



Photo: Gie Meeuwis

Why should we care?



Photo: Michiel Stol

It is one of the most interesting continents in the world. Thousands of different cultures live side by side, most of the time in harmony, sometimes in conflict. It is developing extremely fast. Africa is booming. And yet it looks like we do not seem to care. Why should we?

In this thesis I want to find out why the Western society, and particularly the media, averts its eyes when it comes to Africa. I will use studies, experiences from journalists and my own experiences to try and find an answer.

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Preface

The world has change a lot in the last couple of decades. Technology has made it easier for us to hop in an airplane to fly to some exotic place. The internet has made it fast and easy to find information on about anything and anywhere in the world. You can easily talk to someone on the other side of the globe, even if you are in a remote place. In other words, the world has become a global village.

In light of this thought you categorize the world in different parts of this village. For instance, the West is like the city-centre of it, where everything happens. South America is like the fields outside of town, where the forests are and were you can enjoy the nature. Asia is become more the industrial zone of the village. All technology is developed and created over there. Our commercial goods are being produced in that zone.

This town also has a dark, ghetto-kind part of town. It's the part where poverty is part of daily life, as well as anger and conflict; sometimes racially motivated, sometimes religiously motivated. Most people in a city don't want to think about the ghetto. They'll avoid it anyway they can, because 'it is a dangerous place'. People don't need to know what is happening over there.

This part of town is what we know as Africa, the Dark Continent. People know it because of its poverty. In almost every country, there has been a conflict in the last century. Some of them are still ongoing. A lot of people don't want to hear about this dangerous place. There are a couple of reasons for this. There are people who really don't know anything about the continent, with al of its cultures. And if they know something about, it is only the bad things. War, poverty, corruption; al these things have made it that people just want to avoid it.

The media is partly guilty of this image. All you hear on the news or read in the papers are the bad stories. Genocide is being committed by Hutu's, because they feel the Tutsi's have taken to much power in Rwanda. White famers are being killed or chased away from their house and their land in South-Africa. Fundamentalist Muslims kill 'infidels' in Sudan and Darfur, so they can impose Sharia law. Somali hijackers kidnap commercial ships, so they can demand ransom money for them.

It are only the bad stories that we hear here in the West. Meanwhile this continent has so much good to offer the world. It is rich of minerals. It contains some of the oldest cultures and traditions in the world. Its nature is so beautiful.

I have been there twice. The first time I went to the Democratic Republic of Congo, to the North East. And even though this part is still war-torn, it was one of the most beautiful places I had ever been. It has amazing green mountains and stretched savannahs. And the people are extremely friendly, even when they have basically nothing.

The second country I have been to is Tanzania. And also in this relative stable, developed country, you find the kindness of the African people. They always want to share with you, even if they don't have anything to share. People are doing reasonably well in this country and yet, most people in the West don't know that.

As I said earlier, the media is partly guilty of this view we have on Africa. They only bring the bad news. But Western people are also to blame. They don't want to know about the good stories. Why is that? Why is it, that every time 'Africa' is on the news, we switch channels? Why is it, that when an ammunition depot on the outskirts of a major city explodes and more than twenty people die, Western media don't want to report about it, because 'there are too little casualties'?

In this thesis I want to try and find an answer to these questions. I know I will not find them easily, maybe I will not find them at all. But I want to give it a try. I want to find out why media only report on 'big issues' in Africa. And who decides what a 'big issue' is. I will use some of my own experiences in both DR Congo and Tanzania.

I will also use literature on the matter. And I will analyse some Western media, to show and in what frequency they report on Africa.

In the first part I will explain what I did in the countries I have been and how hard it is to tell the stories you find there. Based on the experience I will try to answer my own questions by using the literature that is commonly known in the journalistic world.

Then I will analyse different media on their reports on Africa. Are these report all bad or do they also report on some good efforts that are made on the continent.

At the end of this thesis I will try to give a conclusion on my findings and I will give my own view on this matter.

Why this thesis?

Last year I got infected with what is known as 'the Africa virus'. It is a virus you get once you have set foot on the continent. Before that I wasn't that aware of what was happening in Africa. After I left Africa for the first time I wanted to be updated on the continent and in particular on the region I had visited. But I found that it was hard to get information.

That is when I realised that the media are not interested in the continent. That rose the question; Why not? When I got back a second time and had news which was also, by journalistic standards, interesting for Western media, I found that the standards change when it comes to Africa. I want to know why that is. This thesis is an opportunity for me to get some answers.

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Africa?

As one of many, Africa was not always on my radar. I knew very little of this continent. Of course, in History and Geography classes, we learned about the Egypt's and their sophisticated culture. They taught us about the immigrants from Morocco. And we soon learned that there is one Dutch word that everybody on the planet can say and knows what it means: Apartheid. I had been to the Canary Islands on a holiday. But other than that I didn't know much about the continent.

In 1994 I first saw the dark side of the continent on the news. That is when the Rwandan genocide occurred. In less than ten days almost 800.000 Tutsi's were brutally killed by Hutu militias. Back then I did not understand why that happened. And to be honest, I was not very interested in the backgrounds of the genocide. It was in Southern Africa, a part of the world I would never come, so why bother?

During the years that followed, I sometime saw images of riots and conflicts in the region. The reports were fragmented; I did not understand what the reasons were for why these conflicts broke out. But that was not all.

Besides the upcoming of Nelson Mandela and the abolishing of Apartheid in South Africa, there were only a few positive reports about Africa. That blurred my view of the continent. Like many, who only saw the bad things that came from Africa, I also thought that there was nothing but misery over there. But frankly I could not care less, because it was far away, in a place I thought I would never come.

In 2008, due to the concurrence of circumstances, I missed an opportunity for an internship at a Dutch radio-station. One of my teachers stopped me in the hallway and asked if I was interested in a different kind of internship: a former student of him was working on a documentary about Africa and needed a researcher. The research part was tempting, but I had 'no feeling' with Africa.

But I needed the internship, so I agreed to go on an interview. At the interview, the director spoke with so much passion about Africa and his documentary, that I got me excited to. And during the interview he said that if I would come and work form him, I maybe could come along one of his trips, to DR Congo.

The interview went well and I was hired for the internship. When I was almost at the end of the internship, the director came to me and said: "Do you remember I said that you could come along to DR Congo? Well, we will leave in three weeks. So if you still want to, you can go." I immediately accepted, but when I got home and started to think about it, my first reaction was: 'Oh my God, I am going to a warzone' – this I learned from my research for the documentary.

Three weeks later I was on a plane to Rwanda, to meet up with my boss the next day. Off to Congo. I only spent one week over there, but it was one of the most inspiring weeks of my life. I can barely begin to describe the things I saw.

But there is one thing that is still in my mind: no matter how bad it is over there, with poverty, killings, rape and rebels; the people. With everything that has happened to them, they still manage to live a fairly decent life. To us that may seem weird, because they are poor and everything. But even

though they may not have a lot of money, they are rich, with their traditions, their cultural past and their everyday routine. Their way of living, no matter how bad it may seem, inspired me. I wanted to know more about this continent. And I wanted to tell people about this continent. And I knew that I would return to Africa. And not just to that place, but to other parts of the continent as well.

Only seven months later I was back, this time in Tanzania. A completely different country, but in its own way equally beautiful. In Tanzania I came for a different reason. With a group of five students I would write articles about everyday life for a magazine called JOIN! They were stories journalists call 'soft'. But these stories also need to be told. Just to let the world know that there are also positive sites of Africa.

After these two trips I am certain of one thing: I want to know about Africa. And I want the world to know about Africa. And the more I think about it, the more I am sure about it. In this thesis I will make a beginning.

Democratic Republic of Congo

Located in Central-Africa, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is the third largest country in Africa, an area as big as Western Europe. DRC is internationally also known as Congo-Kinshasa. Its neighbouring country in the west is the Republic of the Congo, which is known as Congo-Brazzaville. DRC is also known by its former name, Zaire, which derived from a mispronunciation of the Kikongo word *Nzere*.

With a population of over 66 million and a GDP of US\$300, - per capita per year, it is one of the poorest countries in the world (ranked place 228 of 229 countries)¹. Originating in Zambia, the Congo-river runs through DRC to the Atlantic Ocean. This 2.700 mile long river is the second longest river in Africa² and has been the décor for novels *Heart of Darkness* by Joseph Conrad and the 2006 documentary *River Congo*³, from the Belgian director Thierry Michel, where he gives a history of the country as he crosses the river. DRC is also the country with the largest population, where French is the national language, even bigger than France itself.

Brief history

The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is a fairly young country. It became independent in 1960, after the Belgian government signed their former colony (it used to be King Leopold's 'playground') over to the Congolese. General Joseph Mobutu (backed-up by the United States and Belgium) seized power over the Congolese capital of Kinshasa with a coup in 1965. Mobutu ran the country for over three decades, when he was forced out of the country in 1997.

Laurent-Desire Kabila overthrew the Mobutu-government with the help of Rwandan and Ugandan forces. When Kabila became president, he thanked the foreign troops for their help and asked them to retreat. Of course they did not and both militaries formed rebel movements in the North East of the country. In 2001 Kabila was assassinated and his son Joseph succeeded him⁴.

All these changes of power have resulted in numerous killings and conflicts, especially in the North-East Kivu-regions, where the rebel movements are located. It is estimated that over 5.4 million people

have been killed since 1996, during the Congolese War and the efforts of the Congolese army (FARDC) to oust Rwandan and Ugandan militia's.

Conflict Minerals

Even though DR Congo is one of the poorest countries in the world, it has an exceptional wealth underneath it. The country is full of different minerals, which are mostly found in the North Eastern part of the country, where most rebel groups are held up. This is why the ongoing conflict in DR Congo takes place over there. The region is occupied by different rebel movements who all want to gain and hold control over the mine's, because they are financially vital for them. The biggest source of income for the rebels are the Coltan mine's.

Coltan is a mineral consisting of Columbite and Tantalum. Coltan is known for its capacity to store energy and is mostly used for batteries in cellular phones and laptop-computers. In North-East Congo, three quarters of the world's reserve of Coltan can be found. But because Coltan from DR Congo is considered a conflict-mineral, multinationals are not allowed to use the Coltan.

It is for that reason that a lot of the Coltan is smuggled out of the country, mostly by rebels. One of the biggest rebel groups, CNDP (Congrès National pour la Défense du Peuple), led by renegade general Laurent Nkunda, is being held responsible for smuggling and controlling a lot of the mine's. It is also known that, amongst others, CNDP uses brutal force to keep control over the mines and the mineworkers.

Most of the mine's in DR Congo are artisanal mines. This means that the people who work in those mines have to do everything with their hands and simple tools. There is no heavy equipment to mine the minerals. These artisanal mines are started by small villages to ensure the villagers some income. Then the rebels pass along and force the miners to seize the minerals for a small amount of money. Most miners earn less than a dollar a day. The rebels sell the minerals for big money to brokers or neighbouring countries, like Rwanda and Burundi. With the money they earn, they are capable of buying weapons for their 'cause'. Although I can not be proofed before a court, it is commonly thought that big mobile phone companies like Nokia and Ericson are using Coltan from the DR Congo. All the companies deny the accusations.⁵

Nzi Bira and Luhwinja

In 2008 I had an internship at a production company. This company was making a documentary on the lack of conscience in the Western world as to what their needs are causing this world. One of the things is the desire to have all the latest cellular phones and newest laptop-computers. What most people don't know is that to make these products, life's are being destroyed, sometimes literally.⁶ My job was to research the 'way of the Coltan'. That meant that I first needed to understand what Coltan is. And then I looked into the ways it was coming to the Western world.

To see for myself, my boss invited me to join him and his cameraman to go to DR Congo, to take a look in the mines. So in September we went there and visited two mines; one Coltan mine and one goldmine.

The Coltan mine was located in Nzi Bira, a small village in the mountainous South-Kivu region in East Congo. It was an artisanal mine, set up by the villagers. Kids from age 10 were working in the

caverns of the mines. With hammers and chisels they were mining the Coltan, while being watched by rebels from FDLR (a Rwandan rebel-group) from another hill. Every now and then they come to collect the Coltan and pay the miners.

It was very impressive to see those people working for less than a dollar a day, with no protection or anything, just simple clothes and tools and working for twelve hours a day.

The next day we went to another mine in Luhwinja, an eight hour drive through the mountains. On top of one of the mountains is a goldmine. This mine was also setup by the villagers. The first thing that I noticed were the little kids, not much older than five years, carrying bags of gravel (weighing close to twenty kilos) to the top of the hill. The gravel was dumped in streams that sprung from the top, down the mountain. In these streams there were rubber mats, which filtered the water. Other people were sieving the remaining gravel, to see if there was gold in it. This was mostly done by women. The gravel was brought up from a valley. People just walked all the way up.

This mine is also controlled by rebels although it was not really clear to us which faction is 'running' this mine. Most likely it is the FDLR. What was weird to see was that on the other side of the valley, a Canadian mining company was also mining for gold. Only they used helicopters to move the gravel and heavy equipment to process the gravel.

Back home

When we got back to Holland, one thing struck me. When I told people what I had seen, there was a first reaction of: "Oh my God." But the second reaction was: "Well, what do you want? It's Africa." That reaction kind of blew me away. Why is it that people accept the situation because it is taking place in Africa? I am the first to admit that I also buy a new mobile telephone when mine is broke. But that doesn't mean that I 'accept' what is happening over there. I made me a bit angry as to how people just don't care. It was the start for me to try to tell people what was happening there and try to make people see that it is a big deal to care. That is also the reason why my boss is making this documentary with the subtitle "The movie you don't want to see".

United Republic of Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania, which is commonly known as Tanzania, is one of the most 'stable' countries in Africa at this moment. The country is located on the East-side of the continent, by the Indian Ocean. Dodoma is the capital, but the governmental and financial epicentre of the country is Dar es Salaam, which means "House of Peace". Tanzania is called a United Republic, because Zanzibar also belongs to the country. Of the 43 million people, 30 percent belongs to Christianity and 35 percent to the Islam. A notable fact is that 99 percent of the citizens of Zanzibar is Muslim.

Tanzania is heavily depending on foreign aid. A large percentage of its annual budget is provided by the World Bank and independent countries. In some parts of the world, Tanzania is known as a 'donor darling', because a lot of countries donate money directly into the budget, instead of in projects. This is because Tanzania is a stable country.

Brief history

The United Republic of Tanzania is a young republic. Tanzania as we know it today only exists 45 years. Long before that it was a German colony, until Germany had to give up their colonies after World War I and the signing of the League of Nations-charter in 1919⁷. From that moment on Britain took over power of Tanganyika, now known as the mainland of Tanzania. In 1954, Julius Nyerere, started a movement called TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), which had the goal to make Tanganyika a sovereign country. Less than ten years later, in 1961, Tanganyika became independent from the UK; two years later became Zanzibar, the island off the coast of Dar es Salaam, independent with an Arab government.

Zanzibar and Tanganyika merged together in 1964, after the Arab regime on Zanzibar was overthrown. The two states renamed their country in Tanzania, a name derived from TANganyika and ZANzibar. Nyerere became president and a firm follower of the socialistic system, with a one-party dictatorship. This opened the doors for friendly relationships with China and the USSR, but also forced citizens to work on collective farms by burning their villages. This system lasted until the mid-eighties, when President Nyerere retired and was replaced by the former president of Zanzibar, Ali Mwinyi. He introduced a multi-party system in Tanzania, which was later recorded in the Constitution.⁸

Tanzania is also familiar with violence. In the late seventies, the country was temporarily invaded by Ugandan forces. A year later, in 1979, Tanzania forces invaded Uganda, occupying its capital Kampala and helped to oust president Idi Amin, the brutal dictator. But there was also internal conflict. In 2001, after the police shooting of two innocent people while raiding opposition offices, riots broke out, killing at least 31 people.

In recent years a lot of scandals dominated the Tanzanian government. There were a lot of claims of corruption, both within the government itself, as with commercial (international) deals. The scandals resulted in the resignation of President Benjamin Mkapa, who was succeeded by Jakana Kiewit. He is now still in office.

Join!

In March 2009 I started a project at my school which was internationally orientated. The goal of the project was making a magazine for youngsters, to let them see what happens in Third World countries. The magazine called JOIN! is an initiative of LokaalMondiaal⁹, a Dutch organisation which organises debates and educational programs to strengthen the commitment for international development. For this issue of JOIN!, LokaalMondiaal selected two African countries, Tanzania and Ethiopia. I signed in for Tanzania because to me it was appealing than Ethiopia.

Our objective was to write articles about everyday life of youngsters in Tanzania and development issues. So in the weeks before the trip, we did research for our stories and made contact with people over there that could help us with our articles. LokaalMondiaal also arranged a group of students from the University of Dar es Salaam, School for Journalism and Mass Communication¹⁰, which would work with us.

In April we set off to Tanzania. With four other students and a teacher we went on a two week trip. The other group that went to Ethiopia was leaving two weeks later. I must say that when we arrived in Dar es Salaam, I did not have the feeling that I was in Central Africa. I tried to make the comparison to DR Congo, but that was impossible. Dar is a much more developed city, with a lot of British influences. One thing was really African, by the way. The students that we were going to work with and were supposed to be picking us up from the airport were an hour and a half late. But once they arrived, both groups 'clicked' immediately.

In the two weeks we were there, we wrote a lot of articles and weblogs¹¹. We also made some radio- and television reports and we got to celebrate Queens day at the Dutch Embassy, which was really impressive and at the same time to decadent for me. We made some stories about every day life, we got to sit in with the local version of 'Idols' and 'So you think you can dance' and even had some time to go clubbing. And, as sinister as it may sound, we had the luck that there was a massive explosion, which meant that we were able to perform our journalistic job to the max.

Mbagala

There is something different about journalists. Whenever a tragedy happens, everybody is in shock and freezes. They all want to know what is going on but they remain at a distance, not to intrude in someone's personal tragedy. For journalists it is slightly different. When a tragedy occurs, a journalist gets an adrenaline rush: he wants to be there, wants to gather information and eye-witness accounts, to tell the rest of the world what is going on. It is maybe a bit dark, but sometimes journalists just 'hope' for a tragedy.

We, as journalists, didn't hope for one, but we just were 'lucky' enough to be in Dar es Salaam when a tragedy occurred. On April 29 there was an explosion at an ammunition depot in the Mbagala region, on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam. At this depot there was old artillery ammunition stored. For some reason some of it went off and destroyed the entire depot. This happened around noon.

When we heard the first explosion, it looked to us like a thunderstruck at a clear sky, because we didn't know where it came from. But soon after that, there was another blast. So we thought maybe it were military aircraft flying through the sound barrier. But the third blast was too loud for that. It was about an hour later, when a colleague told us, an explosion had occurred. One of our 'buddies' - to which we were connected through the project - got on the phone and learned that an ammunition depot at the south of Dar es Salaam was exploded.

The rumours started to spread immediately. According to those rumours, a lot of people were killed and many houses were destroyed. There were also stories about a second explosion in the centre of the city, at a place where we were only a day before. As we started to gather information, we made a decision: we needed to report this explosion to the rest of the world, since we were at the ground.

So we made a decision. Our teacher went with one student, who is a camera journalist (camjo), and a buddy to the explosion site in Mbagala. It was an easy decision, which I will try to explain. When something like an explosion occurs, people want to 'see' it. The best way to do that is to shoot images. That is why we decided to send the camjo and the teacher off course, for safety reasons. One of the buddies tagged along to, for translation issues. To be honest: I wanted to go to the site, to see it for myself. But since I am a radio journalist and an internet journalist, it was better for me to stay 'at home'. Because as a radio journalist you can describe what is going on, but it will never have the impact and the 'true' story, because I would describe what I see.

Therefore we agreed that I would stay at an internet café to get the story online and I would have regular contact with my teacher and camjo.

So that is the way we worked. When the crew arrived at the explosion site, it was clear that something horrible had happened. People spoke about the destruction of 5,000 houses and over 3700 people were missing, a lot of them were children. The second explosion in the city centre turned out to be debris that had landed over there. We reported on the internet and Hannelore Struijs, the camjo, made a report about the explosions.¹²

We also tried to get in touch with Dutch media to tell them about the explosion and to give them accurate information. But there was basically no interest in our story. Because the first official numbers spoke about three people who were killed and about 50 to 100 people who were injured. We managed to get about one and a half minute on Radio 1, where the question literally was: "So, you spoke about an explosion. What do you see?" They were not really interested in the story we concluded. Other media wouldn't even listen to, because 'there were not enough dead people'. As discouraging it was, we didn't let it get in our way and tried to get the news out of there.

Especially when a day later, we saw a large UN-convoy passing through the streets of Dar es Salaam. The markings on the UN-trucks, UNAMID, were markings we'd never seen before. So, after some research, we found out that the convoy was part of the joined UN and African Union mission in Darfur, Somalia. The convoy had in no way anything to do with the explosions, but it triggered us to get in touch with the local UN-officials and the Dutch Ambassador, because ambassadors are usually involved when relief aid is being distributed. From the Dutch Ambassador we learned that several

European countries were planning to distribute relief for the people in the region, but the UN had taken over.

Hannelore, the camjo, and the teacher (Gie Meeuwis) went back to the explosion site to see if they could find the relief aid, and to talk with local Red Cross workers to get the latest information regarding fatalities and injured people. On that day, 18 people were reported dead, including six soldiers of the Tanzanian People's Defence Force, the national army. Over five hundred people were missing and over 500 houses were destroyed¹³. I stayed back at the internet-café to write new news articles with the latest information.

A day later, I got in touch with the spokesman for the UN Mr. Alhaji, coordinator of the Emergency Response Unit of UNICEF. According to him, the UN had provided ten tents 400 mattresses and blankets and more. ¹⁴ However, there was little to be seen of the relief aid. Hannelore and Meeuwis went back for a third time, but this time they were not allowed to film anything. The army threatened to confiscate the camera and the tapes.

Even though it was hard for us to work in such conditions, and with basically no back-up from the home front, we managed to bring some big news about a big tragedy that occurred in Tanzania. There were still a lot of questions when we left, especially the differences in figures provided by the government and the Red Cross. According to the government 26 people in total died in the explosion, amongst them 6 soldiers. We had a really hard time to believe that, because it would mean that a military site was only guarded by six people. We say so, because there was absolutely nothing left of the depot.

Then there is the story of the missing people. Because the depot was located in a residential area, there were a lot of missing people. At first, local people spoke about 3,700 people, including a lot of children. About the next day, the government stated that there were only 200 people missing. The difference is too big we think, seeing that the Red Cross, who was on the ground, spoke about 1,200 missing people. We tried to find the answers, but it was hard. And back home, no one was even interested.

Back Home

When we left, we had a feeling that we weren't finished with our reporting about the explosion at the ammunition depot. The story was still ongoing and we wanted to do more with it. We kept ourselves up to date by reading local news media, but the information provided in those media was contradicting.

Personally I was very frustrated by the way the Dutch media dealt with the whole situation. What got to me the most, is that they were basically not interested in our story, even though we were there with the latest information.

When I talked to people about the explosion, a lot of people asked me why it wasn't in the media. I wished I could have given them an answer, but I couldn't. What bothered me also, is that the media didn't want to bring the story, because they believed the official numbers that were provided on the first day by the Tanzanian government. And by those standards, the explosion wasn't 'newsworthy enough.' That struck me. How is it possible that human tragedy isn't newsworthy enough, because the tragedy wasn't big enough? Who are we to decide that and on what merits? It triggered me to write an article about it on a Dutch media site called De Nieuwe Reporter¹⁵. And I know this article is

maybe a bit biased because I am focussing on only one point, but some of the reactions gave me the feeling that my frustrations weren't unfounded.

Conclusion

As I have said earlier in this thesis, these two trips have giving me what is called 'the Africa-virus'. The continent got under my skin. And not just being there, but to follow it; to read, hear and see what is happening there. Both the horrible things that happen, but also the good things, like we have reported on in the *Join!* magazine.

The two trips have made me seen that it is not so obvious to every one. For some reason, Africa is that interesting to the world. Why that is, I do not know. But I do know that I want to try and change that. It is that reason to write this thesis. To get an idea as to why Dutch and Western media aren't interested that much in Africa.

In the next part I will try to find an answer to this. By reading literature, talking to journalist who work or have worked in the region and to international editors at news agencies. At the end I will give a conclusion and based upon that I will give my vision and own opinion about the matter.

Study:

In this part of the thesis I will use literature and interviews to get an insight view of the selection of news and in particular news out of Africa. I will try to define the literature in my own words, also because some of the literature will be in Dutch, and to give an opinion about it.

For this thesis I also interviewed correspondents, about the thoughts of the news selection about Africa. And I spoke with international editors, to get an idea of their way of selection. Of course this is partly based on the ways of the news agency they work for but a big part of it is also their own discretion. And in that part I am very interested.

In the last part I will analyze western media and their coverage of Africa. For this I will work with a database, which contains archives of printed media in the Netherlands, the UK and the US. I will analyze a period of time and within that time I will separate different types of stories.

In my conclusion I will answer my main question with all the information and personal experiences I have gathered. What that answer will be, I do not know at this time.

News

To get an understanding of how journalism works, we need to go back in time a while. People have always been interested in things that happened in their neighbourhood, or more back in time, in the area they lived and worked in. People would talk each other to share stories about their lives and to talk about things that were 'out of the ordinary'. "Have you heard that about the Lionel's next door? Their son got the plague," for instance. Getting sick is basically out of the ordinary and people want to know about that. It's in our nature.

They also would tell these kinds of stories in letters to far relatives or friends. It was one of the first ways to share 'news'. This is also where the definition of news derives from: Things that are out of the ordinary. On a smaller scale it is easy to define that, out of the ordinary, because it is out of the ordinary for you. But later on, when the art of printing was discovered and people could tell more stories and publish them, there also came a lot of stories from other areas and other countries. These stories were told by the sailors and travellers. For some they were interesting, for others not.

The publishing of these stories on leaflets and pamphlets can be seen as the herald of the newspaper¹⁶. It wasn't until the 17th century that the newspaper became a part of society. In 1605, the first weekly newspaper came out in Germany. In this paper there was a lot of local news, and state-related news, to keep the citizens up to date on new legislation. The first newspaper in England was *The Corante* and published in 1621. The oldest newspaper in the world is supposed to be the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*. This paper was estimated in 1656 and after the merger with the *Haarlems Dagblad* in World War II; it is still being published today.

Journalists

From the 17th century, when the newspapers became more regular, people started to work for them. That meant that not only travellers and merchants came with stories they heard on their journeys, but that the people who worked for the paper also tried to find their own news stories. Countries and states became also interested in the papers, because they could publish information for a big number of their citizens about the country or about laws and so forth.

Over the centuries the news industry became more professional and the journalist made 'rules' on how to publish a story. It was from that moment on that the selection of news became more and more important, because there was too much news to print.

From the early 20th century, the rules of the selection of news became somewhat uniform for all papers. This was because sociologists and scientists started to think and study the way newspapers worked and how they select the news they printed. From all these studies, a set of criteria was set up to see if something was news¹⁷. The main criteria are: the news, does it happen close to us, both in time, distance and/or experience? Does it affect the public of the medium in any way? Does it concern the elite of the public? Does it have an emotional affect on the public? And last; is it available?

If you look at these criteria, it seems logical that journalism is using these criteria. A gas-explosion in your neighbourhood has much more impact on you than a gas-explosion in a neighbourhood in Sidney, for instance because you know people in your own neighbourhood, and your house can be affected by the explosion. The more local the news, the more you want to know about it. And let it be clear that I am not arguing these criteria. If I look at myself, I also want to know what is happening in my neighbourhood more than a borough in Sidney because I have never been there and I don't know anyone over there.

Sociologists have determined that the society you live in is the most important for you. And since journalism is a big part of the society – it's the place where stories, ideas and opinions can be published and people can react on them – it is easy to see why the media is publishing so much about the society it is operating in. Of course this is just a part of journalism. There is much more, but I only focus on the news selection in this thesis.

With the technological development of the world – the introduction of airplanes and later on of courses the internet – the world has become much smaller, at least in our experience. That has also affect on our selection of news that we want to know about. Since it is much easier to get news from the other side of the world, there is much more news to offer. This has influence on the selection of news by media. It is virtually impossible to print or broadcast all the news in the world. So you need to set boundaries as to what news you bring. But it are those boundaries that I question sometimes.

The boundaries we set to select news are sociological explainable. As said earlier, the society we live in is the most important to us. So news that affects us in that society or has an affect on our society as a whole is important because we experience that news as if it affects us personally¹⁸. I will focus on the Dutch society because it is my society, so I can better reflect on it.

When it comes to the Dutch society, it is obvious that news that concerns the society is published. If you look a little further, it is also understandable that news that concerns Europe and/or the European Union is important to us, since it has a lot of effect on our society. As far as this goes I don't see any problems. But when we look beyond that, there is where it gets more complicated, or at least I think so.

This has to do with the different criteria the journalistic world has set. As stated earlier, distance is a big criterion. When something happens really close, we want to know about it, because it affects us.

But when it happens further away, like say in the United States, the 'real distance' is pretty big. Why do we want to know about then? Most of the times it is because we experience it as close by. This is because we know the country well (or think so) and some people have been there. Therefore it 'feels' close to home.

Centrism

If something similar happens in Africa we usually don't hear not much about it because we don't 'feel' like it is close to us. This has different reasons. Most of us know to little about Africa or a particular country, were something happens. This is on a personal level. There is also a sociological reason. This has to do with were we live. For us this is Europe. So we see ourselves as the centre of the world. This is what is known as Euro-centralism¹⁹. From this point of view, everything that isn't important to us Europeans is of no interest to us.

It is not just a European thing. Van Ginneken did a little test with journalist from North America, South America, Europe, Africa and Asia. He let them draw a map, first of there country, then their continent and lastly the world. Everybody drew their continent as the centre of the world. The second largest part on their maps was the West (Europe and the US). The smallest and least detailed was Africa, apart from the African journalists of course. Van Ginneken concluded with this test that everybody put's their own society and country as the centre of all and that Africa was seen as the outskirts of the world.

So centrism is a big part of the news selection of media. There are different studies that comply with this theory for instance a study on American media by Herbert Gans²⁰. He concluded that a lot of the 'international' news was connected to the local society. A significant conclusion of Gans was that foreign correspondents brought a lot of news that was similar to the program of the State Department. This was contradicting to the local news (in the US), which was more often based on the opponents and contradictions of the program that was outlined by the White House.

Another study that is important to understanding the news selection of media was done by to scientists of the Peace Research Institute in Oslo, Norway²¹. They analyzed four newspapers and found out that there are ten different factors that are important to the newspapers for publishing foreign news. A lot of the factors are similar as to the news-criteria mentioned above. Some of them are new. Galtung and Ruga concluded that clarity is also important to publishing foreign news. 'If something isn't clear from the beginning, it will probably not be published because it needs too much explanation.' Also expectance (you could wait for it to happen) and ironically un-expectance (who would've thought that could happen?) are factors which will determine whether something is news.

These factors explain why things are news, but on the other hand it also raises questions for instance if you take the factor 'expectance'. When US President-elect Obama calls for drastic reforms in his campaign, and they are being blocked when he becomes the President, you can expect reports on the blocking of those reforms by his opponents and those reports were in the media. And when a rebel group blows up a base of the African Union in Somalia, killing at least 17 peacekeepers (which are backed by the UN) you can expect a reaction by the UN. The reaction came²², but this time it was not reported in our media. Why is that? Is it because it happened in Somalia? If you look at the news criteria you can say that it is too far in distance, both real and in the 'experience-distance'. But a lot of countries have been (military) active in Somalia, so it would affect us. And it is UN-related, which is a big influence to us in the West.

So even if there are a number of uniform criteria or factors by which news is being selected, that doesn't mean that they are being used the same by the different media around the world. It is still at the discretion of the international editor or the chief editor which is somewhat awkward to me, because most of them had the same education in journalism.

Gatekeeper

In Journalism there is a theory that explains this way of selection by journalists and editors. This is called 'Gatekeeping'²³, a theory that was introduced as early as 1947 by Kurt Lewin, a German-American psychologist. The theory is based upon a set of gates in the process of publishing news. These gates start at the beginning of the process (a journalist walks outside and an accident happens. Does he think this is newsworthy?), the way the article is written (what part of the accident does the journalist focus on, the accident itself or the victims?), which extra information he is going to use in the article (eyewitnesses or police-officials or both?) and then his editor decides which place it gets in the newspaper (front page, page 3, on the top of the page, on the bottom of the page, with or without a picture, etc.) and then the reader decides if he wants to read it.

Every step in this progress is a gate, and the journalist is the 'gatekeeper' at some of the steps, the editor is a gatekeeper at some of the steps and even the reader is a gatekeeper.

This theory is applicable in every type of news, whether it is what we call 'hard news' (Politics, crime, conflict, economy, etc), 'soft news' (interviews with citizens, festival-news, showbiz news), local or international news.

When you look at this theory in combination with international news, it makes it a bit easier to understand why some news is being reported and other news isn't. For example, an international editor doesn't only get news from its correspondents, but also from 'wire services'. These are services from major press agencies that publish news from around the world. From the article of the University of Twente:

"A wire service editor decides alone what news audiences will receive from another continent. The idea is that if the gatekeeper's selections are biased, the readers' understanding will therefore be a little biased."

I think it is fair to say that this gatekeeper is biased. Not always intentionally but he is. This is because we all make decisions based on our own frame of reference. People are not robots, so you cannot expect fully unbiased, full objective choices in there selection. Our choices will always be subjective, some more than other.

That brings me back to the Euro-centrism I was talking about earlier. In our frame of reference, our society is more important to us than the African society. So news that happens in Africa, will always be measured to our society and to its impact it has to our society. So if you look at all the literature it is understandable how international news is coming to us.

For me there is just one thing. I might be ahead of al the literature, because this was all written a couple of years ago, before the impact of the Internet was fully grasped. I think that the Internet has changed our way of thinking in different societies. People are using the internet not just for fun but also to learn a lot. People are much more educated on the world and the different societies in the

world and see that there are a lot of comparisons to their own society. With all this knowledge you should expect a shift in the Gatekeeping process.

That is why I interviewed some international editors and correspondents. I can go on and on about my feelings, but they are the ones that bring the news and decide what we should know about the world. In the next part I will give their opinions and try to put them in perspective by using a survey I did on international news in different newspapers.

International Editors

In the previous part I tried to get a view of the selection of international and in particular African news, by looking at the literature that was written about it. What I learned about the study is that there is not much written about this subject in official literature. There are a couple of thesis's that are written on the subject, but they all use the same literature. Therefore I interviewed two international editors at television stations. The first one, Gerard van den Broek, works at NOS Nieuws here in Holland. The other one, Brechtje van de Moosdijk, is the international editor at RTL Nieuws, also here in Holland.

I tried to get in contact with international editors at BBC and The Independent, but both news organisations didn't respond to my questions. This is disappointing, because I think it would have given me a better insight on how they work. Now I can just guess.

It is this reason that I will focus on the Dutch news organisations. My survey on international news however was focused on three countries: The Netherlands, The United Kingdom and The United States. I need to point out that the survey was on newspapers. That seems to be inconsistent with each other, but both the printed media and the broadcasting media are using the international press agencies to get their international news. And the two different media's also have their own correspondents in the region, so basically the way they work is pretty much the same.

To get an understanding of how they work, I started my interview with Mr. Van den Broek en Mrs. Van de Moosdijk with the same question: What are the criteria for your organisation which decide what kind of international news you bring?

Both answered that the news has to be relevant to their audience. That is the main criterion. Mr. Van den Broek elaborated that answer with the following:

"When a bus crashes in a canyon in India, it isn't that interesting to our audience, because there is no relation to them. Would that same bus have crashed in France in the summer, when a lot of Dutch people are on a holiday over there, it would become much more interesting to our audience, because people they know could be in the region or even on the bus. In other words, we have to answer the following question: What does this mean for me as a viewer or listener [NOS Nieuws also broadcasts on the radio]? A local parliamentary election in Greece doesn't mean anything to the audience, where as a manhunt for suspected terrorists in the US does, because we all can remember 9/11 and it's fallout afterwards."

"'So what?' should also be a journalistic criterion, as far as I am concerned. It isn't mentioned in any literature, but is a crucial question any journalist should ask himself. If you can answer that question, you also have your opening!"

Mrs. Van de Moosdijk added the following:

"For us the main criteria - besides that it has to be relevant to our audience - are that it has to be intriguing and important. RTL Nieuws wants to be a window to the world with international news. Correspondents show 'their country' by surprising and fascinating reports. In our reports we try to let the common people tell the story as much as possible, hoping that our audience can identify themselves with those people."

On my question of what criteria they use for news from or about Africa, the answers were completely different, which kind of surprised me.

Mrs Van de Moosdijk:

"We use the same criteria for news about or from Africa: Intriguing and important. We especially want stories that break with the classic (cliché) view on Africa. So besides the stories about conflict, which is also news, how bad it is for the view on the region, we want the positive stories as well; stories about the influence of modern communication, the rise of mobile phones, 'green' energy, that kind of stories."

Mr. Van den Broek looks at news from Africa from a more practical view and does not really focus on the type of story:

"We basically use the same criteria, although we keep in mind the problems that come with the territory. We want to bring the news as fast as we can, but in Africa it is hard to get it right away because often there is no satellite-connection to get the images to Hilversum. So we accept that we cannot always bring news from Africa the same day. Another criterion is the recognisability of the news. An ousting of the president of Zimbabwe is more recognizable to our viewers than the ousting of the president of Gabon, because the developments in Zimbabwe were better reported."

So in this case there is a big difference. RTL Nieuws is more about the 'true' story from Africa, whilst NOS Nieuws is more about the news worthiness of Africa. If you look at the archives of both news organisations you can see that RTL Nieuws is indeed trying to bring news that isn't already being reported by press agencies. Of course they have to sometimes, if you look at the news criteria, but the stories that RTL broadcasts are more 'behind' the news. At NOS Nieuws that is not so often the case, even though NOS has more correspondents in Africa than RTL Nieuws. It has to be noted that the correspondents from NOS Nieuws also work for NRC Handelsblad, a Dutch Newspaper.

Newspapers

Most of the newspapers have correspondents throughout the world. They are mostly spread out in Europe and the US. They have correspondents in Asia and Africa but those correspondents have a relative large area to cover. Usually there are two or three correspondents for the whole of Africa. The Geassocieerde Pers Diensten (GPD, Associated Press Services) from the Netherlands has only one correspondent in Africa at the moment. I will elaborate on the GPD later.

The result of the small number of correspondents in Africa is that most of the newspapers are dependable on press agencies for their international and African news. It was something I already thought was the case but I also concluded this from my survey in newspapers.

This survey I conducted through an online database called LexisNexis. In this database newspapers digitally archive all of their articles. We, as students of Journalism, can use this database to get old articles for our research or use it for a survey. Our school only provides access to Dutch newspapers. However, a friend of mine who is studying at the University of Utrecht was so kind to give me access to their LexisNexis account, which also has international newspaper access. There for I was able to search in the database of British and American newspapers. I wanted to see what the difference if any, is in the news selection in the Netherlands, the UK and the US.

I must say that I had expected more difference in the type of news that was selected by the different international editors, because every country has their own connection with Africa. For instance the

Netherlands and the UK use to have territory in Africa - the UK more than The Netherlands – where as the US didn't. Yet American papers report more about Africa (relatively speaking) than the Netherlands or the UK. This is not the case with all the papers. Out of the seven papers I researched, the New York Times is the one that brings the most reports from their own correspondent in the region. The fact that the US newspapers report relatively more is remarkable because Van Ginneken explains in his book that international news is usually corresponding with themes that are important to the State Department²⁴. But for the US State Department Africa is not a big issue.

If you take a look at the Dutch newspapers, you'll see that most of the reports are from the international press agencies. Mr. Van den Broek told me in the interview that it is logical that most of the news comes from those agencies because they are at the scene:

"We mainly use the press agencies for their 'signal function', in other words they usually are the first to bring the news and to come with more information. We use that information to start working on our own story."

Another international editor told me that it is true that the international press agencies are a good source but you don't get the full story of them. This editor is Mr. Maurice Wilbrink and works with the GPD that I mentioned before.

The GPD is a Dutch press agency that works for Dutch regional newspapers. Regional papers have usually got small editorial staffs that focus on the region. But they also bring national, international and economical news. The GPD is supplying this news. The GPD is only working for newspapers, which means that they work in a different manner. Mr Wilbrink:

"To me, newspapers are the slowest medium of the 24 hour news media. If something happens at this moment in Africa, you hear about it on the radio, you look it up on the Internet and maybe you watch the footage on the Six O'clock News. But the paper has not been printed yet, so you read that the next morning. It would be useless to print the same headline that next day, because you already know about it. So what we intend to do, is to bring a background on the story for instance, the killings and rape that happened in Guinea by soldiers. We all heard about on the radio, but what is cause of these killings? We bring a background story on this, so that our readers understand why this is happening."

Even though working for newspapers is a complete different discipline that working for television, Mr. Wilbrink thinks that that is the way to bring the news. You have to explain the news.

All three editors told me that they discuss the subjects they want to bring with their correspondents. Sometimes the editors have subjects they want to bring and sometimes the correspondents introduce a story they want to tell.

Correspondents

Correspondents confirm this to me. I spoke with two of them: Ruud Elmendorp, who is a freelance journalist that works in Africa and used to work (on a freelance base) for RTL Nieuws, and Bram Vermeulen, who was the main Africa correspondent for NOS Nieuws for over eight years in South-Africa. Both correspondents also agree that you have to explain the news to your audience, because most of them don't know why things are happening. Mr. Vermeulen:

"Take Zimbabwe for instance. We know that it is all about poverty, about dictatorship. The question is why the citizens of Zimbabwe support Robert Mugabe for so long? When you

explain that, it becomes easier for your audience to understand it. The Zimbabweans don't see Mugabe only as a dictator but also as some one who has done a lot for the country and then lost it a bit."

"I think that you should treat Africa like any other continent."

All the people I spoke agreed on another issue: the way to work in Africa. That is sometimes very hard. However, there are attitudes on why it is hard to work are a bit different. As Mr Van den Broek already told, a lot has to do with the infrastructure. Mr Wilbrink agrees with this opinion:

"That is why we – and a lot of other press agencies and correspondents – work from Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. This is because the infrastructure is relatively speaking well. From Nairobi it is pretty easy to fly out to the other parts of the continent and the technology is on an acceptable standard. From historical point it also has a pretty stable social infrastructure, off course that changed recently."

Mr Elmendorp sees another issue as the source of why it is hard to work in Africa:

"Africa is a difficult continent in terms of reports. I think the cause lies not so much in the media, but rather by the viewers. The Netherlands has a commercial oriented system, so broadcasters are simply cautious due to the hard necessity of ratings. Dutch viewers seem tired of stories that play far away, and show misery. However, you can still make these reports. An angle with an anecdotal approach helps. A story about the big issues in Kenya by the lack of electricity I can never sell, but I probably can if the approach I use is that a smart manufacturer of mobile phone comes with a model with a built-in solar cell, so he never has to charge it, and millions of people can talk to each other again and solve that problem."

So as you can see from the answers, everybody looks at it from a different point of view. And that is also noticeable in the survey I held. A lot of the news is from the press agencies (this is usually the latest news), mostly facts and figures of conflict. Mr Wilbrink explains this:

"News from Africa is mostly about power. Whether this about political power or power over people or natural resources. Power is important. It gets you some were."

The background stories are usually from correspondents and most of the time they try to explain the situation in a country. But, as Mr. Elmendorp and Mrs. Van de Moosdijk pointed out, stories about developments (social or technological) are also common in the papers.

From all these interviews, something really stands out to me. The people that work in The Netherlands have a completely different look as to what is newsworthy and how they want to bring it as the people that work in the region. The editors want the latest news; the correspondents want to tell stories that aren't that obvious. That sometimes leads to a discussion between the editor and the correspondent. Mr Vermeulen:

"The discussion almost always starts with: 'Why must we know that?' You have to be prepared for that, so you have to use big words like: 'If you don't report this story, than the audience will miss out on a big story.' So as a correspondent you have to be pushy sometimes."

The correspondents see it from a completely different point of view because they know what is happening in the region at the moment. They are your source so use them, is what the correspondents say.

I must say there is a difference between the editor of NOS and GPD. At the NOS news desk, one of the criteria is that people have to recognize themselves in the news. The GPD editor doesn't agree with that:

"People who read international in a regional newspaper do that because they are interested in it. So they don't have to relate to it in any way. Personally think that a relation in the news to the viewer or reader is not applicable because our societies are too different from one another. Therefore I do not use that as a criterion for my news selection."

The international editor at RTL has an opinion that falls in between the other two. She thinks that people, who watch international news, do this because they want to but on the other hand she has to keep in mind the audience RTL wants to serve and sometimes that means that you have to bring news because there are Dutch people or interests involved. That doesn't mean that the news always have to be bad news. Mrs. Van de Moosdijk actually wants to bring more 'positive' stories about Africa:

"The stories of war and misery we know already. There for we are looking for stories that break with the stereotypes we all know and we have done, for instance with stories about the rise of mobile phones as mentioned before. That is why we always try to find more information through our local connections. They know the positive sides of this continent."

All three editors are pretty pleased at the moment when it comes to the way they can bring African news. I asked them what, if any, they would change if they had the opportunity. Mr. Van den Broek said that he would give his correspondents more technological support, because 'that is the basis for success: a correspondent that has an opportunity to report, with the support of his editor back home.'

Mrs. Van de Moosdijk is clear. "I just want to bring more news about Africa, more international news what so ever." Mr. Wilbrink has one big wish: "I would like my correspondents to travel more than what is possible now. The more the travel, the more in-depth reports they can make and show us the human side of the country."

Conclusion

At any given time, at any given place something is happening. But when does it become news? For journalists around the world that is easy. The first thing that we ask ourselves is: is it something out of the ordinary? If that is the case then there are a number of questions we ask ourselves to see how important it is. This is the way we select news.

But it is not just a simple matter of choosing the news on these criteria. Journalism is very close connected to the society in where it operates. So journalists choose news based upon the criteria as well as their own frame of reference, which is formed in that society. This is because a journalist is not a robot. He is a person with own thoughts and values. Based upon these two factors, he makes a choice as to what is news to him.

For local news it isn't that hard to understand the choice because most of the times we can relate to the news one way or another. For international news it becomes more difficult. Because what is interesting to one, doesn't necessarily interests another. That is not only with viewers, listeners or reader of news programs or the newspaper, but also with journalists, correspondents and editors.

A part of the selection is based on the uniform criteria that were set. But, as said, it is also partly based upon the way they look at international news. From a sociological point of view this can be explained due to the fact that every human being is more focused on his society and everything that could affect that society than that he is focused on other societies of which he doesn't know much or doesn't affect him. Therefore it is easy to understand that we hear a lot more news from the United States than from Australia because the US has a lot of influence on our society (political, economical) than Australia does.

When it comes to Africa it is even more complicated because the continent is relatively speaking far away from us. With far away I mean in that is far away in our experience. Our connection to Africa isn't that strong. We mostly think about Africa as a poor continent, where war and conflict is part of every day live. And whatever happens over there doesn't affect our society. 'We don't need Africa anyway'.

This way of thinking is know as Centrism. In our situation (Dutch, UK) it is even known as Euro-centrism. We live in Europe and that is the most important region for us. It is not just a European thing. Basically everybody thinks out of a centralistic manner. It is something we cannot help. In every day life, there is nothing wrong with that. And even in journalism is doesn't seem to be an issue, but what journalists and editors have to realize is that they have a position to inform the society about the world. So it is important to the editors that they have to try and shake of that centralistic way of thinking and select more on the criteria that were set.

The correspondents from Dutch broadcasting companies I spoke, Ruud Elmendorp (RTL Nieuws) and Bram Vermeulen (NOS Nieuws) also think that international desks should try to find a way to break with the centralistic thinking. Mr. Elmendorp said: "The Dutch media has become more a commercial system and are worried by ratings. Therefore it is harder to get stories from Africa in Dutch media because people just don't want to see it. No viewers means no advertisements. And that is something that is a big problem."

Mr Vermeulen said: "If you want to report a story that isn't 'attractive' to Dutch media because there is no relation to the viewers, you have to be persistent in selling your story. You have to use big words. Otherwise they'll skip it. And you have to explain to them why it has to be reported because sometimes there is a relation but the editor just does not know it."

The selection of news isn't just the way the international editor thinks of news. But availability is also something that is important, at least to some. For newspapers the direct availability isn't a big issue because they publish a day later. They do follow the latest news, which is delivered by international press agencies such as Associated Press (AP), Agence France-Presse (AFP) and Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau (ANP), but they don't copy the content of these press agencies. Mr Maurice Wilbrink, international editor at Geassocieerde Pers Diensten GPD: "Because the newspaper is the slowest medium in the 24-hour media, the newspaper has to explain the latest news. Everybody knows what happens today and don't want to read again tomorrow. What they don't know is the reason for some things. That is why we, who provide content for regional newspapers, have to explain the thing that happened by providing background information."

The survey I conducted amongst newspapers showed something of the view of Mr. Wilbrink. Although most of the articles are from the major press agencies, you can see that newspapers who work with correspondents (not all are using them) try to explain the news from the press agencies. Some papers do this more than others. And some newspapers bring stories that aren't related to the major news articles. This is what Mr. Wilbrink was talking about when he said that he would like to see his correspondents to travel more, so than can make big stories behind the news.

My survey also showed me that a lot of the newspapers bring news that have any relation with the country the paper is published. And that criterion, the relation with the news and the 'home country' is still a big criterion.

For NOS Nieuws availability is a big criterion; however they do take into account that they cannot always bring news the same day. Another big criterion is the relation to the audience. "The fall of the president of Zimbabwe is more recognizable to our viewers than the fall of the president of Gabon, so we would bring that news faster, because our audience is more aware of the problems that are in Zimbabwe."

This criterion isn't that important to RTL Nieuws. For them the news from Africa has to be important and intriguing. Mrs Van de Moosdijk, international editor: "We want to break with the cliché view of Africa because we already know that story. That is why we want our reports to feature the common people who tell the story. They are the story."

The difference between the two editors' choices is noticeable when you look up the different reports of both networks on the Internet.

So it is fair to say that based upon my research, my survey and my interviews that the selection of international news, in particular African news, is based upon the centralistic view of our own society and how other societies are affecting that. This is seen in the subjects of the news items (conflict, political and economical changes that are of influence to a region where there are interests of our society) and in the locations of where stories are made (South-Africa is more recognizable than Niger).

Own opinion

I started this thesis off with the comparison of the world to a village. In this village the centre of town is the Western world, the ghetto is Africa. The people in the centre don't want to think about the ghetto because there are only problems in the ghetto. *'If you can't see it, it isn't there, right?'* But in the ghetto there are also people that are doing well. So why don't we want to know about it?

Throughout my research I learned that we are only really interested in things that could affect us. That is because of the centralistic thinking we do. It is something that comes with our nature. When I read about it, it cleared a few things for me. I started to get a notion of how news got to us. Better said, how some of the news got to us. It is because it could affect us.

In my interviews I got some valid answers of why some people choose news the way they do. It has to do with the medium they work for, with the availability of the news and their own views. But that doesn't mean that I agree with them. To me some views were obsolete, especially the views of Mr Van den Broek. For me, he stands for old fashioned journalism. 'We over here know everything and we are the important one, so all the news that we bring has to be related to us.' These are not his literal words, but I could sense that he was implying this. To me this kind of thinking is what maintains the cliché view of Africa. That the region is only war and conflict.

I know for a fact that isn't the real Africa. Yes, it is true that there are a lot of power struggles, which are usually combined with armed conflicts. But that is only in some parts of the continent. For the most of the region it is basically the same as Europe for that matter. Only the standard of living is different.

I am glad that Mr. Wilbrink is having a complete different opinion, as well as Mrs. Van de Moosdijk. They both want to bring news that isn't stereotype. They want new kind of stories that also could and would be made here in Europe or in Asia or South-America. And, as Mr. Wilbrink pointed out, when you bring news about a conflict, you have to clarify it. That is the power you have as a news organisation: the power to inform the audience, because when your audience is informed on a region and has some knowledge about a region, you can break the cliché.

One of the objections some can bring in is that there is not enough space in the paper or time in the news. This is also the view of a former correspondent of NRC Handelsblad, Mr Joris Luyendijk. He wrote a book about his time as a correspondent in the Middle-East²⁵. One of his complaints was that he hadn't enough space to clarify the backgrounds of the conflict that is taken place in the Middle-East. Some other correspondents wrote another book, which is seen as an answer on Mr. Luyendijks book. One of the correspondents was Mr. Vermeulen²⁶. He responded to Mr. Luyendijk that if he wanted to have more room in the paper to clarify the conflict, he should have 'sold' his stories in a better way. Another option was writing a weblog. I agree with this option. I found out that if you can't get the news out through regular channels, you can bring it out yourself. For me this became very real in Tanzania with the explosion at the ammunition depot near Dar es Salaam.

So in conclusion I think that even though some of the international editors are trying to bring news that isn't so stereotype for Africa, but there are still a lot of them that are thinking in an old fashioned

manner. We are not the important one. I think we can learn something about Africa. Especially with all the information that is available nowadays on the Internet. Like I said, the literature is dated. They haven't really taken in account the Internet. If you think that you can't get your story out in the regular media, publish it on the internet.

I also asked both the editors and the correspondents why the Dutch media didn't do anything with the story we gave them about the ammunition depot near Dar es Salaam, when we were in Tanzania. Most of them said that the explosion was just an incident and that it wasn't big enough to give it any attention. Would it had been some sort of (terrorist) attack or would the ammunition that was stored there had been Dutch, than it would have been interesting.

I understand that this news has to 'compete' with other news. But still I don't see why this wasn't broadcasted, whilst a story about a car crash in the US was. I guess it has to do with the centralistic manner of thinking. It is something I probably will never accept completely. So that is why I, if I would ever work in Africa, would sell my stories to the mainstream media, but I also would publish it myself. Just to be sure that it is published.

Recommendation

As I mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, I was shocked that the things I've seen in DR Congo and in a lesser way in Tanzania, were unknown back home, especially the issues concerning the illegal trading of minerals and raw materials in the East of DR Congo. And I have to admit, I wasn't aware of it either until I saw it with my own eyes. It kind of stung me that we, here in the West, were unaware of such things.

In my conclusion I state that it has to do (amongst others) with centralism. 'It doesn't affect us, so we don't need to know about?' But I think that a lot of things that happen in Africa have an effect us in some way. It is because we usually do not know about it; we think it does not concern us. Is that because we generally do not know it or do we simply not want to know it?

First of all, I believe that you should at least have one expert on Africa at the international desk. It is common to have experts on economy or crimes at the local desk, so why not have different experts at the international desk? When you have an expert, it would be easier to understand the 'news' and if you want to stick with the old criteria of broadcasting news, see the connection with your own society, for instance the illegal mineral trade in DR Congo. A lot of the minerals are use in our cellular phones, to make sure that the battery will last longer. Although there are not exact figures, it is fair to assume that some of the minerals from DR Congo are in those phones.

Therefore if I was asked what to change at the news agencies when it comes to news from Africa, I would recommend them to get at least one expert on the continent; maybe someone who studied cultural anthropology, African culture-studies or even history with a specialism in colonies or the African continent. That person could give a better understanding of some of the issues that are currently happening at the continent and also shed some light on what may have an effect on our society.

Personally I think that we, as journalists, have to try and lose that criterion at all; does it affect us. The world is a global village and with all the technology, every part of the world is close to use. When something passes by that attracts your attention, it should not matter whether it happens in the UK, US, China, Australia, Brazil or Nigeria. An explosion in a mine in China can have as much effect as an explosion in a mine in South Africa. And the rise of cellular phones in the rural areas of Nepal is as important as the rise of cellular phones in the rural areas of Mali.

Secondly I would like see more correspondents in Africa. If you look at the news agencies, most of them have at least one correspondent in the US. That is just for one country. I know it is a big country, and it is an important country. So it is understandable that news agencies have one or more correspondents over there. But most of the times they have one correspondent for the whole continent of Africa. And if you look at the size of it (some countries are as big as Western Europe), it is understandable that there are not a lot of stories from Africa published, because that one person has to find out on its own what is happening.

Most correspondents in Africa are located in the same country or even the same city. Nairobi, Kenya is according to the editors the best place to work from, because it has the best infrastructure. That maybe so but Kenya is located on the eastern part of the continent. So the western part is too far away. Why not also located a correspondent in Accra, Ghana? The infrastructure over there is not that bad and it is easier to cover western Africa.

Another perk of more correspondents in the region is that you can find more stories to tell and the can help each other with information and research. Put an extra editor at the news desk back home and you would have a well functioning desk.

News agencies are not just there to bring news, but also to teach us things, to inform us about new things or things that are not new over there but are new to us. But if you want to teach something, you have to have the information about it. Therefore a subsection Africa at the international news desk would be a necessity. If a news agency is willing to invest in that, it would stand out from the others.

A big issue in my plans is how much it would cause. Because that is the problem that every news agency nowadays. Yes, it would cost an extra editor. But when you can bring more in-depth stories, advertisers would be more interesting, or so at least I think. If you can bring stories no-one else can, it would attract more viewers/listeners/readers which is good for the adverts.

My ultimate subsection would consist of at least one editor, maybe even two editors, with a background in Africa and African culture. This person can research certain things and shed a light on issues that are currently happening on the continent. Then I would have at least to correspondents on the continent, preferably one in the east and one in the west. They both search for their own stories, but also help each other with stories. The editors back home can also help them, with information or contacts. Then you would have a balanced team that can report on the most developing continent at the moment.

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Supplement

Research document on Tanzania

Oudheid en Middeleeuwen

De oorspronkelijke bewoners van Tanzania waren jagers en verzamelaars, verwant aan de Zuid-Afrikaanse San (Bosjesmannen). Zij werden verdreven door volken met een **Bantoetaal**, vooral landbouwers, en Nilotisch sprekende veehouders zoals de **Maasai**.

- De **Bantoe** is een volkerengroep in Centraal- en Zuidelijk Afrika, die Bantoetalen spreken. Deze taalfamilie maakt op haar beurt weer deel uit van de Niger-Congo taalgroep. Het woord 'Bantoe' betekent in bepaalde Bantoetalen 'mensen' en is een meervoud van het woord "Moentoe" (een mens).

- De **Masai**, **Massai** of **Maasai** is de naam die wordt gegeven aan een grotendeels nomadisch volk in Oost-Afrika, voornamelijk woonachtig in Kenia en Tanzania. Zij hebben eeuwenoude tradities.

Deze immigratie naar het Tanzaniaanse grondgebied begon ongeveer drieduizend jaar geleden en ging door tot ongeveer 1850. Vanaf de negende eeuw vestigden zich Arabieren langs de kust. Door vermenging van Bantoetalen en het Arabisch ontstond het Kiswahili, een handelstaal die door vrijwel alle bewoners van Tanzania gesproken werd.

Slaven waren op een gegeven moment de belangrijkste handelswaar. Veel slaven werden verscheept naar suikerplantages op de nabijgelegen eilanden Zanzibar, Mauritius en Réunion, naar Arabische landen en ook nog naar Amerika en het Caribische gebied. Het 'hoogtepunt' van de slavenhandel lag in de jaren zestig van de negentiende eeuw. Bagamayo was toen de belangrijkste slavenmarkt van het vasteland van Oost-Afrika.

Duitse en Britse overheersing

In 1884 trok de Duitser Karl Peeters in opdracht van de Deutsche Ost-Afrika Gesellschaft het Oost-Afrikaanse Tanganyika in (nu: Tanzania, Burundi en Rwanda). Namens kanselier Bismarck werden er verdragen gesloten met lokale stamhoofden, die daardoor op 'bescherming' konden rekenen. Toen dit echter doorsloeg in het verbieden van lokale tradities en het neerschieten van een zwarte, brak er in 1888 een opstand uit, die echter keihard werd neergeslagen door de Duitsers. De sultan van Zanzibar zag zijn zeggenschap over grote delen van het vasteland verloren gaan en riep de hulp in van de Britten. Die reageerden echter averechts en sloten in 1890 zelfs een verbond met de Duitsers, waardoor Tanganyika een Duits protectoraat werd en Kenia, Uganda en Zanzibar binnen de Britse invloedssfeer kwamen. Voor de sultan bleef nog een smalle kuststrook op het vasteland over. Koningin Victoria van Groot-Brittannië schonk de berg Kilimanjaro aan de kleinzoon van de Duitse keizer.

De kolonisatie van Tanganyika door de Duitsers verliep vrij moeizaam, vooral in het binnenland. Belangrijk voor het gebied was wel de aanleg van een spoorlijn van de kust naar een vruchtbaar gebied in de buurt van de Kilimanjaro. De bouw van de spoorlijn begon in 1891 en duurde tot 1911. Verder werd de verbouwing van handelsgewassen als koffie en **sisal** gestimuleerd en gefinancierd.

- **Sisal** is een tropische vezel en wordt vooral voor touw, borstels en vloerbedekking gebruikt.

Katoen leverde door de matige grondkwaliteit niet zoveel op en toen men werd gedwongen om in de zuidelijke kustgebieden katoen te verbouwen, brak in 1905 de Maji Maji-opstand uit. Dit kostte meer dan 70.000 Tanganyikanen het leven, niet alleen door oorlogshandelingen maar ook door honger en ziekte.

De Duitsers zagen echter al snel in dat dwangarbeid hier niet werkte en stimuleerden de kleinschalige Afrikaanse landbouw, met als bijkomend gevolg dat de onrust onder de bevolking sterk afnam. Hierdoor kon bijvoorbeeld de katoenteelt zich goed ontwikkelen ten zuiden van het Victoriameer. De handel in katoen werd aan het eind van de negentiende eeuw vrijwel geheel geregeld door Aziatische handelaren.

Eerste Wereldoorlog en Tweede Wereldoorlog

De Eerste Wereldoorlog had een grote invloed op het Duitse bewind in Oost-Afrika. Het Duitse leger verloor keer op keer van het Britse leger, maar het lukte de Britten niet om de Duitsers definitief te verjagen.

In het vredesverdrag van 1919 werd bepaald dat Duitsland haar aanspraken op Oost-Afrika en alle andere koloniën moest opgeven. Vervolgens werd Tanganyika onder Brits mandaat geplaatst en het gebied Rwanda-Urundi viel in Belgische handen. De Britten vonden hun nieuwe mandaatgebied echter niet interessant en in combinatie met de economische wereldcrisis leed de landbouw zwaar onder het uitblijven van investeringen en de dalende exportprijzen.

Tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog ging het weer wat beter met de Tanganyikaanse economie. De Britse troepen in Oost-Afrika hadden veel voedsel nodig, maar ook rubber. Ook na de oorlog bleef Tanganyika voor de Britten interessant, omdat door de onafhankelijkheid van India grote afzetgebieden waren weggevallen.

Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog (onafhankelijkheid)

Na de Tweede Wereldoorlog werden alle mandaatgebieden van de Volkenbond onder toezicht van de Verenigde Naties geplaatst. Het doel daarvan was om die gebieden langzaamaan zelfbestuur te geven en te begeleiden naar onafhankelijkheid. In 1948 werden in Tanganyika de eerste verkiezingen voor een Wetgevende Vergadering gehouden.

In 1956 reisde Julius Kambarage Nyerere, de latere president, naar de Verenigde Naties in New York om daar de zelfstandigheid van Tanganyika te bepleiten. Uiteindelijk erkenden de Verenigde Naties het recht op zelfbeschikking en ook Nyereres nationale politieke beweging Tanganyika Africa National Union (TANU) werd erkend als een nationale politieke beweging. Dit verlangen naar onafhankelijkheid dateerde al van de tijd tussen de twee wereldoorlogen en speelde in het hele land. Met name de door de Britten gehanteerde bestuursvorm 'indirect rule' zette veel kwaad bloed. Dit hield in dat de Britten lokale 'chiefs' aanstelde. De chiefs werden er dan ook van beschuldigd te heulen met de kolonisator.

Ook om economische redenen boterde het niet tussen de Britten en de Tanganyikanen. De productie van landbouwgewassen moest verder omhoog en daarom werden de kleine boeren verdreven van hun grond voor de aanleg van grote plantages. Bovendien dwong men andere landbouwmethoden toe te passen, die door gebrek aan kennis verkeerd uitpaktten. Om zich aan de macht van de Britten en de chiefs te onttrekken, verenigden de boeren in de belangrijkste productiegebieden zich in coöperaties. Hierdoor konden ze zich beter verzetten en dat gebeurde uiteindelijk ook.

Na de boeren kwamen de havenarbeiders in de steden in opstand tegen de Britten. Hun

belangrijkste eis was loonsverhoging en zowel spoorwegarbeiders als onderwijzend personeel zouden uiteindelijk met de havenarbeiders staken. Om de stakingen niet over te laten slaan naar andere delen van het land, besloten de Britten om concessies te doen. Ze gingen akkoord met de loonsverhoging en stonden de vorming van vakbonden toe. In 1955 werd de Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL), een federatie van verschillende vakbonden, opgericht, onder leiding van Rashidi Kawawa, de latere premier. In 1954 was er ook al een eerste nationale politieke partij opgericht, de Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), de opvolger van de in 1922 opgericht antiekoloniale beweging Tanganyika African Association (TAA).

Zanzibar

Het eiland Zanzibar ontwikkelde zich minder snel en daar bleef de bestaande hiërarchie nog vrij lang intact. Hier bezetten de Europeanen de hoogste posten en werden de Afrikanen onder de duim gehouden en te werk gesteld op het landbouwgebied. Twee jaar na Tanganyika, in december 1963, werden ook Zanzibar en Pemba onafhankelijk, maar de regering hield het maar één maand uit. In januari 1964 kwam de zwarte bevolking in opstand tegen de onderdrukkende Arabieren en de sultan werd weggejaagd. Duizenden Arabieren werden afgeslacht en anderen vluchtten naar Oman en andere Golfstaten.

De macht was nu in handen van de Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), waar ook Afrikanen van het vasteland en Arabieren deel uitmaakten. Het nieuwe regime, onder leiding van sjeik Abeid Karume, knoopte nauwe banden aan met communistische landen als de DDR en China, dit tot grote bezorgdheid van de Verenigde Staten. Het was namelijk de tijd van de Koude Oorlog. Nyerere ging onder druk van de Amerikanen een unie aan met Zanzibar en Pemba, en op 22 april 1964 was het inderdaad zover: Tanganyika en Zanzibar vormden samen de United Republic of Tanzania, waarbij Zanzibar wel een grote mate van autonomie behield.

Die autonome positie zorgt echter tot op de dag van vandaag voor problemen. Zo heeft Zanzibar een eigen president en een eigen regering. De president van Zanzibar is bovendien nog vicepresident van de Verenigde Republiek Tanzania. In de loop der jaren zijn er verschillende pogingen tot een staatsgreep geweest, onder meer in 1984 en in 1988. Karume werd in 1972 vermoord en hij werd opgevolgd door Aboud Jumbe.

De staatsgrepen ontstonden door ontevredenheid, want met de economie van Zanzibar ging het veel slechter dan met de economie in Tanzania. Ook de grote verschillen tussen de Afrikaanse en Arabische bevolkingsgroepen speelden hierin een grote rol. De verhoudingen tussen het hoofdeiland Unguja en Pemba zijn slecht.

Door de voorbereiding op een meerpartijenstelsel in 1992 werd er door eilandbewoners een proces van afscheiding op gang gebracht. De eerste verkiezing onder het nieuwe stelsel werd in 1993 op Zanzibar gehouden. De verkiezingen werden gewonnen door de Revolutionaire Partij van Tanzania (CCM), maar geboycot door bijna de hele oppositie.

Na de onafhankelijkheid

Na de onafhankelijkheid bleef de economische ontwikkelingen achter bij de gewekte verwachtingen. Met name miljoenen kleine boeren hadden het niet breed en kregen bijna geen aandacht van de regering. Ook de industriële ontwikkeling bleef ver achter en de afzet van agrarische producten naar het buitenland stokte. Binnenlandse onrust leidde in 1964 tot een opstandeling van het leger en in 1966 tot problemen op de universiteit van Dar-es-Salaam. Met behulp van Britse troepen en president Nyereres verbale talenten werd deze crisis echter snel

bezwoeren.

Op 5 februari 1967 werd door het uitvoerend comité van de TANU de Verklaring van Arusha gepubliceerd. Enkele hoofdpunten van het toekomstige beleid waren self-reliance (vertrouwen op eigen kracht) en 'ujamaa' (familiezin). Verder was er een leiderschapscode in opgenomen en kenmerken van het Tanzaniaanse socialisme: een actieve rol voor de staat, geen uitbuiting van de boeren meer en men mocht niet meer afhankelijk zijn van het buitenland.

Meteen na het uitkomen van de Verklaring werden alle banken en veel grote bedrijven genationaliseerd. Opvallend waren de oprichting van zogenaamde Ujamaa-dorpen, die stoelden op de oude waarden en tradities van de familiegemeenschappen op het platteland. In de dorpen kon ook de grond gezamenlijk bewerkt worden en allerlei sociale voorzieningen werden gemakkelijker gerealiseerd. Het gevolg hiervan was een massale volksverhuizing van meer dan drie miljoen Tanzanianen. Zowel nationaal als internationaal werden de plannen van Nyerere met groot enthousiasme ontvangen.

Jaren zeventig en tachtig

In het begin van de jaren zeventig werd al snel duidelijk dat 'Ujamaa' niet voor de gehoopte economische voorspoed en welvaart zouden zorgen. Qua handelspositie werd Tanzania hard getroffen door de stijging van de olieprijs en bleven de prijzen van de exportproducten ver achter bij die van de importproducten. Ook het uit elkaar vallen van de Oost-Afrikaanse Gemeenschap in 1977 deed de economische toestand geen goed en door een oorlog met Uganda in 1978 stegen de uitgaven voor defensie tot bijna 25 procent van het nationale inkomen. Ook het weer werkte niet mee: zware overstromingen en later weer langdurige periodes van droogte. In 1977 gingen de TANU en de Afro-Shirazi Partij van Zanzibar op in de CCM, de Chama Cha Mapinduzi, de Partij van de Revolutie. Intern was het ujamaa-project ook geen succes: door de toegepaste zwerfandbouw raakte de bodem al snel uitgeput met als gevolg een teruglopende landbouwproductie. Bovendien was de grond in de buurt van de nieuwe dorpen lang niet altijd geschikt voor landbouw en was er vaak een tekort aan water. Ook de opheffing in 1976 van de boerencoöperaties was geen slimme zet. Hun taak werd overgenomen door staatshandelsondernemingen, die al snel bol stonden van de corruptie, inefficiëntie en bureaucratie.

Dit leidde tot een diepe crisis in de Tanzaniaanse samenleving. De Tanzanianen verloren het vertrouwen in hun leiders, wat nog versterkt werd door voortdurende inflatie en achterblijvende loonsverhogingen. Bijna iedereen was genooddaakt nog wat bij te klussen en van het eens zo socialistische bolwerk in Afrika was weinig meer over. Vanaf begin jaren tachtig van de vorige eeuw kwam er voor het eerst openlijk verzet tegen partijen en regering.

In 1979 brak oorlog uit met buurland Oeganda, nadat troepen van dictator Idi Amin Tanzania waren binnengevallen. Tanzaniaanse troepen verdreven Amin met behulp van Oegandese ballingen. Zo werd er in 1982 een vliegtuig gekaapt, waarvan de kapers het aftreden van de regering eisten. Nog geen jaar later werd er een complot tegen de regering ontdekt, maar ook nu had dat geen gevolgen voor de regering van Nyerere. Nyerere werd in 1985 opgevolgd door Ali Hassan Mwinyi, omdat er echte economische hervormingen moesten komen. Ondanks beschuldigingen van zaken als corruptie en machtsmisbruik bleef Mwinyi tien jaar op zijn post zitten en loodste Tanzania door een moeilijke periode heen. Hij voerde economische hervormingen door en er kwam ook wat meer politieke vrijheid.

Jaren negentig

Door de monopolistische positie van de CCM ontstond de roep om een meerpartijensysteem, iets wat in 1992 uiteindelijk werd gerealiseerd.

In 1994 trokken een half miljoen vluchtelingen vanuit het door een burgeroorlog geteisterde Rwanda de grens met Tanzania over, evenals vele tienduizenden vluchtelingen uit Burundi. De Rwandezen werden in december 1996 weer gedwongen om terug te keren naar hun land.

In 1995 werden er voor het eerst verkiezingen gehouden sinds de jaren zestig, waar meerdere partijen aan meededen. De verkiezingen werden gewonnen door Benjamin Mkapa van de CCM, volgens velen door een gebrek aan beter. Mkapa was de vervanger van Ali Hassan Mwinyi.

Uiteindelijk kreeg de CCM 215 van de 265 zetels. Het kabinet dat door Mkapa werd samengesteld was zeer verrassend; veel technocraten en de oude garde werd bijna helemaal afgeserveerd. Ook waren bijna alle regio's in het kabinet vertegenwoordigd.

Op 14 maart 1996 wijdden de presidenten van Tanzania, Kenia en Uganda het secretariaat in van de East African Co-operation in Arusha. Ook de nieuwe EAC heeft als doel te komen tot een nauwe samenwerking op het gebied van transport, communicatie, landbouw, veeteelt, visserij, industrie en nog wat andere, minder belangrijke economische sectoren.

In mei 1996 werd president Salmin Amour van Zanzibar beëdigd als lid van de Unieregering. Eind 1997 en begin 1998 werd Tanzania getroffen door zware overstromingen, waardoor wegen werden vernield en oogsten verloren gingen. Aan het eind van 1998 liep de voedselvoorziening voor 300.000 mensen gevaar, vooral in de oostelijke en noordelijke regio, door droogte en een plantenziekte die een deel van de oogst vernielde.

In augustus van 1988 pleegde de terreurbeweging Al-Qaida een aanslag op de Amerikaanse ambassade in Dar-es-Salaam. Er vielen twaalf doden en meer dan tachtig gewonden.

Op 14 oktober 1999 overleed oud-president Nyerere, die tot voor zijn overlijden als bemiddelaar probeerde een eind te maken aan de burgeroorlog in buurland Burundi. Tanzania herbergde 300.000 Burundese vluchtelingen en ving in 1999 ook nog zeker 120.000 vluchtelingen uit de Democratische Republiek Congo op.

21ste eeuw

In oktober 2000 werd president Mkapa herkozen met 69 procent van de stemmen en de CCM vergrootte haar meerderheid in het parlement tot 85 procent. Hoewel de verkiezingen over het algemeen goed verliepen, was er op Zanzibar weer sprake van chaos, fraude en geweld. CCM kandidaat Amani Karume werd tot president van Zanzibar gekozen, maar de CUF erkende deze uitslag niet en weigerde in het Huis van Afgevaardigden plaats te nemen.

Eind januari 2001 riep de oppositie op tot vreedzame demonstraties, die echter uit de hand liepen en op Pemba dertig doden tot gevolg hadden. Met spanning werd er daarom uitgekeken naar deelverkiezingen op Pemba in mei 2003. De verkiezingen verliepen vreedzaam en democratisch, met als grote winnaar de CUF, die alle zetels won.

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Notes

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⁶ The Conscience Project: www.conscienceproject.com

⁷ Country Profile of the BBC: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/country_profiles/1072386.stm

⁸ Research document for JOIN!, see supplement.

⁹ www.lokaalmondiaal.net (Dutch)

¹⁰ <http://www.ijmc.udsm.ac.tz/> The site of the University

¹¹ Weblog Hannelore Struijs (student): <http://loortje.wordpress.com/> Weblog Gie Meeuwis (teacher): <http://giemeeuwis.wordpress.com/> Weblog Michiel Stol: <http://jossxm.wordpress.com/>

¹² Video report on the explosions at Mbagala, by Hannelore Struijs:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SMbFE814wE>

¹³ Follow up video report on the explosions at Mbagala, by Hannelore Struijs:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dI6LwG7c6xg>

¹⁴ News article on Ger.nl (English): <http://ger.nl/blog/2009/05/07/un-emergency-aid-for-explosion-dar-es-salaam/>, News article on Ger.nl (Dutch) : <http://ger.nl/blog/2009/05/08/vn-noodhulp-voor-dar-westerse-media-geweerd/>

¹⁵ My article on DNR (Dutch): <http://www.denieuwereporter.nl/2009/05/nieuws-is-het-aantal-doden-gedeeld-door-de-afstand/>

¹⁶ Criteria for a newspaper are: it's printed, comes on a regular base (daily/weekly) and has a big circulation.

¹⁷ F. Theunissen, Wat is nieuws? p.17 and forward

¹⁸ De Boer en Brenneke, Media en Publiek p157 and forward

¹⁹ J. Van Ginneken, De schepping van de wereld in het nieuws p. 11 and forward.

²⁰ 'Deciding what's news, [a study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly News, Newsweek, and Time](#)

²¹ 'The structure of foreign news' Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, 1965

²² News report by [Al Jazeera](#)

²³ Gatekeeping theory, [University of Twente](#)

²⁴ J. Van Ginneken, De schepping van de wereld in het nieuws p. 25 and forward.

²⁵ Het zijn net mensen, Joris Luyendijk, 2006

²⁶ Het Maakbare Nieuws, Jinek en Hoogstraten, 2008