

UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE

FAKULTA HUMANITNÍCH STUDIÍ

Katedra elektronické kultury a sémiotiky

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Kofi Annan Media Image
(Mediální obraz Kofiho Annana)

Diplomová práce

Studijní program: Mediální a komunikační studia (7202T)

Studijní obor: Elektronická kultura a sémiotika

Vedoucí práce: Prof. PhDr. Miroslav Marcelli, Ph.D.

Praha 2009

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V Praze dne 14. ledna 2008

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SUMMARY

ABSTRACT	1
1. INTRODUCTION	2
2. THESIS AND METHOD OF RESEARCH.....	4
3. THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION	6
4. THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL	8
4.1. KOFI ANNAN	9
5. MEDIA THEORY.....	12
5.1. BARTHES MYTHOLOGIES.....	12
5.2. THE FRANKURT SCHOOL.....	14
5.3. OTHER THEORIES	17
5.4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.....	19
5.5. MEDIA INFLUENCE.....	23
5.6. HYPER REALITY.....	25
6. SEMIOTICS	29
6.1. BINARY READING-INTERTEXTUALITY	30
6.2. MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS	33
6.3. MEDIA CONTEXT: KOFI ANNAN	34
7. WEST AFRICAN MEDIA	38
7.1. GHANAIAI MEDIA	40
7.2. GHANAIAI MEDIA HISTORY	41
8. PRESENT STATE OF THE GHANAIAI MEDIA.....	44
8.1. NEWSPAPERS	44
8.2. BROADCAST MEDIA.....	46
8.3. INTERNET	47
9. IMAGE ANALYSIS	49
9.1. THE CZECH MEDIA	49
9.2. MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS-CZECH.....	52
9.3. MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS-GHANAIAI.....	57
9.4. VISUAL IMAGE	65
10. CONCLUSION	67
DICTIONARY	70
REFERENCES	72

ABSTRACT

In the period between 1997 and 2007, Kofi Annan was Secretary General of the United Nation Organization. This work concerns his media image in Czech and Ghanaian media (as an example of European and African media respectively). The theoretical basis is taken from media theory, looking at thinkers such as Michael Foucault, Althusser and the Roland Barthes and an important part of the project is based on Critical Discourse Analysis. The thesis maps the important milestones within the tenure of Kofi Annan, which were crucial to his work, and it is therefore also an analysis of media responses to different pivotal moments of his career. Much of the work is based on explaining how the media work and what is specific about the Ghanaian media as a relatively unknown subject.

The projects further looks at the legacy of Kofi Annan not only as a secretary General of the United Nations Organization but also as an international leader. In order to make the analysis complete there is also a study how Kofi Annan was shown visually during his ten year mandate as head of the United Nations Organization. There is a detailed look at the differences and similarities of the image of Kofi Annan presented by the Czech and Ghanaian media. Research was focused on electronic media. Materials were taken from both Czech and Ghanaian sources including online newspapers, periodicals and newscasts, television and radio. Further materials were also taken from other online or print medium concerning the persona of Kofi Annan during his 10-year tenure.

1. INTRODUCTION

At present there has been there has been a lot of academic research done on the subject of media image. Given the ever-expanding influence of the media on the global audience, one cannot be surprised that a considerable body of work has been dedicated to the effects, which the media have in our everyday lives. The media and its effects are studied from different angles, time periods and of different subjects. The media image of a certain person, social group, event or object can be looked upon from the aspect of economics, religion or for example education. At present one of the most common media images which are most often studied and discussed is the image of the human body (female) displayed in the media. As a result of heavy consumer culture in countries where the media is very strong, the dilemma of how and when to show the human body is an acute point of research. The research in this field is focused mostly on the way in which the aesthetics of the female body are shown to a wide audience and the social, health and financial implications this might have.

Another very often studies aspect of the media and the image it represents is that of minorities, these can be racial minorities, women, and the elderly or for example, how glbt people are presented in the media in a certain context. These studies range across a wide spectrum of choices such as “Muslims” in Swedish Media and Academia or “media image of black men in America”

The idea of studying how a certain group of people or person is shown in the media is not only a common subject in academia but is often used as a reflection of what a certain society thinks of that particular group or individual. This is most often seen in the case of ethnic minorities. The fact that a certain group of people is shown in the media in a particular

fashion is often regarded as a greater opinion of the general public. Therefore often it is taken that if single mothers in the media a presentment as strong and independent most probably that particular society views them as such.

In the case of Kofi Annan as a world leader there has been much written, said and analysed about him in his term as Secretary General of the United Nations. These analysis have been both on an academic level as well as on a popular lever by commentators and internet bloggers. Kofi Annan has been analysed in different contexts which can easily be divided into three main groups. The first angle of analysis is that of Kofi Annan as Secretary General of the United Nations his qualities in that position as an international leader. Another angle of his analysis is from the point of view of an African leader or rather a leader of African origin, his impact as a role model for other African leaders and politicians. Thirdly his persona is often studies from the point of view of a peacekeeper and model black man. This last comparison is similar to that of Nelson Mandela or Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The persona of Kofi Annan has therefore been widely studies and written about in an international context. There have been numerous books, reflections and studies done on him; these of course include publications written by Mr. Annan himself. In the context of the Czech Academia, there has been no major study of such kind to date though.

2. THESIS AND METHOD OF RESEARCH

In my final project, I will be looking at the media image of Kofi Annan during the period ten year from 1997-2007 when he was Secretary General of the United Nations. I will be analyzing and comparing how he was presented in the Czech media and in the Ghanaian media. I have chosen to analyze his image in the Czech and Ghanaian media as I am very familiar with both of their media scenes and societal contexts. The aim of my thesis is to look at some of the differences but also similarities in how the media in these two countries have presented Kofi Annan.

Given the fact that my final thesis is based on the media I will be using a comparison method.

In the practical part of my research I will be looking at only the electronic media, in my case this choices has been narrowed down to the following: online newspapers and articles, radio broadcasts, TV broadcasts. My method of research is such that I have analyzed over 300 units of media material from each country from the period 1997-2007. Here I have looked at how Kofi Annan is addressed, how often and in what context he is mentioned and finally also how he is visually presented.

In the theoretical part of my thesis I have chosen to rely on classical media theories and authors which focused on the media, image and its effects on society. I have taken from the works of Roland Bathes, Michael Foucault, Lois Athusser or Jean Baudrillard who were my main influences.

Much of the theory in the thesis is based on media theories which have been brought about these thinkers. A pivotal part of the theories I have used is that of the Critical Discourse

Analysis (CDA) which concentrates on content of a text or speech with the aim of deriving certain results from it. To support my thesis I have also used additional theories which are based on Marxist ideas, the theories of the Frankfurt school or the “effects model” to mention a few.

The start of my thesis involves an introduction to the United Nations Organization, its works and policies (Chapter 3). I then give a description of what the Secretary General does in his post (Chapter 4). Following this are chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) dealing with media theory and semiotics. After a description of West African and especially Ghanaian media (Chapters 7 and 8), I have looked in the following chapters at the media in both the Czech Republic and Ghana (Chapter 9). Finally, I conclude with a detailed description of how Kofi Annan is perceived in different ways in these two countries (Chapter 10). I finish with an end chapter describing my results. I have also added a dictionary defining some of the terms I have used and referenced to used sources.

3. THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

At present, the United Nations Organization is considered to be the most important and powerful peace keeping organization in the world. Since the end of the Second World War it has played an increasingly important role in the context of solving war or terrorist conflicts. These conflicts have been both regional and international. Further, the United Nations Organization has been fighting for decades to eliminate disease, sickness and malnourishment throughout the world wherever it can. Another important mission of the United Nations Organization, which is linked to its peacekeeping and health improvement efforts, is educating all levels of society with the aim of wiping out illiteracy.

Originally, the United Nations Organization had been preceded before WWII by a similar organization known as the League of Nations whose purpose was to strive to resolve war conflicts, even though not always successfully.

Franklin D. Roosevelt first suggested using the name United Nations Organization to refer to the wartime Allies. Roosevelt suggested the term to Winston Churchill who cited Byron's use of the phrase "United Nations Organization" in Childe Harold's Pilgrimage¹, which referred to the Allies at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. United States president Franklin Delano Roosevelt adopted the name and the first official use of the term occurred on January 1, 1942 with the Declaration by the United Nations Organization.

The United Nations Organization was founded as a result of the 20th century's worst conflict, the Second World War, this conflict was not only tragic in regards to the amount of the people who died but also in regards to the very effective killing methods which were used,

¹ "United Nations Organization"

namely gassing in concentration camps and as a final act of violence, the nuclear bomb which effectively stopped the war. This conflict arose for many different reasons, social, economic and military.

The United Nations Organization being a global organization which played an important role in world affairs since it was founded has had to present itself to the world in the best possible way. A positive image is crucial to the mission of this organization. This good image is important due to the fact that the United Nations Organization is meant to resolve international conflicts, educate but also it has a military presence in many places around the world. The United Nations Organization therefore does all its best to keep an objective stance.

This positive picture has been carefully created over the last half century. The United Nations Organization is mentioned on an almost daily basis in relation to every major international conflict.

4. THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL

Like all organizations the UN has a firm rigid structure which has the form of a pyramid. At the top of this hierarchy is the Secretary General or leader of the United Nations Organization.

Originally the position of the Secretary General as envisioned by Franklin D. Roosevelt was that of a “world mediator”, but the office was defined in the United Nations Organization Charter as the organization’s “chief administrative officer”². Nevertheless, this more restricted description has not prevented the office holders from speaking out and playing important roles on global issues, to various degrees. Secretaries-General serve for renewable five-year terms; most have served two terms. The Charter provides for the Secretary-General to be appointed by the General Assembly upon the nomination of the Security Council. Therefore, the selection is subject to the veto of any of the five permanent members of the Security Council. In practice, the Secretary-General cannot be a national of any of the permanent members of the Security Council. An accepted practice of regional rotation has also been adopted in the selection of successive candidates.

The majority of the United Nations Organization Secretary Generals have come from so called “middle-power” countries and had not been famous or controversial public figures before being elected to the office³. “Middle power” countries is a term used to describe countries that are not world super powers like the USA or Japan but at the same time have some influence within their region or with their economies. Examples of such countries are

² “Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945).” The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers.

³ Holmes John. “Middle Power.”

Brazil, Finland or Nigeria. The reason for selection of low profile candidates from these countries is to try to keep balance and objectivity within the organization.

4.1. KOFI ANNAN

At the time when Kofi Annan was elected to the office he had all the right qualifications for the position. Having been born to an elite Ghanaian family he was the ideal West African candidate. On both sides of his family his grandfathers had been chiefs who occupied important roles in their communities. Kofi's father was for a long time an export manager for a Lever Brothers Cocoa Company, a great achievement for a local Ghanaian under the British colonial rule⁴. Along with this, he was also a hereditary paramount chief of the Fante ethnic group. Due to his social standing Annan had the privilege of gaining the best education available in his period. From 1954 to 1957, Annan attended the elite Mfantshipim school, a Methodist boarding school in Cape Coast founded in the 1870s. Annan said that the school taught him "that suffering anywhere concerns people everywhere". In 1957, the year Annan graduated from Mfantshipim, Ghana became the first British colony in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence⁵.

In 1958, Annan began studying for a degree in economics at the Kumasi College of Science and Technology, now the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology of Ghana⁶. He received a Ford Foundation grant, enabling him to complete his undergraduate studies at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, United States, in 1961. Annan then did a

⁴ Holmes John. "Middle Power."

⁵ "Kofi Annan – Biography."

⁶ „Kofi Annan - Center of the Storm. Life Map. A Chief's Son | PBS.“

DEA degree in International Relations at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva, Switzerland, from 1961–62, later attending the MIT Sloan School of Management⁷.

Having received such a good education he almost immediately embarked on a successful career within the United Nations Organization starting at the lower echelons of the United Nations Organization ladder. From 1962, Annan started working as a Budget Officer for the World Health Organization, an agency of the United Nations Organization. From 1974 to 1976, he worked as the Director of Tourism in Ghana. Annan then returned to work for the United Nations Organization as an Assistant Secretary-General in three consecutive positions: Human Resources Management and Security Coordinator, from 1987 to 1990; Program Planning, Budget and Finance, and Controller, from 1990 to 1992; and Peacekeeping Operations, from March 1993 to February 1994⁸.

Two years later on the 13th of December 1996, Kofi Annan was put forward by the United Nations Organization as a candidate for the post of the Secretary General. This proposal was confirmed by the General Assembly. Officially, his term as the United Nations Organization Secretary General started on the 1st of January 1996. When being sworn into office Annan replaced another African – Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt, who had held the office before him⁹. Upon his arrival in this post Annan had a lot of work ahead of him which he needed to change – among other things he had to change and reform the United Nations Organization bureaucracy, make operations more budget effective and thirdly to try to repair relations with the United States which had become somewhat rusty under his predecessor. In a

⁷ “Kofi Annan – Biography.”

⁸ “United Nations Organization.”

⁹ Stanley Meisler. “Kofi Annan and the Nobel Peace Prize.”

rare manifestation of his popularity, he was re-elected for a second term in 2001 despite the fact that he had already served one term as an African candidate.

5. MEDIA THEORY

5.1. BARTHES MYTHOLOGIES

The idea of creating a positive media image of a person, institution or object can sometimes prove quite hard and painstaking. Many images are created over a long period of time in the form of a certain kind of evolution. These “media images” are often based on a kind of “myth” around a certain characteristic or virtue. A good basis for understanding this process from a theoretic angle is to look at the work of Roland Barthes¹⁰.

Barthes who writes after the Second World War looks at different characteristics of French society and reinterprets it in a deconstructed way. The texts that he analyses in *Mythologies* include washing powders, children’s toys, and iconoclastic celebrities, tropes such as the idea of the “writer on holiday”, women’s magazines, and professional wrestling, among others. He deconstructs each image, product, discourse or act to reveal the ways in which it recreates and strengthens societal norms and values, reinforcing the petit-bourgeois ideologies that dominated the daily life in the 1950’s France. We have the example in “The World of Wrestling” which Barthes deciphers as a modern day recreation of the Greek dramas performed in public amphitheatres¹¹.

Barthes looks at how wrestlers perform tragic or comic personas for the amusement of their fans and how their exaggerated gestures, drama, and Good vs. Evil conflicts perform a cathartic function for the audience, a venue through which frustrated emotion can find a release and the complexity of modern existence revert to black and white simplicity.

¹⁰ Kalmar Davidson. “Myth Today.”

¹¹ Lye John. “Critical Media Theory.”

In this same way, we can look at how the United Nations Organization uses its different symbols, actions and representatives to create a complex web of ideologies.

One example of the use of these symbols is the deployment of United Nations Organization K4 troops in different conflict zones. These soldiers who are de facto an army with all needed ammunition are always represented only as guardians not soldiers and they always have a white tank or armoured vehicle. Although it is a small detail, the fact that their tanks are white symbolizes peace just like the white dove, which often used to symbolize peace. The United Nations Organization makes much effort to present itself as an almost “peaceful” institution meant to solve all dangers and problems. The United Nations Organization armies bring peace to the world, administrators bring order to the world, the workers give aid to the world and at the top of this pyramid there is the Secretary General Kofi Annan who controls and negotiates well being in the world with the different member countries.

The “myth” here, as Barthes would say, is comparable to the legend of good King Arthur or the ideal of Greek democracy, given to the people by the people. Even the title of the “Secretary General” of the United Nations Organization rather than the director or the chief of the United Nations Organization is meant to symbolize the fact that the head of the organization is not an absolute dictator but a humble man mediating between countries. In many ways, the representation of the United Nations Organization Secretary General is similar to that on the Pope as started by Pope John Paul II. With Pope John Paul II, the Vatican set out to present itself an all-encompassing body mean to save the world. Whereas the Vatican looked to its thousand years of tradition the United Nations Organization chose a more modern

and liberal position, the one of democracy. Nevertheless, this “myth” used the same tools as any other ideology to claim its stake in the world affairs¹².

5.2. THE FRANKURT SCHOOL

The most influential school of thought concerning the contemporary media theory in the 20th century has been the Frankfurt school¹³. This name refers to a group of thinkers who were loosely associated with the Institut für Sozialforschung of the University of Frankfurt am Main in Germany before the World War II. The leading figures that came from this eminent group were for example Max Horkheimer, Jürgen Habermas or Theodor W. Adorno to name a few. The main trait shared by this movement was their belief in a Marxist or Marxist inspired social structure. This meant that a lot of their effort aimed at looking at how capitalism could negatively influence the society while Marxism gave the majority of people a more egalitarian outlook at the world. For the most part, they saw the individual as a passive element in the consumption of culture, or to be specific, “low culture”. This culture industry was reaching a great number of people who were not able to distinguish what was better or worse from the array of choices. They saw culture being turned into a consumer item, which in turn limited the viewer’s outlook at the world¹⁴.

The Frankfurt school and Marxist-inspired theories were a basis of media theories right up to the 1980s especially in Britain where they were revived in the 1960’s. In their perspective, the mass media were a tool produced by the elite to spread their message of control. They indoctrinate the passive viewer without giving him any other alternative

¹² Lye John. “Critical Media Theory.”

¹³ Hoenisc Steve. “An Analysis of Kellner’s Theory of Media Culture.”

¹⁴ Hoenisc Steve. “An Analysis of Kellner’s Theory of Media Culture.”

viewpoint. This dominant ideology is further based on the economic interests of the ruling class who want to enlarge their earnings¹⁵.

This idea of a passive, non-resistant viewer is the key concept in the works of Louis Althusser, one of the important French Marxist philosophers. For him, the individual was not a self-conscious being who could decide objectively on his own. In his view, the individual gained awareness of himself through different institutions and information given by the society he lived in. Althusser referred to these institutions as “ideological state apparatuses” (ISAs). These institutions were everything from schools, family and friends to the media. Through these “ideological state apparatuses”, an individual would gain knowledge about society a sense of self identity including how to read reality¹⁶.

Another important theorist who influenced the majority of media academics in the 20th century was Antonio Gramsci, an Italian philosopher. Gramsci did not agree with a materialistic viewpoint of the world and stressed that the ideology should be independent from economics. For Gramsci, the main term in his vocabulary was hegemony meaning control of one group of people over another. In his opinion, this control of a particular class of people over another was not only economic, political or material. His sense of hegemony subscribed to the idea that the dominant class was able to present its own ideas and values as the “natural truth” to the classes below them. This of course was done with the use of the mass media. The ordinary people therefore accepted without questioning whatever the dominant class told them. Gramsci also uses the term “struggle” referring to a fight between the dominant classes, who want to use their influence, and the lower classes that might resist and question the

¹⁵ Chandler Daniel. “Marxist Media Theory.”

¹⁶ Chandler Daniel. “Marxist Media Theory.”

authority¹⁷. This “struggle” was the only way how any subordinate group could achieve radical change.

Much of these left-wing interpretations of media theory were revived in the 1960’s particularly by Stuart Hall, a professor of Sociology at the Open University (Irvine). His stance was that although the media pretended to only reflect what the society thought the media itself actually created what we perceive as reality. Hall therefore went back to the idea that the media created what we see as real rather than that the people use the media as a tool for showing what reality is. He is a strong advocate of the idea that the media are a tool of the ruling classes to further their ideas. This was achieved by presenting information as the voice of the people a cloak for an all-encompassing truth. Nevertheless, Hall empowered the media a bit in the sense that he saw the media as a battleground between different ideological struggles. Stuart Hall has also addressed theoretically the issue of how people make sense of media texts. He differs from Althusser in emphasizing more scope for diversity of response to media texts. In one of his most unimportant essays called “Encoding/Decoding”, Hall stated that the dominant ideology is always presented as the “preferred reading” in a media text, but that this is not automatically adopted by readers¹⁸ as such. The individual social circumstances of the audience may cause them to interpret the meaning of the message in a different way. Therefore the “dominant” readings are produced by those whose social situation favours the preferred reading; “negotiated” readings are produced by those who want the preferred reading to take account of their social position; and “oppositional” readings are produced by those whose social position puts them in direct conflict with the preferred reading¹⁹.

¹⁷ Chandler Daniel. “Marxist Media Theory.”

¹⁸ Chandler Daniel. “Semiotics for Beginners.”

¹⁹ Chandler Daniel. “Semiotics for Beginners.”

5.3. OTHER THEORIES

Apart from the Marxist theories dealing with the mass media there are also numerous other theories looking at the media from a critical point of view. There is for example the conspiracy theory which, like the Marxist-inspired theories, tends to look at the media as an institution owned by capitalists who are only after greater profits. Many of these theories belong to the functionalist theorists who also look at social and political relations as very manipulative and “good versus evil”²⁰.

Another similar theory is the dominance theory: this theory is based on the belief that the elites which own the media and those who are in the government and business all have the same interests. These values, interests and social codes are shown in the way the media is controlled, what is shown and how it is shown. Much of the content is again entertainment-driven to increase financial revenues.

On the other hand, the homogenization theory takes the stance that all media content is the same everywhere. This uniformity hampers all alternative information and potential backlash against mainstream media. This sort of globalized media make everyone the same²¹. The intentions are the same as always, the desire for control by the elites.

The political economic theory is based on a more Marxist idea of the economy. The point here is that the capitalist society, given its financial nature, is intrinsically unjust and unobjective. According to the theory, capitalists desire to control labour, money and centralize

²⁰ Lye John. “Critical Media Theory.”

²¹ Lye John. “Critical Media Theory.”

all material markets around themselves. In order to achieve this they have to control the media and the information²². Capitalism is in fact a form of propaganda.

Another of the capitalist theories is the co-modification theory: this school of thought is concerned with the fact that the main products of the capitalist society are commodities. Everything in such a society can be looked on as an item and given some sort of financial value. Everything can be bought and sold; we therefore exist only on a monetary basis and everything we own is a status symbol. People are viewed as privatized individuals who are only interested in some sort of exchange value²³.

The last theory I would like to mention is the erosion of the rationality theory. This particular theory is based on the presumption that the media are powered by advertising revenues and therefore tend to create fairytale world of dreams, naive images of bliss and the idea that all happiness in the world can be obtained for money. This theory also subscribes to the idea that the media give people the idea that all problems can be resolved through a soap opera or shopping in the local mall. This leads to a strong sense of “escapism”²⁴. This effort to make the viewers comfortable with their material gains causes the audience to be somewhat retarded in their desires and in turn creates an incompetent democracy where citizens do not exercise their true powers as they should be well informed, active and educated.

The critical media theories are very powerful, popular and often used. Yet, despite of their strengths, they have some weaknesses in how they view the audience. Due to their strong standpoint stressing that the media are in fact a tool of manipulation these critical media theories often fail to acknowledge the positive contribution of the media to society such as

²² Gauntlett David. “Ten things wrong with the ‘effects model’.”

²³ Lye John. “Critical Media Theory.”

²⁴ Chandler Daniel. “Semiotics for Beginners.”

education and enlighten. The critical theorists also tend to assume that the audience has no sense of critical thinking or way of critically analyzing what the media present to them. Here, there is often a strong legacy of the “effects model” which takes the audience as passive²⁵. Often the arguments presented by the critical media theorists do not have strong historical or statistical backing which would actually prove them to be valid.

Furthermore, the critical theories have a tendency to overestimate the power of the media to act an overwhelming social tool. With this point the theories also seem to look at the mass media as the only tool of hegemony and none other. In general all the critical media theories take a very simplistic view on the relations between the media and the audience, they often leave out the complex way in which the media are created and the fact that people can be affected in their opinions by other institutions such as the church, work, family or culture²⁶.

These shortcomings have in many ways hurt a wider usage of the critical media theories as they often do not have sufficient proof for their claims. Despite all these facts the critical media theory is still considered pivotal as it uncovers much of the complex financial relations between the media, the elites and the audience.

5.4. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In the theoretical part of my final project I would like to make use mainly of Critical Discourse Analysis. First of all, I would like to explain the term discourse. The discourse, by to most dictionary definitions, means a dialogue, a discussion, or a debate on a certain topic²⁷. The term discourse therefore has a wide range of meanings and is not restricted to a particular

²⁵ Gauntlett David. “Ten things wrong with the ‘effects model’.”

²⁶ Gauntlett David. “Ten things wrong with the ‘effects model’.”

²⁷ Parker Philip M. “Discourse”

discipline. Although very trendy at the present, a discourse analysis or rather an analysis of what has been said and written is very old and has always been used to represent a kind of “social knowledge”.

In support of the practical findings in my final project, I will use a lot the theory of Michael Foucault and other theorists who concentrated on the use of Critical Discourse Analysis. According to Norman Fairclough, the contemporary leading specialist in this field, interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse, which views “language as a form of social practice”²⁸ and focuses on the ways social and political domination, is reproduced by text and talk. Critical Discourse Analysis is founded on the idea that there is unequal access to linguistic and social resources, resources that are controlled institutionally. The patterns of access to discourse and communicative events are one essential element for Critical Discourse Analysis. An important part of Critical Discourse Analysis is not only the linguistic theory but also the social theory as established by the thinkers such as Jürgen Habermas, Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu or Michel Foucault all of whose ideas I will be drawing on when looking at the discourse as a constituent element of ideologies “that language connects with the social through being the primary domain of ideology, and through being both a site of, and a stake in, struggles for power”²⁹. Frequently in the world of academia Critical Discourse Analysis is understood as a research method of discourse analysis while in reality any humanities or social science can use Critical Discourse Analysis in the right context.

Critical Discourse Analysis cannot be viewed as a method but rather a way of approaching a certain dilemma or question. In Critical Discourse Analysis, discourse is not an autonomous fact but is always a part of the wider world which includes both elements inside

²⁸ Fairclough Norman. “Language and Power.” pp 16-22.

²⁹ Fairclough Norman. “Language and Power.” p.12.

and outside discourse. Discourse is always a part of a certain entity which controls and influences it. These entities use discourse to their advantage, either to strengthen the existing power structures, create new ones or reproduce the existing strategies. Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis has little to do with quantitative or qualitative research methods as we know them in the traditional form and it is rather a way of looking at certain practices and procedures of qualitative and quantitative research methods themselves³⁰. The analysis of discourse will not bring a factual answer to a problem on the basis of scientific research but will provide an insight behind a certain thought, idea or project. Critical Discourse Analysis will enable to reveal the hidden motivations behind a text or behind the choice of a particular method of research to interpret that text. Critical Discourse Analysis will thus not provide absolute answers to a specific problem, but will enable us to understand the conditions behind a specific “problem” and make us realize that the essence of that “problem”, and its resolution, lie in its assumptions; the very assumptions that enable the existence of that “problem”. By enabling us to make this assumption explicit, Critical Discourse Analysis aims at allowing us to view the “problem” from a higher stance and to gain a comprehensive view of the “problem” and ourselves in relation to that “problem”.³¹

The main aim behind Critical Discourse Analysis is to “deconstruct” a certain structure, thought or set of beliefs. In this way, Critical Discourse Analysis does not deal with numbers or statistics but rather tries to reinterpret a certain reality and an already existing scientific result. A lot is based on social history and context. We can look at an example by comparing the conventional interpretation of history and from the way women or any other minority group view history as a result of their past experiences.

³⁰ McQuarrie Edward F., Mick David G. “Figures of Rhetoric in Advertising Language”.

³¹ Dellinger Brett. “Critical Discourse Analysis.”

To support this idea we can look at Foucault whose opinion was that in every society when discourse is being produced, it is controlled, regulated, selected, organized and subsequently given out again by a ruling caste of people who have power. In his opinion, “discourse is violence inflicted on people”. Subsequently for him a certain discourse is a system of laws which create a space for a particular testimony.

Foucault goes further and breaks the idea of a controlled discourse into categories and examples. His first idea is that of exclusion or external delimitations which includes prohibition. By this he means the stopping or outlawing a certain act or thought. His idea of prohibition is further broken down into three cases: covering objects, ritual with its surrounding circumstances, the privileged or exclusive right to speak of a particular subject.

These three cases of course influence and interact with each other forming a strong system of power strategies.

Foucault’s second idea is his “opposition of reason and madness” meaning that traditional societies looked upon insane talking as either complete nonsense without any truth or on the other hand as having some sort of supernatural wisdom which should be heard³².

And his third idea is that of the opposition between the true and the false which is the opinion that truth or what is regarded as the truth is also modified and controlled by power relations in the society. It is a kind of system of exclusion. According to Foucault, historically truth was under the control of the speaker, a form of ritualized act to the meaning of what was being said and what kind of consequences it had. According to him, what is perceived to be

³² Zizek Slavoj. “Cogito, Madness and Religion: Derrida, Foucault and then Lacan.”

true is carefully selected by society and then spread and reinforced through the media, books and the educational system to mention just a few³³.

In relation to Critical Discourse Analysis it is hence better to talk of a numerous methods of discourse analysis, schools of thought and ideas rather than of one restricted idea.

5.5. MEDIA INFLUENCE

A very important part of my thesis is the use and interpretation of media theories. Media theories are different ways of looking at the media and how they influence the masses. Today's media theories go back to the 19th century and the industrial revolution. This was a time when cities became urbanized a tens of thousands of people became concentrated in one place with the same purpose in life. At this time, the "masses" were created and society had to learn how to deal with the big groups of people who were not always educated. Due to the urbanization of cities and other social and technical inventions in the 20th century the media began to play a more and more vital role in the shaping of society and its conduct. A major break trough came with the invention of the electronic media like radio and television, which no longer required the audience to be able to read and write as was previously needed with print media. Namely after World War II "Western" societies became wealthier, and television as the most important electronic medium gained momentum to a great extent through its visual impact.

Although being very powerful in the contemporary society, electronic media like television and the internet do not completely influence all that goes on in society but rather they reflect the society and it social climate.

³³ Riggins Stephen. "Foucault."

The media are a tool which society uses to communicate within itself. In a more Marxist view the mass media are a tool which the capitalist elite use to control the masses.

Most of the media content we see in the society is not produced to change or go against conventional morals but rather serves as a way of reflecting the society itself.

The influence of the mass media on society has been discussed for decades and is still under much scrutiny. The opinions change with advancing years. In the first half of the 20th century academics subscribed to the notion that the media were extremely powerful and manipulative, they narrowed the individual's capability to think independently. Almost as though the media have some sort of magical spell on the audience.

This opinion has gradually given way to a more objective analysis of the role of the media in which it is assumed that the media themselves are influenced by other social comments which in turn create a complex web of relationships between the media and the viewer. An important aspect of the media-audience relationship is the viewers interpretation of the media content which though has a direct link to his or her cultural, social and economic situation.

The media are still very powerful, especially with the advent of new electronic media such as the Internet and modernized ways of screen viewing. The key component in the power of the media is that it can reach a wide range of people and can spread information which is crucial. This idea is summed up by Marshal McLuhan's notion that "the medium is the message". In his interpretation the mode in which the message is disseminated is often more crucial than what is in the message itself.

In contemporary academia the most widely accepted theory about media influence in the Western societies is the Uses and Gratifications model of Denis McQuail³⁴. This theory studies why the viewers use the mass media in the first place. The main reason given is that the viewer used to the mass media to justify his or her behaviour by establishing a common bond with the characters and the information presented by the media. This in turn gives the viewer a way of interacting with other people with which he has something in common like the shared experience of viewing a film, advert or reading a magazine column.

Thirdly, the media also offer a form of security as they present information and advice needed by most people. They also represent a way of learning about the world far away and around us, hence fulfilling an educational role albeit very limited.

The last point of this theory is that the media serve as a source of emotional outlet for the audience as they present the viewer with a form of fantasy and escape.

This widely accepted theory today though counts on the audience taking an active role in relation to media content.

5.6. HYPER REALITY

Although the idea of the media being very powerful is still alive, the two way relationship between the media and the viewer is another change that has been happening. This is due to the introduction of the new media such as the Internet, blogging and vlogging, facebook communication techniques. What is important about these new media and the new media in general is their effort to be more democratic. In the case of blogs for example the

³⁴ Chandler Daniel. "Semiotics for Beginners."

content is formed by the viewer for other viewers rather than being controlled by a certain appointed group of people who dictate what and where can be said.

This has created a kind of situation where the media, for example television, have become a part of the reality they show. This theory was coined by Jean Baudrillard as hyper-reality. This term refers to the blurring of the idea of reality and fantasy often due to modern technologies. As a good example, one can look at nowadays computer games, which tend to simulate the “real world” in all sensory aspects. The player of these games eventually begins to live in a world of computer games losing the ability to distinguish between his game and real life experiences have. In Baudrillard’s opinion, we live in a world which is a copy of the the real world and we can therefore never get back to authenticity.

Nevertheless, for most people the media and their influence is linked to politics. As I mentioned earlier the creation of the “masses” in the European and American urban areas led to strong Marxist view on the media which is still a strong part of the media-politics discourse today.

For many theorists such as Jurgen Habermas the media divided society into two sections or spheres, the “public” and the “private”. The “public sphere” being the one which refers to political activity, government and professional interaction and the “private sphere” being the part of one’s life relating to family and personal relationships³⁵. The society has been therefore polarized. In the view of Habermas the mass media are the pillar of a liberal, capitalist and democratic society as the public sphere gives the masses a place to discuss affairs and reinforce their demands for fair government. In his opinion, the masses have the ability to reason and therefore overthrow any government with a totalitarian inclination thanks to the

³⁵ Hoenisc Steve. “An Analysis of Kellner’s Theory of Media Culture.”

mass media, which disseminate the message of equality to everyone. Yet, one has to add that this theory is one that was aimed at the middle classes which were created as a result of the industrial revolution. It is assumed that the middle class has the access and the resources to use the mass media.

The fact that the middle class or rather “middle masses” are those who to a great extent dictate and then in return consume most of the media content around us means that the media reflect their tastes and desires³⁶.

Although television as one of the most influential types of media has a lot of news programs, documentaries, investigative journalism and political debates, this programming makes just a small part of the viewing.

Most content that we see in established media is rather soothing, toned down and not controversial. There is a great effort to appease the big number of viewers. This effort is further reinforced by media networks which are careful not to present any controversial content from fear that it would negatively affect their ratings and in subsequently harm advertising revenues. This escalating pressure of advertisers and the dependence of media throughout the world on advertisers has thus led to most TV content being labelled as infotainment, meaning news that is really very light in its presentation to the viewer becoming a priority. The masses are fed cheap and non-challenging entertainment which has no proper “high morale”³⁷. The sole purpose of this form of media content is to increase advertising revenues and in the best possible case induce a feeling of inferiority in the viewer if they do not own the products and services being advertised. Thereby creating an artificial need for consumer goods.

³⁶ Jowett Garth S. “Victoria O’Donnell.Propaganda and Persuasion.”

³⁷ Jowett Garth S. “Victoria O’Donnell.Propaganda and Persuasion.”

This consumerist use of the mass media has fitted in well with the Marxist theories of elite exploitation of the masses. Today more than ever the media world be it TV, the Internet or the cable is viewed in terms of network ownerships and acquisitions. These media elites such as Rupert Murdoch are looked upon as those who ultimately control what is shown and where.

An important term in the vocabulary of Marxist theory was the concept of ideology. Understanding the meaning of ideology is key to understanding the basis of Marxist theories as well as other theories which have since evolved. Ideology is a term used to describe the social functioning of a society which enables the elite to control the masses with as little effort and resistance as possible. This desire for control is not always deliberate or intentional. Ideology depends on different social institutions to disseminate a certain message, set of values or ideas that instil in the public an idea which might seem to them as “natural”. The main aim of ideology is to work discreetly without people even realizing they are being given a set of values. Often there is even the idea that these indoctrinated values have come about as a result of historical circumstance, this further helps legitimize the power of ideology³⁸.

³⁸ Jowett Garth S. “Victoria O’Donnell. Propaganda and Persuasion.”

6. SEMIOTICS

Different semiotic approaches are also very important in the analysis of the media and its content. Semiotics concentrates on looking at what kind of messages the media as well as other institutions pass down to the public. However, before going into a wider semiotic analysis of my chosen topic I would like to present some of the primary semiotic concepts which relate to the media.

Firstly, much of semiotics is based on the meaning of opposites or binary relations between existing entities. We can look at very basic examples such as the pairs of woman/man, youth/age, black/white or nature/industry. What is important about these binary concepts is the fact that in order to function they presuppose the existence of their opposites. Semiotics then studies what consequences these binary relations have for the society³⁹.

Another key semiotic term is the word code: code is a concept which creates a link between a sign and its meaning. Messages are therefore conceived as encoded by the sender and decoded by the receiver. These codes can differ from place to place or group to group even within the same language. The meaning of different messages can change with situation and place. However, codes also give meaning to more abstract terms in a social order. These more abstract codes are referred to as “myths” by Roland Barthes and are signs used to convey particular cultural meanings⁴⁰.

Culture is therefore another key element in the semiotic discourse. Culture constitutes the learned and shared experiences, values, ideas, language, history and beliefs which a particular group of people adhere to.

³⁹ Chandler Daniel. “Semiotics for Beginners.”

⁴⁰ Chandler Daniel. “Semiotics for Beginners.”

6.1. BINARY READING-INTERTEXTUALITY

In media theory, culture is viewed as the pivotal force in the struggle between the elite and the masses. Here culture is regarded as being the main means of how the elites shape and formulate those below them in order to achieve their interests.

A more recent addition to the semiotic vocabulary is the "cultural dictionary", a term coined by Umberto Eco which he characterizes as a set of visual images, language, terms or stories which a certain culture uses as a reference point⁴¹. This cultural dictionary serves as a kind of archive for that particular group of people. One must realize though that this concept is an invented one not a natural evolution. Since this is a man-made concept it relies heavily on the historical tradition and on the social hierarchy.

Since the semiotic perspective turns to culture for many of its explanations, one has to realize whether one is taking a synchronic approach in which they are explaining just one step in the historical evolution of a subject or if the audience is being presented a diachronic analysis which who take into account different historical changes and influencers which might be important in that particular analysis.

Due to the fact all texts are based on a writer/creator addressing an audience the semiotic perspective assumes that all texts are dialogic. This means there is again a sort of binary relationship in every text between someone and the others. This idea was promoted by the famous Russian theorist Mikhail Bakhtin who also came up with the concept of intertextuality which was further elaborated by Julia Kristeva in the 1960's. Her notion of intertextuality

⁴¹ Hansen Tina. "Intertextuality in the Scream trilogy."

comes from poststructuralist theorists⁴². For Kristeva each text can be described by means of two axes – the horizontal axis which links the writer and the reader and the vertical axis which links the particular text to other texts. Both of these axes have certain characteristics which are the same; in this case it is the fact that each text and reading of the text is dependent on codes of texts that preceded it. As Kristeva says “every text is from the outset under the jurisdiction of other discourses which impose a universe on it”. Her suggestion is that one should look at how the structure of a text was invented or structured instead of looking just at the structure. In order to achieve this we have to put the text in context with older texts which were its basis.

Intertextuality is the idea claiming that a certain text can be used to understand a different text or that a particular text can be used to define a different textual document. Intertextuality is a kind of post-modern way of looking at a text as it is read as a reference to other texts and it is at the same time used to reference other texts through symbols, meanings and quotations. An example of intertextuality could be the use of different parts of the Old Testament in book on history, which in turn would be used in a travel magazine article.

Given the nature of contemporary communication, intertextuality is a major characteristic of all information created today. In the opinion of Barthes for example the author is just a person who has put together what has already been written rather than being the actual inventor of the text. In his view, no text is original anymore as everything is influenced by something which has already been in existence. According to him “the writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior, never original”⁴³. His only power is to “mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any one of them” (Harms, Kellner). In fact, Barthes went as far as to declare that the author had died and the reader was

⁴² Irvine Martin. „Media Theory and Semiotics: Key Terms and Concepts.“

⁴³ Irvine Martin. „Media Theory and Semiotics: Key Terms and Concepts.“

born and that the meaning of a text lays in the person reading it rather than in the person who wrote it. Therefore, when we read a text we read it on the basis of what we have read before. Since everyone had read different texts the interpretations of a certain text can become completely different.

The fact that according to this view the value of a text is based on its relation to other text means that often the text are more about pieces of prior works rather than about themselves as Michel Foucault said:

“The frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network. The book is not simply the object that one holds in one’s hands... Its unity is variable and relative”⁴⁴.

Intertextuality therefore influences the interpretation of a text which is the result of the semiotic process otherwise known as semiotics. Interpretation is the outcome of a certain meaning within a system of signs. Interpretations which give meaning are always based on a set of symbolic relationships which define them. Interpretation is an accessory to already existing signs in a text.

So far, I have talked about texts being evaluated only on the basis of other texts but texts today can be evaluated also in relation to other media such as television, Internet, radio or theatre for example. A text can be read on the basis of a certain genre or a part of TV series. One of the consequences this has had on the content of the media is that traditional genres and

⁴⁴ Foucault Michel, Sheridan Alan. „Archaeology of Knowledge.“ p26.

media content have begun to blur. We therefore have new genres such as docudramas, edutainment or infomercials being created on the basis of older, established genres.

6.2. MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS

Since I will be surveying press articles related to the period of when Kofi Annan was in the office I will also use Content Analysis or Contextual Analysis as it is known. According to Harold Lasswell, content analysis can be described as “Who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect?” On the other hand, Earl Babbie describes it as “the study of recorded human communications, such as books, websites, paintings and laws”. In short, it is one of the scientific methods researching communication as we know them today. Today content analysis is one of the standard and most frequently used methods of text analysis. The method is based on detailed analysis of huge amounts of textual information with the use of keywords in a certain context. The researcher analyzes certain words and their frequency within a certain text and how they are used.

Content analysis has gradually become a kind of gauge of linguistic meaning for everything from fairy tales to PR articles. The hypothesis behind this method is the idea that if a certain term, word, phrase or a set of linguistic codes appears repeatedly in a certain text. There are conclusions that can be made from this. Very important is how often a certain linguistic code appears in relation to a different set of words and in what context it is used.

This method becomes valid in social structures where media information be it print or oral information has reached a high point of circulation. In a society which is overloaded with information the frequency of a certain linguistic code can often indicate a greater social or political motivation behind what is written. Furthermore, the frequency and context of these

codes can reveal previously unnoticed power relations and strategies at a closer look or “reading” as some of the Critical Discourse Analysis analysts would put it. The main idea behind this theory is the fact that language and linguistic frames have certain characteristics which influence the end result of the text.

The creation of coding frames is intrinsically related to a creative approach to variables that exert an influence over textual content. In political analysis, these variables could be political scandals, the impact of public opinion polls, sudden events in external politics, inflation etc.⁴⁵

Therefore, the idea of CDA in the context of the United Nations Organization and its leader is that we must “uncover” what is said and how things are said about Kofi Annan. In the opinion of Michael Foucault, the United Nations Organization has its own discourse which is closely monitored and watched and used to strengthen existing powers which the United Nations Organization has. Nothing is left to chance and if ever anything goes wrong, a positive spin is put on it⁴⁶.

6.3. MEDIA CONTEXT: KOFI ANNAN

I will further use this argument when analyzing the different positive and controversial moments of Annan’s United Nations Organization tenure and what language in what context and how was used to relate to him.

One of the most important moments during his time as United Nations Organization Secretary General was when in 2001 Annan along with the United Nations Organization was awarded Nobel prize for peace. It was the seventh time in the history of the United Nations

⁴⁵ “Communication Models.”

⁴⁶ Riggins Stephen. “Foucault.”

Organization that the organization had been awarded the prize for peace. In the case of Annan it was also important as he was the first leader of the United Nations Organization to receive the prize that had risen within the ranks of the UN⁴⁷. It was very much a “home grown” award. Annan was at the time also one of the few Africans to receive the prize and was therefore set out to be a role model for both Africans and Afro-Americans as he was an American resident at the time.

The receiving of the Nobel peace prize was one of the brighter moments of Annan’s term in the United Nations Organization, much of his time as the United Nations Organization Secretary General he had been shadowed by bad relations with the United Nations Organization. In the case of Kofi Annan, Iraq played a decisive role.

The conflict between the United Nations Organization and the USA did not start with the crisis connected with the invasion of Iraq in 2003 as many today tend to assume; it has had a much longer history that can be linked back to the US foreign policy. Much of the tensions between the US and United Nations Organization had started with Annan’s predecessor, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. In 1993 when 18 American soldiers were killed fighting warlord Mohammed Farah Aideed’s henchmen in Somalia Washington shamelessly blamed the Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for the debacle even though the soldiers had been under direct American command⁴⁸. President Bill Clinton soon withdrew American troops from Somalia and made clear his negative views on all UN peacekeeping operations. American negativism was so strong that it paralyzed the UN when Rwanda erupted into genocide a few years later. Further, there seems to have been personal animosity between

⁴⁷ “United Nations Organization.”

⁴⁸ Stanley Meisler. “Kofi Annan and the Nobel Peace Prize.”

American Secretary of State. Madeline Albright, and Boutros Boutros-Ghali who at the time led the United Nations Organization⁴⁹.

The Bush administration had no reasons to improve the already sour relations with the United Nations Organization. With the events of 9/11, the US suddenly found itself in a threatened position and was ready to take action no matter what. As the US viewed the United Nations Organization reaction to the terrorist attacks as slow, inadequate and half-hearted the Bush administration stopped asking the United Nations Organization Security Council for advice or permission to undertake action.

Two key events in the Security Council underscored the significance of the UN's role in the Iraqi crisis. The first was the Security Council's 15-0 passage of Resolution 1441 in 2002 demanding the disarmament of Iraq. The resolution was a tough one, its rhetoric in tune with the tough talk of President Bush. But it was passed unanimously only because those who doubted the necessity of war voted for it as a way of appeasing the wrath of Bush and buying time for peace⁵⁰.

The second event was the February presentation of Colin Powell's case for the war. The excuse was relatively weak and further supported by the fragility of the evidence for a link between Saddam and Al Qaeda. But it had an effect nevertheless. Collin Powell was the only member of the Bush Administration with international prestige and moral stature⁵¹.

By lending this prestige and stature to President Bush's case for war, Powell made the case seem stronger than it was. Moreover, his support signalled that the administration's leaders were united and ready to rush to war. There was little time left to stop it.

⁴⁹ Stanley Meisler. "Kofi Annan and the Nobel Peace Prize."

⁵⁰ Stanley Meisler. "Kofi Annan and the Nobel Peace Prize."

⁵¹ Goldenberg Suzanne, Norton-Taylor Richard. "Powell's doubts over CIA intelligence on Iraq prompted him to set up secret review."

The second low point in the United Nations Organization leadership of Kofi Annan was the Lubbers sex scandal. In many ways, this cast a shadow of elite arrogance and political corruption upon this otherwise popular UN leader.

In 2004 Ruud Lubbers, United Nations Organization High Commissioner for Refugees and a former prime minister of the Netherlands was accused of sexual harassment in relation to a female worker. Werner Blatter was a longtime employee of the United Nations Organization and the director of the UNHCR. Even though Ruud Lubbers was found guilty of sexual harassment during the investigation, he sent a threatening letter to the concerned employee.

Despite all these facts Kofi Annan declared Lubbers innocent of all charges. This decision was kept only until the media began to take more interest in the case. The media attention subsequently lead to a change of verdict and the resignation of Lubbers from the United Nations Organization⁵².

As a result .Annan unnecessarily weakened his position in a time when he was still recovering from his conflict with the US government.

At a time when the corporate world had become used to the idea of women's right and affirmative action within the workforce, this looked to many as a step backwards to old fashioned political manoeuvres associated with cooption and other shady dealings.

⁵² Network Voltaire. "The Story of Opus Dei's Ruud Lubbers."

7. WEST AFRICAN MEDIA

The media in Sub-Saharan Africa are today one of the most important forces of development in this part of the continent. Given the diversity and history of this part of Africa, the media have played a very important role in all that has happened in this region since the beginning of the colonial rule. The coast of West Africa was one of the first places to come in contact with foreigners starting in the 14th century. This contact came from two different directions⁵³.

One of the routes which brought new influences to West Africa were Muslim traders and warriors coming from North Africa. They not only brought with them new merchandise but also a new religion, written word and other sciences which aided literacy in this region⁵⁴.

At the same time, there are also the first contacts with the Europeans, namely the Portuguese on the coast. Much like their Arab counterparts, they came in the search of trade which went both ways. Textiles, glass and other merchandise from Europe and Asia were exchanged for minerals, salt and ivory. Furthermore, these goods were later replaced but a much more lucrative “merchandise” – the slaves. The first contacts with the Europeans also meant the first contacts with Christianity, missionaries and the written form of European languages⁵⁵. Although dormant for much of the period of the slave trade, the Christian missions were revived at the beginning of the colonial period.

⁵³ Hasty Jennifer. “GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers.”

⁵⁴ Hasty Jennifer. “GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers.”

⁵⁵ Hasty Jennifer. “GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers.”

European colonization, although official from the 1880's "scramble for Africa", began in the early 19th century with different explorers such as Scottish Mungo Park trying to find the source of the river Nile and make other discoveries.

Once Europeans had begun to settle in West Africa or at least administer parts of it, they brought Christian missionaries whose main purpose was to "enlighten" and educate African "savages". In the process of doing so, they created a class of "European Africans" who would mimic their mannerisms, culture education and other habits. These people, who were based mainly in cities, would later push for the end of the colonial rule and become the elites of the newly independent countries⁵⁶.

As far as the media are concerned, the colonialists were also the first to introduce books, newspapers, later the telegraph, radio and towards the end of their rule also television.

The media were important to the colonialists as they served as an important instrument of spreading their power, influence and culture in the newly gained territories. This attempt had limited results given the high percentage of illiteracy in Sub-Saharan Africa. The major breakthrough though came in the 20th century with the advent of the electronic media, mainly the radio and later also the television⁵⁷. The advantage of these new electronic media was that they were accessible to all. Further, in the case of radio the devices could be portable and so carried to different places. The other huge advantage was that broadcasts could be transmitted in local languages and dialects and the listeners could hear the real voice of a person. Until

⁵⁶ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

⁵⁷ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

nowadays, the radio remains the single most widespread, therefore influential medium in Sub-Saharan Africa⁵⁸.

The media thus became a mass influence in these societies although illiteracy levels remained high in most countries. Unlike before the media, meaning newspapers, were no longer the domain of the Europeans and elite Africans educated in missionary schools. The electronic media completely changed the power of government in colonial West Africa of the interwar period.

7.1. GHANAIAN MEDIA

Given the population of Ghana, some basic statistics are an important indicator of the influence of the media (Table 1). One must keep in mind the vast differences between urban and rural areas.

⁵⁸ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

Table 1 Basic data

Official Country Name:	Republic of Ghana
Region (Map name) :	Africa
Population:	19,894,014
Language (s) :	English (official), African languages
Literacy rate:	64.5%
Area:	238,540 sq km
GDP:	5,190 (US\$ millions)
Number of Television Stations:	11
Number of Television Sets:	1,730,000
Television Sets per 1,000:	87.0
Number of Radio Stations:	21
Number of Radio Receivers:	4,400,000
Radio Receivers per 1,000:	221.2
Number of Individuals with Computers:	60,000
Computers per 1,000:	3.0
Number of Individuals with Internet Access:	300,000
Internet Access per 1,000:	1.5

7.2. GHANAIAN MEDIA HISTORY

The first newspaper in Ghana to be printed for the local African audience was the “The Accra Herald” by Charles Bannerman in the mid 19th century. It was handwritten like its predecessor some 20 years before. But given the fact that it was also sponsored by the Asante

royal family meant that the newspaper would become a voice of the elite rather than the broad masses⁵⁹.

The first Ghanaian published newspapers of the 19th century tended to criticize the British administration and its officials but were nowhere near the explicit demanding of rights or even independence. For the most part, the British colonial government of the period did little to stop the criticism coming from the local elites. Frustrated in their attempts at exercising political power within the colonial order, indigenous elites became increasingly opposed to colonial authority in the early twentieth century.

Newspapers demanded that the citizens be given political rights, improved living standards, and self-government. As the political agenda of Gold Coast journalism radicalized, newspapers began reaching out beyond the circle of elites, appealing to rural leaders and the urban poor with a more accessible language and fiercely oppositional outcry. In 1948, future president Kwame Nkrumah started The Accra Evening News, a publication stating the views of his Convention People's Party⁶⁰.

Lead by the anti-colonial press and Nkrumah's CPP, Ghana achieved independence in 1957, becoming the first colony in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from the British and win political autonomy. Nkrumah saw media as an instrument of state authority, using newspapers as a means of propaganda to build national unity and win popular support.

Ghana has been ruled by a series of military and democratic regimes since the late 1960s. In the midst of this political oscillation, the media have been subject to alternating policies of libertarian tolerance and revolutionary control. In 1981, Jerry John Rawlings seized

⁵⁹ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

⁶⁰ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

power from the democratically elected government of Hilla Limann. Like Nkrumah, Rawlings summoned the media to actively promote revolutionary ideals of the ruling party, supporting popular enthusiasm for the participatory projects of the state⁶¹. Throughout the 1980s, the state media apparatus applied a variety of techniques of official and unofficial censorship, including repressive laws, public intimidation and harassment, bans on oppositional publications, and arrest and detention of dissident journalists. In order to avoid state harassment, many newspapers avoided politics altogether and focused on sports reporting instead. Throughout the 1990s, the two state dailies, Ghanaian Times and Daily Graphic, continued to represent the interests of the ruling-party NDC government⁶².

⁶¹ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

⁶² Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

8. PRESENT STATE OF THE GHANAIAN MEDIA

8.1. NEWSPAPERS

Currently about 40 newspapers are published in Ghana. The state funds two daily newspapers and two weekly entertainment papers. Around 16 independent newspapers provide national political coverage. With a few exceptions, private newspapers are published in Accra and circulation is concentrated there as well. The commonality of English, higher literacy rates, and urban wealth all contribute to a reliable audience for independent papers in the capital. As a local specialty, in order to capitalize on circulation, the major private papers tend to come out on different days of the week. In the last few years there has also been a strong emergence of periodical magazines and newspapers dealing with finance, business and marketing. This trend has reflected a growing economy and more international outlook⁶³.

By far the most prosperous news organization in Ghana is Graphic Corporation, followed by Times Corporation; both are funded by the state⁶⁴. The major private papers represent distinct ideological perspectives and social groups but they all face similarly adverse conditions. In addition to state competition, the systematic exclusion of private journalists from state sources and assignments, combined with lack of access to wire services, has forced private journalists to design an alternative set of journalistic techniques, incorporating anonymous sources and popular rumours, resulting in a unified challenge to the conservative messages in the state media.

⁶³ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

⁶⁴ "Country profile: Ghana."BBC.

Top stories from the major newspapers are reported and analyzed on the morning shows of many television and radio stations.

People often stop and read newspapers on the street, lend newspapers, and also older newspapers are read all week long. Circulation or second-hand circulation is much higher than in the West.

The government buys a substantial amount of advertising in the state press, providing revenue beyond official state provisions. Moreover, in an uncertain political environment, many local businesses are still somewhat wary of public association with the opposition, therefore avoiding the private press and cautiously placing their ads in the state press. Foreign businesses patronize the state press almost exclusively. Advertising in the state press is not merely political, but pragmatic as well, as the state papers are daily and printed on more advanced equipment, giving a more professional appearance⁶⁵.

The deployment of the legal system against the press dates back to the colonial period. Many specific laws used to silence and intimidate the press in recent years bear very close resemblance to those crafted by the British to squelch anti-colonial criticism. Signalling his commitment to free expression and independent media, President Kufuor repealed the seditious criminal libel law in 2001⁶⁶.

Since the establishment of the state media, state journalists have enjoyed a privileged relationship to government sources, information, documents, and resources. The government requests the presence of state journalists at daily “invited assignments” to state events and press conferences. Many state officials will only talk to state journalists, never private ones.

⁶⁵ Hasty Jennifer. “GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers.”

⁶⁶ “Country profile: Ghana.” BBC.

Under President Kufuor, things have changed dramatically. Private news organizations are being invited to place permanent journalists to the Castle and Kufuor invites both state and private journalists to accompany him on official visits both nationally and internationally⁶⁷.

Ghana maintains a liberal approach to foreign media and correspondents. Resident in the capital are representatives of Agence France Presse, Associated Press (AP), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Bridge News, Cable News Network (CNN), Canale France to mention a few⁶⁸.

8.2. BROADCAST MEDIA

Radio was introduced to the Gold Coast in 1935 when the colonial governor set up a small wired relay station, ZOY, to transmit BBC programs to some three hundred colonial residents and privileged native elites. GBC provides two domestic radio services, Radio 1 and Radio 2, broadcasting from Accra. Radio 1 is devoted to local-language programs. Twelve FM stations currently operate in Ghana, all in Accra or Kumasi. Although most stations focus on musical entertainment, many have news programs and talkshows for discussion of current events in English and Twi⁶⁹.

Television was established in Ghana in 1965 by the Nkrumah government in collaboration with Sanyo of Japan. Sanyo wished to promote television in Ghana to support its own television assembly plant in Tema, just outside Accra⁷⁰. Despite Sanyo's commercial impetus, Nkrumah stressed that television should educate citizens and support national

⁶⁷ "Country profile: Ghana." BBC.

⁶⁸ "Country profile: Ghana." BBC.

⁶⁹ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

⁷⁰ Hasty Jennifer. "GHANA Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

development rather than merely entertain or generate profit. Radio and television broadcastings were centralized in a single unit, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation.

After the privatization of the airwaves, the government gave approval to the allocation of frequencies to private television stations as well. Two private channels, TV3 and Metro TV, went on the air in 1997⁷¹.

8.3. *INTERNET*

In the context of sub-Saharan Africa, Ghana is in the lead as a country offering Internet user friendly environment, although the statistics viewed through the European eye might look not very impressive. In contemporary Ghana the electronic media revolution has been lead by mobile phone telecommunications which have become the major tool of communication in all parts of society.

National and international public internet data services in Ghana are provided by more than 20 companies and there are more than 50 VSAT networks operating in the country. Almost 100 new Internet Service Providers (ISPs) were licensed in 2004 alone, bringing the total to more than 140. Broadband ADSL services were introduced in 2003⁷².

⁷¹ “Ghana Internet Market and Telecommunications Report.”

⁷² “Ghana Internet Market and Telecommunications Report.”

Table 2 Ghana Internet Usage and Population Growth⁷³

YEAR	Users	Population	% Pen.	Usage Source
2000	30,000	18,881,600	0.2%	ITU
2006	401,300	21,801,662	1.8%	ITU

⁷³ "Ghana Internet Market and Telecommunications Report."

9. IMAGE ANALYSIS

9.1. THE CZECH MEDIA

When studying the Czech media I looked at over 360 official examples of media coverage. These sources included all the biggest media titles such as newspapers *Hospodarske noviny*⁷⁴, *Lidove noviny*⁷⁵, *Respekt*⁷⁶. I also researched internet news servers and forums such as *iDNES*⁷⁷ and *CTK*⁷⁸. Another of my tasks was to look at TV reports and radio broadcasts related to Kofi Annan mainly in the context of the United Nations Organization. The examples I researched included everything from newspaper articles, political analyses, blogs, news reports and press releases. The bulk of my research sources in the Czech electronic media were based on political and media sources rather than other, perhaps more popular, alternatives. Given the nature and size of the Czech media sector many of the examples which I drew from were put together by the same people over a long period of time. These were political commentators, reporters, analysts or journalists.

To further explain the categories, the main part of my resources were news articles from both printed and electronic periodicals which are widely circulated in the Czech Republic.

Nevertheless, much the same can be said also about my research in the Ghanaian media.

Given the fact that the Czech media are highly influenced by the international media in many forms it is not surprising that local media often reflect the position of other communities.

⁷⁴ Hospodářské Noviny. ECONOMIA, a. s.

⁷⁵ Lidové noviny. Lidové noviny, a.s.

⁷⁶ Respekt.

⁷⁷ MF DNES.

⁷⁸ Česká tisková kancelář.

This can be seen in the content of the media; the topics which are written about are often taken over from other international media. Further, many Czech magazines directly reprint or completely copy articles from foreign magazines such as Time, Newsweek, Der Spiegel and others. The result is often that very little of local perspective actually gets to the reader if he or she does not seek an alternative opinion. Furthermore, most press releases which deal with international news come to the Czech media via established press agencies such as ATP, Reuters or others. This information is also therefore rather globalized.⁷⁹

The most independent and alternative type of media is of course the Internet which is able to give the viewer huge amount of various, often conflicting opinions. Nevertheless, the Internet, although a powerful tool for the electronic media, has varied usage depending on which socioeconomic position and age group we look at. In the Czech Republic a big part of the younger generation uses the electronic media as their main source of information on all different issues from news, to entertainment, finance to shopping, but this diminishes as we go up the age ladder or the financial scale.

As can be expected the media image of Kofi Annan in Ghana was different from that of the Czech Republic. Still, there are a number of similarities. In this chapter I would like to look at some of the similarities and differences in portraying Kofi Annan in both the Czech and Ghanaian media.

One of the main differences between these two countries is of course the context in which Kofi Annan is written about. I mean the kind of articles which appear about him, the words and linguistic formulations that are used and the terms Annan is addressed in.

⁷⁹ Inman Beverly J. "The Czech Republic Press, Media, TV, Radio, Newspapers."

The first main difference between the Czech and the Ghanaian press is the fact that Kofi Annan was a prominent figure in Ghanaian event before he was appointed the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization. He was also the first person of African descent to hold this position, which until then had never happened.

In the context of wider African politics, Kofi Annan was also viewed as a role model for African democracy and leadership, which has not always been exemplary.

On the other hand, in the examples in the Czech media at which I looked at, my findings were somewhat different.

In the hundreds of Czech media examples it was completely clear that Kofi Annan was viewed purely in the context of the United Nations Organization and the Czech foreign policy. There was very little ever mentioned about him as an individual. In his case, he was merely an extension of the United Nations Organization and its policies which had something to do with the Czech Republic.

Prior to the appointment of Kofi Annan as the head of the United Nations Organization. All articles relating to the United Nations Organization and its then leader Boutros Boutros Ghali are also linked solely to the political context of this figure. The United Nations Organization is never separated from its leader. This is especially true in the context of different conflicts the United Nations Organization as an international organization was involved in. To the Czech public the debates about the qualities of the United Nations Organization leader are simply tied to the deeds of the organization as a whole. This might be due to the impersonal relationship to this organization typical for an average Czech citizen. The United Nations Organization is generally seen as a far-away organization whose actions are mostly seen on TV as resolutions being passed within the United Nations Organization

headquarters in New York or in the context of humanitarian aid provided to war zones in Iraq or in effort to fight famine in Ethiopia.

Partly, this somewhat distant relationship towards the United Nations Organization and its leader might be also attributed to the reality of the Czech Republic being a member of the European Union and NATO which are also important organizations that might have a more direct influence on the everyday lives of ordinary Czechs.

This only stands to prove that the Czechs only view the United Nations Organization in terms of their position within international policy. Given the fact that that the United Nations Organization as an organization has had more active relations with the Czech Republic since the end of communism in 1989 it is still relatively short time for most citizens to realize its role on a local and global scale.

The Czech perception of Kofi Annan is therefore simply that of a diplomat or leader of an international organization. Some of the more politically aware might look at it in terms of an African person holding such a high position much as if it were a woman or a member of another minority.

9.2. MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS-CZECH

In most of the media sources I studied, Annan was referred to in a neutral tone and in cases where he was criticized it always happened in relation to the United Nations Organization. Here once again his identity as the United Nations Organization Secretary General was the same as that of the organization which he represented.

To start with, I would like to look at the different ways in which Kofi Annan is addressed in the Czech media. By this, I am not suggesting that this is a good indicator of how those speaking and writing about him tend to view him.

The “honeymoon” period marking the start of his career as the United Nations Organization Secretary General therefore also marked by many expectations which he was meant to fulfil. He was presented by the media as a new and strong individual who might reshape the ailing organization.

One good example of the contrast in the criticism and hope which Annan represented can be seen in an article from the beginning of his term where he is referred to as a “bland bureaucrat” but further in the article also as a “capable negotiator”⁸⁰.

In the majority of my Czech media sources Kofi Annan is referred to as the Secretary General or Secretary General of the United Nations Organization. This name is his official title which he used during his mandate as the head of the organization. In this title, due to the use of the word secretary can give the casual reader the impression that the holder is actually not the leader of the United Nations Organization but rather just a bureaucrat⁸¹. Nevertheless, in a great number of my sources the title Secretary General was put in the context of what the title means and who holds it. Furthermore, in the Czech equivalent term that was used, “tajemník”, is a respectful and dignified way of addressing⁸². Despite the fact that the term “tajemník” for much of the older media audience is linked to the head of the communist party, it has been successfully carried into the context of the United Nations Organization leader. The Czech media did modify the Czech translation of “Secretary General” by using an

⁸⁰ MF DNES.

⁸¹ Lidové noviny.

⁸² MF DNES.

Anglicism in the form of “generalni” taken from the English general. Although a rather new term to the Czech public, it has been frequently used in the context of management, commerce or even diplomacy to represent grandeur or position. The end result in the perception of a local viewer is therefore the same as in English or one might even suggest a little stronger⁸³.

One of the very important characteristics of the epithet “Secretary General” used by the Czech media is the fact that it appears in all situations, contexts and articles relating to the United Nations Organization leader. It is therefore a very unanimous title applied both in circumstances when the United Nations Organization was being criticized, analyzed or praised for its efforts.

On the other hand, this terminology poses other issues. The Czech media for the most part portrayed Annan as a leader or even paramount leader with both flaws and strengths.

The term “tajemnik” in my research was his title used in all varied situations when referring to the United Nations Organization leader.

Another rather anglicized way of referring to Kofi Annan as the leader of the United Nations Organization, which appeared in numerous sources, was the use of the name “hlava” or head in Czech. The use of the term epithet “head of the United Nations Organization” or “hlava OSN” come from the English use of the title. This is yet another proof of huge influence English has both in the Czech media and the language as such. As a kind of metaphor the address “hlava OSN” as used in the Czech language can refer to a kind of “mastermind” or “brain center” which in a way Kofi Annan can be perceived in his position of the Secretary General⁸⁴.

⁸³ MF DNES.

⁸⁴ MF DNES.

Another very frequent way of addressing the United Nations Organization secretary was simply by his name without any title, i.e. using just Kofi Annan. In the many instances when the media used just the name Kofi Annan it was almost exclusively after his name and title together had previously been used in the same text or clip. Therefore using only his name was a way of avoiding the awkward repetition of a long name. Again, this was never used in the Czech media or other as a sign of disrespect.

The fourth most frequently used way of referring to Kofi Annan was the use of the term “diplomat”. This way of addressing was most often used in the context of negotiations between countries in conflict situations. The name diplomat was often used to represent Annan when referring to his peace negotiations between different entities. This was especially evident during the Iraqi war, conflict in Rwanda, Sierra Leone or Israel⁸⁵.

Especially when referring about the war in Afghanistan and later also Iraq was his role as diplomat greatly emphasized. The United Nations Organization was viewed as the premier institution that should regulate international affairs in situations such as wars.

During the major crisis between the United Nations Organization and the United States regarding the possession of nuclear weapons, Annan was most often quoted as a diplomat trying to act as intermediary between the two parties.

Nevertheless, in some instances during the conflict between the US and the United Nations Organization the term “diplomat” was used to convey the idea that Kofi Annan was looking for a peaceful solution to the conflict whereas his rival, George Bush was an aggressor⁸⁶. This use of the word “diplomat” connoting the idea that Annan represented a

⁸⁵ Lidové noviny.

⁸⁶ Lidové noviny.

peaceful solution to the conflict in Iraq was employed by many commentators to express that they were in favour of the United Nations Organization rather than the US⁸⁷.

In these as well as other cases, Annan was perceived as a person responsible for brokering peace between two entities; the portrayal of Annan as a peacekeeper or diplomat was used to emphasize one of the many roles the United Nations Organization plays in the world. The idea of Annan as a diplomat is still further strengthened by the fact that much of the United Nations Organization work is focused on negotiating, mediating and helping in situations needing conflict resolution. The very purpose of the United Nations Organization is exactly that of a peace organization of which diplomacy is a core part.

The image of Annan in the media was therefore judged by the current situation in which the United Nations Organization was currently finding itself. Nevertheless, this image went through numerous changes during the period when Annan was in this position.

At the beginning of his tenure as United Nations Organization leader, Annan was presented in many sources as a reflection of the United Nations Organization in general. His first weeks in power saw numerous articles in the media assessing the role of the United Nations Organization. Much of these were focused on the outgoing Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali who at the time has been in the position for 5 years. At that period, Annan was often presented as the heir of an organization which has lost its focus in international affairs. The UN was further viewed as a kind of diplomatic dinosaur which was crippled by a huge bureaucracy and inefficiency. The main part of this inefficiency as viewed by the media was the very complicated way of passing resolutions within the organization and taking direct action. The idea that the United Nations Organization was inefficient due to its complicated

⁸⁷ Lidové noviny.

decision-making process was one of the main criticisms which Annan was faced with during the beginnings of his term.

As a balance to much of the analysis, criticism and comments, there were also many expectations which were put in the new United Nations Organization leader.

9.3. MEDIA CONTENT ANALYSIS-GHANAIAN

One of the main differences between the presentation of Annan in the Ghanaian media is the fact that already before he became the United Nations Organization Secretary General in 1997 he was a well known and prominent Ghanaian figure. Given the fact that he had worked within the Ghanaian civil service and later had a stable high-profile career within the United Nations Organization, Annan was already had the attention of the media in his home country.

Already during the period when he was in charge of the peacekeeping operations in Rwanda he was a well known figure and was often mentioned in the Ghanaian media as an example of an African who was actively seeking to bring peace to the continent. His media portrayal of a peacekeeper and exemplary African was just beginning.

The biggest wave of media references came were during his appointment as United Nations Organization Secretary General in 1997. Just like in the Czech media, this was followed by numerous articles about the United Nations Organization, its position in global affairs and the reflections of its outgoing leader, Mr. Ghali. It also presented the Ghanaian media with a chance to present Kofi Annan to the broader Ghanaian public. There appeared numerous articles presenting Mr. Annan's biography and portraying the life path he had taken, his education, his qualities and achievements. This was clearly a great opportunity to present a native person as someone who had achieved great status within the international community.

Apart from the conventional media sources such as articles, political commentaries, analyses and columns there were also numerous advertisements or announcements which congratulated Mr. Annan on his great achievement.

These festive announcements appeared both in English but also in native Ghanaian languages. The announcements took the form of whole or half page pictures in newspapers that were paid for by a certain entity and had the picture of Mr. Annan on it most often with a text congratulating Mr. Annan on his newly acquired position and responsibilities⁸⁸.

Given the fact that Kofi Annan was the first African to hold such a position he was also often given as an example in numerous internet sources as one of the most important Ghanaians to have ever lived.

The Ghanaian media, which have become increasingly electronic in the late 1990s, most often presented Mr. Annan as an example of a great success story.

His image in the Ghanaian media can be classified in three distinct categories.

Firstly, Mr. Annan was presented as an international peacekeeper whose main aim was to broker peace between two entities in conflict. This image of a peacekeeper or negotiator went back to the early 1990s when he was in charge of peacekeeping operations within the United Nations Organization. His media image as an international peacekeeper was seen as very crucial for the general public as many of these war negotiations were done in Africa or other parts of the 3rd world. These conflicts involved places such as Afghanistan, Rwanda, Sudan or Sierra Leone. Most often, sources relating to Mr. Annan presented him as a shining example of an African who was making great efforts to stop war conflicts on his own continent.

⁸⁸ The Ghanaian Times. 2008.

A key element of presenting Kofi Annan as a peace broker is that he is African. The message of an African in such a position was viewed as crucial in boosting a sense of morale within the continent. It was also important also because of the fact that the overwhelming majority of peace negotiations during the war conflicts in the past were led by non-Africans. This non-African presence within peacekeeping missions or negotiations often gave local inhabitants a sense of being patronized by their former “colonial masters”. The idea of being told what to do or how to solve conflicts by non-Africans was a serious strain on many such negotiations. Kofi Annan was therefore presented as proof showing that an African can be just as instrumental in such a position. Furthermore the fact that Annan was African was often viewed as a cultural advantage when dealing with many different conflicts.

Secondly, Mr. Annan was also presented as a leader. The leadership role was very much emphasized. The fact that Kofi Annan was appointed the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization was presented by the local Ghanaian media as being a step towards a more egalitarian society which had previously been viewed as a society dominated by the “West”.

Annan was therefore often shown especially in television as a very powerful leader, not only the leader of the United Nations Organization but also as the leader of the world. Nevertheless, the media never failed to mention that Annan was the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization.

One of the main differences in representing Annan as the leader of the United Nations Organization in the Czech media and the Ghanaian media is that in the Czech media Annan was shown as a part of the UN as a whole. He was the United Nations Organization and the United Nations Organization was him. In Ghana on the contrary Mr. Annan was often

presented as being a strong personality who was leading the United Nations Organization. His persona was somewhat removed from the work of the United Nations Organization as his charisma was emphasized. The leadership role of Mr. Annan was continuously stressed as an example of a competent man who could achieve important goals. In a wider context, Annan was often set as an example of a democratic leader who was accepted by the international community. This was also important in the African or Ghanaian context where democracy had failed on numerous occasions and Annan's achievement was viewed as a cornerstone of progress. The fact that many of the African conflicts which Mr. Annan helped negotiate were caused by a failure of democracy in their region was shown as an example of how things should be done⁸⁹.

The message was therefore clear in many Ghanaian media sources: Kofi Annan is an African leader who has come to show fellow Africans how to live a better life.

Whereas in the Czech or "Western" media Annan was shown as a capable leader of the United Nations Organization the Ghanaian media tended to present him as a wise father figure, a template of democratic leadership.

Also within the aura of the great African leader Annan is frequently compared with such men as Nelson Mandela or Bishop Desmond Tutu both of whom strongly fought against injustice and then went on to spread justice beyond their own countries.

The link to Nelson Mandela was especially strong as Annan was viewed as carrying on this role of a native African powerbroker.

The last historically important fact about the portrayal of Annan as leader be it in relation to the United Nations Organization, Ghana or Africa as a whole was that Ghana was

⁸⁹ The Ghanaian Times. 2008.

the first country in Sub-Saharan Africa to gain independence from the colonial rule. This important step was taken in 1957 when Kwame Nkrumah became the first president of the newly independent Ghana. Nevertheless, this had been preceded by a lengthy fight against the British administration which had taken decades. Nkrumah had become the symbol of African independence and colonial resistance. This myth of a fierce and independent Ghanaian leader was endlessly fuelled by the Ghanaians media of the 1960s. It stood as an example for all the other countries which would struggle for independence within the next decade. Until the present days, the image of President Nkrumah still rings a strong bell in the minds of many Africans⁹⁰.

The idea of Kofi Annan taking up this almost mythical aura of a strong African leader from Ghana was very hard to avoid for the Ghanaian media.

In much of the popular local media Kofi Annan was in fact presented as a kind of successor to Nkrumah and Mandela as well.

Unlike Nkrumah who is still today seen as the founding figure of modern Ghana, Annan was often represented as a more wide-reaching persona, a person who had come from Ghana but who was a global figure aiming to change the world.

In his post as United Nations Organization Secretary General, Annan was therefore often put first ahead of the organization as such.

It is therefore evident that Annan was a role model of African leadership not only for the youth but also for politicians in general. Furthermore, his term as United Nations Organization Secretary General coincided with democratic reforms in his home country. Although a

⁹⁰ The Graphic.

coincidence, it was a powerful statement to other African countries, which were experiencing political turmoil or were ruled by dictatorial regimes.

In much of the Ghanaian media, Annan was also shown as a person who was highly educated and therefore intelligent. The idea of success through education is very often stressed in much of the content in the Ghanaian media relating to Kofi Annan. In the present Ghanaian society about half the population is still illiterate and education is often seen as a pressing problem. Education is therefore presented in many cases as the first step to self-help or improvement. This idea of a well-educated statesman impersonated by Mr. Annan was often presented to the wide public in all media. He was presented as a person who had gained his position in part thanks to his academic skills. This image of an educated politician was therefore presented not only to the urban middle classes whose Victorian-imposed colonial values it reflects but also to a broader Ghanaian public in an effort to raise literacy rates.

One of the major tools which have helped to link Mr. Annan to the image of an educated representative of Ghana was the launch of The Ghana-India Kofi Annan Centre of Excellence. The Ghana-India Kofi Annan Centre of Excellence is Ghana's first Advanced Information Technology Institute at present and has been a driving force in Ghanaian technical higher education. A vast proportion of the media sources related to Annan in the media were in fact references to this institution of higher education founded in 2003⁹¹.

Although the institute was founded by the Ghanaian and Indian governments, the fact that it was named after Mr. Annan meant that he will be always linked to this institution and its work. This idea of education as a means of progress is thus perfectly embodied in this deed. Still further enhancing the image of Mr. Annan was the founding of the Kofi Annan

⁹¹ The Ghanaian Times.

International Peacekeeping Training Centre. the first institution in Africa focusing on conflict resolution and other aspects of government and political stability. The Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre was also crucial in furthering Annan's image as a peaceful diplomat in his own country⁹². This is not only due to his post but also due to the fact that he was indeed experienced in the field of humanitarian campaigns and conflict resolution.

The third element that linked Mr. Annan closely to education was the fact that after he left his post as the United Nations Organization Secretary General he was appointed the chancellor of the University of Ghana by the Ghanaian president Kufuor⁹³. This further cemented the link between success, education and achievements in the context of Annan's media image.

During his tenure as United Nations Organization leader the Ghanaian public was well aware of Mr. Annan's actions through the media which as mentioned earlier got a great part of their news content from the international press agencies and sources. Ghanaians therefore saw Mr. Annan as a representative of Ghana in the outside world.

The vast majority of all media coverage of Mr. Annan in Ghana was extremely positive throughout his entire tenure. Even when the international press criticized the work of the United Nations Organization and that of Kofi Annan the local media said nothing or very little against him at all. As mentioned by the Ghanaian Ambassador in the Czech Republic H. E Kufuor. "He was regarded as being a non-political and international figure and as a result, he got extremely good media coverage in the various types of media in Ghana. This culminated in a

⁹² The Graphic.

⁹³ The Graphic.

campaign organised by several media organisations aimed at getting him to stand for elections as President of Ghana since he was believed to be the best for the job”⁹⁴.

Given his almost “god-like” status in Ghana it is easy to realize why there was so much positive media coverage about him in home country. This positive media coverage was not only limited to Ghana but it was typical for most of the African media which unanimously saw Kofi Annan as a shining example to follow. To further quote the opinion of H. E Kufuor, which in turn is derived from her communication with the leading Ghanaian news editors and media analysts “Generally, he was extremely well treated”⁹⁵. There was almost 100% positive news about him. Even at the height of the oil-for-food crisis, when he got the most negative press coverage overseas in his entire tenure, this was not reflected in the Ghanaian media. Both state-owned and private media stood by him in support or gave the issue little publicity. For them as indeed for all Ghanaians, he was the native son done good, he could do no wrong, and no matter what others felt he had done”⁹⁶.

“Much of this could also be seen in how Mr. Annan was addressed in the media, apart from being referred to as an “icon, hero thinker, leader, symbol, statesman, father figure, role model” he was always addressed in the most formal terms reserved to for the elite of Ghanaian society. This was in addition to other forms of address which are the same as in the Czech media for example. Additionally to this, Mr. Annan is often quoted in the local media in the context of a trustworthy politician.

⁹⁴ Ghana Embassy, Prague. E-mail to the author.

⁹⁵ Ghana Embassy, Prague. E-mail to the author.

⁹⁶ Ghana Embassy, Prague. E-mail to the author.

9.4. VISUAL IMAGE

In terms of the visual presentation, Mr. Annan was always the main news priority of any media in the country. In newspapers, news regarding Kofi Annan appeared most often on the front pages of the newspapers or within the next 3 pages. In the case of the Internet news sources it can be said that Mr. Annan is always positioned within the immediate view of the reader. As for the television the same can be said as well as for most news broadcasts, talkshows, bulletins, political discussions touching directly or indirectly on the persona of Mr. Annan and his work. Even outside the “formal” media structure, in Ghanaian blogs, internet forums or chats there was little negative references to his figure.

This also included his photos, which were always flattering much as I have mentioned in the Czech media. Again, the majority of published photographs of Mr. Annan are very formal and carry a great amount of respect. The idea of a leader is often presented. The main difference from the international media is the fact that Mr. Annan is often shown with local Ghanaians or other Africans reaffirming the notion that he cares about his “own” people. Such visual presentation related to the opening of different institutions, official ceremonies, religious ceremonies or important speeches.

Kofi Annan is also often shown as attending native festivals, celebrations or ceremonies which are important within the Ghanaian social framework. The idea of a strong African leader is continuously repeated. Mr. Annan is also often photographed in traditional attire, the “kente”, which unlike a suit and tie firmly root him in the Ghanaian traditions and give him an even wider appeal within the rural population.

When being shown with non-Ghanaians the viewer often gets the idea that Mr. Annan is the centre of attention and in control of the entire situation. As mentioned earlier this is a key aspect of redefining the power struggle between the former “Western colonial powers” and that of a “competent” African leader. The image of an African who is more than an international sports, film or music celebrity is also extremely well presented.

By photographing Mr. Annan with important dignitaries, the Ghanaian media managed to create a “black” icon far removed from athletes, rappers or Hollywood stars which the media often link to black people in general. The Ghanaian media presented an “intelligent intellectual” African.

10. CONCLUSION

As I have presented in my thesis the media image of Kofi Annan as Secretary General varies greatly in both countries I have surveyed. The media image of Mr. Annan in the Czech media is different to that in the Ghanaian media.

The similarities and differences are obvious from the perspective of the media culture at present.

On one side there have emerged a more globalized or universal media which draw and in turn redistributes information around the world making little difference in space or time the Internet being the best example of the electronic media which has revolutionized the creation of the media.

The idea that the media content can be created anonymously and then in the same way distributed all over the world has completely changed the role of the media. Since the introduction of the Internet as a widespread electronic media the media content has become much more democratic and egalitarian. While the earlier forms of media, namely of electronic media, were more or less elitist the Internet has bridged this gap in an effort to try to give everyone and anyone a say in their own media input.

When studying more classical forms of the media like “literature” we come to the realization that in order to partake in the input of literature as a media form one has to be literate to a great degree to be able to put forward his ideas. Literature as a medium has therefore been a very elitist media ever since it was conceived hundreds of years ago. The fact that the reading and literature has been considered by many the dominant form of medium has also made it an exclusive one. Since the vast part of the global population is not able to read or

write, literature is a somewhat exclusive kind of medium for them. Therefore, literature as a global medium is not completely egalitarian as it requires numerous steps, education and access to information.

The same can be said about more modern forms of media, about television as an electronic medium. Although the television does not require as much educational and acquired information, it is still considered as relatively “exclusive” medium. The fact that it works on a purely visual basis and can therefore be adapted to local standards to be understood by everyone gives it a much wider scope of influence. Still the content of what is being shown on TV is decided by a selected few who choose for others what they should see.

The Internet has so far got the closest to being a more democratic medium allowing anyone with access to a computer to put in his contents on the Internet and see the opinions of others. This medium therefore has much fewer limits than were present in other established forms of media. Since there are almost no restrictions placed on media content on the Internet and the usage of information is anonymous it gives the user a chance to interact with information on a much more personal level than ever before.

In the context of building a media image the electronic media are crucial as they set the basis for the image on a wide scale. They work not only on an audio basis but most importantly on a visual basis, which is much more influential.

As I have shown, the media image of Kofi Annan during his 10-year term as UN Secretary General was strongly influenced by the media. When comparing his image in the Czech and Ghanaian media there were similarities such as the reports of his actions, photographs of him and commentaries to his work. These similarities were to the most part given by the fact that both of these countries get their news information from the same sources

as the rest of the world. This to a great extent brings a unified picture of him to the global audience.

On the other hand, there were numerous differences, in the Czech Republic where Mr. Annan was never a well-known public figure he was always perceived as being a part of his organization. He was shown as an important peacekeeper, diplomat and leader who was an integral part of the United Nations Organization. In the context of his own persona very little was said by the Czech media as they have a relatively neutral opinion of him.

In contrast, the Ghanaian media looked at Mr. Annan as a symbol of hope and success – as the H. E. Kufuor expressed her opinion: “This is encapsulated in the Ghanaian Daily Graphic editorial of January 23, 2007, in which he was described as an ‘Icon of Africa’.” this extremely positive image can be compared to the Czech portrayal of Madeleine Albright, the first female American secretary of state who served in the Clinton administration. Given her Czech origins, she was also presented with much respect in the Czech media and like with Mr. Annan there were even suggestions that she become the president of the country.

The idea that the media can completely shape the image of the same person in two different locations is perfectly visible in my thesis where both the Ghanaian media and Czech media have reacted differently to the image of Secretary General of the United Nations Organization Kofi Annan while still keeping certain parts of this image the same.

DICTIONARY

Media – channels of mass communication (radio, newspaper, television, etc.), medium. Means by which something is accomplished; means of expression; channel of communication; middle man, intermediary; substance or environment through which something is affected.

Electronic media – General term that includes television, radio, internet, CD-ROMs, DVD, etc., anything that is not film or paper based.

Viewer – a person who watches television, often a devotee of television or of a particular kind of television program

Audience – The spectators or listeners assembled at a performance, for example, or attracted by a radio or television program

Masses – The body of common people or people of low socioeconomic status

Ideology – a form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones. It is a system of ideas that aspires both to explain the world and to change it.

Elite – A group or class of persons or a member of such a group or class, enjoying superior intellectual, social, or economic status.

Discourse – a mode of organizing knowledge, ideas, or experience that is rooted in language and its concrete contexts

Critical Discourse Analysis – Discourse Analysis is the area of linguistics that is concerned with how we build up meaning in the larger communicative rather than

grammatical units; meaning in a text, paragraph, conversation, etc, rather than in a single sentence.

Society – The persons, collectively considered, who live in any region or at any period; any community of individuals who are united together by a common bond of nearness or intercourse; those who recognize each other as associates, friends, and acquaintances.

Media Influence – media influence or refer to the theories about the ways the mass media affect how their audiences think and behave.

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