines	Timor-Leste
Burkina Faso	Gambia	Madagascar	Poland	Togo
Burundi	Georgia	Malawi	Qatar	Tonga
Cambodia	Ghana	Malaysia	Romania	Trinidad and Tobago
Cameroon	Grenada	Maldives	Russia	Tunisia
Cape Verde	Guatemala	Mali	Rwanda	Turkey
Central African Republic	Guinea	Marshall Islands	Saint Kitts and Nevis	
	Guinea-Bissau		Saint Lucia	
	Guyana			
	Haiti			

Turkmenistan	Yemen	Cyprus	Japan	Spain
Tuvalu	Zambia	Czech Rep.	Luxembourg	Sweden
Uganda	Zimbabwe	Denmark	Netherlands	Switzerland
Ukraine		Finland	New Zealand	Taiwan
United Arab Emirates		France	Norway	United Kingdom
Uruguay	Developed Countries	Germany	Portugal	United States
Uzbekistan	Australia	Greece	Singapore	
Vanuatu	Austria	Iceland	Slovak Rep.	
Venezuela	Belgium	Ireland	Slovenia	
Viet Nam	Canada	Italy	South Korea	

Notes. This list was derived principally from the *Human Development Report 2003* (UNDP, 2003, p. 363), but was slightly modified on the basis of the classification in the *World Factbook* compiled by the United States Central Intelligence Agency (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/appendix/appendix-b.html>). Classifications of countries often put some countries in between developing and developed countries. These countries are often referred to as countries in transition (e.g. IMF), middle income countries (e.g. UNDP) and emerging markets or economies (e.g. IMF). Sometimes, there is also the distinction between least developed countries and developing countries. Other terms are equally used both by the press the organizations. The current study, however, used a binary classification of “developed” and “developing countries”).

17.4 Binary Codes for Question Based Variables

ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
a001	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
a002	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
a003	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
a004	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1
a005	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a006	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
a007	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a008	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
a009	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
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a017	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
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a019	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
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a027	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
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a030	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
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a032	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
a033	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
a034	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
a035	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
a036	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
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a038	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
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a056	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
a057	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
a058	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
a062	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
a063	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
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a067	2	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
a068	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
a095	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
a096	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
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a098	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
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b102	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b103	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b104	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
b105	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
b106	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
b107	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
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b118	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
b119	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
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b126	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
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b129	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b130	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b131	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
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b148	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b149	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
b150	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
b151	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b152	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
b153	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
b154	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
b155	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b156	2	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
b157	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
b158	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b159	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
b161	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
b162	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
b163	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b164	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b165	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b166	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
b167	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b168	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b169	2	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
b170	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b171	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b172	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b173	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b174	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b175	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
b176	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
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b178	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
b179	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
b180	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b181	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
b182	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b183	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b184	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
b185	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
b186	2	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
b187	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
b188	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
b189	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b190	2	2	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b191	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
b192	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
b194	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
b195	2	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
b196	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
b197	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
b198	2	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
b199	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
b200	2	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c201	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
c202	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c203	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
c204	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c205	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
c206	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c207	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c208	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c209	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c210	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c211	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c212	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
c213	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c214	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
c215	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c216	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c217	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c218	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
c219	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c220	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c221	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c222	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
c223	1	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c224	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c225	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
c227	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c228	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c229	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
c230	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
c231	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
c232	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c233	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c234	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c235	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c236	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c237	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c238	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
c239	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c240	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0
c241	1	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
c242	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
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c244	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c245	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
c246	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c247	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c248	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c249	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c250	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c251	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
c252	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c253	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c254	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c255	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c256	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c257	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c258	1	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
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ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
c260	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c261	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
c262	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
c263	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c264	1	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c265	1	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
c266	1	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c267	2	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
c268	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c269	2	3	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c270	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c271	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c272	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
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c274	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c275	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c276	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c277	2	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
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c281	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c282	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
c283	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c284	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
c285	2	3	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c286	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c287	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c288	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c289	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
c290	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
c291	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
c292	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

ID	PD	NN	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13	Q14	Q15	Q17	Q18	Q19	Q20	Q21	Q22	Q23	Q24	Q25
c293	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
c294	2	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
c295	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c296	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
c297	2	3	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
c298	2	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c299	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
c300	2	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

17.5 Averages of Unweighted Scores for Five Frames Identified in

Factor Analysis

ID	PD	NN	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
a001	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.33	0.25	0.33	0.75
a002	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.33	0.75
a003	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.33	1.00
a004	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.33	0.25	0.67	0.50
a005	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
a006	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
a007	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
a008	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.75
a009	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.75
a010	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.75
a011	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
a012	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a013	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.67	0.50	1.00	0.75
a014	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
a015	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.67	0.50	1.00	0.50
a016	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.50
a017	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
a018	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.75
a019	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
a020	1.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
a021	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.67	0.50
a022	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.33	0.25	1.00	0.75
a023	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.25	0.67	0.75
a024	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a025	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	1.00
a026	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
a027	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
a028	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.75
a029	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
a030	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.33	1.00
a031	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	1.00	1.00
a032	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.50
a033	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.00	0.00	0.25
a034	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
a035	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.33	0.25
a036	1.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.25	0.00	1.00
a037	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00
a038	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
a039	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.75
a040	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
a041	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.75
a042	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.50	0.67	0.75
a043	1.00	1.00	0.25	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.75

ID	PD	NN	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
a044	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	1.00
a045	1.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a046	1.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.75	0.00	0.50
a047	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.00	0.67	1.00
a048	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.75
a049	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.50
a050	2.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
a051	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.00
a052	2.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25
a053	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.00
a054	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
a055	2.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a056	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.25
a057	2.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
a058	2.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a059	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	0.00
a060	2.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a061	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
a062	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.67	0.50
a063	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.75
a064	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.33	1.00
a065	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
a066	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.67	0.50	0.67	0.50
a067	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
a068	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	1.00
a069	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.75
a070	2.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
a071	2.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
a072	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a073	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.75
a074	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.00	1.00
a075	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.75
a076	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.75
a077	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.67	0.75
a078	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
a079	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.75
a080	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.75
a081	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.33	0.75
a082	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
a083	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.25
a084	2.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.00	1.00
a085	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	1.00	1.00
a086	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.67	0.75	0.00	0.50
a087	2.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
a088	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
a089	2.00	1.00	0.50	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
a090	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00

ID	PD	NN	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
a091	2.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.75
a092	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.25
a093	2.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.33	0.75
a094	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.00	1.00	0.50
a095	2.00	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.33	0.75
a096	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.75
a097	2.00	1.00	0.25	1.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
a098	2.00	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
a099	2.00	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.75
a100	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.75	0.33	0.75
b101	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
b102	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
b103	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	1.00
b104	1.00	2.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
b105	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.00
b106	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.00
b107	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.67	0.00	1.00	0.50
b108	1.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b109	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
b110	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
b111	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.25	0.33	0.25
b112	1.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b113	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
b114	1.00	2.00	0.75	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
b115	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.67	0.25
b116	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.50
b117	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.67	0.00
b118	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
b119	1.00	2.00	0.25	0.67	0.25	1.00	0.75
b120	1.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.75
b121	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
b122	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b123	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b124	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b125	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.25
b126	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
b127	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
b128	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
b129	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
b130	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
b131	1.00	2.00	0.75	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.25
b132	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.25
b133	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
b134	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
b135	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
b136	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b137	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75

ID	PD	NN	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
b138	1.00	2.00	0.50	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.75
b139	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b140	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
b141	1.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b142	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
b143	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
b144	1.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b145	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b146	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.67	0.00	1.00	0.50
b147	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.25
b148	1.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
b149	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.50
b150	1.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
b151	2.00	2.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b152	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.50
b153	2.00	2.00	1.00	0.67	1.00	0.67	0.50
b154	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.50
b155	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.25
b156	2.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	1.00	1.00	0.75
b157	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.25
b158	2.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.50
b159	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
b160	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b161	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
b162	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.75
b163	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.50
b164	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00
b165	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.25
b166	2.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.25
b167	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.75
b168	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.75
b169	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	1.00
b170	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
b171	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b172	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.50
b173	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
b174	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.25
b175	2.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.25	1.00	1.00
b176	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b177	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.50
b178	2.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
b179	2.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.50	0.67	1.00
b180	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00
b181	2.00	2.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b182	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
b183	2.00	2.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b184	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50

ID	PD	NN	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
b185	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.00
b186	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	1.00
b187	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.67	0.50
b188	2.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.00
b189	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00
b190	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.50
b191	2.00	2.00	0.25	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00
b192	2.00	2.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
b193	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.00
b194	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	0.25
b195	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b196	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
b197	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b198	2.00	2.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
b199	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.25
b200	2.00	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
c201	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.50
c202	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.25
c203	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.67	0.75	0.00	0.75
c204	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
c205	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.67	0.75	0.00	1.00
c206	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
c207	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50
c208	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
c209	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	0.50
c210	1.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
c211	1.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
c212	1.00	3.00	0.75	0.67	1.00	1.00	1.00
c213	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
c214	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
c215	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.25
c216	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.75
c217	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
c218	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	1.00
c219	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c220	1.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c221	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c222	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
c223	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
c224	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.50
c225	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.67	0.75
c226	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
c227	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c228	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
c229	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
c230	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.67	0.50	0.67	1.00
c231	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.33	1.00

ID	PD	NN	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
c232	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00
c233	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.50
c234	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c235	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
c236	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.50
c237	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.75
c238	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
c239	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c240	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.50
c241	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
c242	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c243	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.33	0.00
c244	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.50
c245	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	1.00
c246	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
c247	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
c248	1.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
c249	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
c250	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
c251	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.33	0.50
c252	1.00	3.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
c253	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.75
c254	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.25
c255	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
c256	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	1.00	1.00
c257	1.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
c258	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
c259	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.00
c260	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.50
c261	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.00
c262	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.25
c263	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c264	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
c265	1.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.67	0.75
c266	1.00	3.00	0.25	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.25
c267	2.00	3.00	0.50	0.67	0.00	1.00	0.50
c268	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
c269	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
c270	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
c271	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
c272	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00
c273	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.67	0.75
c274	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
c275	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25
c276	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	0.75
c277	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c278	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.67	0.00	1.00	0.75

ID	PD	NN	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5
c279	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
c280	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
c281	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
c282	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.67	1.00
c283	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.50
c284	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.67	0.75
c285	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.50
c286	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	Continued on next page	
c287	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.25		
c288	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	1.00
c289	2.00	3.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00
c290	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.33	0.00
c291	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.75
c292	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	1.00
c293	2.00	3.00	0.50	0.67	0.00	0.67	1.00
c294	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c295	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.75
c296	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.67	0.00
c297	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.50
c298	2.00	3.00	0.75	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.50
c299	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.50	1.00	0.00
c300	2.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.75	0.00	0.75

Notes. F1=Conflict Frame, F2=Morality Conflict Frame, F3=Human Interest Conflict Frame, F4=Economic Conflict Frame, F5=Attribution of Responsibility Frame.

17.6 Code Neighbors List for Variables Coded in Atlas.ti

The following list of codes was generated by the Atlas.ti software that was used to code the variables that were not based on questions in the current study.

<i>The Guardian</i> (2003-2007)	Code: 11.11 Regulation {0-0}	Code: 11.3 Evaluation {18-0}
Code: 1.10.2004, p. 22 {1-0}	Code: 10.12 Accidents (road safety) {1-0}	Code: 11.4 Treatment {30-0}
Code: 1.7.2007, p. 2 {1-0}	Code: 10.12 Immigration {1-0}	Code: 13.6.2005, p. 25 {1-0}
Code: 1.8.2007, p. 4 {1-0}	Code: 10.12 Legal {1-0}	Code: 13.7.2004, p. 11 {1-0}
Code: 9.1 Generally positive {5-0}	Code: 10.12 Other {0-0}	Code: 15.12.2007, p. 43 {1-0}
Code: 10.12.2007, p. 18 {2-0}	Code: 10.2 Economy {5-0}	Code: 17.10.2003, p. 27 {1-0}
Code: 10.12.2007, p. 28 {1-0}	Code: 10.3 Education {3-0}	Code: 17.11.2004, p. 22 {1-0}
Code: 9.2 Generally negative {16-0}	Code: 10.4 Environment {0-0}	Code: 17.2.2004, p. 21 {1-0}
Code: 9.3 Fairly balanced {27-0}	Code: 10.5 Gender {0-0}	Code: 17.5.2003, p.23 {1-0}
Code: 10.8.2005, p. 6 {1-0}	Code: 10.6 Health {4-0}	Code: 18.6.2005, p. 9 {1-0}
Code: 10.9.2005, p. 4 {1-0}	Code: 10.7 Politics {15-0}	Code: 2.1 <i>The Guardian</i> {48-0}
Code: 10.1 Aid {12-0}	Code: 10.8 Poverty {5-0}	Code: 2.2 Le Monde {0-0}
Code: 11.1.2006, p. 3 {1-0}	Code: 10.9 Progress report {1-0}	Code: 2.2.2005, p.17 {1-0}
Code: 11.10 Public opinion {0-0}	Code: 11.1 Problem {21-0}	Code: 2.3 Frankfurter Rundschau {0-0}
	Code: 12.10.2007, p. 22 {1-0}	
	Code: 11.2 Cause {2-0}	

Code: 2.9.2005, p. 14 {1-0}

Code: 21.4.2006, p. 30 {1-0}

Code: 21.6.2005, p. 21 {1-0}

Code: 21.6.2005, p. 7 {1-0}

Code: 23.1.2003, p. 26 {1-0}

Code: 23.12.2005, p. 24 {1-0}

Code: 24.2.2005, p. 20 {1-0}

Code: 24.6.2005, p. 18 {1-0}

Code: 26.1.2005, p. 25 {1-0}

Code: 27.12.2006, p. 31 {1-0}

Code: 27.2.2006, p. 30 {1-0}

Code: 29.11.2004, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 3. Development aid: Step by step {1-0}

Code: 3. \$ 5bn could avert 6m child deaths, Lancet study says {1-0}

Code: 3. 536,000 deaths a year: the childbirth toll {1-0}

Code: 3. Africa: Maintain the momentum {1-0}

Code: 3. After G8, why the rich world must keep its pledges {1-0}

Code: 3. Aids conference told of lack of resources to halt pandemic {1-0}

Code: 3. Annan seeks support for reform {1-0}

Code: 3. Blair follows up on G8 pledges to help Africa {1-0}

Code: 3. Britain in partnership to improve healthcare of developing states {1-0}

Code: 3. Broken promises leave three million children to die in Africa {1-0}

Code: 3. Brown's arm twisting helps west keep vaccine promise {1-0}

Code: 3. Brown admits failures in fight against world poverty {1-0}

Code: 3. Brown plan for extra Dollars 50bn in war on poverty {1-0}

Code: 3. Can the world deliver for Africa? {1-0}

Code: 3. Cashing in: The government believes international aid is being misused {1-0}

Code: 3. Charities criticise government's £2bn 'no strings' aid given to World Bank {1-0}

Code: 3. Chirac clears poverty tax for takeoff {1-0}

Code: 3. Debt deal in pipeline after US visit {1-0}

Code: 3. Donors add 25% to poverty lifeline {1-0}

Code: 3. Fair exchange could help poor countries grow and put a damper on bubble money {1-0}

Code: 3. Forgive not forget: Debt relief should go faster {1-0}

Code: 3. G8 summit: Relieve the burden {1-0}

Code: 3. Half of all workers on \$ 2 a day or less {1-0}

Code: 3. High noon in last-chance saloon for rich and poor nations {1-0}

Code: 3. How 8 people will affect a continent: Aid {1-0}

Code: 3. How to sell the poor: Is the west really bored with stories about global poverty? {1-0}

Code: 3. How top London law firms help vulture funds devour their prey {1-0}

Code: 3. IMF chief: west must cede power to emerging nations {1-0}

Code: 3. IMF grants £1.9bn debt relief to world's poorest countries {1-0}

Code: 3. International aid: Battle for Brown's plan {1-0}

Code: 3. Italy backs aid scheme {1-0}

Code: 3. Look into the future: Education {1-0}

Code: 3. Look into the future: Health of the nations {1-0}

Code: 3. Look into the future: Trade and aid {1-0}

Code: 3. Look into the future: Why we need these goals {1-0}

Code: 3. Micro-credit: Small change makes big difference {1-0}

Code: 3. Millennium development goals: A lot more to do {1-0}

Code: 3. Millennium development goals: Bringing hope to Katine {1-0}

Code: 3. PM recruits world leaders to Africa aid emergency: War on poverty {1-0}

Code: 3. Poor hurt by aid conditions, UK tells IMF {1-0}

Code: 3. Poverty, hunger and disease: so much done yet so much left to do {1-0}

Code: 3. Rich nations told to stop poaching health staff {1-0}

Code: 3. Road deaths should be treated as a global disease, say campaigners {1-0}

Code: 3. The Gates way: Aid to Africa {1-0}

Code: 3. The lost decade: They were promised a brighter future, but in the 1990s the world's poor fell further behind {1-0}

Code: 3. US rejects Brown's \$ 100bn aid plan: G7 divided as Germany calls for air fuel tax to help poor {1-0}

Code: 3. Wanted: 15 million teachers {1-0}

Code: 3. World poverty is in retreat: Africa left behind in economic progress {1-0}

Code: 3.9.2005, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 3.9.2005, p. 15 {1-0}

Code: 3.9.2005, p. 2 {1-0}

Code: 3.9.2005, p.6 {1-0}

Code: 30.11.2004, p. 21 {1-0}

Code: 30.8.2005, p. 13 {1-0}

Code: 4.1 2003-2007 {48-0}

Code: 4.7.2006, p.1 {1-0}

Code: 5.11.2005, p.22 {1-0}

Code: 6.1 News/news feature {33-0}

Code: 6.10.2004, p. 13 {1-0}

Code: 6.2 Analysis {15-0}

Code: 6.3 Interview {0-0}

Code: 6.9.2007, p. 23 {1-0}

Code: 7.1 Developed
country government {36-
0}

Code: 7.10 Church groups
{1-0}

Code: 7.10 Corporations
{1-0}

Code: 7.10 Entrepreneur
{1-0}

Code: 7.10 Financial
institutions {1-0}

Code: 7.10 Journalists {1-
0}

Code: 7.10 Other (specify)
{0-0}

Code: 7.10 Philanthropist
{1-0}

Code: 7.10 Pupils {1-0}

Code: 7.10 Retired
statesman {2-0}

Code: 7.10 Vulture firms
{1-0}

Code: 7.2 Opposition
politician {2-0}

Code: 7.2.2005, p. 17 {1-
0}

Code: 7.3 Developing
country government {7-0}

Code: 7.4 Int. govt.
organization {21-0}

Code: 7.5 NGO {21-0}

Code: 7.6 Activist(s) {2-0}

Code: 7.7 Celebrit(y/ies)
{3-0}

Code: 7.8
Academics/experts {2-0}

Code: 7.9 Ordinary people
{4-0}

Code: 8.12.2004, p. 20 {1-
0}

Code: 8.6.2004, p. 21 {1-
0}

Code: 8.6.2005, p.1 {1-0}

Code: 8.6.2006, p. 20 {1-
0}

Code: 8.1 Episodic frame
{7-0}

Code: 8.2 Thematic frame
{26-0}

Code: 8.3 Not applicable
{15-0}

Code: 9.6.2005, p. 4 {1-0}

Code: 9.7.2003, p.1 {1-0}

Code: a001 {1-0}

Code: a002 {1-0}

Code: a003 {1-0}

Code: a004 {1-0}

Code: a005 {1-0}

Code: a006 {1-0}

Code: a007 {1-0}

Code: a008 {1-0}

Code: a009 {1-0}

Code: a010 {1-0}

Code: a011 {1-0}

Code: a012 {1-0}

Code: a013 {1-0}

Code: a014 {1-0}

Code: a015 {1-0}

Code: a016 {1-0}

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Code: a019 {1-0}

Code: a020 {1-0}

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Code: a023 {1-0}

Code: a024 {1-0}

Code: a025 {1-0}

Code: a026 {1-0}

Code: a027 {1-0}

Code: a028 {1-0}

Code: a029 {1-0}

Code: a030 {1-0}

Code: a031 {1-0}

Code: a032 {1-0}

Code: a033 {1-0}

Code: a034 {1-0}

Code: a035 {1-0}

Code: a036 {1-0}

Code: a037 {1-0}

Code: a038 {1-0}

Code: a039 {1-0}

Code: a040 {1-0}

Code: a041 {1-0}

Code: a042 {1-0}

Code: a043 {1-0}

Code: a044 {1-0}

Code: a045 {1-0}

Code: a046 {1-0}

Code: a047 {1-0}

Code: a048 {1-0}

***The Guardian* (2008-2012)**

Code: 9.1 Generally positive {7-0}

Code: 9.2 Generally negative {25-0}

Code: 9.3 Fairly balanced {20-0}

Code: 10.3.2009 {1-0}

Code: 10.1 Aid {10-0}

Code: 11.1.2012 {1-0}

Code: 11.10 Public opinion {0-0}

Code: 11.11 Regulation {3-0}

Code: 10.12 Agriculture {7-0}

Code: 10.12 Other {0-0}

Code: 10.2 Economy {5-0}

Code: 10.3 Education {1-0}

Code: 10.4 Environment {2-0}

Code: 10.5 Gender {2-0}

Code: 11.5.2012 {1-0}

Code: 10.6 Health {9-0}

Code: 10.7 Politics {11-0}

Code: 10.8 Poverty {2-0}

Code: 11.8.2012, p. 34 {1-0}

Code: 10.9 Progress report {0-0}

Code: 11.1 Problem {25-0}

Code: 11.2 Cause {13-0}

Code: 11.3 Evaluation {15-0}

Code: 11.4 Treatment {30-0}

Code: 12.4.2012, p. 5 {1-0}

Code: 14.9.2010, p.1 {1-0}

Code: 15.2.2012, p. 20 {1-0}

Code: 16.3.2009, p. 28 {1-0}

Code: 16.5.2008, p. 30 {1-0}

Code: 16.6.2009, p.20 {1-0}

Code: 16.8.2010, p.23 {1-0}

Code: 17.1.2011, p. 22 {1-0}

Code: 2.1 *The Guardian* {52-0}

Code: 2.2 Le Monde {0-0}

Code: 2.3 Frankfurter
Rundschau {0-0}

Code: 2.5.2008, p. 16 {1-0}

Code: 20.10.2010 {0-0}

Code: 20.10.2010, p. 1 {1-0}

Code: 20.7.2011 {1-0}

Code: 20.9.2010, p. 32 {1-0}

Code: 20.9.2010, p.1 {1-0}

Code: 21.4.2008, p. 2 {1-0}

Code: 21.9.2010 {1-0}

Code: 21.9.2010, p. 18 {1-0}

Code: 22.5.2008, p. 34 {1-0}

Code: 22.9.2009, p. 4 {1-0}

Code: 23.11.2009, p. 9 {1-0}

Code: 24.11.2008 {1-0}

Code: 24.9.2008, p. 15 {1-0}

Code: 24.9.2008, p. 2 {1-0}

Code: 24.9.2008, p. 4 {1-0}

Code: 24.9.2008, p. 6 {1-0}

Code: 25.9.2008, p.9 {1-0}

Code: 25.9.2010, p. 30 {1-0}

Code: 26.12.2011, p. 20 {1-0}

Code: 26.9.2008 {1-0}

Code: 27.2.2009 {1-0}

Code: 27.5.2008, p. 1 {1-0}

Code: 27.9.2008, p. 36 {1-0}

Code: 28.6.2011, p.2 {1-0}

Code: 29.3.2012, p.9 {1-0}

Code: 29.7.2009, p. 30 {1-0}

Code: 3. 'Choose growth or accept poverty for billions': Stark warning in blueprint for emulating model countries {1-0}

Code: 3. 'I think it can be done' {1-0}

Code: 3. 'We risk seeing progress reversed' {1-0}

Code: 3. International aid: Feeding Africa {1-0}

Code: 3. \$3bn ploughed into fight against malaria:

Bill Gates and World Bank among the donors {1-0}

Code: 3. Abandon 0.7% international aid target, peers tell ministers {1-0}

Code: 3. Africa's burgeoning middle class brings hope to a continent {1-0}

Code: 3. African growth threatened by rising inequality {1-0}

Code: 3. Aid agencies tell big business where to put its help {1-0}

Code: 3. Aid: Making development go {1-0}

Code: 3. Anger as billions in aid is diverted to war zones {1-0}

Code: 3. Another poor year for overseas aid: Developing countries are betrayed by richer nations failing to fulfil their pledges {1-0}

Code: 3. Billion dollar bash: Donors party for charity {1-0}

Code: 3. Brown flies to UN to launch drive for 1m health workers {1-0}

Code: 3. Brown needs grassroots help on aid {1-0}

Code: 3. Brown says UK will increase overseas aid despite deficit {1-0}

Code: 3. Budget cuts weaken child poverty battle {1-0}

Code: 3. Cameron calls on G8 to target maternal deaths {1-0}

Code: 3. Cameron to chair UN committee overseeing development goals {1-0}

Code: 3. Child marriage blights millions of lives {1-0}

Code: 3. Clegg vows to lead way in new global poverty fight {1-0}

Code: 3. Crisis talks on global food prices {1-0}

Code: 3. David Cameron in Africa: Resolute on aid {1-0}

Code: 3. Development: Africa begins to make poverty history {1-0}

Code: 3. Earth summit to set new goals for governments {1-0}

Code: 3. Education of world's poorest under threat {1-0}

Code: 3. Extra dollars 1bn for healthcare in world's 72 poorest nations {1-0}

Code: 3. Fairer spending 'could save 4m children' {1-0}

Code: 3. Food crisis threatens security, says UN chief {1-0}

Code: 3. HIV/Aids Protesters demand action {1-0}

Code: 3. Hunger summit: Think small {1-0}

Code: 3. Hunger: what has been achieved? {1-0}

Code: 3. Hunger: world food shortage {1-0}

Code: 3. International aid: West falls short on Africa promises {1-0}

Code: 3. International development: Aid appeal {1-0}

Code: 3. Malnutrition: Hunger crisis kills 2.6m children a year {1-0}

Code: 3. Maternal health: Dying for change {1-0}

Code: 3. Millennium goal in jeopardy as donors shun water projects {1-0}

Code: 3. Multinationals face exposure {1-0}

Code: 3. Papal visit: The religious and the rest {1-0}

Code: 3. Payment-by-results plan for overseas aid as minister promises value for money {1-0}

Code: 3. Poor countries with IMF loans 'divert aid from public health' {1-0}

Code: 3. Rich pickings in new scramble for Africa {1-0}

Code: 3. Rich seek tax breaks to fund UN development donations {1-0}

Code: 3. Support is stigmatised and scarce {1-0}

Code: 3. Tax havens: The poor take the biggest hit {1-0}

Code: 3. UN leader tells world to stick to poverty promises {1-0}

Code: 3. UN summit: Developing development {1-0}

Code: 3. We need to keep digging deep for Africa {1-0}

Code: 3. West is urged to cancel further \$400bn of poor countries' debt {1-0}

Code: 3. What happened to the millennium development babies? {1-0}

Code: 3. Women: Millions of mothers lost {1-0}	Code: 7.10 Church groups {1-0}	Code: 7.7 Celebrit(y/ies) {4-0}
Code: 3.3.2008, p. 32 {1-0}	Code: 7.10 Corporations/entrepreneurs {6-0}	Code: 7.8 Academics/experts {10-0}
Code: 3.7.2010, p. 13 {1-0}	Code: 7.10 First lady {2-0}	Code: 7.9 Ordinary people {4-0}
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Code: 7.10 Other (specify) {0-0}	Code: b153 {1-0}	Code: b176 {1-0}
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	Code: b172 {1-0}	Code: b195 {1-0}
	Code: b173 {1-0}	Code: b196 {1-0}
	Code: b174 {1-0}	Code: b197 {1-0}

Code: b198 {1-0}	Code: 10.12 Philanthropy {1-0}	Code: 11.4 Treatment {37-0}
Code: b199 {1-0}	Code: 10.12 Scientific innovation {1-0}	Code: 12.5.2004, p. 16 {1-0}
Code: b200 {1-0}	Code: 10.2 Economy {8-0}	Code: 13.10.2005, p. 2 {1-0}
Frankfurter Rundschau (2003-2007)	Code: 10.3 Education {0-0}	Code: 13.10.2007, p. 7 {1-0}
Code: 1.7.2005, p. 42 {1-0}	Code: 10.4 Environment {0-0}	Code: 13.9.2005, p. 11 {1-0}
Code: 1.7.2006, p. 13 {1-0}	Code: 11.4.2007, p. 42 {1-0}	Code: 14.4.2003, p. 9 {1-0}
Code: 9.1 Generally positive {13-0}	Code: 11.4.2007, p.42 {1-0}	Code: 14.5.2007 {1-0}
Code: 9.2 Generally negative {25-0}	Code: 10.5 Gender {1-0}	Code: 14.6.2005, p. 2 {1-0}
Code: 9.3 Fairly balanced {28-0}	Code: 10.6 Health {8-0}	Code: 14.9.2005, p. 1 {1-0}
Code: 10.6.2005, p. 4 {1-0}	Code: 10.7 Politics {16-0}	Code: 15.9.2005, p. 11 {1-0}
Code: 10.1 Aid {14-0}	Code: 10.8 Poverty {7-0}	Code: 16.6.2006, p. 2 {1-0}
Code: 11.10 Public opinion {0-0}	Code: 11.8.2006, p. 36 {1-0}	Code: 16.6.2006, p. 3 {1-0}
Code: 11.11 Regulation {1-0}	Code: 11.8.2006, p. 37 {1-0}	Code: 16.7.2004, p. 7 {1-0}
Code: 10.12 Food and agriculture {6-0}	Code: 10.9 Progress report {1-0}	Code: 16.8.2006, p. 16 {1-0}
Code: 10.12 Humanitarian work {2-0}	Code: 11.1 Problem {31-0}	Code: 16.9.2005, p. 3 {1-0}
Code: 10.12 Other {0-0}	Code: 11.2 Cause {3-0}	Code: 18.4.2005, p. 9 {2-0}
	Code: 11.3 Evaluation {15-0}	

Code: 18.4.2007, p. 35 {1-0}

Code: 18.7.2006, p. 8 {1-0}

Code: 19.10.2005, p. 25 {1-0}

Code: 19.4.2005, p. 10 {1-0}

Code: 2.1 *The Guardian* {0-0}

Code: 2.2 *Le Monde* {0-0}

Code: 2.3 Frankfurter Rundschau {66-0}

Code: 2.9.2005, p. 24 {1-0}

Code: 20.4.2005, p. 2 {1-0}

Code: 22.3.2005, p. 6 {1-0}

Code: 23.1.2004, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 23.11.2005, p. 1 {1-0}

Code: 23.11.2005, p. 6 {1-0}

Code: 24.1.2004, p. 6 {1-0}

Code: 24.10.2005, p. 5 {1-0}

Code: 24.11.2005, p. 11 {1-0}

Code: 24.5.2005, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 24.6.2005, p. 11 {1-0}

Code: 26.7.2005, p. 10 {1-0}

Code: 27.3.2007, p. 9 {1-0}

Code: 27.4.2004, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 27.5.2007, p. 3 {1-0}

Code: 27.8.2004, p. 6 {1-0}

Code: 29.5.2007, p. 37 {1-0}

Code: 29.6.2004, p. 11 {1-0}

Code: 3. "Das US-Vorgehen ist unakzeptabel" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Die Zahl der Schulkinder hat sich verdoppelt" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Engagement gegen Hunger ist erlahmt" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Geld allein hilft nicht weiter" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Männer müssen lernen, dass Gleichberechtigung auch für sie Vorteile bringt" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Nur Wachstum reicht nicht". {1-0}

Code: 3. "Täglich sterben 6000 Kinder durch schmutziges Wasser" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Wir unterstützen Generika" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Wir wollen Druck auf die Politik ausüben". {1-0}

Code: 3. 54 Millionen Menschen hungern: Besonders in Afrika und Südasien ist Mangelernährung weit verbreitet. {1-0}

Code: 3. Africa holt auf: OECD sieht hohes Wachstum {1-0}

Code: 3. An sonnigen Samstagen soll Armut nicht stören {1-0}

Code: 3. Annan warnt vor Gefahren des Anti-Terror-Kampfes {1-0}

Code: 3. Ansturm auf die Festung {1-0}

Code: 3. Armut am Mekong {1-0}

Code: 3.
Armutsbekämpfung :
Wissenschaftler fordern
UN-Entwicklungsrat {1-0}

Code: 3. Bischof will vom
Bund mehr Engagement
{1-0}

Code: 3. Der Verlierer
heißt: Afrika {1-0}

Code: 3. Deutsche
Entwicklungshilfe nur
Mittelmaß {1-0}

Code: 3. Die deutsche
Entwicklungspolitik
braucht eine wirkliche
Wende {1-0}

Code: 3. Die deutsche EU-
Ratspräsidentschaft will
eigene und dauerhafte
Akzente für die
Entwicklungszusammenar-
beit setzen {1-0}

Code: 3. Entwicklungshilfe
fehlen 50 Milliarden
Dollar {1-0}

Code: 3. Flugsteuer für die
Armen {1-0}

Code: 3. Freude und
Frustration in Afrika {1-0}

Code: 3. G-8-Staaten
wollen Afrikas
Gesundheitssystem stärken
{1-0}

Code: 3. G7 wollen
Schulden der Armen
schultern {1-0}

Code: 3. Gesundheit auf
der Agenda {1-0}

Code: 3. Ghanas: Das
Land gilt als Musterschüler
in Afrika - und ist {1-0}

Code: 3. Gipfel sucht nach
Geld und Wegen {1-0}

Code: 3. Globale
Arbeitslosigkeit auf
Rekordstand {1-0}

Code: 3. Guter Rat {1-0}

Code: 3. Heiße Luft {1-0}

Code: 3. Helfen ist hip {1-
0}

Code: 3. Hilferuf gegen
Aids {1-0}

Code: 3. Hunger tötet
Millionen {1-0}

Code: 3. Hungerbericht:
Fiasko {1-0}

Code: 3. In Afrika hungern
noch mehr Kinder {1-0}

Code: 3. Ingenieure ohne
Grenzen {1-0}

Code: 3. Kein
Entwicklungsklima {1-0}

Code: 3. KfW geht höheres
Risiko bei
Entwicklungshilfe ein {1-
0}

Code: 3. Kleinkredite
helfen Afrikas Armen an
den Start {1-0}

Code: 3. Konfusion in
Washington. Auflagen des
Währungsfonds blockieren
Entwicklungshilfe für
Afrika. {1-0}

Code: 3. Ministerien in
Deutschland, Teil 2: Afrika
wird Schwerpunkt bleiben
{1-0}

Code: 3. Ministerin will
Entwicklungshilfe stärken
{1-0}

Code: 3. Mit Popstars
gegen den Hunger {1-0}

Code: 3. OECD will
nachhaltig helfen {1-0}

Code: 3. Paris will
Sondersteuer zu Gunsten
der Entwicklungsländer
{1-0}

Code: 3. Regierung soll
Wort halten {1-0}

Code: 3. Sauberes Wasser
bleibt ein Luxus {1-0}

Code: 3.
Selbstverpflichtung mit
Fragezeichen {1-0}

Code: 3. Sorge über hohe
Ölpreise wächst {1-0}

Code: 3. Staaten
blockieren einander {1-0}

Code: 3. Testlauf bei
Entwicklungshilfe {1-0}

Code: 3. Transatlantischer
Konflikt lastet auf
Frühjahrstagung {1-0}

Code: 3. UN-Gipfel droht
Fehlschlag {1-0}

Code: 3. UN-Reform
gescheitert {1-0}

Code: 3. UN-Reform:
Spielball der Mächtigen
{1-0}

Code: 3. UN mahnen
stärkeren Kampf gegen
Hunger an {1-0}

Code: 3. UN prangern
Diskriminierung als
Ursache von Armut an {1-0}

Code: 3. UN schlagen
Aktionsplan gegen Armut
vor {1-0}

Code: 3. Wasserknappheit
wird zum Kernproblem
Afrikas {1-0}

Code: 3. Weltbank sichert
Armutsbekämpfung zu {1-0}

Code: 3. WHO will
Millionen Menschen retten
{1-0}

Code: 3. WHO:
Entwicklungsziele durch
Aids gefährdet {1-0}

Code: 3. Zahl der Armen
in Lateinamerika steigt {1-0}

Code: 3. Zwischenbilanz
der Weltbank ernüchtert
{1-0}

Code: 3.11.2005, p. 11 {1-0}

Code: 3.11.2005. p. 5 {1-0}

Code: 3.6.2004, p. 9 {1-0}

Code: 3.7.2007, p. 1 {1-0}

Code: 31.5.2005, p. 11 {1-0}

Code: 4.1 2003-2007 {65-0}

Code: 4.10.2004, p. 9 {1-0}

Code: 4.11.2005, p. 10 {1-0}

Code: 4.2 2008-2012 {1-0}

Code: 4.5.2006, p. 3 {1-0}

Code: 4.5.2006, p. 7 {1-0}

Code: 4.6.2005, p. 16 {1-0}

Code: 5.10.2005, p. 14 {1-0}

Code: 6.1 News/news
feature {46-0}

Code: 6.11.2004, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 6.2 Analysis {12-0}

Code: 6.3 Interview {8-0}

Code: 7.1 Developed
country government {37-0}

Code: 7.10
Corporations/entrepreneurs
{2-0}

Code: 7.10 Local
authorities {2-0}

Code: 7.10 Other (specify)
{0-0}

Code: 7.10 Philanthropists
{1-0}

Code: 7.10 Students {1-0}

Code: 7.2 Opposition
politician {1-0}

Code: 7.3 Developing
country government {7-0}

Code: 7.4 Int. govt.
organization {36-0}

Code: 7.5 NGO {21-0}

Code: 7.6 Activist(s) {2-0}

Code: 7.7 Celebrit(y/ies)
{2-0}

Code: 7.7.2005, p. 10 {1-0}

Code: 7.8
Academics/experts {10-0}

Code: 7.9 Ordinary people
{3-0}

Code: 8.4.2006, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 8.1 Episodic frame
{7-0}

Code: 9.11.2005, p. 26 {1-0}

Code: 8.2 Thematic frame
{39-0}

Code: 8.3 Not applicable
{20-0}

Code: 9.4.2003, p. 17 {1-0}

Code: 9.6.2007, p. 17 {1-0}

Code: 9.7.2003, p. 16 {1-0}

Code: 9.9.2005, p. 6 {1-0}

Code: 9.9.2005, p.6 {1-0}

Code: c201 {1-0}

Code: c202 {1-0}

Code: c203 {1-0}

Code: c204 {1-0}

Code: c205 {1-0}

Code: c206 {1-0}

Code: c207 {1-0}

Code: c208 {1-0}

Code: c209 {1-0}

Code: c210 {1-0}

Code: c211 {1-0}

Code: c212 {1-0}

Code: c213 {1-0}

Code: c214 {1-0}

Code: c215 {1-0}

Code: c216 {1-0}

Code: c217 {1-0}

Code: c218 {1-0}

Code: c219 {1-0}

Code: c220 {1-0}

Code: c221 {1-0}

Code: c222 {1-0}

Code: c223 {1-0}

Code: c224 {1-0}

Code: c225 {1-0}

Code: c226 {1-0}

Code: c227 {1-0}

Code: c228 {1-0}

Code: c229 {1-0}

Code: c230 {1-0}

Code: c231 {1-0}

Code: c232 {1-0}

Code: c233 {1-0}

Code: c234 {1-0}

Code: c235 {1-0}

Code: c236 {1-0}

Code: c237 {1-0}

Code: c238 {1-0}

Code: c239 {1-0}

Code: c240 {1-0}

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Code: c243 {1-0}

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Code: c245 {1-0}

Code: c246 {1-0}

Code: c247 {1-0}

Code: c248 {1-0}

Code: c249 {1-0}

Code: c250 {1-0}

Code: c251 {1-0}

Code: c252 {1-0}

Code: c253 {1-0}

Code: c254 {1-0}

Code: c255 {1-0}

Code: c256 {1-0}

Code: c257 {1-0}

Code: c258 {1-0}

Code: c259 {1-0}

Code: c260 {1-0}

Code: c261 {1-0}

Code: c262 {1-0}

Code: c263 {1-0}

Code: c264 {1-0}

Code: c265 {1-0}

Code: c266 {1-0}

**Frankfurter Rundschau
(2008-2012)**

Code: 9.1 Generally
positive {3-0}

Code: 9.2 Generally
negative {20-0}

Code: 9.3 Fairly balanced
{11-0}

Code: 10.1 Aid {7-0}

Code: 11.10 Public opinion
{0-0}

Code: 11.11 Regulation
{1-0}

Code: 10.12 Food and
agriculture {4-0}

Code: 10.12 Other {0-0}

Code: 10.2 Economy {2-
0}

Code: 10.3 Education {3-
0}

Code: 10.4 Environment
{0-0}

Code: 10.5 Gender {1-0}

Code: 10.6 Health {0-0}

Code: 10.7 Politics {12-0}

Code: 11.7.2009, p. 4 {1-
0}

Code: 10.8 Poverty {2-0}

Code: 10.9 Progress report
{2-0}

Code: 11.1 Problem {15-
0}

Code: 11.2 Cause {1-0}

Code: 11.3 Evaluation
{15-0}

Code: 12.3.2008, p. 16 {1-
0}

Code: 11.4 Treatment {17-
0}

Code: 12.4.2010, p. 29 {1-
0}

Code: 14.3.2009, p. 20 {1-
0}

Code: 15.9.2010, p. 17 {1-
0}

Code: 16.9.2010, p. 18 {1-
0}

Code: 17.9.2010, p. 5 {1-
0}

Code: 19.11.2009, p. 17
{1-0}

Code: 2.1 *The Guardian*
{0-0}

Code: 2.2 *Le Monde* {0-0}

Code: 2.3 Frankfurter
Rundschau {34-0}

Code: 2.3.2011, p. 22 {1-
0}

Code: 2.4.2009, p. 16 {1-
0}

Code: 2.9.2008, p. 19 {1-
0}

Code: 22.1.2011, p. 17 {1-
0}

Code: 22.9.2010, p. 1 {1-
0}

Code: 22.9.2012, p. 17 {1-
0}

Code: 23.1.2008, p. 9 {1-
0}

Code: 23.7.2011, p. 13 {1-0}

Code: 23.9.2010, p. 13 {1-0}

Code: 23.9.2010, p. 9 {1-0}

Code: 24.6.2010, p. 12 {1-0}

Code: 25.6.2010, p. 2 {1-0}

Code: 25.6.2012, p. 6 {1-0}

Code: 26.10.2010, p. 16 {2-0}

Code: 26.26.2008, p. 18 {1-0}

Code: 27.3.2010, p. 17 {1-0}

Code: 29.11.2008, p. 17 {1-0}

Code: 3. "Die Nothilfe jetzt zu beschneiden, wäre katastrophal" {1-0}

Code: 3. "Schwarz-Gelb spielt mit Menschenleben" {1-0}

Code: 3. 26 000 tote Kinder am Tag {1-0}

Code: 3. Abschöpfen für die Armen {1-0}

Code: 3. Afrika zeigt sich krisenfest {1-0}

Code: 3. Arme bleiben draußen {1-0}

Code: 3. Arme Mädchen sind oft am ärmsten dran {1-0}

Code: 3. Ban Ki Moon fordert Einsatz für Millenniumsziele {1-0}

Code: 3. Chancen für Arme {1-0}

Code: 3. Das große Versprechen {1-0}

Code: 3. Der Friedhof der Kinder {1-0}

Code: 3. Effizienter Nebel {1-0}

Code: 3. Ein Armutszeugnis {1-0}

Code: 3. Es bleiben Zorn und Hoffnung {1-0}

Code: 3. Gebernationen knausern {1-0}

Code: 3. Großer Zirkus und wenig Brot {1-0}

Code: 3. Gutscheine für Asien {1-0}

Code: 3. Hilfe lässt zu wünschen übrig {1-0}

Code: 3. Hunger als Sicherheitsproblem {1-0}

Code: 3. Jeder dritte Afrikaner hungert {1-0}

Code: 3. Kambodscha strebt die Gleichstellung der Frauen an - doch das Land ist davon weit entfernt {1-0}

Code: 3. Konferenz über Entwicklungsfinanzierung {1-0}

Code: 3. Kraftakt für Millenniumsziele {1-0}

Code: 3. Luxusaufgabe {1-0}

Code: 3. Mehr ins Zeug legen {1-0}

Code: 3. Milliarden gegen Müttersterblichkeit {1-0}

Code: 3. Nebel Trickseriei vorgeworfen {1-0}

Code: 3. Qualität und Quantität laufen Hand in Hand {1-0}

Code: 3. Unterstützung nach Gutsherrenart {1-0}

Code: 3. Verlorene Generation von 200 Millionen {1-0}

Code: 3. Viele Zusagen, wenige Fortschritte {1-0}

Code: 3. Weckruf für die Politik {1-0}

Code: 3. Weltweiter Hunger bleibt Nebensache {1-0}

Code: 3. Ziel verpasst: Erstmals seit Langem sinken weltweit Ausgaben für Entwicklungshilfe {1-0}

Code: 3.9.2010, p. 15 {1-0}

Code: 30.10.2012, p. 23 {1-0}

Code: 4.1 2003-2007 {0-0}

Code: 4.2 2008-2012 {34-0}

Code: 4.9.2010, p. 10 {1-0}

Code: 6.1 News/news feature {23-0}

Code: 6.11.2009, p. 21 {1-0}

Code: 6.2 Analysis {7-0}

Code: 6.3 Interview {4-0}

Code: 6.6.2008, p. 11 {1-0}

Code: 7.1 Developed country government {18-0}

Code: 7.10 Local authorities {2-0}

Code: 7.10 Other (specify) {0-0}

Code: 7.10 School children {1-0}

Code: 7.2 Opposition politician {3-0}

Code: 7.3 Developing country government {6-0}

Code: 7.4 Int. govt. organization {21-0}

Code: 7.5 NGO {14-0}

Code: 7.6 Activist(s) {0-0}

Code: 7.7 Celebrit(y/ies) {0-0}

Code: 7.8 Academics/experts {3-0}

Code: 7.9 Ordinary people {2-0}

Code: 8.7.2008, p. 5 {1-0}

Code: 8.1 Episodic frame {3-0}

Code: 9.11.2010, p. 15 {1-0}

Code: 8.2 Thematic frame {20-0}

Code: 8.3 Not applicable {11-0}

Code: 9.9.2011, p. R10 {1-0}

Code: c267 {1-0}

Code: c268 {1-0}

Code: c269 {1-0}

Code: c270 {1-0}

Code: c271 {1-0}

Code: c272 {1-0}

Code: c273 {1-0}

Code: c274 {1-0}

Code: c275 {1-0}

Code: c276 {1-0}

Code: c277 {1-0}

Code: c278 {1-0}

Code: c279 {1-0}

Code: c280 {1-0}

Code: c281 {1-0}

Code: c282 {1-0}

Code: c283 {1-0}

Code: c284 {1-0}

Code: c285 {1-0}

Code: c286 {1-0}

Code: c287 {1-0}

Code: c288 {1-0}

Code: c289 {1-0}

Code: c290 {1-0}

Code: c291 {1-0}

Code: c292 {1-0}

Code: c293 {1-0}

Code: c294 {1-0}

Code: c295 {1-0}

Code: c296 {1-0}

Code: c297 {1-0}

Code: c298 {1-0}

Code: c299 {1-0}

Code: c300 {1-0}

18. Résumé

Abungwo Clovis Atatah

Personal Data

Date of Birth: 22.12.1973

Nationality: Cameroonian

Contact: clovisatatah@gmail.com

Higher Education

Since 2011	Masters studies in Media Studies and Communication (University of Vienna, Austria)
1993 – 1997	Undergraduate studies in Journalism and Mass Communication (University of Buea, Cameroon. Graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree)

Secondary and High School Education

1991 – 1993	Science Education in high school (Bilingual Grammar School Molyko, Buea, Cameroon. Obtained the General Certificate of Education “Advanced Level”)
1986 – 1991	Secondary Education (Presbyterian Secondary School Mankon, Cameroon. Obtained the General Certificate of Education “Ordinary Level”)

Professional Training

2009	Training as a trainer of practicing journalists (Thomson Foundation, UK; British High Commission in Cameroon)
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- 2005 Course in “Newspaper Management”
(International Institute for Journalism, Berlin, Germany)
- 2003 Course in Investigative Journalism
(World Bank Institute, Washington, D.C., USA)
- 2001 Course in Mass Communication
(African Union of Journalists, Cairo, Egypt)
- 2001 Course in Web Publishing
(Thomson Foundation, Cardiff, UK)

Languages and IT Skills

English – Native speaker
French – Fluent (speaking and writing)
German - Good (speaking and writing)

19. Abstract

19.1 Abstract (German)

Zahlreiche Framing-Studien machen implizit normative Annahmen hinsichtlich der Kennzeichen publizistischer Qualität. Andere Studien gehen noch einen Schritt weiter und verknüpfen Framing explizit mit journalistischer Qualität. Jedoch fokussieren Framing-Forscher oft auf beschränkte Aspekte journalistischer Qualität und achten zu wenig auf das Zustandekommen der Qualitätsmaßstäbe innerhalb traditioneller journalistischer Qualitätsforschung. Um dieser Einschränkung zu begegnen, wurde in dieser Arbeit ein integrativer Ansatz gewählt: die begriffliche Fassung innerhalb zeitgenössischer publizistischen Qualitätsforschung von vier zentralen Qualitätskriterien, einschließlich Vielfalt, Relevanz, Aktualität und Professionalität, wurden vollständig angenommen, aber deren Operationalisierung wurde im Framing-Paradigma verankert. Eine Synthese der Konzepte von Framing und Qualitätsjournalismus ging dieser Operationalisierung voraus.

Im Mittelpunkt diese Arbeit steht die Bewertung der Qualität der Berichterstattung der UN-Millenniums-Entwicklungsziele (MDGs) im Laufe von zehn Jahren in drei europäischen Qualitätstageszeitungen, einschließlich *Le Monde* (Frankreich), *The Guardian* (vereinigtes Königreich) und der *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Deutschland). Das Framing der Berichterstattung der MDGs und die vier festgelegten Qualitätskriterien wurden in dieser Untersuchung ausgewertet. Vor der Qualitätsbewertung wurde das Framing der Berichterstattung der MDGs untersucht. Dabei wurden inhaltsanalytische Instrumente erstellt, um Basisframes und einschlägige Bestandteile von Frames zu erfassen. Mit diesen Framing-Maßstäben wurde ein weiteres Instrument zur Auswertung der publizistischen Qualität in allen drei untersuchten Tageszeitungen erstellt. Dabei dienten die vier Qualitätskriterien als Fundament und die Framing-Maßstäbe als Bausteine.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass das Framing der MDGs in den drei untersuchten Tageszeitungen bemerkenswert ähnlich war. Außerdem erfüllte die Berichterstattung über die MDGs in allen drei Tageszeitungen die Kriterien von Relevanz und Aktualität, jedoch nicht die Anforderungen bezüglich Vielfalt und Professionalität. Ich vertrete den Standpunkt, dass im Großen und Ganzen

die Framing-Maßstäbe für die Operationalisierung der folgenden Qualitätskriterien empirisch angemessen sind: Vielfalt, Relevanz, und Aktualität. Jedoch sind sie unzureichend für die Operationalisierung des Professionalitäts-Kriteriums. Abgesehen davon liefert das Framing-Konzept wichtige Einblicke in die publizistische Qualität und *vice versa*. Es würde die Kommunikationswissenschaft fördern, wenn diese beiden Konzepte noch stärker integriert würden.

19.2 Abstract (English)

Many framing studies make implicit normative assumptions about the hallmarks of news quality, while others go a step further to make explicit connections between framing and journalistic quality. However, framing scholars often focus on narrow aspects of journalistic quality and pay little attention to the conceptualization of quality criteria within traditional journalistic quality research. To address this perceived limitation, this study adopted an integrative approach: conceptualizations within contemporary journalistic quality research of core quality criteria, including diversity, relevance, topicality and professionalism, were wholly embraced, but their operationalization was anchored in the framing paradigm. This operationalization was preceded by a synthesis of framing and journalistic quality.

At the center of the study was the assessment of the quality of the coverage of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by three elite European dailies, notably *Le Monde* (France), *Frankfurter Rundschau* (Germany) and *The Guardian* (United Kingdom) over a 10-year period. This assessment was guided both by the framing of the coverage of the MDGs and the four quality criteria retained for the study. Prior to the quality assessment, the framing of the coverage of the MDGs was investigated. Content analytical instruments were, consequently, developed to measure generic frames and some relevant frame elements. Using these framing measures, another instrument was designed for assessing journalistic quality in the three analyzed newspapers. In constructing the instrument, the four quality criteria served as the foundation and the framing measures as building blocks.

The results revealed that the framing of the MDGs was remarkably similar in all three analyzed newspapers. In addition, the coverage of the MDGs by all three newspapers met the topicality and relevance quality criteria, while falling short on the requirements for diversity and professionalism. On the whole, I argued that, empirically, framing measures are adequate for the operationalization of the diversity, relevance, and topicality criteria as conceptualized within traditional quality research, but are inadequate for the professionalism criterion. I further argued that framing provides crucial insights into journalistic quality, and vice versa, and it would serve communication scholarship if these two concepts are more tightly integrated.