INTERNATIONAL IMAGE-MAKING: THE MANAGEMENT OF A NATION'S PORTRAYAL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE REPRESENTATIONS OF MEXICO IN THE GERMAN PRESS.

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Lino Leopoldo Santacruz Moctezuma
Centre for Mass Communication Research
University of Leicester

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Abstract

International image-making: The management of a nation’s portrayal with special reference to the representations of Mexico in the German press.

This thesis examines the role of the mass media in international relations and discusses processes of national image building. Its focus is on the way the press covers events, topics and issues relating to a foreign country, using Germany’s newspaper coverage of Mexico as an example.

Although a great deal has been published on personal and advertising brand image building, the literature on national image building is sparse. A range of literature on image building and national identity and the role of the media was reviewed to provide a suitable theoretical framework for the empirical research to follow.

Communication developments, e.g. live television and the internet, have transformed diplomatic practices. Nation states, reacting to the input they receive from the media, adjust and redefine their communications policies accordingly. The essence of national image creation is to define the country’s preferred national image. In order to do so, countries must be aware of their actual national image in specific locations around the world. Research methods can help to carry out the diagnosis and implement communication strategies towards that end.

A content analysis of the coverage of Mexico in six German newspapers over one calendar year was conducted to examine a concrete national portrayal case. The year 2000 marked the beginning of a new phase in Mexico’s political history with the opposition winning the presidential elections for the first time in 71 years. The identified 1020 news items showed that despite the low coverage of Mexican affairs and a general lack of success in this regard, several topics of Mexico’s preferred national image were covered. The implications of the findings from the empirical study are discussed in terms of their relevance for diplomacy. Studies on national image could develop into one of the branches of strategic analysis, where attention is called to creating a sound national image policy.
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L.S.M.
Introduction.

The aim of this study is to examine the role of the mass media in international relations and to discuss processes of national image-making. This is achieved by focusing on the interaction of diplomacy and the media and on the role they play while defining a national image policy, i.e. a preferred national image. Special attention is devoted to the way in which the press covers events, topics and issues relating to a foreign country, using Germany's newspaper coverage of Mexico as an example.

The emphasis throughout this study is to analyse the way in which the combination of theoretical knowledge and empirical studies can help image-makers to better promote national images. This is a common practice around the world and there has been little research about the interaction between the media and the foreign affairs policy-makers and diplomats aiming to promote a preferred national image.

It is important to point out that national images already exist and there is no such thing as one single national image. National images can be seen as a unit made up of a multi-layered set of values and cultures. This happens at an individual level, so there are as many national images as members in society can be accounted for. Moreover, different societies have different perceptions of a country, making the national portrayal a difficult task. The task of the image-maker is to promote a national image
that prevails or is at least considered when confronted by different ones, i.e. to enhance knowledge of a country in an individual, aiming that this knowledge is adopted as the preferred image. A country such as Mexico, for example, wants to be regarded as a “fully operating and stable democracy” at an international level. It is hoped that this “democratic bonus” entitles Mexico to receive additional benefits in the political, economic and social fields. However, critics will point out the misery, corruption, human rights violations and injustice that exist there. What is the truth? The truth is that all of these co-exist. The fact is that all countries in the world can be regarded as having ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ sides. It is, therefore, important to know this answer. The following question, then, is: What image should prevail? This study intends to show that the answer to these basic questions is the ground for the creation of a national image policy and that this decision-making has a political nature. But it also tries to underline the need to know what the perception of a country is. That is why this empirical research is so important. Content analysis, it will be explained in detail, is a first step in order to understand both what the media landscape looks like – through a detailed coverage profile of each medium – and where the country stands at a specific time.

Image-making involves dealing with governments through their headquarters and diplomacy units, as well as with media organisation and production, media content, media consumption and media audiences.

Broadly speaking, the steps involved in national portrayal include
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- the definition of a preferred national image, followed by the
diagnosis of the current national image in the country or region of
interest as well as the
evaluation of the media landscape and environment it will be
worked in, the
design and implementation of a strategy, and the
measurement of the results.

The image-making management cycle starts again at this point, as the
measurement of the national image with the help of research can imply the
beginning or the end of a process. Needless to say that image
management is a never ending task.

This thesis is structured in 3 sections, comprising 11 chapters and 2
appendices. Section I provides the conceptual framework for this study,
explaining that national image-making is by no means an isolated
phenomenon and it is in a complex world where a national image gains
meaning. This section will define the main concepts associated to the task
of managing a nation's portrayal. Chapter 1 analyses the complex and
challenging world environment image-makers work in. This is done by
defining the concept of globalisation and its links to the developments in
the communication, transportation and media industries. An examination
follows on how this development affects international relations through the
government-media dichotomy and whether the definition of foreign policy —
including the definition of the preferred national image — is truly affected by
the work of journalists. Their impartiality at reporting is questioned, both in
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times of peace and war. The definition of a preferred national image is a political decision-making process. Chapter 2 analyses the relationship between diplomacy and the media further, by defining diplomatic activities related to promoting a preferred national image, such as public diplomacy and country branding, among others, as well as their impact on international images. Chapter 3 explains how individuals gain knowledge that leads to the creation of images and stereotypes in general and national images in particular. It is argued that the concept of the ‘Other’ is vital to understanding our own identity and that media representation plays a crucial role in this regard. Chapter 4 is devoted to examining how the concept of national identity has been traditionally linked to political interest and power. It is argued that national identities have often involved denigrating all those who do not belong to the group or seeing them as a threat to their own security. Chapter 5 is devoted to studying the key concepts of propaganda. It is argued that propaganda is a form of political communication that has been linked to several formulas of retaining power throughout history. Chapter 6 aims to describe current forms of propaganda and the important role that media play especially in times of conflict, with a special reference to the current ‘War on Terror’ derived from the attacks suffered by the United States on September 11, 2001. Chapter 7 closes this section as a link between the theoretical framework and the empirical research, namely a content analysis of German press coverage of Mexico in 2000. It explains the importance national promotion organisations have, through special reference to the German case. It also examines the management of information that diplomatic missions undertake abroad, with insight from the Mexican Ambassador to Germany.
Information about Mexico during the period of study, as well as facts and figures, will allow the reader to contextualise the results of the content analysis that follows.

Section II of this study deals with the representations of Mexico in the German press. It presents the results of a content analysis about the coverage of Mexico in six German newspapers in the year 2000. Chapter 8 describes the research methods used for this purpose, as well as the details of the sample of news items. The German newspapers of the sample in question are also thoroughly presented. Chapter 9 presents the overall findings, derived from the application of the coding schedule prepared for this study. This chapter, it is argued, will help the image-maker to learn what the actual image of Mexico in Germany is. The results show, for example, that the presidential election called the most attention from the German newspapers, that Mexico is no priority in German news, that the coverage of the bilateral relation between these countries is low, and that the largest tabloid newspaper registered the largest share of news items. Vicente Fox was the main actor during the period of study. Chapter 10 compares news coverage among the sample newspapers and reports the trends observed throughout the statistical findings and summarises them. It explains that with the exception of the tabloid newspaper, all the other sample newspapers had a similar coverage pattern. The first one concentrated on sports and tourism, and the other five concentrated on economic and political topics. A further interpretation of results allows us to see that trade and investment issues dominated the overall coverage. Finally, it is stated that there is a need to complement
this research method with others of a qualitative nature in order to understand the subtleties derived from text and image of the news items.

Section III is devoted to the discussion and conclusions of this study. Chapter 11 will discuss the need to understand the image-making task as deeply related to individual, national and international processes of a political nature and a case for carrying out content analysis is made as a first step towards the measurement of a specific national image in a given context.

At the end of this study, 2 appendices are attached, including the coding schedule and the coding sheet utilised when carrying out the content analysis for the second section of this study.
Section I. Communication and International Relations.

Chapter 1. International relations and global communications.

This section encompasses chapters one to seven and provides the conceptual framework of this study. It will do so by explaining the context where a national image gains meaning, i.e. in a world where global communication technologies, the media and international relations, via diplomacy, intertwine. The arguments presented throughout this study will make clear that the process of national image building cannot be understood as an isolated or as a static phenomenon.

In this first chapter, attention will be drawn to defining the term of ‘globalisation’ in order to find out if this phenomenon affects the way international relations are being carried out. New information technologies have enhanced the role of the media in this so-called ‘globalised’ world and their relationship with governments seems to have been altered as well. These elements will be analysed in order to understand that national image-making cannot be created or managed in isolation and for those teams or individuals involved or responsible of this complex task, the first thing to do is to become aware of the changes that society has undergone through the process of globalisation. These changes have reached the media-government interaction, vital for the subject of image management.
National image building is the result of a series of processes that involves components at all levels, from an individual to an international level. The continuous feedback of knowledge and information between peoples and nations about their essence, their culture, and their ideals can be considered to be an ancient and ongoing process that is mainly responsible for the images different nations are awarded by others.

It is therefore important to explain how the hastened pace of that exchange, brought about by the action of the global media, has affected not only the way individuals and nations perceive themselves and others, but the way in which nations are becoming aware of their image and, due to the resulting changes in conducting international business, are compelled to adapt and respond.

Communication developments, e.g. live television and the internet, have transformed diplomatic practices. Nation states, reacting to the input they receive from the media, adjust and redefine their communications policies accordingly. The core of national image-making is to define the country’s preferred national image. In order to do so, countries must be aware of their actual national image in specific locations around the world and, based on that knowledge, work accordingly in order to reach their goals.
Globalisation

The phenomenon of globalisation has become pivotal in understanding how the world functions today. The possibility of having more information instantaneously and more “live” audiovisual communication has led to profound economic, political, societal, and cultural changes both at a local and at a global level.

This concept emerged around 1960 when the Canadian media scholar Marshall McLuhan described the world as a “global village” to point out the impact that the new communications technologies had on social and cultural life. Its main argument is that time and space compression has transformed the structure and scale of human relationships in such a way that social, cultural, political, and economic processes now operate at a global scale, where the notions of the local and of the national state lose salience.

According to the concept, consumer tastes and cultures are satisfied through the provision of increasingly standardised global products created by global corporations with no allegiance to place or community. The so-called “borderless world”, Dicken (2001:315) explains, is claimed to be the natural order of affairs in today’s technologically driven world, where the “end of geography” has arrived and everywhere is becoming the same.

The view of globalisation as an unstoppable force that can only be accommodated, rather than resisted, is defended by its supporters in neo-
liberal political and business circles and they have employed rhetoric to justify all sorts of decisions. There is, however, strong opposition to this view. Critics sustain that not that much has changed because we still inhabit an international, rather than globalised world-economy in which national forces remain highly significant.

In this regard, Dicken (2001:316) states that actually both the international and global economies co-exist, since they are very different processes. In some cases, we can observe a further process of internationalisation of companies, where goods and services are traded and portfolio capital flows. Global companies, primarily transnational corporations, provoke a deeper integration based upon interconnected configurations of production. They involve not only the geographical extension of economic activity across national boundaries but also the functional integration of such dispersed activities.

Both internationalisation and globalisation of economic life ensure that changes originating in one part of the world are rapidly diffused to others. This affects all the other spheres of human life. Interaction, interconnectedness and interdependence are the key to understanding why decisions made in one part of the world actually, and sometimes deeply, affect people in another.

O'Sullivan (1994:130) defines globalisation as the growth and acceleration of economic and cultural networks which operate on a worldwide scale and basis. The cultural experience of globalisation is a result of the post
modern condition, which has seen in the twentieth century decisive changes in the national cultural and economic structures and the boundaries of nations have had to confront the realities of national and global integration, all derived from the production process explained above.

Arnason (1996:220) further explains that the term globalisation can be used to refer both to a historical process and to the conceptual change in which it is – belatedly and still incompletely – reflected. Globalisation in the first and broadest sense is best defined as “the crystallisation of the entire world as a single place” and as the emergence of a “global-human” condition.

Globalisation theory is thus still faced with the task of transcending partial perspectives and constructing a frame of reference that would correspond to the developments already described. Arnason (1996:224) sustains that it is by no means synonymous with homogenisation, although partial homogenisation processes are involved. Globalisation should rather be understood as a new framework of differentiation between the local and the global, between the nation-states and the world without borders, and between governments and corporations.

Even if globalisation seems to rule the world at present, there are very strong regional and local processes interacting with global forces, creating unexpected outcomes. If we take into consideration that, in order to consolidate the global world, we need a truly “wired” world, it will be easy
to understand why the term and its functioning is commonplace in the Western developed countries, whereas other regions of the world still struggle against more basic problems related to poverty and have not yet come to the "luxury" of being wired. It is important, however, to acknowledge the important contribution to the world philosophy that McLuhan made, as a media scholar, by analysing societies and creating the concept of the "global village."

Arnason explained that the globalisation phenomena are varied and differentiated and, therefore, scholars have not yet been able to completely understand the process, as it is ongoing and the outcomes are different and sometimes unexpected. Being the communication technologies at the core of the globalisation process, it is not surprising that the development of new media technologies has also had a direct impact on all aspects of life within society, which includes the way foreign affairs are presented and conducted, of special significance for this study.

Is globalisation restructuring international relations?

'International relations' usually means a series of "interactions among autonomous territorial states that have no higher autonomy governing their behaviour" (Kegley & Raymond; 2005:5). The earliest records of such states come from ancient Mesopotamia (2500 BC). The globalisation phenomenon invites us to analyse continuity and change in politics.
Kegley and Raymond (2005:7) argue that every historical period is marked to some extent by change. At this point in time, the pace of change seems to be more rapid and its consequences more profound than ever. To many observers at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the chain of developments implies a revolutionary restructuring of world politics.

There are *integrative trends* that would support that possibility, in the sense that the countries of the world are “drawing closer together in communications and trade, and the linkages among diverse national economies have produced a globalised market”. *Disintegrative trends* indicate a disordered restructuring: “weapons proliferation, global environmental deterioration, and the resurgence of nationalism and ethnic conflict”. It is impossible to say which trends will dominate in the future, since none of them is isolated.

The moment of transformation from one system to another is difficult to identify, although important changes in world politics have derived from the conclusion of major wars which have dramatically altered the existing international order. Just as World Wars I and II and the Cold War set in motion significant transformations, many concluded that the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 (9/11) produced a fundamental transformation in world affairs. Kegley and Raymond (2005:8) affirm that despite the fact that many things seem to have changed since 9/11; much remains the same in world politics. This idea leads us to define what constitutes a new world order.
Kegley and Raymond (2005:9) state that it might be assumed that a new international system has come about when one of the following three questions has a new answer:

a) **What are the system’s basic units?** (e.g., states or other type of international actor)

b) **What are the predominant foreign policy goals that these units seek with respect to one another?** (e.g. territorial conquest or material gain through trade)

c) **What can these units do to one another with their military and economic capabilities?**

Kegley and Raymond (2005:9) argue that these criteria might lead us to conclude that a new system has now emerged. First, the new trade partnerships may behave as independent actors as they compete with one another. This refers, among other things, to the partnerships forged in Europe (European Union), the cone of South America (Mercosur), North America (NAFTA), and the Pacific Rim (APEC). Second, territorial conquest is no longer the main goal of a state’s foreign policy. The emphasis has shifted from traditional military methods of exercising influence to economic means. Nonetheless, this argument could be questioned with the development of the wars being carried out in Afghanistan and Iraq as a main component of the War on Terror lead by the United States. On the other hand, the authors affirm that the Cold War is over and, after 9/11, it still has to be confirmed if the new age will be dominated by global war between terrorists and those who resist them.
Third, the proliferation of deadly weapons has profoundly sharpened the damage that states can inflict on one another.

The recent profound changes have also dramatically altered the power rankings of state and non-state actors on the international arena, although their hierarchies still endure. Non-state actors are those groups other than states, such as international organisations whose members are states (IGOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) whose members are individuals and private groups from more than one state. This means for those in charge of managing national image that, unlike decades ago, they have to take into account the opinions and actions of a certain number of leading enterprises and NGOs that are able to spread a growing influence within society, due to the fact that they effectively exercise pressure by mobilising society at a global level in themes and subjects that used to be dealt with only by governmental instances. Therefore, governments have to respond not only to their own citizens, but to groups of interest around the world.

Angell (2001:45-46) also sees the change of the century as a period of important technological advances and societal adaptations, but emphasises that the industrial era has lost the ability to cope with global societal change. Currently, anyone with a fax machine or a web site is in the media business. This era will see the end of mass-circulation newspapers and of broadcasting and the beginning of the era of narrowcasting. As an example, Angell points out that “the Chiapas guerrillas used the internet in a propaganda war against the Mexican
governments, telling the whole world of army atrocities despite the fact that most of them were fictional”.

Governments, he argues, have lost “their monopoly of misinformation”. Since modern politicians cannot resort to the use of force, they use deceit, i.e. the image. The commercial enterprises of the future will relocate where the profit is greatest and the regulation least, and the state is forced to giving employment to its citizens. But in this era, the opportunities will be for those with talent, for the elite knowledge workers. For these enterprises, democracy is an anachronism. Politicians must become aware that technology is the problem, not the solution (Angell, 2001:47-48).

This debate is important because in order to be able to design an image-making policy at an international level, it is important to be aware of the main conceptions and opinions different societies or groups within societies have of the world we are living in.

**Foreign Affairs and the Media**

It is clear that the concept of globalisation, as well as the economically-driven and communication-linked world it represents, develops every day and does not represent a fully evolved phenomenon yet. Therefore, all the activities derived from and developed within globalisation still have to wait for a consolidation of the system or, in other words, have to be registered and analysed without having the certainty the world order had during the
times of the Cold War. Such is the case of the use of the media, and especially with regards to its influence in foreign affairs.

The media have become integral to everyday activities of the modern State at domestic and international levels. Historians first pointed out this development with the Anglo-German press “wars” in the build-up to the First World War and then highlighted the role of newspapers, radio, and cinema in the programme of “moral rearmament” prior to the Second World War. The media came to be deployed as a psychological weapon, at home and abroad, first between 1939 and 1945 and then subsequently during the Cold War. Today, due to the immediacy of reach of the media that gives them “real time” character, a statesman has the option of sending a message across the world on CNN or a similar network rather than on traditional diplomatic channels (Taylor, 1997:58).

It is important to point out that it was the First World War that changed the way foreign affairs were portrayed by the media and the way those responsible for foreign policy interacted with the media. In the late nineteenth century, diplomacy had nothing to do with public opinion. Before the newspapers came into the scene, it was the task of literary figures to conduct wartime “public information” activities. When newspapers arrived, the principal beneficiaries were governments, mercantile interests, and the newspapers themselves. After the First World War, the modern media proved to be considerable allies in selling the war and sustaining public support for it. When the modern media, namely newspapers, radio, television, and cinema became the principal source of
news, a new and more public era for the foreign-policy making process began (Taylor, 1997:60). In the past, scholars stated the importance of the media on foreign policy by informing the public and explaining foreign policy, on the one hand, and by participating in the foreign policy process by questioning and criticising the government decision makers. Scholars nowadays agree that not only have the media themselves changed over the decades, but the foreign policy establishment as well, leading to deeper interaction and reciprocal influence (Malek; Wiegand, 1997:3-5).

Who dictates foreign policy: the government or the media?

Malek and Wiegand (1997:5-9) affirm that neither the media nor the government are as manipulative as suggested by extreme positions, nor do they work together to manipulate public opinion. These positions portray different levels of media influence in the creation of a foreign policy. It is argued that the media are involved and support governmental policies, including foreign policy, due to the fact that their owners are part of the establishment and they must maintain their status quo to retain privileges. The other extreme says that the media information regarding foreign policy is out of date and inaccurate, due to the fact that only a handful of policy makers have access to the decisive information and the ability to form foreign policy. The lack of valuable information sources obliges the media to use the government as its main information source, thus spreading the government’s vision of foreign policy. A third model of media-government relationship is that of a shared ideology, where both there is a lack of any other position than that from the government, i.e. the
media know no other alternative, and the commitment to patriotism and to the nation is strong.

Some scholars such as Parenti (Malek; Wiegand, 1997:9-11) say that the government influences the media substantially by providing information and misinformation which through 'spin control' and 'media management' is designed deliberately to present a specific point of view. The media's incapacity to report freely stems from its inability to get a lot more than limited access to information prepared by the government, as well as from the complexity of foreign policy issues, clearly harder to understand than domestic policy issues and much more difficult for the audience to identify with. It is also the case that the media are not well prepared to convey the complexity of the events happening abroad, aligning them to the mainstream view of the news. Media usually do not have an independent frame of reference in foreign affairs. Most people are not in direct contact with international events that call for a foreign policy, being then subject to media information and opinion which, in turn, are mostly official government positions.

Serfaty (as cited in Malek; Wiegand, 1997:12) explains that the media have become so internationalised that they represent transnational actors and forces. Graber (as cited in Malek; Wiegand, 1997:13), on the other hand, focuses on the role of the foreign correspondent who is the gatekeeper of foreign policy information, due to the fact that he/she selects what he or she thinks is important for the audience to know and interprets the information for an often uninformed and uninterested public in regards
to foreign affairs. So have the media maintained an important role as a filter of what is important or not to know.

Media have critical power in the foreign policy process due to the fact that they represent the most important link between the policy-makers and their public. Cohen (as cited in Malek; Wiegand, 1997:14-15) stated that the press, being the most important information source for policy makers, is perhaps the single and most important voice in the foreign policy field as *informer, interpreter, advocate* and *critic*. The media guide not only policy-makers, but also the audience that follows world events. Therefore, it is not necessary to assess whether the government or the media is stronger, but rather to recognise they do influence each other significantly. Serfaty (as cited in Malek, Wiegand, 1997:19) concedes great influence of the media in foreign policy, although he does not believe the media determine the foreign policy agenda.

The triangle formed by the government, the media, and the public is at the core of the discussion. Communication technology innovations have definitively changed the pace of reaction to and distribution of information regarding foreign policy, affecting the perception the public has of topics related to such events and policies and, therefore, affecting the governments and the media as well (Malek; Wiegand, 1997:20-21).

This section of the chapter makes it clear that the design of foreign policy is the result of an interaction between the government, on the one hand, and the media—as the motor and representative of public opinion—on the other.
It is clear that only the government dictates foreign policy, but it is also clear that it cannot avoid being strongly influenced by the media. However, there are also other actors and factors to be taken into account while defining foreign policy.

**An analysis beyond the "government-media" abstract**

The influences in the definition of foreign policy cannot be reduced to being originated within the dichotomy of the media and the government. There are also very important actors and structures within both the government and the media that have to be taken into account in order to understand the process. Journalists are individuals with several degrees of responsibility in helping those in charge of defining foreign policy; legislators’ consumption, validation, and use of the media also contribute to this process, and the audiences do have a saying when justifying, through consumption, this whole process and its methods. Changes in the political and economic structures after the Cold War are not to be overlooked when pointing out the elements shaping the global agendas of foreign affairs.

Mowlana (1997:29) states that it is necessary to analyse the media-foreign policy relationship far beyond the process of information gathering and retrieval by policy makers. The international flow of information represents a complex intermingling and interdependence of not only the actors, namely the journalists, government officials, and the public, but also the factors related to technological innovations, structural conditions, and local circumstances that can affect perception moods.
The culture of foreign policy consists of historical, linguistic, social, and psychological elements that lead to the formulation and execution of principles adopted by a state in its ideal form when it deals with other states to develop or protect its perceived national and/or global interests. For a long time, political-military elements were the main dimensions of foreign policy. Then, the concepts of air defence, security and sovereignty gained weight in the middle of the twentieth century. After the tremendous communication and transportation technology growth and expansion worldwide, communication and the media have become vital aspects of international relations in general and foreign policy in particular.

On the other hand, international relations have been profoundly affected by economic factors, including the unrestricted movement of capital and labour across national boundaries, as well as the globalisation of the means of production and distribution by the transnational corporate structures. This all means that foreign policy is currently developed in a completely new environment (Mowlana, 1997:30). The international politics arena has shifted from the geographical and the physical to the cultural and socio-economic levels (Mowlana, 1997:38).

Mowlana (1997:31), taking the United States as an example, affirms that the media's involvement in foreign policy is best to be seen in the way the government uses the media to set the tone, pattern and agenda for foreign policy matters. Non-governmental groups, on the other hand, are not only influenced by the press but use the media to get coverage for their
causes. Such groups include ethnic groups and minorities in general, almost every form of industry, trade and commercial services, religious and educational institutions.

Communication technology developments have intensified the relationship between the communications media and foreign policy. However, it is worth noting that television plays a very specific and important role during international conflict, especially in agenda setting and legitimising events and personalities. It also plays an important role as an alternative and additional source of international diplomacy. At this point, international relations cannot be imagined without the international news communication, nor can the audiences reach the same degree of understanding in what international politics is concerned. Despite criticism towards biased or inaccurate media information, the public, government officials and scholars rely heavily on daily reporting by the media, be it through newspapers, wire services, magazines or broadcast organisations (Mowlana, 1997:33-34).

It is therefore that attention must be paid to the quality and quantity of the information received through this international flow of news. Generally, the "most important news of the day" is considered as such in regards to the national culture and political norms, as well as economic and commercial factors of the country originating that information (Mowlana, 1997:34-35)

The arena where image-makers have to develop their work is complex and challenging. It is therefore important to first understand the concept of
globalisation and how it affects international relations, then how those in charge of international relations deal with the media, especially at times when foreign policy is defined. Moreover, the dichotomy government-media does not suffice to understand how foreign policy, which includes the preferred national image to be promoted, is defined. This process goes far beyond these two actors, as the environment in which actions are taken can lead to favourable results or not if, for example, the intended message goes against a cultural or political norm, or against commercial interests.

Journalists as political actors

Cook (1998:1-2) introduces an interesting concept when arguing that journalists should be called political actors, as they not only fulfil a political but a governmental role. In the United States, for example, the news media have been referred to as the fourth branch of government, since the news provides a means to communicate quickly and directly and across between the branches of the government in a way otherwise denied to officials. Likewise, public opinion can only have access to the government branches through the media.

Following this model, the media are at least partially autonomous from the other three branches. The political actors who wish to use the media’s power for their own purposes must accommodate themselves to the institutional needs of the news media, in a fashion similar to that if they need to communicate with any of the other three established constitutional
branches. “Government by publicity” is increasingly important for political actors in Washington who wish to accomplish policy goals, but it implies compromising journalistic standards of news into political standards of governance (Cook; 1998:2).

Cook (1998:2-3) affirms that the news media is a coherent intermediary institution without which the three branches of government could not act and could not work. He argues the media are recognisable as a political institution because of their historical development, because of shared processes and predictable products across news organisations, and because of the way in which the work of journalists is so intertwined with the work of the government that the news itself performs governmental tasks. The news is a co-production of the news media and the government and is, at the same time, the result of interaction between journalists, officials and other political actors. The media in the US are now not only a part of politics, but a part of government itself.

The reporter is a key participant in decision and policy making and the news media become a central political force in government (Cook; 1998:3). However, the influence of the media does not necessarily mean that reporters have the political capacity to assist in governance. Unlike the government, reporters are not elected participants in government and politics. This means that they are not politically accountable for their political choices and the impact these have. Measures, then, should be taken to create a new and more coherent policy regarding the news media
in order to ensure that the news received by the audience lead to the sort of politics and democracy they want (Cook; 1998:4).

Journalists work hard to discourage the public from thinking of them as political actors, as a journalist is committed to high standards of impartiality and to excluding his or her own personal values from the news-making process, but neutral news values imply that the newsmaker should identify the concerns that make a quality story, namely that it should be important and interesting. None of these concerns is free from politics (Cook; 1998:4-5).

Government officials are the ones who create news events, certify issues as newsworthy, and make news on their own terms. The second part of the process is completed when the journalist, according to journalistic professional practices and ethics, time deadlines, and corporate and economic constraints, decides what is interesting. The result is that political actors stage media events with a particular coverage in mind, but the ultimate news product diverges, in whole or in part, from what they would prefer. Production values dictate the final result: drama, novelty, timeliness, vividness, colour, easily described stories with two different sides, and good visuals, among others (Cook; 1998:5).

It is the journalistic commitment to norms of objectivity and impartiality that brings them to the political arena. The ethical demands of their profession generally lead them to be neutral observers of politics. But nothing is farther from the truth. Political topics are generally complex and news
reports often present conflicting possibilities, but rarely go beyond downsizing the problem to two sides. This definition alone is already political. Passive voices abound making judgements that reporters present in the news. It is often overseen that these passive voices have been either carefully selected or directly elicited from the reporters themselves (Cook; 1998:5-6).

There is broad disagreement among politicians and academics whether the news media can be depicted as a political institution, but none of them denies the fact that they play an important political role from reproducing dominant conceptions of the political world to giving information for elites to make decisions or serving as a forum for debates among elites. They all agree that, in one way or another, they influence politicians to formulate and implement policies (Cook; 1998:8-10).

Following this perspective, it seems as if the principles of neutrality and objectivity are impossible to follow. This part of the discussion is important for the image-maker because it talks about a decisive point in carrying out the management task: decisions have to be made. Whether or not it is believed that a journalist is a truly political actor, it cannot be avoided that the definition of an image, the preferred image of a nation in particular, is a path full of decision-making processes that encompass, in one way or the other, a political position. However, the public has a strong word in what is being chosen as it consumes only what it finds to be interesting, as well as the sponsors of the media themselves, without which some media could not survive.
In the end, a co-production

Several studies of the media and its effects on the government carried out since the 1920s have placed both the media and the government as the originators of news, often forgetting the important role of their audiences. Lately, however, there is a notion of joint working forces at creating the political news, something Cook (1998:12) terms as “negotiation of newsworthiness”, which refers to the fact that political actors and journalists, and occasionally citizens, interact in a constant but implicit series of negotiations over who controls the agenda, what can be asked, where and how, and what a suitable answer will be. The process of political news creation involves both officials and journalists because news has to be both important and interesting. A source’s power may not be enough to get in print or on the air because it lacks that interest needed for the story to be covered (Cook; 1998:12-13).

The most important fact is that the political agenda is set not by the media themselves or by the political actors themselves, but by the two sides, whether working together or in competition, as their effect on each other is strongly intertwined (Cook; 1998:13).

The evolution of the American news media has always been and continues to be intimately tied to various versions of political sponsorship, subsidisation, and protection. Many other countries in the world have followed the same model of sponsorship. In the United States, direct sponsorship prevailed up to the mid-nineteenth century and since then;
political help has gradually been displaced by more indirect ones. As the media became commercialised and politically independent, indirect institutional subsidies completely displaced the previous sponsorships, with the rise in the twentieth century of press offices and press officers that provided materials for journalistic accounts. The current public policy towards the news media works very much to the profitability of the industry. This fact questions the interpretation of the term “freedom of the press” (Cook; 1998:14).

Government nowadays devotes more time and energy to media relations and to “going public” than ever before. Through hiring professional public information officers, officials bring the journalistic perspective into the governmental process (Cook; 1998:15). Political actors have become deeply implicated in the very process of news-making and rely upon publicity as a crucial tool of governance. It is now impossible to imagine a government that can operate without the media, since they have fulfilled the role of bringing diverse actors and activists together, focusing attention on given problems, suggesting possible avenues of response, and monitoring how well such solutions work. Political actors use the news to help them accomplish their own jobs as well (Cook; 1998:16-191-192).

News coverage in times of conflict

Another important aspect of the international news coverage has to do with matters of security, conflict, war, and revolution. During international conflict, the media tend not to be impartial. They often stand by the side of
the perceived national interests of the system of which they are part, making it difficult to maintain an independent journalism and neutrality. These desirable attributes of independent journalism often collide with the sense of patriotism and national loyalty. During the Cold War era, for example, both the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in the arms race. That implied that peace was not, and could not be the main objective of their foreign policy. Further on, the notions of the “equality of nations” and the doctrine of “non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations” were likewise discarded (Mowlana, 1997:35).

The media have also played an important role in the information and cultural dimensions of foreign policy as cultural industries and communication technologies have become central to foreign affairs. Cultural values and ideological frames of reference reduce the media’s ability to serve as an independent source of information for the public and policy-makers alike, again particularly in times of international conflict or crises. Problems arise when the media serve as means of legitimisation and as interpreters of events in the light of cultural and religious factors. Media information patterns also make it difficult to understand the current development of the world and the importance of political and economic interests while disseminating news and information (Mowlana, 1997:38).

The access to information represents a problem when the governments control its release. If governmental censorship to it is added, breaking stories will surely be misinforming due to its poor research. This can be rather complicated when dealing with complex situations, due to the fact
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that media have to grasp the attention of the audience, mostly through an
oversimplification and dramatisation of the events. These structural factors
shape the pattern of foreign affairs reporting.

This is the complex environment within which national image building
takes place. Not only are we living in an era of global redefinition that
brings about new challenges and problems in every aspect of societal life,
as well as opportunities for change, but the actors of the global agenda
are changing at a faster pace as ever before, leading to important changes
in the way individuals interact at a societal level and, more important for
this study, the way countries interact in the community of nations. After
this brief examination of the global phenomenon and the relationship
between the government and the media in shaping the agenda of foreign
policy, it is crucial to move on to analysing more in depth the specific
relation between diplomacy and the media. The next chapter will explore
the ways in which those diplomats responsible for national image-making
deal with the media, always trying to promote their preferred national
image. This will enhance the understanding of the sort of situations
national image managers face and of some the tools they use in the
complex environment they work in.
Chapter 2. Diplomacy and the media.

The previous chapter explained the complex environment within which national image building takes place and how the government-media dichotomy is inserted into the global phenomenon in foreign affairs. This chapter examines the relationship between the media and diplomats in particular and it will analyse the tools diplomats use to put their interests forward, as well as analyse circumstances that directly impinge on foreign policy coverage and issues, such as the exercise of public diplomacy, the September 11, 2001 (9/11) attacks on the United States, and the so-called ‘CNN effect’.

Some definitions

Diplomacy is the official form of interaction among nation-states and their representatives' actions, through the media, generate information and materials from these nations that may be considered to a greater or lesser extent as newsworthy. This output is conveyed through the media to an international audience and it slowly but effectively helps to build a national image.

There is a special area within diplomacy that is responsible for designing and improving the specific relation of a country to the media and hence to its publics. This is called public diplomacy. It is a government unit in
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charge of presenting the nation's preferred image abroad, i.e. its duty is to present the nation the way the nation's government thinks it is.

This is important because this is the specific governmental unit that will deal with the media and the audiences in order to promote the preferred national image. The subject of this study will therefore be of interest to those image-makers that embark on public diplomacy.

In order to understand specific phenomena from the globalisation process described in the previous chapter, it is useful to point out the importance that the 'CNN effect' has had in changing perceptions from news events derived from global live coverage, as well as in the way both politicians and audiences have consumed and valued the news. The global television phenomenon has raised interest among media researchers on its own as to the extent to which live television coverage influences policy decision-making at all levels. However, it acquired a new meaning after the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., because the news coverage was linked to what later on turned out to be a controversial U.S. war against Afghanistan and against Iraq. It inevitably raised questions about impartiality in the news, on the one hand, and raised the credibility of Arab television as a global news source, on the other.

It is important to highlight that there is no time in which a national image is more important than in times of war. The history of war has shown that the media resort to extreme language, stereotyping and national sentiment in
order to produce a distorted idea of reality or to conduct propaganda against the enemy. Public diplomacy may not seem to have a space in this scenario, since it is a practice used by governments to usually convey a peaceful image of a nation that will gain sympathy from other nations through sharing information and cultural experiences.

However, the support obtained by these countries during peace time can be crucial when conflict arises. It is precisely then when public diplomacy has to pay off, having created the allies abroad that will support the nation's cause because they understand it and because they share their views. It can also be said that it is from a pre-conflict national image that an image during times of conflict develops. It will be more difficult to change the views the audiences have of a nation if the country targeted is admired or respected by a particular audience. The opposite is also true, as some concepts like primitivism have shown in the past. An unknown nation or a culture that is not respected is an easy target for propaganda.

**Diplomats and the Media**

The reporting of the media is, in many ways, contradictory to that of the traditional pattern of diplomacy: the application of intelligence and fact to conduct official relations between governments' negotiations, reporting, and representation. When, due to international conflict or crisis, there is a breakdown of diplomatic communications, the media play a crucial and delicate role in the confrontation between states, becoming conduits for
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official exchanges and valuable sources of information for the governments involved (Mowlana, 1997:39).

Taylor (1997:74) further explains that the relationship between the practice of diplomacy and the media production process is contradictory:

"Diplomacy is about negotiation between states in an attempt to resolve their differences, often involving lengthy and tedious consideration of issues that require specialist examination. It is about the routine implementation of foreign policy decisions made by politicians in an attempt to avoid conflict and resolve differences. It involves diplomatic dialogue by professional career diplomats who normally operate quietly, out of the glare of the media and therefore of public attention."

Taylor affirms that diplomatic activities, due to their discreet nature, are generally not interesting to the media and even less interesting for the public. The exception to this is the time when they threaten to go into crisis. When diplomats receive a phone call from a journalist, it is assumed that "trouble" is probably coming. Diplomats 'know' that the media are attuned to negative events and when their activities and subjects are "aired" on the media, they are likely to presented without the contextualizing information they deserve and need to be understood. The speed at which the media, and especially television, operate and the drama they can convey with a specific subject, make it difficult for them to be able to provide a complete picture of the context and complexities of diplomacy.

As with the expression "a picture is worth a thousand words", it could be argued that a few minutes of news video have a lot more impact than sending hundreds of cables among diplomatic missions and their
headquarters. Although the media lack the ability to convey complete understanding of the issues to their audiences, they have become part of the daily landscape for diplomats. Therefore, in times other than war, if diplomats attract media attention, denial of access invariably tends to cause more trouble than it is worth. Any journalist would think the diplomat is “hiding” something. A journalist’s intervention is capable of changing the whole diplomatic agenda. Therefore, diplomats need to be in the business of crisis management. The media decide if - due to costs, safety, or “infotainment” value of the event -, a crisis is worth covering. This decision can easily alter the course of diplomatic activity. A journalist’s report of a statement made by a politician about a foreign country that takes it out of context is enough to start a diplomatic conflict. In 2005, for example, Mexico’s president Fox was arguing in favour of a migration programme that could help working Mexican immigrants in the United States when he stated that they were doing the jobs “not even the black citizens want”. Needless to say, the phrase was repeated over and over again in the US media and international trouble reached the highest levels of politics (Vargas, 2005).

Diplomats scrutinise national media reports for clues concerning the strengths and weaknesses of a government and, by doing so, they can measure the degree of popular support it has. While official press departments attempt to influence the way in which domestic and foreign journalists cover a given issue, the extent to which this can be done to the benefit of the source is limited by the unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of the free media. That is why governments themselves conduct
their own media activities designed to influence the image of the nation abroad. This is achieved, in the long term, through cultural diplomacy, and in the short term, through public diplomacy, using all the means the image-maker has at hand (Taylor, 1997:75-77).

**Media Diplomacy**

The information revolution changed international relations dramatically after World War II, converting the media into an indispensable tool to carry out international relations. There has been enormous change in foreign policy: diplomacy used to be conducted discreetly and behind the scenes; it has now become a public activity. (Ebo, 1997:43).

The primary goal of foreign policy remains the promotion of national interests in the international arena, but the strategies and tools have evolved over time. Before World War II, the nations with superior military advantage used this power to outline the global acceptance of their national identity and political agenda, but nowadays, in the era of globalisation, this “power” is derived from the ability of a nation not only to use media diplomacy to align its international image with its national identity, but to make sure this international image influences a nation’s global power position. A nation’s position in the global political hierarchy is tied to its media diplomacy capability, to the ability to project its preferred national identity into an international image.
Diplomacy and the media

Media diplomacy is the use of the media to articulate and promote foreign policy. Currently, it constitutes a predominant factor that moderates the sense a nation has of itself and the image the rest of the world has of it. The stature of a nation and the role it plays in the world community is dependent, to a large extent, on national identity and the international image of nations. It is thus an important function of foreign policy to use the media to articulate and promote the preferred national identity and a complementary international image in the world community (Ebo, 1997:44).

Soft Power

Hill (2001:9) explains that since the 1990s governments have become increasingly concerned about their image and their public relations. This development is related to the process of globalisation. This activity generates tensions for those governments as they try to promote their national identity at the time when culture is being internationalised, i.e. it is difficult to define where to act between the local and the global. Thus, national image-making can be seen as a reaction to globalisation.

Some European countries, such as France, Germany, Italy and Britain, have worked intensely for many decades in the projection of their nations abroad in the practice of diplomacy. They diffuse not only their policies but also their culture, history, and tourist attractions. There is a trend in recognising the importance of public opinion and its impact in the formation or success of policies. Strategies are created now to shape and “educate”
public opinion, as propaganda and image making belong to mass politics (Hill, 2001:10).

Although there are many ideas and associations linked to countries and their foreign policies, an "image" can result from the dominant idea(s) or association(s) defining a country. These necessary and helpful simplifications in order to understand different nations can easily turn into negative stereotypes. An understanding of how these dominant notions arose and how embedded they are in other societies is important, in order to change them when they portray the country in a negative fashion. There is always a degree of subjectivity in national images, since they depend on the perspective, knowledge and reading of history of the receiving party (Hill, 2001:10).

Joseph Nye, an American academic, introduced the notion of “soft power”. It relates to the shift in the diplomatic arena where force is expressed beyond military and economic means. Diplomacy, culture, and image-making are the soft powers that get other people to do what is desired. This notion has been interpreted both as an open manipulation of people and as an extension to a pluralist debate and a better option than coercion (Hill, 2001:11).

There is a problem in accepting the notion of image-making, since states appear as "pompous and over-dignified entities", and "re-branding" may seem to be beneath their dignity. Some old states, such as Britain or
France, argues Hill, have more trouble dismantling stereotypes than countries like Singapore or Slovenia, or cities like Beijing (Hill, 2001:12).

A post-modernist notion holds that multiple identities, and therefore images and self-images, are an inherent part of life in the contemporary world (Hill, 2001:13). This is an important concept to understand, as image-makers will be dealing with this phenomenon and will have to fight for an image among citizens of the world who might not only identify with more than one country, but even be citizens in them. Support from the country's own citizens might be crucial for the purposes of national image promotion.

Public Diplomacy

Media diplomacy, soft power, and other names are given to the activities governments around the world carry out in order to present their preferred national image to the world. What these definitions mean and who exactly carries out these tasks is still widely regarded in the abstract. This elusive activity is seldom seen by the public as the responsibility of the ministries of foreign affairs. Berridge (2005) contributes to a better understanding of current public diplomacy activities by describing the main role and duties carried out by these ministries and pointing out that the evolution of international relations has made it compelling for states to evolve in the way they interact with the public through the media.

The ministries of foreign affairs around the world have different roles that include
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staffing and supporting missions abroad, policy advice and implementation, policy coordination, dealing with foreign diplomats at home, public diplomacy, and building domestic support (Berridge, 2005:5).

Berridge (2005:17) argues that the term “public diplomacy” is a euphemism for propaganda carried out directly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or through its diplomatic missions. This task is by no means new, although the use of this term is relatively recent. Public diplomacy can be traced as far back as the early seventeenth century in Europe and its importance increased dramatically after the First World War (Berridge, 2005:129).

A main task of a ministry’s public diplomacy is to supply diplomatic missions with approved information about foreign and domestic events, usually through a Press and Information Department, which also looks after the foreign media correspondents that produce information be it in the same country or abroad. In some cases, this unit manages the news, giving “breaking news” the best possible “spin” (Berridge, 2005:17-18).

Public diplomacy units usually supply electronic and online information through the ministry’s website. In some larger states, they are also responsible for directing and coordinating policies and activities with the cultural diplomacy branch, as well as with those radio and television broadcasting stations directly or indirectly under state control. Berridge (2005:18) points out that public diplomacy has currently become so important in some countries that the US State Department, for example, incorporated the previously separated US Information Agency in 1999. This
means that diplomacy officers are present in every office around the world. (Berridge, 2005:18).

Publicity

Closely related to public diplomacy, and colliding with traditional diplomatic views, is the fact of making diplomatic negotiations public. Diplomats usually regard publicity as the enemy of negotiation. However, as Berridge points out, carefully used, publicity about a negotiation can help to move it forward in three ways: a) by informally measuring how the other party will react, since ideas publicly accepted or not dismissed from the beginning will be regarded as a serious basis for negotiation; b) by mobilising popular support for a negotiated solution; and c) by “talking up the talks”, i.e. giving the public the impression that they are nearer to success than it is in reality the case, although this tactic must be used sparingly in order not to anger or put in trouble the other party nor to lose public credibility (Berridge, 2005:67-68).

Raising the level of diplomatic negotiations by making them public is an important symbolic way of indicating to parties that high priority is attached to progress and this will eventually both raise public expectations of success and increase the pressure for a settlement (Berridge, 2005:69).
Other Diplomatic functions

Although negotiation is the most important function of diplomacy, Berridge (2005:91) points out that other activities include information gathering, lobbying, clarifying intentions, supporting commercial and financial activities, assisting nationals abroad, and promoting popular sympathy for the state’s foreign policy both at home and abroad. All these functions are pursued through direct telecommunications (telephone diplomacy, radio, television, internet, videoconferencing), conventional and unconventional bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy, summity, and mediation.

The activities of representation and propaganda are structured within conventional bilateral diplomacy. The function of representation is often minimised and is mainly concerned with prestige and, in some cases, it is impossible to distinguish from propaganda. Its responsibility lies mostly on the head of mission and representation activities include entertaining, giving public lectures, appearing on television and radio shows, and attendance at state ceremonial occasions (Berridge; 2005:120).

Berridge (2005:128) observes that there are two types of propaganda used by the missions abroad, although neither of them is named as such. Propaganda designed to influence a foreign government is not diplomacy, but a form of “political advertising”. The aim of political advertising is to win the influence of the general public, the media, pressure groups and foreign allies in order to persuade a foreign government to accept a particular point of view.
The second type, "public diplomacy" is propaganda directed towards a foreign state's external policy. Berridge (2005:129) points out that it is even considered acceptable and fashionable, and the resident ambassador is heavily involved in it. The embassies of some countries also attempt to influence the foreign policy of the receiving state through "cultural diplomacy", i.e. exporting their own cultures to them. The possibility of a resident mission conducting propaganda, even restricted to foreign policy questions, varies according to the local political environment and regime. In liberal democracies, Berridge observes, the ambassador is able to undertake a propaganda role with relative freedom, the US being the best and most important example, where an Ambassador is poorly evaluated if he or she does not promote his or her country's interests publicly.

Thus, foreign ambassadors can be heard regularly on the radio and seen on television. During the Gulf War in 1991, Iraq's ambassadors in Europe and the United States were at the forefront of that country's propaganda campaign. Berridge (2005:129-130) speculates that maybe that was the reason why Saddam Hussein did not sever diplomatic relations with those countries until three weeks after the outbreak of the war. In many countries, resident ambassadors are attractive to the local media as interviewees and to a variety of local bodies as speakers, being generally the most accessible spokespersons for their government. It could be argued that this fact alone facilitates the possibility of them making propaganda.
Country branding

Public diplomacy has a strong ally in the media. However, country branding is a controversial activity due to the fact that countries are promoted in ways products and services would by an advertising agency. Some countries decide to embark on such an activity hoping to maximise advantages and profits from the point of view of “branding” appeal, i.e. they become a “country brand”.

Peters (2001:54) makes an analogy between branding and politics since, according to him, everything is about power, influence and money. Big companies such as Coca-Cola have sales of $18.8 billion a year, which means that it earns more than 135 of the 200 countries where it is sold, since only 65 countries have such a GNP.

In this sense, countries that have chosen this path should aim to add value to their national branding, since it not only influences voters and tourists but businesses like Coca-Cola, too. National identity influences big companies when buying goods and services. They have a strong economic value that translates into export sales, inward investment, tourism and a stronger currency (Peters, 2001:54).

Peters (2001:56) explains that it is an important factor to develop a timeless national brand, in the sense that it keeps being appealing through the years. Getting noticed in the international arena requires challenging and creative statements and logos. This attitude has to be supported not
only by the governmental institutions themselves, but has to be clearly explained and transmitted to the individuals who, in this sense, as representatives of the country, will sell it as well through all their actions at home and abroad.

This is a long-term process that has to shape institutions, the political and business communities, the media and opinion leaders. The strongest national brand is the United States. Its film and television industries have influenced people around the world and the country benefits in exports, investment, business expansion and political influence (Peters, 2001:57).

That is why the European Union has a problem. It has been negligent in creating an image, even if, according to Piening (2001:67), it has achieved a lot more than the United Nations Organisation (UNO). It has changed its name several times from the original “European Coal and Steel Community”, its flag is difficult to understand, the passport designs of the member countries of the European Union do not reflect the common identity they should, and the new euro notes did not adopt images using Europe’s great buildings, landscapes and personalities but images that mean nothing to Europeans.

Unlike the UNO’s headquarters in New York, no one could recognise the headquarters of the European Union in Brussels or Strasbourg. The Secretary General of the U.N. is a high-profile international figure and the organisation enjoys immediate international recognition. Piening (2001:69-70) makes it clear that image is not substance, but without it, the substance
itself becomes very difficult to communicate. That is why it has to be assured that an image is created so that a quick mental reference point exists, so that the substance behind the image can be recognised and, given the case, supported.

**Diplomacy vs. country branding**

Girard (2001:20) states that the idea that the state might have an image is new in history and it is only “a new term to describe influence, power, cultural diplomacy, or even public diplomacy”. The idea of the image of a country summarises political, economic, and social interests, represented by the state, industry, and the individual.

This national image concern is derived from a general crisis of social identity. In the past, all legitimate leaders had images in the course of history, and that image was enough to be expanded into the image of the country, i.e. the country itself did not have a different image than the one from its leader. Nowadays, the respective images of Chirac and Blair cannot be said to be accurate representations of France and Britain. The information revolution has made it possible for any individual, even for those who do not possess in-depth knowledge of countries, to have access to information about France and Britain through television or the internet. The people will easily recognise that the countries are a lot more than the image of their leaders (Girard, 2001:21).
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It is not obvious that the re-branding of a nation is suitable for all countries. Britain could be understood doing this as a reiteration of the fact that they follow a basically "economic diplomacy". The French would believe that their country is far more complex than a label or an image, since a country carries specific dignity not to be found in a marketed product. In this view, re-branding countries as a product is unacceptable, diplomacy being far more complicated and subtle (Girard, 2001:21-22).

Image making, then, devalues politics as it transforms the practice of diplomacy through soft power. Girard (2001:22) states that the idea of managing an image is "degrading, inappropriate and extremely restrictive", especially for professional diplomats who, according to him, nonetheless know that it is a politically and economically important issue today.

Journalists also have a very different and critical approach to country branding and governmental public diplomacy efforts. Peel (2001:42) states that a journalist's job is to "destroy stereotypes" and not to accept images but question them. Image-makers should be aware of that, argues Peel. For them, information departments are often departments of disinformation. Apartheid South Africa tried to re-brand and sell its policy but failed to do so, since that image could not be positive, stemming from what the author calls a "disastrous policy". On the contrary, the Soviet Union of Gorbachov in 1988 is regarded somehow as the "golden era" because the government was open with information, working on a new principle of saying things as they were, without controlling information.
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Peel (2001:43) argues that, for journalists, it is not the image that matters, but the policy. A policy will sell the country for itself. If a country lacks a policy, no amount of public relations will be able to create it.

National identity and international image

Most analyses of national identities and international images focus on the consciousness and particular characteristics of the members of a nation, usually ignoring the dynamic between this national consciousness and the international image, as if they were isolated variables. Although the national consciousness and characteristics are vital to the national identity, every nation projects its national identity into the global arena, and the ability to use media diplomacy to convey the preferred national identity through as many international media possible is the task of foreign policy.

Media diplomacy is not only used to promote the preferred national identity of a nation in the global arena. There have been several cases where it has been used to undermine the preferred national identity and international image of enemies. This has been done through governmental information control. One of its expressions was the "news blackout" during the 1983 invasion of Grenada or the introduction of news coverage using the "pool" format during the invasion of Panama in 1989, which meant that only a select group of reporters had access to information and then shared it with the rest of the press corps (Ebo, 1997:46-47). During the 1982 Falklands War, the British Ministry of Defence censored negative news,
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which included "unpleasant truths" like civilian casualties, in order to maintain a favourable atmosphere to justify the war (Ottosen, 1992:137).

The international image of a nation as articulated in the international media is an important assessment of the acceptance or impact of a nation's foreign policy in the global arena. It is for this reason that many countries rely on public relations campaigns to promote or modify their international image, as it has been proven that generally public relations campaigns directed at the media result in positive media coverage for nations. Isolated nations during times of crisis tend to revert to these campaigns, as well as nations that are politically controversial. During the Cold War, for example, both the United States and the Soviet Union engaged in intense media diplomacy aimed at creating negative images of each other.

An important measure of success of a country's media diplomacy is when its own version of national identity convinces both its citizens and the international community that the identity it seeks to convey is legitimate. As Ebo shows, during the first Gulf War, for example, Saddam Hussein failed to get his message through the international media, hardly getting any support —and therefore legitimisation and a positive international image— for his historical claim to sovereignty over Kuwait. In vain, he tried to influence American public opinion, as well as the Arab world. Iraq's media diplomacy, and therefore foreign policy, was unable to convince the international community that it was in their interest to accept Iraq's definition of the conflict. Iraq was at a clear disadvantage without the support of the international media and it even had to struggle to control
pro-Kuwait information coming into Iraq from external sources (Ebo, 1997:48-49).

The hierarchical structure of international relationships is reflected in media dominance to a significant degree. While military power still plays an important role in the power structure, superiority in communications technology equally gives a nation an advantage in exerting some influence over its national identity and international image. The ability of a nation to construct an international image that matches the preferred national identity is important to its “power” status and placement in the global political hierarchy.

The role of corporations in foreign policy

Media diplomacy, foreign policy and transnational corporate culture share interests that shape the global flow of information in line with national interests. The global allocation of resources and investments made by transnational companies and media organisations involve the transfer of technology and business etiquette that represent political philosophies. Media convey certain ideological leanings in favour of certain power alignments.

Thus the political importance of a nation raises its newsworthiness. Generally ‘unworthy news’ nations become important as a crisis there threatens Western political interests and this interest fades away as the crisis is controlled. The choices of countries and geographical regions to be
covered are closely related to political affinity and socio-cultural mutuality with the most powerful nations. Many countries in the Third World have been criticised for openly treating the media as an official instrument of the government. Yet the practice is not exclusively theirs: during the Cold War, many media were created by countries in order to carry out their diplomatic mission abroad. The United States, for example, supported radio and television stations for decades in order to support their fight against communism, at first, and in order to disseminate their foreign policy information, namely Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty –both against Soviet-led Warsaw Pact countries–, Radio Free Asia –against China–, and Radio Martí –against Cuba.

The Voice of America (USA), Radio Moscow (Russia), and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) have served as an arm of their countries' foreign policy. WORLDNET has disseminated U.S. foreign policy in several languages, and the United States Armed Forces Network (USAF) carries out the same function, aimed only at locals and military personnel stationed overseas. National governments and multi-national corporations achieve and maintain ideological hegemony using media diplomacy apparatuses, such as advertising agencies, market surveys, opinion polls, public relations, and technological transfer (Ebo, 1997:49-51).

A good example to look at is The British Council, whose work is currently divided into two branches: the first one has to do with a “normative values driven agenda”, i.e. human rights, environment, accountability of the government, and all the issues derived from the global agenda. The
second deals with the promotion of UK identities, a national promotion carried out through cultural and educational programmes that intend to be commercially beneficial for the country in the long run. A high British Council official, Marsden (2001:51) believes that their public diplomacy task is to communicate British interests and ideals beyond governments to foreign publics.

A good example of this is the promotion on the educational, artistic, scientific, and technological excellence of the country abroad among the younger generations. Attracting foreign students to UK universities who belong to local elites in their countries and decide to study in this country, Marsden adds, is a good investment in the immediate and long terms, since students will be investing in the UK to foster their education and will probably become lifetime anglophiles (Marsden, 2001:52-53).

As Ebo points out, Western international news agencies dominate the information flow around the globe and they provide imagery and messages that create and reinforce their audiences’ attachment to the media’s country of origin. Four major Western international news agencies control eighty percent of the global news flow, creating –to a great extent- the global political, economic, and cultural agenda: Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Reuters, and Agence France Press (AFP). National and regional news agencies proliferated in the late seventies and eighties as an attempt to address this information disadvantage with questionable results for their countries’ or regions’ media diplomacy (Ebo, 1997:51-52).
Media diplomacy has also become important for its role in legitimising all sorts of national movements and guerrilla warfare at a global level. Enjoying global recognition or suffering global condemnation through the media signifies success or failure for any political movement. For example, Western media coverage of apartheid in South Africa classified it as a racial discrimination problem, distracting the audiences from the fact that the Western countries profited from the economic exploitation of black people under the regime. Only until the Iranian Revolution exploded in 1979 did the media recognise that the Ayatollah Khomeni was truly gaining terrain against the Shah. The Shah was an important ally of the United States government due to the proximity of the land to the former Soviet Union and the U.S. was willing to keep him in power. During the first Gulf War, the Western alliance used the international media to promote a notion of international consensus for a military campaign against Iraq. Western media diplomacy constructed an image of Saddam Hussein which fitted into the pre-existing stereotype of Arabs as terrorists. The United States “made sure that the entire world’s media became American” (Ebo, 1997:52-53).

So far, the interaction between diplomats and the media through activities of public diplomacy has been examined. Country branding has created controversy due to the fact that a nation is packaged as a product and its essence is diminished into a commercial good from which others can profit in the international arena. Media diplomacy can also serve to undermine national image portrayal efforts of adversary states and political and commercial interests can raise awareness of otherwise “news unworthy”
places. Support for a cause from the media can become crucial. This is all important for the image-maker, as all these circumstances directly impinge upon national image promotion efforts and have to be considered while creating portrayal strategies.

**Television and the First Gulf War**

The media coverage during the First Gulf War illustrates the claim among media scholars and practitioners for a free press, the desirability of the free flow of information, and the necessity to foster pluralism and avoid governmental domination of the information system.

Schiller (1992:22) explains that it offered a spectacular opportunity for information and opinion management, being the U.S. achievements in this regard, perhaps even more impressive than a rapid military victory. He considers that it is embarrassing to have misinformed the American society in that way during the course of the war, taking into account the state-of-the-art technologies and the immediacy of the information availability at their disposal. The media, by disclosing only selected information, helped the Bush Administration and the military to successfully control information and tell the public just what they wanted it to know.

In this war, the main theatre of operations for the information war was television. Print media were secondary and they were not as carefully guarded. “Television is where 80 percent of the people get their information”, said Ronald Reagan’s deputy chief of staff in charge of
image-making, and the information control during the six weeks of war “couldn’t have been better”. Nearly all commentary about the crisis and the war was restricted to military questions. In August 1991, during the first two weeks of the crisis, 76 percent of all references to Bush on television networks were favourable (Schiller, 1992:22).

This war was characterised and became a milestone for news reporting for all it did not show. Some examples: the view and testimony of U.S. ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie; not reporting the biggest-ever winter peace demonstration in front of the White House on January 26th, the resolution to impeach Bush on the war put by the chairman of the House Banking Committee, Jesse Jackson’s talks recorded for hours with Saddam Hussein and Tariq Aziz, Iraq’s Foreign Minister (Schiller, 1992:23-24).

Schiller (1992:25) quotes Bob Sipschen, from Los Angeles Times: “Desert Storm was really two wars: The Allies against the Iraqis and the military against the press”. American generals and think-tank experts complemented the war reporting. Foreign voices were also carefully selected. John Major, the British prime minister at the time, was the preferred spokesperson when an overseas commentary was needed. King Hussein from Jordan also got some attention, only to be manipulated and to demonstrate that the Palestinians –half of the Kingdom’s population– were supporters of Saddam Hussein and deserved the same treatment through guilt-by-association imagery.
Hardly any American citizen knew that the people of Japan, Spain, Egypt, and several North African countries expressed massive opposition to American foreign policy and the war. On the contrary, they learned that the United States was engaged in an allied effort, supported by the United Nations, which also embraced the sentiments of a good part of the world. Latin America, Asia, and Africa did not have a say regarding these events. The admirers and supporters of the war were the “usual handful of European and English-speaking industrially developed economies and a clutch of other states that were paid or coerced into joining the coalition” (Schiller, 1992:26-27).

The situation developed into being so absurd, that comments such as General Colin Powell’s on the number of Iraqi dead from the air and ground operations were allowed: “It’s really not a number I’m terribly interested in”. Schiller reminds us that massive killing is a news story. (Schiller, 1992:27) According to a Red Cross estimate, the number lies between 150,000 and 200,000 (Ottosen, 1992:141).

Norwegian television aired an interview on March 1, after Iraqi soldiers had been thrown out of Kuwait. A Kuwaiti nurse who by means of injections had poisoned and killed twenty-two Iraqi soldiers during their stay in hospital was portrayed as having accomplished a heroic deed, even if the action is against the ethics of the nursing profession (Ottosen, 1992:143).

In short, the audience received the government’s version of events. George Bush said “the press kept its eyes and ears open during the war”,

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and the American people agreed. A *Los Angeles Times* survey discovered that two institutions enjoyed significant boosts from the war, i.e. the military and the television news organisations. CNN deserves to be recognised as a media phenomenon. It became the international source of news overnight as a result of its coverage of the first Gulf War. Although careful examination shows that its contents differed only very slightly from the three U.S. national networks, its 24 hour, on-site reporting to a global audience helped it gain an impression of comprehensiveness and became an instant legend. Europe created “Euronews” as a response to the challenge CNN represented in shaping public opinion, and Japan started working on its own project. Seventy-three percent of Americans felt television reporters were better than their print competitors during the war (Schiller, 1992:28-29).

Currently, there is a growing debate about the role and the impact of television on the foreign-policy making process, especially in light of the recent Gulf Wars and other recent events. News technologies have made it possible to transfer pictures and data around the globe instantaneously and in a variety of formats. This has allowed a process of internationalisation of the television news to take place and, at the same time, has created news services targeted at global audiences. What truly needs to be kept in mind is the fact that new technologies, as such, are neutral, but it is the use people make of them that give them a meaning. Television news, no matter how instantaneous it may be, is directed and operated by a group of people who represent a segment of society. Therefore, the cameras are aimed at producing a specific image of reality.
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Taylor (1997:88-89) assures it can provide, at best, mere snapshots of reality, and at worst, illusions of reality. We will not be able to have the complete picture. Therefore, although unavoidable, the media do not transmit the whole elements for foreign policy makers to decide, and it is precisely because of this that the influence of television, and the media in general, in the decision making process is limited.

Global television and the CNN Effect

The ‘CNN effect’ originated during the 1991 Gulf War and it referred to the “ubiquity of the channel”, i.e. that all sides were using the same information source. The term describes the ability of real-time communications technology, via the news media, to provoke major responses from domestic audiences and political elites to both global and national events. The effect includes the impact of both television news and print-media on decision-making, for the ‘CNN effect’ is not synonymous with CNN (Robinson; 2002:2).

The CNN effect also refers to the direct impact that media coverage has on the foreign policy elite, formed by policy-makers, politicians, experts, and commentators. These groups, unlike the wider audience, set the tone of policy debate and policy options. Even if public opinion is of primary importance to policy-makers and elite groups, opinion polls are not relied upon as evidence of public opinion. Instead, they count on the perceived public opinion, largely formed via the media and reached through standard news reporting. The main question regarding the CNN effect is whether a
particular policy decision would have been made or not if media coverage had been different. (Robinson; 2002:3-4).

Global news television networks such as CNN International, BBC World, Sky News, and Fox News, as well as the emergence of new non-Western networks such as Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya are very important for conducting international relations because they have created the impression of exerting an enormous amount of influence among the political, journalistic and academic elites. Gilboa (2005:1) explains that the terms mediademocracy, medialism, mediapolitik, mediacracy, and teledemocracy are often used to describe this media-dominated system. The same perception of foreign diplomacy and international relations coined concepts such as telediplomacy and the CNN effect. The assumption behind these concepts is that images of what is happening in the world are given greater significance than what really happens. In this context, Gilboa argues, policymaking has become a contest of images where officials, unlike in former times, care more about what to say than about what to do.

Global television news coverage is characterised by a real-time 24-hour broadcast from anywhere around. Headlines are repeated at least every hour and live events are considered as precious for a current, competitive and up-to-date coverage. Thus, even if networks repeat recorded programmes throughout the day, the breaking news and continuing crisis coverage formats stand out. They usually have a special logo attached to them, such as “War on Terror” or “Germany votes”. These formats create
more pressure on editors to constantly supply more information and pictures, on reporters to push leaders to hastily respond to unfolding events, and on leaders to demand instant policy analysis and recommendations from experts and diplomats (Gilboa; 2005:2).

Gilboa (2005:2-5) explains that the CNN effect has proven to be limited, as policy and decision-making is a lot more complex than the term seems to imply. However, he argues, television conveys immediacy and, through it, achieves an impact that no newspaper can (Gilboa; 2005:2-5).

In this regard, it has been proven that television does not 'force' policymakers to adopt policy, but 'pressures' them to do so. 'Forcing' would indicate that it is the media and their power who dictate and guide the policymaking process, whereas the notion of 'pressure' implies that the media become just one of several factors competing to influence decisions at this level. Therefore, global television is not a controlling actor in the formulation of policy in international relations but importantly affects some aspects of foreign policy and diplomacy through real time coverage of international conflict which, according to Gilboa (2005:9-10),

competes with governmental sources of information and analysis, allows diplomatic manipulations, and produces instant judgements about policies and outcomes.

Modern communications have created competition for the diplomatic missions as sources of information and have therefore eroded the
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Diplomacy and the media traditional ambassador's role in several important areas of diplomacy, namely

*representing their countries, communicating their government's position, gathering information about the countries to which they were posted, and recommending actions to policymakers back home* (Gilboa, 2005:10).

Diplomatic communications nowadays cannot keep up with the immediacy of television news broadcasting in the sense that diplomatic analysis and policy recommendations need time to be created and, at times, they are not taken into account for decisions to be made, since Heads of State and ministers talk and negotiate directly and usually feed information to the media, especially television, out of pressure for a prompt response within the frame of live coverage (Gilboa; 2005: 10-11).

Immediacy in global television has also given governments new opportunities for their leaders and spokespersons to disseminate propaganda, misinformation, and diplomatic manipulations. Sometimes, leaders' statements might aim to confuse rivals, but in other cases, television can be used as the most effective way to transmit urgent information immediately to all interested parties. This live information can sometimes prevent important, mostly negative, actions already underway (Gilboa; 2005:12).

Gilboa (2005:13-14) explains that global television poses a challenge for policymakers, as the immediacy of the medium confronts them with a hasty decision-making process. Fear of an immediate negative judgement may lead them to making bad decisions. The whole environment in which
the process takes place is challenging due to time constraints and to the tone set on a specific issue by the coverage. A good diplomatic decision might turn out to be negative, as a leader overlooks the tone set by the media: the message does not go through. An added pressure is put on leaders as they cannot prepare different messages for domestic and international audiences anymore. Careful thought has to be given to statements, as immediacy shortens analysing time and, on the other hand, it is important to consider that messages reach everyone at the same time, i.e. both allies and enemies in times of war. Besides, if a leader or senior official fails to respond quickly to the media's expectations, journalists will regard the leader as weak or unqualified, or they will become critical of official policy (Gilboa; 2005:13-14).

Thus, the effects of global television on policy making are much more complex and subtle than what is usually associated with the CNN effect (Gilboa; 2005:22). Challenges and dilemmas for political leaders and professional foreign affairs bureaucracy have already been pointed out. However, as Gilboa points out, journalists and editors also face several problems.

Within the pressures of the immediacy of coverage, journalists have to find out how to accurately report, contextualise and analyse situations from any location, sometimes with limited knowledge of the events and processes covered. They also have to learn how to report fairly on an international conflict when they clearly believe one side is the aggressor and the other is a victim, and, they also have to learn to avoid
manipulations from the leaders of the parties they personally support and favour when sides have to be taken. Editors, on the other hand, have to deal with avoiding pressuring reporters sent overseas to file reports before they are ready, while still covering the real-time input television needs. They also have to maintain professional standards when deciding what images to choose, as some originated from unknown sources, and to balance one-sided reporting from journalists who cannot be fair and neutral in severe cases of violence (Gilboa; 2005:23).

As Gilboa argues, leaders and policy makers have to be prepared to handle the rapid pace of global communication to avoid serious policy mistakes, especially in crisis situations. Sophisticated policymaking in defence and foreign affairs today requires an understanding of the global media challenges and an efficient communication strategy for dealing with them. The role of journalists in contemporary international conflicts has proven to be active and confers more responsibility on their work. It is expected that global television effects will become even more complex, due to the rapidly changing nature of both global communication and international relations (Gilboa; 2005:24).

Are individuals significant for international relations?

Valencic (2001:71) states that “second league” players, namely small and new states, non-state actors and even individuals, have an important role to play and are the ones who are most influenced by and most dependent on image. The image being an “intersection of interests of the state,
business and the individual”, the relation between image and individual action has gained little attention among scholars. However, individuals might influence decisions beyond their national borders, as they act as decision makers, opinion leaders, soldiers, tourists or human rights defenders.

However, the image of an individual abroad is greatly affected by the image of his or her national state. Perception of the nation of origin will undoubtedly affect the individual's quality of life, social options or safety. Artists, scholars, scientists, émigrés or hooligans: “individuals matter in international relations and image is their main tool of action” (Valencic, 2001:72).

Weaker states or other non-state actors might be obliged to have in their image their highest asset, as they cannot exercise coercive methods in the international arena as powerful states do. Image becomes their “soft weapon”, as image can become their strongest, if not the only instrument of foreign policy under their control (Valencic, 2001:72).

A case of an individual can immediately threaten to escalate into an international conflict and gain, through television, global attention. A good example is provided by the case of Jean Charles de Menezes. In July 2005, a man was shot to death in Stockwell Underground Station in London as a result of the “shoot to kill” policy implemented by the Metropolitan Police after the terrorist bombings that took place earlier that
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month. This all happened as part of the continuing anti-terrorist operation in the city.

Here is the description of the suspect by two different commuters, who were at the scene, aired by CNN International$^1$ and seen around the world:

Commuter 1: “A tall Asian guy, shaved head, slight beard, with a rucksack got in front of me”...
Commuter 2: “...a young Asian man...” “He looked like Pakistani but he had a baseball cap on...”

After hours of uninterrupted live global coverage, the world was convinced that the man shot on the Tube station was Asian, and a terrorist. The identity of the man was made public the day after: Jean Charles de Menezes, a 27-year-old Brazilian electrician.

The commuters made a mistake. The police made a mistake, too. Independently from the legal aspects of the shooting, the proceedings of the war on terror and the consequences for the Brazilian-British relationship, what does the description of this man tells us about the way the British audience perceives itself and perceives others? What is their image of Asian and other foreign cultures? What part did stereotypes play in this confusion?

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The role of national image can be spotted all the time in every sphere of life. Throughout this study, examples that deal with very different situations affecting different kinds of institutions and countries are analysed, all relevant for the image-maker. This chapter aimed to explain the context in which national image building takes place. An evolving context where there is less and less time to react to external stimuli and where careful and intelligent responses are demanded from politicians and policymakers by the media and by audiences. This is a period where messages, through television and the 'CNN effect', reach local and external audiences alike and where information gains unprecedented importance in helping to shape public opinion. This era of hasty information exchange demands nations to have an image in order to compete at a global level, be it in politics, economy, society, or culture. It is a context in which some activities of diplomacy, namely public diplomacy, experiment with change in order to gain sympathy in the eyes of the foreign policy of other countries. How nations go about building these national images will be the main subject of the next chapter.
Chapter 3. Image and stereotypes.

As opposed to the broader understanding of the context of national image building in a globalised world analysed in the preceding chapters, the core of this section is to explain the process individuals experience in order to arrange the vast accumulation of knowledge they receive that will eventually lead them to a meaningful explanation of the world, as well as to create the basis and sense to the fundamental question of self-definition and belonging.

This very individual self-recognising process will lead to what is eventually and probably the most important element for national image building: the "othering" process. As individuals, we learn in our families, schools, and communities the sense of belonging. We many times define who we are with the help of knowing what we are not. The creation of our own identity allows us to be distinct from others and makes it easy for an individual to recognise him or herself in a group. This process of grouping gives individuals a sense of belonging, to a family, a community, and a nation.

This process is complicated, as many elements play an important role in this individual development and due to the fact that it is also a constantly evolving personal endeavour. There is also a risk that an individual assumes that he or she belongs to a group but that the group does not recognise this individual as a part of it. Culture plays a crucial part in this identity-definition process and, therefore, also in creating stereotypes.
What this whole process means for national image building is better explained by linking a person’s identity with his or her understanding of the world. The individual will therefore have constructed a reality, i.e. a basis which evaluates the world surrounding him or her, and supports or rejects ideas, policies or symbols that operate against his or her own perspectives or preferences. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the media have become a crucial element of the process that has led to a “cosmopolitanism”, where individuals have a sense of belonging to multiple groups or, it could be said, have a multi-layered identity.

**Individual images of reality and international politics**

Kegley and Raymond (2005:10) affirm that it is crucial to understand ongoing global events and realities in order to explain their character. In this assessment of the world situation, our images of reality play a crucial role in our understanding of world politics and in shaping our expectations.

Perceptions influence our images of reality since everyone carries mental images of world politics, be they explicit or implicit, conscious or subconscious (Kegley & Raymond; 2005:10). Individuals simplify “reality” through images by exaggerating some features of the environment while ignoring others. Thus, our expectations and images define our own worlds, distorting reality, as none of them can fully capture its complexity. Therefore, individuals build themselves images of world politics built on “illusions and misconceptions”. Even individuals who are able to grasp relatively accurate images of the world can easily become outdated if they
do not recognise the constantly changing nature of world events. There are two levels of change, the actual, objective facts of world politics, and the meaning that people, through assumptions and interpretations, give to them, be they accurate or not.

Each person creates a “mental map” in order to organise an abundant amount of information. This is very important, since individuals react to events according to the way the world appears to them rather than the way it actually is. Kegley and Raymond (2005:10) affirm that most individuals look for information that “reinforces pre-existing beliefs about the world, assimilate new data into familiar images, mistakenly equate what they believe with what they know, and deny information that contradicts their expectations”.

Individuals “categorise”, as cognitive psychology suggests, in an attempt to understand the world by schematic reasoning, i.e. matching what individuals see with memories of prototypical events and people. Individuals use stereotypes when little is known about someone. By doing so, similarities are presumed in individuals that are included in the traits of general characters, part of “stock” images individuals generally conceive for certain groups of people. Once an image is acquired, it seems self-evident. Individuals try to keep it consistent with other beliefs and, through cognitive dissonance, individuals reject information that contradicts their own portrayal of the world. By cognitive dissonance, it is meant that the individual is in a state of conflict or in disharmony between the organised
attitudes, beliefs, and values within his or her own cognitive system (Saunders, 1994:47).

By selecting and filtering information, individuals perceive not only what actually happens in everyday life but the added value of interpretation and internalisation that accompanies the facts (Kegley & Raymond; 2005:11).

Care should be taken not to assume automatically that the perception of individuals applies to entire countries, since it may prevent entire peoples from recognising the way other peoples think about them. Leaders and citizens may ignore or reinterpret information that disagrees with their beliefs and values, leading to misperceptions, which often bring about discord, especially when relationships between countries are hostile (Kegley & Raymond; 2005:11).

When the parties have a negative image of each other, there is a great amount of distrust and suspicion that sets the guidelines of foreign policy. Such was the case of Moscow and Washington during the Cold War. This phenomenon is called mirror image, where each side considers that it is acting in a constructive manner, receiving only a hostile response from the adversary. In this situation, conflict resolution and peace fostering is extremely difficult (Kegley & Raymond; 2005:11).

The individual’s images of world politics are resistant to change, although it is possible to overcome entrenched beliefs when dramatic events affect individuals directly in a way that show their assumptions to be evidently
false. A greater understanding of the others is crucial to confront world politics of the twenty-first century (Kegley & Raymond; 2005:14).

A willingness to confront complexity is vital to understanding our contemporary world. An adequate account of continuities and changes in world politics requires making a multi-level analysis of factors, namely the individual, the state, and the systemic, where the individual level of analysis explains international events by focusing on personal characteristics of humans (individuals - political leaders, e.g. Ronald Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev, Hitler); those at the state level look at the national attributes of the states (domestic attributes of nation states - e.g. communism, political inertia, media attention, ethnonationalism, etc.); and those at a systemic level concentrate on the structure and processes of the global system as a whole (interaction among the political actors on the global stage - e.g. policy of containment, disintegration of the Soviet Union) [Kegley & Raymond; 2005:19-20].

One world, different images

Our pre-existing values and expectations influence everything we observe. Kegley and Raymond (2005:12) use the map of the world as a good example to illustrate the fact that the same thing can be interpreted differently. An accurate projection of the surface of the Earth has led to controversy among cartographers, since representing a three-dimensional object on paper leads to unavoidable distortions.
All maps distort distance, shape, area, or direction to present a map that meets the user's needs. As we will see in the three examples mentioned below, i.e., the Mercator projection, the Peters projection, and the Orthographic projection, neither the Mercator nor the Peters maps give a good indication of what the Earth really looks like, as opposed to the Orthographic projection, which shows the Earth as it would be viewed from deep space².

The Mercator Projection

Gerardus Mercator developed this projection in 1569 as an aid to navigators, for which it was really useful, although it poorly maps the world. The Mercator projection was popular in sixteenth-century Europe and it is a classic Eurocentric view of the world. Kegley and Raymond (2005:13) explain that it retained direction accurately but placed Europe at the centre of the world and exaggerated the continent's importance relative to other landmasses. It has become the standard map projection in the mental map of most westerners.

Europe appears larger than South America, which is twice Europe's size, and two-thirds of the map is used to represent the northern half of the world and only one-third the southern half. The size of Greenland and Antarctica are also greatly exaggerated because the lines of longitude were represented as parallel rather than convergent. Greenland appears

² Rosenberg, Matt T., „Peters Projection vs. Mercator Projection”, in geography.about.com
to be the same size as Africa, yet Africa’s land mass is actually fourteen times larger.3

**Peters Projection**

In the Peters projection, each landmass appears in correct proportion in relation to all others, distorting the shape and position of landmasses. Unlike most geographic representations, it draws attention to the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (Kegley and Raymond, 2005:13). This controversial map was first introduced by German historian and

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3 Rosenberg, Matt T., „Peters Projection vs. Mercator Projection“ in *geography.about.com*
cartographer Dr. Arno Peters in 1974, who claimed his projection is a good, fair, and non-racist view of the world⁴.

The Orthographic Projection

Finally, the Orthographic projection uses round edges to convey the sense of curvature of the Earth. The shapes of continents are distorted toward the outer edges, giving a spherical perspective. This projection became popular since the first photographs of space were taken in the 1960s⁵.

⁴ "The Peters Projection – An Area Accurate Map" in www.petersmap.com
⁵ "Orthographic Map Projection" in www.3dsoftware.com
Image

The world map example clearly shows that it is difficult to gain a consensus when defining what apparently are very specific and relatively unchallenged things or facts. This example gives us a notion of how difficult and elusive a defining exercise results when dealing with more abstract notions, such as that of an image. In the definitions to follow, it is to acknowledge the wide spectrum of images considered, ranging from a basic object representation to that of an extremely complicated mental notion.

Nigel Thrift (2001:371) defines an image as a depiction of something. The term “image” can be regarded as the result of three processes: representation, interpretation of images, and manufacture of images. For some time, the concept of representation was considered to coincide with a pictorial representation, but it has been rejected in favour of a broader notion that concedes there are many forms of representation that enrich each other, i.e. pictorial, linguistic, mental and others. The process of interpretation of images is most often associated with art, which is often considered to be the major archive of images, and makes an appeal to iconographic traditions.

Thrift (2001:371) also explains that images are the chief currency of modern visual cultures, although not all images are visual. Imaginative geographies can be conjured up by words as well, from newspaper headlines to novelistic evocation.
Weiner (1990:230), on the other hand, defines image in a more specific fashion, with its several meanings, as such:

a) a body of impressions, feelings, or opinions regarding a company (corporate image) or other entity as held by its public;
b) a visual composition as rendered by a camera (photograph);
c) the area of a printing plate that is reproduced;
d) in phototypesetting, the representation of a character (letter, number or symbol), called the master image, on a font matrix, from which the typeset character is reproduced and generated;
e) an imitation or representation of a person or thing, or the concept of a person, product, or organisation, held by the general public or specific public. An image consultant helps modify or create this concept, perhaps by counselling an individual about speech, wardrobe, and appearance;
f) a figure of speech, such as a metaphor or simile.

Thorndike and Barnhardt (1973:505) add the following definitions of an image:

a) Likeness or copy.
b) A picture in the mind; idea.
c) A comparison, description or figure of speech that helps the mind to form forceful or beautiful pictures. Poetry often contains images.
d) Impression that a person, group, or organisation presents to the public.

Fiske (1994:144) defines image critically, in terms of its validity and accurately representing the truth:

An “image” originally meant a visual representation of reality – either physically (as in a picture or photograph) or in the imagination (as in literature or in music). Now it commonly means a fabrication or public impression created to appeal to the audience rather than to produce reality: it implies a degree of falseness in so far as the reality rarely matches up to the image. In this sense we talk about the image of a consumer product or of a politician.
There are several definitions of an ‘image’, but the former four were chosen because each of them adds an important element or set of notions to the complex study at hand. Thrift’s definition explains how the concept has evolved from a pictorial representation to a broader notion where images have become a vital element for our visual societies. Weiner helps us, through his short, concise and varied definitions, to understand how broad the defining spectrum can be when experts deal with this term. Thorndike and Barnhardt add the important idea of ‘impression’ to the definition, which implies or signals a certain degree of inaccuracy yet points out an element of key importance when defining the concept. Finally, Fiske introduces the notion of ‘fabrication’ of images to appeal to an audience, as well as that of ‘falseness’. All these elements might create controversy and are at the core of the present subject of study. As it has been explained so far, there is not just one image, there is not just one truth. No such thing exists, therefore it is not surprising that more than one definition of the concept exists. Throughout this study, new concepts will complement these image definitions and contribute to the aim of understanding national image-making, such as those of stereotypes, identity, and the ‘other’.

The Organic Theory of Knowledge

Kenneth E. Boulding (1956:16-18) defines image as knowledge in the organic theory of knowledge he developed. He argues that the growth of knowledge is the growth of an “organic” structure that follows principles of growth and development similar to those happening in complex
organisations and organisms. In every organism or organisation there are both internal and external factors affecting growth.

Individuals are in this theory like organisms, located in space, then in time, and then in a field of personal relations. People know not only where and when they are, but to some extent who they are and which societies they belong to. Individuals are also located in the world of nature, in a world of how things operate, and finally, in the midst of a world of subtle intimations and emotions.

Boulding (1956:6) defines knowledge as an individual’s image of the world. An individual’s knowledge of the world is his/her image of the world. Knowledge has an implication of validity and truth for the individual, and what an individual believes to be true is his/her subjective knowledge. It is this image that largely governs the individual’s behaviour.

As events occur, they alter the individual’s knowledge structure or image. And as this image is altered, individuals behave accordingly, i.e. behaviour depends on the image. It is important to know what determines the image in order to understand how both life and society operate. The image is built up as a result of all past experiences of the possessor of the image. Part of the image is the history of the image itself. Boulder affirms that from the moment of birth there are many messages flowing into the individual from the senses, just like any organism. At infancy, the conscious image begins.
Messages consist of information in the sense that they are structured experiences. The meaning of a message is the change which it produces in the image. When a message hits an image, a) it might be ignored by the individual as it conveys information individuals are accustomed to, b) it might contain information that calls the attention of the individual, as the individual's position has to be re-evaluated, be it in time or in space, but in some rather regular and well defined way that might be described as a simple addition, c) it might bring a revolutionary change, due to the fact that it changes a supporting structure in the image, being the extreme case a conversion (Boulding, 1956:7-8).

The phenomenon of reorganisation of an image is important as it occurs to all individuals, although generally not in a conversion scale. The reorganisation is generally dramatic as a result of the fact that our image is itself resistant to change. When it receives messages that conflict with it, the individual's first impulse is to reject them as untrue.

Occasionally, things that individuals see, read, or hear revise the conceptions of space and time, or of relationships. Perhaps there is a fourth possible impact of messages on the image. They might not only have the effect of adding to, or reorganising the image, but to clarify it, i.e. of making something less certain more certain or something previously seen vaguely, clearer. The image has then a certain dimension, or quality, of certainty or uncertainty, probability or improbability, clarity or vagueness (Boulding, 1956:8-10).
It is interesting for an image-maker to understand what lies behind the creation of an image. This organic theory of knowledge presents Boulding's views, which could be questioned for the lack of evidence and be sent into the realms of speculation, but it is, however, a serious attempt to understand the complicated process being dealt with here.

**Image: the fact and the value**

Boulding goes on to argue that messages may also have the contrary effect of introducing doubt or uncertainty into the image. The impact of messages on the certainty of the image is important, as human behaviour depends on it. The subjective knowledge structure or image on any individual or organisation consists not only of images of "fact" but also images of "value". The images of value are concerned with the rating of the various parts of our image of the world, according to some scale of betterness or worseness. Most people possess many scales for different purposes, being here the notion of hierarchy of great importance to determine the effect of the messages (Boulding, 1956:10-12).

The value scales of any individual or organisation are the most important single element determining the effect of the messages received on their image of the world. A message perceived neither as good nor bad may have little or no effect on the image. If perceived as bad or hostile to the image held, there will be resistance to accepting it, although this resistance is not usually infinite. On the other hand, favourable messages to the existing image of the world are received easily and they will
probably not carry any fundamental reorganisation with them. These favourable messages might increase stability, i.e. the resistance to unfavourable messages to the knowledge structure or images (Boulding, 1956:12-14).

Individuals do not perceive “raw” data, they are filtered through a process of interpretation and acceptance, namely a value system. This does not mean that the image of the world possessed by the individual is a pure private matter or that it is only based on subjective knowledge. An important part of the image of the world is the belief that other people like ourselves share our image of the world. This shared image makes it “public”, as opposed to “private” knowledge.

Individuals share messages far beyond those they become from “nature”. They initiate and receive messages themselves, as they are capable of talking about this image of the world through language. It is discourse or conversation that make human images public. A different problem is whether these images, public and private, are true, meaning with “truth” their correspondence to outside reality. Boulding affirms the development of images is part of the culture or subculture in which they are developed, and it depends upon all the elements of that culture or subculture (Boulding, 1956:14-16).
"The pictures in our heads"

Walter Lippmann, one of the most influential American political journalists of the twentieth century, dealt with political, diplomatic, philosophical, and ethical questions, influencing not only the political elite but popular culture as well (Curtis, 1998:xi).

Lippmann (1998:4) stated that whatever individuals believed to be a true picture would be treated as if it were the environment itself. This environment, which substantially affects individual and group behaviour, is Lippmann's definition of image.

As opposed to Boulder's organism natural components, Lippmann considers image creation as a completely human-created political process. In the organic theory of knowledge, the image acquisition process begins in every individual at the moment of birth and it is then broadened into society, whereas Lippmann considers every piece of knowledge an individual receives has previously been filtered by the society the individual belongs to, mostly in the expression of the media, since the complexities of the modern world are too many to be digested by the individual alone.

Curtis' (1998) analysis of Lippmann's *Public Opinion* (1922), deals with the fact that, according to Lippmann, "truth' and the news presented by the press were not synonymous" (Curtis, 1998:xiv). Based on this assumption,
the path to conveying the audiences an accurate picture of the environment that surrounds them is full of obstacles: the press, propaganda, and censorship, among others. Lippmann referred to this environment as "the pictures in our heads", which is basically the representation of the world in which people act. This representation can be true, false, or a mixture of the two (Curtis, 1998:xvii).

Curtis argues that one of Lippmann's great contributions to understanding how images are created is that he clearly stated that politics, without any reference to the human beings who conduct them, cannot be understood at all. This implies that every single phenomenon or acquired piece of knowledge has to run through a filter, first in the level of the society people belong to, and then on an individual basis.

The real external environment cannot easily be grasped by the public, for it is too broad and complex. Lippmann believed that the public can never fully understand political reality due to the fact that they devote very little time to public affairs, on the one hand, and that the reality has to be compressed in short messages by the press, on the other. Most of these public matters, according to Lippmann, "deal with matters that are out of sight, and have therefore to be imagined" (Curtis, 1998:xvi).

Pseudo-environments and the issue of reality

The key problem for having what Curtis considers as the correct "pictures in our heads" is that the people take not for a fact what it truly is, but what
they believe it to be according to their perception. It is worth noting that there is no definition of correctness but, should there exist one, this definition of correctness obviously depends on the individual's perspective. Curtis goes on explaining that this counterfeit of reality is turned into a “pseudo-environment”. These distortions of reality come about through emotional and personal factors, as well as from stereotypes, i.e. the images we have from people and things. According to Lippmann, people generally “do not first see, and then define: we define first and then see”. People tend to perceive the fact chosen in the form stereotyped for us by our culture (Curtis, 1998:xvi). This incorrect, stereotyped picture of the environment, the so-called pseudo-environment, greatly determines our behaviour (Curtis, 1998:xvii).

Lippmann stated that reality was constructed basically by the people themselves. The news, i.e. the information sources, depended on stereotypes, standardisation and someone else’s judgement, and at a personal level, our construction of the world is mostly directed by our own stereotypes, which result not only from our urgent need to simplify the complex, our personal censorship, and the fear of the thoughts and facts that undermine our beliefs and well being (Curtis, 1998:xviii).

In sum, distortion of reality stems both from the information sources and the individual. The news can distort the facts, and an individual will create a reality that is appropriate for him or her. Stereotypes are useful to project a world according to our own sense and values. People, therefore, act as
if their projections correspond to actual fact (Curtis, 1998:xix), and react to stereotypes rather than to the object itself (Curtis, 1998:xxiv).

The idea of stereotypes is not new. Plato (427? - 347? B.C.), Greek philosopher, the pupil of Socrates and teacher of Aristotle, already commented on them in his dialogue *Meno*. In this dialogue he discusses perceptions held about the teachers called Sophists, where Anytus complains that they are ruin and corrupt, that they take money from their pupils and that they should be expelled from the cities they entered. Being asked by Socrates if any Sophists had done him a personal injury, Anytus answers that he never had anything to do with them. Socrates is surprised and asks how he knows if something is good or bad when having no experience of it. The answer: “Quite easy. At any rate I know their kind, whether I’ve had experience or not” (Curtis, 1998:xxii-xxiii).

Curtis (1998:xxiv) defines stereotypes as:

“...images, categorisations, or generalisations taking a particular view of, or emphasising or exaggerating traits or characteristics or behaviour patterns that have been assigned to individuals or groups with a degree of regularity. Individuals in a group could normally be regarded as possessing the particular characteristics assigned to the group. The traits may refer to physiological or biological phenomena, or to membership of national, ethnic, or religious groups”.

**Stereotypes**

As Curtis points out, stereotypes have been studied from three non-mutually exclusive perspectives: the sociological, psychological, and
cognitive. The sociological approach states that stereotypes are present in our culture and that we absorb them through social interaction, i.e. the socialisation process itself. Individuals and groups are depicted in particular ways, and individuals consciously or not, accept that depiction. These stereotypes are dependent on cultural tradition, group interests, and the differentiation of the ingroup from outsiders. The family, peer group, mass media and interaction with others play a fundamental role in stereotype acquisition (Curtis, 1998:xxiv-xxv).

The psychological orientation assumes that stereotypes reflect inner drives, prejudices, or frustrations. Lippmann implied that they become a defence mechanism for frustrated individuals, which produces internal hostility projected against targets which might be innocent. It is important to point out that the hostility towards the outgroup created by the stereotypes may appear first, and only afterwards the supposed causes or image that justify them. In this context, stereotypes are invariably negative and are the projections of what is undesirable (Curtis, 1998:xxv-xxvi).

Curtis suggests that Lippmann's own method was the cognitive approach, where social reality is not just there to be understood. It has to be constructed from the social context we live in, the observer being selective and usually creative. All individuals have an image of the world they have built, i.e. the "pictures in our heads". Individuals act according to the environment they perceive, not necessarily according to the real one. Individuals categorise and generalise, reducing the complexity and uniqueness of human affairs and relationships, serving stereotypes then
as functional elements. In this way, individuals can get stability and give meaning and predictability.

People usually select and interpret information that corresponds to their expectations, and ignore the information that does not. The behaviour of their group confirms the stereotype people have constructed. (Curtis, 1998:xxvi-xxvii).

Stereotypes contain some positive attributes, but they are mainly used in order to rationalise prejudice, although it might be suggested that stereotypes arise because, to some degree, there is a realistic basis or reason related to the history and culture of the observed group that allows them to flourish. Apparently, well-educated people are less likely to hold stereotypes, but, as Curtis notes, that generalisation has also had enormous flaws (Curtis, 1998:xxx-xxxii).

Stereotypes do change in the long run according to political and societal change. In the short run, they change in wartime or as a result of a major event. In a broad sense, stereotypes serve individual and group functions. At an individual level, they help to structure a complex world, interact with it, and express our values. For individuals and societies as a whole, they provide an easy explanation for complex political and social events, and they allow a mechanism for explanation, for justification of action, and for differentiation among groups and peoples. At their worst, the images have also justified war, aggression, colonisation, and civilising missions (Curtis, 1998:xxxiii-xxxv).
The Concept of the Other

Pickering (2001:xi) makes a profound analysis of stereotypes and revises alternative concepts to stereotyping, namely its twin concept of the Other. He also explains how the theory of primitivism has been central in the creation of national identities and stereotypes. He centres his study in explaining the founding dilemma of stereotypes, which is that psychology and communications research that have dealt with the problem have had little reference to each other, enhancing the misuse of stereotypes, i.e. having a stereotype look as an isolated and individual phenomenon and not studying it as part of the development of the individual and his/her culture and education, on the one side, and of society, its history, and its power relations, on the other.

Pickering argues that the concepts of “stereotype” and “the Other” can be used as interchangeable terms, but that the concept of the Other, nonetheless, allows a broader explanation of stereotyping by keeping the stereotypical target and those involved in the process of “othering” in view of each other. The concept does not only expose the misrepresentation involved but grounds it in the structures and relations of power that support it. It calls the attention to the ambivalences and contradictions inherent in the process of “othering”, rather than just stereotyping without studying the context where it developed (Pickering, 2001:xi).

Stereotyping relates to questions dealing with the modern world – to questions about the nation and a national cultural past, to different stages
of civilisational progress -understood as social evolution and racial hierarchisation-, as well as to questions of power and authority in the contexts of nation-building, colonialism and imperialism. Pickering states that many stereotypical constructions of the Other, in this case cultures and countries, are rooted in nineteenth-century nationalisms and in the pseudoscientific rationalisations of racial difference developed by the European societies, which considered themselves as modern (Pickering, 2001:xii).

A thorough revision of the creation of stereotypes is important for the image-maker, since managing a national image often implies dealing with stereotypes and the context where they stem from. Stereotypes are closely linked to perceived national images and that is why it is worth studying them in detail.

Mainstream and media representation

Representations, according to Pickering, consist of words and images describing various social groups and categories. They also somehow indicate what we think about them, probably affecting the way members of these groups and categories view themselves and experience the social world around them. When these representations are held public, they have the power to select, arrange and prioritise certain assumptions and ideas about different kinds of people, creating a mainstream and the outcasts. In representing groups and categories, it is being “spoken for and of” the ones represented, be it in any form of communication, such as the mass
media. These accounts follow their own rules and conventions. As a consequence, accounts and images of others are being given in the media for structures and relations of social power that are central for any symbolic representation analysis, i.e. the agenda where under-representation, over-representation, and misrepresentation are dealt with (Pickering, 2001:xiii).

Representation includes the signifying practices and symbolic systems through which meanings are produced and which position us as subjects. Representations produce meanings through which we can make sense of our experience and of who we are. Representation as a cultural process establishes individual and collective identities and symbolic systems provide possible answers to the question: who am I? Representations are important because they lead the individual to identify him/herself with others (Woodward, 1997:14).

Stereotypes vis à vis power relations and social control

It is important to take into account that stereotyping is related to what is “natural” or “normal”. For stereotyping to be effective, it needs not to be seen and acknowledged for what it does. Stereotypes can create and sustain a common sense of what is legitimate and right. Viewers, listeners and readers interpret all these media accounts and narratives in different ways, depending on their own personal history. Taking into account the power of individuality over the filter and use of these representations is vital to understanding that there is no absolute representation.
Stereotypes, with their symbolic meaning and values, find themselves, through time, in a complex relation of continuity and change. It is therefore important to understand at what point in history this stereotype was created and under which circumstances, in order to understand its full meaning as they emerge or appear again after their period of creation in society (Pickering; 2001:xiv-xv, 71).

Categories as cognitive devices, i.e. the way in which our minds organise the world, are not the same as stereotypes. There is a need to understand stereotypes as elements of broad cultural practices and processes, carrying with them definite ideological views and values, which are not necessarily shared by every individual living in the same social world. Stereotyping may operate as a way of imposing a sense of order on the social world we live in, just like categories, but stereotypes deny any flexible thinking with categories, as they are created in the interest of structures of power and used in order to maintain such structures. The inflexibility of stereotypes reinforce the conviction that the existing relations of power are necessary and fixed (Pickering, 2001:3).

Pickering argues that the dilemma of stereotyping is to resort to one-sided representation in the interests of order, security and dominance, or to allow for a more complex vision, a more open attitude, and a more flexible way of thinking. Stereotyping works precisely in order to forget this dilemma (Pickering, 2001:4).
Stereotypes, says Pickering, are usually considered as inaccurate because of the homogeneous way in which they portray groups or categories. Certain forms of behaviour, disposition or propensity are isolated, taken out of context and attributed to every member of a group or category. For those who use these stereotypes, their world order is confirmed and, therefore, their feeling of security or, in some cases, even superiority. The illusion of precision, of order, of the ways things should be is convenient to get a sense of certainty, regularity, and continuity. The gain for the ones who use them is the loss of the others, the ones stereotyped. In this way, stereotypes can be understood as functioning as a form of social control (Pickering, 2001:4-5).

Pickering (2001:5) defines stereotyping as "a process for maintaining and reproducing the norms and conventions of behaviour, identity and value". Stereotyping entails a judgement about difference; which turns out to be an expression of power, even among the relatively powerless, since stereotypes reinforce the established structures of social dominance. Stereotyping makes everything different look as negative, even dangerous. Understanding the historical references of a stereotype helps us understand why they, apparently forgotten, emerge after years with strength, even when used in new social situations and contexts. These processes include those associated with the building of a national identity, the nationalist sense of belonging, responses to other ethnicities and cultures, representations of gender, sexuality, and "race", and with the figure of the stranger (Pickering, 2001:8-9).
If stereotypes are understood as a mechanism of power within societies at a local level, the same can be done at an international level among States. Thus, it can be partly explained why some groups or countries have higher standing or a better reputation than others both at national or international levels. As pointed out previously, it is unavoidable to deal with stereotypes when managing national images, as the individual members of the international community often use them to simplify the world’s complexities. This is because they have no direct experience of the ‘other’ and they learn these stereotypes in society or simply because they reaffirm their ideas and make them feel comfortable and secure.

Stereotypes have so far been defined in terms of power relations and social control, but there is also an important factor in the cultural component, which brings about the notion of opposing cultures. In the next chapter, this cultural concept will be incorporated in the stereotype analysis. It is important to understand that from their classical conception to the extreme use of stereotyping as a social exorcism, they all become more evident when defining individual, societal, and national identities and they all become more acute in times of hostility or military conflict.

This first approach to image and stereotypes will gain meaning as their important role in the creation of national identities is explored in detail, specially as national identities are defined as political ones, placing ‘image’ and ‘stereotype’ in the midst of current power definitions and struggles in the world, as has been the case for hundreds of years.
Chapter 4. Building national identity.

In the preceding chapters, the international and global context in which national image creation gains meaning was explained, and special emphasis was given to diplomatic activities aimed to enhance this preferred national image, as well as to the processes through which image and stereotypes are defined. These elements serve as a foundation to explore the forthcoming subject.

This chapter will focus on national identity, a variation of what Louw (2005:93) considers to be a “conceptual glue” that holds political systems together, i.e. political identity. He contends that identity is a communicative construction, which highlights the importance of communication for political processes. Political identities, especially national identities, are a by-product of liberal democracies, closely related to nation states. Louw argues that the mass media and journalists have always been core in constructing national identities. As the media develop, the communicative environment is altered, and so new kinds of identities emerge. Therefore, the political environment changes.

The Anglo model and national identity

According to Louw’s analysis (2005:95), the Anglo model of building modern societies, states, and economies, relies on how ruling groups construct national identities – a central feature of the model- within such states. During the past two centuries, nation states emerged as the agency for structuring relationships between people in Western societies.
Building national identity

Before analysing this model, it is important to state that this view of the position of the United States in the world is clearly explained from the perspective of an ‘insider’. There might be other explanations and disagreement for this phenomenon, but it is encouraging to read as a means to understand more aspects of the formation of national identity, the main subject of this study.

Castells (1997, cited in Louw, 2005:96) suggests that nation states are an anachronism in the era of globalisation. When nation states are gone, so will be the national identities. Louw (2005:96) believes this statement is somehow premature, since contemporary globalisation is not built upon the destruction of nation states and the current “Pax Americana” relies on a global networking of nation states. Each of these is built upon the Anglo liberal democratic model of governance. The United States, he explains, seems to be trying to impose it as a global model of governance. This model is the Anglo model, although Americans think of this governance and identity model as “pan-human universalism”.

Louw explains that identities are constructed by those powerful in societies, who are involved in policy making, whereas the masses are involved as a hype or a means of reaffirmation of the proposed identity, through the cultural industry and the mass media. Such hype has a lot to do with perception and management. Anderson (1991, cited in Louw, 2005:99) affirms that the “relationship” between citizens identifying with a “nation” is only “imaginary”, since it is actually impossible for an individual
to meet the millions of fellow citizens. The “interaction” between citizens is given via media representations.

Louw (2005:99) explains that national identity has been the form of political identity that has been the core relationship to the Anglo liberal democracy. He states that liberal democracy, the nation state, the mass media, liberal journalism, and national identity were actually intertwined and shared a process of evolution which came to be known as “modernisation”. This concept has somehow become a goal for societies all around the globe and has driven efforts with different levels of success.

Greenfeld (1993, cited in Louw, 2005:99) argues that the first nation was England, as a result of the rise of burgher merchants who destabilised the feudal definitions of political identity. This crisis of identity led to the search of new ways of conceptualising the self, giving way to a political collectivity, a new identity, called “national” in both England and Holland. National identity was strongly developed in England, and soon exported to its colonies. This concept reshaped power relations in Europe by allowing burghers to seize powers from hereditary rulers, fixing sovereignty with “a people” residing in a “country” rather than hereditary groups ruling over specific territories.

Thus, the assertion of nationality led to the people's participation in the political process. The early print media helped to strengthen the concept of the national identity and this consciousness, plus literacy, expanded and became a mass phenomenon in the nineteenth century. The USA,
Greenfeld explains, became the English notion of “national” political participation already made. The ideals that formed this notion were de-contextualised in the USA and new migrants were assimilated to these. Therefore, the “national” political participation became a “universal”. The Anglo intelligentsia popularised this modernist vision as representing “necessary” progress towards a “rational” future. The words “rational” and “modern” fitted the Anglo model of good governance. Americans transformed this Anglo model into a “pan-human universalism”, and from the mid-twentieth century on, successive USA governments have set out to impose this model onto the rest of the world.

Louw (2005:101) comments that in contexts such as the USA and Australia, multiculturalism is opposed to the Anglo-ness of US/Australian “national identity”, but this multicultural discourse is necessary as it is compatible with the needs of the emergent global networking elite working on the rise of globalised capitalism.

Once national identity was achieved, “cultural identity” was constructed within each nation. National identities are created in relationship to organised states with codified languages. Smith (1998, cited in Louw, 2005:102) states that such identities appropriate already existing myths, symbols, and traditions of a particular “core ethnie” and rework their ethno-history and memories into a national formation. Englishness, for example, was constructed out of an Anglo-Saxon core. An ethnie involves identity formation of a group of people, sharing symbols, experiences and interactions in a non-institutionalised way. This concept is better
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expressed by the German word *Volk*, linked by a "way of life" or emotion, creating an in-group solidarity without formal codes. Nations are associated with "mass" identities, whereas "popular" is the word that fits into an ethnie. There are, however, relationships between both concepts.

National identities, Smith argues, can also be a result of a new ethnie or assimilation. A new ethnie can be assembled by the intelligentsia from collectivities of people thrown together by a circumstance such as migration, as the cases of the USA, Australia, Canada, South Africa or Jamaica exemplify. Bureaucratic incorporation can also be a way of nation building. When, due to territorial expansion, assimilation and incorporation are necessary, the core "national" ethnie is forced to widen out. Some examples are the incorporation of the Welsh and the Scots into the (Anglofied) UK; Native Americans and African Americans into the (Anglofied) USA; and Aboriginals into (Anglofied) Australia. Smith (1991, cited in Louw, 2005:103) notes that not all forceful incorporations result in a successful assimilation because some groups resist it, as have, for example, the Irish, Québécois and Afrikaners. Not all bureaucratic incorporations have produced successful nation states. Many African states, after the deconstruction of the British and French empires, were unable to build viable political communities within the inherited boundaries because they lacked core ethnies from which to construct national identities, they had very small middle-classes, lacking intelligentsia to build a national identity and economic entrepreneurs, the population was both illiterate and not fluent in the “national language” and the cultural infrastructures, mainly media and education, were poorly developed, not
allowing Westernised elites to communicatively "reach" their mass populations, being perceived by the latter as "outsiders".

Louw (2005:105) points out the debate between 'perennials' and 'modernists' about national identity. Perennials argue that nations are not constructed but exist in a "natural, organic, and essentialist way". Modernists, on the other hand, propose that nations are communicatively constructed. National identity is considered for perennials as a primordial "naturally existent" entity, i.e. we identify nations because they exist, and we are naturally members of them. Modernists say that they do not exist, but are "invented" as modernist projects where language-based communities are constructed for people to socialise. Literacy and the print media are implicated in this construction. Gellner (1983, cited in Louw, 2005:105) is the main representative of this trend. The postmodernist view, represented by Hall (1996, cited in Louw, 2005:105), sees nations as the outcome of a "process of contextually bound semiosis". We continually construct and reconstruct ourselves as we go along. For postmodernists, the media are key vehicles for the circulation of discourse and representation that individuals use to invent their identities.

The consumption model of identity explores how these are formed as a consequence of media consumption. Adorno and Horkheimer (1979, cited in Louw, 2005:105) represent the modernist version of the model, where "mass culture" was given to a passive audience. The representations consumed confirmed the needs of the mass consumer culture. Lash and Urry (1994, cited in Louw, 2005:106) present the postmodernist version,
where "national identities" would be replaced by a multiplicity of niche identities due to the fact that mass consumer culture was being replaced by niche production, niche marketing, and niche media.

Finally, Anderson (1991, cited in Louw, 2005:106) developed a notion of "imagined communities". He shares the modernist view that nations are constructed, but moves towards postmodernism when supporting the notion of nations as linguistic representations. According to him, communities can be "invented" and "imagined", but that does not mean that they are real experiences and perceptions for those inside them. Thus, although identities can be invented and constructed by intelligentsia, these representations can also become detached from them and gain a self-sustaining popular life of their own.

Louw (2005:108) argues that national identity is not only the result of deliberate nationalistic constructions but of the fact that journalists and teachers circulate –sometimes unconsciously- representations that have become naturalised and taken for granted. The manufacture and dissemination of stereotypes is central to the construction of national identities, especially by the media and cultural industries. Media representations and stereotypes are essential for individuals to create their sense of "self" and construct their relationships to others.

Louw's extensive review helps us to understand how complex the formation of national images can be and –just as in the definition of former terms and phenomena, such as image, stereotypes, and their use-, how
difficult it is for scholars to agree on a single definition of this social, political, economic, and cultural development that leads to the unequivocal identification of a nation, its culture and identity.

It has been pointed out throughout this study that culture is a basic component in the formation of individual images and stereotypes, affecting individual identities in a profound fashion. Needless to say how important culture is at defining identities at societal and national levels, and how much influence it exerts on political activities.

In the following pages it will be explained how culture can become central to defining and justifying political actions at all levels and how the creation of a political identity, namely a national identity, affects individuals in their everyday lives at all levels.

Cultural Ideology

Scollon and Wong Scollon (1995:154-155), through their work on intercultural communication based on Western-Chinese relationships, explain that a balanced cultural description must take into consideration the full complexity of cultural themes. When one of those themes is singled out for emphasis and given a positive or negative value or is treated as a full description, then the whole turns to be ideology rather than a cultural description. The common term for those cultural ideological statements is “stereotyping”.

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Ideological statement or stereotyping arises when it is believed that two cultures or social groups can be treated as if they were polar opposites, building the fallacy of opposing two large cultural groups upon the basis of some single dimension that focuses on simplistic contrasts between cultural groups. Stereotyping also arises when an individual member of a group is focused as having the characteristics attributed to a whole group.

Stereotyping can also be considered as a synonym for overgeneralisation. The difference between them, however, is that a stereotype carries an ideological position. Characteristics of a group are not only overgeneralised to apply to each member of a group, but also taken into an exaggerated negative or positive value, and these values serve as arguments to support social or political relationships with regard to members of those groups.

Stereotyping is also a way of thinking that does not acknowledge internal differences within a group nor exceptions to its general rules or principles. They do limit our understanding of human behaviour and blind us to other equally important aspects of a person’s character or behaviour, as we concentrate on the salient stereotyped one or two dimensions that justify a preferential or discriminatory treatment towards the other groups, who generally hold less political power (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 1995:156).

Scollon and Wong Scollon (1995:157) argue that the solution to the problem of oversimplification or binarism and stereotyping is twofold: comparisons between groups should always consider likenesses and
differences, meaning that they should go beyond the single dimension of contrast, and it must be taken into account that no single individual embodies all of his or her group's characteristics. They argue that everyone belongs simultaneously to multiple groups and that no one is fully defined by membership in any single group.

**Conflict sharpens stereotypes**

Pickering (2001:13) states that stereotypes remain stable for considerable periods of time. They become more pronounced when there are tensions and hostilities among different groups. When there is a social climate of tension and conflict, stereotypes are difficult to modify.

Pickering presents an interesting example to exemplify this idea based on Sir Spencer St. John's memoirs on Hayti (sic) or the Black Republic (1884) at the end of the nineteenth century:

> I know what the black man is, and I have no hesitation in declaring that he is incapable of the art of government, and that to entrust him with framing and working the laws for our islands is to condemn them to inevitable ruin. What the Negro may become after centuries of civilised education I cannot tell, but what I know is that he is not fit to govern now (Rigby, cited in Pickering, 2001:13).

Throughout the period of British slave-trading and slavery, colonialism and empire-building, the economically convenient idea that blacks in Africa or in the African diaspora were not fit to govern themselves was a conclusion following the claim that they were not capable of being responsible: “The moral inferiority of colonised people, of which subjugation was a prime
consequence and penalty, was most clearly demonstrated in their unwillingness to assume roles of responsibility” (Pickering, 2001:13). This stereotype of blacks prevailed, Pickering argues, because of its convenient function of justifying (rationalising) a conduct (or misconduct) in relation to them. This, Pickering argues, brings us directly to the core of colonialist and imperialist discourse.

This example, according to Pickering, demonstrates that it is misleading to say that stereotypes are simple rather than complex. They are simple and complex at the same time and they generally exhibit contrary features. Ideologically, it is their purpose to bind such features together. It also shows how deeply rooted the notion of the “irresponsible” black person has been, how historically extensive it has been in justifying or rationalising black people’s subordination to whites. (Pickering, 2001:14).

Huntington’s Clash of Civilisations

Unlike Pickering’s historical example, Seib (2005:217-218) analyses a current example of stereotypes and conflict that revolves around the idea of Islam, especially after the 9/11 attacks in the United States. The widespread concept of the “clash of civilisations” was coined by Samuel Huntington in 1993 when he stated that such a clash would dominate global politics, as civilisation identities were shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post-war world. After the 9/11 attacks, this concept gained momentum and was made to fit several explanations of the events that occurred in the United States.
In summary, his proposition was that, for the first time in history, global politics were "multipolar" and "multicultural". A new civilisation-based world order is emerging, where the power of the West is on the decline and, therefore, America must affirm its Western identity and unite with other Westerners to face the challenges from other civilisations, especially the conflicting ones, namely the Islamic world and China (Seib, 2005:218).

Seib (2001:219) explains that news coverage has great impact on this. Just as there was, for example, cold war politics, there was cold war journalism. Saddam Hussein was chosen as a villain in isolation during the 1991 Gulf War. Several acts of terror were then covered in isolation, which led to an unseen link in a continuum of terror that became clear after September 11, 2001.

In the same way, Seib (2005:219-220) explains, the concept of the clash of civilisations used by the media to explain events might mislead audiences, since Bin Laden himself does not constitute a "civilisation" clashing with the West. He proclaims to be a defender of Islam, but is acting on an individual basis. These terrorist attacks are not a product of an Islam-versus-West conflict, but they are the result of a civil war in which a radical Islamist faction is attacking the West, as well as other moderate Muslims. If that is understood, Seib believes a better strategy can be created to solve the problem.
Instead of understanding this concept, Seib explains, the media preferred
to adopt and fuel Huntington's theory, as there is a vacuum both in politics
and in the media when failing to clearly state who the enemy is: the 9/11
attacks, the resulting Afghanistan war and the 2003 Iraq war have Islam in
common. This notion gives us the villains and it must mean that the "clash
of civilisations" is underway. Huntington fought against criticism by saying
that "faith and family, blood and belief are what people identify with and
what they will fight and die for, not political ideology or economic interest"
(Seib; 2005:221).

According to Seib (2005:222-224), American audiences are not in a
position to make sensible judgements about civilisation clashes, since
U.S. international news coverage is extremely poor and, therefore, little is
known about the civilisation in question. Seib argues that despite of the
growing interest from the audiences on international affairs, sports,
national, local, and business news dominate the coverage, strengthening
intellectual isolationism and denying the audiences the tools to evaluate
world affairs. At the same time, he argues, it prevents audiences from
understanding hostility, in this case, against the United States, and where
it comes from, as well as whose animosity it is being talked about.

On the Muslim side of the news coverage, Seib affirms that Al-Jazeera
has challenged the West with its Arab view of the world, both with the
television news broadcast as with the web page. Seib (2005:224-229)
notes that the Internet brings cohesion to a wide Muslim community
sharing their views and religion, where "the West" becomes increasingly
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redundant. In cyberspace, hardly controllable by governments or religious leaders, there is a chance of democratising intellectual life. If used as an opportunity of sharing countless sources of information, enhancing our views, the Web could play a key role in preventing clashes among civilisations, by providing information that undermines myths and stereotypes.

Seib (2005:230) criticises Western news coverage regarding Islam as arrogant, since it was treated in the news as “very exotic, backward, and medieval”. A modern and effective Islam was only conceivable as a “carbon copy of the West”. This example brings us back directly to Sir Spencer Saint John’s 19th century description of the black people in Hayti (sic), mentioned in the previous example: a “carbon copy” of ignorance and cultural disqualification.

Huntington’s clash refers not only to the West and Islam. He warned that “Western ideas of individualism, liberalism, constitutionalism, human rights, equality, liberty, the rule of law, democracy, free markets, the separation from the church and the state” had little resonance in the Islamic, Confucian, Japanese, Hindu, Buddhist or Orthodox cultures. He also noted: “Japanese and Korean nationalisms could turn anti-American” (Seib; 2005:231).

Seib’s (2005:232) formula to avoid cultural misunderstandings consists in increasing the volume of news coverage and consistently covering major crises over a longer period of time. He also suggests that geopolitical and
economic considerations, not considered by Huntington, have to be taken by the media into account in order to make appropriate news coverage for the current times. As for Huntington's, Seib affirms the author might be questioned or his conclusions challenged, but his idea triggered a number of sophisticated analyses to understand how the world works.

Following current events, nobody seems to apply Huntington's theories regarding the civilisation disputes regarding China, the fastest-growing economy in the world, since there is no other country attracting so much Western attention and direct foreign investment. At least at present, many Western companies have fixed their medium-term hopes in China, followed by an awesome Western media enthusiasm for the region. Current media coverage regarding China demonstrates that the way in which we describe the others has a direct impact on the amount of information we are willing to receive from them, enabling interest in a country and its culture to arise within our society. Nations continuously strive to become or maintain a place in the international community portraying their preferred national identity, but it is only when the interest from the counterparts has been awakened that the equation can be completed. An open attitude towards the other is the key to mutual understanding. However and unfortunately, in some societies, this attitude is seldom at hand.
Pickering explains that in the last two decades, the concept of the Other has tended to displace the older concept of stereotype. To designate someone or some group or collectivity as Other parallels the process involved in stereotyping in that it is an evaluative form of naming or labelling which defines someone or some cultural grouping in reductive terms. The Other, like stereotyping, is also used as a strategy of symbolic expulsion to control ambivalence and create boundaries. Ludmilla Jordanova (cited in Pickering, 2001:48) defined the process of othering in this way as "the distancing of what is peripheral, marginal, and incidental from a cultural norm, of illicit danger from safe legitimacy". No wonder, then, that it is also considered to be a "mundane exorcistic ritual". The stereotypical Other, Pickering argues, is a denial of history. It works as an obstacle to change and transformation. Stereotyping and the Other are complementary (Pickering, 2001:47-48, 69).

When a social category becomes a stereotype, it somehow becomes a myth itself. It is important to understand how these myths emerged, as both stereotypes and myths are a product of combined repressions of politics and history. Creating stereotypes and myths involves condensing these repressions in particular representational figures that perpetuate social exclusion and economic inequalities. They, in turn, can serve as a way of rationalising bigotry, hostility, and aggression (Pickering, 2001:48).
Identity is in this way dependent on the difference that has been translated in Otherness, a categorisation that maintains the established norm and denies dialogue, interaction, and change. (Pickering, 2001:49-51).

**Primitivism**

According to Pickering, extreme importance must be given to the primary Other, the white racial fantasy of the Primitive, because the particular stereotypical forms of non-European peoples have been based on the generalised construct of the Primitive and because the notion of primitiveness, as understood, is much the product of modernity and modern imperialism. The process of becoming modern profoundly altered the ways in which people in Europe thought about cultural difference. Western societies classified themselves as modern and civilised, relying heavily on the contrast between their sense of advancement and the idea of racially backward and inferior societies. Those who were conceived as "inferior" became an "interior" part of national identity in the West by becoming the Other, i.e. its decivilised counterpart. Primitivism, as it is known, changed the Western view of the world (Pickering, 2001:51).

Although the ideas associated with the construct of the primitive existed centuries ago —"cannibals", barbarism, savagery, debates about the humanity and human rights of non-European peoples—, it was not until the nineteenth century that this thought became a crucial construct, mainly as a result of progressive evolutionism.
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The view of the Primitive was the conceptual opposite of the civilised subject, being nomadic rather than settled into a territorial state, sexually promiscuous by cultural sanction rather than monogamous and grouped in nuclear family units; communal in property relations rather than committed to private property; illogical in mentality and given to magic and superstition rather than being rational and scientific in intellectual orientation.

The "general characteristics of the savages were clear enough" (Main, McLennan, and Morgan, cited in Pickering, 2001:53): they were "dark-skinned and small of stature, unattractive, unclothed and unclean, promiscuous and brutal with their women...". They were also presented as irrational, having "smaller brains", responsible for a narrower understanding of the world.

The underlying assumption was that modern society had evolved from its antithesis, that non-white "primitives" in the contemporary world were "childlike, intuitive, and spontaneous", and that because of this they required control and guidance from Europe if they were not to suffer from their inherent physical violence and sexual drives. (Kuper, 1988 and Goldberg, 1993, cited in Pickering, 2001:53)

The role of social Darwinism

Following the same justifying function of the notion of primitivism, Pickering observes, Social Darwinism stated that a racial "descent of man" existed. This idea of a superiority and triumph of the "favoured races in the struggle for life" was commonplace in arguing and justifying the

Social Darwinism was highly influential in incorporating a static hierarchical model within a dynamic evolutionary system of social development. Western European nations represented the peak of this development in opposition to other "primitive" societies which represented a backward, unchanging, simple form of human existence which the West had long left behind. Primitive peoples were used as a measure of how far advanced European civilisation had developed, as a result of their technology, rational thought and behaviour (Pickering, 2001:54).

The perception of differences encountered in movement across geographical space turned into the conviction of differences imagined across historical time. The primitive lived in the "then" and "there", as opposed to the civilised Western's "now" and "here". The resource of progress, Pickering explains, authorises the transformation of the "different" into the "primitive". If the belief in "progress" disappeared, so would the concept of "primitive". The most important meaning of this construct, he argues, is what "they" explained about "us (Europeans)". (Pickering, 2001:54-56)

Social contamination and social threat

Susan Zickmund (cited in Pickering, 2001:76) identifies two categories within the prevailing constructions of the Other – those of social
contamination and social threat. The ones falling into the first category can be described as "one whose very presence within the nation is sufficient to destroy the social stability and the special values which made the nation strong at its founding". Blacks and homosexuals, for example, have both been positioned in this way as a fundamental danger and cultural disease to a "mainstream" white, heterosexual society.

In the second category, the Other becomes the source of a threatening power to groups with relatively low social status. Instead of regarding international capitalism as the cause of unemployment, job insecurity or high inflation on already impoverished communities, particular ethnic groups are confronted, generating "a mythical narrative that converts social problems into conflicts between distinct and identifiable entities". Both Jewish and various Asian people have been scapegoated and demonised in this way, becoming a "malevolent Thing", serving as focus of hatred in displacing feelings of dissociation and anger over social disadvantages, suffering, and demoralisation. A recent example has been brought up by Samuel Huntington, who in his book *Who are we? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (2004) demonises Mexicans in the United States. In the late twentieth century, he affirms, the substance of the Anglo-Protestant culture was challenged by

"a new wave of immigrants from Latin America and Asia, the popularity in intellectual and political circles of the doctrines of multiculturalism and diversity, the spread of Spanish as the second American language and the Hispanisation trends in American society, the assertion of group identities based on race, ethnicity, and gender, the impact of diasporas and their homeland governments, and the growing commitment of elites to cosmopolitan and transnational identities" (Huntington, 2004:xvi).
He explains that the continuation of high levels of Mexican and Hispanic immigration plus the low rates of assimilation of these immigrants into American society and culture could eventually change America into a country of two languages, two cultures, and two peoples (Huntington, 2004:256). Huntington comments on Lionel Sosa’s expressed idea that “The Americano dream” exists, is realistic, and is there for all to share:

He is wrong. There is no Americano dream. There is only the American dream created by an Anglo-Protestant society. Mexican-Americans will share in that dream and in that society only if they dream in English (Huntington, 2004:256).

Huntington deals with the core question of American identity and argues that the Anglo-Protestant culture has been central to American national identity. The central culture of the United States has been, and still is, the culture of the settlers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the founders of the American society (Santacruz, 2004:30-31).

The central elements of this culture may be defined in different ways, but they include the Christian religion, Protestant values and moralism, a work ethic, the English language and British law, justice, and government traditions, as well as the legacy of European art, literature, philosophy, and music. Based on this culture, the settlers developed the American creed with its principles of liberty, equality, individualism, representative government and private property (Huntington, 2004:40).

The original British settlers, also referred to by Huntington as “native white Americans”, are by no means immigrants, but the founders of the nation.
When they gained independence by the end of the eighteenth century, they were few and homogeneous: mainly white, British and protestant, due to the fact that both the Black and Indian populations were excluded from citizenship.

The American creed is the core of American national identity. However, it must be taken into account that the ‘founding fathers’ were no ‘native white Americans’, as that concept could be regarded as a historical fallacy. The indigenous peoples of the territory were excluded from the beginning and the homogeneous white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant country was artificially maintained, as other peoples – namely native Americans or Indian populations, and the African or Black populations - were not accounted for.

As time went by, other European and non-European immigrants arrived into the United States and assimilated the American culture and the English language. In the last decades, however, millions of Latin American immigrants, mostly Mexican, have maintained their language and cultural heritage, due perhaps to the geographical proximity of their countries of origin. This has caused internal societal tensions in the United States.

It is a fact that the American creed prevails as the national identity guideline in the United States, but the distinct ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the American population make it more difficult for the whole of the American citizenship to fully identify with the American creed. Not all of them are Christian and defend protestant values or moralism and
not all of them relate to the English language, traditions, and cultural legacy. In this sense, although the American creed is still the basis of American national identity, I believe its defining elements are suffering changes that ought to be acknowledged.

Pickering (2001:76-78) explains that becoming this "malevolent Thing", the threat and source of social contamination, is precisely what it means to be Othered, generating an experience of yourself as an object, the object of the view that casts you as an Other. You, as the Other, are forced to see yourself as such because that is the way you have been positioned in the eyes of the others, i.e. those others who form a majority. This representation finally appears to convey a truth, the only and single one there is to tell about you. Pickering (2001:78) summarises as follows:

_You are both silenced and spoken for. You are seen but not recognised. You are identified but denied an identity you can call your own. Your identity is split, broken, dispersed into its abjected images, its alienated representations._ (Pickering, 2001:76-78).

The Otherness is a denial of belonging; it is the merciless sign of not belonging. The Otherness exists beyond, and is confirmed by, the symbolic boundaries associated with the positive modes of belonging. The idea of a nation, and national belonging, is the dominant example of such positive modes of belonging. The sense of national identity and belonging is advanced not only as positive, but also as necessary and right (Pickering, 2001:79).
Belonging and the Nation

Belonging has a wider reference than that of a nation, however strong current nationalisms may be. For Anthony Cohen (cited in Pickering, 2001:79), belonging “is the almost inexpressibly complex experience of culture”. Thus, culture itself is something we belong to, attached to individuals at all times, influencing our interpretation and understanding of the world. Cultural properties constitute an individual’s identity and sense of belonging, however complex this may be. It does so by creating an appearance of similarity among those who more or less share a cultural experience, who seem to belong to it and feel at home within it. Culture becomes thus the experience of belonging (Pickering, 2001:79-80).

According to Cohen, it is a fact that people do not belong to one single and only culture – they shift between various social worlds and modes of cultural understanding. The media play a fundamental role in contributing to people’s sense of themselves and where they belong, being modern societies highly differentiated, large in scale and internally complex in their structure of interdependence. This interrelation of cultural experiences modify the sources of identification and, therefore, change radically the relations of belonging.

In former times, the sense of the “outside world” began around the corner, when small towns were relatively closed to the external world. The immediate locality was home and there was hardly any doubt about the cultural experience and the sense of belonging. Nowadays, however, the
media and modern means of communication have made out of this a minority experience. The “outside world”, through modernity, is coming closer and even into our “inside world”, the place where we belong (Pickering, 2001:81).

This modern view of the world, where one does not belong only to a village anymore, is what Cohen calls cosmopolitanism, where people identify themselves in terms of several cultural inputs and experiences, defined not in terms of nationhood. Through this view of the world and the “outside world” specifically, the cosmopolitan individual judges those who have a very located sense of belonging as narrow-minded and, by contrast, inferior (Pickering, 2001:82). This argumentation clearly parallels that of ‘primitivism’, explained earlier.

Helsby (2005:167) explains that groups and nations can be labelled globally in many ways, although there is a greater chance of being negatively stereotyped the weaker you are. As thoroughly reviewed, opposing views are reinforced in many ways and become embedded in our cultures as ideological truths through several kinds of representation. These representations of a nation, she argues, are deeply problematic because they are unavoidably bound to politics. These representations are found, among others, in the media, where cultural production and behaviour are reflected: history and traditions, body language and sex, food and drink, art and architecture, sports and customs.
National identity: merely another lifestyle choice?

Ramey (2005:169) affirms that it seems ever harder to represent nationality as anything other than a lifestyle choice in a time of high consumerism and apparently redundant essentialist ideologies. He goes on to say that although national identity is one of the most important collective identities that individuals share today, the developments in niche markets, globalisation, political evolution and information technologies such as the internet are eroding such ideas. Personal identity is not simply about national identification anymore. Moreover, a sense of national identity might be increasingly inappropriate for Western industrialised nations, which does not mean it is irrelevant in other areas. National identity, according to him, is in a state of flux. Representations nowadays of a unified nation are not to be trusted, since national identity is not about who we are, but about what we are told to be. The media play a key role here in the dissemination of national identity (Ramey, 2005:170-171).

Nationalism, Pickering argues, has deeply affected how we understand and regard other people in the world, cultures different to our own, by developing a dominant sense of collective association and belonging. This has produced and perpetuated stereotypical representations of the multiple "Others", the "us" and "them" who do not belong within "our" own nation (Pickering, 2001:84).

It is important to clarify that nationalism is not the same as a nation-state. Nationalism can exist without a nation-state, as the history of the Basques,
Kurds, and Jews illustrates, although not without some claim to territoriality. The sense of a nation as territory, as place, is a very strong nationalist value, “so strong that people would be willing to die for it” (Corrigan and Sayer, cited in Pickering, 2001:85).

Corrigan and Sayer explain that this need of belonging can be found in all cultures and societies, which explains the success of imagining this construct of nations as a result from the satisfaction derived from the feeling of belonging. The feeling of togetherness, of belonging to a nation, necessarily takes away strength from the local and regional attachments individuals feel. The feeling of belonging to a greater entity allows people to oversee some problems at a local or regional level in order to strengthen and benefit the national scope. Richard Sennet (cited in Pickering, 2001:87) states that the belief in the autonomy of national identity compensates for the lack of autonomy in people’s lives. The stronger the nation becomes as a source of identity, the weaker the other sources of social identity will be. Nationalism is, then, a diverse, multifaceted phenomenon, and cannot be reduced to a sole dominant factor (Pickering, 2001:86-88).

National identities do not exclude other forms of identity. Benedict Anderson (cited in Pickering, 2001:89) states that what distinguishes particular nations is “the style in which they are imagined”. Each nation is assumed to have a specific identity, and to identify with this means assimilating the style in which it is imagined as a nation.
Building national identity

Pickering (2001:89) summarises:

"National belonging and identity mean that whatever divides a people is held to be less significant than what unites them, their common history and destiny, their common land and language. At the same time, what unites a people is held to be more significant than whatever divides them from others in other nations. National identity is both unifying and divisive. Its power to unify depends reciprocally on its power to divide (...) It creates the illusion that essentially it counts above all else."

He explains that in times of conflict, nationalism operates as the highest ideological value, the nation is seen as a family unit. For example, this strategy helped Margaret Thatcher in 1982 to go to war against Argentina in order to re-establish “national sovereignty” in the Falklands/Malvinas Islands (Pickering, 2001:90).

National identities do not necessarily encourage feelings of superiority over members of other nations, but as they are involved in worshiping themselves, nations contrast themselves with other nations and the “foreigners” who occupy them. Emerson (cited in Pickering, 2001:93) gives the example of the English in the nineteenth century, who defined themselves by knowing who they were not: French. Identity, in this case, derived directly from a negative symbolic reference of France (Pickering, 2001:93).

Nations are in certain ways artificial. Eric Hobsbawm (cited by Pickering, 2001:103) states that many of the traditions supporting the construction of national cultures are “invented” by social and political elites in the process of state formation or state transformation. Symbols and social rituals, like
flags, images, ceremonies and music, national heroes, monuments or annual events remind people of their citizenship and nationhood. Commonplace ideas about nationhood are seen as relatively static and durable, rather than as continually changing and adapting according to social circumstances. Although we live in an ever changing and dynamic world, individuals still think in terms of nations, “our” individual nation as opposed to others, which favours conditions under which stereotypes flourish.

Those different from us, the stereotyped individuals or groups, become a menace to national stability and well-being. Those deservers of exclusion, the “ritualistic social exorcism”, are not to be tolerated, i.e. other nationalities, foreigners and outgroups. So is nationalism connected with racism, for a positively evaluated Western national “us” has been contrasted with the stereotypical attributes of the Other, non-Western peoples, given their distinctive cultures and “racial character” (Pickering, 2001:105-106).

So far, national identity has been explained in terms of its building at societal and international levels, highlighting the important role culture plays in defining, through its influence in politics, the way nations are perceived. This evolution affects specific nations, societal groups and individuals in several ways. The next part of the chapter will emphasise how some groups and individuals in specific situations define or create their images and how these impinge on their daily lives.
Woodward (1997:11) points out that there is a tension between essentialist and non-essentialist perspectives on identity. An essentialist definition of a national identity would suggest that there is one clear, authentic set of characteristics which all members of a nation share and which are not altered across time. A non-essentialist definition would focus on differences, as well as on common or shared characteristics, both within the nation in question as well as between the nation in question and other ethnic groups.

Identity needs to be conceptualised in order to be understood; it must be broken down into its different dimensions. It seems often to involve essentialist claims about belongingness, where identity is seen as fixed and unchanging. These claims are sometimes based on “race” and ethnicity, but sometimes, in essentialist versions of the “unchanging and true” history. Huntington’s Who are we?, discussed earlier, is a good example of this essentialist view. This claim denies the development and evolution within modern multicultural societies. Identity, Woodward explains, is established by symbolic marking in relation to others, such as a uniform, a national flag or the products we use.

Symbolic marking refers to the process in which a group is socially and materially defined, and through this marking, identity is maintained. If a group is seen as an enemy or a taboo, the real effects on the group will be social exclusion and material disadvantage. Classificatory systems are
also important, says Woodward, as it is important to understand how social relations are organised and divided, i.e. how the notions “us” and “them” are created. In this process, some differences are marked, but some might be obscured, for example, a race component can be marked, but class and gender differences may be omitted.

There are always differences, mismatches and contradictions within the groups, being identity—as indicated earlier—not just one, but several. It is also important to mention the psychic level, which explains why people take up positions and identify with them (Woodward, 1997:12).

Defining identity in the globalised world

A recent example of nationalist identity and the new world order is the one given to us by Kath Woodward (2002) about the United States after 11 September 2001. After the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., the most alarming fact in the United States was that there was no concrete enemy to identify: no nation, no boundaries, no flags. Who could the US government declare war on? Uncertainty prevailed, but actions had to be taken immediately.

President George W. Bush declared the war on “terrorism”. As we know, stereotypes and identities relate to a counterpart, being in this case the concept of “freedom” instead of the United States, the country. Instead of declaring war to a clearly delimited nation, the United States adopted the formula of an abstract noun, i.e. “freedom” vs. “terrorism”. In this case, “us”
Building national identity is the USA, the American people. The sameness of the people also has to embrace difference, as people of “every faith and background” where required from the President to show their loyalty to the flag and citizenship. Identity, in this sense, had to accommodate and manage difference (Woodward, 2002:vii-x, xii).

This example points out the importance of understanding the social context in which identities are constructed. According to Woodward, identity matters, to a greater or lesser extent, depend on time and place and on specific historical, social, and material circumstances. In times of threat or crisis, identities are being challenged because the sense of stability and security within the group fades away. It is in times of threat that people need greater certainty, which can be afforded through essentialist claims, to tradition, to the past, to a shared history and to what is essentially unchanging. It is through the concept of identity that the personal and the social are connected (Woodward, 2002:xi-xii).

In these times, identities are at stake in the conflicts that feature at global, local, and personal levels. Even though sameness and difference or any other dualist perspective is needed in order to define identities, these dualisms have to be broadened in order to incorporate the interrelationships and connections that elaborate on that black and white conception into the realms of grey, with all hybrid and multiple layers. The concept of home is of capital importance when dealing with the identity of the moving peoples. Home is the place where we belong, an important aspect of identity. While dealing with migration, home can turn out to be an
idealised, romantic or imagined place, where this concept becomes more important than the place itself. This is especially true while maintaining an identity in exile. It is argued that in the phenomenon of globalisation, the concept of home unites the past, the present, and the hopes for the future in an imaginary construction that tells us more about people’s hopes and desires than about any actual experience or history (Woodward, 2002:72, 161-162).

Rooting, Routing, and Minorities

Regarding identities in exile, Woodward further explains that “rooting” and “routing” are also interesting concepts while defining identity. Roots establish where we come from as a result of investigation and establishment of sources and myths of origin. Roots seek a starting point to the narrative of the self. Routes, on the other hand, recount the whole story, taking into account what an individual or a group have experienced and what influences they have had in order to assimilate several identities. Routing identifies pivotal moments in the journey individuals have travelled in a world characterised by global migration and transnationalism that map the self, especially while defining identities in exile. Routes highlight the role of hybridity into defining an identity. An excess of fluidity and movement may leave people with no meaningful ways of placing themselves (Woodward, 2002:156-157, 163).

James Curran and Tamar Liebes (1998) analyse the intellectual legacy of Elihu Katz, one of the founders of mass communication research and
founding Director General of Israel Television. In their academic work, they concentrate on cultural identities and discuss the example of the Jewish nation, which was able to survive for 2,000 years without a country of their own. Katz explained that it was possible because the Bible became the substitute for a homeland in that it provided a language, a common collective memory, a shared cultural framework and weekly ritual meetings for folk history to be read aloud and listened to. It was also the key for the feeling of collectiveness and national identity in the dispersed Jewish communities and for the connection of the present with the generations of the past (Curran & Liebes; 1998:7-8).

Larry Gross (1998:88-89) explains the role of the mass media in shaping mainstream values and stereotypes. He argues that media images today play a fundamental role in determining the way society perceives itself and the others. He states that most of the images encountered in the media reflect the experiences and interests of the majority groups in society, what he calls large common denominator audiences, important, above all, for advertising purposes.

A great diversity of media images portrays majorities and minorities. Minorities are understood as those groups who deviate from the mainstream, i.e. a white, male, heterosexual, and in most Western societies, Christian. As a result, women, ethnically and racially different people, lesbian women and gay men fall into the problem of being invisible in the media, on the one hand, and of suffering demeaning stereotypes, on the other.
Gross further analyses the scope of damage and threats that media pose to minorities. At the dawn of the television era in the fifties and sixties, African-Americans and Asian-Americans would be so seldom portrayed in the media that their only appearance would become news within their communities. Back then, these groups were willing to see a lot more of themselves in the media.

Unlike these racial groups, Gross explains that lesbian and gay people do suffer from a different kind of invisibility or stereotype in the mainstream media. This is due to the fact that sexual and political minorities constitute a threat to the "natural" sexual or political order of things, and these minorities are not recognised at birth but emerge as people grow up and develop their sexual or political tendencies. Political and sexual minorities are, therefore, portrayed in a controversial fashion in the media and are among the least permitted to speak for themselves in public life.

The condition of isolation and invisibility of the political and sexual minorities makes them vulnerable to media stereotyping and political attacks and bigotry, seldom seen in other kinds of minorities. The presentation of healthy, non-stereotyped lesbians and gays in the media undermines the unquestioned normalcy of the status quo (Gross, 1998:90-92).

This analysis emphasises the need to understand how social groups are represented in the media, as it is from this received knowledge that the
members of the majority and even the members of the minorities represented understand those groups themselves. The majority will always receive messages according to their interests and minorities will always have to be "bilingual" in this sense, namely to digest the mainstream images and to develop a second reading that can be adapted to their own reality and circumstances. Most important of all is to ensure the presence of minorities in the mainstream media and not only that, but to work to get those messages made also from minority members (Gross, 1998:92-99).

Identity creation according to particularistic media

Dayan (1998:104) explains that mass communication has always played a central role in debates about globalisation. The image of a dominating centre expanding to a dominated periphery is being abandoned, as transnational flows are much less homogenising as recently believed. The local is no longer the end of the road, as it has become cosmopolitan in its own way. This cosmopolitanism is reflected in different forms. Diasporas of migrant workers develop their own reference to the host cultures, to the traditions of their respective groups, to the reconstruction of such traditions by their elites. These elites are no longer relayed to the global and the masses are no longer confined to the local. Both elites and masses are in motion, as tourists, television watchers, or Gastarbeiter (guest workers).

The context of globalisation leads us to the particularistic movements, which aim to reconstruct endangered identities. Identity processes in the
twentieth century were characterised by a powerful return of nationalist themes and the hasty emergence of new nations. Many of these new nations were based on ethnicity issues, which gave particularist politics a bad reputation, as the maintenance of diversity may lose against the face of homogeneisation and involve a rejection to universalism (Dayan, 1998:104-105).

Particularistic media complement the role of the institutions in charge of the custody and transmission of filiation and memory, such as universities, museums, and schools. These media appear in those cases where a lot more than the mere maintenance of the identity is needed and where the corresponding institutions are normally scarce or missing. This particularistic media emerge as opposed to the majority media, whose messages do not convey the independent and autonomous contents these minorities need. This phenomenon leads to the second problem of choosing among proposed identities, as there are always different versions of the identity of the same group. Particularistic media will have a definitive influence in that minority group’s construction of identity.

Once this problem is solved, an analysis of identity adoption must be taken into the next level, that of moving from the public sphere into the private sphere, i.e. to analyse the way in which identities created through particularistic media can influence personal decision-making that might take historical dimensions. Such is the case, for example, of minorities that melt, enlarge and enrich majority identities or of those migrating individuals, creating diasporas or dispersed groups.
Particularistic media become relevant when their existence becomes an instrument of survival for endangered cultures as their presence ensures maintaining a link within geographically dispersed groups. Generally united in small communities in the countries they live in, such groups do not share a common space and they are exposed to an enormous amount of potential identities. In order to survive, these groups refer to a "national" centre, which is not always political but a myth in the collective memory of the group. Some examples are the Jewish, Armenian, Palestinian and Kurdish diasporas, as well as Iranian exile groups in the US; North African migrant communities in Europe; Pakistan and Indian communities in Britain, among others (Dayan, 1998:106-107).

The range of interdiasporic media is not only limited to the amount of majority media that can be digested or the particularistic media devoted to it. It goes far beyond the contents of radio, cinema, television and journalism, deep into the production and distribution of smaller "home-made media", whose distribution is in charge of various practices from the members of the community, institutions and organisations of all sort. Among these so-called “neo-traditional" media, we encounter the production and circulation of newsletters; of audio and videocassettes; of holy icons; the exchange of letters, photographs, telephone calls and travellers, especially “family tourism”; the constitution of religious communities or cultural associations, and the creation of interdiasporic networks by religious or political organisations with specific agendas. All the media interact with each other, strengthening the bonds among the
members of the minority in question. Their diversity is matched by that of their audiences (Dayan, 1998:108-109).

The effect of the actions of particularising media might also have different consequences to the ones expected. Dahlgren (cited in Dayan, 1998:109) calls these minority worlds “micro public spheres” and warns from the danger of sooner or later having these smaller spheres infiltrated by the values and procedural models that prevail in the large one, leading to a free argumentation and open debate that, in turn, might affect the internal organisation of the community. He argues that far from exclusively protecting traditional lifestyles, the construction of exile cultures is an instrument of acculturation to the host society (Dayan, 1998:110).

Benedict Anderson (cited in Dayan, 1998:110) states that national communities are not only “imagined communities” but also communities that often started as audiences. Diasporas are “imagined communities” par excellence and they can be imagined in many, sometimes conflicting, ways. Their maintenance involves a constant activity of reinvention. Schudson (cited in Dayan, 1998:111) complements these statements by saying that in order to fully understand the reception or “resonance” to such proposed identities, the reception in the private realm must be studied and taken into account. Appadurai (cited in Dayan, 1998:112) adds that these communities are problematic, since their borders are unstable and their territories are uncertain. In the context of globalisation, diasporic groups are not unfrequent or exceptional. That makes it every time more difficult to concentrate cultural identity studies in small, stable
societies with precise borders. Societies are now characterised by an ever
greater heterogeneity, their connection to world economies and by the
exportation of their members. The media play a fundamental role at linking
dispersed groups to their centres and connecting presents to pasts.

Positive stereotyping, solidarity fallacy and lumping fallacy

Any form of stereotyping is an obstruction to successful intercultural
communication, as it blinds us to the real differences that exist between
individuals and groups. The most obstructive form is negative
stereotyping. Scollon and Wong Scollon (1995:158-161) explain that no
two groups are exactly identical or polar opposites. They introduce the
concept of the “positive stereotyping”, when groups are considered
identical as a result of a false perception derived from combining one’s
own group and another through a single, binary dimension of analysis.
This misperception is called “solidarity fallacy”.

The perception that American women and Chinese men and women share
the dimension of information and relationship is a clear example of this
sort of fallacy. According to a study, American and European men tend to
emphasise information over relationship (report) and women relationship
over information (rapport). Chinese tend to be concerned that good
relationships are maintained, even if it means that less information may be
exchanged, whereas Americans and Europeans in general will tend to
emphasise the exchange of information, even if it means that a
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relationship cannot be easily maintained. According to this single dimension, it would be easy to create the impression that American and European women and the Chinese in general would perfectly understand each other. That is the "solidarity fallacy". But if we add another important dimension, namely that American and European women generally emphasise egalitarian relationships within society, and the Chinese have clear hierarchical relationships, then the understanding fallacy is gone.

When the person making the false grouping does so in reference to two other groups, that is called "lumping fallacy". An example for this would be when Westerners consider that all Asians are members of the same group, without considering the major differences among them. The same happens when all Latin Americans are put into a same case, ignoring the fact that, for example, a flight from Mexico to Argentina lasts around nine hours. Within such geographical dimensions, it is easy to imagine how many differences among all those peoples and countries exist. Cultures tend to be very large groupings with many internal sub-groupings. Scollon & Wong Scollon argue that there is hardly any dimension on which you could compare cultures and point out that they are clearly and unambiguously distinguished from each other (Scollon & Wong Scollon, 1995:161).

Theory and methods of defining identity overlap and interconnect. There has been a need to define an image, a stereotype, the other, a national identity, and an individual or group identity in these changing times. Scholars are aware of the difficulty of their task and the complexity of
incorporating all the variables that influence people and societies while defining their identity in, sometimes, even a completely opposite fashion. They have, however, enlisted a series of elements that help us understand these phenomena and deal with them and their consequences while studying individuals and societies from the political, economic, and cultural perspectives.

This chapter has tried to highlight the importance that individuals give to the notion of identity because it gives them a feeling and sense of belonging. A globalised world has modified the easily structured sense of belonging defined in a very clearly limited geographical space. Technological developments have made individuals able to grasp and integrate new elements of ‘foreign’ or distant worlds into their own or has allowed individuals who migrated to other areas of the world to keep that sense of belonging through national identity, even if they are far away from home.

National identities are political and, as such, define the positions of power both within specific societies and within the international community. Those who do not belong to the mainstream, namely the ‘Other’ or the outcasts, represent a threat to the stability and values of the majority and must fight for the survival of their own identity in a hostile world. Another important idea is that of the role of culture in this process, since language and the cultural legacy can become a main factor in defining how society works, and may also sometimes become the excuse for justifying the rejection or abuse towards minority groups within it.
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The only certainty is that a national identity cannot be easily defined. The multiple approaches and layers of symbolic representations and meaning for individuals make the task of building national identity easier to understand, on the one hand, and more difficult to manage, on the other. Undoubtedly, the media have historically played a role in the creation of national identities, which could even be considered as pivotal in some societies. The following chapters shall deal with their activities and their messages in more detail, as dissemination techniques and, above all, the content of those messages —where it is pursued to change, manipulate, influence, manage, or 'spin' images drastically—, have become a controversial matter of study: propaganda.
Chapter 5. Defining propaganda.

It has been contended in the previous chapters that the media have a key role to play at forging political and national identities. It has also been highlighted that the use of stereotypes and overgeneralisation during the "Othering" process reaches its peak during times of conflict.

Messages are, thus, of prime importance to convey specific ideas to audiences. Contents, i.e. the ideas that structure them, are the reason for the media to exist. Throughout this chapter we shall be able to grasp why a political purpose raises distrust and controversy as contents in the media are manipulated through a process called propaganda.

In its most neutral sense, propaganda means to disseminate or to promote particular ideas. In Latin, it means "to propagate" or "to sow". However, there have been several attempts to deepen this definition in order to explain this process more accurately. Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:6) define it as follows:

Propaganda is the deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.

Jowett and O'Donnell explain their definition further: the word "deliberate" means that all possibilities have been carefully considered, while "systematic" means that something is being carried out with organised
regularity in a precise and methodical fashion. An “attempt” is aimed at a specific audience with an *a priori* objective in mind, be it of a perceptual, cognitive, or behavioural nature, or all three at the same time.

Language and images are tools to shape perceptions, which can come in the form of slogans, posters, symbols, and even architectural structures, especially evident during wartime. Perception is understood as the process of extracting information from the world that surrounds us, as well as from within ourselves. Every person perceives things differently, according to his or her own values, roles, group norms, and self-image (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:6).

According to Jowett and O'Donnell, cognitions, i.e. knowledge, perception or awareness, may be manipulated through a person's beliefs, which are formed through his or her trust in his or her own senses. An attitude is a cognitive or affective reaction to an idea or object, based on a person's perception. This is important due to the fact that once a belief or an attitude is formed, a person's perceptions are influenced by it. This process is rather complex, since it happens in a close relation to cultural and personal values and emotions. The direction of a specific behaviour is the intent of a propaganda effort. There are so many factors determining the formation of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours, that the propagandist has to gather a great deal of information about the intended audience before trying to exert influence on it (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:8-9).
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Achieving a response, i.e., obtaining a specific reaction or action from an audience "that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" is the key element to what propaganda is all about. When the propagandist obtains the desired response from the audience, it is only the propagandist, and not the members of the audience, who enjoys the benefits of this response. Jowett and O'Donnell argue that it is obvious that the members of the audience suppose the propagandist struggles for their same interests or cares about them. Otherwise they would not react in that manner. This judgement of whether the propagandist's motives are positive or negative will clearly depend on what ideology the members of the audience support (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:9).

Richard Taylor (1998:7) affirms that the term 'propaganda' has been devalued in its usage for several reasons. It is nowadays full of pejorative connotations, becoming basically 'what the enemy engages in'. He states that one's own "propaganda" would be conceptualised as "information" or "publicity". In those terms, having these three words as synonyms, the concept is not useful for any kind of study. However, Taylor explains that they can help us to understand the term "propaganda" and its use if we distinguish them and give each a particular character.

Is 'everything' propaganda?

Driencourt (as cited in Taylor, 1998:7) asserted that "everything is propaganda". Taylor notes that this short definition, as well as many others that have tried to encapsulate the term in a single sentence, have failed to
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explain the distinctive and distinguishing features of the concept. He goes on to explain that

‘Propaganda’ is concerned with the transmission of ideas and/or values from one person, or group of persons, to another. Where ‘propagation’ is the action, there ‘propaganda’ is the activity (Taylor, R., 1998:7).

Taylor examines the various stages in the process of transmission more closely and wonders how important the purpose or sense of purpose of the propagandist is to the definition of “propaganda”. Doob (as cited in Taylor, R., 1998:8) regards this question of purpose as irrelevant to the definition of ‘propaganda’; for him the decisive factor is the use of suggestion, i.e. the calling up of one idea by another because they are connected or associated in some way:

„If individuals are controlled through the use of suggestion... then the process may be called propaganda, regardless of whether or not the propagandist intends to exercise the control. On the other hand, if individuals are affected in such a way that the same result would be obtained with or without the aid of suggestion, then this process may be called education, regardless of the intention of the educator“ (Doob, cited in Taylor, R., 1998:7-8).

Taylor argues that Doob’s definition fails to explicitly mention a degree of deliberation when using the word ‘suggestion’, as it otherwise might be that the propagandist suggests something he had not intended to from the beginning (Taylor, R., 1998:8).
According to Taylor, Mackenzie’s definition (as cited in Taylor, 1998:8), which follows, does not emphasise its distinctive political function in society:

‘Propaganda is an attempt, either unconsciously or as part of a systematic campaign by an individual or group holding certain beliefs or desired ends, to influence others to adopt identical attitudes’.

Such an attempt, Taylor (1998:8) explains, must be both conscious and deliberate because it has got a purpose. Without a purpose, ‘propaganda’ has no reason of existence. It has no aim and no direction, and without direction it cannot fulfil a political function that separates it from other social and political activities.

Propaganda has a purpose

Taylor emphasises that there is no possibility that ‘propaganda’ can be either unintentional or accidental since, being a purpose established, a link between the propagandist and his ‘audience’ has also been established. There is a connection between the activity of the propagandist and his intended result, regardless of the successful or failed outcome of the propagandist’s activity. That connection becomes an essential feature of ‘propaganda’, a prerequisite for the transmission of ideas and values. Should this connection be missing, the activity cannot be described as “propaganda” (Taylor, R., 1998:8).
The propagandist’s purpose is a key element to this whole communication activity. Whether this purpose should be concealed is implicit in some writings. Lumley (cited in Taylor, R., 1998:10) deals with it very explicitly:

‘Propaganda is promotion which is veiled in one way or another as to (1) its origin or sources, (2) the interests involved, (3) the methods employed, (4) the content spread, and (5) the results accruing to the victims - any one, any two, any three, any four, or all five’.

In connection to this statement, Albig (cited in Taylor, 1998:10) maintains that advertising cannot be classified as ‘propaganda’ because its sources are revealed. It is undoubtedly true that there are many situations in which ‘propaganda’ is more effective if its origins are concealed, especially in times of conflict. Goebbels (cited in Taylor, 1998:10) remarked: ‘Propaganda becomes ineffective the moment we are aware of it” (Taylor, R., 1998:10).

It is important to mention that the success or failure of ‘propaganda’ is not relevant in order to define it. The purpose, contents and techniques are. However, an accurate measurement of its effects is practically impossible. Taylor (1998:11) argues that, due to countless reasons and imponderables, it is notoriously difficult to measure the effects of ‘propaganda’ with any degree of scientific accuracy, just as it is difficult to measure public opinion and a shift in opinion with any consistent degree of accuracy on relatively clear-cut issues. However, Taylor agrees that an effect, just as a desired effect (i.e. purpose) may have to be assumed, with all the necessary reservations, in order to carry on with the argumentation.
The essential element of ‘propaganda’ is the manipulation of either significant symbols or emotions. That implies the use of methods that are in some way subversive of man’s powers of reason. It is very difficult to make a distinction between ‘propaganda’ and publicity or information, even if it is stated that ‘propaganda’ plays upon the emotions, while publicity or information appeal to a person’s reason. A clear-cut conclusion, Taylor (1998:12) observes, is also difficult in this regard.

Propaganda and education

A debate also exists as to whether education is a form of propaganda. Brown (cited in Taylor, 1998:12) remarks that ‘education’ teaches people how to think, while ‘propaganda’ teaches them what to think. Taylor (1998:12) complements this idea saying that this distinction might also be adapted between information and ‘propaganda’. Information offers people opportunities, while ‘propaganda’ tells them how to use those opportunities. It is also important to point out that ‘propaganda’ offers a narrowing tendency, whereas education and/or information offer a broader perspective.

Education inevitably transmits the values of its own society. The significant and vital difference between education and propaganda lies in the fact that education is concerned with opening minds, while ‘propaganda’ is concerned with closing them: it is expected that the audience will question the values emanated from the schooling systems, whereas in a
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'propaganda' effort the audience will be expected to accept those values and act upon them (Taylor, R., 1998:13).

Controversy and lies

Lasswell (as cited in Taylor, R., 1998:13) stated the direct opposite in this regard: "The spread of controversial attitudes is propaganda, the spread of accepted attitudes and skills is education". Taylor (1998:13) comments that successful propaganda is that which appears as uncontroversial as possible, although controversy might also be used under specific circumstances. He goes on to explain that controversy and lies do not belong to the definition of the term 'propaganda'. Contrary to a broadened thought, 'propaganda' does not necessarily have to be built upon lies. During the Second World War, both sides recognised that the most effective 'propaganda' is the truth, for in the long run the use of the truth will enable the 'propagandist' to gain the trust of his audience.

Propaganda is a public activity

How is such public activity defined? The nature of the political public is changing. Whereas propaganda in the Middle Ages was aimed at influencing an elite, the masses were targeted during the twentieth century. Qualter (cited in Taylor, R., 1998:14) defined 'propaganda' as

...the deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control, or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of the instruments of communication, with the intention that in any given
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situation the reaction of those so influenced will be that desired by
the propagandist'.

Taylor notes that this definition excludes many of the media of propaganda,
namely architecture, coinage and postal stamps, as well as the practice of
commemorating people and events through naming places after them or
using significant symbols, flags or badges. People identify and relate to
these, although they can hardly be defined as what Qualter calls
"instruments of communication".

Notwithstanding, Taylor (1998:14) explains, this argument raises a
fundamental point: 'propaganda' is an essentially public activity, directed at
exerting an effect on public opinion or, more correctly, on the public
opinions of individuals. Opinions, public or private, only call the attention of
the 'propagandist' if they impinge upon public matters that affect the

Taylor (1998:15) gives his own definition of 'propaganda' as follows:

*Propaganda is the attempt to influence the public opinions of an
audience through the transmission of ideas and values.*

He further explains that the use of the word 'attempt' implies both that the
purpose of the activity *is* important and that the result is *not*. The verb
'influence' is more appropriate in this case as opposed to 'control',
'persuade' or 'change'. Propaganda can both confirm existing inclinations
and 'convert' to the ones desired by the propagandist. It also aims to
influence the 'public opinions (and attitudes) of an audience' towards
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matters of public interest that may be of interest in one context but not in another, being directed at a particular "audience", which is manipulated for its own purposes through the direct or indirect ‘transmission of ideas and values’, distinguishing itself from more overt pressures, such as financial reward, or the threat or use of violence (Taylor, R., 1998:15).

History of propaganda

Propaganda, it has been pointed out, is an important element for the formation of political identities. Its history has always been linked to powerful groups in society. However, the meaning of 'propaganda' has changed completely through the years. Mander (1998:ix) explains that it originally had a religious connotation, as it referred to the activities of a papal body established in 1622, entrusted to promote adherence to the Counter Reformation papacy: Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:1). The term “propaganda” was used in the 17th century to denote this committee of Catholic cardinals appointed by Gregory XV to oversee foreign missions. This happened as a response to the challenge of a new communication environment, print culture, and its offspring, the Protestant Reformation. It denoted the process of conversion, of leaving one set of values behind and embracing a new one.

By the end of the 18th century propaganda was used as a term of discredit applied to secret organisations engaging in movements to influence the development of political affairs. It did not refer to the forms of propaganda currently known until the 20th century, e.g. films or posters (Mander,
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1998.ix). Nowadays, propaganda is referred to as a negative activity, as many individuals assume it is composed of lies and deceit, converting propagandists into corrupt manipulators. This image is largely derived from the German and Russian totalitarian excesses, namely the activities of the Gestapo, Stasi, and KGB, as well as to its close links to advertising. It is not surprising, therefore, that practitioners of propaganda prefer to be labelled as ‘image consultants’, ‘public relations officers’, or ‘spin doctors’ (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:1-2).

Rhetoric

Taithe and Thornton affirm that Western culture and literature rest completely on the art of oral and written communication. The art of pleading and convincing has a long tradition that has played a vital role in all forms of politics and the public life from the ancient world to the modern age. The ancient name of that art is called rhetoric, also negatively defined as “the faculty of discovering in a particular case what the available means of persuasion are” (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:2).

Taithe and Thornton (1999:3) explain:

Rhetoric’s real purpose is to convince and persuade in order to end disputes or dissent through a reasoned argument in which language will matter as much as ideas.
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Rhetoric vs. Propaganda

Mander (1998:x) explains that there is a difference between rhetorical inducement and propaganda, since the former seeks voluntary compliance and the latter does not. Rhetoric involves mutual dependencies and has an interactive aspect to it, whereas propaganda seeks to further the interests of one party to the disadvantage of others.

Taithe and Thornton explain that the study of propaganda and the continuous shaping of the term in Western Europe from the late Middle Ages show how political nations' judgment of the manner in which political messages were communicated changed. The means of communication and persuasion used in Western European political societies, along with a growing literacy and a wider involvement of the population, revolutionised the need to transmit ideas and information (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:3-4).

The role of religion

The origins of the term propaganda imply that it was essentially related to religion until the eighteenth century, although Taithe & Thornton (1999:4) assure that this could be the case in some countries even today. The institution of the Church had achieved this major control on the communication of ideas during the Middle Ages basically due to its control of writing, its control of the art of rhetoric through its universities, and its control of ideology by identifying and attacking heresy. By contrast, the royal state was slow to create mechanisms that would deal with ideas.
The knowledge of the otherness was brought about by Michael de Certeau (cited in Taithe & Thornton, 1999:5). This notion played an important role in the development of propaganda, due to the fact that in the Middle Ages the other was the alien. Representations of the confrontation between Christians and non-Christians, which included Muslims, Baltic Pagans, and, more indirectly, Hindus, Buddhists and Confucians, pictured the other as being external to society and even humankind in the metaphorical cosmology that located Christians between heaven and hell. Even heretics at home could be placed in this scheme.

According to Taithe and Thornton, during the time of state formation in Europe, where the emergence of religious difference was highlighted, rhetoric found an important place within discussions and debates taking place within the boundaries of the accepted knowledge of the time that promoted action from the state to defend its behaviour in its own legal and judicial undertakings. This pivotal role structured all university teaching and the public sphere as a whole began to fragment leading to a major change: rhetoric’s original purpose of uniting dissenting parties was changed in order to give a formal structure to the expression of dissent and radical division (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:5).

Technological advances bring about change

These structural changes in the style and meaning of rhetoric were accompanied by important technological changes of the printed media that
allowed the exploration of new forms of discourse that could be construed as propaganda. Printed matter could prolong open debates at the time of conveying propaganda meanings through specific print types or pictorial forms. The early-modern state could hardly control printed matter, as from the fifteenth century onwards, presses printed a lot more and in several languages (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:6).

It has long been assumed that literacy and printed debate reflect a healthy society. Taithe and Thornton argue that this assumption served for a long time to demonstrate the intellectual superiority of Northern Europe over the less literate and less “free” Catholic, “obscurantist” environments. It was here where the notions of “high” and “low” cultures stemmed from, already discussed in the previous chapter. This was a major propaganda view which implied projection and transfer of ideas and attitudes (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:6).

The development of printing had a very important role in expanding the political nation in its widest definition, due to the fact that the press allowed politicians to make contacts beyond their immediate communities. However, the elites of the state were reluctant to approach the press as a propaganda tool, as they were concerned about the dangers that the press carried along with it. A huge number of clandestine publications emerged after the ecclesiastical authorities tried to censor and control the press and, instead, the Church took advantage of it and promoted its interests through it. Civil authorities were left far behind in this regard, although ministers
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were aware of the need to use print to influence attitudes (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:7).

Taithe and Thornton point out that at this stage, state-sponsored history developed as a branch of rhetoric, as propaganda sponsored by and dedicated to a state, a patron, a monarch or a government. Events and news were invented and such chronologies were later on compiled in annals, compendiums, and almanacs. Governments and elites in Western Europe adapted to a massive growth in the print media in the seventeenth century, encouraged by the political conditions and low printing prices. Except through abrupt censorship or closure, they were not able to control or influence these media (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:8).

Commercialisation of the print media

The nineteenth century experienced a fragmentation of the public sphere due to commercial interests, and politics based on slogans and advertising ended with the idealistic view of a healthy public sphere in capitalist democracies. A vast print circulation of the 18th and 19th centuries began to support the development of propaganda on behalf of capitalism. The enterprises announced their existence through newspaper advertising, promotional cards and items, promotional displays, posters and billboards and they managed the perception of their products or services in an ever increasingly sophisticated fashion afterwards (Taithe & Thorton, 1999:9).
By the end of the 19th century, Taithe and Thornton (1999:11) explain that the state was considered a large and amorphous entity, where propaganda could be considered as the very substance of the state, for only a superficially externally oriented communication articulated the bonds that held the elites together. The way citizens approached state propaganda -by subscribing, obeying, opposing or passively resisting or not-, was a demonstration of the quality of the propagandist message and of the vitality of values of citizenship (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:11-12).

The French Revolution vs. the religious world

The French Revolution greatly challenged the evolution of rhetoric, as it reverted to republican themes and classical style and language to find the purest expression of universal values. The rhetoric and its dogmatic ordering of the universe openly clashed with two thousand years of Christianity and opposed religion in most organised forms, replacing it with vague philosophical theism. From 1789 onwards, the religious content of propaganda was replaced with radically opposing ideological views, creating tension between utopian social unity and ideas based around equality, liberty and fraternity on the one hand, and the fragmentation of politics and even propaganda on the other (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:12).

Taithe and Thornton (1999:13) signal the end of the evolution of rhetoric when history and literature, accompanied by literary criticism appeared in universities and on the printing market in the nineteenth century. It was then that rhetoric acquired most of its current negative connotations, as
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history tried to acquire a tone of neutrality and objectivity by resorting to physical sciences and literature fell into the hands of the market, being liberated from political influences. However, propaganda continued carrying on with its mission through history and literature, which went on with their national and identity-strengthening missions independently from the state. International history and various edited texts, through selection and interpretation, vindicated the state’s role in the past. This propaganda used university staff to create historical proofs of the state’s legitimacy.

The rhetorical forms and techniques of propaganda acted as an inclusive force, as oppositional groups and individuals outside the status quo, who aimed to convey their messages, never departed from a debate anchored firmly within the terms of hegemonies they sought to challenge. All these forms of propaganda directed individuals to what can be described as an absolute system (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:14).

Totalitarianism takes the expression of ideals taken to their extreme development of unity and has made great use of propaganda to erase the right to differ and revert to idealised views of the past and organic metaphors of unity. In totalitarianism, propaganda permeates every organisation, club or authorised social activity in such a way that it turns each citizen into both a recipient and a disseminator of propaganda (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:14).
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World Wars and propaganda

The 20th century witnessed an unprecedented and exponential propaganda growth. Mander (1998:x) explains this was due to a) the enormous amount of resources devoted to producing propaganda during the years of the two world wars; b) an institutionalisation of propaganda at the same time that the managerial class and the new information order arose, immediately after World War II - the setting for the invention, development and commercialisation of the computer -, and c) the great amount of energy and resources devoted to studying the propaganda phenomenon that led to a rising importance of the study of attitude formation and change.

The First World War witnessed an expansion in state intervention in communication affairs. It emerged in new forms of censorship and propaganda used to recruit, to undermine the enemy or even to struggle against diseases and was characterised by introducing the use of cinema, press, cartoons, and other media to achieve a more centralised monopoly of information and propaganda than ever before. The Second World War, a period of immense propaganda, continued this innovating process, twenty years after having studied the role that propaganda had played during the first world conflict (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:14-15).

Progressive Democracy and the Manufacture of Consent

Chomsky (1997:5) argues that the role of the media in contemporary politics forces us to define two different conceptions of democracy. One
conception has it that a democratic society is one in which the public has the means to participate in some meaningful way in the management of their own affairs and the means of information are open and free.

An alternative conception of democracy is that the public must be barred from managing their own affairs and the means of information must be kept narrowly and rigidly controlled. This, according to Chomsky, is the prevailing conception (Chomsky, 1997:6).

The first modern operation in the U.S.

Chomsky affirms that the first modern government propaganda operation in the United States happened under the Woodrow Wilson Administration, who was elected President of the United States in 1916 in the middle of World War I. The population was mainly pacifist and saw no reason to become involved in the European war, but the Wilson Administration was actually committed to war and had to do something about it. A government propaganda commission was established, the Creel Commission, which succeeded, within six months, in turning a pacifist population into a “hysterical, war-mongering population which wanted to destroy everything German, tear the Germans apart, go to war and save the world” (Chomsky, 1997:7).

That was a major achievement, Chomsky observes, supported by the media and the business establishment, where progressive intellectuals, the so-called “more intelligent members of the community”, actively
participated to drive a reluctant population into a war by terrifying them and eliciting jingoist fanaticism, i.e. an aggressive foreign policy that might lead to war with other nations. The means that were used were extensive, namely the fabrication of atrocities invented by the British propaganda ministry, whose commitment at the time was “to direct the thought of most of the world” (Chomsky, 1997:8).

The British control of the thoughts of those more intelligent members of the community in the United States proved to have worked very well and it taught an important lesson: state propaganda, when supported by the educated classes and when no deviation is permitted from it, can have a big effect. Chomsky points out that it was a lesson learned by Hitler and many others, and it has been pursued to this day (Chomsky, 1997:9).

**Responsible intellectuals vs. stupid masses**

Walter Lippmann, who was involved in these propaganda commissions and recognised their achievements, developed a theory of progressive democracy. He argued that what he called a “revolution in the art of democracy” could be used to “manufacture consent”, i.e. to bring about agreement on the part of the public for things that they did not want by the new techniques of propaganda. He also thought that this was a good idea, in fact, a necessary one because “the common interests elude public opinion entirely” and can only be understood and managed by a “specialised class” of “responsible men” who are smart enough to figure things out (Chomsky, 1997:10).
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Chomsky (1997:11) considers that this is also a typical Leninist view, where a group of revolutionary intellectuals take state power, using popular revolutions as the force that brings them to state power, and then drive "the stupid masses toward a future that they're too dumb and incompetent to envision for themselves”. He argues that the liberal democratic theory and Marxism-Leninism are very close in their common ideological assumptions.

In Lippmann’s theory of progressive democracy, there is first of all the class of citizens who have to take some active role in running general affairs. That’s the specialised class, the people who analyse, execute, make decisions, and run things in the political, economic, and ideological systems, a small percentage of the population. The others, the majority of the population, are called the “bewildered herd”, from whose “trampling and roar” we need to be protected (Chomsky, 1997:12).

According to Lippmann's theory, there are two functions in a democracy: the “specialised class” does the thinking and the planning because they understand the common interests, whereas the “bewildered herd” carries out the passive function of "spectators" of the action. But their role in democracy allows them to occasionally lend their weight to one or another member of the specialised class, because this is all happening in the framework of a democracy, not in a totalitarian state. That action is called an election. Once they have carried out this function, they once become spectators but not participants in a proper functioning democracy.
Chomsky affirms that the moral principle behind this is that the mass of the public is just too stupid to be able to understand things. If they try to manage their own affairs, they will just cause trouble and it is for this reason that allowing them to do this would be immoral and improper. The manufacture of consent is the solution to this conflict, in charge of taming the public (Chomsky, 1997:13-14).

This whole discussion brings us back to the main purpose of this study, i.e. to understand the mechanisms through which national images are created. These are a result of the creation of political identity, a national identity in consequence, where images and stereotypes play a key role.

It is important to frame the definition of these images and the conception a society has of itself in the context of globalisation and the ever greater far reaching influence of the media.

**Propaganda in the 20th century**

The history of propaganda discussed at this stage helps us to understand that there has been a struggle from groups in power to impose specific views, structures, and values for centuries. The media have played a vital role in this process which, as learned, has exponentially grown and found in the 20th century –especially between the World Wars- its highest expression.
Doob (cited in Mander, 1998:iix) pointed out the nature of the environment that generates or creates propaganda: *one in which values are not shared*, i.e. no one needs to manipulate someone else unless he or she is certain that the other does not share a particular belief and therefore would not agree to further its aims.

Taithe and Thornton point out that it was only from the 1910s that states began to use a broad range of cultural media to attempt to secure the desired attitudes and actions from their peoples. This process was partly stimulated and considerably hastened by the development of the new media, such as the telegraph or cinema which extended considerably the range of propaganda techniques available (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:10).

Taylor (1998:3) explains that the significance of propaganda in the politics of the twentieth century continues to be underestimated, partly because propaganda had in general usage become a 'dirty word', as it describes a phenomenon to be found in 'totalitarian regimes' but not, or so we like to think, in 'liberal democracies'. The importance of radio and television in the formation of popular political and moral attitudes is generally recognised, being the influence of cinema, in comparison, left behind, although Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany are the two best documented examples of highly -and overtly- politicised societies that the world has ever seen.

In demanding great sacrifices, Taylor argues, the political system in these cases intervened directly and constantly in the lives of individuals and politicised vast areas of life that elsewhere have little or no obvious direct
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political significance. It is here that propaganda plays an important part in placing individual events and actions in a broader political framework, and some films, in their turn, played an important role in that propaganda process (Taylor, R., 1998:4-5).

The veterans, Taithe and Thornton (1999:15) explain further, assumed an important role between the wars, as individuals and social clubs, willing or not, turned into instruments of propaganda as they defended peace or favoured one party. Therefore, propaganda gained a wider range and touched areas of life that propaganda campaigns could never approach.

Taylor considers that the cinemas of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany are worth studying not only for their intrinsic interest but because of their importance as works of art and by the fact that they have helped to shape the histories of their respective countries and to carry the image of those countries abroad. But these films have international significance, as Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany are not the only countries in which cinema has been utilised to this end. As they provide the best known and best documented examples of the deliberate and consistent manipulation of public opinion through film, they are the reference against which the sometimes subtler manipulations of public opinion in more pluralistic political systems can be judged and analysed (Taylor, R., 1998:6).

Cinema attracted greater attention as a propaganda tool not only for its obvious aesthetic dimensions but also because the circumstances of the projections (the dark room, the bright image on the wall) and the concept of
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a captive cinema audience corresponded to some of the wishes of mass-theorists and crowd manipulators. The reaction of the crowd could be measured and this helped to test directly the effectiveness of propaganda. Cinema also merged two genres when newsreel and fiction blurred, a practice inherited by television (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:10).

Before going on to the Cold War era in the next chapter, it is important to mention that during the Second World War, Hitler’s Minister of Propaganda, Josef Goebbels, became an icon as a propaganda lord. Doob (1950:473-491) extracted a series of propaganda principles that could be considered Goebbels’ intellectual legacy. As a master of manipulation, a few concepts can give us an idea of how propaganda works when taken into the abhorrent extreme:

*Propagandists must have access to the information regarding current events and opinion. A single authority must plan and execute propaganda and, while planning it, propagandistic consequences of an action must be considered. Its aim is to affect the enemy’s policy and action. In order to complement a propagandistic campaign, there must be “unclassified and correctly operational information”. Propaganda must be transmitted through a highly regarded communication medium and credibility is the only measure to determine whether propaganda materials shall be true or false. It shall be carefully synchronised, it must label the events and people with distinctive phrases or slogans, and may be facilitated by prestigious leaders. ‘Black’ propaganda, that with an unknown source for the audience, must be used when white propaganda is less credible or when it could harm the propaganda machinery or credibility. Regarding the propaganda of the enemy, he stated that credibility, intelligence, and the possible effects of the communication determine if propagandistic materials should be censored and propaganda materials of the enemy used when it supported his own objective (Doob, 1950:473-491).*
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It cannot be avoided to wonder what happened with these principles, in practice, during the war. The creation of national images cannot be, in this regard, split from an important emotional drive. That drive is always there, although it is exacerbated during war.

Taithe and Thornton (1999:10) point out that on the national and international stage it is worth looking for propaganda beyond the most traditional instances, e.g. posters and films, as it also encompassed the popularisation and internationalisation of older fields of cultural endeavour, such as sport. The authors argue that propaganda managed to move people and ideas throughout the twentieth century but, at the same time, ministers of information, state-controlled mass media, television, and some censored newspapers and radio stations have given a false impression of power state propaganda, as the power of mobilising society is shared with many other multi-layered entities that emanate messages in what may be considered as ‘thick’ propaganda or ‘thick’ advertising.

Propaganda, as opposed to advertising, shapes cultures. Even if it is argued that advertising plays a central role in consumer societies, fostering lifestyle and values and, therefore, in shaping national identity, it cannot be compared to what propaganda achieves. Propaganda is about life and death, and this choice is made in times of war and conflict when people decide to stay at home or go to the front (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:15).

Taithe & Thornton (1999:16) explain that there are two fallacies about propaganda that have to be challenged, i.e. the false dichotomy between
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truth and propaganda, and secondly, the belief that propaganda and the propagation of democracy are opposed.

The following chapter will focus on propaganda efforts from the Cold War to recent efforts derived from one of the most significant events in recent history, i.e. the 9/11 attacks in the United States, namely the Age of Terror. New information and communication developments have significantly altered the pace of news production and that 'live coverage' feeling has implied important changes in the field. Some of these were already mentioned in the previous chapters when discussing some consequences for diplomatic activity. Propaganda has become, through these technological means, an international and wide phenomenon. It is ever more complex to define it and to manage and measure its consequences. It is true, however, that the media are vital to the formation of national images and, therefore, the study of propaganda has key importance for different countries to position themselves at an international level, especially when serious conflicts have arisen and political positions have to be taken, on the one hand, and commerce and development have to be fostered, on the other. It appears difficult to promote a preferred national image in such a complex international environment.
Chapter 6. Contemporary propaganda.

The definition of the concept of propaganda and the history of its evolution was the main subject of the previous chapter, where the concept was linked to the broader notions of international relations and conflict, as the results of its use impinge upon the creation of images and stereotypes, as well as upon the perception of national images.

This chapter will begin by describing what are currently the most common forms of propaganda: white, black and grey propaganda, subpropaganda or facilitative communication, persuasion, public relations, and after analysing the use of propaganda during and towards the end of the Cold War, the importance of psychological operations in current propaganda practices.

Finally, some propaganda examples derived from the post 9/11 era, or the so-called ‘Age of Terror’, marking the entrance into the 21st century, will provide us with an idea of how all the concepts studied in the previous chapters intertwine in a context of sharpened conflict in a still clearly undefined world environment where everything seems to be unravelling - ‘a new kind of war’: one in which the overall losses of human life and respect remain being those of the past and where the core of propaganda does not really seem to be brand new.
Propaganda as a social phenomenon

As discussed in the previous chapter, propaganda has been demonised as a practice to such an extent that practitioners of propaganda avoid being labelled as such. Instead, they prefer to be known under the much more acceptable category of ‘image consultants’, ‘public relations officers’, ‘spin doctors’, among others. Taithe and Thornton (1999:2) explain that as a form of political language, however, propaganda is always articulated around a system of truths and expresses a logic of exclusive representation, being its purpose to convince, to win over and to convert. It must therefore aim to be convincing, viable and truthful.

Propaganda is a social phenomenon and therefore operates in several directions. Taithe and Thornton (1999:2) further explain that theoreticians of propaganda find that

\[
\text{it is not simply a message communicated from the powers to the public but also a reciprocal message, self-reinforcing and flexible, which must contain the logic and elements of truth, which must explain and make sense of political and social reality to the point that the propaganda message will become significant of a whole political cosmology.}
\]

However, it is a fact that in such a complex activity, there has been a struggle among practitioners of propaganda who strive to tell whatever they consider to be the truth -which can be argued is always a partial one- and those who consciously and plainly lie. Taithe and Thornton (1999:2) affirm that propaganda practitioners have to decide whether they chose to serve society or what they believe society to be or more idealistic values of the
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truth. They explain that this tension lies at the heart of all human actions. People are not neutral. Neither are their values. It is therefore that the roots of all propaganda written by different authors are a result of a historical perception that reflects an understanding of the past and of the future (Taithe & Thornton, 1999:2).

Taithe and Thornton (1999:2) find that propaganda is neither evil nor avoidable, and that it can be

both a conscious trait and an unconscious, instinctive reinforcement of self-identity and the promotion of a form of knowledge held as truth. The moral values that are promoted by perhaps a handful of individuals will thus only work if the audience agrees or finds enough points of congruence to accept the new elements of the message. The language of propaganda often touches on nostalgia and sentimentalism, leading collectors to value its iconic and naive representations of what is worth defending. Propaganda promotes the ways of a community as well as defining them; in this sense at least, it is a two-way process that reaches out for unanimity within a group it often helps to define. This defining purpose is central to propaganda, and propaganda is a tool of exclusion as well as inclusion.

This aspect of propaganda once again relates the term directly to the core of the present study: the building of national images. It all revolves around political communication and identity, perceptions, and diplomatic activity as part of both national definition and international political process.

Taithe and Thornton (1999:12) explain that during the twentieth century definitions of citizenship were often at the heart of the propagandist's message. Propaganda works not by being simple or deceitful, but by being complex and credible, attaining every time a higher level of sophistication
to win over the audience. Schooling also plays a vital role in the process, which is often overlooked. It can be defined as consensually applied propaganda, since it is about making a mindset in school, the basic social entity where logic is learned and the articulation of one’s identity within socially compatible parameters is achieved.

Richard Taylor (1998:10) adds that the ‘propagandist’ uses all the weapons that are available to him or her at a given time and in a given context, although it cannot create opinion out of a void. It builds upon what is already there. Aldous Huxley (cited in Taylor, R., 1998:10), for example, wrote:

*Political and religious propaganda is effective it would seem, only upon those who are already partly or entirely convinced of its truth... The course of history is undulatory, because (among other things) self-conscious men and women easily grow tired of a mode of thought and feeling which has lasted for more than a certain time. Propaganda gives force and direction to the successive movements of popular feeling and desire; but it does not do much to create those movements. The propagandist is a man who canalises an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water, he digs in vain.*

This is another very important element to look at. Circumstances change continuously, and societies react differently towards facts and tradition at different times. A generational gap is not only to be expected in lifestyles but in the way different generations perceive, digest, and react to propaganda efforts: each individual has a different history and a different set of values. According to these thoughts, it could be argued that there is propaganda that overcomes the generational factor and ‘glues’ societies together through values and an identity.
Taithe and Thornton (1999:12) note that controlling propaganda can be more dangerous than initiating it. In this context, state censorship only gives greater credibility to subversive propaganda in a pluralist environment. The core idea of propaganda is conversion of values among individuals and the masses. The complex environment in which the propaganda process occurs makes it indispensable for practitioners to develop ways in which to achieve their respective goals. There are several kinds of propaganda that serve to achieve the propagandist’s purpose. A classification follows.

**Forms of propaganda**

People perceive communication in different ways, basically because of their beliefs and their level of knowledge of certain subjects, which translate into a set of values. This perception is important because it defines what is self-evident and what is controversial in a clear and outright fashion. An ideological dichotomy exists in order to make a systematic plan to change these values through propaganda, e.g. one person’s propaganda is another person’s education or one person’s terrorist is another person’s ‘freedom fighter’. A conflict of interests is always at the core of the use of propaganda. However, propaganda must be differentiated from the free and open exchange of ideas.
Agitative vs. Integrative

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999:11) affirm that propaganda takes many forms, mostly as a kind of activated ideology. They classify propaganda as agitative when

*it attempts to elicit action from an audience in order to favour certain ends and result in a significant change,*

and integrative when

*it tries to make an audience passive, accepting and non-challenging* (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:12).

A further classification of propaganda depends on its source and the accuracy of its information: white, black and grey.

White propaganda

The source of this propaganda is clearly and correctly identified and tends to convey accurate information. Through this activity, white propaganda builds credibility that might be used in the future. There are several examples of this sort of propaganda, namely the contents received through *Radio Moscow, Voice of America,* and others during peacetime, which try to convince the audience that their countries have the best ideas and political ideology. National celebrations and international sports competitions can also be labelled as such (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:12).
Black propaganda

These activities are credited to false sources and spread lies, fabrications and deceptions. It is a broad spectrum of deceit and gets the most attention when it is revealed. For this sort of propaganda to be effective, it is important that the target audience is willing to accept both the message and the source of information delivered as serious. These lies should fit into the social, cultural, and political framework of the desired audience. If the propagandist does not understand the environment in which the audience lives, then the message will not seem appropriate and raise suspicions. Then, the objective of the propagandist will fail. Goebbels claimed that reality had to be completely altered and outrageous charges had to be made in order to be more effective within the audience at reach. This proved to have a greater impact than milder statements (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:13-15).

In 1956, for example, Radio Free Hungary pleaded for help from the United States against the atrocities committed by the Soviets while extinguishing a revolt against the Communist regime. The station was a fake operated by the Soviet KGB to demonstrate that the United States could not be relied on to help a country in revolt and, in this manner, to embarrass the country. The United States learned of the Soviet propaganda after it ceased transmission (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:14).

Disinformation is another term to describe black propaganda, since it is covert and uses false information. Schultz and Godson (cited in Jowett &
O'Donnell, 1999:18) define disinformation as “false, incomplete, or misleading information that is passed, fed, or confirmed to a targeted individual, group or country”. They explain that, unlike misinformation, the result of misguided or erroneous information, it is intentionally created to weaken adversaries and they are managed and treated as credible sources. Jowett and O’Donnell (1999:20) state that there is increasing evidence that disinformation is widely practised by most major world powers.

**Grey propaganda**

This propaganda is characterised by the fact that its source is not properly identified and the information conveyed is uncertain. Its aim is to embarrass an enemy or competitor, not only in the governmental sphere, but also in the entrepreneurial world and in other sorts of institutions. Some examples of its management are Voice of America’s denying any involvement of CIA’s activities in the Bay of Pig’s invasion in Cuba or Radio Moscow’s documentary on Afghanistan at the time of the invasion portraying the conflict to its own interest. In both cases, the source of the message was correctly identified, but the information was inaccurate. The notion of accuracy is important, as manipulated information can lead to undesired actions or reactions, as well as to high costs, both in monetary and image terms. In this sort of propaganda, prestige and respect are at stake. The information source plays an important and powerful role, as it has a broad trusting audience base. Other examples are those of companies distorting statistics on annual reports, advertising suggesting
false characteristics of its product, or television evangelists who keep the money they collect for themselves (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:15-18).

Subpropaganda / Facilitative communication

Doob (cited in Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:21) describes another dimension of propaganda, which he calls "subpropaganda", which consists of spreading

an unfamiliar doctrine, for which a considerable period of time is needed to build a frame of mind in the audience toward acceptance of the doctrine.

L. John Martin (cited in Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:22) called subpropaganda "facilitative communication",

which most frequently takes the form of radio newscasts, press releases, books, pamphlets, periodicals, cultural programmes, exhibits, films, seminars, language classes, reference services, and personal social contacts. These are all arranged in an effort to create a friendly atmosphere toward those who may be needed later.

This refers to those foreign nationals who may be needed to support a cause of national interest in the future. Although facilitative communication itself may not be propaganda, its practice leads to creating a positive atmosphere among those recipients who might be needed for support in the future. These actions are designed to create affinity with the source and a sense of solidarity and friendship with the target audiences (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:22).
Propaganda and Persuasion

Propaganda and persuasion have been used interchangeably in the past. However, they can be differentiated from each other in their purpose. Persuasion is interactive and attempts to satisfy the needs of both the persuader and the persuadee (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999:1).

Public Relations (PR)

Weiner (1990:381) explains that public relations are

the sum of activities and attitudes intended to analyse, adjust to, influence, and direct the opinion of any group or groups of persons in the interest of any individual, group or institution. Although many people work in public relations agencies, devoted exclusively to do the public relations on behalf of the clients, most of the people devoted to this activity work in government agencies, companies, and organisations.

He goes on to explain that, ideally, public relations help an organisation and its publics to adapt mutually and/or to achieve the cooperation of groups of people, being the major aim of the field to get support, acceptance or purchase of certain public policy decisions, political candidates, products and services. Public relations practitioners conceive and execute programmes aimed at specific groups or publics. An organisation with good public relations has a favourable image or reputation as a result of public relations activities.
So far, the forms of propaganda have been examined, as they shape the way in which political communication is addressed towards the enemy or, as just explained, toward those foreign nationals who might be needed to support national causes in the future. However, it is important to point out that these are not given in isolation and that, as explained before, they have been used in times of confrontation. In the previous chapter, attention was put into the development of propaganda until the end of World War II and the following post-war period. It is clear that the Cold War shaped most of these propaganda techniques, but its end implies a new sort of international conflict where the global environment definitely plays a role in what propaganda efforts are concerned. As mentioned in Chapter 4, in this new period, known as the 'Age of Terror', the problem is that there is no clearly identifiable enemy. This implies new challenges for propaganda practitioners. A broader analysis follows.

The End of the Cold War

Taylor (1999:327) states that we are currently living in a stage of societal development based on information, communications and knowledge, often referred to as the ‘Information Age’. Also called ‘post-industrial’ or ‘post-modern’, these societies, after leaving agricultural and industrial production behind, have developed communications and information technology as the main source of productivity. The model of analysis was extended into theories of warfare as well, as the so-called Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA) of the 1990s that expanded the concept and took knowledge as the central source of destructivity as well.
Irving Goldstein (cited in Taylor, 1999:327), former head of INTELSAT (Television Digest, 2000), predicted that information would be for the 21st century:

"what oil and gas were for the beginning of the 20th century. It will fuel economic and political power and give people everywhere more freedom and momentum than the fastest automobile or supersonic jet. Information is no longer the province of the privileged few, nations or individuals, or the economic or power elite. It is the fare of the masses, shaping how they view their lives, their governments, and the world around them... Information will be transmitted in every form we've known and in forms we cannot yet even imagine".

This belief that ‘brain power’ will shape societies during this millennium unveils new challenges for propaganda analysts. For example, advanced info-societies now deal with such concepts as Information Warfare (IW), Information Operations (IO) and the already known Psychological Operations (PSYOPS).

The end of the Cold War lead to a series of developments that made it necessary for nation states to find a new role in the international arena and position themselves in a world which no longer enjoys the ‘certainties’ of an established bi-polar, ideologically based, superpower confrontation. The ‘enemy’ is not defined: in the information age, according to Taylor (1999:327-328) it is

the computer hacker, the cyber-terrorist, the Internet criminal, the info-bomber, defence against whom requires a new breed of warriors: the info-warrior.
Two years after Taylor wrote this quote, an event reshaped international politics, creating an enemy that I would describe as a mixture of the ‘info-warrior’, the traditional military enemy and the guerrilla: the abstract defined as ‘terror’. The events that took place in the United States on September 11, 2001 made it necessary to add the element of ‘terror’ to the enemy of these post-modern societies, officially establishing the "Age of Terror". A characteristic of this age is that the enemy is hardly a nation state anymore and that its definition sinks us into complexity. We shall discuss these events more thoroughly further on.

The end of the Cold War, Taylor (1999:328) explains, may have marked the end of the second wave of propaganda that began with the coincidence of mass communications and industrialised warfare in the First World War. In the new millennium, new communication forms and information technologies have evolved in such a way that the propaganda techniques used against the enemy of most of the 20th century now seem to be 'primitive'. It could be argued that even if the techniques used to distribute propaganda have undergone considerable sophistication, it is hard to imagine that propaganda principles have been so much altered that the influence of the past decades already faded away.

The massive deregulation and innovation in the field of communication technologies in the 1980s produced a tendency towards 'demassification'. In the fields of both communications and the people who use and receive them, everything is fragmenting as we enter ‘a multi-channel, multi-media, digital, real-time, interactive, free-market universe’. It becomes increasingly
difficult to talk of mass communications or mass public opinion. From one PC desktop workstation, an individual can nowadays access television, video and radio or communicate by fax, phone or e-mail anywhere in the world in an interactive rather than passive manner, giving individuals tailor-made information and communication possibilities not available before (Taylor, 1999:328).

Taylor (1999:329-330) explains that these developments lead us to redefine the whole concept of ‘public opinion’ in a world in which individuals have an increasing capacity to map the world out for themselves rather than relying on the world vision presented by journalists. In this ‘new world’, information becomes a rather new kind of commodity: a fundamental human right. Therefore, access to that information also and increasingly becomes a means of measuring power. Instead of talking about class, this century will perhaps see the world divided into information ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’. The role of information-age persuasion, in peace and war, can now be labelled as ‘info-propaganda’.

Taylor’s analysis is directly linked to the current management of international relations and diplomacy described in the first two chapters of this study. It can once again be argued that even if the current activities in this regard are a product of a new global, post-modern, post-Cold War era, the management of foreign affairs still has the Cold War era as a strong point of reference, as although communication developments hasten the pace of important and defining world events, only a few years –seen form a historical perspective- have passed since then. It is less than two decades
ago that the Berlin Wall fell, and therefore the current worldwide productive generation is split between its experiences both in the Cold War era and in the Age of Terror.

Mander (1998:xi) points out that propaganda is of interest to virtually all geopolitical units around the world. Although the Cold War has come to an end, the use of propaganda to further the aims of nation states has not. Wilke (1998:2) explains that during the Cold War, propaganda kept a position of prime importance. The East-West confrontation kept propaganda research alive, although this field of research did lose some of its former dominance. Other subjects such as voting behaviour, opinion leadership, cognitive effects, programming of violence in the mass media, and so on gained more prominence. He states that, in retrospect, many studies support the fact that the 20th century is labelled as an age of propaganda, although that does not mean that the subject has faded away. Recent international conflicts of a new kind have reactivated propaganda techniques and used them at their full extent, renewing interest in the field. The Gulf War in 1991, labelled the “first information war”, was a good example of this. Propaganda also played an important role in the disintegration of former Yugoslavia. Needless to say that the Second Gulf War, initiated in March 2003, as well as the ongoing Israel-Hezbollah conflict in Southern Lebanon, initiated in July 2006, are full of such examples.
A new sort of conflict – and the media as an active participant

There have really been few conflicts of a traditional interstate nature since the end of the Cold War. Among them, the Gulf War of 1991, which has been labelled as the ‘first information war’. New kinds of international conflict, and crises have emerged, compelling a huge number of UN peacekeeping forces to be deployed around the world. Many of these conflicts, termed ‘other than war’, have an intrastate nature. Taylor explains that this kind of conflict, which characterised the 1990s, has more nationalistic, ethnic or tribal causes, mainly within collapsing or ideologically adrift states, e.g. Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda. Such conflicts are fought on traditional battle ‘fronts’, but they involve civilians and are witnessed by the global ‘front’ of world public opinion. The warring factions compete for world attention when they need it, and deny media access when they have something to hide. This new constellation directly impinges on national images and can even lead to questioning the possibility of achieving the desired objective (Taylor, 1999: 330-331).

The emergence of international television services such as Cable News Network (CNN) and others of the like have broadened the battlefields in such a way that civilians, through the media, might feel they are directly involved in real time events, and soldiers, through the work of correspondents, are constantly under public scrutiny. This, in turn, has made the military censorship and propaganda machineries more sophisticated. The resulting public image of the battle is crucial, as the
distant observing public will determine whether to support the continuation of a war or not (Taylor, 1999:331).

Although television was not the reason for US military defeat, the Vietnam War in the 1970s was a watershed in the sense that it was the first war in which a mass television audience watched night after night, with increasing discomfort, and gained an unprecedented insight into what human beings were being asked to do to other human beings in the name of patriotism and the nation state. Although it was a censored, non-live spectacle, there could be no going back to an age in which images of battle could be sustained in terms of historical traditions of heroism, glorious iconography and remoteness from reality. The advent of real-time television since then, which means that civilians watch soldier's behaviour live at the same time as politicians, the enemy, even the soldiers themselves, has quite simply transformed the media from being an observer of conflict into an actual participant, as the soldier's behaviour and the civilian public are mutually affected (Taylor, 1999:331-332).

However, after a war begins, psychological weapons are deployed in an attempt to influence and to determine the eventual outcome. Due to the fact that their deployment involves issues of morale as a factor in determining victory or defeat, there have always been ethical concerns about the way this is achieved as well as deep questioning about when to use propaganda, and at what level. The combined military application of communication and psychology can be identified as far back as biblical times, but its relevance is frequently overlooked (Taylor, 1999:332).
In the Gulf War of 1991, the first of its post-modern kind, the mass media proved to be important weapons in the struggle for public opinion, as effective propaganda must also become effective entertainment. Taylor (1999:334) explains that this process, known as the ‘dumbing down’ of the mass media, is especially marked in countries with only a minimum commitment to public service broadcasting like the USA, because the media become more vulnerable to stunts, spin doctoring and manipulation. He points out an important fact: however exciting a ‘breaking news story’ might be, it does not mean that the story is accurate.

Given such a scenario, Taylor (1999:335) argues that from a propagandist’s point of view, it becomes imperative not only to control the ‘spin’ but actually to shape the media agenda. It must also be considered that there are every time less specialised defence and foreign correspondents and every time more non-specialised correspondents who are ever more dependent on official spokespersons to explain what is going on, i.e. non-specialist journalists are being confronted increasingly by specialised information officers, who understand the pressures of modern journalism only too well, and work accordingly.

**PSYOPS – Psychological Operations: a renewed propaganda tool for the 21\textsuperscript{st} century?**

PSYOPS is about the targeted use of persuasion to achieve national objectives. Traditionally used in combat situations, the changing nature of
conflict in the post-Cold War era leads to new uses due to the changing nature of the public sphere, the advent of new communications technologies and the inclusion of non-military (i.e. civilian) personnel as significant actors (Taylor, 1999:335).

Practitioners of propaganda, from World War I onwards, highly valued the need to adopt a 'strategy of truth', due to the fact that propaganda as a process of persuasion was considered as negative by most people. This meant that the tradition of democratic propaganda in the 20th century was factually based upon information closely linked to the truth through news and information, although –Taylor (1999:336) explains- this does not mean that the whole truth was told, but that information has been manipulated in order to serve national—and even some international—objectives. This strategy has been used to avoid media and public distrust.

In a changing world environment, changes in psychological warfare are needed for situations beyond the purely military. PSYOPS are increasingly being seen as an additional, and perhaps even indispensable, informational tool to aid not just the old-fashioned concepts of war-fighting and peacekeeping but also newer, more proactive, policies of peacemaking, peacebuilding and peace enforcement - and all at a strategic level that encompasses communication, computers, and intelligence. Therefore, many believe that not only individual nations but the United Nations (UN) should embrace PSYOPS as part of its activities in order to achieve its aims, namely the ones set by the UN Security Council.
Taylor (1999:337) explains that in the so-called new world order, the American conduct of PSYOPS is less negative in intention than the psywar of the Cold War and other wartime situations in that it tends to be more promotional of the values which helped democracy survive those struggles. This has to do with the fact that, during the Cold War and the existence of the former Soviet Union, the USA had to destroy an ideology and sell another one, which could be considered as a form of negative advertising. The emphasis of PSYOPS has now shifted to a global rather than bi-polar environment in which the threat of global nuclear war may have diminished but in which there is a continuing risk of dangerous regional clashes fuelled by the forces of nationalism, or other threats that run along the ‘enemies’ of the notions of democracy, human rights and peacebuilding: nuclear proliferation, terrorism, drug-trafficking and, where the latter two meet, narco-terrorism.

According to Taylor, countries with advanced info-communications systems become vulnerable to ‘info-bombers’ who could disrupt the computerised infrastructure of the economy. Currently, the emphasis of PSYOPS is still the business of the targeted use of information to induce results favourable to those undertaking the effort, but the enemies are now identified as transnational threats to a global community rather than ones emanating from a specific regime targeting a specific nation. Taylor (1999:338) argues that this is nowadays used to justify the self-imposed role of the United States as a global policeman on behalf of the majority of nations who share similar values of ‘freedom’, ‘free enterprise’ and ‘human rights’. States
which threaten such 'universal' values will be considered as the enemy and will therefore be the primary targets of American PSYOPS.

This info-propaganda may not seem to be propaganda at all as it seems harmless and it will also appear that the principal beneficiary is the target rather than the source. However, when analysing a few definitions extracted from the US military, this appearance changes dramatically and leads us to question whose information and information interests are portrayed in the media. The US Department of Defence defines information warfare as 'actions taken to achieve information superiority by affecting adversary information, information-based processes, information systems and computer-based networks while defending our own (one's) information, information-based processes, information systems and computer-based networks'. PSYOPS are a frontline psychological instrument directed at both civilians and combatants within an environment that has global strategic implications because of the presence of all sorts of information transmitters, from a mobile phone to a CNN camera crew (Taylor, 1999:339).

This is the official American definition of PSYOPS:

*Planned operations to convey selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately the behaviour of foreign governments, organisations, groups and individuals. The purpose of psychological operations is to induce or reinforce foreign attitudes and behaviour favourable to the originator's objectives* (Taylor, 1999:339).
Psychological operations are now more about indicating intentions and generating information about the presence of military forces, which are to be taken carefully. Intentions are, in this case, of key importance. Adolf Hitler described what his ultimate object of propaganda was:

*The place of artillery preparation for frontal attack by the infantry in trench warfare will in future be taken by revolutionary propaganda, to break down the enemy psychologically before the armies begin to function at all. How to achieve the moral breakdown of the enemy before war has started - that is the problem that interests me* (Taylor, 1999:339).

There is, however, no clear-cut definition of what PSYOPS might be. They are communications operations and, therefore, impinge directly on the entire field of human action. The management of military PSYOPS can be compared to other civil activities due to their PSYOPS effects. Care has to be taken, as almost everything might fall into this category and the media involvement is indispensable to cause any effects at strategic level (Taylor, 1999:340).

This could lead us to questioning if the efforts needed to build a national image must necessarily be linked to PSYOPS or if the seemingly harmless ‘facilitative communication’, described earlier, is just another PSYOP using the strategy of ‘truth’. There are, as discussed before, several layers in the cake, but it must be taken into account that even in peaceful times, some operations may have a PSYOP effect, on the one hand, and that national images are immensely influenced by what is reported in the news and the media.
September 11, 2001 signals a new and important chapter in the post Cold War era, since it narrowed the definition of the challenges faced by the global world. As Taylor suggests, enemies start to be defined not in terms of nations but in terms of values. That is a challenging business for propaganda practitioners and national image makers. The ‘Age of Terror’ begins this day and this era unravels a new series of transnational interests that will lead to apparently new and different kinds of war about ideology, religion, poverty, injustice, and lack of opportunity, pending from unresolved problems from the past centuries, but all covered under a common global threat: ‘terrorism’. The important fact here is that this new age is presented as an isolated phenomenon. It is necessary to be fully aware of the fact that even if the 9/11 attacks represented a true shift in foreign affairs and international communication in times of conflict, it is not mentioned that the roots of these problems existed before that day and the current ‘Age of Terror’ and the justification of war and other methods devised to eliminate the enemy never take the past events into consideration. Everything is explained from the 9/11 perspective and the conflict has been brewing for years. Some critical views about the way the United States government has handled this situation follow.

U.S. Propaganda after 9-11

Snow (2003:13) claims that the United States is the land of freedom – free press, free speech, and free expression. At the same time, she explains that, as she grew up in the United States, she found out that such freedom
Contemporary propaganda does not mean a full range of choices but is narrowly defined as what was generally acceptable within a dominant framework.

This order of things have led people to believe that it is the decision-makers and the experts the ones who know better as ordinary people and citizens what is best for "their" own interests. George W. Bush's propaganda has given rise to a present order that may partly explain why the United States remains such a 'deeply anti-intellectual society' as a whole: there are only two choices, there is only black or white, there are only two alternatives, "freedom or terror" (Snow, 2003:14-15).

Snow contends that before the beginning of the strike against Afghanistan, the propaganda war had already begun. Professor Howard Zinn, from Boston University, wrote an anti-war essay entitled "Violence doesn't work" a few days after September 11, 2001, questioning whose interests would be served with the war, and making the readers aware of the opinion control and propaganda slogans used at the time. It is always spoken of "our" national interests, national security, national defence, he argued, instead of "someone's" security and interest. Zinn was convinced that when nations do not know what to do, they go to war or declare war, be it on drugs, or on terrorism and that everyone gets corrupted through it. He contended that from Northern Ireland to Israel, it has been proven that going to war actually increases terrorism. His position has been widely criticised as anti-American (Snow, 2003:16-18).
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Snow (2003:21-22) defines propaganda as the dissemination of untruths. It is generally used to promote military operations and, in this specific case, to make a person support a war on terrorism. She affirms that propaganda begins where critical thinking ends.

The propagandistic message of the president of the United States to his people after 9/11 is criticised by Snow (2003:23), due to the fact that he states that Americans are “do-gooders” in a global battle against evil. According to her, the propaganda war is the most integrated part in the new war on terror; although it seems to be hidden from view. In the interest of profit-making, misinformation, and ignorance, Americans receive a lot of controlled information that is not designed to foster the people’s ability to think for themselves.

In this context, everyone who disagrees with official policies and positions is called “Un-American”. This stops people from questioning the motives of their government and can damage personal reputations as in the case of Democratic Representative Barbara Lee, from California, who was called a traitor and stood alone in Congress because she did not approve the administration to carry out the war on terrorism 48 hours after 9/11 (Snow, 2003:24).

Snow explains that language manipulation and traditional marketing techniques take place in these propaganda efforts to ‘sell’ the United States to the world. The US Congress approved $ 520 million to focus on the populations of the Middle East and South Asia and the establishment of
a twenty-four Arabic-language satellite news network called Radio Sawa (meaning “together”), along with a proposed Middle East Television Network to compete with the Qatar-based Al Jazeera (Snow:2003:24).

Despite the enormous sympathy won after 9/11 for the United States around the world, Snow (2003:26) considers that anti-Americanism is on the rise after the Bush administration engaged in a unilateral militarism. The Bush administration failed to debate its intentions of carrying out preemptive strikes with its partners around the world, which created extraordinary difficulties to conduct foreign policy and undermined the propaganda efforts in the Middle Eastern region (Snow, 2003:35).

Censorship and propaganda dominate the American media, according to Snow (2003:38), which signals the triumph of authoritarian over democratic values. Intelligence and media communities are and have been closely affiliated with each other, a link that leads to censorship. American news media and national security communities share personnel with the same educational backgrounds and the same ideal that both were serving the national security interests of the United States, a phenomenon known as the revolving-door syndrome. The media, Snow affirms, have been the most valued assets of the CIA for years (Snow, 2003:40).

The media analyst Andrew Tyndall analysed 414 stories on Iraq – the *Tyndall Report* - from the major three television broadcasters in the United States –ABC, CBS, and NBC- between September 2002 and February 2003. It found that all but 34 stories originated at three government
agencies: The White House, the Pentagon, and the State Department. Due to time constraints on television, journalists have less time to prepare and investigate deeper into stories. The well-prepared official sources of information, in this sense, deliver it in a timely and efficient manner. From 574 news stories aired between Bush's address to the United Nations on September 12, 2002, and March 7, 2003, just 12 stories dealt with the aftermath of the war with Iraq. The public and press attention was to push for the "regime change". Snow believes it to illustrate a lack of diversity in American newsrooms (2003:46-47).

Charlotte Beers, a former Madison Avenue advertising executive, was Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy until 2003, and given the ambitious assignment of repackaging the image of the United States so to "sell" the war against terrorism to the Islamic world. In an October 2001 report, the State Department had to acknowledge that the United States had a global image and credibility problem not exclusive to Osama Bin Laden and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Growing anti-Americanism came from a global perception that the United States intended to establish policy guidelines at a world level at their will. Beers and other experts had to acknowledge that nations, the US included, are judged by what they do, not by how they would like to be seen. The militaristic foreign policy and the 'friend or enemy' rhetoric clashed with the intended 'good guy' global image of the United States (Snow, 2003:53-54).

By March 2002, six months after the launch of the American invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, the information war in the United States was
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oriented toward both opinion control and the suppression of free speech. Snow indicates that this lead to the creation of several post-9/11 non-profit organisations, among which two stand out because they are united in the belief that

"the United States must retain its superpower empire for global goodness and redemption, keep military ethics and power the primary focus of the United States response to 9/11, and shout down the 'morally coward liberals' on American University campuses and in Europe" (Snow, 2003:57).

These are Americans for Victory over Terrorism (AVOT), whose intention is to "take their task to those groups and individuals who fundamentally misunderstand the nature of the war we are facing", and the American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA), which in a November 2001 report condemned dissident anti-war language propagated by liberal professors on American college campuses. AVOT is supported by Lynne Cheney, wife of Vice President Dick Cheney, Congress members and editors of magazines, and ACTA is supported by the wealthy right-wing think tank Empower America, headed by William Bennett, former Secretary of Education under President George Bush Sr. (Snow, 2003:56).

AVOT attacked the radical Islam of the twenty-first century in 2002 as an enemy "no less dangerous and no less determined than the twin menaces of fascism and communism we faced in the 20th century" and addressed domestic enemies "who are attempting to use this opportunity to promulgate their agenda of "blame America first"", further stating that
American universities were the “weak link” in the war on terror (Snow, 2003:68).

Snow (2003:61) considers that the Bush administration is now fighting an information war on two fronts – an international war on terrorism and a domestic war on American minds and public opinion. Like the Cold War, the Age of Terror is being fought primarily through the information war, being information now more centralised than ever and raising concerns about a monopoly of official sources for the news which, according to her, is more prominent than ever after September 11, 2001.(2003:149).

The representatives of the Bush administration appear to have completely opposed views and positions to those of Snow and other scholars and intellectuals. American public diplomacy is vital for the United States in the Age of Terror. No defined enemies and a battle between ‘good and evil’ make it difficult for those in charge of managing national image to win over the hearts and minds of those who oppose the war promoted by the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq as a retaliation for September 11.

Three examples will be presented as an illustration of the way all the concepts explained in this first section of the thesis intertwine and translate into reality. In an interview given by Karen Hughes, U.S. Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy, she presents the official version of the importance of the job she carries out and, through her answers –which at first glance could even be argued to be naive- a highly political task can be traced. The second example of the terror plot in Britain exemplifies the way
governmental structures rely on a message of the President of the United States to both justify military action and gain public support for the war both at home and abroad by unveiling a frustrated terror plot, making the world aware of the menace awaiting the 'civilised world'. Finally, an example of violent conflict between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon, where terrorism is used as an excuse to continue a historical conflict within the frame of the new international context, still in development at the beginning of the 21st century. This is an example of one of those conflicts presented in isolation through the media, where a thorough understanding – often lacking - is needed to fully understand the origins of the conflict, as well as its consequences.

"My job is the truth"

Karen Hughes, Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy since 2003, stated in an interview given to the German magazine Der Spiegel in February 2006, a few days after a new release of abuse pictures of Iraqi prisoners of war by American soldiers in the Abu Ghraib prison, that she has one of the hardest jobs in the U.S. government due to the challenges associated with promoting the image of her country abroad. Anti-Americanism on the rise, due –among others- to photographs like the ones known from the Abu Ghraib prison, do not stop Hughes from feeling herself honoured to do her job, because of "the fantastic country she lives in". She does not want her country to be linked to such repulsive images and, at the same time, she engages in a quest that, according to her, might last decades, in order to make the world feel about terrorism the
same way it now feels about slavery, which once was a common practice and is now unthinkable (Hornig & Mascolo, 2006:102).

Questioned about why she thought that the United States lost so much of the support it received after 9/11, Hughes expressed her conviction that her country being a great power, some anger and irritation is produced. However, she accepts the United States must undoubtedly be more open and listen to others more carefully. One of her main tasks is to travel around the world and tell President Bush what is said and thought of the United States abroad. Hughes feels that ‘hatred’ is not the word that would describe the feeling toward her country in the Islamic World, but a big concern derived from the misunderstanding that the war against terror is a war against Islam. Hughes categorically opposes this approach and states that this idea is exactly the message that the enemies of the United States are sending, and that such message is completely wrong (Hornig & Mascolo, 2006:102).

The aim of peoples of all religions and nationalities is to combat terror and its ideology of hatred. Her message is to encourage every voice in the Islamic world to present Islam as a religion of peace and not as religion of violence. The enemies of the United States try to explain everything from a religious point of view, being it truly a problem about political ideology. Every religion, according to her, sees life as something extraordinary and nobody should kill innocents (Hornig & Mascolo, 2006:103).
Regarding a possible US military attack against Iran to prevent it from creating an atomic bomb and the possible support of the American citizens, Hughes explained that even if there is an agreement with the European partners to bet for a diplomatic solution, an American President can never rule out the possibility of a military attack. The fact that the American government invests $75 million to support the opposition in Iran and to finance radio senders is seen by the interviewers as "what man called propaganda during the Cold War". When asked how she would call that today, Hughes answers that it all revolves around clearly communicating the people in Iran that the United States supports their longing for freedom and that the US government hopes "that the Iranians become the government they deserve. (It is clear here that the US government does not think that president Ahmadinejad, who took office in August 2005, is fit to govern Iran.) Hughes finishes this answer by asking: "What do you mean by propaganda?"

This interview turns even more interesting when the journalists tell Undersecretary Hughes that it is to "try to influence a foreign people and its government through radio and television broadcasting". She answers:

_I don't like the word 'influence'. That is not my job. Karen Hughes is not talking to the world – that does not work here. Karen listens, our government listens. Of course I want to present my country the best way possible. But my job is the truth. That's why I don't like the word spin doctor. It sounds as if we arranged matters. I want to communicate the truth_ (Hornig & Mascolo, 2006:103).
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Frustrated terror plot in Britain

On August 10, 2006, British — in cooperation with Pakistani — authorities arrested 24 men overnight to prevent a group of terrorists from carrying out a terror plot that intended to blow up as many as ten jets leaving Britain for the United States simultaneously. The authorities suspect that the members of the plot are directly linked to Al-Qaeda. A major disruption of air traffic occurred when passengers at London Heathrow and all other British airports banned passengers from carrying liquids, electronic key fobs and most of their hand luggage, as they requested carry on items to be put in transparent plastic bags, due to the fact that potential bombs could be triggered with them. The authorities, both in Britain and in the United States, reacted in a way that made their Muslim communities feel concerned and angry (Agent infiltrated terror cell, U.S. says, 2006).

That same day, on arrival to Green Bay, Wisconsin, President Bush declared:

The recent arrests that our fellow citizens are now learning about are a stark reminder that his nation is at war with Islamic fascists who will use any means to destroy those of us who love freedom, to hurt our nation...

This country is safer than it was prior to 9/11. We've taken a lot of measures to protect the American people. But obviously, we're still not completely safe, because there are people that still plot and people who want to harm us for what we believe in. It is a mistake to think that there is no threat to the United States of America...

The American people need to know we live in a dangerous world, but our government will do everything we can to protect our people from those dangers (The White House, 2006).
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The use of term ‘Islamic fascists’ by President Bush was criticised by the Council on American-Islamic Relations, because the association of Islamic Muslims with fascism is, in their view, counterproductive, since a religious war against Islam and Muslims must be prevented (*Bush: U.S. at war with Islamic fascists*, 2006).

The Israel-Hezbollah conflict in Southern Lebanon

The reminders of 9/11 in the United States and the 7/7 bombing in London justify now and again the war on terror, a war that has led to disturbing violence in the Middle East. On the other hand, July 2006 witnessed the beginning of a violent conflict between Hezbollah and Israel on the south Lebanese border, triggered by the kidnapping of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah. Israel's army attacked positions of this militia in southern Lebanon and Hezbollah fired back with hundreds of rockets. At present, a fragile ceasefire keeps the United Nations busy in implementing Resolution 1701 of the Security Council. However, it is important to note that the ‘terror’ component is omnipresent in a conflict that is directly related to the establishment of the State of Israel decades ago.

A discussion on a television programme between Harvard Law Professor Alan Dershowitz and James Zogby, a Lebanese-American, president of the Arab American Institute illustrates this point (*Larry King Live: War in the Middle East*, 2006). Dershowitz stated that Lebanon’s tragedy is that 88 percent of the population supports Hezbollah, a fact that turns the Lebanese people from victims to the major collaborators of terrorists.
According to him, Lebanon is on the wrong side in the beginning of a 'major war between democracies and terrorism', and 'tragically their citizens are paying a heavy price'. The deaths of innocent civilians are to blame only on Hezbollah, as Israel does not want to hit civilians but military targets and Hezbollah is hiding among civilians. Comparing this conflict with other wars, and commenting on the participation of the United States in the World Wars, Dershowitz defends his point by stating: 'The United States attacked military targets and in the process killed many, many civilians. That was necessary to win a war and that's going to be necessary to beat terrorism here too'.

Zogby pointed out there was no use in returning to the law of the jungle, killing innocent civilians and doing every atrocity imaginable, using the same law of the terrorists to stop the enemy, Hezbollah in this case. Zogby believes armies ought to hold themselves to a moral standard, i.e. setting a higher standard for a war to deliver a new democracy for a new generation in the world. Dershowitz believes that Hezbollah's great weapon is the 'perception battle', except for the United States and Great Britain, because the media and international public opinion turned against Israel and, by doing so, Hezbollah is encouraged more and more to hide among civilians. Even if the discussion was interrupted based on time constraints, its content -the justification of war- is revolting.

This latter part of the chapter has been devoted to analysing PSYOPS and the propaganda generated by the United States, due to the fact that, as learned previously, it is during times of conflict that images and
stereotypes are changed at the hastier pace. The post Cold War era is, effectively, centred on infocommunications and energy, as the current events demonstrate. The Age of Terror is the struggle of the remaining power of the former Cold War, namely the United States, and its allies, to spread their values and lifestyle to the rest of the world. Following the news coverage patterns, it could be argued that the political vision and the philosophy of the United States strongly influences the way international politics are being carried out around the world.

All states around the world are driven into the discussion of terrorism and have to take sides when asked to cooperate in fighting the menace, due to the fact that this is a problem of an international nature. Countries that would apparently have little to do with this fight against terrorism, like some in Central America or in Eastern Europe, have taken active measures both to demonstrate their loyalty to their economic and financial partners, on the one hand, and to directly profit from these actions, on the other.

As the very recent Hezbollah-Israel conflict has shown, the anti-terror philosophy and the excuse of the existence of terror as a motive to initiate war permeates all levels of conflict. Maybe this --and many other conflicts around the world- have their roots in events that happened decades or even centuries ago, but the point here is to note the fact that old conflicts have a new approach and generate a new rhetoric, which perfectly fits with the dominating political discourse, i.e. it all fits into the 'War on
Terror'. 'Terror' has become the 'heir enemy', after fascism and communism.

In the next chapter, a brief reflection about the way national image takes its place in the current world order will be briefly examined. Five years after 9/11, every nation's culture and development is perceived differently and the current developments show that foreign cultures can be labelled into a plain 'friend-enemy' dichotomy. This is the result of the work of image-makers and it is therefore vital to understand where the public diplomacy activity can lead to, not to mention propaganda activities carried out by the military in the countries of conflict. That perception can lead to support from the leading countries to national policies, commerce and development, or to political pressures, economic sanctions, war, or terrorist attacks if a country openly takes sides for the counter-ideology or fails to convey a moderate or neutral image when needed. On the other hand, free commerce, trade, and investment are seen by the West as the main tools for societies around the world to overcome poverty or to foster an ongoing developing process like that of the emerging countries. The image they convey will likewise bring them support for their causes or will hamper their development and intentions.

Throughout this study, it has been pointed out that there is an urgent need to combine theoretical research with empirical research in order to understand how the image-maker can better achieve promotion objectives. This part of the study has been devoted to understanding the context in which image-makers develop their tasks as well as the basic concepts that
need to be studied to grasp the way in which individuals create images and understand representations. After this process, individuals develop a feeling of belonging, to a family, a group, a nation. And this feeling of belonging is strongly associated with a set of values. That is what the image-maker has to take into account while carrying out his or her task, as a national image is, above all, a multi-layered unit of values. And in this case, multi-layered means that there are familiar, physical, societal, cultural, political, economic factors and others that comprise knowledge that is translated into a national image.

The next chapter ends the first section of this study and, therefore, is conceived as a link between both sections. Reference will be made to the countries at the centre of the study, namely Mexico and Germany. It will describe the role of national promotion organisations, highlighting the case of Germany, and it will describe the way Mexico expected to be portrayed in 2000. The background information, including facts and figures of Mexico that year, is presented in order to contextualise the promotion efforts carried out at the time. This empirical research gains added value when combined with the theoretical concepts studied so far.
Chapter 7. Mexico 2000: Portraying its preferred national image in Germany.

The previous chapters have given an insight into the theoretical elements related to the formation, acknowledgement, and building of images, especially at a political level in the form of national images. Current developments present new challenges to the countries of the world due to the fact that a new sort of conflict has replaced the somehow 'stable' or clearly defined order of things during the Cold War era and has promoted hasty and profound changes in the international order. During the Cold War, world events were to a large extent politically-driven. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the world and the relations between states have been increasingly ruled by the economy. Trade and energy have emerged as the new key motives that keep the world moving but, as events develop in the world, ideological differences have not lost importance and meaning but they run parallel to the economy in decision-making situations around the globe.

The world five years after 9/11

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. have redefined the way world affairs are conducted, especially after what could be considered as a period of a new definition of power relations at an international level. Five years after 9/11, the political agenda and the
justification of war on terrorism seems to be the main item of news at an international level, independently from the viewer’s point of view. Western countries have access to information generated by reporters and news agencies that share their values, even if they agree with the war or not, i.e. we have a set of notions and references that picture the scenarios in a way we understand and, within that frame of reference, we support or disagree about governmental, corporate, and societal measures and actions. Many countries may not necessarily be acquainted with the ‘War on Terror’ formula as we know it in the Western world, but have other expressions for the sort of conflict the world is facing at this stage. This is due to cultural differences and not necessarily to language barriers but to a distinct set of values and beliefs that lead to different interpretations of a message originally conveyed with a different intention and with a different purpose. If the message does not get through or a different message prevails, if the message is not tolerated or if it is simply ignored, their creators will engage in a crude fight for the ‘hearts and minds’ of the people, using all their skills and knowledge about representation, identity and values. That is a challenging task.

Gubern (2003:32) explains that President Bush omitted one of the most important components of the War on Terror when he announced that it was a military, political, financial, and diplomatic war: the media. Charlotte Beers, former U.S. Undersecretary of Public Diplomacy, engaged the Muslim boxer Mohamed Ali (formerly Cassius Clay) to explain to Arab audiences that religious freedom prevailed in the United States and that his country was not at war against Islam. These $15 million advertising spots
soon suffered setbacks, as countries such as Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon banned them from the air, considering them propaganda from a foreign government. On the domestic front, CBS and ABC aired series promoting military entertainment, and Hollywood’s products had to adapt to the new global terrorism age by not reviving the national trauma on screen, by praising American military power, and by not portraying Muslims as criminals. This was vital for Washington’s global interests, although individual images showing the “bad guys” with dark skin, thick beards and curly hair can easily lead to difficulties to the extent that the image of Arabs or Muslims in general can be –through stereotypes – identified with terrorists or “the enemy”. Trey Parker’s satirical *Team America: World Police* (2004), released by Paramount Pictures, uses these stereotypes intensively. In this film, an international police force dedicated to maintain global stability, learns that a dictator is brokering weapons of mass destruction to terrorists and the heroes embark on a mission to save the world.

Nowadays, the world is moving within this frame of reference. It is a fact that the ‘War on Terror’ affects all fields of action around the globe. It is also true that the international news agenda ignores many of the events at an international, regional or local level that influence the lives of countries and people around the world. In a time of conflict, as we have learned, the stereotypes and images change at the quickest pace but, on the other hand, ‘less important’ subjects remain unheard of and the majority of the countries of the world have to adapt to keep working, developing, or even surviving. It is here that the real challenge begins for countries that do not
seem to have an extreme 'newsworthy' influence in the international arena. This situation regarding 'newsworthiness' dates far beyond the 9/11 attacks. In a new context, the challenge remains the same: Every country seeks to put its own national agenda and interests forward, either through diplomacy or any other means available.

Mexico and Germany: A year of press coverage

In this chapter, the discussion turns to the two countries that are the main subject of this thesis, i.e. Mexico and Germany. This chapter will briefly describe the German national promotion organisation InterNationes as an example of how a developed country supports and uses a national promotion infrastructure as compared to a country that devotes far less economic resources for that purpose such as Mexico. What Mexico expected to be portrayed in Germany as its preferred national image in 2000 will then be examined. The background information, including facts and figures about Mexico that year, becomes a valuable tool to understand the context in which the promotion efforts were carried out at the time. Together with the point of view of the Mexican Ambassador to Germany at the time, our understanding of the image management efforts carried out by Mexico will be enhanced.

It is important to highlight that the year 2000 was chosen for this study due to the fact that it both allows the timely detachment necessary for the social scientist to evaluate the events in an impartial and objective manner and the results from this study allow us to observe the features of the German
coverage about Mexico in recent years. Apart from signalling the end of the millenium, 2000 could be described as a significant year for the bilateral relationship between these countries: the Free Trade Agreement between the European Union and Mexico was signed, Mexico participated at the World Fair Expo which took place in Hannover, Mexico’s presidential race was followed with interest during the year and culminated with a visit to Germany from President Elect Vicente Fox in October and, as a whole, it marked a new beginning both in political and economic terms between Mexico and Germany, the former due to the fact that the ruling party – PRI – had been overthrown from power after 71 years and the latter due to a new commercial context with the signature of the first free trade agreement of its kind between the countries of the European Union and a Latin American country.

It is also important to state that the example of Mexico in Germany is relevant to concerns already discussed to the extent that it shows the reach that the image promotion efforts of a developing country, such as Mexico, can have in a developed country. This developed country, Germany, is different from the United States and does not belong to the natural circle of influence nor is geographically considered to be a neighbouring country of Mexico. Emphasis is usually put in studying media coverage in countries closer to the region of influence and, in this particular case, Mexico can derive lessons from what keeps German audiences interested about the country and work accordingly in order to enhance results while profiling the preferred national image. Finally, it is important to point out that the chosen year of study is the last year of information before
the 9/11 events and, therefore, was not conceived within the context of the war on terror. As further studies could eventually show, in the case of the countries at hand, I would argue that interests and motivations in the coverage about Mexico in Germany have remained unchallenged after these events. This is the case for several other bilateral relationships around the world. Obviously, the relationship, say, between the United States and Mexico or between the United States and Germany, has been deeply altered after 9/11, 2001, but the relationship between Mexico and Germany has developed, in general terms, on the lines of the expected path. The most important issue here is to highlight that the study of news coverage of one country in another country’s media is an invaluable tool for those whose task is to manage the preferred national image, not only abroad in general terms, but in specific regions or even countries of the world that might be a priority for the country being portrayed.

National promotion organisations: *Goethe Institut-InterNationes*

As a result of national priorities, many countries in the world devote their resources to create an infrastructure and operate an organisation to promote the nation’s interests and image: the United Kingdom (*The British Council*), United States (*United States Information Agency/Voice of America*), France (*Alliance Française*), Sweden (*Svenska Institut*), Japan (*Japan International Cooperation Agency-JICA*), Canada (*CultureCanada*), and Spain (*Instituto Cervantes*), among others. Germany has *Goethe Institut-InterNationes*. Both organisations, *Goethe-Institut* and *InterNationes*, merged in January 2001 in order to create the largest
organisation for the promotion of German culture abroad. This merger created a network of 141 cultural institutes in 77 countries. The 'new' Goethe-Institut Inter Nationes' main tasks are to conceive and organise cultural programmes in the fields of arts, society, education, science, media and information; to carry out language courses and specialised support for people who are learning the German language; to prepare information about the language, culture, and society in Germany; to offer books, magazines, fictional and documentary films related to Germany as well as to carry out visitor's programmes for foreign guests (DOITSU, 2006).

The Goethe-Institut InterNationes is devoted to promoting the German image around the world and was founded in 1952. Dr. Rainer Epbinder, former Planning Director of InterNationes, explains that its main aim then was to inform the world about the Federal Republic of Germany. After the Nazi era, it would have been impossible for the new German government and society to set up a propaganda unit. Under Hitler, there was the notorious Propaganda Ministry headed by Goebbels. Instead, much effort was made and continues to be made today to portray Germany abroad as a modern, progressive democracy.

Goethe Institut-InterNationes is not hierarchically subordinated to the government, although it receives the financial support of around 150 million euro from it. This special status allows the organisation to fulfill its goals of impartiality and democracy in the country's image creation and fostering of

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2 Much of the detail in this account is derived from a personal interview conducted with Dr. Rainer Epbinder, Planning Director of InterNationes on June 19, 1998 in Bonn, Germany.
the German language and interest towards Germany among intellectuals, children, and broader audiences throughout the world.

Other such German institutions are the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD), in charge of awarding scholarships for foreigners to study in Germany; the Institute for Foreign Relations (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, IFA), which is devoted to the organization of German exhibits abroad; the German Research Society (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), which finances research projects about Germany, specially for the production of scientific books; and the „German Wave“ (Deutsche Welle, DW), which portrays Germany through permanent radio and television programming.

The organisation's printed, film, and educational media are produced not only in the German language, but also in English, Spanish, Russian, French, Italian, Arabic, and others.

Long-term goals

One of the main goals of the organization is to create a two-way-flow of communication, a dialogue between Germany and its counterparts all over the world. The feedback is important to measure which tendencies favour or harm Germany. The analysis of this dialogue allows the organization to strengthen, modify, or create new regional strategies that will gain sympathy for the country. Apart from making friends, German commercial interests are thus looked after through culture. There is no way an
organization can plan an image for a country. It depends on the information and knowledge that others have about it. However, the creation of this image depends on analysing how things are working for Germany in a specific country or region at the moment, what the country wants to achieve there, and knowing what really harms the image of the country.

Answering these questions is fundamental not only for Germany but for every country. It is important to take into account not only the intellectuals but the broader audiences as well. The image must be measured at two levels:

a) Broader or mass audiences; mass media and face to face propaganda have to be specially taken into account.

b) Intellectuals; specialised media and intellectual fora have to be analysed.

Image organisations have achieved their goal and won only when someone has become curious about a country.

The preferred national image is planned at home

It is important to highlight at this stage that this German promotion organisation is taken as an example of a conscious planning effort of a country engaging in public diplomacy or facilitative communication. This planning is the first stage in an effort to build a national image abroad. It is defined from a desk in the national headquarters at home and the best
results are expected from this exercise. However, at the other end of the process, embassies and consulates deal with and manage unforeseen events and consequences that may alter the capital’s original image planning. In today’s frame of reference, even if the War on Terror is at its peak, single countries must still put their interests forward, and business as usual still prevails in many activities. In what seems to be a completely different reality, care has to be taken not to forget that even if global conditions change, national development and political and economic interests have to be fostered abroad, especially in a country such as Germany, whose economy is dependent to a significant extent on exports. A careful balance has to be achieved in order to play its important role as the ‘economic engine’ of the European Union and a more and more important political actor on the international stage, on the one hand, and the fostering of its own particular national interests, on the other.

The same could be said about Mexico, keen on diversifying trade and broadening contacts with regions other than its own economic one, North America, while maintaining a leading role for its political region of belonging, Latin America. As we will see in the following chapters, Mexico’s presence in Europe, especially in Germany, was considered from the Mexican side of vital importance at sending a deliberate message of the country’s interest in strengthening ties with Europe. Former Mexican Ambassador Roberto Friedrich assessed the country’s presence in Germany at the end of 2000, an important year for the bilateral relation
between Mexico and Germany\textsuperscript{3}. The 2000 electoral process in Mexico generated one of the most thorough, intense, and analytical coverage periods Mexico has experienced in the media in recent history. It is important to mention, again, what the Mexican government intended to do months before the 9/11 attacks. After these attacks, the priorities of the government remained basically unaltered, but the global context changed. International attention switched to making some things easier to achieve and many others more difficult. This was the case for every country in the world. And it is still a very recent experience. Except for a few countries directly involved in war, the particular interests of countries have not changed to an extent that they are unrecognisable.

Both Mexico and Germany are leading countries in their regions struggling to widen their presence at a global level with the means at their disposal, as well as improving their image. Even if these countries have to put completely different agendas forward and planners at home work on different levels of image management, as we will notice, both Epbinder and Friedrich expressed a will to present their countries as 'modern democracies', which means that their efforts intertwine at some point, as one country wants to be seen in the other and a knowledge of their societies is important to this end.

The following background information about Mexico as well as the notions expressed by the Mexican Ambassador to Germany will help us to better

\textsuperscript{3} Again, details on the present account on Mexico-Germany relations are derived from a personal interview conducted with the Mexican Ambassador to Germany, Roberto Friedrich, on December 9, 2000 in Berlin, Germany.
contextualise the content analysis of Mexico in the German press to be presented in the next section of this thesis and will also point out the challenges associated to the creation of national images or, better expressed, the management of the already existing national image of a country around the world.

The other end of the process: Mexico’s image in Germany

According to Ambassador Friedrich (2000), the Mexican image must be projected in the most objective fashion possible at an international level because nowadays, trying to form an image that does not correspond to reality in the long term would be counter productive:

"Image should be formed based on a constant flow of real information about what is happening in Mexico, so that embassies and consulates, based on this information, define the most adequate channels and media to diffuse it, according to the conditions prevailing in each place. Any possible means is valid, from massive communication media to personal talks with opinion leaders. In fact, every personal contact should be an image-creating exercise. Every single member of the diplomatic representation, not only the person in charge of image diffusion, should be well informed about this image and promote it as well."

In the case of Mexico’s preferred national image, the trend had been to transmit a realistic and objective image, not hiding problems and realities that cannot be hidden, an image in which defects and lacking elements were also shown, but in which the progress made in different sectors was clearly presented, in the economy and in some of the social sectors, for example. In 2000, Mexico was “keen on conveying the image of a country
that is trying to solve its problems, a Mexico searching for the right path". Information about this path must be given as the country moves ahead.

Undoubtedly, political change was the most important challenge Mexico faced in 2000. It was also important to take economic and social challenges into account in order to find this 'right path'. Facts and figures about Mexico in the year 2000, as well as the description of some of these challenges, follow, in order to picture the situation of the country at the time of the press coverage in Germany.

**Mexico and its people**

In 2000, Mexico was the 14th largest country in the world (Aguayo, 2002:26/The Economist, 2001:12) with the 11th largest population (The Economist, 2001:14). Mexico's extension covers an area of 1,972,545 sq. km., being 13 percent of the total land cultivable. The country has 31 states and the Federal District, where the capital lies (Aguayo, 2002:26). Its capital is Mexico City and its currency is the Mexican peso. By 2000, there were 95.8 million inhabitants -103.3 million in 2005 (INEGI, 2006). The average annual growth in population 1990-2000 added up to 1.73 percent and 33.2 percent of the total population was under 15 and 4.7 percent was over 65. There were 98 men per 100 women. Life expectancy in men was 70 years, and 75 years in women. Adult literacy was 90.1 percent and the fertility rate per woman was 2.8. Urban population was 74.4 percent (The Economist, 2001:12-14, 227).
Mexico 2000: Portraying its preferred national image in Germany

The Economy

Mexico's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) added up to 3,791 billion pesos, i.e. $368 billion. The average annual growth in real GDP 1990-98 was 2.5 percent, being $3,840 the GDP per head and being 25.5 the GDP per head in purchasing power parity (PPP), where the USA equals 100. The GDP is the sum of all output produced by economic activity within a country. (The Economist, 2001:227). The Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) statistics adjust for cost of living differences by replacing normal exchange rates with rates designed to equalise the prices of a standard "basket" of goods and services. These are used to obtain PPP estimates of GDP per head. PPP estimates are normally shown on a scale of 1 to 100, taking the United States as 100 (The Economist, 2001:227).

The Mexican GDP is originated by of the following: Agriculture (5.8 %), Industry (28.9 %), of which 21.4 % belong to manufacturing, and services (68.1 %). The components of GDP are private consumption (68.5 % of total), public consumption (9.8 %), investment (22.0 %), exports (29.1 %) and imports (-29.5 %). The structure of employment: Agriculture (17 % of total), industry (27 %), and services (56 %). The average annual rate of unemployment between 1991 and 1998 was of 3.7 percent of the labour force, being 2.3 percent unemployed in 1998 (The Economist, 2001:12-14).

The consumer price inflation in 1999 was 16.6 %, being the average annual inflation from 1990 to 1999 of 19.4 %. The exchange rates of the Mexican peso were 9.51 per USD, 13.06 per Special Drawing Right
(SDR), and 9.56 per euro. The Special Drawing Right (SDR) is the reserve currency, introduced by the IMF in 1970, intended to replace gold and national currencies in settling international transactions (The Economist, 2001:227).

Mexico's principal exports in billions of USD "free on board" (fob) included manufactured products (106.1), crude oil and products (7.1), and agricultural products (3.8), adding to a total of 117.5 billion USD including others. The main exports destinations are the United States (81.9 % of total), followed by Canada (4.6 %), Japan (1.0 %), and Spain (0.8 %).

The principal imports totalled 125.4 billion USD including "carriage, insurance and freight" (cif), of which 96.9 % amounted for intermediate goods, 17.3 % for capital goods, and 11.1 % for consumer goods. The main origins of imports were the United States (73.9 % of the total), Japan (4.0 %), Germany (3.7 %), and France (1.2 %).

The abbreviations "Cif/fob" refer to measures of the value of merchandise trade. Imports include the cost of "carriage, insurance and freight" (cif) from the exporting country to the importing. The value of exports does not include these elements and is recorded "free on board" (fob) [The Economist, 2001:206].
Society

There were 21.1 million households in Mexico, with an average of 4.6 people per household. There were 7.1 marriages and 0.5 divorces per 1,000 inhabitants. The cost of living in December 1999 equalled 79 points of an index where New York represented 100. There were 89.8 colour television sets per 100 households and 10.4 telephone lines per 100 people. There were 3.5 mobile telephone subscribers per 100 people and 4.7 computers per 100 people. There were 4.4 Internet hosts per 100 people (The Economist, 2001:164-165). Internet hosts are understood as Websites and other computers that sit permanently on the Internet (The Economist, 2001:227).

These figures help to understand Mexico's standing at an international level. They are the basic elementary data taken into account to make country comparisons and, from the data on society, economy and households, the level of development and quality of life in Mexico can be inferred. These figures, matched with the analysis of the Mexican challenges at the time, portray the situation the country was experiencing in 2000. This information, aiming to create a better context about Mexico during the period of study, also helps to give meaning to the results of the content analysis presented in the next section of this thesis. The data allow the researcher to figure out, for example, that the country has enormous wealth and that the industrial and exporting figures place the country among the most important countries for commerce but, at the same time, inflation rates, purchasing power, cost of living, telephone,
computer, and Internet figures clearly show that such wealth has not reached the whole population. With this sort of interpretation, the range of topics can be explained in a clearer fashion and, therefore, it will not be surprising to find an emphasis on economic matters, on the one hand, or on calls for change during, say, the presidential election carried out in Mexico during the period of study, on the other.

**The challenges: political, social, economic**

The Mexican presidential election in the year 2000 meant the greatest political challenge in recent history, as Mexico had to prove itself as being a true democracy. For the first time in 71 years, an opposition party won the presidential election in July 2000. Vicente Fox, from the National Action Party (PAN), became the new president for the 2000-2006 term. The Party of the Institutionalised Revolution (PRI) had in Ernesto Zedillo its last president since 1929.

President Zedillo promoted political constitutional reform in 1996 in order to form the basis for transparent, trustworthy and fairly financed federal elections for all political parties and to provide a new stage in the relations between the Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary Branches of the Union. The independence of the Electoral Tribunal was strengthened and campaign financing and airing times were defined to avoid imbalances.

The electoral results in 1997 gave the Federal Congress a plural composition in which no single political party had an absolute majority and in several local elections, opposition parties began winning governorships.
and presence in their respective local Congresses (Mexican Presidency, 2000).

Flores Rangel (2005:627) describes Zedillo as a president who was able to govern and manage his presidential mandate without the controversy and contradictions of former presidential periods and who managed to achieve the political reform that made possible that the Mexicans experience the democratic transition they live in.

Flores Rangel (2005:631) points out that, from the beginning of his administration, Zedillo defined himself as a democratic leader open to change. Political violence was reduced in comparison to his predecessor, President Carlos Salinas. During his term, the identity of the leader of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in the southern state of Chiapas was disclosed. Rafael Sebastián Guillén Vicente is better known around the world as Subcomandante Marcos. This is a guerrilla organisation in the state of Chiapas, one of the poorest states in Mexico, which initiated an armed uprising on January 1, 2004, the day the North American Free Trade Agreement came into effect, still under the Presidency of Carlos Salinas de Gortari. The group fights for the rights of the indigenous population but also, generally speaking, against the neoliberal policies of the government (Wikipedia, 2006). The whole situation in Chiapas was not solved, even after the government decided to implement a permanent programme against poverty, establish a general amnesty and conduct impressive military activity. The dialogue with the EZLN was at a standstill.
Moreover, after the police was involved in violent killings of peasants in Aguas Blancas, in the southern state of Guerrero, a new army emerged, the Revolutionary Popular Army (EPR). It also wanted justice and a crime-free society, as well as the end of misery. However, as opposed to the EZLN, this group carried out violent acts in five different states, killing 16 people. This was enough to lose the possibility of a dialogue with the government and the condemnation of the civil society. After a couple of years, this movement stopped hitting the headlines (Flores Rangel, 2005:641).

Other important political problems were the arrest and imprisonment of former president Salinas’ brother Raúl, on charges related to the murder of an important politician and enrichment through illegal businesses related to drug-trafficking and money laundering (Flores Rangel:2005,655). The 1999 strike at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), Latin America’s largest university, provoked by a rise in the tuition fees, lasted until 2000, when the police had to take control of the campus (Flores Rangel, 2005:650).

On the economic front, Zedillo faced one of the worst economic crises in history at the beginning of his presidential term, the so-called 1994-95 Tequila crisis that deeply affected the population’s economy and quality of life. This crisis was directly linked to many of the political issues described above. According to official information, Zedillo sustained his commitment to the Mexican people, striving to overcome “the shortcomings and
backwardness accumulated during decades and, in some cases, centuries". According to official sources, social development spending in 1999 amounted to 60 percent of the programmable spending in the public sector. This social spending policy was oriented towards programmes with broad coverage aimed at the general public. While focusing on education, health care, social security, labour training, and housing, these programmes also implemented measures to strengthen basic municipal infrastructure, create employment and improve human capital through education, health care, and nutrition. These measures were centred on population sectors living in extreme poverty, benefitting some 2,300,000 families (i.e. some 12 million people) through the Progresa programme (Mexican Presidency, 2000).

At the economic level, the Mexican Presidency (2000) reported that Zedillo’s economic reform programme allowed Mexico to achieve a favourable performance, creating more jobs for Mexicans. After the severe contraction occurred in 1995, in 1996 the economy grew by 5.1 percent and, in 1997, it attained a growth rate of 6.8 percent, the highest level in 16 years. In 1999, Mexico’s GDP grew at an annual rate of 3.7 percent, accumulating an average of 5.0 percent for the period 1996-2000. By February 2000, the number of employees insured by the Mexican Institute of Social Security totalled 12.3 million and the open unemployment rate amounted to 2.41 percent, the lowest level since measurement of this indicator began in the 1980’s. This measurement was at 6.3 percent in 1995, in the middle of the crisis. Accumulated inflation in 1999 was 12.3 percent, being a 10.0 percent projected for 2000. In comparison, inflation
in 1995 amounted to 52 percent. Mexico received 70 billion USD in foreign
direct investment between January 1994 and December 1999 and by
March 2000, international reserves reached a level of over 32 billion USD,
the highest level until then. The GDP’s percentage of net public foreign
debt decreased from 32.4 in 1995 to 16.1 in 1999.

The balance of the PRI era

Regarding the presidential elections won by Vicente Fox (PAN), Flores
Rangel (2005:673) states that on the night from the 2nd to the 3rd of July
2000, what the country experienced was indescribable, as the population
celebrated not only the triumph of a democratic alternative, but the end of
an authoritarian and corrupt era (PRI’s 71 years of rule). However, he
praises Zedillo’s achievements. Gallo (2003:113), instead, criticises
Zedillo’s mandate for his neoliberal policies and for his lack of experience
at handling the financial international community, detonating the 1994-95
economic crisis. Gallo (2003:128) believes that had it not been for the
violent and shameless corruption of the system that affected the public
opinion, the ruling party (PRI) would not have lost the July 2000 election.
He affirms (2003:130) that during the presidential terms of Salinas (1988-
1994) and Zedillo (1994-2000), corruption was manifested in several
ways: political murder, the influence in governmental decisions of several
interest groups, narco-politics, some groups of bankers and the illegal
ways in which the ruling party (PRI) obtained financial resources.
Political change is positive, but other problems remain

Ambassador Friedrich believed that in 2000 as never before, Mexico had a positive environment to present the country abroad, simply because the change in the political system gave the country a position that could be turned into a seal, a proof of maturity in democratic development. Even if this political development had been constant in the last years, many people abroad had interpreted the rule of the same political party (PRI) in the last 70 years as a lack of democracy. A new ruling party (PAN) as the result of the 2000 presidential elections gave Mexico a better position because it confirmed that, indeed, the process of political change was fully operating in Mexico. According to Ambassador Friedrich, however, negative factors make image-making tasks more difficult. The conflict in Chiapas (EZLN), poverty, lack of safety, corruption and impunity affect negatively not only the image of the country but they also make promoting tasks abroad more difficult, and it is here where, on the one hand, Mexico has to present an objective image, not trying to minimise its deficiencies, but not exaggerating them either. The danger faced in these types of judgements is that they are often generalised and exaggerated. They must be presented in a fair dimension and, most important of all, what had to be done in the future is to widely diffuse the progress being made and the measures taken to balance those negative effects.
Mexico-German relations and their objectives for 2000

According to Ambassador Friedrich, the economic aspect has the greatest importance in the bilateral relations between Mexico and Germany, and it consists of two factors: a) commercial and economic relations and b) the German investment in Mexico. Considerable progress had been made in both fields. The Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and the European Union signed in 2000 was expected to give an additional impulse to this progress. Intensive work had to be done in order to spread the opportunities and possibilities that this agreement alone offers, as well as combined with other possibilities and advantages Mexico offers, not only concerning the working and highly-skilled labour force, but Mexico’s connecting function between North and Latin America, and even towards the Asian market. Although the main opportunities are directed towards North America, Latin America still had a great potential to be developed and those were the opportunities to be addressed in Mexico, trying to neutralise or balance the negative aspects mentioned before, such as corruption, lack of safety or impunity, and to fight against them.

Regarding the political aspect of the bilateral relation, Ambassador Friedrich said:
“We simply have to accept that Latin America does not have an outstanding role in Germany’s foreign relations. In the last 10 years, Germany was focused on its own reunification process, and now (2000) the European Union’s broadening process and its relations with the European Union clearly play an important role”.

Germany’s relations with the Far East possibly had a greater importance from the political and economic point of view and, within Latin America, its relation with Mercosur, mostly because of the relations with Brazil, have been more significant for Germany than those with Mexico. That is mainly because of the high amount of German companies already operating in Brazil, which are sort of lobbyists in the relations with Germany. However, in these last years, political relations have undergone great progress. According to information from the Embassy of Mexico in Germany (2001), some important German political personalities, including President Johannes Rau and Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, visited Mexico. Mexican Presidents Fox and Zedillo, among other high officials, visited Germany. The Mexican-German Parliamentary Group of Friendship was reinforced and the German Centre was opened in Mexico in 2001 – the first of its kind in Latin America- in order to promote the establishment of small and medium-sized German companies in Mexico. Important progress was being made in the academic, cultural, and technical cooperation exchange between both countries.
A 'positive' image

Ambassador Friedrich pointed out that the task of image diffusion somehow involves all the other aspects of the bilateral relationship. Trying to inform what is being done in the economic, political, social, and cultural fields and what still needs to be done is one of the most important tasks to be handled concerning the management of Mexico’s image. The creation of a positive image will support the other areas because the more positive it is, the easier it will be to make progress in the other areas:

“I do not use the word ‘positive’ in the sense of trying to show that everything is beautiful, but being ‘positive’ in the sense of informing objectively about the facts and about progress achieved by Mexico.”

Mexico’s presence in Germany

Mexico clearly approached Germany to a greater extent due to its economic importance in Europe and its weight within the European Union. Agreements such as the one on double taxing and the one on investment promotion and protection were signed. The signature of the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and the European Union aimed to call the attention and interest of German entrepreneurs. Other clear signs of interest from Mexico towards intensifying its relationship to Germany could also be seen during the international fair ‘Expo 2000’ held in Hannover and the construction of the new Mexican Embassy in Berlin. Mexico not only congratulated Germany for its unification and accompanied Germany from Bonn to Berlin, but by doing so, left an architectural landmark in the new capital city.
Mexico in the press

Ambassador Friedrich considered that, in general terms, news about Mexico was ‘fairly objective’ in 2000, a year with the largest amount of news about Mexico until then. Prior to that year, the coverage was so low, that apparently unless there was an accident, an earthquake or another sort of disaster, nothing could be read or heard about Mexico. Elections were reported in a very positive way both for the leaving government and for the party that won the elections. This coverage could be considered as a positive contribution to Mexico’s image. Reporters need thorough information about Mexico, as superficial reporting due to lack of knowledge can lead to misinformation about the Mexican reality. Mexico gained presence beyond news related to negative or tragic events and the Chiapas conflict did not translate into main headlines, as opposed to previous years. The Mexican Embassy in Germany made a systematic effort to improve the relationship with the media, to increase media contacts, and to systematically send information through press bulletins. Great efforts were made, and they contributed in some way to the fact that this image improved significantly.

The following chapters will present the results of a content analysis that will help us to examine if the coverage of the German press about Mexico incorporated the main subjects and facts being discussed within Mexico that were presented throughout this chapter and they will help us evaluate
if the coverage matched the Mexican ambassador's assessment of his country's image in German newspapers during that period.

The need specific countries have to put their agendas forward in a complex and competitive global environment was explained in this chapter. National interests, together with the political image in form of national images, have to be fostered independently from the prevailing international situation, which can facilitate or hinder the effectiveness of the messages sent by a specific country to foreign audiences. The challenge of managing a national image starts by defining what the country's preferred national image is. By doing so, a coherent image policy is achieved. What is planned from the headquarters at home has to be supported both by facts and action internally and abroad. The facts and figures about Mexico in the year chosen for the content analysis, as well as the insight of the former Mexican Ambassador to Germany shall help us to evaluate if Mexico's preferred national image came across in the German newspapers during the specific time frame studied. Details of the content analysis follow.
Section II. Representations of Mexico in the German press.


The Design of the Study

We begin this section devoted to presenting the results of the content analysis of news about Mexico in the German press in the year 2000 by stating that the coding schedule used for this purpose was based on the model presented by Annabelle Sreberny-Mohammadi (1985) and other authors in their UNESCO research Foreign News in the Media: International reporting in 29 countries. This was due to the extensive coverage of topics and themes that define news reporting of a country or of a geographical region. However, this coding schedule was adapted to the specific needs of this study and proved to be extremely useful at describing Mexico's coverage in the press. This chapter will elaborate on the research methods and on how the results will be presented.

Media sample

Six newspapers were chosen due to their broad distribution within Germany: Bild Zeitung, Die Welt, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurter Rundschau, Handelsblatt, and Süddeutsche Zeitung. This sample includes the largest circulation daily in Germany, the Bild Zeitung.
It is important to point out that this study was designed to deal with printed matter only, as there were severe difficulties in getting hold of radio and television coverage. The newspapers chosen also reflect a broad societal spectrum of Germany and they are one of the main sources of information about the domestic and foreign affairs for most Germans. Each paper of the sample is described further on.

**Time sample**

This study called for a sample of one year, namely 2000. As already explained, that was an important year for the bilateral relationship between Mexico and Germany. Although it has been argued that a few weeks' sample shows the 'typicalness' of the pattern of news reporting (Sreberny-Mohammadi, et.al., 1985:13), it was important in this study to examine a longer – twelve month – period in order to carefully look at the coverage patterns that will reinforce the image of a country, in this case Mexico, in the eyes of the German readership.

The chronological period ran from January 1 to December 31, 2000.
Modes of analysis: Quantification and the need of further qualitative interpretation

It is vital to have a quantitative interpretation of the results and it is desirable and enriching to have a qualitative interpretation derived from the statistics. In this study, emphasis was given to content analysis, i.e. quantitative analysis, as the basic tool for the researcher in order to measure what the figures say about the coverage and, through them, be able to analyse where the national image of a specific country stands. Due to the fact that this was the first study of this kind between Mexico and Germany, priority was given to frequencies and multiple response analysis of the coverage. No qualitative analysis was carried out, although its importance is highlighted further on in this chapter as a tool to better understand the subtleties and meanings of the coverage. However, it is of prime importance to build up a context in order to interpret this study. This content analysis should be proof that monitoring and analysing news content is essential to the diagnosis and the management of national image-making. Content analysis is the first and most reliable way in which a researcher can evaluate news coverage and express its contents in figures that describe general trends. It is a controversial method in media research because of a) the problem of subjectivity and b) the question of whether counting things helps the researcher to draw inferences about meanings. Most researchers seem to agree that coding schedules should be designed to collect data that can form the basis of analysis that enables researchers to draw inferences about meanings. Some researchers have
advocated other methods of textual analysis such as discourse analysis as an alternative to traditional content analysis techniques because they doubt that coding schedules that count elements of content will ever be able to do this, but the sort of systematic approach that someone like Van Dijk (1998:66) advocates lies beyond the scope of the present study'.

The first section of this thesis was devoted to explain the general international context within which this press coverage takes place as well as the basic concepts that are necessary to understand the management of image-making and, on the other hand, to explain the situation of the country studied, in this case Mexico, during the period of study, specifically in Chapter 7. These theoretical elements should provide important tools for interpreting the results, in the sense that after a preferred national identity is defined, statistical results can be interpreted in that light, in order to contrast what was expected with the actual coverage of Mexico in Germany. Moreover, it would be ideal to undertake qualitative analysis in order to thoroughly understand the meaning of the use of texts and images that appeared in the newspapers, clearly showing if stereotypes were used or if propaganda or elements of national identity appeared in the coverage.

Due to time constraints, it was not possible to do qualitative analysis of all 1,020 news items, not to mention the analysis of hundreds of images. Such an analysis could be the basis of further study and would allow those carrying out content analysis to have access to new interpretation tools.
As noted at the beginning of this chapter, this study was based on Sreberny-Mohammadi's (1985) UNESCO research study *Foreign News in the Media: International reporting in 29 countries*. The most important aim of the study was to discover what news coverage patterns about Mexico were displayed in the selected German newspapers. This information could help determine the salience of Mexico in German news coverage. The news item was the unit of analysis. The main aim was to understand what information structure prevailed and what were the basic topics dealt with. In order to discover this pattern, it was necessary to find out how frequently Mexico was written about in the newspapers, and the general data associated to the coverage: name of the printed medium, date of publication, type of item, Mexico's importance in the information unit, the information source – among 15 news agencies and 262 journalists – the location of the news in the paper, be it in the front page, inside news pages or supplements, the existence of illustrations or pictures as well as the place where the story was generated. The study made it possible to find out if the news items had to do with relations between states. This was important in order to measure Mexico's presence in the international arena in the eyes of German journalists. It also pointed out what topics, actors, themes and references were covered. The coding schedule used for this study can be found in *Annex 1*, and the coding sheet used for each of the news items appears in *Annex 2*. In order to process the large amounts of textual information and find out as a result what the selected German newspapers portrayed about Mexico, information was codified and processed with help of the *SPSS - the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences – Programme* (Version 11.5). The overall results are
presented in detail in Chapter 9. Graphs and tables summarise some of the main results throughout this section of the study. Comparing the sample newspapers through multiple response analysis made it possible to distinguish their coverage profiles about Mexico more clearly and compare the results for each of the sample newspapers. This information is presented in Chapter 10.

Coding reliability

Best efforts were made to get hold of all the materials about Mexico derived from the six newspapers in question during the time of the study. Nonetheless, there is a chance that a few items might not have been incorporated, due to the fact that the author had to rely, in some cases, on research departments from the editorial offices of the newspapers concerned to get hold of the materials.

This coding schedule was based on Sreberny-Mohammadi’s 1985 *UNESCO Foreign News in the Media*... report, which had been subject to reliability checks worldwide. This proven formula implied unambiguous coding categories and gave clear instructions on how they were to be used. The researcher can be reasonably confident that this coding schedule actually measures the data about Mexico in the German press this study intends to do in a reliable fashion.
Due to the large amount of news items covered by this analysis, I would be confident to state that the results can be accepted as a reliable measure of the coverage of Mexico in the German newspaper press in 2000.

At this stage, it has already been noted that empirical data will never be good enough to support the complex theoretical framework in which they have to be interpreted. Content analysis, however, will clearly indicate if Mexico's presence in the sample German newspapers was significant or not. Through the measurement of the coding categories, specific details about the topics covered, the actors presented and the themes privileged by the editors can be obtained. They can yield clear indications as to whether elements related to national identity, stereotyping, propaganda or the preferred national image are present or not. Newspapers are a basic source of knowledge and reference for the German society. Specific information and images repeated through a twelve-month period will reinforce both vague notions or deep knowledge about Mexico in the society at hand.

Sample of German newspapers

In order to understand the selection of newspapers chosen for this study, it is important to analyse the development of the print media in Germany after World War II and how the six media chosen became part of the most popular and/or the most influential opinion leaders, among other things, due to their role and ideological orientation after the war had finished and
their development into national dailies in a competitive newspaper scenario.

**New press guidelines after World War II**

One of the main problems that the German press had in 1945 was to gain confidence from the sceptical readers. In October 1944, the Allied forces designed a programme for the future Anglo-American information policy, which would accompany the reconstruction of the Western part of Germany. The programme consisted of three phases:

1. A complete prohibition of activities in the field of information and entertainment, closure of all newspaper enterprises,
2. Editing military newspapers,
3. Editing German newspapers under allied control (Meyn, 2004:65).

By the end of 1949, 149 newspapers appeared in the Western zone, 20 in the Western Sector of Berlin. The first anti-nazi (national socialism) newspaper to appear was the *Aachener Nachrichten* on January 24, 1945. The *Frankfurter Rundschau*, the *Braunschweiger Zeitung* and the *Tagesspiegel* in Berlin belong to that first wave of newspapers. Each occupied zone created its own information organ: *Die Neue Zeitung* (American zone), *Tägliche Rundschau* (Soviet zone), *Die Welt* (British zone) and *Nouvelles de France* (French zone) [Meyn, 2004: 65].
The re-education of the German people into a democracy, away from "national socialism" and militarism was, according to the allied concept, the task of the licensed press. The Americans tried to create an independent press above the political parties' interest. Under this concept, the Frankfurter Rundschau and the Rhein-Neckar-Zeitung were created.

Most of the time, the British would not approve newspapers that reflected a political party's opinion. In order to prevent newspapers from becoming organs for the political parties, they gave the license to individuals who were members or sympathisers. The French would find a formula between the American and the British policies, and the Soviets gave licenses not to individuals, but to political parties and organisations. The Deutsche Volkszeitung of the German Communist Party was the first one to appear on June 13, 1945 (Meyn 2004:66-67).

Meyn explains that, like in the other occupied zones, the Soviet press had specific tasks:

1. To expand the ideology of Marxism-Leninism,
2. To influence the formation of a socialist conscience,
3. To support the construction of a socialist society,
4. To fight against the bourgeois (middle-class) ideology.

The Leipziger Zeitung was one of the few newspapers that, until 1950, opposed this vision (Meyn, 2004:67).
Law number 5

On September 21, 1949, the High Allied Commission announced Law number 5, which allowed every German citizen living in the German Federal Republic (except those directly found guilty of crimes related to the former nazi regime or prominent figures within it) to edit a newspaper without previous permission. Within six months, the number of newspapers grew from around 400 to 568. The new founders were, above all, mostly the old editors who had been accused of working with the nazi regime and who, therefore, had not been able to get a license before. Between 1949 and 1950, a fierce competition began (Meyn, 2004:68).

A phenomenon of concentration of the print media took place in the 1950s. The largest publishing houses then, still dominate today's newspaper and magazine market: Heinrich Bauer Verlag, Axel Springer Verlag, Gruner + Jahr and Burda-Verlag. For example, in 1976, Axel Springer Verlag, with headquarters in Hamburg, published 29 percent of German newspapers alone (Meyn, 2004:69).

German Democratic Republic (GDR)

In the GDR, the press, as all the other media, had the task to make socialist ideas popular, be it through agitation or propaganda. Already before the foundation of the GDR in 1949, the press depended on the State. The journalist career was controlled by the State and the news flow was centralised. The Allgemeine Deutsche Nachrichtendienst (ADN) was a
monopoly and no discussion would lead to dealing with press freedom. *Neues Deutschland* was the paper created in April 1946 by the Central Committee of the Socialist Union Party of Germany (SED - Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands). By the mid-80s, some underground press organs appeared, which devoted themselves to aspects of human rights and peace. They did play an important role towards the fall of the Wall. In November 1989, prominent writers gathered at the Berliner Alexanderplatz to fight for media freedom. In the last months prior to the fall of the Berlin Wall, newspapers discussed taboo subjects openly (Meyn 2004:70).

**Newspapers, their readers and other figures**

Newspapers have traditionally enjoyed great popularity in Germany. In 2000, some 78 percent of the population read a newspaper every day for an average of 30 minutes.

Local and regional newspapers predominate in the country. On working days, 355 newspapers appeared in the 16 different states. They published 1,576 local and regional editions from 135 offices. In 2000, the total circulation was about 24.6 million. *Bild* is the German daily with the largest circulation (4.24 million a day).

The large national dailies *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Die Welt* have smaller circulations but are widely assumed to be of considerable influence on political and business leaders. The same is true of *Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Rundschau, and Handelsblatt*, which are
assumed to have an impact far beyond the regions in which they are published (The Federal Government, 2000:415).

Other important opinion leaders are the weekly newspapers *Die Zeit*, *Die Woche*, and the *Rheinischer Merkur*, as well as the news magazines *Der Spiegel* and *Focus*. These offer background information, analyses and reports. There are also Sunday newspapers such as *Bild am Sonntag*, *Welt am Sonntag*, *Sonntag Aktuell*, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung*. Four Berlin dailies appear seven days a week, as do several daily newspapers in other cities (The Federal Government, 2000:416).

The broad coverage of the sample newspapers

Meyn (2004:94, 97) believes that if the circulation, the richness of news coverage, and the number of foreign correspondents are taken as a standard of a national quality newspaper, *Die Welt*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* are to be considered as such. *Bild Zeitung* belongs to the tabloid press and has the largest circulation among them (around 4 million). It is popular not only because it deals with popular subjects but because it plays a role not to be underestimated in the formation of public opinion.

These six nation-wide-available dailies were chosen for this content analysis because they are widely believed to represent the main ideas and trends in the current German society, with ideologies ranging from left to
right, and, most important of all, because they are either popular and/or considered by intellectuals and decision-makers to contain serious and reliable information.

**Bild Zeitung**

From the round 30 million daily newspapers that are sold each day in Germany, about 5 million belong to the tabloid press. Those are the newspapers that are only to be bought in newsstands. They play a not-to-be-underestimated role, not only due to the popular topics they present, but because they are important for opinion shaping. Their distinguishing feature is the use of huge headlines, big-format photographs, as well as scandal histories about sex, horror, and prominent people.

A very special place among this sort of press is given to the *Bild Zeitung*, published by the Axel Springer Verlag, due to its extraordinary circulation of about four million. This newspaper counts with more than 30 regional editions. One third of its 11 million readers rely on it completely. The others use it as a second newspaper, as they also read a regional one.

Over the years, *Bild Zeitung* was known as a conservative struggling paper. Meanwhile, the editors praise themselves for being completely "ideology-free", i.e. not fighting for the objectives of the right nor the left. They say the defaming of the minorities, common in the seventies, belongs to the past. That is why, in 1999, after the introduction of a new citizenship law, the paper welcomed the future fellow citizens from Turkish
Research Methods

origin and introduced a column where corrections would be made. Even so, the paper is still controversial.

Meyn (2004:99) explains that the followers of the paper praise

- Its short articles
- The language that is easy to understand
- Its commitment ("Bild fights for you")
- The high entertaining value
- The complete sports section
- Its current affairs coverage

The critics argue that the paper

- Oversimplifies many facts to the point of falsifying the news core
- Incorporates unimportant subjects and leaves the important ones behind
- Uses at times illegal methods in order to gather the news
- Violates the "journalism basic guidelines" of the German Press Council more frequently than other press organs

Scientists and journalists have proven many times that Bild Zeitung suppresses and falsifies news and the way the paper does it. This has been even confirmed by courts. However, according to Meyn, the newspaper influences many people, the Federal Chancellor included, it is said. Former Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was supposed to be guided at decision-making by his political instinct, polls, his wife Doris and the Bild Zeitung, because this newspaper has prevailed as a leading
medium. It establishes the media agenda, publishing today any exciting news, tomorrow a scandal, and the rest of the media follow the trend (Meyn, 2004:97-101).

Die Welt

A major national independent daily of conservative tendency published in Berlin. It has approximately 640,000 readers in Germany from all social shifts and professions. Its impact on public opinion is considerable, taking into account that it is devoted to a fairly well informed conservative public. Many of its readers are free-lancers, independent professionals, leading employees and public officials. It has a special edition on Sundays, Welt am Sonntag, which deals with politics, economy, culture, science and sports. Its print run amounts 234,384 copies during the week and 439,965 on Sundays.

This daily first appeared on April 2, 1946. It has approximately 165 members of the editorial staff, 8 offices in Germany and 9 abroad, as well as 40 correspondents. This daily contains special supplements on Saturdays devoted to literature (Die literarische Welt), on Wednesdays devoted to computing and internet (WEBWELT), and special reports on a regular basis. There are regional editions prepared for Hamburg, Berlin, Bremen and Munich (Hartung, H., 2000:72).

This daily is published by Axel Springer Verlag, whose headquarters are in Hamburg (W&V, 2000:14). This publishing company belongs to one of the
fifty most important media conglomerates in the world. Founded in 1909, this is by far the most important newspaper producer in Germany. Its power derives from the popular tabloid daily Bild, which sells more than 4 million copies daily and reflects the opinions of the people. Other newspapers printed by them are: Altonaer Nachrichten, Hamburger Abendblatt, Berliner Morgenpost, B.Z., Lübecker Nachrichten, Kieler Nachrichten, Leipziger Volkszeitung, and Ostseezeitung (Hachmeister and Rager, 2000:282-285). Axel Springer Verlag AG Berlin ranked 5th among the top 150 German media companies in 1999 (W&V, 1999:52).

**Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung - FAZ**

German experts believe that due to its high journalistic quality, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, founded in 1949, is considered as one of the most important dailies of the world. Its analyses are considered as reliable and the distinction between comments and news is strict. Its print run amounts 400,500 copies, reaching 1.14 million readers. The majority of its readers have some degree of higher education and work in decision-making positions, both in public as in private sectors. Its headquarters are in Frankfurt am Main.

This paper first appeared on November 1, 1949. The FAZ publishing company has 1,315 employees, 360 of whom are writers. The daily receives materials from 300 regular freelancers, as well as from 3,000-4,000 other freelancers. It has 77 correspondents in Germany and 47 abroad. Its supplements, among others, are devoted to technology and
motors, travel, nature and science and philosophy. Special editions are printed for the Rhein-Main region (Rhein-Main-Zeitung), as well as for Berlin (Berliner Seiten) [Hartung, H., 2000:73]. According to the MA2000 (German Media Analysis), the FAZ ranked eighth among the ten most read newspapers in Germany, with 890,000 readers per edition (Hartung, H., 2000:34). The FAZ Group (Gruppe Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung) ranked 17th among the top 150 German media companies in 1999 (W&V, 1999:52).

_Frankfurter Rundschau - FR_

Left-tendency daily founded in 1945 with a great influence in the political and intellectual elites. Its print run amounts 190,400 copies. This newspaper has 25 international correspondents (Frankfurter Rundschau, 1995:11). Its headquarters are in Frankfurt am Main.

The license number 2, issued in the city of Wiesbaden by the Military Government – Germany, authorised on April 15, 1946 the daily to be published in the city of Frankfurt, although the first paper had been printed on August 1, 1945 (Reifenrath, 1995:3). At the beginning, the _Frankfurter Rundschau_ was influenced by the Cold War and was read by leftist students, intellectuals and workers from the Main-region in Germany. Today it has changed. It is not the main leftist newspaper anymore, since there are others that portray that tendency more radically, like the _taz_, published in Berlin, and it has left its regional leadership in order to become
one of the main newspapers at a national level (Zwickel, 1995:4). The daily
is considered to be suited to foster a critical democracy (Roth, 1995:4).

The Druck- und Verlagshaus Frankfurt am Main, publisher of this
newspaper, ranked 45th among the top 150 German media companies in

**Handelsblatt - HB**

Newspaper founded in 1946 and published in Düsseldorf. Due to its
profound and broad analysis, the Handelsblatt is the most important daily
devoted to the financial and economic matters published in the German
language and one of the most important in Europe. Its print run amounts
159,000 copies, read by around 500,000 readers. Handelsblatt readers
have a solid formation and are decision-makers within companies or
organisations. Its headquarters are in Düsseldorf. Handelsblatt is
associated with the American media company Dow Jones. In May 1999,
Handelsblatt and Dow Jones agreed to form a strategic alliance that would
strengthen their position in the finance and economy information markets.
Since then, Handelsblatt owns 49 percent of The Wall Street Journal
Europe, whereas Dow Jones owns 22 percent of Handelsblatt. This
German-American alliance should position Handelsblatt at an international
level (W&V, 1999:18, 47). The Verlagsgruppe Handelsblatt ranked 36th
among the top 150 German media companies in 1999 (W&V, 1999:52).
Süddeutsche Zeitung - SZ

The Süddeutsche Zeitung is published in Munich and it is the most important daily of the region. It is a major newspaper at a national level and it also exerts a great influence in the German-speaking Switzerland and in Austria. Its print run amounts 436,000 copies (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2001), which are devoted to themes on national and foreign policy, science, technology, culture, and sports. It has a broad economic section and it publishes a cultural weekly. It is read among professionals and, in general, among the well-informed public opinion. Its tendency is centre-left. The headquarters of the Süddeutscher Verlag are based in Munich. In 1999, this publishing company ranked third among the specialised information editing companies in Germany (W&V, 1999:15).

According to the MA2000 (German Media Analysis), the Süddeutsche Zeitung was the second most read newspaper in Germany, amounting to 1.15 million readers per edition (Hartung, H., 2000:34). This newspaper first appeared on October 6, 1945 and has many special supplements. Among these, there is one devoted to youngsters (Jetzt), to environment, technology, and science (Umwelt-Wissenschaft Technik), to television (SZ Fernsehmagazin), to weekends (SZ Wochenende), and magazines (SZ Magazin, and SZ Extra). The paper has 250 writers and 40 correspondents, 20 of whom are abroad (Hartung, H., 2000:79). Ten thousand journalists work for the Süddeutsche Zeitung around the world. The paper lays special value in exercising critical, free, tolerant and independent journalism. This has a long tradition: it was this daily which
received license number 1 from the U.S. military government in October 1945 in Bavaria after the end of the war. That same evening, the first newspaper was printed, becoming a foundation for a free press in Bavaria and the founding cell of what, after decades, has become one of the leading media conglomerates in Germany (Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2001). The Gruppe Süddeutsche Verlag ranked 18th among the top 150 German media companies in 1999 (W&V, 1999:52).

Table 1. Newspapers analysed - circulation (2000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Print Run (Sold)</th>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Tendency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bild</td>
<td>4,389,724</td>
<td>4,412,978</td>
<td>sensationalist,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bild am Sonntag</td>
<td>2,250,482</td>
<td>2,495,266</td>
<td>right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Welt (Hamburg)</td>
<td>250,344</td>
<td>272,008</td>
<td>centre - right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Frankfurt am Main)</td>
<td>405,157</td>
<td>433,737</td>
<td>conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frankfurter Rundschau (Frankfurt am Main)</td>
<td>191,340</td>
<td>192,406</td>
<td>centre - left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handelsblatt (Düsseldorf)</td>
<td>166,183</td>
<td>174,488</td>
<td>conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Süddeutsche Zeitung (Munich)</td>
<td>427,644</td>
<td>442,718</td>
<td>centre - left</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was mentioned in the previous section of this study that it is necessary to understand the media landscape and the environment in which the team responsible for image-making will be working in order to manage messages in a fashion that interests and reaches the audiences of interest. An understanding of German history and how it affected the development of the German printed media will help the image manager to decide what newspapers to address and the direction in which his or her efforts might have greater chances of success. Not only is the history and understanding of the newspaper important, but so are the circulation figures. As I have argued throughout this study, working within a multi-layered environment in order to promote a preferred national image is a complex and difficult task. However, the chances of achieving results are enhanced if very specific objectives are set and if the working environment is understood. Chapter 7 already provided the elements for putting the information about Mexico displayed in German newspapers into context. This chapter aimed to further explain the advantages and limitations of carrying out content analysis as well as to provide an insight into the German media landscape and its history. Through this information, a wider interpretation of the data can be reached and the links between the reported topics on Mexico and the interest for the German readers can be better drawn. The next chapter will present the general results derived from the quantitative analysis of the news items about Mexico in Germany.
Chapter 9. Quantitative analysis.

The previous chapter introduced us to the research methodology and specific details of the content analysis carried out for this study. This research was deemed necessary in order to understand the basic structure of the news coverage about Mexico in Germany. Analysing content is a vital working tool for an image-maker because, as pointed out throughout this study, good knowledge of the working environment is needed in order to understand how the preferred national image stands before the actual coverage and that eventually can lead the image-manager to design a successful image-making strategy. This strategy can be created with the help of the theoretical concepts and knowledge which, in the case of this specific study, have been presented in its first section. However, none of this is relevant if we do not carry out a content analysis first, because the results give us knowledge about two things. First, about the media analysed (or any other information-producing entity): in this case, the results will let us understand who covers the affairs about Mexico, what the coverage patterns are in terms of length and periodicity, and what each newspaper’s profile is in terms of themes and references. Secondly, about Mexico (or any other topic) in Germany (or any other place): not only the information structure about the country is clearly presented, but detailed information about the size of coverage, topics, actors, themes and references that constantly appear due to, presumably, the need or interest the audience shows for such information and that has been recognised by newspaper editors. This information adds up to the knowledge of the
country within the German audience. This knowledge might help to up build, enhance or modify their image about Mexico.

In short, without a content analysis, the country in question cannot see where it stands, i.e. the image-maker in charge of Mexico will not be able to analyse what the image of the country actually is and, therefore, will not be able to evaluate if that image fits the preferred one or if it is necessary to design strategies for change. This would mean that the country, without the knowledge and awareness of this basic information derived from content analysis, would very hardly direct actions that help achieve its image goals. Needless to say that whereas monitoring the media is an essential task for diagnosing the actual image of one country in another, it is practically impossible to cover print, electronic, and digital media at the same time due to infrastructure, time, and financial constraints. However, the researcher must choose the media to be analysed according to the needs of the study. It could be argued that it is almost impossible to make a continuing comprehensive coverage about a specific topic that appears in the media. In the case of Germany, for example, it would be impossible to analyse contents of the coverage of a specific topic in the hundreds of newspapers and magazines printed every day. The point is, however, that a content analysis of selected media is indispensable to measure the general image trends in a specific society.

In the first section of this thesis, it was argued that knowledge is a basic element for individuals to gain a sense of identity. This sense of identity helps individuals to relate to others in such a way that groups are formed.
Being a member of a group does not prevent individuals from belonging to various groups simultaneously, as the identification process is complex and ‘multi-layered’. An important cohesion element in defining what or who individuals are can be defined by what they are not or by where they do not belong.

This process of definition unavoidably leads to stereotyping and to identifying places, people, language, culture and other elements of a national identity. Knowing who we are leads to the ‘othering’ process, namely defining who does not belong to the group. In this process, the creation of stereotypes and maybe some ideas derived from propaganda appear.

In the case of defining those trends in news coverage, content analysis can help the researcher to identify them through the specific figures of the contents analysed, that will show how often a country was reported – Mexico in this case- and in what terms. That sole fact will position the country within a general coverage pattern of news and within a specific sample newspaper pattern. The ‘multi-layered’ notion of identity formation is therefore clear, as elements both in the country studied as in the country of news reception greatly influence the amount of presence and the type of coverage received. Each content analysis involves a specific universe of individuals, societies, culture, economy, language, values, images, stereotypes and political culture that has to be considered in order to better understand the quantitative coverage and make a first basic assessment.
as to the success of one country presenting its preferred national image in another.

**Descriptive results**

This study involved a total of 1,020 news items that directly or indirectly dealt with Mexico. This section, based on frequencies analysis carried out according to the coding sheet, show first interesting statistical results that give us details about the coverage of Mexico in the German newspapers.

**News items about Mexico (see Chart 4)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Number of items</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>Bild Zeitung</em></td>
<td>303</td>
<td>29.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</em></td>
<td>245</td>
<td>24.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>Handelsblatt</em></td>
<td>182</td>
<td>17.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <em>Die Welt</em></td>
<td>104</td>
<td>10.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <em>Süddeutsche Zeitung</em></td>
<td>94</td>
<td>9.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <em>Frankfurter Rundschau</em></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>9.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dates

During 2000, news items about Mexico were reported in 301 days of the year. July accounted for the highest number of days (29), and February and March for the lowest (21 days each).

After examining the production of news items throughout the year, it was clear that July was the month that produced the highest number of news items (128), and April (35) the lowest.
The five time periods and/or days that produced more news items during the year 2000 were the following:

1. **Mexico's presidential election.**
   
   July 4-6. - This period comprises 41 news items, 22 on July 4\(^{th}\), 9 on the 5\(^{th}\), and 10 on the 6\(^{th}\). These items were devoted to the results of the Mexican presidential election, where Vicente Fox (PAN) won over the ruling party candidate Francisco Labastida (PRI). This meant ending 71 years of uninterrupted PRI government in the country. The coverage of this matter represents 4.1 percent of the total Mexico coverage of the year.

2. **President-Elect Fox visits Berlin.**
   
   October 5. - During this day, 19 cases were counted. The coverage of the day was devoted to the visit of Mexico’s President-elect, Vicente Fox, to Berlin.

3. **Signature of the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and the European Union.**
   
   March 24. – Nine items appearing this day informed that Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo signed the Free Trade Agreement between Mexico and the European Union in Lisbon, Portugal.

4. **Chiapas-State election and Volkswagen's plant strike.**
   
   August 22. – Nine items report on two important events happening in Mexico. The first is that the ruling party (PRI) lost the Chiapas-state
Governor election, and the second reports on a strike at the Volkswagen automobile plant in Puebla, Mexico.

5. Others.
September 27. - Nine items are devoted to reports about the Tequila shortage, the results of the Olympics, and about Mexican culture.

Type of item

Feature articles prevailed (Chart 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of item</th>
<th>Number of items</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Feature articles</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>60.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. News in brief</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>32.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Picture only</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. News story</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Editorial</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Reader’s letter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Picture story</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This information tells us that Mexico appeared mostly in features. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that all the feature articles were devoted exclusively to Mexico. In these features, Mexico is sometimes written about as a subsidiary or minor topic, and, in some cases, it is only mentioned. On the contrary, practically all the other categories were devoted to reporting about Mexico. The next category will help to clarify this.
Quantitative Analysis

Mexico’s importance in each item

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance</th>
<th>Number of items</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Main topic</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>46.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Minor topic</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>11.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Subsidiary topic</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mention only</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>37.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we re-interpret the statistics, we could say that Mexico’s core information derives from 50.9 percent of the items (as main and subsidiary topic), i.e. from half of them (see Chart 6).

Chart 6

Mexico’s importance in each item in German newspapers

January - December 2000
Total items: 1020
Quantitative Analysis

These figures show that less than half of the news items presented Mexico as a main topic, a fact that shows an opposite tendency to the one desired by the Mexican Government expressed by Ambassador Friedrich on Chapter 7.

Information sources

There were two different sources of information: news agencies on the one hand, and reporters, authors, or correspondents on the other. In both cases a second source was coded, due to the fact that in some cases an article is not only written by one person, but several, or there might be a mixture of a correspondent and a news agency. For this purpose, data on a second information source were recorded, i.e. news agency 2, and reporter/author 2 (see Annex 1). Most news items in this study were written by reporters or correspondents and less than 15% relied on news agencies as sources of information.

The results show that out of 1,020 news items, 305 indicated no reporter or author. Therefore, the following results analyse 715 news items, i.e. 70.1% of the total. It is important here to mention that almost 30% of the news items' information source cannot be traced.
Quantitative Analysis

News agencies

Only 157 news items were based on news agency wires or contained information distributed by them. From these, 136 cases had news agencies as main information source – representing 13.3 percent of the universe -, and 15 were registered as a second information source, representing 1.5 percent of the universe of items.

The predominant news agencies as a first source of information were: DPA – Deutsche Presse Agentur / Germany- (4.6 percent), AFP – Agence France Presse / France - (3.0 percent), AP – Associated Press / USA - (2.6 percent), VWD – Vereinigte Wirtschaftsdienste / Germany - (1.8 percent), and Reuters / UK (1.3 percent) [see Chart 7]. As a second source of information, the ones registered were AFP (0.6 percent), DPA (0.4 percent), AP (0.3 percent), and Reuters (0.2 percent).

Chart 7

News agencies used by German newspapers to inform about Mexico

January - December 2000

This graph only shows the components of the universe, not a cumulative percent.
Eleven authors wrote more than 10 news items in the period of study, which represents 23.3 percent of the information altogether.

The five journalists/correspondents who wrote more about Mexico were the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Journalist</th>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Overall percentage/ No. of Items produced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Christian Geinitz</td>
<td>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</td>
<td>7.5 % / 76 items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Daniel Birchmeier</td>
<td>Handelsblatt</td>
<td>2.8 % / 29 items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sigrun Rottmann</td>
<td>Frankfurter Rundschau</td>
<td>2.2 % / 22 items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Arnd Hildebrandt</td>
<td>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</td>
<td>2.1 % / 21 items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Hildegard Stausberg</td>
<td>Die Welt</td>
<td>1.6 % / 16 items</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned at the beginning of this coding category heading, an important 29.9 percent (305 items) of the coverage studied did not indicate an information source.
Location in the paper

The news about Mexico was mainly located in inside news pages (94.8 percent), followed by the front page (3.1 percent), and others, such as supplements (2.1 percent) [see Chart 8].

This clearly indicates that Mexico’s degree of newsworthiness is low in Germany, as the country’s presence on front page headlines is extremely low. This fact reveals that Mexico’s image goals are not being fulfilled.

Chart 8

Location in the paper

Items about Mexico

January - December 2000
Total of items: 1020
Pictures

Only 21.7 percent of the items (221) were accompanied by pictures or illustrations. The rest did not (78.3 percent) [see Chart 9]. This figure is also important because, with some exceptions, longer articles are accompanied by graphic illustrations, photographs, or picture stories that convey important messages with little or no text attached to them. It is also important to point out that most of the stereotyped images of a country appear through them. A qualitative analysis could give detailed insight about this, although, as already mentioned, such an analysis lies beyond the scope of the present study.

**Chart 9**

Items with a picture or illustration

- Yes
- No

January - December 2000
Total of items: 1020

**Story type**

Most of the items included information generated in Germany (40.7 percent). Some 28.9 percent of the items include information generated in
Mexico, 19.1 percent in a third identifiable party, and 11.3 percent of the cases had an unknown information source [see Chart 10]. The category of information "generated in Mexico" included all those items written by Mexico City-based journalists and correspondents or where it was clearly stated in the item that the author was in Mexico at the time of writing.

This is an important issue, due to the fact that it was observed that information generated in Mexico was more extensive and detailed, as the author framed the news item within a larger political, social, economic, and cultural context of the current situation of the country at the time of writing.

This is a very important issue for the image manager, as it appears to be that the richest details and the overall mood about a country are better presented when correspondents or journalists in situ write about it. This does not mean that the information presented will 'benefit', 'foster' or 'agree' with the preferred national image at stake. However, it gives the audiences a chance to obtain a greater number of detailed elements and opinions that will enhance their knowledge of Mexico.

It is important to highlight what seems to be the common practice of having correspondents cover the news from nearby regions. This task is normally carried out with the help of local media and contacts that are more acquainted with the developments covered. It is worrying or problematic for the image maker to have news or events presented where the in situ context is lacking, the supporting distant sources of the journalists are not well acquainted with the situation at hand, or
information is misleading. This would be more likely to happen if, say, a German correspondent in Miami, Buenos Aires or Madrid was in charge of covering Mexico’s affairs. This was the case for some of the news items covered in this study.

This information about the origin of the information allows the researcher to learn more about the media environment. In this regard, there is nothing more negative for the image building task than having an unknown information source or not being able to identify it, as little orientation of the source of information cannot lead to action in case an image flaw has to be addressed or further analysed. This problem is often accompanied by the lack of information about the author of the news item, be it a journalist or a news agency.

Chart 10

Where was the news item generated?

Unknown
Generated in a third

Generated in Mexico

Generated in Germany

January - December 2000
Total of items: 1020
Relations between States

Most of the items did not concern relations between States (87.5 percent). From the remaining 12.5 percent, these relations between States dealt with:

a) Mexico and Germany (4.1 percent)
b) Mexico and the USA (2.5 percent)
c) Mexico and the European Union (2.4 percent)
d) Mexico and Latin America (1.5 percent)
e) Others (1.3 percent)
f) Mexico and NAFTA (1.0 percent)

The image-maker will observe that, apart from the logical result of dealing mostly with Mexico-Germany relations, the relations between Mexico and the United States are important at an international level, since it deserved more attention than the relationship with Europe and Latin America, both the closest geographical areas to the countries involved. If this result is matched with the information about where the news item was generated (previous heading), probably a lot of those items generated in a third party were generated in the United States, i.e. that specific relationship impinges directly on Mexico’s image in Germany and, probably, around the world.
Topics

The coding schedule used for this content analysis allowed coding a main topic and up to three subsidiary ones. Normally, in-depth items are the ones that allow a codification at various levels. It is important to know the ranking of the main topics but attention should also be paid to the subsidiary topics, as unknown details or complementary information about a news story or specific development can be gained from this information.

Main topics, as we will further see, may be deceiving. The consistency of the reporting can be confirmed when a topic appears in the successive levels of analysis, i.e. when it appears throughout the four levels of analysis (see Table 2). For the 1,020 cases, a main topic and three subsidiary topics were coded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topics</th>
<th>Number of items</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main</td>
<td>1,020</td>
<td>100 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidiary 1</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>51.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidiary 2</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>25.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidiary 3</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>12.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Through the number of subsidiary topics, this table clearly shows the different levels of profoundness in which Mexico’s information was presented. A 12.5 % of the universe presented enough material as to register a fourth level of analysis. Coding practice throughout this research
showed that a fifth level of analysis, i.e. a "subsidiary topic 4", would be practically non-existent.

The ten most frequently recurring topics in each category are shown in Table 3 below. This table is the result of a multiple response analysis and registers the number and percentage of responses for each topic. Most of the recurring topics match Mexico's desire of being recognised as a 'modern, functioning democracy'. Elections are the basis of any democracy and the economic issues and diplomatic activities are directly related to the concept of 'modernity'. The other topics work against the desired preferred national image. One must be careful here, however, not to make hasty conclusions based only on these data.

**Table 3. Most recurring topics about Mexico.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>Percent of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>10.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other economic performance, output, growth, etc.</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>8.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sports</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>7.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Agreements on trade, tariffs, free trade, etc.</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>6.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal conflict or crisis</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>6.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Stock exchange, share prices, dividends, profits</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>5.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Diplomatic, political activity between States</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>5.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Capital investment, stock issues, state investment (not aid)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>4.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Human interest, odd happenings, animals, sex, etc.</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>4.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Culture, arts, archaeology</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Social problems generally, poverty, health, housing, illiteracy, etc.</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3.0 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is clear that the main topic during the period of study had to do with the presidential electoral process pointed out at the beginning of the chapter, but four of the ten main topics deal with economic matters. This information, together with current information about Germany, gives valuable information to understand the context where this information appears, as discussed in the first part of the thesis. For example, as of 2007, Germany is the leading exporting country of the world and there are almost 1,000 German companies in Mexico. It could be argued that Mexican politics are interesting for Germany in the sense that a politically stable country guarantees good conditions for commerce and investment.

**Actors**

Main topics proved to have four different levels of analysis. In a similar analytical scheme, a main actor and up to three other actors were recorded throughout the 1,020 items (see Tables 4 and 5), including their nationality (Table 6), the position or sphere they belong to (Table 7), as well as the fact if they had been quoted or not (Table 8). This last information is very useful to measure whether the article depended on a primary source or on secondary sources and, at the same time, shows the importance given to the actor's quotations.

The results stem from frequencies and multiple response analyses. Only 7.5 percent of the cases (77 cases) had no further actors. An "Other actor 1" was registered in 943 cases (92.5 percent).
A nationality pattern could be confirmed in all four levels of analysis, a statistical rarity. It was above all reported about Mexican nationals, then other nationalities, and Germans in the third place, followed by those actors whose nationality was not stated in the corresponding item (see Chart 11).

Just as with the ‘Topics’ heading, an analysis of the actors tell the researcher what faces and what places or institutions attention is paid to and, therefore, who or what Mexico’s image is associated with.

The results also proved to point out that in the case of Mexico, many of the main actors were non-human or abstract concepts, e.g. Mexico, Mexico City, or Popocatépetl Volcano, among others. The importance of this information is that it identifies the people, locations, institutions, things or ideas with whom the German readers relate to Mexico. If non-human actors predominate in the coverage, it will be difficult for the readers to identify faces and names with Mexico. Vicente Fox, the leading actor during the period of study, appeared in 187 news items and was the main actor in 114 of them. The results of the position or sphere of action reveal that the vast majority of actors accounted for in German newspapers are linked to politics and the government. The President of Mexico was, by far, the iconic figure of the country in Germany. It could be argued that, in practical terms, it is only talked about the President of Mexico in the German press. Needless to say that the room for improvement in this regard is huge.
### Table 4. Top five actors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vicente Fox</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>5.91 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ernesto Zedillo</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>3.22 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Francisco Labastida</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1.55 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.01 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bill Clinton</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.47 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5. Top five non-human actors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Mexico</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>12.97 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. United States</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2.15 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mexico City</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1.86 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Brazil</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1.23 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. IPC – Mexican Stock Exchange</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1.04 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 6. Actors’ nationality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Number of Responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>1706</td>
<td>54 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other nationalities</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>27.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>11.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>6.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart 11

Main actor's nationality

January - December 2000
Total of items: 1020

Table 7. Actors' position/sphere of action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position / Sphere of action</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nations, states, cities, other locations</td>
<td>1027</td>
<td>32.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No human actor</td>
<td>567</td>
<td>17.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Symbolic/nominal Head of State, Chief Executive, Prime Minister, President</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>11.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sports</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>5.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Industry, commerce, finance, banking</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>4.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Other inter-governmental bodies, OPEC, NATO, EC, etc.</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>3.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Other executive, government minister, cabinet, the government as a whole</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>3.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Celebrities, show business, artists, writers</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>3.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Legitimate political opposition</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>3.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ruling party</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary people, citizens</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2.6 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8. Actors being quoted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actors quoted?</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>24.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2,386</td>
<td>75.5 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Themes and references

With help of multiple response analysis, the main themes and references were measured. The results show an overall count (1,020 cases – 100 percent) which is reflected in “Theme 1”, a secondary theme register in 432 cases (42.4 percent), and a third theme count in 202 cases (19.8 percent). Table 9 presents the top ten themes and references. As opposed to a topic, i.e. a specific subject that people think, write or talk about and that is discussed in newspapers, the themes and references signal the broader direction of the news items.

This heading is closely related to topics, but it allows the researcher to define in short concepts what the general trends of the coverage are. Topics were defined in an extensive and detailed fashion. However, after carrying out this study, I observed that some entries were very similar to those on topics, which lead to the questioning of their use. However, entries like ‘racism’ or ‘human rights’ are specific, clear, bold and useful as to justify the inclusion of the themes and references in the coding schedule.
A clearer formulation of themes and references in these studies is desirable and useful.

Table 9. Top themes and references

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position / Sphere of action</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Industry and trade</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>13.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sport</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>9.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Stock Exchange and Investment</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>8.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Elections / Electoral campaign</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8.3 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Human / general interest</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>6.5 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Social equality / inequality</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>6.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Foreign policy</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. New government</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>5.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Art and culture</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>4.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Corruption in public life</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4.4 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary

The results of the quantitative analysis describe very interestingly how news and information about Mexico is reported in Germany. There are interesting results: *Bild Zeitung* is the newspaper with the largest percent of coverage (29.7 %, 303 items). July accounted for the largest amount of news items in the year. That clearly states that the Mexican election, held on July 2, 2000, produced the largest amount of information. The types of items in which Mexico appears, allow the researcher to perceive that
Mexico is not a priority in German news: a small amount of news stories (2.2 %) and editorials (1.0 %) and a relatively large percentage of news in brief (32.0%) confirm this. On the other hand, the importance of Mexico measured in the news items allows for improvement. The Deutsche Presse Agentur (dpa) was the most important source of information for German newspapers about Mexico in what news agencies is concerned. Dr. Christian Geinitz, correspondent in Mexico City for the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung at the time, was responsible for an overall 7.5 % of information coverage (76 news items). It is a rarity that Mexico hits the front pages in Germany and approximately one fifth of the news items was accompanied by a photograph or an illustration. Most of the news items during the study period were generated in Germany (40.7 %), but it is surprising to find out that 40 % of the news were generated abroad (28.9 % of them in Mexico). Only a small amount of the coverage (12.5 %) is devoted to relations between States and only one third from that coverage deals with the relationship between Mexico and Germany. That means that in the broadest sense, the coverage of the bilateral relationship is minimal, as only 42 articles appeared in one year. The figure, it can be argued, might be good for a specialised public, but it is definitely not optimal to create an awareness of the topics that interest Mexico within the broader German audience. The main topics in the coverage about Mexico were the elections, economic performance and sports. The main actor was Vicente Fox, followed by Ernesto Zedillo, both of them former Mexican presidents. Mexico and the Mexican Stock Exchange were among the most frequent non-human actors. The sum of items on industry and trade, stock exchange and investment, as well as economic performance proved that
the overall interest of the readers is directed to economic issues, as Germany is a leading exporting country and it had full ownership or participation in around 800 companies in Mexico in 2000 (Mexican Embassy, 2000).

These results have accurately described the information about Mexico that was presented to the German readers of the sample newspapers. It is important at this stage to emphasise that this statistical information, though useful on its own, gains in meaning when interpreted at the light of contextual information, both about the current events being reported as well as about the culture and values of the society where this information is received. Combined with the theoretical framework presented in the first section of this thesis, it allows the researcher to attach meaning and importance to the subjects covered and to the way in which they were covered.

From the results presented in this chapter, it can be argued that Mexico’s presence in Germany is generally low and that it does not reflect what the Mexican authorities wanted at the time. The very low number of Mexican personalities reported in the German press confirms that from the perspective of the international image maker there is enormous room to increase awareness about Mexico and the Mexicans. Bild Zeitung was the newspaper that offered the least amount of information about the country, even though it carried more separate items of coverage than any other newspaper in this study. In short, Mexico’s preferred national image – as a
modern democracy and reliable international and trade partner – was still far from being the one perceived in Germany in 2000.

The next chapter is devoted to a comparison of the sample newspapers’ coverage that will help to determine the importance of each of them for Mexico’s image.
Chapter 10. Trends observed through the statistical findings.

The previous chapter described the basic characteristics of the news coverage about Mexico in the German press in 2000. Comparing newspaper content - as a result of crosstabs and multiple response analysis - allows the researcher to deepen the understanding of the meaning each daily had for Mexico’s reporting and how it conveyed Mexico’s image among the German audiences during the period of study, helping the researcher to build an accurate newspaper profile and their coverage pattern. As explained in the first part of this thesis, this represents a basic part of the diagnosis and evaluation of the actual national image that can be compared with the preferred one. If it is indeed the case, these results will be needed to design a strategy to portray a nation’s image that suits the preferred one, as it becomes clear what the strengths and weaknesses of the coverage in relation to the preferred national image in each of the newspapers are.

This chapter will present a comparison of the sample newspapers and it will also describe the coverage trends and patterns observed through the statistical findings. This will be achieved by describing general statistical figures, and providing a commentary on the topics reported, the actors presented and the themes dealt with. Alongside this description, tables will be inserted that summarise the comparison between the six newspapers. The aim of these tables is to allow the reader to grasp the differences among the newspapers more easily.
Trends observed through the statistical findings

A first comparison

From 1,020 items, statistics show the overall number of items coded for each newspaper during 2000. Table 10 shows these numbers clearly, together with the information about the importance each newspaper gave to Mexico's coverage during the year. It is clearly shown that the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* leads the "main topic" items, whereas the *Bild Zeitung* ranks first in the "mention only" category. These data show clearly how thorough that coverage was in each newspaper.

Table 10. Mexico's importance in the press coverage
(by newspaper and in number of items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Main topic</th>
<th>Subsidiary topic</th>
<th>Minor topic</th>
<th>Mention only</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bild</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Welt</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAZ</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>zero</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SZ</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The number in brackets signals the rank obtained by the newspaper in each category.
Regarding the items that presented Mexico as a "main topic", it is interesting to see how the topics ranked among the six newspapers dealt with in this content analysis. Derived from the coding schedule, Table 1 shows which newspapers presented the largest number of items about each of the topics coded for this content analysis.

The list of topics (Table 1) give the researcher an idea of the information profile and thematic strength of each newspaper. Some of the topics are not listed in Table 1 due to the fact that they reported the same number of items in two or more newspapers. Such is the case with, e.g., some crime and legal matters, the U.S.-Mexico border, migration, and non-criminal legal and court proceedings.

In this first stage of comparison, it can be seen that the main topics in each newspaper clearly reflect the profile presented at the beginning of this section. Bild's topics, for example, confirm its sensationalist renown and Handelsblatt confirms its orientation as an economic daily. The Frankfurter Rundschau and the Süddeutsche Zeitung lead in topics typical of more critical and left-oriented newspapers.

The broad range of topics Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung leads, reflect information thoroughness and diversity. Die Welt did not lead in dealing with any particular topic. This does not mean, however, that this or any other newspaper did not deal with the majority of the topics coded. The list of the leading topics in each newspaper does reflect the sort of perspective under which they will presumably report events about Mexico.
Trends observed through the statistical findings

Table 11. First ranking main topics per newspaper

(Derived from the Coding Schedule)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of items</th>
<th>Bild</th>
<th>Die Welt</th>
<th>Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</th>
<th>Frankfurter Rundschau</th>
<th>Handelsblatt</th>
<th>Sueddeutsche Zeitung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>None of the topics ranked first in this newspaper.</td>
<td>Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes</td>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Agreements on trade, tariffs, free trade, etc.</td>
<td>Chiapas, EZLN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human interest, odd happenings, animals, sex, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Diplomatic/political activity between States</td>
<td>Social problems generally, poverty, health, housing, illiteracy</td>
<td>Other economic performance, output, growth, sales, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Natural disasters – floods, earthquakes, drought, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stock exchange, share prices, dividends, profits</td>
<td>Political crime, as above</td>
<td>Capital investment, stock issues, state investments (not aid)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td></td>
<td>Culture, arts, archaeology</td>
<td>Peace moves, negotiations, settlements</td>
<td>Agricultural matters, projects, crops, harvests, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scientific, technical, medical, academic</td>
<td></td>
<td>Internal conflict or crisis</td>
<td>Energy conservation</td>
<td>Banking and credits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-political crime, police, judicial and penal activity</td>
<td></td>
<td>Monetary questions, exchange rates, money supply</td>
<td></td>
<td>Economic policy and other economic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pollution</td>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial/labour relations, disputes, negotiations, wages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Industrial projects, factories, dams, ports, roads, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Other social services and welfare matters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment, show business [except personalities]</td>
<td></td>
<td>International trade, imports, exports, trade balance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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About the coverage

The *Bild Zeitung* accounted for the largest number of items during the study period and, nonetheless, used no news agency as information source. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* proved to deliver the broadest coverage about Mexico. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* and the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* rely heavily on news agencies as information sources, as approximately one-third of their reported items include information derived from them. Generally, the German news agency *Deutsche Presse Agentur (dpa)* is most relied upon as an information source.

Journalists that, due to the amount of profound coverage, could be regarded as Mexico experts in the period of study, were Dr. Christian Geinitz (FAZ), Daniel Birchmeier (HB), Arnd Hildebrandt (FAZ), Sigrun Rottmann (FR), and Dr. Hildegard Stausberg (Welt) [see Chapter 9].

Most of the information provided by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Handelsblatt*, and *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* was generated in Mexico. *Bild* and *Die Welt* displayed mostly information generated in Germany. *Bild* was the only newspaper to present items without identified information sources.

A small amount of stories concerned relations between states, mostly about relations between Mexico and Germany, followed by relations between Mexico and the United States, Mexico and the European Union,
Trends observed through the statistical findings

Mexico and Latin America, Mexico and NAFTA, and Mexico and other countries. *Handelsblatt's* priority was not in relations between Mexico and Germany but between Mexico and the European Union.

**Topics**

The analysis of the topics shows that the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* was by far the newspaper with the highest in-depth analysis about Mexico, whereas the *Bild Zeitung* informed in the most superficial fashion (see Table 12).

The information trend about Mexico in the German newspapers can clearly be observed as a uniform group of topics with the exception of the tabloid newspaper *Bild*, which signals an absolutely different direction. The rest of the sample newspapers try to explain current affairs, politics, economy and culture in Mexico, whereas the tabloid newspaper bets on superficial information. It is worth noting that no matter how thorough and credible or easy and superficial the information about Mexico is presented, all newspapers resort to the use of stereotypes. This is especially interesting as sometimes the text does not match the illustration or the words employed to describe the facts confirm an existing idea of how Mexico is or how Mexicans behave, i.e. the musician, the ‘sombrero’, and the pyramid images cannot be avoided, be it on economic, political or tourism news items.
Trends observed through the statistical findings

Table 12

First-ranking main topics in items about Mexico
(by newspaper)

Bild Zeitung
1. Sports (14.0 %)
2. Human interest, odd happenings, animals, sex, etc. (4.0 %)
3. Tourism (3.4 %)

Die Welt
1. Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes (2.8 %)
2. Internal conflict or crisis (1.9 %) / Diplomatic/political activity between states (1.9 %)
3. Agreements on trade, tariffs, free trade, etc. (1.4 %) / Stock exchange, share prices, dividends, profits (1.4 %) / Other economic performance, output, growth sales, etc. (1.4 %)

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
1. Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes (7.9 %)
2. Other economic performance, output, growth sales, etc. (6.1 %)
3. Stock exchange, share prices, dividends, profits (4.9 %)

Frankfurter Rundschau
1. Internal conflict or crisis (2.8 %)
2. Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes (2.2 %)
3. Chiapas, EZLN (1.6 %)

Handelsblatt
1. Other economic performance, output, growth sales, etc. (5.0 %)
2. Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes (4.2 %)
3. Agreements on trade, tariffs, free trade, etc. (4.0 %) / Stock exchange, share prices, dividends, profits (4.0 %)

Süddeutsche Zeitung
1. Internal conflict or crisis (2.0 %)
2. Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes (1.9 %) / Agreements on trade, tariffs, free trade, etc. (1.9 %)
3. Other economic performance, output, growth sales, etc. (1.7 %)

Although the top reporting priorities of 2000 in all the non-tabloid sample newspapers were the elections, government change, and diplomacy, there was a consistent interest in informing what happens in the Mexican stock exchange, trade agreements and other trade issues, as well as in all
aspects of economic performance. This second level of information about the economic aspects of the country, actually takes the largest proportion of the coverage about Mexico. A third level deals with culture and arts, whereas a fourth level deals with internal conflict and social problems.

Reporting on presidential elections is a result of a temporary and well-defined period in time. It could be argued that the core of the information valued among German decision-makers is of an economic fashion, and that the extensive political information coverage carried out is directly related to the way in which political transformation and conflicts in Mexico affect German investments and profits in the region.

The top priorities of the tabloid newspaper were sports, tourism, and entertainment, far away from in-depth coverage. Directed towards mass audiences, Mexico’s appeal to the masses is reinforced through odd happenings, pleasant travel, sports, and stereotypes. The use of images of beaches, pyramids, sombreros, catastrophes and even one or two suggesting ladies is commonplace. Bild (translated ‘picture’), honouring its name, was the newspaper that presented the highest number of photographs and graphics.

Main actors

Mexican president Vicente Fox was undoubtedly the main actor during 2000, with 114 items accounted for. He received most coverage as a main actor from the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (43), and the least by Die
Trends observed through the statistical findings

*Welt* (14) and *Bild Zeitung* (1), both newspapers from the same publishing house (Axel Springer Verlag).

The total number of items involving "non-human actors" is 254, a 24.9 % out of 1020 items of the total sample.

Table 13 shows who the three main actors were in each of the sample newspapers of this study, as well as the percentage they represent from the total number of responses.

**Table 13**

**First-ranking actors in items about Mexico**

(by newspaper)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th><strong>Main Actor</strong></th>
<th><strong>Second</strong></th>
<th><strong>Third</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bild</td>
<td>Ortwin Runde</td>
<td>Erich Ribbeck 0.83 %</td>
<td>Klausjürgen Wussow 0.71 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Welt</td>
<td>Vicente Fox</td>
<td>Ernesto Zedillo 4.85 %</td>
<td>Francisco Labastida / Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas 1.94 % / 1.94 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAZ</td>
<td>Vicente Fox</td>
<td>Ernesto Zedillo 5.06 %</td>
<td>Francisco Labastida 2.34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>Vicente Fox</td>
<td>Ernesto Zedillo 4.34 %</td>
<td>Francisco Labastida 2.34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td>Vicente Fox</td>
<td>Ernesto Zedillo 3.37 %</td>
<td>Francisco Labastida 1.76 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SZ</td>
<td>Vicente Fox</td>
<td>Ernesto Zedillo 3.49 %</td>
<td>Francisco Labastida 2.09 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 14 lists the most reported non-human actors in each of the sample newspapers of this study, as well as the percentage they represent from the total number of responses.

Table 14. First-ranking non-human actors in items about Mexico (by newspaper)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Main</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bild</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Mexico City</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.32%</td>
<td>4.06%</td>
<td>2.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Welt</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Mexico City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.73%</td>
<td>3.55%</td>
<td>1.94%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAZ</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Mexico City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.41%</td>
<td>1.73%</td>
<td>1.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Mexico City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.68%</td>
<td>2.34%</td>
<td>2.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>OPEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.06%</td>
<td>2.25%</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SZ</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>OPEC / USA</td>
<td>Popocatepetl Volcano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.69%</td>
<td>2.09% / 2.09%</td>
<td>1.74%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main actors indicate clearly that the individuals that matter to the German press in topics related to Mexico are mostly Mexican, and most of all, politicians. There we have candidate, president-elect, and acting president Vicente Fox, followed by former president Ernesto Zedillo, and the then ruling-party presidential candidate Francisco Labastida. These three gentlemen are the only ones that stand out in the study of the five more complex newspapers. The tabloid newspaper, Bild, is present in this list by having two German main actors, i.e. former Hamburg mayor Ortwin Runde, and the German soccer team trainer Erich Ribbeck. None of them
Trends observed through the statistical findings

were mentioned in the rest of the newspapers. This confirms, once again, the completely different nature of both sorts of newspapers.

**Secondary actors**

The position of the secondary actors in the *Bild Zeitung* confirms their information policy and topics since, although in a different order, they exactly repeat themselves. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Die Welt* also confirm their trends, incorporating the "legal political opposition" to the top. So did *Handelsblatt*, who incorporated "industry, commerce, finance, banking". It calls the attention that the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* brings "academic, education, scientific" forward. It is interesting to see that the *Frankfurter Rundschau* reflects its character by incorporating in the "other actor 1" category people from the "military – irregular, guerrillas, terrorists, etc.", besides "ruling party" and "legitimate political opposition".

The tendency in the second actors' level does not change. The actors keep on being basically the same as the main actors. At least the three first names seem to have dominated German news coverage about Mexico. It is interesting, though, to have foreign heads of state or government, as well as Mexico's opposition and oppositional army leaders.

The second actor's positions or spheres of action are exactly the same as those of the main actors. However, "legitimate political opposition" and
Trends observed through the statistical findings

“ordinary people, citizens” are this time added to the list, expanding the diversity of the information coverage.

There is absolutely no relation between the main actors and the second actors at the *Bild Zeitung* but they still belong to sports and celebrities. With the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the second actors confirm the heavily presidential election political coverage, although former German Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and former U.S. President Bill Clinton appear for the first time in the top rankings. *Handelsblatt* clearly reflects at this stage its main coverage purposes, i.e. the Mexican election in the political arena and stock exchange and free trade, in the economic areas. *Die Welt* also has a strong election-coverage tendency, but it calls the attention that the late painter Frida Kahlo appears as frequently as a presidential candidate. No major changes are observed in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Finally, it can clearly be seen that in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* there is an interest for regional coverage, since it is the first time that the names of three Mexican states appear. It is also important that both the EZLN (Zapatista National Liberation Army) and its leader, *Subcomandante Marcos*, appear in this section.

**Third actors**

Actors at this level repeat the same pattern as described above. There are a couple of new actors, but former president Zedillo and the presidential candidates are a constant. “Non-human” actors also repeat previous patterns. The German press takes these actors into all levels of analysis.
Trends observed through the statistical findings

In the items where third actors are accounted for, the Bild Zeitung incorporates heads of state and diplomats for the first time. Generally, all the other papers maintain the same line of actors in this level of analysis. It is interesting, though, to observe that both the Süddeutsche Zeitung and the Frankfurter Rundschau increase their presence of government officials at a local level, legitimate political opposition and the Frankfurter Rundschau specifically, for the second time, includes the military – irregular guerrillas, terrorists, etc., making reference to the EZLN. The Frankfurter Rundschau also includes an academic institution for the first time, namely Mexico’s National Autonomous University, UNAM.

Two Mexican presidents and a Hollywood star appear in Bild’s third level of actors, which denotes a change within the paper. The whole of the actors who appear in the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Die Welt are Mexican politicians, from the government as well as from the opposition. Handelsblatt confirms the election-oriented political information and, again, the “non-human” actors are all related to economic affairs. The Süddeutsche Zeitung incorporates an American vice-president and a Latin American writer to the list of actors and looks similar to what Handelsblatt is concerned in relation to its “non-human” actors. Finally, the Frankfurter Rundschau incorporates former German Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder and Pope John Paul II for the first time within its actors, and the Zapatista rebels are again paid attention to.
Trends observed through the statistical findings

Fourth actors

It is interesting to see that the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung introduces a woman among the actors for the first time, namely Angela Merkel, the leader of Germany's opposition party, CDU. It is also the first newspaper to introduce former Mexican president Carlos Salinas. The Mexican companies Pemex and Telmex were introduced at this stage for the first time. Die Welt introduced the -until then- Mexican ruling party in the list, i.e. the PRI. The Süddeutsche Zeitung had, for the first time, no individuals in this category. FR includes, for the first time, a strike council.

In the fourth level of analysis, Bild goes back to its traditional representative actors: "sports" and "ordinary people, citizens". The rest of the papers maintain their actors' profile. For the first time the Süddeutsche Zeitung incorporates the media as important actors, even if it is at this last level of analysis.

Themes

Themes about Mexico were dealt with during the period of study. A main theme was coded for each item (Theme 1) and two subordinated themes (2 and 3) were useful in order to give more specific insight about what constantly matters to German journalists about Mexico. Unlike the 'topic' category where detailed descriptions arise, themes aim to be short and direct.
Table 15 compares the most reported themes in each of the sample newspapers of this study, as well as the percentage they represent from the total number of responses.

### Table 15. First-ranking themes in items about Mexico

(Per newspaper)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Main</th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bild</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>Human, general interest 5.9%</td>
<td>Tourism 3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.0 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die Welt</td>
<td>Industry and trade</td>
<td>Elections / Electoral campaign 2.2%</td>
<td>Foreign policy 1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.7 %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAZ</td>
<td>Industry and trade 6.5%</td>
<td>Stock exchange and Investment 6.0%</td>
<td>Elections/Electoral campaign 5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>Industry and trade</td>
<td>Elections / Electoral campaign 1.6%</td>
<td>Corruption in public life 1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social equality/Inequality 2.1% / 2.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HB</td>
<td>Industry and trade 7.5%</td>
<td>Stock exchange and investment 5.5%</td>
<td>Finance and banking 3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SZ</td>
<td>Industry and trade 25%</td>
<td>Elections / Electoral campaign</td>
<td>Foreign policy 1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Art and culture Human / general interest 1.4% / 1.4% / 1.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Theme 1**

Under this heading, information about foreign policy was the only one to rank among the highest in all six newspapers. "Industry and trade", "Elections, electoral campaign" and "Art and culture" did in five and stock exchange in four of them. The exception is the overall score of "sports" (151), the highest theme dealt with in the Bild Zeitung.
Trends observed through the statistical findings

*Bild* newspaper confirms here the dramatic differences between tabloid newspapers and more analytical ones. With its top themes, this newspaper confirms its appealing formula: sports above all. The formula is complemented with general interest, odd happenings, and paradise-like places. It is definitely not interested in analysing Mexico’s policies or economics, although it deals with events at a local fashion concerning art and culture, as well as diplomatic gatherings.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung’s* priorities leaned on the industrial and investment side, even if it made a thorough electoral coverage and the most in-depth reporting. Art and culture are also among the top coverage themes.

*Handelsblatt* is loyal to its intentions and readership, outlining a clear industry, trade, and investment focus. Mexico’s presidential electoral process in 2000 is, like in most cases, a priority, but ranking in 4th place. It is also the only newspaper not to score in arts and culture.

*Die Welt* is the only newspaper where Mexico’s political agenda is on top of the coverage. Mexico’s foreign policy is mostly dealt with, although the numbers show that the elections and industry and trade—in a second place—are worth the same amount of coverage. Stock exchange and investment comes afterwards, pointing out that economic issues are, as with all the other newspapers, a priority in German newspapers’ coverage of Mexico.
The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* confirms the trend of German newspapers that give industry and trade the highest priority in the news coverage about Mexico. However, it calls the attention that this newspaper devotes the same number of cases to the coverage of arts and culture.

It calls the attention to see that "industry and trade" scored the highest in a newspaper like the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, aimed at a critical and socially oriented readership. If you add up all the other themes, political and social aspects surpass industrial and economic issues altogether. Still, the priority –according to statistics- is at the side of the industrial issues.

**Theme 2**

All sample newspapers recorded an important number of cases for industry and trade, undoubtedly confirming an overall tendency. On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that all of them also dealt with issues of social inequality, although in one of them, namely the *Handelsblatt*, it did not finish on top. The important themes of "corruption in public life" and "human rights" are introduced here.
Theme 3

In this last level of theme analysis, matters of social inequality are on top of the list for Handelsblatt, confirming that this is an important theme for German journalists when dealing with Mexico. There is a strong overall tendency at this level to deal with social inequality, corruption in public life and democracy. These can be seen as the real themes that interested the German information coverage about Mexico in 2000. It could be argued that this level of theme analysis is what helps us define the real character and priorities of each newspaper, as sometimes the main theme is linked to a specific event – such as a presidential election – and the subordinated themes are of constant interest for the coverage and independent from specific events or periods of time. The same can be applied to the ‘topic’ and ‘actor’ categories.

Content analysis – final remarks

This study was carried out from the interest of the researcher of studying the process of creation, management, or portrayal of national images and from the fact that little has been studied in this regard. National image portrayal requires careful study and a practical way of diagnosing the actual image a country has. This is done in order to compare the country’s preferred national image with the one being portrayed by the media, namely printed newspapers in this case. Content analysis is, in this sense, the basic research method that will allow the image-maker to achieve that
Trends observed through the statistical findings

goal because, through statistics, an overview of the most important features of the coverage can be reached.

A limitation of this study is the lack of a consolidated literature about the subject in general and of this process of national image portrayal in particular. With the appropriate tutorial guidance and incorporating existing and broadly studied theories and research techniques to carry out a project on the creation of national images, this research remains as an effort to contribute to the knowledge in this field. As a basic study, there is an enormous room for improvement.

My particular interest was to measure the portrayal of one country, Mexico in this case, in another, namely Germany. This content analysis would be, as I have indicated before, an optimal tool in order to get an insight into the German media landscape, on the one hand, and the topics regarding Mexico that audiences in that country find interesting, on the other.

In order to establish a more general coverage pattern and avoid information peaks, I chose to examine an information period that spanned throughout a year, 2000 in this case. The information peak I made reference to that could have drastically altered the results, was the presidential election. If I had only chosen the first two weeks of coverage in July, the results would have been completely misleading and they would not have allowed me to understand the broader pattern of Mexico’s coverage in German newspapers. On the other hand, this proved to be extremely time consuming and some materials were difficult to gather. A
long period of study is therefore seldom chosen for a content analysis. However, the best effort was made to get hold of all the materials stemming from the six German sample newspapers, although there might be, although reduced, an involuntary number of materials that could not be gathered. It is suggested that a sample covering a few weeks is enough to understand the pattern of reporting, but I believe there is always room for interesting discoveries when analysing a longer period of time like in this project. The management of a national image can be strongly influenced by a continuing pattern of information input. Identifying those coverage patterns which is exactly what this exercise was all about. In practical terms, however, such an endeavour would require the efforts of a whole team for it to be timely and, in due case, even profitable.

An important problem using the technique of content analysis lies in that the researcher is not able to grasp the subtleties lying behind the texts. Even though a statistical approach provides clear and exact results about the contents to be found and the numbers and percentages of it, there is always an enormous room for textual and image analysis to be carried out.

Such qualitative analysis, as mentioned in Chapter 8, would deliver the reader, for example, a thorough analysis of the verbs, adjectives, and vocabulary in general that would lead to understand the general atmosphere created by the selection of words, not to mention a thorough look of what lies behind the pictures. There is an enormous amount of information in 1,020 items that is not fully taken advantage of without other sorts of discourse and text analysis. A headline analysis alone would
Trends observed through the statistical findings

require working several months, although it would greatly enrich knowledge in this field.

This does not mean that content analysis is carried out in a vacuum. It is compulsory to explain to the reader what the general circumstances were surrounding the topic during the period of study. In this case, the events occurring in Mexico in the year 2000, as well as the highlights of the bilateral relationship between Mexico and Germany were pointed out in Chapter 7.

Analysing this information into detail might help national image researchers to identify patterns and, given the case, foster the development of that preferred national image or to create strategies to modify such patterns aiming to, eventually, enhance or even modify the audiences' perception of a nation. However, attention has to be paid to the cost implications of hiring coding personnel, as well as that of acquiring the appropriate materials, software, and infrastructure to systematically carry out larger projects of this kind.

Finally, there is a perspective and perception problem, although great effort was made to best to interpret the texts, information, and concepts derived both from the Mexican and German cultures, and translate them in a way that would convey their message as clearly as possible for the readers to understand. This means that perhaps some evaluations and judgments I might have expressed in this thesis would have been different from a non-Latin American perspective. Nonetheless, the figures, the facts
Trends observed through the statistical findings

and, above all, the results derived from this content analysis are the same for every researcher to work with and impartiality was sought at all stages of this research.

At this stage, there are several points that can describe Mexico’s main image in Germany during the period of study. Statistics show that the coverage was not what the Mexican authorities would have wanted in terms of the information flow described in Chapter 7. More news items would be desirable where Mexico’s specific weight and importance is clearly signalled. Therefore, Mexico’s newsworthiness in Germany is low. This could also lead to the fact that there is a lack of diversity in reporting topics and themes about the country. Latin America’s profile is low in the German media coverage. However, from its contents and statistical results, it could be argued that Mexico is considered to be, together with Brazil, a leading country in the region.

It is worth noting that Mexico gives great importance to its economic, trade and investment relationship with Germany. However, only the Mexican Stock Exchange – IPS – received attention from the newspapers. Very few names of Mexican enterprises and entrepreneurs could be found, which signals an imbalance between the two countries in this regard. On the other hand, Mexico highlighted the signature of the Mexico-European Union Free Trade Agreement as a governmental success. Little was said or explained in the sample newspapers about its terms or advantages for business. Improving the Mexican presence at this level probably implies much more than a national image strategy, but it helps the researcher to
Trends observed through the statistical findings

identify the country’s weaknesses and hopefully he or she will be able to share them with those responsible entities that might generate change. In this regard, Mexico’s preferred national image is not portrayed in the German media. The same absence could be mentioned in terms of art, culture, and environmental issues.

However, Mexico’s aim of generating information that explains political happenings, development and change was fulfilled, as major coverage was devoted to the electoral processes in Mexico that year, namely the presidential election and the one carried out to elect the Governor of the Mexican state of Chiapas, as well as to the visit of the Mexican President-Elect to Germany that year. Apart from this visit, very little attention was given to the bilateral relationship between Mexico and Germany. The Mexican authorities would surely want to see this improve. According to Ambassador Friedrich (see Chapter 7), the coverage of Mexico in Germany improved in terms of contents compared to the previous years. However, Mexico’s preferred national image was still not portrayed in the sample newspapers during the period of study.

The possibility of directly comparing six newspapers that represent one of the main sources of information for the German audience is useful because it allows the researcher to see at a glance which topics deserved most attention from the printed media, who the important players were, as well as the main themes presented. The pattern is relatively easy to follow and it clearly shows that there is very few diversity in the information about the country. Through these results, it could be argued that the presence of
Trends observed through the statistical findings

Mexico in Germany in 2000 was concentrated on electoral affairs and economic matters. With a pattern reflecting attention to three political figures, a very poor knowledge of Mexican personalities in other branches can be implied.

This relates directly to the possibilities of changing an image it was thoroughly discussed about in the first section of this thesis. Again, a "modern democracy achieving progress" is still not to be inferred from the coverage analysed. After understanding the complex phenomena that bring individuals to acquire knowledge that gives them a sense of identity, it is clear that images and stereotypes change normally in the long run when sufficient information is at hand to confront individuals with what they already know. This process could lead to some change but it appears to be difficult if there is, first of all, a low level of newsworthiness in the media, and secondly, a lack of diversity in what is being reported.

On the basis of this experience, I reaffirm my conviction of the usefulness of incorporating content analysis techniques in order to design effective international image-making strategies based on accurate measurements of the coverage that will allow one to contrast the actual image with the pursued preferred national image. The clarity of the results will allow those in charge of promoting a preferred national image to picture their national image situation clearly and learn about the media they will work with to measure that nation's portrayal. That basic information, together with the contextual information of the portrayed country and society receiving that information, will allow the researcher to display the theoretical knowledge,
Trends observed through the statistical findings

deal with in the first section of this thesis and combine those theoretical elements with the practical situation at hand. Being aware of the 'multi-layered' and complex environment that leads individuals to identify themselves with a nation or to identify a foreign nation will allow the researcher to have the flexibility to modify strategies, find deficiencies or try new, different, and fitting ways to portray that preferred image.

The following and concluding chapter will present the overall conclusions of this study.
Section III. Discussion and conclusions.

Chapter 11. There is no ‘single national image’.

This study has been addressed questions of international image-making in regard to the portrayal of a nation. The example of the representations of Mexico in the German press has been taken to illustrate this process. This research has tried to make a contribution to the field of international communications by achieving two specific objectives: to broaden the understanding and the discussion of the way the media and international relations interact, and to focus attention on daily media practices involving national image promotion that are carried out by diplomats around the world by taking a specific example and analysing press coverage, comparing this to what is known to have been the preferred national image of a particular country at the time of that coverage. These practices have not been thoroughly studied, but, in so far as they can be measured by a content analysis of newspaper coverage, their outcomes have been studied systematically. There is a lack of a consolidated literature about the subject in general and of this process of national image-making in particular. By incorporating existing and broadly studied theories and research techniques to carry out a project on the management of national images, this research represents an effort to contribute to the knowledge in this field. It must regarded as a preliminary study for there is much room for further research on this topic.
Although a great deal has been published on personal and advertising brand image building, the literature on national image building is sparse. A range of literature on image building and national identity and the role of the media was reviewed to provide a suitable theoretical framework for the empirical research presented in the second part of this study. The advances in media and information technologies, the phenomenon of globalisation, and the ever-growing importance of public diplomacy in the creation of national images have forced nation states to resort to the study of the media in order to understand the process of national image making and the consequences that a presence or an absence of the media might have for specific image promotion purposes.

There is no single image. There is no single truth and image-makers hoping to create or portray a single national image are unlikely to succeed. That is the main lesson derived from this study. The first section has helped us to understand that national images are political and, as such, they are linked to power groups whose views dominate for a certain period of time and define what the preferred national image of a country should be.

Throughout this study emphasis has been given to the fact that individuals acquire the notion of belonging through different and complex processes and that, while defining who they are, people also learn to distinguish themselves from others. This ‘othering’ process is also vital for them to understand who they are, as a main component of self-definition is to know
There is no 'single national image'

who and what we are not. This confronts individuals with complex and unknown individuals, societies and countries. This complex set of knowledge has to be understood in order to find one's own place in the world. In this process, generalisations and simplifications of the unknown occur, leading to the creation of stereotypes, which can be positive or negative, and clearly reflect domination structures within societies.

The review of previous research and writing on this subject showed that negative stereotypes usually affect the lives of minorities, the weak or the outcast within societies in a negative fashion or, in other levels, they are used together with openly political communication tools, i.e. propaganda, in order to harm or discredit competing or enemy groups. Several examples of the use of propaganda were mentioned to illustrate how these theoretical concepts act and intertwine in the globalised world, where communication technologies and transport possibilities can link peoples in a new, faster and more effective fashion.

It must also be clear, however, that the management of a preferred national image does not usually reach the extreme activities and techniques used for propaganda, even if it can be argued that 'facilitative communication' or subpropaganda are part of the image-making process. This sort of communication tries to 'gain allies' for a country or a specific national cause in the long run. In this sense, as political climates change, different media techniques will be used to achieve political and power goals at an international level.
This study has focused on defining crucial theoretical concepts that will help the image-maker to evaluate different circumstances as they come along. The process of image-making cannot be designed in isolation. Those who embark on public diplomacy must be fully aware that results in enhancing or modifying a national image in any degree cannot be expected to act without an awareness of the context in which events happen. That is why the process of globalisation, the interaction of diplomacy and the media and current events must be thoroughly studied in order to be able to assess specific situations as they happen and have better chances to design a communication strategy that will achieve the desired effects.

Broadly speaking, the steps involved in national portrayal include a definition of a preferred national image, followed by a diagnosis of the current national image in the country or region of interest, an evaluation of the media landscape and environment the preferred messages will enter, the design and implementation of a strategy, and the measurement of the results. The image-making management cycle starts again at this point, as the measurement of the national image with the help of research methods can imply the beginning or the end of a process. Needless to say that the task of image measurement and its management are continuous processes.

As previously explained, Mexican authorities described their preferred national image (see Chapter 7) and tried to have their country portrayed in a specific fashion in Germany. The results of the content analysis
indicated that they were unsuccessful in this regard. Although some efforts were carried out by the Mexican Embassy in Berlin, the data showed that the limited scope of topics and actors proved that both images of Mexico in Germany – the official preferred one and the one portrayed in the sample newspapers – did not match, except for the governmental priority expressed by their Ambassador to see as much information as possible about the presidential election of 2000. It is worth noting Ambassador Friedrich’s observation that the coverage had improved in comparison to previous years, but the fact remains that the research shows that the preferred national image was still far from being achieved.

For this to happen there needs to be a lot more information about the country in general. Political events, as noted in the previous section of this thesis, are portrayed in relation to the stability of the country. This will directly impinge on German investment in the country. It could even be argued that the huge amount of economic information is directly linked to the opportunities and vision that German entrepreneurs have. Little is said about general economic developments and companies in Mexico and very few news items described Mexican society, arts, culture and sports. Most of the news items reported by Bild Zeitung on sports dealt with German sportspersons who visited Mexico. In short, and this is perhaps not surprising, the interest of the coverage about Mexico is the interest of Germany in itself, and not the interest of bringing Mexico closer to the German audience.
There is no 'single national image'

It was pointed out that national images already exist and, again, there is no such thing as one single national image. National images can be thought of as units that individuals conceptualise that are formed by a multi-layered set of values and cultures. Due to the individual nature of the process, there are as many national images as members in society can be accounted for. However, individuals belonging to a group share similar perceptions, so general trends can be inferred for larger groups, such as members of a 'nation'.

Different societies have different perceptions of a country, making the portrayal of a preferred national image a difficult task, as messages theoretically must be tailored for each different group in order to get messages through, hoping that they are perceived as image-makers wish. It is clear that individuals form national images based on huge amounts of knowledge. The internet allows individuals access to multiple sources of information about topics related to national image. In order to manage these inputs, individuals try to simplify information and remember the things they consider to be the most important. In the case of a foreign country, it means that individuals have to first concentrate on their own personal identities and then on conceptualising what defines the 'other'. This can lead to stereotyping, i.e. a reduction of the features of other individuals, societies, and nations that does not entirely depict those who do not belong to their own group.

Several examples showed that stereotypes serve interests of those in dominating positions in the sense that they confirm the status quo. They
There is no 'single national image'

are difficult to change. However, it could be argued that stereotypes do change and that even if they do so rapidly in times of conflict, the most effective way to change them in the long term is through new knowledge that partially modifies the individual’s perception and, in the best case, converts it completely. The task of the image-maker is to promote a national image that prevails or is at least considered when confronted by different ones, i.e. to enhance knowledge of a country in an individual, aiming that this knowledge is adopted as the preferred image and, in turn, through addition, becomes the preferred national image at societal, national, and international levels.

At this stage, it is worth mentioning that the use of stereotypes were perceived while carrying out the content analysis, although this can only be pointed out in combination with the contextual information and the sort of topics registered. Stereotypes, as discussed in Chapter 3, portray the interests of those in dominant positions and aim to maintain power relationships unaltered in society. A thorough analysis, though, can only be reached with the appropriate qualitative methods, which were not employed this study. However, the frequent use of images of musicians, ‘sombreros’ and pyramids to illustrate several kinds of news items related to Mexico has already been mentioned. These recurring images, together with those of poverty or certain specific indigenous peoples are often misplaced when informing about telecommunication companies or the stock exchange, and this must have the effect of working against Mexico’s desired image of modernity.
On the other hand, images of violence and poverty that accompany news items that deal with social problems are completely justified and, in this case, work directly against the notion of a functioning democracy, due to the fact that a greater notion of equality and a higher standard of living is expected to be described as such. The example of images is used here to make this point on stereotypes, as it is clear that most of them do not match the main themes of the overall coverage, namely 'industry and trade', 'sports', and 'stock exchange and investment'.

These observations are only the result of describing the data at hand. A thorough qualitative analysis could shed more light on this subject and say a lot more about dominating structures and perceptions of Mexico in Germany. Such a study could explain if there is a specific interest in portraying images of Mexico as a 'primitive' or 'backward' country or if it simply belongs to part of the German perception of others, in this case, Mexicans, which is deeply rooted in society. It is worth mentioning these ideas as a first approach to the use of stereotypes about Mexico in the sample newspapers. The following 'sombrero' images illustrate this point:
There is no 'single national image'
There is no 'single national image'

**Image 1.** *Die Welt* (July 20, 2000) reports on the traditional topping-out ceremony (*Richtfest*) at the Mexican Embassy in Berlin: "I cannot see anything, but my hat is beautiful anyway!".

**Image 2.** The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (November 30, 2000) analyses power change in Mexico as a result of the presidential election: "Vicente Fox wants to bring a whole country under a hat".

**Image 3.** The *Bild Zeitung* (November 23, 2000) informs about the opening of the „Tequila-Embassy“ in Berlin: "Folklore with Sombreros: Music for the opening".

Public diplomacy is the term used for the national promotion tasks that diplomats embark on as a part of their official duties. There is no consensus as to whether public diplomacy is propaganda or not. This is due to the very negative connotation propaganda has acquired throughout the years. Although propaganda is linked to communication activities in times of conflict and is seen as mostly carried out by Defence ministries as opposed to Foreign Affairs ministries in the case of public diplomacy, it plays an important role in the process of national image-making. This study shows that the perceptions it raises in society impinge directly on people’s everyday lives and, therefore, in the way societies are configured, behave, and most important of all, in the way the others are perceived and treated. This behaviour leads to actions that have important consequences of all kinds. They, as some examples throughout this study have
There is no 'single national image'

illustrated, may define a governmental change in the polls, boost an industry related to specific military operations, support an investment in a country in need of development, alter the portrayal of migrants in other countries, or lead to the killing of an innocent person in the streets.

Therefore, image-makers have to be aware of their responsibility in all these events, i.e. in the way individuals, societies, and nations interact with each other at a global level. This responsibility refers to the dissemination of information that will lead individuals to confront their knowledge of others, as well as of themselves. Used to promote a national cause, this information shall always be conveyed within ethical communication standards in the sense of describing its source, as well as of being impartial and truthful.

The construction of national identity deals with activities that promote actions where a set of values is shared. On the contrary, propaganda appears among the parties when values are not. That means that the work of public diplomacy is relatively easy to carry out in the sense that there are no major problems or threats associated with the facilitative communication tasks that would normally not lead to establishing specific controls for these activities. The activities of national promotion organisations, closely linked to those of national-image making, fit into this description. Propaganda, on the contrary, is associated with information control and plain censorship when conflict is sharp.
In this study, examples were presented of image and media manipulation in order to achieve different specific national interests. Those diplomats or image-makers who have the responsibility of promoting a nation need to draw an ethical line while carrying out their task. Public diplomacy, it could be argued, has the task of promoting information exchange and understanding in those situations different than war, as the avoidance of conflict is the essence of diplomacy. Communication professionals are obviously free from this specific moral binding, but the ethics of journalism would also prevent them from deliberately misleading audiences through manipulation.

Although the results of the content analysis were presented in detail in the preceding section of this study, it is interesting to point out that the study of the German coverage of affairs related to Mexico brought about knowledge about both countries in the sense that the German sample newspapers were clearly understood and the main political events in Mexico were clearly reported, despite the fact that Mexico did not achieve its aims in terms of the portrayal of its preferred national image. The coverage of the German media reflect the prime interest the country has in trade and investment. This reflects the fact that Germany is one of the leading exporting countries in the world. The coverage about Mexico privileged the presidential election as the main news theme, but the different levels of analysis showed that there was an important component of interest related to the perspectives of economic change the new government would bring with it, securing or jeopardising German investment in the country and the region. However, some more critical newspapers devoted some news
There is no 'single national image'

items to reflect the more critical issues Mexico was facing at the time, including poverty, inequality and human rights. On the other hand, Mexico's coverage as a whole was limited compared to the broader output of the sample newspapers.

This study has drawn attention to national image-making and analysed some of the key concepts associated to it, as well as to the context in which information is created and transmitted to individuals around the world. The researcher that aims to understand national image-making and public diplomacy activities needs to be aware of the relationship between diplomacy and the media, on the one hand, and of the media and the public, on the other. There is no such thing as a manual to understand how individuals achieve their identity or how they process information that leads to a defined political knowledge in the form of national identity. However, an effort was made to put basic theoretical elements together for the researcher to have a broader perspective as well as some analytical indicators when dealing national images.

To repeat, there is not a single national image and different countries will be working to promote or portray their images differently, in such a way that their national interests are put forward. The case of Mexico in the German press should serve as an example of how national images can be approached and somehow measured. Quantitative analysis has been used as a tool to explore texts and has lead to the acknowledgement that even if it is a very useful basic tool for analysis, many questions about qualitative features of the contents and the intentions of reporters and editors remain
There is no 'single national image'

unanswered. Qualitative analysis, it has been discussed, would be the next step of analysis in order to understand the coverage at a deeper level. The results of the Mexican coverage in the German sample newspapers prove the usefulness of understanding the general coverage of a nation and its function when contrasting the preferred and the actual image of the country. However, content analysis cannot prove the correctness or failure of using a theoretical framework nor the success or failure of a specific communication strategy with the purpose of promoting a national image.

The conclusion is that a single national image is non-existent and that such an image is of a political nature. As such, the portrayal of a specific national image has consequences for our everyday lives. This, in turn, is reflected in the media, which also play an important role in national-image formation. The aim of this study will be achieved if future researchers or image-makers find notions that help them to better assess the process of national image-making and somehow facilitate their analyses or specific tasks in this regard. It is to be hoped that subsequent studies will explore more analytical possibilities and improve our knowledge of this topic even further.
Appendix 1. Coding Schedule

Santacruz Moctezuma, Lino Leopoldo
University of Leicester
Centre for Mass Communications Research
PhD in Mass Communications

DEFINITIVE VERSION


Content Analysis

CODING SCHEDULE

<table>
<thead>
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<tr>
<td>1. Item Serial Number</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sample Day Numbers / Date-Month</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Type of Item</td>
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<td>5. Mexico's importance in the information unit</td>
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20 Bonanomi, Klaus (kbo-HB)
21 Boschek, Heinz (bos-HB)
22 Bracho, Julio (SZ)
23 Braune, Gerd (gbr-HB/gb-FR)
24 Breiholz, Jochen (Welt)
25 Brodersen, Maik (Bild)
26 Bros, Peter (HB)
27 Brössler, Daniel (SZ)
28 Brötz, Margret (SZ)
29 Burghardt, Peter (pb-SZ)
30 Busch, Alexander (abu-HB)
31 Buss, Hero (Welt)
32 Claassen, Dieter (cla-HB/cl-SZ)
33 Constanzo, Karin (Bild)
34 Dalan, Marco (Da-Welt)
35 Dauer, Inge (Bild)
36 Deckers, Daniel (FAZ)
37 Dendler, Carolin (Bild)
38 Dierenga, Thomas (Bild)
39 Drechsler, Wolfgang (HB)
40 Dries, Folker (dri-FAZ)
41 Düperthal, Gitta (dup-FR)
42 Eckert, Vera (HB)
43 Ehlerl, Matthias (ehl-FAZ)
44 Eischinger, Roman (Bild)
45 Engelien, Klaus (egl-HB)
46 Englisch, Andreas (Bild)
47 Exner, Thomas (tex-Welt)
48 Facius, Gernot (Welt)
49 Feuerherm, Klaus (Bild)
50 Förger, Dick (för-Welt)
51 Franzmann, Hans (Bild)
52 Fritz, Herbert (FR)
53 Geinitz, Christian (itz-FAZ)
54 Gerhardt, Rudolf (R.G.-FAZ)
55 Goerdeler, Carl (FR)
56 Gordon, Philip H. (HB)
57 Goris, Eva (Bild)
58 Graw, Eva-Maria (Welt)
59 Grobe, Karl (FR)
60 Grüttner, Anne (ang-HB)
61 Günther, Sven (Bild)
62 Haas, Sybilla (shs-SZ)
63 Hamann, Dietmar (Bild)
64 Hantschel, Gernot (Bild)
65 Hartmann, Robert (R.H.-SZ)
66 Haubrich, Walter (wha-FAZ)
67 Hauschild, Helmut (hus-HB)
68 Haushild, Rolf (Bild)
69 Havenetidis, Olga (SZ)
70 Hebel, Stefan (bel-FR)
Appendix 1. Coding Schedule

71 Hein, Christoph (che-FAZ)
72 Heinen, Guido (Welt)
73 Helbing, Angela (Bild)
74 Helmer, Wolfgang (Hmr-FAZ)
75 Hermann, Rainer (Her-FAZ)
76 Hesse, Martin (SZ)
77 Hielle, Ingrid (hle-FAZ)
78 Hillmann, Felicitas (FR)
79 Hoenig, Joachim (jh-HB)
80 Hoffmann, Hans Wolfgang (FR)
81 Hoffmann, Cathrin (Bild)
82 Holst, Jens (FR)
83 Hornung, Claus (Bild)
84 Hort, Peter (Ho-FAZ)
85 Huier, Marc (SZ)
86 Hummel, Katrin (mei-FAZ)
87 Hunter, Rod (FAZ)
88 Hurek, Marcus (mch-Welt)
89 Iken, Matthias (mik-Welt)
90 Ingwersen, Sabine (Bild)
91 Jäckel, Kerstin (Bild)
92 Jäger, Karl-Erich (Bild)
93 Jost, Irmintraud (Bild)
94 Kaplan, Robert D. (Welt)
95 Kaps, Carola (C.K.-FAZ)
96 Karnovsky, Eva (EK-SZ)
97 Kastrop, Jessica (Bild)
98 Kattingen, Mattheus (kg-HB)
99 Kayser, Sebastian (Bild)
100 Kersting, Christian (Bild)
101 Klitzing, Karl von (kvk-Welt)
102 Knoben, Martina (SZ)
103 Knop, Carsten (Kno-FAZ)
104 Kohler, Michael (FR)
105 Kolb, Susanne (SZ)
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107 Kotteder, Frank (SZ)
108 Kralicek, Thomas (Bild)
109 Kramer, Stefan (HB)
110 Krause, Anna-Bianca (HB)
111 Kroder, Titus (tik-HB)
112 Krömer, Sabine (FAZ)
113 Krönig, W.D. (Bild)
114 Krüger, Paul-Anton (pkr-SZ)
115 Lamprecht, Roberto (Bild)
116 Laux, Alexander (Bild)
117 Lamberz, André (Bild)
118 Leine, Jörg (Bild)
119 Leinhos, Luten Peer (SZ)
120 Leydecker, Karin (FAZ)
121 Liepert, Barbara (SZ)
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123 Lisberg-Haag, Isabell (FR)
124 Lobe, Tobias (Bild)
125 Loecken, Gerhard (Welt)
126 Loewenstein, Stefan (FAZ)
127 Lohse, Eckart (elo-FAZ)
128 Lübbars, Jörg (Bild)
129 Lükken, Uwe (FAZ)
130 Lubrich, Jörg (Bild)
131 Ludsteck, Walter (iu-SZ)
132 Ludwig, Michael (FAZ)
133 Lüttig, Lutz (Bild)
134 Maahn, Peter (Bild)
135 Magel, Eva-Maria (emm-FAZ)
136 Magenau, Jörg (FAZ)
137 Maier, Angela (FAZ)
138 Maisch, Michael (mm-HB)
139 Maltzahn, Birgitt von (SZ)
140 Martén, Federico (FR)
141 Massarrat, Mohssen (FR)
142 Mauersberg, Barbara (mau-FR)
143 Meier, Tatjana (FR)
144 Meissner, Anna (Bild)
145 Meixner, Silvia (silv-Welt)
146 Michalski, Peter (Bild)
147 Michler, Inga (Welt)
148 Middel, Andreas (mdl-Welt)
149 Missling, Conny (Bild)
150 Mols, Manfred (FAZ)
151 Moses, Carl (FAZ)
152 Mrusek, Konrad (km-FAZ)
153 Müller, Marion (Welt)
154 Müller, Ute (ute-Welt)
155 Münchrath, Jens (mu-HB)
156 Narat, Ingo (ina-HB)
157 Nesshöver, Christoph (cn-HB)
158 Neugebauer (Bild)
159 Neukirch, Ralf (ran-HB)
160 Niess, Frank (Welt)
161 Noack, Hans-Christoph (noa-FAZ)
162 Nos, Martin (HB)
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164 Nutt, Harry (FR)
165 Oehmichen, Nanny (Bild)
166 Oehrlein, Josef (oe-FAZ)
167 Oldag, Andreas (old-SZ)
168 Otte, Torsten (Bild)
169 Panasch, Rolf (FR)
170 Papon, Kerstin (kpa-FAZ)
171 Pardey, Hans-Heinrich (FAZ)
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Appendix 1. Coding Schedule

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177 Piper, Nikolaus (N-P.-SZ)
178 Pittelkau, Mark (Bild)
179 Pohl, Kitti (Bild)
180 Prokop, Clemens (SZ)
181 Psotta, Michael (pso-FAZ)
182 Rabe, Christoph (HB)
183 Rademacher, Horst (FAZ)
184 Rauf, Stefan (FR)
185 Remke, Michael (Welt)
186 Remke, Susann (Welt)
187 Renke, M. (Bild)
188 Reumann, Kurt (FAZ)
189 Rey, Romeo (FR)
190 Rinke, Andreas (ink-HB)
191 Ritter, Johannes (rit-FAZ)
192 Rösler, Peter (HB/Welt)
193 Rottmann, Sigrun (run-FR)
194 Rudioph, Bernhard (Bild)
195 Ruiner, Wolfgang (Bild)
196 Schaffelen, Sandra (sas-HB)
197 Schaubergen, U. (Bild)
198 Schneider, E. (HB)
199 Scheidges, Rüdiger (rks-HB)
200 Schindler, Jörgen (ind-FR)
201 Schlattmann, Simon (Bild)
202 Schmiese, Wulf (Welt)
203 Schmitt, Uwe (Welt)
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207 Schulz, Bettina (FAZ)
208 Schumacher, Anne (FAZ)
209 Schumann, Peter (FR)
210 Schürmann, Heinz Jürgen (HB)
211 Schuster, Jacques (Welt)
212 Schwarz, Petra (pbs-HB)
213 Schwenn, Kerstin (FAZ)
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216 Sellin, Fred (Bild)
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8. Is there a picture?

Yes 1
No 2

9. Headline (write in)

10. Story Type

Generated in Mexico 1
Generated in Germany 2
Generated in a third party 3
Unknown 4

11. Relations between States

Does the story concern relations between states or groups of states?  
Yes 1
No 2

If Yes, between

Mexico and Germany 1
Mexico and the European Union 2
Mexico and the United States 3
Mexico and NAFTA 4
Mexico and Latin America 5
Others 6

12. Topics

Identify one main topic and no more than three subsidiary topics.

Main Topic 27 — 28
Subsidiary 1 29 — 30
Subsidiary 2 31 — 32
Subsidiary 3 33 — 34

01 DIPLOMATIC/POLITICAL ACTIVITY BETWEEN STATES
02 United States-Mexico Border

POLITICS WITHIN STATES:
Appendix 1. Coding Schedule

03 Internal conflict or crisis
04 Elections, campaigns, appointments, government changes
05 Chiapas / EZLN
06 Other political, including legislation

MILITARY AND DEFENCE:
07 Armed conflict or threat of
08 Peace moves, negotiations, settlements
09 Other, including arms deals, weapons, bases, exercises

ECONOMIC MATTERS:
10 Agreements on trade, tariffs, free trade, etc.
11 Other international trade, imports, exports, trade balance
12 Capital investment, stock issues, state investments (not aid)
13 Stock exchange, share prices, dividends, profits (not new stock issues)
14 Other economic performance, output, growth sales, etc. (for economy as a whole or particular enterprise)
15 Industrial projects, factories, dams, ports, roads, etc.
16 Agricultural matters, projects, crops, harvests, etc.
17 Industrial/labour relations, disputes, negotiations, wages
18 Monetary questions, exchange rates, money supply
19 Banking and credits
20 Tourism
21 Economic policy and other economic

SOCIAL SERVICES:
22 Social problems generally, poverty, health, housing, illiteracy, drug use, etc.
23 Other social services and social welfare matters

24 MIGRATION

CRIME, POLICE, JUDICIAL, LEGAL, AND PENAL
25 Non-political crime, police, judicial and penal activity
26 Political crime, as above
27 Non-criminal legal and court proceedings, e.g. claims or damages
28 Other crime / legal

29 CULTURE, ARTS, ARCHAEOLOGY

30 RELIGION

31 SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL, MEDICAL, ACADEMIC

32 SPORTS

33 ENTERTAINMENT, SHOW BUSINESS (except personalities)

PERSONALITIES (not politicians)
34 Sports
35 Entertainers
36 Others

320
Appendix 1. Coding Schedule

37 HUMAN INTEREST, ODD HAPPENINGS, ANIMALS, SEX, etc.

ENVIRONMENT
38 Energy conservation
39 Pollution
40 Other

41 NATURAL DISASTERS – floods, earthquakes, drought, etc.

42 OTHER

13. Main Actor

a) Nationality (write in)

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b) Position / sphere:

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<td>03 Legislature, parliament, congress, etc., or committee thereof</td>
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<tr>
<td>04 Ruling party</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>05 Legitimate political opposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>06 Non-legitimate political opposition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07 Other politician (national)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 Local government official or politician</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09 Ambassador or diplomat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Military – regular forces of state</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Military – irregular, guerrillas, terrorists, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Industry, Commerce, Finance, Banking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Trade unions, workers or equivalent, as distinct from management</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Religious</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Sports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Media – ‘this paper’ etc., the one being coded</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Other medium, or media in general</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Academic / education / scientific</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Non-governmental organisation (NGO)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Police</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Judiciary / lawyers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Celebrities / show business / artists and writers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Aristocracy, royalty (in non-political capacity)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Nation (s), states, cities and other locations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

321
Appendix 1. Coding Schedule

25 United Nations
26 Other inter-governmental bodies, OPEC, EEC, NATO. etc.
27 Other international bodies, e.g. Red Cross
28 Ordinary people, citizens
29 Other
30 No human actor

c) Quoted?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

14. Other actors (up to three, as above).

a) Nationality (write in when 'Other')

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. ______________________
2. ______________________
3. ______________________

b) Position / sphere

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) Quoted?

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. Themes and References (Code up to 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>51</th>
<th>52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theme 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme 3</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

01 Discrimination
02 Religious or ethnic antagonism
03 Energy / oil supply
04 Ecology, environment, pollution (not energy)
05 Human rights
06 Religion or religious freedom
07 Freedom of speech, opinion
08 Individual freedom (other than speech or religion)
09 Social equality / inequality
10 Migration
11 Corruption in public life
12 Democracy (or forms thereof)
13 Elections / Electoral Campaign
14 New government
15 Foreign Policy
16 Industry and Trade
17 Stock Exchange and Investment
Appendix 1. Coding Schedule

18 Finance and Banking
19 Tourism
20 Police / Military Activities
21 Natural Disasters
22 Health, Science and Technology, Academy
23 Art and Culture
24 Sport
25 Human / General Interest
Appendix 2. Coding Sheet

Santacruz Moctezuma, Lino Leopoldo
University of Leicester
Centre for Mass Communications Research
PhD in Mass Communications
December 20, 2002


Content Analysis
CODING SCHEDULE
Working sheet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Item Serial Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sample Day Numbers / Date-Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Type of Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Source of Item</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agency 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter/Author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter/Author 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Location in the paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Is there a picture?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Headline (write in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Story Type</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Relations between States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the story concern relations between states or groups of states?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2. Coding Sheet

If Yes, between _______25

11. Topics
Identify one main topic and no more than three subsidiary topics.

Main Topic 26 _______ 27
Subsidiary 1 28 _______ 29
Subsidiary 2 30 _______ 31
Subsidiary 3 32 _______ 33

12. Main Actor

______

a) Nationality (write in) 34
b) Position / sphere 35 _______ 36
c) Quoted? 37

13. Other actors (up to three, as above).

a) Nationality (write in when 'Other')

38 _______ 42 _______ 46

1 39
2 40
3 41

b) Position / sphere

39 _______ 40 _______ 44 _______ 47 _______ 48

c) Quoted?

41 _______ 45 _______ 49

14. Themes and References (Code up to 3).

Theme 1 50 _______ 51
Theme 2 52 _______ 53
Theme 3 54 _______ 55

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References


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