



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Values in international political speeches: Investigating their production, content, media coverage, and impact

Waheed, M.

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Waheed, M. (2013). *Values in international political speeches: Investigating their production, content, media coverage, and impact.*

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

CHAPTER 3

Values in the News: Comparing the News Coverage of Political Speeches in Developed and Developing Countries

Published as:

Waheed, M., Schuck, R. T., Neijens, P. C., & de Vreese, C. H. (2012). Values in the news: Comparing the news coverage of political speeches in developed and developing countries. *Journalism Studies*. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2012.701910

Abstract

The presence of values in political speeches and how those values are depicted by journalists in the news are important factors contributing towards the formation of public opinion. A content analysis of online news articles from 10 countries spanning a decade was conducted to investigate these factors and how they differ between developed and developing countries. Combining the Basic Human Values Model with the concept of journalism practices of developed and developing countries, we found that although the top four values were the same for both developed and developing countries, further analysis revealed some significant differences. We also found significant differences in terms of the tone attached to those values which imply that although the journalists of developed and developing countries select similar values, they depict them differently due to the differences in journalism practices in particular parts of the world.

Introduction

The exchange of news stories between newspaper companies of different countries is becoming a normal practice in our increasingly globalized world. While this may cause exchanges in the promotion of values between nations, it does not imply that the values held by citizens are standardized across the globe because newspaper companies carefully select news articles that are compatible with their readers. Reasons for news selection can differ from one country to another based on a newspaper's and country's policies, norms, culture, etc. Hanusch (2009) suggests that cultural considerations are useful when studying journalism. This is supported by several scholars who posit that the variety of customs in different countries is what fuels research concerning different journalism practices (Hanitzsch, 2006; Massey & Chang, 2002; Skjerdal, 2011; Wong, 2004).

There has been a sizeable amount of research concerning journalism practices across different cultures (e.g., Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Hanusch, 2009). Often, studies related to journalistic cultures are conducted by way of surveys (Deuze, 2002; Donsbach & Patterson, 2004; Hanitzsch et al., 2011), and interviews (Hanitzsch, 2006). However, there is relatively little literature which examines the values highlighted in the content of the news articles written by journalists which may be telling of the journalism practices in different parts of the world. To bridge this research gap, we aim to investigate two different areas of journalism practices. First, we will focus on the type of values extracted from political speeches that are reported in the news by journalists of developed and developing countries. This is an important area to study because, according to Schöffner (1996, p. 203), political leaders usually deliver speeches as representative of parties, governments, or possibly even nations. Therefore, their speeches can be indicative of values held by the entities they represent.

Second, we will study how these extracted values are depicted by journalists of developed and developing countries. Journalists play an important role in the content that is published by the media. Should there be different journalism practices in different parts of the world as advocated by some scholars (e.g., Hanitzsch et al., 2011; Massey & Chang, 2002; van Dalen et al., 2011), then this may result in different value depictions. This disparity can give us an insight into the extent citizens from different parts of the world are exposed to similar interpretations of an issue.

We do not claim that journalism practice in developed countries is completely homogenous and that all those in developing countries are as well. However, for the sole purpose of understanding journalism practices in different parts of the world, we chose to restrict our definition of culture into the two main dominant classifications of developed and developing countries.

To achieve our aim, we combine the Basic Human Value (BHV) model with the concept of journalism practices in developed and developing countries. The BHV inventory focuses on 10 values which are recognized by all cultures around the world (Schwartz et al., 2001). They are: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, and security (see Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). We also discuss journalism practices in developed and developing countries to aid us in understanding any differences that might exist in the depiction of values in the news coverage from these two cultures.

The key contribution of this study is that it is one of the first to examine journalism practices between different cultures by applying the BHV. Hoffman and Slater (2007) explored the BHV to study journalist frames, but they applied it to a national sample of local (United States) newspapers. The more widely cited studies on BHV were conducted in the context of organizations via surveys (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997, 2001; Schwartz & Sagie, 2000). Meanwhile, other studies have focused on other related contexts also by way of survey and/or experimentation. For example, trust in institutions (Devos, Spini, & Schwartz, 2002), intergroup social motives (Schwartz et al., 1990) and religion (Saroglou & Dupuis, 2006). Our study, however, is based on a content analysis of values in the news coverage of political speeches of developed and developing countries. This adds to the diverse list of the Schwartz value application.

Moreover, this study is different from previous research because it studies journalism from the angle of the content of news coverage as well as journalism practice. By exploring these less trodden paths, it sheds light on journalists' roles that go beyond news reporting. Besides mirroring politicians' messages, they also shoulder the responsibility of public opinion formation.

The Salience of the Basic Human Values

The BHV was chosen for this study because it is recognized by all cultures around the world. It posits that there are 10 values which belong to four main dimensions (see Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). First is the dimension of self-transcendence. It consists of “universalism” and “benevolence”. “Universalism” refers to understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare for all people and for nature, while “benevolence” refers to preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact. Second is the dimension of openness to change. It consists of “stimulation” and “self-direction”. “Stimulation” refers to excitement, novelty and challenge in life while “self-direction” refers to independent thought and action-choosing, creating, and exploring. Third is the dimension of self-enhancement. It consists of “power” and “achievement”. “Power” refers to social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources while “achievement” refers to personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards. Fourth is the dimension of conservation. It consists of “conformity”, “tradition”, and “security”. “Conformity” refers to restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms, “tradition” refers to respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide, while “security” refers to safety, harmony, and stability of society and of self. “Hedonism” is the only value which belongs to two dimensions; openness to change and self-enhancement. This value refers to pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself.

Over the years, studies applying the BHV have discerned many interesting findings which have contributed to the understanding of the world’s cultures. A study by Schwartz and Sagie (2000) discovered that development in societies was found to increase overall value consensus while democratization decreases it. Some research found similarities of values in various countries (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), while others found differences (Schwartz & Bardi, 1997).

A more recent study by Waheed, Schuck, de Vreese, and Neijens (2011) (chapter 2) found that there were more differences than similarities concerning the values in speeches of political leaders. However, they found that values from the dimensions of openness to change

and self-enhancement were highly present in political speeches of both developed and developing countries. Findings from previous studies seem to remain inconclusive. Therefore, in light of this study's first aim, we find it important to ask the following research questions:

RQ1a: What values are most present in the news coverage of political speeches of developed and developing countries?

RQ1b: Are there differences between developed and developing countries in terms of the values most present in the news coverage of political speeches?

Besides value presence, we are also interested to know if value prominence will differ between the news coverage of developed and developing countries. Prominence in this context refers to the time-point in which the values may appear in the news coverage (e.g., beginning, middle, and end). Knowing the prominence is important because it gives an idea of how journalists may choose to report on political speeches. Consequently, this may explain why citizens of developed and developing countries may or may not be predisposed to certain values more than others.

According to Connor (1996), the Western process of writing emphasizes the voice of the individual that leads to directness and explicitness. However, much less is known on the non-Western process of writing. In terms of journalism, Massey and Chang (2002) posit that the main central feature in Asian Value Journalism is harmony. Harmony is kept by adhering to the power of the rulers. The finding of Connor (1996) as well as Massey and Chang (2002) seem to suggest that there may be differences in writing styles. We explore this notion with a research question focusing on the value prominence in the news coverage of political speeches of developed and developing countries:

RQ2: Are there differences between developed and developing countries in terms of value prominence in the news coverage of political speeches?

Values in Journalism

Professional values in journalism offers an area which has enjoyed considerable attention from journalism scholars. Studies have found similarities in terms of professional

values concerning journalism practice, ethical views, editorial procedures and socialization processes in different countries around the world (Herscovitz, 2004; Mwesige, 2004; Ramaprasad, 2001; Shoemaker & Cohen, 2006). The journalistic values mostly refer to objectivity and impartiality.

There are also studies which found differences pertaining to occupational and professional characteristics as well as role perceptions (Deuze, 2002; Hanitzsch et al., 2011). According to Papathanassopoulos (2001), despite globalization, countries around the world do not practice journalism based on a single model. The differences can be partially explained by Mancini's (2000) argument which states that journalism is a result of the interaction between different actors and systems where social structure and context must be taken into account.

We concede that there are various ways of looking at journalism practices (e.g., by countries, type of journalism, etc.). To achieve the second aim of this study of how journalists depict values of political speeches in the news coverage of developed and developing countries, we chose to look into journalism practices in these two cultures.

Journalism practice in developed countries. Our study considers the dominant qualities of journalists of developed countries to be at par with the Western values of objectivity, neutrality, and detachment (Molotch & Lester, 1974; Tuchman, 1973; Zelizer, 1993). This is similar to the "professional model" which, as advocated by Tunstall (1977) and Chalaby (1996) is influenced by the Anglo- American liberal tradition. According to Massey and Chang (2002, p. 992), journalists in the West are famous for reporting that highlights political conflict and is critical of government. It has also been documented by Hanitzsch et al. (2011, p. 287) that Western journalists are generally less supportive of any active promotion of particular values, ideas, and social change, and they adhere to more universal principles in their ethical decisions. Although this concept might appear to be ideal in some societies, it has been found to be unsuitable in others.

As mentioned previously, we do not wish to assert that journalism practices in developed countries are completely homogenous. We acknowledge that there are differences within this classification. For example, Hanusch (2009) identifies differences between German and Anglo American practices. However, we deem that there is a larger difference in

journalism practices between the cultures of developed and developing countries compared to those evident within each culture. Therefore, we argue that journalism practice in developed countries is antagonistic to developing countries which can be identified through how they depict values in the news coverage of political speeches.

Journalism practice in developing countries. Our study considers the dominant qualities of journalists of developing countries to be at par with the practice of Development Journalism where journalists are required to play a central role in disseminating governmental or national policies to inform and educate the citizens as well as to mobilize them for the concerted effort at bringing about economic development (Wong, 2004, p. 26). Development Journalism has been criticized for several shortcomings such as being at odds with media independence and press freedom and for promoting political agendas instead of people's interest (Skjerdal, 2011). However, it has been authorized to be an important practice in some countries. In fact, the United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2007) recommended including Development Journalism as an elective course in journalism programs for emerging democracies (Skjerdal, 2011, p. 58).

Development Journalism as a practice became popular in Southeast Asia in the 1960s, and in African governments in the 1970s and 1980s. Ali (1996, p. 147) connects the Asian Values Journalism with Development Journalism. In the Asian Values Journalism, harmony appears to be the central feature (Massey & Chang, 2002). Again, we do not wish to assert that journalism practices in developing countries are completely homogenous, but, we argue that there is a larger difference in journalism practices between the cultures of developed and developing countries compared to within each culture respectively.

In order to examine journalism practice, we look into the depiction of values expressed in political speeches. This is achieved by studying the tone attached to the values present in news coverage of political speeches. Waheed et al. (2011) (chapter 2) found that the tone attached to the values from the dimension of openness to change was significantly more positive for political speeches of developed countries compared to those of developing countries. They also found "achievement", a value from the dimension of self-enhancement, to be more positive in speeches of developing countries compared to those of developed

countries. We question how the depiction of the values expressed would be for the case of news coverage of political speeches between developed and developing countries. Therefore, our research question reads:

RQ3: Are there differences between developed and developing countries in how journalists depict the values expressed in political speeches?

Method

Implementation and Sample

To achieve our aims for this study, we first defined a set of criteria for country selection, then, a set for newspaper selection, and finally for news article selection. The criteria for country selection were: first, countries had to be members of the United Nations (UN) because we decided that the news coverage of political speeches should be on those delivered at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA). Speeches at the UNGA are delivered annually by heads of states (or their representatives) of member states on the progress, challenges, future initiatives, etc. of their country in the past year. Therefore, leaders of developed and developing countries deliver speeches at this event every year which gains ample amounts of news coverage worldwide.

Second, the countries must have English as their first or second language. This was to maximize the possibility of retrieving English news articles for the study. Third, countries had to be a member of the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) because those countries which are members should adhere to a certain amount of press freedom. Furthermore, WAN-IFRA members allow access to their newspaper circulation information. Fourth, countries were selected on basic demographic information. Specifically, we referred to the geographical location, population, and religion. Information concerning demographics was obtained from the Central Intelligence Agency “World Factbook” (2010). For example, if we selected a country in Asia that was categorized as developed and predominantly Muslim with a population of 30 million, then, we would also try to find another country from Asia that was categorized as a developing country with similar

demographics. This was done to ensure that the differences or similarities was due to the countries being developed or developing and not due to other characteristics.

For this study, we applied the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) (2010) to classify countries as developed or developing. The UNDP HDR classifies countries into four categories: very high, high, medium, and low human development. We considered countries with very high and high human development as developed countries while those from medium and low human development as developing ones. Based on the country selection criteria and the UNDP HDR, the following 10 countries were selected: United States, New Zealand, United Arab Emirates, Republic of Korea, and United Kingdom for developed countries, and Pakistan, The Philippines, India, Kenya, and Sri Lanka for developing countries.

The criteria for newspaper selection were as follow: we aimed for newspapers that were ranked as top five most circulated in their respective countries by WAN-IFRA. There was an exception for Kenya where there were only three accessible English newspapers. Online versions of these newspapers were used for this study. However, if any of the top five newspapers were inaccessible, we then substituted it with the next most circulated newspaper (could be sixth, seventh, eighth, or ninth, but not higher than the tenth). If all of the top 10 most circulated newspapers were inaccessible, we substituted them with online newspapers with the highest readership in that particular country. Some newspapers did not publish primarily in English, but English translations of articles were available on their website.

We included newspaper articles that were published between 12 September 2001 and 31 December 2010.¹ September 12 was chosen as a cut-off point because there is a possibility that due to the terrorist attacks in the United States, the usage of language and thematic scope or emphasis would be different when comparing news coverage of speeches before, and after this date. However, accessing such differences is beyond the scope of this study. Following this, 635 news articles were selected from 48 newspapers (see Appendix).

Procedure

News articles were retrieved from the website of the selected newspapers through the search archive function. Combinations of keywords were used to shortlist relevant news

articles. This included “United Nations General Assembly,” “UNGA Speech,” “UN Speech,” etc. Once a shortlist was obtained, the coders had to read through each article to see if any part of it was concerning a speech delivered at the UNGA.

A codebook was developed containing guidelines for how to extract specific information from the news articles. The unit of analysis for coding was paragraph level. The first part of the codebook described how to extract general information: story number, country of the newspaper, name of the newspaper, date of the article published.

The second part of the codebook described how to extract information from the text of the news article. In this section, coders had to count the total number of paragraphs in the news article, count the number of paragraphs that specifically mentions the speech delivered at the UNGA (it could be in the form of a direct quote, paraphrase, or implications of the speech as described by the journalist), and code the sequence number in which the relevant paragraph is situated in relation to the entire article (e.g. if the relevant paragraph is fourth in the whole article, then the number 4 was coded). By this, we found that news articles from developed countries contained more paragraphs ($M=16.73$, $SD=8.33$) than those from developing countries ($M=6.08$, $SD=9.33$), $t(2981)=2.04$, $p<.05$. However, there were more paragraphs that discussed political speeches delivered at the UNGA which contained values in news articles of developing countries ($M=9.61$, $SD=6.28$), compared to those of developed countries ($M=7.66$, $SD=4.64$), $t(2663)=9.86$, $p<.001$.

The two key variables in the coding of news coverage of UNGA speeches was the presence of values and tone attached. Value was defined as something which guides principles in people’s lives and aids people to decide what can be considered to be appropriate behavior. Tone was defined as how the values were expressed (i.e. positivity or negativity of expression) by message source that was depicted in the news article.

To code the values present, coders had to identify the type of values present in the speech that was quoted, paraphrased, or explained in terms of its effect in the relevant paragraph. Type of values refers to Schwartz’s 10 value inventory. The coders also referred to a mini-dictionary provided to them consisting of the definition of each value which comes with a list of single values which are associated with the main 10 values. We obtained the single values in the mini-dictionary by referring to an online thesaurus (www.thesaurus.com)

to obtain a wider range of words which can be associated with the value. If a certain word was listed twice with two or more assigned values in the mini-dictionary, the coder had to refer to the definition provided in the codebook. If the coder was unable to make a differentiation, then all the assigned values were coded. If a certain related word was not listed in the mini-dictionary, then a word association was conducted in order to make a connection of that particular word with another word in the list.

To code the tone attached to the values present, the coders had to first identify the message source in the relevant paragraph. This refers to the person who is delivering the speech. Then, the coders had to identify what tone the message source uses to express the values to the audience. The tone could be coded as -1 for negative, 0 for neutral, or +1 for positive. This tone had to be decided from the predicate portion of the quoted, paraphrased, or implications of the speech as described by the journalist in the relevant paragraph. Decision on the tone had to be made from the message source's point of view.²

Inter-coder Reliability

In order to assess the reliability of the coding, an inter-coder reliability test was conducted between the two coders involved in the study. The coders trained extensively before coding the material for the reliability test. For this test, 78 news articles (12.28 percent of the overall sample) were coded by both coders. Thirty-nine news articles were randomly chosen from developed and developing countries, respectively. Inter-coder reliability was conducted on value presence and tone. For value presence, the mean score for Krippendorff's α was .75 and for tone, the mean score for Krippendorff's α was .68. Overall, the inter-coder reliability was acceptable.³

Calculating Prominence of Values

Prominence of values refers to the time-point in which the values present may appear in the news coverage (i.e. beginning, middle, and end). The calculation for this was conducted in the following manner: the number 1 was divided by the paragraph number of where the values were present. Results closer to 1 indicate that the values present were more prominent and vice versa.

Results

Value Presence

RQ1a asked what values are most present in the news coverage of political speeches of developed and developing countries. Results show that the top four values in the news coverage of political speeches of developed countries were: (1) stimulation, (2) self-direction, (3) power, and (4) universalism. Similarly, the top four values in the news coverage of political speeches of developing countries were: (1) stimulation, (2) power, (3) self-direction, and (4) universalism (see Table 3.1). All these values are from the dimensions of self-transcendence and openness to change with the exception of “power” which belongs to the dimension of self-enhancement.

RQ1b asked if there are differences between developed and developing countries in terms of the values most present in the news coverage of political speeches. Results show that although the top four values were the same for both developed and developing countries, further analysis showed significant differences (see Table 3.1). From the top four values, “stimulation” had a greater presence in the news coverage of developing countries compared to those of developed countries. The situation was similar for “power”. Meanwhile, “self-direction” was more present in the news coverage of developed countries compared to those of developing ones. The same analyses were explicated by aggregating the data from paragraph to article level. Results from the analyses point to the same direction.⁴

We also conducted a logistic regression which confirmed these findings. The chances for “stimulation” to be present in the news coverage of political speeches of developing countries was significantly higher than in those of developed countries ($b=0.77$, $SE=0.10$, $p<.001$). This was similar for “power” ($b=0.92$, $SE=0.08$, $p<.001$). Meanwhile, chances for “self-direction” to be present in the news coverage of political speeches of developed countries were significantly higher than in those of developing countries ($b=0.39$, $SE=0.07$, $p<.001$).

Table 3.1: Value Presence in the News Coverage of Political Speeches of Developed and Developing Countries (%)

Values	Overall (<i>N</i> =3236)	Developed (<i>N</i> =1765)	Developing (<i>N</i> =1474)	Pearson's χ^2
Power	66.7	57.8	77.4	138.29***
Achievement	15.4	13.0	18.3	17.78***
Hedonism	5.3	5.5	5.1	.21
Stimulation	84.5	80.2	89.7	55.49***
Self-Direction	65.5	69.7	60.8	28.16***
Universalism	50.2	50.1	50.5	.07
Benevolence	28.2	32.8	22.8	39.09***
Tradition	6.1	3.9	8.6	31.27***
Conformity	6.8	6.7	6.9	.06
Security	37.5	33.5	42.3	26.33***

Note: *** $p < .001$

Value Prominence

RQ2 asked if there are differences between developed and developing countries in terms of value prominence in the news coverage of political speeches. We generally found no significant differences in terms of value prominence in the news coverage of political speeches of developed countries ($M=.24$, $SD=.24$) compared to those of developing countries ($M=.26$, $SD=.25$), $t(1210)=1.37$, *ns*. Further analysis of the individual values also shows no differences in value prominence between the news coverage of political speeches of developed and developing countries (see Table 3.2). Furthermore, the differences for prominence of each value within the news coverage of political speeches of developed and developing countries, respectively, showed only minute differences.

Table 3.2: Prominence for Each Value in the News Coverage of Political Speeches of Developed and Developing Countries

Values	Developed Countries		Developing Countries		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	<i>N</i>	Prominence	<i>N</i>	Prominence		
Power	1019	.23	1140	.24	-.20	2157
Achievement	228	.24	270	.22	1.00	426
Hedonism	96	.28	75	.29	-.22	169
Stimulation	1414	.23	1322	.24	-.60	2734
Self-Direction	1228	.24	893	.25	-.75	2119
Universalism	881	.21	743	.22	-.28	1622
Benevolence	577	.22	336	.20	1.83	838
Tradition	69	.25	127	.18	1.69	194
Conformity	118	.28	102	.29	-.23	218
Security	590	.24	622	.26	-1.37	1210

Note: Prominence was calculated accordingly: $1/(\text{paragraph number of where value was present})$. Values closer to 1 indicate higher prominence. For example, the prominence of “tradition” was 0.25 in the news coverage of political speeches of developed countries. This means that on average, “tradition” was located on paragraph 4 of the news articles of political speeches of developed countries.

Journalists’ Depiction of Values Expressed (Tone)

RQ3 asked if there are differences between developed and developing countries in how journalists depict the values expressed in political speeches. Results show there were significant differences for value depiction in 5 out of 10 values. They were: power, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, and tradition (see Table 3.3).

From these five values, power, self-direction, universalism and tradition were depicted to be expressed in a significantly more positive tone in the news coverage of political speeches of developing countries compared to those of developed countries. Only one value, stimulation, was depicted to be significantly more positive in the news coverage of political speeches of developed countries compared to those of developing countries (see Table 3.3).

This means that when there were significant differences in the values expressed, they were generally more positively depicted by journalists of developing countries compared to those of developed countries. Results pointed to the same direction when the same analysis was conducted on data that was aggregated from paragraph level to article level.⁶

In a nutshell, this study found the following: first, although the top four values were the same for both developed and developing countries, further analysis showed some

significant differences. Second, there were no differences in terms of value prominence. Finally, we found that journalists in developing countries depicted values more positively in the news coverage of political speeches compared to those of developed countries.

Table 3.3: T-test Results for Journalists' Depiction of Values Expressed in the News Coverage of Political Speeches of Developed and Developing Countries

Tone Values	Developed Countries		Developing Countries		<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>		
Power	1019	.83 (.56)	1141	.91 (.41)	-3.82***	1854
Achievement	229	.32 (.95)	270	.24 (.97)	.96	497
Hedonism	96	.94 (.35)	75	.89 (.45)	.72	169
Stimulation	1414	.69 (.73)	1322	.85 (.52)	-6.84***	2569
Self-Direction	1229	1.00 (.08)	893	.98 (.18)	2.25***	1146
Universalism	883	.78 (.63)	725	.86 (.52)	-2.75**	1625
Benevolence	577	.69 (.72)	336	.66(.75)	.48	911
Tradition	69	.33 (.95)	126	.67 (.75)	-2.52**	115
Conformity	118	-.12 (1.00)	102	.00 (1.00)	-.877	218
Security	590	-.53 (.85)	623	-.57 (.82)	.89	1211

Note: *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$. The scale ranged from -1 to +1.

Discussion

This study's purpose was two-fold. Its first aim was to investigate the type of values extracted from political speeches that were reported in newspapers of developed and developing countries. Its second aim was to examine how these extracted values were depicted by journalists of developed and developing countries. In light of the first aim, we discovered that the four most present values in the news coverage of political speeches of both developed and developing countries were similar to one another. However, further analysis showed that there were some significant differences. To a large extent, this is in line with the finding of an earlier study focusing on the content of political speeches (Waheed et al., 2011) (chapter 2). Although the speeches used in the content analysis of their study differed from the news coverage of political speeches in this study, we can generally conclude that the values found in the political speeches are congruent with those in the news coverage of political speeches. This suggests that journalists were able to extract the core values from speeches effectively. Schäffner (1996) previously noted that political speeches represent the values of governments.

Assuming this is the case, we may conclude that globalization may be bridging the gap in the basic human values held by governments across the globe, which may also be reflective of the values held by their citizens.

Additionally, we found no significant differences in terms of value prominence in the news coverage of political speeches between those of developed and developing countries. However, we did find other types of differences. For instance, although the news articles of developed countries contained more paragraphs compared to those of developing countries, there were more paragraphs that discussed political speeches delivered at the UNGA in the latter.

In light of this study's second aim, our findings indicate that journalists' depiction of the values expressed (tone) was more positive in the news coverage of political speeches of developing countries compared to those of developed countries. This was the case for four out of five values that were found to be significantly different. These values represent one dimension each. This is not the same as the findings of Waheed et al. (2011) (chapter 2). From this, we suggest that journalists' depiction of the values expressed are not the same as the actual values found in the political speeches itself. We attribute the difference to journalism practices in developed and developing countries.

Our findings support the arguments of Skjerdal (2011) and Wong (2004) which implied that journalists of countries that practice Development Journalism are required to evaluate their country's leader's speech in positive light. Simultaneously, our findings also support Massey and Chang (2002, p. 992), who state that journalists in the West are famous for reporting that highlights political conflict and is critical of government. By this, we have managed to add to studies of previous scholars such as Massey and Chang (2002), Hanitzsch et al. (2011) as well as van Dalen et al. (2011). While addressing the second aim of this study, we also found support for the claims of Papathanassopoulos (2001) and Mancini (2000) who posit that countries around the world do not practice a single model of journalism despite globalism. This is because journalism is a result from the interaction between different actors and systems where social structure and context must be taken into account.

Overall, this study has contributed to and expanded the existing body of knowledge concerning values in the news coverage of political speeches in the following ways: it is one

of the first few which applies the BHV by way of content analysis in order to examine journalism practices between developed and developing countries. This is an important methodology expansion for the study of values in the field of communication. Also, this study examined journalism practices through two important angles: first, the type of values in the news coverage of political speeches, and second, the depiction of these values by journalists. These are both important angles to study in order to understand the journalists' role in public opinion formation. By this, journalists should take notice of the types of values and the tones that appeal to their audiences. Should they learn to make a good combination of these two factors in news reporting, it may have the potential to increase readership that in turn can improve the quality of public opinion.

Like other empirical studies, this too faced several technical challenges. First, some newspaper websites provided news articles which were translated from the original language into English. There is a possibility that the meaning of the sentences were lost in translation. Second, there were contexts which were difficult to code such as news coverage containing humor, sarcasm, criticism, advice, stories from the past, and rhetorical questions. Third, there is an unavoidable subjectivity when coding values in speeches because there are bound to be differences in coders' perceptions towards the values and tone in the sentences. This makes values in speeches difficult to code. Furthermore, guidelines and examples concerning the coding of values in speeches are scarce since most studies concerning BHV were conducted by using surveys in organizations. Finally, the top five most circulated newspapers were not always accessible. Substituting them with lower circulated newspapers does not give us an accurate account of the values that citizens are actually exposed to. Despite these challenges, we managed to show that coding values and tone is a possible endeavor.

There are several ways to remedy the shortcomings of this study and to also further enrich its findings. For instance, we concede that although we repeatedly stated "we do not wish to assert that journalism practice in developed countries is homogenous and journalism practice in developing countries is also homogenous", we did apply concepts that separate them either as practicing "Western value journalism" or Development Journalism. To explore other types of journalism that may exist within the same country and/or region, we propose a more intricate comparison between different types of press within the same country.

Additionally, a one-on-one country comparison should be conducted to see if there are value differences between nations within the same region. Furthermore, we could also look into differences in how journalists report stories on local versus foreign political leaders. Finally, we could differentiate between the news coverage of political speeches written by the respective newspapers' journalists versus those that are written by external journalists.

Notwithstanding our present limitations, on a larger scale, our findings indicate that citizens of developed and developing countries may have a common understanding on the salience of political issues that come with similar value presence and prominence. However, due to the different journalism practices, it is likely that citizens too will have antagonistic opinions on the same political issues. In terms of topic expansion, it would be fruitful to investigate the effects of news coverage of political speeches toward individual attitudes as well as toward public opinion. This can provide a clear picture on the impact of journalists' reporting on political speeches toward audiences.

Notes

¹ There were no other restrictions imposed on the article selection. Internationally wired articles and those written by journalists other than those of the respective newspapers were also included. We argue that these articles also reflect the culture and norms of our sample countries as well as their respective editorial policies.

² Examples of how values and tone were coded: Example 1: “Vajpayee also mocked Musharraf’s shrill attempt during his US visit to seek parity with India saying ‘he should not confuse the legitimate aspiration for equality of nations with outmoded concepts of military parity’.” The motivation for Vajpayee’s (source) statement (“he should not confuse...”) is to correct or to criticize to show his authority. The value assigned is *power*. The tone between the source and *power* is negative because he intended to correct another leader’s actions in public. Therefore, the assigned tone is “-1”. Example 2: “US President George W Bush on Tuesday promised world leaders fearful of a global economic meltdown that Washington would implement a financial bailout package ‘in the urgent timeframe required’.” The motivation for this is to ensure world leaders. We associate this to *benevolence*. The predicate for this paragraph is “promised world leaders (...)”. The tone between the source (Bush) and *benevolence* is positive because the source promises to put effort to make things better. Therefore, the assigned tone is “+1”.

³ The following inter coder reliability scores are only of variables which were difficult to code. Variables which were more objective (e.g., country of message source, date of news articles, etc.) were not reported; the inter coder reliability for those variables were perfect (Krippendorff’s $\alpha=1.00$). Inter coder reliability for value presence (Krippendorff’s α are shown): *power*=.54, *achievement*=.84, *hedonism*=.77, *stimulation*=.58, *self-direction*=.68, *universalism*=.79, *benevolence*=.84, *tradition*=.86, *conformity*=.80, and *security*=.77. Inter coder reliability for the journalists’ depiction of values expressed in Krippendorff’s α : *power*=.53, *achievement*=.93, *hedonism*=.64, *stimulation*=.54, *self-direction*=.42, *universalism*=.66, *benevolence*=.42, *tradition*=.87, *conformity*=.95, and *security*=.86.

⁴At the article level, the top four values that were most present for developed countries were stimulation (90.5%), self-direction (86.2%), universalism (72.2%), and power (66.8%). The top four values that were most present for developing countries were: stimulation (97.4%), self-direction (82.3%), power (79.2%), and universalism (69.4%). Although there were similarities in the top four values, Pearson's Chi-Square tests showed significant differences between the two types of countries for "power" which was more present in news coverage of developing countries compared to developed ones (79.2% versus 66.8%), $\chi^2(1, N = 635) = 11.94, p < .001$.

⁵Analyses for the value presence were also conducted for individual newspapers and countries. Results were similar to those of the aggregated level of developed and developing countries.

⁶At the article level, the tone used to express "stimulation" was more positive for the news coverage of political speeches in developed countries ($M=1.00, SD=.03$) compared to those of developing ones ($M=.98, SD=.14, t(567)=-2.64, p < .0$). There was no significant difference between news coverage of developed and developing countries for "self-direction", "power", and "achievement". Analysis also shows that the tone used to express "universalism" in the news coverage of developing countries were more positive ($M=.85, SD=.46$) compared to those of developed countries ($M=.75, SD=.57, t(438)=-2.18, p < .05$).

References

- Ali, O. A. (1996). Values: Idealistic concept or realistic goals? M. Masterton (Ed), *Asian Values in Journalism*, Singapore: Asia Media, Information, and Communication Center, pp. 142-147.
- Central Intelligence Agency (2010). *World Factbook*. Retrieved on October 12, 2011, from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>
- Chalaby, J. K. (1996). Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention. *European Journal of Communication*, 11, 303-27. doi: 10.1177/0267323196011003002
- Connor, U. (1996). *Contrastive Rhetoric: Cross-Cultural Aspects of Second-Language Writing*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Deuze, M. (2002). *Journalists in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Aksant Academic Publishers.
- Devos, T., Spini, D., & Schwartz, S. H. (2002). Conflicts among human values and trust in institutions. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 41, 481-494. doi: 10.1348/014466602321149849
- Donsbach, W., & Patterson, T. E. (2004). Political news journalists: Partisanship, professionalism, and political roles in five countries. In F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds), *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2006). Mapping journalism culture: A theoretical taxonomy and case studies from Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 16, 169-186. doi: 10.1080/01292980600638835
- Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F., Mellado, S., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., Coman, M., Hamada, B., Hernández, M. E., Karadjov C. D., Moreira, S. V., Mwesige, P. G., Plaisance, P. L., Reich, Z., Seethaler, J., Skewes, E. A., Noor, D. V., & Wang Yuen, E. K. (2011). Mapping journalism cultures across nations: A comparative study of 18 countries. *Journalism Studies*, 12, 273-293. doi: 10.1080/1461670X.2010.512502
- Hanusch, F. (2009). A product of their culture: Using value systems approach to understand the work practices of journalists. *International Communication Gazette*, 71, 613-626. doi: 10.1177/1748048509341895

- Herscovitz, H. (2004). Brazilian journalists' perceptions of media roles, ethics and foreign influences on Brazilian journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 5, 71-86. doi: 10.1080/1461670032000174756
- Hoffman, L. H., & Slater, M. D. (2007). Evaluating public discourse in newspaper opinion articles: Values framing and integrative complexity in substance and health policy issues. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 84, 58-74. doi: 10.1177/107769900708400105
- Mancini, P. (2000). Political complexity and alternative models of journalism: The Italian case, M. J. Park & J. Curran (Eds.), *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, London: Routledge, pp. 264-278.
- Massey, B. L., & Chang, L. J. A. (2002). Locating Asian values in Asian journalism: A content analysis of web newspapers. *Journal of Communication*, 52, 988-1003. doi: 10.1093/joc/52.4.987
- Molotch, H., & Lester, M. (1974). News as purposive behavior: On the strategic use of routine events, accidents, and scandals. *American Sociological Review*, 39, 101-112. doi: 10.2307/2094279
- Mwesige, P. G. (2004). Disseminators, advocates, and watchdogs: A profile of Ugandan journalists in the new millennium. *Journalism*, 5, 69-96. doi: 10.1177/1464884904039556
- Papathanassopoulos, S. (2001). Media commercialization and journalism in Greece. *European Journal of Communication*, 16, 505-521. doi: 10.1177/0267323101016004004
- Ramaprasad, J. (2001). A profile of journalists in post-independence Tanzania. *International Communication Gazette*, 63, 539-555. doi : 10.1177/0016549201063006005
- Saroglou, V., & Dupuis, J. (2006). Being Buddhist in Western Europe: Cognitive needs, prosocial character, and values. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 16, 163-179. doi: 10.1207/s15327582ijpr1603_2
- Schäffner, C. (1996). Editorial: Political speeches and discourse analysis. *Current Issues in Language and Society*, 3, 201-204.

- Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. (1997). Influences of adaptation to communist rule on value priorities in eastern Europe. *Political Psychology, 18*, 385-410. doi: 10.1111/0162-895X.00062
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bardi, A. (2001). Value hierarchies across cultures: Taking a similarities perspective. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 268-290. doi: 10.1177/0022022101032003002
- Schwartz, S. H., & Boehnke, K. (2004). Evaluating the structure of human values with confirmatory factor analysis. *Journal of Research in Personality, 38*, 230-255. doi: 10.1016/S0092-6566(03)00069-2
- Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehman, A., Burgess, S. Harris, M., & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of Basic Human Values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 519-542. doi: 10.1177/0022022101032005001
- Schwartz, S. H., & Sagie, G. (2000). Value consensus and importance: A cross-national study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*, 465-497. doi: 10.1177/0022022100031004003
- Schwartz, S. H., Struch, N., & Wolfgang, B. (1990). Values and intergroup social motives: A study of Israeli and German students. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 53*, 185-198. doi: 10.2307/2786958
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Cohen, A. A. (2006). *News around the world: Content, practitioners, and the public*. New York: Routledge.
- Skjerdal, T. S. (2011). Development journalism revived: The case of Ethiopia. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies, 32*, 58-74.
- Tuchman, G. (1973). Making news by doing work: Routinizing the unexpected. *American Journal of Sociology, 79*, 110-131. doi: 10.1086/225510
- Tunstall, J. (1977). *The media are American*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2007). *UNESCO series on journalism education: Model curricula for journalism education*. Retrieved on May 11, 2011, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001512/151209e.pdf>, accessed 11 May 2011.

- United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report (2010). *Human Development Index 2010 rankings*. Retrieved on October 12, 2011 from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/>
- van Dalen, A., de Vreese, C. H., & Albæk, E. (2011). Different roles, different content? A four country comparison of the role conceptions and reporting style of political journalists, *Journalism*, 1-20. doi: 10.1177/1464884911431538
- Waheed, M., Schuck, A., de Vreese, C. H., & Neijens, P. (2011). More different than similar: Values in political speeches of leaders of developed and developing countries. *Journal of Intercultural Communication* 26, <http://www.immi.se/intercultural/>
- Wong, K. (2004). Asian based development journalism and political elections: Press coverage of the 1999 general elections in Malaysia. *Gazette*, 66, 25-40. doi: 10.1177/0016549204039940
- Zelizer, B. (1993). Journalists as interpretative communities. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 10, 219-237. doi: 10.1080/15295039309366865

Appendix

Table 3.A1: List of Countries and Newspapers

Countries	Type of Country	No.	Newspapers
United States of America	Developed	1	The New York Times
		2	The Washington Post
		3	USA Today
		4	Wall Street Journal
		5	L.A. Times
New Zealand	Developed	6	The Dominion Post
		7	The Press
		8	Southland Times
		9	Manawatu Standard
		10	New Zealand herald
United Arab Emirates	Developed	11	The Gulf News
		12	The National
		13	Emirates Business
		14	The Gulf Today
		15	Khaleej Times
Republic of Korea	Developed	16	JoongAng Daily
		17	ChosunIlbo
		18	Dong A Ilbo
		19	Maeil Business
		20	Korea Times
United Kingdom	Developed	21	The Guardian
		22	Daily Telegraph
		23	The Sun

CHAPTER 3

		24	Daily Mail
		25	The Times
Pakistan	Developing	26	The Dawn
		27	The News
		28	The Nation
		29	Business Recorder
		30	Daily Times
The Philippines	Developing	31	The Philippine Daily Inquirer
		32	Philippine Star
		33	Manila Bulletin
		34	Manila Times
		35	Malaya
India	Developing	36	Times of India
		37	Economic Times
		38	Hindustan Times
		39	Indian Express
		40	Daily News Analysis
Kenya	Developing	41	The Daily Nation
		42	The Standard
		43	Business Daily
Sri Lanka	Developing	44	Daily News
		45	The Island
		46	Daily Mirror
		47	Sunday Times
		48	Sunday Leader
