
Bias much?

Hugo Chavez media
portrayal during the
presidential election
of 2012

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Abstract

This is a study in International Relations with the definition of International Relations as being how we understand what happens and even how we come to define some international events as more worthy of coverage than other. The aim of the study is to examine the portrayal of Hugo Chavez in the media agencies during his run for re-election in 2012 and a short period thereafter, 23rd of September until 14th of October. In this we ask; How is Hugo Chavez portrayed in the media selected during and after his election campaign and victory of 2012? Did the chosen media show any bias or tendency in its reporting of this and how can this be explained? This study hopes to give a deeper understanding of how hegemonic ideological discourse. The media is represented by five different news agencies and is analyzed with the help of an qualitative analytical model created by the author and an critical discourse analysis inspired by Teun Adrianus van Dijk and Norman Fairclough. The study concentrates on how the neoliberal hegemony is reproduced within these news agencies reporting. The neoliberal discourse was present in all news agencies and only one of the news agencies managed to remain somewhat close to unbiased in their reporting. This gives reason for consumers of media to be concerned by what is said in the media and especially by who and for what reasons.

Keywords: Hugo Chavez, Venezuela, Media analysis, Critical discourse analysis, Elections, Neoliberalism, Hegemony, International relations, News media,

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1. Introduction

According to Kirby and Cannon, ever since 1989 a new form of left-wing leaders has come into power in Latin America which, was a response to the difficulties the neoliberal project had been facing.¹ From 1998 up until 2011 there have been 12 left-wing or left of centre leaders in 12 countries in Latin America, out of which a majority have been re-elected.² In this movement Hugo Chavez was at first a “lone voice”³ for this wave and looked weak in April 2002 when a coup against him was set in motion. Richard Gott compares the setting for the Venezuelan coup to the one in Chile in September of 1973 and Gott also implies US support for the Venezuelan coup.⁴ US involvement is also implicated by Eva Golinger in *Bush vs Chavez*.⁵ This coup failed, largely due to the strong support amongst the poor, which was an important factor in bringing him back to power.⁶ This show of popular force, by the Venezuelan people, and the election of Lula as president of Brazil later that year marked a symbolic point which showed that Latin America was moving beyond the neoliberal project. In this wave of new left-wing political leaders Hugo Chavez has been the most famous and most media exposed.⁷

This study is in general terms about, how the media that exist within the neoliberal hegemony portrays this anti-neoliberal reaction. The study will specifically include five samples of news agencies, from the historical cradle of neoliberalism, the US, one from the historically outer part of the neoliberal “camp”, Sweden⁸ and lastly news agencies from the other end of the historical spectrum, China and Russia.⁹ In the study we use trade relations as a indicator of positive relations and these relations have a similar pattern as the Cold War alliances, the first world have marked negative relations while the second (and third, although not really included in this study) world have positive relations with Venezuela as we will discuss below.

¹ Cannon, Barry & Kirby, Peadar (red.), *Civil Society and the State in Left-led Latin America Challenges and Limitations to Democratization*, Zed Books Ltd, London, p. 11

² For list of elected leaders and countries; *ibid.* p. 12

³ Cannon, Barry & Kirby, Peadar (red.), *Civil Society and the State in Left-led Latin America Challenges and Limitations to Democratization*, Zed Books Ltd, London, p. 11

⁴ Gott, Richard, *Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian revolution*, New ed., Verso, London, 2011 p. 223

⁵ Golinger, Eva, *Bush versus Chavez: Washington's war on Venezuela*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 2008 p. 24ff

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 236

⁷ Cannon, Barry & Kirby, Peadar (red.), *Civil Society and the State in Left-led Latin America Challenges and Limitations to Democratization*, Zed Books Ltd, London p. 11

⁸ Sweden has often been described as a “social democratic” country, not a liberal or neoliberal.

⁹ O'Brien, Robert & Williams, Marc., *Global political economy: evolution and dynamics*, 3. ed., Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010 p. 125

1.1 The necessity of the media within a society and the potential trouble with the media

A democratic society or any other society depends upon a well and accurately informed public in order for it to function properly.¹⁰ Otherwise formal elections and decisions of leaders or the elected politicians will be a ceremonial process with a clueless population. One of the main tasks of the media in a democratic society or other societies is to provide the public with the information they need to make an informed decision whether it's an election of a political party or if it's a choice between raising and lowering taxes, investing in hospitals or the military.

There is a lot of research arguing that information media i.e. news media, have a long history of being shaped by ideology. Even so much that they contribute to reproducing the hegemonic discourse within a society by acting implicitly in use of language that naturalize certain truths, making certain things presupposed and taken-for-granted.¹¹ Whenever an alternative to our way of societal model comes in to play the media's role is to provide us with an accurate, fair, balanced and informative picture of it. Hugo Chavez and his "Socialism in the 21st century" present just that, an alternative to our market driven society that abides to neoliberalism.¹² This study does not contend that it is or is not a viable alternative to neoliberalism, rather that the elite in the neoliberal hegemony experience it as a potential threat. When we look at the media reaction to Hugo Chavez in this study we won't find the fair and balanced reporting they themselves claim to produce. Rather we will find the reporting to be, as Van Dijk describes it "...news implicitly promotes the dominant beliefs and opinions of elite groups in society."¹³ This is done in order to get "...the readers to develop such interpretation frameworks rather than alternative ones..."¹⁴ The study will look critically at the medias reporting and examine if there is credibility in the theory that the media is a partner with the prominent discourse or the self proclaimed role as an independent actor that gives a fair, balanced, accurate and credible reporting.¹⁵

Fairclough discussed how Van Dijk's model for doing Critical discourse analysis (from now on referred to as CDA) sheds a light on "how the text which journalists get from news agencies [...] are transformed in producing a report".¹⁶ This is the element used for this study, however, due to limitations for the study this wide form of analysis is not feasible. This way of analyzing would be a

¹⁰ Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 6

¹¹ Fairclough, Norman, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London, 1995 p. 44f

¹² Cannon, Barry., *Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian Revolution: populism and democracy in a globalised age*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2009 p. 11

¹³ Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 83

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 182

¹⁵ The news agencies all have different ways of wording this; it can be viewed in the bibliography where direct links to each news agency and their principals is available.

¹⁶ Fairclough, Norman, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London, 1995 p. 30

holistic approach and include not only news agencies but also reporters and an audience, which this study does not. Instead this study limits itself to the news reporting of the news agencies.

2. Previous research

We define International Relations as "how we understand what happens and even how we (and that includes news programmes) come to define some international events as more worthy of coverage than other"¹⁷ for the purpose of this study. We give us this liberty because as Lloyd Pettiford and Jill Steans describe; "It should be clear [...] that IR can be many different things to different people."¹⁸ If we look at the research within the field of media and news they are numerous. There have been several studies regarding Chavez in general and the media in specific but in a different context than this study. For example Tomas Andersson Odén did a study in 2004 about the media coverage by local media in Venezuela of referendum the same year.¹⁹ Another example more related to this study is David Edwards and David Cromwells *Newspeak in the 21st century* that examines news reporting and its bias, with a focus on British media.²⁰ There has also been several bachelor theses written about Chavez and the media but they have been limited to one country only.²¹ But for this study it is more relevant to bring up Noam Chomsky and Edward Hermans theoretical model in *Manufacturing Consent*. This study is not using their model but recognizes its relevance, specifically the last filter in the model. Now we will briefly present the 5 filters due to its importance for the study and the fact that it has altered since the end of the Cold War. The model holds that news reports must pass through 5 filters. These filters work as to limit any form of deviance from the elites' viewpoints and maintain hegemony and power over the public. The filters are;

1. Ownership of media with profit orientation. That the owner's interests are to make profit and not upset balance of power.
2. Advertising in newspapers. That newspapers are dependent on advertising as a way of financing the paper and in turn limits their freedom to investigate wrongdoings by corporations.

¹⁷ Steans, Jill (red.), *An introduction to international relations theory: perspectives and themes*, 3. ed., Pearson Longman, Harlow, 2010 p. 20

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 20

¹⁹ Andersson Odén, Tomas, *President Chavez i press, radio och TV: mediebevakningen av folkomröstningskampanjen i Venezuela, augusti 2004*, Institutionen för journalistik och masskommunikation, Göteborgs universitet, Göteborg, 2005

²⁰ Edwards, David & Cromwell, David, *Newspeak in the 21st century*, Pluto Press, London, 2009

²¹ See for example Alexandra Franzén, "Börja packa Chávez!" – *En kritisk diskursanalys över tre svenska morgontidningars rapportering kring Venezuelas folkomröstning om Hugo Chávez' presidentskap 2004*, Lunds Universitet 2007 and Abe Bergegårdh, *Gramsci tar sig an den borgerliga hegemonin. Den svenska pressens syn på Hugo Chavez 1998-2007*, Malmö Högskola 2008

3. The sources used by mass media. That newspapers driven by profit maximization and lowering of budgets retain official sources or pre-made stories to run in the paper (*news agencies is one example*)
4. Flaks, negative responses to (wrongful) media reporting.
5. Anti-communism. Communism as the ultimate evil and a threat to property owners and class division.²²

For our study the last filter is interesting, we are studying how a Socialist state leader is portrayed in the news agencies of U.S. (AP), British (Reuters), Swedish (TT), Russian (Interfax) and Chinese (Xinhua). Chomsky and Herman describe that after the end of the Cold War the last filter has altered to become any form of challenge against the ideology of the free market.²³ This plays into International Relations in regards to what is reported and how it is reported and how states or organizations should respond to events. Chomsky and Herman bring up the term Worthy and Unworthy victims to illustrate this.²⁴

Another researcher arguing that media is being shaped by ideology and retain so much potential power it cannot be ignored by governments and states is Norman Fairclough. He claims that the media contribute to reproducing the hegemonic discourse within a society by acting implicitly in use of language that naturalize certain truths, making certain things presupposed and taken-for-granted.²⁵ Teun van Dijk describes "...news[media] implicitly promotes the dominant beliefs and opinions of elite groups in society."²⁶ This is done in order to get "...the readers to develop such interpretation frameworks rather than alternative ones..."²⁷ Due to these points and the "immense potential power and influence" the media has it is in the interest of states to control media output²⁸ or at least influence it. Even though media sometimes act in a "cynical, challenging and even aggressive stance [towards] official institutions and personalities" does not mean they challenge "basic design features of contemporary capitalist society and its consumerist values".²⁹ This is though primarily true for the West; where contemporary capitalist society and consumerist values are not hegemonic we should find a different logic, primarily the hegemonic one for that discourse. In regards to recent studies with Critical Discourse Analysis Jamila Hakam presented an article on the cartoon controversy regarding the publishing of caricatures of the prophet in a Danish newspaper 2006. In the abstract section Hakam describes his aim is to "uncover patterns that show how these[Arab] newspapers reproduce, resist

²² Herman, Edward S. & Chomsky, Noam, *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media*, Vintage, London, 1994[1988] Chapter 1. A Propaganda Model

²³ Herman, Edward S & Chomsky, Noam, *Manufacturing consent: the political economy of the mass media*, Updated ed., Pantheon Books, New York, 2002[1988] xviiif

²⁴ Ibid. Chapter 2. Worthy and Unworthy Victims

²⁵ Fairclough, Norman, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London, 1995 p. 44f

²⁶ Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 83

²⁷ Ibid. p. 182

²⁸ Fairclough, Norman, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London, 1995 p. 45

²⁹ Ibid. p. 46

and/or challenge the discourse that stems from a dominant Euro-centered culture”³⁰ Hakam’s study is somewhat opposite of what is intended in this study, that is to uncover patterns of the hegemonic discourse in the news reporting of the political leader Hugo Chavez

3. Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to examine the portrayal of Hugo Chavez in the media agencies during his run for re-election in 2012 and a short period thereafter, 23rd of September until 14th of October, in order to give a deeper understanding of how hegemonic ideological discourse³¹ can affect the reporting of the media. In that sense the study aims to help viewers of media to form a more critical approach towards the news reporting and recognizing of propaganda.³² This plays into the aim of International Relations; “How we understand what happens and even how we come to define some international events as more worthy of coverage than other”.³³

4. Research questions

- How is Hugo Chavez portrayed in the media selected during and after his election campaign and victory of 2012?
- Did the chosen media show any bias or tendency in their reporting of this and how can this be explained?

5. Theoretical framework

This study uses a Critical Discourse Analyze (CDA) method which is a theoretically based analyze method, so in the conventional sense we will not use a specific theory, say for example Realism. Instead we will use defined terms which will work with the CDA creating a complete theoretical framework.

5.1 Key term definitions and limitations

In this section we will discuss certain key terms that are vital in the study and what definition the terms will have within the frame of the study. The definitions takes a starting point in a well known definition of the word but clarifies the exact definition for this study

³⁰ Hakam, Jamil, *The ‘cartoons controversy’: a Critical Discourse Analysis of English-language Arab newspaper discourse*, *Discourse Society* 2009 20: 33

³¹ The definitions for Hegemony, Neoliberal and Discourse for this study is presented below

³² The definition for Propaganda for this study is presented below

³³ Steans, Jill (red.), *An introduction to international relations theory: perspectives and themes*, 3. ed., Pearson Longman, Harlow, 2010 p. 20

5.1.1 Neoliberalism

In this study we define Neoliberalism as the economic system based on “deregulated, privatized capitalism with countries’ economies open to foreign corporations to invest and then remove the profit abroad without hindrance”.³⁴ We expect to find a negative portrayal of Hugo Chavez in those areas where this discourse of economic system is hegemonic.

5.1.2 Discourse

When using Critical discourse analysis the media and its different “genres” is often regarded as discourses in itself, that documentary, soap opera, drama and etc each constitutes its own discourse.³⁵ Since this study only analyzes one form of media (news) this form of perception of discourse will not be included. Instead in this study the definition of discourse is based on Anthony Giddens interpretation of Foucault’s definition. That the discourse gives you a certain sets of truths, points of assumptions and that these forms an idea of what is correct within the given discourse.³⁶ But this study does not accept Foucault notion that we cannot formulate general theories about the world. This study further identifies many different discourses in progress at the same time in the world. We can identify two discourses that are far more influential than the rest, one previously dominant discourse and one challenging. The previously dominant discourse is the US backed discourse of neoliberalism with emphasis on democracy, free market and human rights. The challenging discourse is backed by China and represents a lesser demand on democracy, free market and human rights and leaves a higher degree of self-determination to its “partner”. We identify the different discourses by their different ways to interact with the rest of the world. This other way of interacting is discussed in some aspects in *Challenging the aid paradigm*.³⁷ The study takes the assumption that these discourses also influence the media where it is dominant. So the result of the study should show that the US British and Swedish media takes on a negative tone towards Hugo Chavez and that the Chinese and Russian media instead takes on a positive tone, even though the news agency has a stated agenda of being fair and balanced in their reporting.³⁸ Sweden is included because it has very little relations with Venezuela which should lead to a neutral or none biased reporting since very little is at stake for Sweden as a state.

³⁴ Herring, Eric, in Collins, Alan (red.), *Contemporary security studies*, 2. ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010 p. 154

³⁵ Fairclough, Norman, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London, 1995 p. 64

³⁶ Giddens, Anthony & Birdsall, Karen, *Sociologi*, 3., omarb. uppl., Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2003 p. 543f

³⁷ Sörensen, Jens Stilhoff (red.), *Challenging the aid paradigm: Western currents and Asian alternatives*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2010 primarily part II

³⁸ The news agencies all have different ways of wording this; it can be viewed in the bibliography where direct links to each news agency and their principals is available.

5.1.3 Hegemony

This study uses an interpretation of hegemony by Gramsci as interpreted by Boréus & Bergström and Abrahamsson. That a society has a state of societal perceptions which is called hegemony and that within this state there is a consensus for what is considered right or wrong.³⁹ This idea of what is wrong or right can be called a regime of truth and is specific for the hegemon and its elite class. There can be challenges by other elite or popular fractions of the society against this hegemonic truth. These challenges are called war of position, but not in the sense of warfare, rather Gramsci meant the struggle for influence over the state and the political agenda setting.⁴⁰ In this study the hegemony is used to describe the legitimate way of acting within the discourse and that this is reflected in the media operating within this discourse.⁴¹ One of the most important battle grounds for the war of position is within the media of the civil society. The media is one of the agenda setters and are carriers of what many people believe to be the truth about what is happening in the world and why it is happening and if it's a good or bad thing.

5.1.4 Ideology

Ideology can take on many different meanings but for this study we will use Zizek's definition.⁴² Zizek takes his starting point from Hegels idea of religion which makes ideology to be; A complex of ideas that forms a belief or a conviction of something; the material characters in the shape of institutions that holds up the ideology and lastly ideology is something that is present and "happens" in social situation in the form of ritual practices.⁴³ This definition lets us see that ideology is created in the minds of people recreated in social relations and institutions. The shaping of ideology is then based on rational strategies by groups in society that try to "reach out" or "influence" someone else. This lets us insert media as a part of this reaching out and that media is influenced by the ideology it is surrounded by.⁴⁴ We will assume that ideology can exist explicitly but also implicitly in text, in taken for granted statements that try to reproduce the relations of power.⁴⁵

³⁹ Bergström, Göran & Boréus, Kristina, *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig textanalys*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000 p. 233

⁴⁰ Abrahamsson, Hans, *Det gyllene tillfället: teori och strategi för global rättvisa*, [Ny utg.], Leopard, Stockholm, 2008 p. 25

⁴¹ Janson, Thord in; Hettne, Björn & Eriksson, Leif (red.), *Makt och internationella relationer*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2001 p. 42ff

⁴² Zezeks definition comes from Berglez, Peter in; Mats Ekström, Larsåke Larsson (red.) *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000 Chapter 8; Kritisk diskursanalys, p. 196f, for another example of a definition on ideology see; Bergström, Göran & Boréus, Kristina, *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig textanalys*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000 p. 149f

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Berglez, Peter in; Mats Ekström, Larsåke Larsson (red.) *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000 Chapter 8; Kritisk diskursanalys, p. 197

⁴⁵ Fairclough, Norman, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London, 1995 p. 14

5.1.5 Propaganda

This study will to some extent lend the definition and meaning of propaganda from Heikki Luostarinen in the book *Journalism and the New world order Vol.2*.⁴⁶ The focus of Loustarinens definition and the whole book is mainly concerned with propaganda and journalism under times of war. This study is not located in a situation of war in the common meaning i.e. use of armed forces and battle related deaths, although the study infer that a form of ideological war is fought within the media (news agencies). So to the extent possible and suitable for the study Loustarinens war propaganda will be adapted in the analytical process. Loustarinen describes that “mass communication makes natural certain ways of construing and conceptualizing various social phenomena and the relationships between them”.⁴⁷ This is similar to truth regimes and the concept of hegemony discussed earlier and points to mass communication as a fitting tool to create and sustain hegemony. When we define propaganda with help of Loustarinen we will assume that propaganda needs to work at three levels; conceptions of past, present and future and tries to influence all of them.⁴⁸ Through these a frame of the interpretations is created for the consumer (of propaganda) so that their actions or approval of action seems rational, both on a personal level and a (societal) general level. In other words, creating consent of an action, policy or in our case and ideology. When it comes to interpretation of situations Loustarinen present propaganda with three typical features that are used to “helping” the reader interprets the situation in a certain way⁴⁹;

1. Strong, slogan-like framing, easily digested by the reader. For example operational names of the US army; Restore Hope (Somalia 1992), Shining Express (Liberia 2003), New Horizon (Haiti 1995-1996)
2. Trying to do the opposite to the antagonist or try and connect them to a flawed way of being. For example implying the antagonist of being amateurish, Hitler-like, clueless.
3. Points to an interpretation of urgency, a need to act now or it will be lost forever. In this process also polarizing between two options.

These features are usually supported with information that appears to be exact and as precise as possible using statistics and exact numbers in descriptions.

⁴⁶ Kempf, Wilhelm & Luostarinen, Heikki (red.), *Journalism and the New World Order. Vol. 2, Studying war and the media*, Nordic Information Centre for Media and Communication Research (Nordiskt informationscenter för media- och kommunikationsforskning) (NORDICOM), Göteborg, 2002 chapter 1 “Propaganda Analysis”

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 31

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 35

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 35

6. Data material

6.1 Data selection

In this section we will discuss the selection of data, which countries, which form of media and what kinds of variables are used in the selection.

First we need to discuss what was not chosen; TV media, pictures and Venezuelan media outlets. Regarding TV and pictures, the researcher lacks the ability to do an acceptable analysis of those medias. There is also the issue of access to such material, as it is usually not as easily accessed as textual articles. In regards to Venezuelan media there are two main reasons, the lack of knowledge of the Spanish language of the researcher. But foremost, this study is looking at the media portrayal of Hugo Chavez on a global level and the media of Venezuela is primarily aimed at domestic audience.

The choice to use countries/states instead of areas of influence of a discourse for a hegemon is because of the problem of defining such area. When using a country the defined boundaries of that state serves as a good marker. Also it is within the specific state that this discourse is believed to be the most visible. This does not mean that we assume that the government nor the state influence the news reporting *per se* rather that the news agencies are influence by the discourse.

When choosing news agency instead of a newspaper the reasoning was that what a news agency produces has a lot bigger impact since it reaches a larger population. This means that instead of using for example five newspapers in a country we can instead use one news agency that serves a bigger population in the country than that of five newspapers. As for example Reuters who claim that they on any given day keep more than one billion people informed, compare this so the circulation of for example New York Times which is less than one million.⁵⁰

6.1.1 Selection criteria for Countries/States

The countries were chosen based on their relationship towards Venezuela and Hugo Chavez in regards to official rhetoric and trade-agreements and that they present two different discourse hegemonies and a middle ground. The USA has often voiced dissent towards Hugo Chavez and their relationship can be described as “strained”.⁵¹ Sweden’s relationship towards Venezuela can be described as non

⁵⁰ http://www.nytimes.com/imagepages/2009/10/27/business/27audit_graphic.html accessed on 2012-10-29

⁵¹ Cannon, Barry., *Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian Revolution: populism and democracy in a globalised age*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2009 Chapter 7 “Venezuelan international relations in the age of globalization”

existing or neutral at best.⁵² China's relationship is of a friendlier kind and they have expanded their trade agreements since Hugo Chavez took power, the same is true for Russia.⁵³

6.1.2 Selection criteria for news agency

This study will examine how the dominant hegemonic discourse is re-enacted in the media reporting of Hugo Chavez. It will examine the major news agency in each country. The criteria's for selection news agency have been;

- National coverage
- High prestige
- Large circulation

For the Chinese news agency there is the issue of the articles being printed in English and not the native language. The reason for that is the researcher lack of knowledge in the Chinese language and the problem of working with a translator. Especially since this study uses a method of analyzing the text and its meaning and the "unspoken" message which could be lost in the translation. With regards to the English texts the author believes he possess sufficient knowledge of the language and the culture in the countries taking part in the study to accomplish the analysis.

6.2 News Agencies

6.2.1 Associated Press (AP)

Described on their homepage as "Marine Corps of journalism" which means that they are "always first in and last out" when anything newsworthy happens. They have AP staff in more than 300 locations in more than 100 countries that writes their news stories and according to themselves is read by more than half the world's population on any given day. The ownership contains of 1500 U.S. newspapers which simultaneously are their primary customers. Their journalism is described as; "...first to tell the world of many of history's most important moments...", "AP's remarkable role as eyewitness to history... .. as the most accurate version (of Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg)", "...the definitive source for reliable news across the globe.", they "...abhor inaccuracies, carelessness, bias or distortions.", AP "...must be fair.", what AP is "...striving for is a truthful, unbiased report of the world's happenings ... ethical in the highest degree."⁵⁴

⁵² As example Venezuela is Sweden's seventh biggest trading partner in Latin America, making it very small trading partner overall. http://www.scb.se/Pages/TableAndChart_142265.aspx accessed 2013-01-07

⁵³ Cannon, Barry., *Hugo Chávez and the Bolivarian Revolution: populism and democracy in a globalised age*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2009 Chapter 7 "Venezuelan international relations in the age of globalization"

⁵⁴ <http://www.ap.org/company/history/ap-history> and <http://www.ap.org/company/news-values> accessed 2012-10-28

6.2.2 Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT)⁵⁵

They describe themselves as “Sweden's largest media content provider...” and that they are the largest supplier in Sweden for media content. The ownership is “...privately owned by the largest Swedish media houses and stands absolutely free from any government, religious or political spheres.” TT has (according to themselves) 110 journalists employed and a total of 330 people employed as of 2011, out of which a majority are journalist. They describe their news reporting as “fast, impartial and reliable” and they list “Professionalism, quality and business benefits”, “credibility and editorial independence” as important and basic concepts.⁵⁶

6.2.3 Xinhua News Agency

Xinhua news agency is a governmentally controlled news agency with the explicit intent of “...leading online public opinion at home and setting a good image of China abroad...”and that they “pursues timely, accurate, credible and fair news coverage.” There is not explicit data on how many journalists or how big their staff is but they state that they produce 15 000 news stories each day and 12 000 of these are about China.⁵⁷ The fact that the news agency is governmentally controlled is noted but not seen as an obstacle in this study. This study focuses on how Hugo Chavez is presented within the discourse of China. The censors in China by the Chinese government have mainly been focused on domestic issues such as Tibet, Falun-gong and in general large gatherings of any sort that is not organized by the government.⁵⁸

6.2.4 Interfax Europe

Interfax Europe describe themselves as “...accurate and unbiased news releases...” with its focus to report news from “Russia & CIS, Central Asia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.” They describe that they produce more than 2 500 articles per day. The Interfax Group has a total of over 1000 people in staff.⁵⁹

6.2.5 Reuters

Reuters is a part of the larger company Thomson Reuters that has it's headquarter in England and “is the world's leading source of intelligent information for businesses and professionals.” They describe themselves as “...the world's largest, most trusted news organization... ..keep a billion people informed...”, “...over 60 000 strong in over 100 countries...” Reuters uphold a, what they call, principal of trust which means they are dedicated to “...preserving its independence, integrity and

⁵⁵ All translations will be done by the author

⁵⁶ <http://tt.se/om-tt/in-english/> accessed 2012-10-28

⁵⁷ http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/special/2011-11/28/c_131274495.htm accessed 2012-10-25

⁵⁸ National Public Radio interview with Gary King <http://www.npr.org/2012/08/08/158448847/chinas-internet-police-targets-collective-action> accessed 2012-12-16 also statistical analysis of Chinas censorship <http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/filtering/china/> accessed 2012-12-16

⁵⁹ <http://www.interfax.co.uk/about-ifax-news-interfax-international-information-group/> accessed 2012-10-28

freedom from bias in the gathering and dissemination of information and news.” This principle includes;

- Thomson Reuters shall not fall in the hands of any one specific interest or group,
- Preserve the integrity, independence and freedom from bias of Thomson Reuters,
- Supply unbiased and reliable news services to those with contract with Thomson Reuters
- Shall pay due regard to the interests which it serves in addition to those of the media and no effort shall be spared to expand, develop and adapt the news so as to maintain its leading position in the international news and information business.⁶⁰

6.3 Data gathering and its limitations

The gathering was made through using the search engines of some of the news agencies, other news agencies were accessed through various databases such as Nexis/Lexis and Retriver.com. The search was conducted with the key word “Hugo Chavez”. From that point a more precisely focused selection of the material was done by the principal that the article must have Hugo Chavez and Venezuela as its main characters this was done with the coding scheme that is discussed under the methodological section.

The study limits the articles by publishing date and its content. The date limitation is set for two weeks prior to the election and one week after. The date limit is set on the basis that two weeks prior to the election is the period with the most intensive campaign is usually conducted in an election process. This would give the most probable media coverage prior to the election. The limitation for a week after the election is so that all media agencies gotten a chance to report and reflect upon the election result. In regards to choosing the “presentation” of Hugo Chavez a winner of the election for the qualitative analysis is due to that the news agencies are presented with the fact that Chavez and his policies will be around for 6 more years. The case could be made that the day of the election or the day before the election may contain the most aggressive antagonism. This could be true if the news agencies were part of the election process, in other words, if their main area of influence was within the constituency of Venezuela.

7 Analytical method and methodological basis

7.1 Quantitative method

In this section we will look closer at the different types of methodological types of analysis that this study will use. First the material will be analyzed in a quantitative perspective; this intends to bring about a general idea of the materials tendency and to see how Hugo Chavez is portrayed in the

⁶⁰ <http://thomsonreuters.com/about/> and http://thomsonreuters.com/about/trust_principles/ accessed 2012-10-28

material, if he is portrayed either generally positive, negative, balanced or non-value-laden (neutral) terms. This is in order to get a fuller understanding and grip on the material at hand. This will be done through a coding scheme. The intent is also to have one or more persons take part of evaluating the coding scheme in order to raise its validity, that the coding actually codes the desired variables.⁶¹

The coding scheme is presented in its entirety in Appendix I with instructions and examples of the coding.

7.2 Qualitative method

One way the ideology is manifested is by creating an identity of oneself in relation to someone else, a form of *othering* or a radical other as named by Lene Hansen.⁶² It would be fruitful to analyze the material through the lens of Lene Hansen but it is not suitable for the aim of the study. With Lene Hansen we could discover patterns of othering within the articles but we would not be able to detect which form of othering. Rather otherness is usually constructed around ideas and values that identifies on the “greatness” of oneself and the radically different of someone else. Our conclusion could only lead to whether or not the different news agencies would identify with Hugo Chavez. Our aim is to reveal underlying ideologies within the data at hand, and for that purpose we need to use tools that help us reveal this specific problem at hand.

The other form of analytical method that will be used in this study is the qualitative method CDA. This is used in order to get a deeper understanding and knowledge about the underlying propaganda of the hegemonic discourses that work to establish and confirm truth regimes within the discourse or as Wodak describes “Critical discourse analysis is an instrument whose purpose is to expose veiled power structures”.⁶³ In comparison with alternative analysis like Ideological analysis that also has the aim of “expose veiled power” Critical discourse analysis gives greater importance and focus on language which also is the focus of this study.⁶⁴ This form of in depth analysis is going to be used on the article that confirm Hugo Chavez electoral victory or that analyzes his victory and the implications of it. It is due to the fact that in these articles the news agencies are faced with the fact of that the Venezuelan people have accepted his vision and elected him as their leader for six more years. The author believes that this is the point when the discourse will show its most apparent discontent or content with Hugo Chavez. The Critical discourse analysis in this study differs from the ones used by well known researchers such as Teun van Dijk, Chantal Mouffe, Norman Fairclough and others and as far as possible it will be transparent how it differs and for what reasons.

⁶¹ Thurén, Torsten, *Vetenskapsteori för nybörjare*, 2., [omarb.] uppl., Liber, Stockholm, 2007 p. 26

⁶² Hansen, Lene, *Security as practice: discourse analysis and the Bosnian war*, Routledge, London, 2006

⁶³ Bergström, Göran & Boréus, Kristina, *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig textanalys*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000 p. 233

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 221

7.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

This study will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its main analytical method and will combine it with a propaganda view of texts. This form of analytical pattern takes the assumption that a text is more than just an informational transporter; rather it sees the text as a form of social action. This study will deal with texts that are news articles; this makes it relevant to define what a *news* article is so it can be distinguished from other articles and other text. For this study we will lend Van Dijk's definition of news; "a text or discourse on radio, on TV or in the newspaper, in which new information is given about recent events."⁶⁵ CDA analysts usually see the news text as a discourse in itself,⁶⁶ in this study news text and articles is given a "lesser" prominence i.e. the news text and articles is seen as a reproducing of the surrounding discourse in society, the news text is a part of a discourse, not a discourse in itself. CDA takes the standpoint that all form of social relations and society is characterized by conflict and power relations. This means that communication through speech, written text, photography and such is more or less steeped in ideology, accepted truths by the ruling discourse. Society is seen as an ongoing process where this communication affects the society within which it is produced and consumed.⁶⁷

CDA way of analyzing texts leads the researcher to ask critical questions to the text, such as;

- Why does the news look the way it does,
- Whose perspective is represented through the text,
- Which truths are taken for granted by the articles,

This study combines the analytical model of CDA and Loustarinen's definition of propaganda that we discussed earlier. With these two perspectives we will formulate questions to ask the articles and which that we formulate a discussion around, in order to get a clearer picture of what is said explicitly and implicitly in the articles.

In this section we will do as in the quantitative method (see paragraph 7) i.e. go through at some length of what and how articles will be analyzed with some illustrating examples.

First we will limit our study in relation to what Fairclough and Van Dijk suggests; we will not study how the articles are produced. In so as we will not consider the interactions between reporters, editors in the process of creating an article. This is due to the fact that the ability to monitor the production stage is very limited. This because newsrooms may not be opens to researchers and also because of the geographical spread of the news agencies. This is a limitation for the study but the researcher believes

⁶⁵ Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 4

⁶⁶ Berglez, Peter in; *Metoder i kommunikationsvetenskap*, Studentlitteratur, Lund, 2000 Chapter 8; Kritisk diskursanalys, p. 195

⁶⁷ Berglez, Peter, Olausson, Ulrika in; Ekström, Mats (red.), *Mediernas språk*, 1. uppl., Liber, Malmö, 2008 p. 122f

that the study may produce a more wide material if this part of the analysis is left out which allows a bigger range of news agencies to be included in the study.

Another thing to consider in this is the fact that this study is focused on News agencies and not newspapers and TV-channels as Fairclough and Van Dijk studies are. A news agency can be seen as offering a worldview for newspapers while a news paper offers a worldview for the audience (the general public). So in a sense we enter the process one step before the analytical chain of Fairclough and Van Dijk. In other words, we will examine parts of the raw material that are used for production in the newsroom.

Furthermore the study limits itself from studying audiences and their consumption or their perception of media. In this study the audience would be the reporters of newspapers and news channels all over the world. This is a shortcoming that can't be overlooked easily, that the study does not take into consideration audience impact. This means we cannot do any large conclusions on the result, but we can point to the fact that this is what newspapers and TV news are offered in regards to easily reported news and background information to articles. In other words we will not be able to determine how much the global news agencies are influenced but we can establish that they *are* influenced.

Secondly, after discussing the limitations of the analytical method we now go over to discuss the articles and the problems that may arise with them. The articles that news agencies produce can be said to fall in two categories;

1. Features
2. Background material

A feature is an article that passes through the newsroom unedited. This is something that is extensively used by some newspaper such as for example Metro.⁶⁸

An article can work as background material which means that the reporters on a newspaper can use it as a factsheet of an event or re-write the text and present it differently. This is commonly used by many newspapers without a local representation at an event. This means we cannot be certain how an article will be presented to a larger audience but we can be certain of what kind of material the reporters will work with and what kind of knowledge is presented within it. Therefore, with this study, we can't say anything about what the general public will be presented with, but we can say something about what kind of worldview the presenter have been presented with.

⁶⁸ Counted top 11 foreign news (presented with a picture compared other news presented with only text) at <http://www.metro.se/> 2012-11-23 18:35 which stated 5 out of 11 as written by TT

Articles may also be differently structured, some may be long and complex and others are only a few lines long. With this issue in mind we will present different definitions for the various parts of the articles and their function.

- **Headline;** Contains a very short summary of the article as a whole
- **Lead;** Contains a little longer summary of what is to come in the article
- **Satellite;** Paragraphs that elaborates different aspects of the story
- **Wrap-up;** The final paragraph that may offer some sort of solution or conclusion of the story

The first three are always in an article but the last one, wrap-up is optional.⁶⁹

Lastly before going in to illustrating examples we will adapt CDA to the, for the study, essential keys terms discussed earlier. Previously we presented assumptions and definitions that will guide the analysis and also restrict and define what conclusions we can make. We define Discourse in the media as a representation of the society in which it exists. As an example; Xinhua is considered to represent the Chinese (elite) society and their discourse.⁷⁰ Our interpretation of Hegemony means that we assume that there is a “war of position” ongoing in the articles on two fronts. The first front is against Hugo Chavez and what he represents, we can see this in how he is portrayed (i.e. negatively or positively). The other front is against the opposition that exists within each news agencies discourse, using their own neoliberal logic when they criticize Hugo Chavez. This can be seen in how the main enemy is criticized from the own discourses point of view (bringing representatives or experts that criticizing Hugo Chavez and his politics from a rationale of their own and that may differ from the one he is acting within) and in this process tries to solidify their own hegemonic discourse.

The definition of Propaganda will help us analyze our material and give us guidance on what is manifesting in the articles.

In Appendix II is an illustrating example presented to give clarification on how the interpretation will be done.

⁶⁹ Fairclough, Norman, *Media discourse*, Edward Arnold, London, 1995 p. 85f

⁷⁰ Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 83

8 Data material Quantitative

News agency	Search engine	Result	Sorted result
1. Associated Press	Lexis/Nexis	47	35
2. Tidningarnas T...	Retriver	42	17
3. Xinhua	Their own website	56	30
4. Interfax	Their own database	19	5
5. Reuters	Factiva	175	35
Total	5	-	353 (100%) 122 (34.6%)

The refined result is after sorting of the articles. The sorting meant that articles that did not concern Hugo Chavez and the election was removed; the election also includes background articles, analyzing articles, articles about Hugo Chavez opponent Henrique Capriles. Articles that were updates of a previous article were sorted to include only the longest one. There were articles that stated briefly the headlines of the day, those were also sorted out. This was done for the reason that it was mainly repetition of what was contained within the articles.

The argument could be made that these small “features” are more likely to be reproduced unedited by journalists in newspapers and presented to the public and would be more valid for the study regarding how Chavez is portrayed in the media. This is a valid point of criticism but for this specific study the main brunt of the focus is on the worldview presented by the journalists and staff at newspapers editorial offices. This means we are one step behind the public and instead focus upon how Hugo Chavez is presented to the journalists. An analogy of this would be that instead of studying how an audience (public) is presented with a theatrical drama, we instead study how the director (news agencies) presents the drama to the actors (journalists).

We can assume that if there is a certain way to portray Hugo Chavez in the features, it surely will reflect in the longer articles also. In regards to the length of the articles it is presented in Appendix V, this because the information becomes relevant in the Critical Discourse Analysis. There were also articles mentioning Hugo Chavez and the election, but only in passing, for example referring to Hugo Chavez in articles regarding state leaders with cancer, those were not included. Lastly, this study does not analyze pictures or moving material, instead this focuses mainly on text study.

News agency	Articles	Positive	Balanced	Negative	Neutral
AP	35	–	5	23	6
Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå	17	–	1	8	7
Xinhua	30	8	8	1	13
Interfax	5	1	2	–	2
Reuters	35	–	9	16	10
Total	122 (100%)	9 (7.4%)	25(20.5%)	48(39.3%)	38(31.1%)

8.1 Textual Analysis of the Quantitative Material

In this textual analyze of the quantitative material we will examine general trends in the presentation of Hugo Chavez in the articles and if there is bias (positive or negative) in the news agencies textual portrayal. We will go through them one by one and then do a summary, where we will discuss general trends in the whole material. Furthermore we will compare the agencies on specific issues that they all write about and see how they differ. In the summary at the end of the study we will discuss this analyze in combination with the Critical discourse analysis and also discuss possible implications of the result.

A partial analysis was also conducted by 3 other people. Their analysis, comments and discussion is presented in Appendix III, my own analysis with discernment of the articles and short fragmented notes to each article is also presented in Appendix IV.

The general trends in the news agencies were that TT, AP and Reuters were clearly more negative towards Hugo Chavez compared to the other two news agencies. Interfax contained very few articles so we can't draw any conclusion other than stating that they were fairly within margin of what can be considered good journalism (balanced and/or neutral). Regarding Xinhua, they were the most positive towards Chavez, but in comparison with TT, AP and Reuters they were not as positive as the others were negative. Xinhua also had an anomaly article,⁷¹ an article that was strongly negative towards Hugo Chavez compared to the other Xinhua articles that were positive, negative or balanced. No other agency had a diametrical article, meaning if we found negative articles no positive articles were found in the agencies material, and the same the other way around, except for Xinhua. That makes it interesting to look closer at and compare it to the other material. But first we shall now look at some

⁷¹ Xinhua 2012-10-09 11:07

common themes and subjects in the articles and how they are differently presented by the news agencies. The themes and subjects were identified by headlines unless otherwise stated.⁷²

- New cabinet members of Hugo Chavez government

This event is reported by all but Interfax⁷³ and all of them describe the event in neutral terms except for one article in AP⁷⁴. In that article, AP describes Chavez as “grooming” a successor, Nicolas Maduro, that isn’t “getting ahead of his boss” and has shown “unflagging loyalty” to the “socialist Chavez”. This “mustachioed 49-year old” has been friends with Chavez “when [Chavez] was an army officer [in] a clandestine movement [that] carried out a failed 1992 coup attempt”⁷⁵ This presentation connects Nicolas Maduro with the coup attempt of 1992. The expression “unflagging loyalty” connects his loyalty to Chavez not the country or state which he is to represent.

- Fact articles about Hugo Chavez and/or Henrique Capriles

Fact articles were present in all news agencies but Interfax.⁷⁶ When it came to presenting fact most of the news agencies did well with one exception: TT. TT uses several negative words to describe Chavez, he is a “kuppmakare”(coup plotter), “gjort sig känd som [...] mycket kontroversiell statsman” (made himself famous for being a very controversial statesman). TT uses vague description when presenting what he has done “hans oljefinansierade [...] sociala insatser”(his oil financed [...] social actions) implying it is not certain it has had effect. But in describing the negative they use “för den omfattande...”⁷⁷(because of the extensive) implying it is a fact. There are also two articles in Reuters that were discernment as negative.⁷⁸ But this is mainly due to the fact that they were fact articles about Capriles, in so indirectly taking a stand against Chavez.

- Hugo Chavez policies after the election

Policies after the election articles were found in all agencies but Interfax.⁷⁹ In this subject TT is negatively implying that the weak institutions, corruption, high murder rate in Venezuela is a “förutsättningen för Chavez personliga maktutövning”⁸⁰ (pre-condition for Chavez personal exercise

⁷² All translation by author.

⁷³ TT 2012-10-14 01:34, 2012-10-11 01:24, Xinhua 2012-10-11 12:09, 2012-10-14 10:46, Reuters 2012-10-14 00:52, 2012-10-10 17:24, 2012-10-08 11:57, AP 2012-10-14 02:34, 2012-10-11 12:14, 2012-10-11 11:12

⁷⁴ AP 2012-10-11 11:12

⁷⁵ AP 2012-10-11 11:12

⁷⁶ TT 2012-10-08 18:33, 2012-10-05 13:02, Xinhua 2012-10-07 12:05, Reuters 2012-10-08 05:06, 04:56. 04:46, 2012-10-07 13:24, 2012-10-04 12:01, 2012-09-25 21:19, 19:38, AP 2012-10-08 06:07

⁷⁷ All quotes taken from TT 2012-10-08 18:33

⁷⁸ Reuters 2012-10-25 21:19, 19:38

⁷⁹ TT 2012-10-08 18:23, Xinhua 2012-10-09 11:07, Reuters 2012-10-11 12:59, 2012-10-08 20:17, 19:24, 16:15, 2012-10-07 06:59, AP 2012-10-02 01:15

⁸⁰ TT 2012-10-08 18:23

of power). Reuters got a mixed discernment in the articles with the majority being Neutral/Balanced.⁸¹ Two of the articles were discernment as negative, in these articles Reuters took a business oriented approach, citing financial sources like Fitch, Standard & Poor and Moody's Investor Service. Reuters also tells how "Venezuelan bond prices rose and the cost for insuring credits fell as Capriles [...] show improving poll numbers" "Bond prices did come down [...] consensus view [...] Chavez victory".⁸² The (mainly western) business surely doesn't approve of Chavez economic policies and it shows in the articles. AP:s article on the other hand was discernment as balanced.⁸³ Then we have the anomaly of Xinhua mentioned above. This was their only negative article and presents Chavez policies as "perverse incentive for corruption". The article only uses negative sources and end with that the opposition "triggered changes in Chavez" and implying that Chavez have been so weakened that he have to seek "unity with the opposition".⁸⁴

- The victory of Hugo Chavez and the percentage he won with

This subject is written about by all news agencies. Interfax takes a balanced/neutral stand in their articles⁸⁵ while Xinhua tilts a little to the positive in two⁸⁶ of their five articles⁸⁷ on the matter. Xinhua describes how Chavez have "initiated a wide range of programs benefiting the nation's poor" and that Chavez "called on the opposition to unite"⁸⁸ (compare to the above quote about unity with opposition). TT dresses Chavez as a outspoken leftist while Capriles (opponent) as "den karismatiske 40-åringen"(the charismatic 40 year old) Capriles is also quoted as saying "Jag är en demokrat i själ och hjärta"(I am a democrat in soul and heart) while Chavez "Beundrar Castro"(Admirers Castro).⁸⁹ AP and Reuters had a majority of neutral articles⁹⁰ but if an article exceeded 150 words it was negative or extremely negative.⁹¹ Reuters has a business/investor perspective in the longer articles; "investor doubt he[Chavez] is healthy enough" "investors betting on [Capriles]" and that "The market is expecting [in] one to two years [a new election]" "referring to the *possibility* Chavez leaves office early" and this could happen "If Chavez *dies* or is declared incapacitated."⁹²(Authors emphasis) It is worth noting how Chavez leaving offices is a *possibility* and that the option of *death* is mentioned first. The "investors" and Reuters do not seem to appreciate Chavez. AP interviews a "long-suffering political opposition" person that, by using a soccer-game metaphor implies foul-play in the election "referees

⁸¹ Reuters 2012-10-11 12:59, 2012-10-08 19:24, 2012-10-07 06:59

⁸² Reuters 2012-10-08 20:17, 16:15

⁸³ AP 2012-10-02 01:15

⁸⁴ All Xinhua quotes taken from Xinhua 2012-10-09 11:07

⁸⁵ Interfax 2012-10-08 07:51, 2012-10-09 09:52, 2012-10-10 01:54

⁸⁶ Xinhua 2012-10-08 12:44, 2012-10-08 16:53

⁸⁷ Xinhua 2012-10-08 10:45, 2012-10-08 16:12, 2012-10-10 10:26

⁸⁸ Quotes taken from Xinhua 2012-10-08 16:53

⁸⁹ TT 2012-10-08 08:01

⁹⁰ AP 2012-10-08 02:39, Reuters 2012-10-08 04:04, 05:12, 04:40

⁹¹ AP 2012-10-10 01:32, 2012-10-08 03:14, 11:27, Reuters 2012-10-09 21:09, 2012-10-08 10:37

⁹² All Reuters quotes taken from Reuters 2012-10-09 21:09

also kicked the ball to him [Chavez]”. Later in the same article a retired electrician is interviewed. In the interview the former electrician goes on to describe how the election campaign was very unbalanced; “the other candidate [Capriles] almost didn’t have any of it [posters, TV broadcasts, etc.]”. After this Capriles speaks out in the article and complains about the campaign unfairness; “why couldn’t they [airwaves] have been regulated?”⁹³ In another article AP describes how Chavez is going to “*press ahead with his crusade for socialism*” (Authors emphasis). In that same article AP describes how Chavez “spent heavily” and how he is “bankrolling expanded [social programs]”.⁹⁴ The wording and the presentation by AP easily leads to association with bribe and that Chavez bribes the poor to gain votes.

- Overcoming cancer

TT is the only news agency that has an article specifically devoted to Chavez and cancer.⁹⁵ Although all news agencies refer to the cancer in different articles. The general way to describe it is “If” (implying the possibility that this might not be the case) Chavez is cured like “officially stated”⁹⁶ (not by an authority in the field of medicine and cancer i.e. a doctor). So none of the news agencies seem to take it as a fact, rather they seem to take it as a claim. Also, as discussed above, some articles have presented the re-occurrence of the cancer as a “possibility”.

- Expats voting around the world

Only AP, Reuters and TT,⁹⁷ the negative news agencies, write about the expats. All the articles about the expats were given a negative discernment except for one that talks about expat voters in Senegal which was given a neutral discernment.⁹⁸ The articles have only interviewed people who voted against Chavez and extensively use negative quotes. There is an ongoing debate about the closing of the consulate in Florida which AP through their quotes implies that Chavez closed it to hinder expats from voting; “They tried to do everything possible to prevent us from voting [closing the consulate]”.⁹⁹ The reason for Interfax not to write about this story might be because they mainly focus on business and not political news. However, it is not clear why Xinhua didn’t cover this story. If Xinhua aim to present a positive portrayal of Chavez then the fact that 98% of the expats voted for Capriles¹⁰⁰ could be a reason.

⁹³ AP 2012-10-10 01:32

⁹⁴ All quotes from AP 2012-10-08 03:14

⁹⁵ TT 2012-09-30 18:01

⁹⁶ Interfax 2012-10-08 07:51

⁹⁷ AP 2012-10-07 06:30, 2012-09-30 09:08, Reuters 2012-10-08 07:13, 2012-10-07 00:00, 21:37, TT 2012-10-07 14:21

⁹⁸ Reuters 2012-10-07 00:00

⁹⁹ AP 2012-09-30 09:08

¹⁰⁰ AP 2012-09-30 09:08

- Death of two Henrique Capriles campaign workers

Only Xinhua¹⁰¹ and AP¹⁰² have articles devoted to this incident, Interfax do not mention the incident, Reuters and TT does several allusions to the incidents and a climate of violence; “...three opposition activists were shot dead...”, “...there was none of the sustained violence some had feared...”¹⁰³ and “Våldsvarning”(warning of violence) “...rädsla för våldsamheter [if there isn’t a clear winner]” (fear of violence)¹⁰⁴...dödades tre Caprilesanhängare. [...] påstås ha skjutits ihjäl från en van från ett statligt bolag”(three Capriles supporters killed. [...]allegedly shot dead by a van from a state-owned company).¹⁰⁵ Going back to Xinhua and AP, Xinhua lets both sides speak in the article and also describes how this violence is going to be prevented by the authorities. AP only interviews Capriles’ supporters and focuses only on the violent actions of Chavez supporters in their reporting. In describing stone throwing, that had occurred during the campaign AP describes two different incidents in the same article; this is September 12th “stone throwing that *broke out*” and this is in July “*Chavez supporters threw rocks at opposition*” (Authors emphasis). Taken into account the sources bias and the overall negative discernment there is some basis we could assume that AP chooses to present it as the stone throwing “broke out” when Capriles’ supporters might have instigated the action, even more so when taking into account that they point blame when Chavez supporters allegedly threw rocks.

8.2 Summary

As mentioned at the beginning of the analysis TT, AP and Reuters tended to a negative and sometimes very negative portrayal of Hugo Chavez while Xinhua tended towards a more positive inclination in their portrayal and Interfax kept neutral/balanced although Interfax had very few articles.

9 Data material Qualitative Analysis

9.1 Qualitative Analysis

In the previous analyze we established the biasness in some of the news agencies reporting. Now we will analyze if the bias can be said to emanate from a neoliberal hegemonic discourse as discussed in the framework above and illustrated in Appendix II.

We have based the study around an assumption that there is in fact a hegemonic discourse implicitly existing in the news agencies reporting. In the first instance we weren’t able to identify bias in all of the news agencies. We can quite surely establish that AP, Reuters, TT and to a lesser degree Xinhua were bias. In Interfax’s reporting we couldn’t establish a bias, this mainly due to the fact of the small

¹⁰¹ Xinhua 2012-10-08 07:18

¹⁰² AP 2012-10-01 03:08, 10:20, 2012-09-30 02:39

¹⁰³ Reuters 2012-10-05 20:38

¹⁰⁴ TT 2012-10-08 04:30, 2012-10-07 09:13

¹⁰⁵ TT 2012-10-01 10:16

sample, but also due to the fact that the sample contained only balanced/neutral articles. In this analyze we will look at how they were bias. As mentioned in the previous analytical section, there are clear indications that some of the news agencies has a business oriented bias. This will be further explored; also we will look closer at how the argumentations are built and what logic may lay behind them in the news agencies reporting. In doing this it is important to note that the news agencies made use of different amount of words in their articles. When using more words it gives a higher possibility to use ambiguous wording and create further implications. This means we can expect to find more blunt and straight to the point wording and phrasing in the news agencies using the least words and the opposite in the news agencies using the most words. The statistic for this is presented in Appendix V along with the articles used in this analysis. We will only take a small sample and each sample is motivated before analyze.

These interpretations are of course not the only ones that can be made. This study has been done with the intent to look for, if, there is a neoliberal hegemonic discourse in the material. One may argue that “look and thou shalt find”. With that in mind we have as much as far possible tried to present how the interpretations have been performed in an, intended as, transparent manner. So the reader may judge the reliability for themselves and if so wishes duplicate the study. For definitions of words and synonyms Oxfords online dictionary has been used.¹⁰⁶

Associated Press 2012-10-08 03:14¹⁰⁷

This article is the “main” article dealing with Chavez election win. There are other articles but they only state statistics¹⁰⁸ or have slightly different focus.¹⁰⁹

Starting with the headline we can read that Chavez won and refers this information as coming from the electoral council.

In the lead we can see how Chavez now can “cement his legacy” and “*press ahead*” (Authors emphasis) with “*his* crusade for socialism” (Authors emphasis). Here we can see an interesting wording for Chavez policies. He is “cementing” his legacy, its inclining to wonder what this specific phrasing may imply. If we take in the other part of the lead we may understand better. Chavez is “pressing” ahead, implying it’s not a smooth transformation and needs to be press “his” own “crusade”. We can understand that this is Chavez on project and that it seems almost violent in its crusading form.

¹⁰⁶ <http://oxforddictionaries.com> accessed 2012-12-23

¹⁰⁷ All the articles are presented in their entirety in Appendix V

¹⁰⁸ 2012-10-08 02:39, 06:07

¹⁰⁹ 2012-10-10 01:32, 2012-10-08 06:02, 07:19, 11:27

Moving on to the article we can see that he won for the third time and last time he won with 63%. This is a positive accomplishment by Chavez, but there is also the fact that he won this time “by a smaller margin” (compare with the analysis of Interfax for further discussion on the win margin) and he has done this during “nearly 14 years” (compare with the analysis of TT for further discussion on number presentation). Then in paragraph 7 and 8 we get to know how and why Chavez won. “Chavez spent heavily [...] months before [the election] bankrolling expanded social programs [...] for the poor”. Then Capriles “a youthful [...] strong challenger” that was “no match for Chavez’s electoral prowess” despite being “more united” and “better organized” than previous oppositions. So Chavez won because of his “bribing” the poor and his expertise in elections. This indicates that it’s not Chavez policies during the time between elections that get him re-elected, rather it is his sprint the months before the election and his skills in conducting campaigns. Then paragraph 12-19 consists of different voices pro and against Chavez. The first (for) Chavez voice expresses that Chavez deserves to win “whatever his faults” because he is spreading the “oil wealth” through “government largess”, indicating policies that border on charity, not economical calculations. In paragraph 15 we meet the second (for) Chavez voice. That have sold more than 100 CD:s and supports Chavez because she “want to keep seeing change”. This voice do not seem to be well informed on political issues, she just enjoys when things happen. The following two paragraphs (16 and 17) describes “Chavez’s critics” saying that he (Chavez) “inflamed division” in the country by calling his “opponents fascist, Yankees and neo-Nazis”. Chavez is further portrayed as a “loquacious and conflictive leader” that may make people “consider leaving the country”. This creates a harsher and more alarming situation compared to the voices pro Chavez. Chavez is a talkative and conflictive leader that drives people out of their home and country. The next two paragraphs (18 and 19) further enforce this stand point. An anti-Chavez voice wonders “what planet he [Chavez] lives on” and says that Chavez wishes to be a dictator like Fidel Castro. Strong words, especially compared to the for Chavez voices that liked change and government largess. Then in the 20th paragraph the opponent Capriles is described as; “affectionately called Skinny”, a “wiry former governor” that gave “Chavez his closest election contest ever”. Notice that he is also mentioned with his exact age in this context. Capriles is presented as a loved person that is lean, tough and sinewy person. Almost like a love relationship between Capriles and his supporter and also AP (wiry was AP:s own wording) compared to Chavez supporters that enjoys change and largess. The articles last paragraph (21) describes that Chavez spoke little about his cancer struggle and says himself he doesn’t feel any sick.

This article is certainly negative in its portrayal of Chavez. We can also sense a propagandistic portrayal in so as to; Chavez a babbling, conflict creating leader on a crusade for socialism (charity), also implying urgency when people are so far driven by this man that they even consider leaving their home country. As for neoliberal discourse it is implicitly understood that Chavez (socialism) is the

wrong form of politics. But what is a better alternative is not represented in the article, other than a wiry, affectionately called “Skinny” opponent with the exact age of 40 years named Capriles.

Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (TT) 2012-10-08 08:01

This article was chosen because it is the only article that specifically deals with Chavez electoral win (except for 2012-10-08 04:43 which was too short, 2 sentences)

The headline states the fact that Chavez won in Venezuela.

In the lead TT sets a framework for interpretation of Chavez when referring to him as a “frispråkig” (outspoken) and “vänsterpresident” (leftist president). By itself this may not mean much but also consider that in that at the last part of the lead the opponent (Henrique Capriles) is referred to by name and without any extra verbs. We will take note of this in the article itself also.

Going to the article and the first paragraph we notice that Chavez have been “på presidentposten” (on the presidential post) for “nästan” (almost) 14 years. When a journalist wants to imply certainty and confidence they tend to use exact numbers.¹¹⁰ This is also true for the opposite, take note that in this context TT uses non-value laden words in connection with Chavez and his presidential time period. This may not mean much but let us take a little leeway here and quote another article by TT to explicitly illustrate this way of using numbers. In TT article 2012-10-05 13:01 we read in the lead section that Chavez have been president for 14 years (no surrounding words indicating anything else than an exact number). Now let us look at the context “Inför valet i Venezuela handlar allt om mannen som dominerat landet i 14 år.” (Before the election in Venezuela everything is about the man that has dominated the country for 14 year) This time TT talks about the man who has “dominated” the country. A more negative wording and framing and this time TT uses an exact number, in order to give the impression of certainty and exactness.

Going over to the second paragraph we notice that Chavez opponent is described with the word “karismatiske” (charismatic) and his *exact* age (40 years). Compare this to Chavez description in the lead where Chavez age was not mentioned. Then we jump to the sixth paragraph; here we get background information on Chavez. We learn that he is a former soldier, anti-imperialist and aloud critic of the U.S. Also he has made “vänskapsband” (friendly relations) with states that “ses med misstänksamhet i väst” (that the west views with suspicion) (giving examples of Iran and Belarus), the paragraph then ends with stating Chavez is a big fan of Fidel Castro.

First off, I have rarely or never heard of anyone being pro-imperialism, this may be mentioned to create an image of a troublesome person. If we look at the rest of the paragraph we can see as well that it also, but more clearly, implies a troublesome person. Firstly he is troublesome with the U.S., being a

¹¹⁰ See a discussion about this in Appendix III

loud critic of them. And secondly he is friendly with countries the *west* are suspicious of, in so elevating his problematic persona. From being a problematic character for people who agree with the idea of imperialism to people that promotes the U.S. and their policies and then to a problem to anyone in the west. Going to the last paragraph (7) we get to know his politics and their consequences. He has “använt oljepengar” (spent oil money) to “bekämpa fattigdom” (fight poverty), notice that he has not actually achieved anything, he has merely fought, no indication of result. These policies with his “enkla bakgrund” (simple background) combined with his “värtalighet” (eloquence in speaking) have made him popular with “breda folklager” (the masses). Then we are told “även om” (even if) he won, so is the “krympande segermarginalen” (shrinking victory margin) indication that there is a “växande missnöje” (growing discontent) with “hans misslyckande” (his failure) solving essential problems. Notice how this is a factual wording, he *has failed*, compared to the above mentioned wording.

In this article there are small signs of both neoliberal discourse and propaganda, indicating that his policies are a failure and a bad way of spending the “oil money” and that being anti-U.S. and imperialism is something bad. With propaganda we can see how he is somewhat portrayed as a incompetent leader. But these indications are too weak to be labeled as propaganda or neoliberal discourse. But we can say, beyond doubt, TT strongly dislikes Chavez on all levels. As mentioned above and showed in Appendix V, TT: s articles are very short compared to the other news agencies. This can be a reason why they are only negative and showing so much, to use their own word, “eloquence” in their articles.

Xinhua 2012-10-08 16:53

The article is included because it was the most outspoken positively in regards to Chavez election win. The other articles were shorter and merely stating the fact that Chavez won. The article was discerned as positive, due to the positive quotes and positive aspects of Hugo Chavez portrayal. Now we analyze it more in detail with the help of CDA.

The headline states the fact that Chavez wins his third re-election.

In this article the Lead is represented with “story highlights”. The Lead is composed of three paragraphs summarizing the article. Here we find the first indication of a positive portrayal. In the second paragraph of the Lead Chavez is quoted as saying “Venezuela will continue its march toward democratic socialism of the 21st century,” This puts “march” which is a strong progressive word, indicating a forward motion (also the Chinese communists’ long march under the command of Mao Zedong 1934-35¹¹¹) with “democratic socialism in the 21st century”. This wording becomes interesting in the Chinese context considering Chinas own “march” today towards a different form of

¹¹¹ <http://www.atimes.com/atimes/China/HJ24Ad01.html> Article about the 70th year anniversary of the end of the long march Accessed 2012-12-21

socialism.¹¹² This gets reinforced in the first satellite paragraph, of the article, that describes Chavez getting mandate to pursue “*greater* nationalization” (Authors emphasis). The consequences of these nationalization policies is pointed out in the description that these “programs benefiting the nation’s poor”. The article continues to connect Chavez with a nationalist framework in paragraph 7, 9 and 10, when for example; connecting Chavez to Simon Bolivar and the “fatherland”. Interesting to note is that Capriles is described as a “self-style “progressive”” if compared to how the other news agencies describe Hugo Chavez, which we will see further down. Throughout the article Chavez is described as an active and positive force (for example paragraph 6).

When look for Neoliberal ideology we don’t detect much, rather the opposite. The “socialist” actions are presented as having a positive impact; (if we consider benefiting the poor positive) also there is the link between Chavez socialist march and the Chinese historical long march. So the discourse reflecting in this article would rather be a socialist. In terms of propaganda there is not much to note, rather a lack of it, considering the specific definition for propaganda for this study.

Xinhua 2012-10-09 11:07

This article is included because it’s an anomaly in the material (see discussion under quantitative section). It was discerned as negative

This article is a “News Analysis” and is treated as a news article (see discussion regarding this under Data selection). The headline presents Chavez as winner but raises doubt about his policies when “challenges remain”, indicating a need to alter his current policies.

In the lead the article is summarized and start with a concerning “Although” that the challenges persist.

In this article, contrasting the previous Xinhua article, Chavez policies have been focused on the poor (in the second paragraph) implying the policies haven’t had any effect. In the fourth paragraph a financial analyst is quoted as saying Chavez is an “element of stability” but that his economic policies “risk creating serious problem”. Here we can notice a voice of distress regarding Chavez policies. Chavez only “positive” aspect is that he has been in office for a long time. One of the negative aspects that are discussed is his economic policies with fixed currency rate. This according to Alvarez, the analyst previously quoted, is a “perverse incentive” for corruption, especially in Latin America (In paragraph 4 and 5). In paragraph seven the article describes how “everyone” in Venezuela is against this economic policy. In the following paragraph an unnamed Venezuelan businessman describes how “*something* has gotten worse under Chavez rule” (Authors emphasis). When describing it as “something” it leaves it to be unspecified making it to be something looming and troublesome, further

¹¹² Wong, Ola, *När tusen eldar slickar himlen: Kinas väg till framtiden*, Ordfront, Stockholm, 2007 p. 277 for a chronological account of Chinas transformation to “Socialistic market economy”

reinforcing the negative tone when describing Chavez presidency as a “rule”. A direct warning is issued by Fitch in paragraph 11, warning that inflation may remain at the same level and budget deficit may rise beyond the forecast if current policies remain. In the following paragraph we are told how these economic policies have been funded. The state run oil company PdVSA has “bankrolled” the programs. The word “bankroll” is an informal way of describing the funding of the programs. In the context of this article we can assume it’s a derogatory way of describing the financing of the programs. The thirteenth paragraph describes how Chavez has changed the political landscape in Venezuela. The evidence of this is Capriles having promised a mix of “social programs and business-friendly development plans”. The second last paragraph paints Chavez as weakened from Capriles electoral challenge describing Chavez as being subjected to overwhelming challenge that may have “triggered” a change in him.

In this article we find signs of a neoliberal ideology. The currency rate is fixed, this, in this article, equals bad economic policies. The currency should be free in order to create a good economic environment. Also social spending is described as harming government finances (paragraph 10). The article also describes a situation of urgency at times, there are perverse incentives for corruption and something undefined has gotten worse under Chavez. Although not a presentation of extreme urgency but still alarming, and something needs to be done, this shows an indication of a propaganda way of writing.

Interfax 2012-10-08 07:51

This is the only article by Interfax that directly deals with Chavez electoral win. It was discerned as balanced.

The headline states in a factually manner that Chavez won “another six years”.

In the lead we learn that Chavez “comfortably” won and that it will allow him to “retain his tight grip” on Venezuela’s oil and gas with “little prospect of change”. In this section we put our focus on the words “tight grip” and “prospect”. The words “tight grip” indicates something negative, think of someone holding onto, almost strangling, someone. This interpretation is reinforced with the wording of “prospect” when seeking an alternative to the situation with Chavez “tight grip”. Prospect is a more positively charged word, close to the word possibility. We can conclude that Chavez policies are seen with displeasure and also we understand that the oil and gas sector should not be under influence of the state or at least to a far lesser degree than now. This resembles a neoliberal discourse of logic; this is further confirmed in the 8 paragraph. In this paragraph Goldman Sachs describes the negative consequences of these policies; The “interventionist policy approach” will likely lead to Venezuela being treated as a “deteriorating macro story and trade it [...] as an oil play”, meaning that the market strongly disapproves of Chavez policies.

Continuing with the article we focus on the 4th paragraph where the election results are discussed. Interfax describes it in a way that no other news agency does. They confirm that the victory result was “much slimmer” than in 2006. However, they add, it is “still significant”. This comes across as, with journalistic values in mind, a well written paragraph. They put the result in a historical context (2006) and a wider present context (still significant). In paragraphs 5-7 a source is discussing Chavez oil and gas policies. The source avoids value-laded words and also avoids derogatory descriptions of Chavez. In the last paragraph (9th) Chavez health is discussed and his management (leader) style is described as “idiosyncratic”. The use of the word management instead of leader to describe his style further points to neoliberal discourse logic. That leading a country is like being a manager (of a company) and that Chavez in this case is a peculiar character.

The neoliberal discourse logic is clearly visible, but there is no propaganda like portrayal of Chavez. Rather the portrayal of Chavez is “fair”, if this word can be used in this context, or balanced.

Reuters 2012-10-08 10:37

This article was chosen because it reflects the largest category of the Reuters material (Negative), and it is more likely to manifest an implicit Neoliberal discourse in the text (compared to some of the other articles that were more neutral, fact stating).

The headline describes how Chavez “*revels* in a convincing election win” (Authors emphasis). In the headline Chavez actions after his electoral victory are described in questionable manner. Revels connect Chavez response to his victory with him celebrating in an unseemly and possibly improper way, almost a gluttonous way.

Going down to the lead we look at the last paragraph in the lead and focus on the “*possible* cancer recurrence” (Authors emphasis). The choice to use the word “possible” in this context may tell more about the “hopes” of Reuters than of Chavez medical situation. The word “possible” gives inclination to hope and positive association, compare to the more commonly used wording of “risk” when describing the recurrence of cancer.

Now we go to the main article and the portrayal of Chaves; we notice that Reuters often implies Chavez as a troublesome and questionable president. His leadership is “divisive” (paragraph 1), he is “a towering figure in modern Latin America” but have trouble dealing with the “day –to-day problems” (paragraph 3). In other words Chavez is a leader that is an international icon but polarizes the country and cannot tackle the basic issues and needs of the state. Further down in the article we can read that Chavez is “thundering” from the palace balcony while holding a replica sword (paragraph 5). The wording of “thundered” and holding a (replica) sword gives way of thought towards an almost aggressive persona. Then at paragraph 8 we learn that Chavez is a name-caller, never referring to his opponent by name (quoted examples “pig” and “right-wing oligarch”). Then we

go down to paragraph 11 and learn that Chavez main achievement since coming to power has been becoming Latin Americas main anti-U.S. agitator. This shows a almost childlike manner in Chavez, engaged in calling people by bad nicknames and trying to instigate anti-U.S. feelings. At the end of the article (paragraphs 26-28) we learn that Chavez main reason for winning the election was by taking over the “airwaves” and “bribing” the poor(this is also implied in paragraph 9). This spending also had bad effects on the state finances and could lead to inflation, which was one of the top complaints among voters according to the article. The negative aspect of this “bribing” is further enforced in the following (29) paragraph. When Fitch warns about Chavez government’s ability to keep inflation down and “rein in its fiscal deficit”. In so much it almost seems like Chavez cheated in the election and in the end actually have done the opposite of what the voters wanted.

In the article there are signs of neoliberal discourse, we can see that government (Chavez) spending “may” create negative consequences for the economy. Also Chavez bartering with oil and nationalization has a negative effect on the economy (primarily paragraph 14 and 15). There is also some tendencies of propaganda like portrayal of Chavez when, implicitly portraying him as a childlike (name-caller) character and inclination of hubris and implying incompetence when Chavez being prominent in modern Latin American history and not being able to deal with a states day-to-day problems.

9.2 Summary

As we saw there were instances of a neoliberal discourse and the logic within such a discourse present in all but one of the Xinhua articles. Albeit there were different degrees off it, sometimes explicit and sometimes implicit so it can’t be established beyond doubt that it in fact was, but there were signs of the neoliberal logic. There were also two different forms of neoliberal discourse logic; one which resembles the one described in the theoretical framework, which was the case in all but one. The anomaly logic was that of Interfax, they used the rhetoric of neoliberalism but refrain from inflammatory agitation against Chavez and his policies. We could describe it as neoliberalism with a human face to paraphrase Alexander Dubček and his slogan Socialism with a human face, aiming to create an environment with a higher degree of tolerance.¹¹³

¹¹³ Bell, Philip M. H., *The world since 1945: an international history*, Arnold, London, 2001 p. 279

10 Discussion and Conclusion

Now we will conclude and summarize the whole study; we will begin with the quantitative research and discuss the issue of bias; then move to the qualitative research and discuss it in terms of key terms and how it connects and then we end with a discussion of the study as a whole and its possible implications and suggestions of further research.

Within the framework and material for this study we can say that; there were bias in most of the news agencies and this bias was negative in its overwhelming majority. The bias manifested through the way the agencies choose to report and frame events and bring up some events and give them a large space. The clearest example of unbalanced amount of coverage was the Venezuelans expats voting in southern U.S. A story only covered by the news agencies that were biased negatively towards Chavez.

The qualitative research exposed several factors that were not apparent in the quantitative research. We concluded that TT, AP and Reuters were negative and that Xinhua was positive and Interfax stayed between balanced and neutral. When we analyzed the material with critical discourse analysis we noticed that the rhetoric stemmed from a neoliberal logic in all news agencies except for Xinhua. Xinhua had an article that used neoliberal logic but rather was an anomaly than representative for the whole news agency. Both Van Dijk and Chomsky & Herman contend that media is a reflection of the elites of a society and with our definition of hegemony it is possible to see that the logic of the elites guides how the news is presented. We come to the conclusion that all but Xinhua (China) are states dominated by a neoliberal discourse. The Chinese news agency can be reflecting a struggle amongst the elites between the socialistic way and the neoliberal way. The U.S. (AP), British (Reuters) and Swedish (TT) elite are united and no voice of opposition is heard in the news. Russian (Interfax) elites differs slightly in that they are not all out hostile towards Chavez, as mentioned above, they seem to represent a form of “neoliberalism with a human face”. This is also reflected if we look at the propaganda aspect of how Chavez is portrayed. AP was the news agency with the most obvious propaganda style of portraying Hugo Chavez and his policies while TT, Reuters and Xinhua (anomaly article) show clear indications of propaganda but not as blatant as AP. Interfax and Xinhua (the “regular article”) were the most “objective” in their portrayal. This reinforces that idea of Interfax displaying a “neoliberalism with a human face”.

It is fair to say that objective, balanced and unbiased news are hard to find if we consider this material in this study. This connects us to one of the aims of the study; help readers form a more critical approach to the media. Looking at this result the best way to consume media would be to read more than one source and also, it would be recommended, read an alternative media source to gain a more balanced total picture of an event.

For further research it would be interesting to study how this news reporting is influencing peoples own ideas and opinions. Also it would be interesting to gain a deeper understanding of how the news is actually produced. Are the news reporters themselves aware of what they implicitly and explicitly produce and re-produce with their reporting.

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Appendix I

Coding scheme and variables

The coding scheme contains 4 variables and how they should be interpreted will be thoroughly discussed in detail in the following chapter. The coding scheme was created with the assistance of several people which helped in different ways to create the final product.

Variable 1

The first variable concerns the news agency. Each news agency have been assigned a unique number ranging from 1 to X.

1. Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå
2. Interfax
3. Xinhua
4. Reuters
5. Associated Press

Variable 2

The second variable is for the date of the articles publication.

Variable 3

It's the running number for the article, 1 to n

Variable 4

The last variable is for the discernment between positive, negative, neutral and balanced portrayal of Hugo Chavez. The different positions have been given numbers from 1 to 4.

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral
4. Balanced

How to interpret the variables

Variable 1 through 3 is straightforward and is mathematically based, i.e. 2 follow after 1. The 4th variable on the other hand gives space for subjective interpretation. In order to try and minimize the influence of a single person we will try and, as far as possible, dissect and give transparency to the interpretation of positive, negative, balanced and neutral.

What counts?; The base for the interpretation is that the articles gives voice to either a negative, positive, balanced or neutral side of Hugo Chavez. In order for a textual sentence or a paragraph to be part in the coding scheme it has to deal specifically with Hugo Chavez. If there is a sentence or a paragraph before or subsequently to the sentence or paragraph that includes Hugo Chavez it can only count if it specifically builds around the central sentence or paragraph of Hugo Chavez. Now follows example of neutral, negative, positive, balanced and a discussion around each example and the troubles that might arise;

Neutral sentence;

“Chavez supporters fired massive fireworks into the sky in celebration, as the result was announced.”¹¹⁴

This quote raises some other issues to discuss; this is an article that mentions the name Hugo Chavez but is not directly about him, its main subject is his supporters who are acting out celebrations. In the interpretation of the articles Hugo Chavez and his supporters are seen as one, i.e. if they would have been described as “recklessly celebrating with fireworks” it would be interpreted as a negative portrayal of Chavez supporters and in extension Chavez himself. Now this is not the case, instead they are portrayed only as celebrating and how they are celebrating (with fireworks), so this paragraph would be interpreted as neutral.

Negative sentence;

“Sedan han kom till makten 1999 har den nu 58-årige före detta soldaten och kuppmakaren Hugo Chavez gjort sig känd som en mycket kontroversiell statsman.”¹¹⁵

This quote shows Chavez in a negative light when it uses the words “kuppmakaren” (approximately coup plotter) and “soldaten” (the soldier) in reference to his coup attempt in 1992 and his earlier career in the army. Then finally they finish off by describing him as a “kontroversiell” (controversial) statesman. None of these words has any positive sense connected to it in relations to democracy and respect for institutional power. Rather these are words usually used to describe dictators and rouge state leaders. So the negative is not clearly put forward in words like “the bad person Hugo Chavez”,

¹¹⁴ Xinhua 2012-10-08 10:45

¹¹⁵ TT 2012-10-08 18:33

rather it is used on a more subtle level and therefore leaves a lot of subjective interpretation to the researcher.

Positive sentence;

“Chavez, who has nationalized ever larger sections of the economy and initiated a wide range of programs benefiting the nation's poor, declared victory in the name of the 19th century independence hero Simon Bolivar.”¹¹⁶

In this quote we see that the news agency connects Chavez politics (nationalizing) to a positive effect for the poor and ending the sentence with connecting him with a famous “freedom fighter”. This contrast on the negative sentence presented earlier; there Chavez was connected with a negative image, in this sentence his is connected to a “hero”. The term “nationalized” could be seen as negative depending on context (in the US nationalizing is seen as something very negative) but it connects the action (nationalizing) to something positive (benefiting the poor) which gives a positive connotation.

Balanced;

There is no quote to exemplify this, instead it will be explained; An article that is balanced bring forth both sides of the election. This in contrast to the neutral side that doesn't take a stand to either side, which means the article, can contain both negative and positive opinions. But these opinions must be balanced in the sense that both sides get equal space and space in important sections. In other words, a positive headline and a paragraph in the latter part of the article do not constitute a balanced article. As we will discuss further down, the headline and the lead paragraph counts as more important than the latter sections of the article.

These examples have been from the perspective of the news agencies themselves. This was done with the intent of showing how the news agencies build a neutral, positive or negative portrayal themselves. But the main brunt will be performed in who is allowed to comment on the issues. Sometimes Hugo Chavez or his supporters are quoted and sometimes the opposition candidate Henrique Capriles or his supporters are quoted. These quotes usually reinforce the positive side of one, when this is not the case it will be discussed. All of the news agencies bring in experts that make statements around Hugo Chavez, the opposition or the political policies of both sides. These experts will further enforce the portrayal of either positively or negatively and in some cases opposing experts will be given room to comment and thus cancelling each other ending the portrayal to be balanced.

There are examples of argumentation in the articles that continues through several paragraph. In such an example the whole argumentation will be seen as a part in itself within the article and then interpreted as one part of the whole article.

¹¹⁶ Xinhua 2012-10-08 16:53

Example of argumentation in article;

“Enrique Alvarez, a financial analyst at IDEAglobal in New York, told Xinhua that Chavez's reelection represents an element of stability for the nation, but some Chavez's economic policies, including fixing its currency, risk creating serious problems.”¹¹⁷

After this paragraph an argumentation starts that continues over the following 8 paragraphs and ends after stating that;

“It is clear, however, that Chavez has changed Venezuela's politics profoundly.”¹¹⁸

Interpretation; First, the argument starts with placing what will be discussed (Chavez economic policies) in a secondary place to the main point which is the stability that Chavez reelection constitutes (Based on that it is taken up first and the economic policies are introduced with a “but”). Secondly, the argumentation ends with a statement saying that no matter what (his economic policies) Chavez have changed politics profoundly and made the opposition aware of the need of the poor. Because of Chavez the opposition has been forced to change their politics to be “characterized by a mix of social programs and business-friendly development plans.”¹¹⁹, this to be interpreted as a politic that differs from the opposition’s earlier politics. This gives an impression that the argumentation in the article is a side track and that in the whole Chavez have mainly been a good force but with some problematic policies.

How much does it count?; There is a common assumption that a text is built like an inverted pyramid, this means that what comes first takes the biggest and most important space, an example of this is the headline. The headline usually tries to capture the reader and contains the main focus of the article. The lead paragraph, text that comes first in an article after the headline, gives the reader the main idea of the article, after this usually follows the main article, in other words the whole body of text. This is also the hierarchal order of how much a sentence counts. If there are two positive sentences in the lead paragraph it will count more than if there are two negative sentences at the end of the body of text. It is not a mathematical calculation; rather it is a level of subjectivity where the researchers will have final judgment. If it is not clear if the article is negative contra neutral or positive contra neutral the article will be given a benefit of a doubt and count as neutral (which is the ideal type for news reporting), however, it will be indicated in those cases that there have been unclear to determine the standpoint of the article.

How is it interpreted?; Each paragraph should be interpreted separately after which the article in its entirety should be interpreted. The two interpretations together should form the final decision on if the

¹¹⁷ Xinhua 2012-10-09 11:07

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

article is to be interpreted as positive, negative, neutral or balanced. Basing the interpretation on the parts and the sum in order to create a fuller idea for what is in the article.

Appendix II

Illustrating examples of Critical Discourse Analysis

This is a TT article published 2012-10-08 18:01

1 Chavez vann i Venezuela

2 Venezuelas frispråkige vänsterpresident Hugo Chavez omvaldes med drygt 54 procent av rösterna. Hans anhängare firade med jubel och fyrverkerier på gatorna i Caracas.

3 I motståndarlägret var besvikelsen stor. Den här gången hade oppositionen lyckats samla sig kring en kandidat, den karismatiske 40-årige Henrique Capriles. Denne erkände sig besegrad och gratulerade i ett tal Chavez till segern.

4 Chavez har redan avverkat nästan 14 år på presidentposten.

We now divide the article in 4 parts and we will analyze them in part and together. We start with the headline (1.) which contains a summary of the information of the complete article. In it we don't see anything more than the fact that Chavez won the election in Venezuela.

In the lead (2.) we notice that Chavez is described as an outspoken left president (frispråkige vänsterpresident).¹²⁰ In a context of being a president it is preferred to be calm, thoughtful and a factual person. In the context of Sweden, to be outspoken gives the impression that Hugo Chavez is looser and speaks his mind without thinking. This makes Hugo Chavez contradictory compared to what's desired in a statesman. The following part of the lead mainly states factual circumstances regarding the election and how it was celebrated without emotive words.

The next section, the satellite (3.), contains a re-connection to the lead. In the satellite they describe Hugo Chavez opponent (Henrique Capriles) as charismatic and with his exact age. This should be interpreted in opposition to how Hugo Chavez was described considering they were combatants when Henrique is described as a candidate to the presidency (kandidat). When you want to present something as correct, precise and true it is common practice to use exact numbers¹²¹ and in this example it is illustrated when giving the exact age of Henrique. There are other examples of persuasive presentation of news; Using eyewitnesses, reliable sources (authorities, professionals etc.), direct quotes.¹²² When looking at both the wording (charismatic) and the correctness of the sentence

¹²⁰ Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 81f

¹²¹ Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 84f

¹²² For more examples see Dijk, Teun Adrianus van, *News as discourse*, L. Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale, N J, 1988 p. 84ff

(40 years old) it gives an impression of something that is truly positive. Being charismatic is a positive feature that is desired in a statesman especially when compared to someone who is outspoken, a less desired feature in a statesman.

The last section in this article can be seen as a wrap-up of a sort. It mainly states that Hugo Chavez have been president for almost 14 years. Notice how in connection with Hugo Chavez the numbers are presented as less accurate (*nästan* 14 år).

In sum of the article we can see that TT through the article presents Hugo Chavez in an unfavorable way and makes connections that give the impression that Hugo Chavez is someone we (the readers) wouldn't want to see in a position of power. The people of Venezuela have clearly made a mistake in the election. The only thing in this specific article that could be a tell tale sign of a neoliberal discourse is the fact that in the Lead (2.) it is explicitly stated that he is of a left political orientation. This is something that is not relevant when reading the rest of the article, for example, the article does not state the political orientation of Henrique. Instead it is mentioned in connection to the less flattering (in this context) wording of Hugo Chavez tendency to be outspoken

Appendix III

Discernment by Denny Pencheva, Mattias Bengtsson and Authors complete discernment

Discernment variables:

1. Positive
2. Negative
3. Neutral
4. Balanced

Denny Pencheva discernment

News agency	Date	Discernment	Comments
Xinhua	2012-10-08 11:06	1	for me there is no clear cut in this one between being positive and neutral. It is merely informative to me.
Xinhua	2012-10-09 11:07	4 changed to 2	Discussed it and after closer examination at source by source agreed to negative
Xinhua	2012-10-08 12:44	1	picking up quotes from his speeches and place them in a relevant, subtly promoting context. Although I'd say it is more implicit positive. There is no extensive use of adjectives. Rather it is an 'action based' article. So it leads the reader to think it is positive, although

			technically one could take it a more balanced.
Xinhua	2012-10-08 16:53	1	interesting to put in the same article "greater nationalization", "21st century socialism" and "one of the most successful democracies in the world " :) 1+ I'd say. Obvious "comrade" viewpoint China ->Venezuela.
Interfax	2012-10-08 07:51	between 2 and 3 changed to 4 after discussion	on specific sources and on how it is presented positive in the start and negative in the end and have a positive a and a negative source. Russian perspective predominantly focuses on oil and gas issues. Not a word for social programs like in XINHUA. Comment on his health and its possible impact on the overall political stability. I sense a slightly negative connotation (especially in the first sentences -' the victory will allow Chavez to retain his tight grip on the country's oil and gas sector, with little prospect of change in the short to medium term'.

AP	2012-10-11 11:29	3	It can be interpreted in any possible way, depending on personal understanding of the context.'
AP	2012-10-10 01:32	2	Explicitly negative.
AP	2012-10-08 01:02	2	Changed from Neutral to Negative It makes me strongly dislike Chavez. Especially the "preventing polling stations from closing" I think its not democratic. Almost harassing people that they didn't vote (First comments) I'd go for neutral because there is nothing explicit pro or against Chavez. Formally Capriles also has a say, but I am not sure it qualifies the text for balanced. My initial reaction was negative in terms of Chavez for letting sections be opened long after they should be closed!
AP	2012-10-08 03:14	2	The text is not coherent and it goes between two extremes (positive and negative) it could be misleading in a way. There are paragraphs that do not belong to the text and does not contribute to the text appearance.
AP	2012-10-06 12:17	2	Far too excessive role of the military forces in the

political life. That resemble the cold war a bit in the manner of conducting an election campaigns.

AP

2012-10-07 11:50

2

Changed from Balanced to Negative - In terms of sources 3 against 3 for its a balanced way of presenting information. In terms of personal interpretation of the text I find it explicitly negative, because the people quoted in the article are not credible sources for information, not even working or working class person. (first comments) makes me literally wanting to vomit!!! Cheap talk from cheap persons... a reason why I strongly dislike the concept of socialism!!!

Mattias Bengtsson discernment

News agency	Date	Discernment	Comments
Xinhua	2012-10-08 11:06	4	All of the articles leads me to think that the news reader”reads” into the news what they wish to read. In other words people pick the news that suits them but also, when reading news, their interpretation fits their opinions and world views.
Xinhua	2012-10-09 11:07	2	
Xinhua	2012-10-08 12:44	1	
Xinhua	2012-10-08 16:53	4	
Interfax	2012-10-08 07:51	2	
AP	2012-10-11 11:29	4	Balanced. Both sides is given space to express them self
AP	2012-10-10 01:32	2	Total lack of sense
AP	2012-10-08 01:02	3	This article is only stating facts.
AP	2012-10-08 03:14	4 changed to 2	Balanced that became d negative. Because of those who voices negative opinions speaks of more "important" issues and because of this they get more "weight" in their argument

AP	2012-10-06 12:17	2	Chavez is connected to a corrupted military through the article.
AP	2012-10-07 11:50	4 changed to 2	Same reason as in AP 2012-10-08 03:14 article above.

Göran Nilsson discernment

News Agency	Date (article number)	Discernment	Comments
Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå	2012-09-24 13:01	2	What Chavez does is dangerous and bad. His offered alternative is his own little campaign project winner.
	2012-09-24 13:02	3	Neutral
	2012-09-30 18:01	3	Barely neutral describes it as "Hugo Chavez claims to have beaten cancer"
	2012-10-01 01:58	3	Neutral
	2012-10-01 10:16	2	Henrique put forward like a "man". Speaks to the masses, going to "beat" the violence. Chavez promises investigation not action
	2012-10-05 13:01	2	The positive source do not provide any form of argument just stating what the negative have said.
	2012-10-05 13:02	2	Is that all his done in 14 years and only things to happen?
	2012-10-07 09:13	3	Neutral
	2012-10-07 14:21	2	Consulate closed for other reason than implied? Closed by H.C. or forced to be closed?
	2012-10-07 14:21	3	Fact stacking with good margin

2012-10-08 04:30	4	Neutral
2012-10-08 04:43	3	Antagonistic arrangement. Fairly balanced with strange personal description again (of H.C.).
2012-10-08 08:01	2	H.C. is outspoken leftist, soldier, outspoken critic of the U.S., friend of Iran, Belarus, admire Fidel. Henrique is charismatic and 40 years old
2012-10-08 18:23	2	Only negative sources, focus on all negative aspects of election percentage and so on
2012-10-08 18:33	2	H.C. is soldier, coup plotter, controversial, highly polarized society. Vague verb in positive sentence. Exact/active/strong in negative
2012-10-11 10:24	3	No side, Stating fact, although mention him as leftist.
2012-10-14 01:34	3	Short article, only stating Chavez appoints new minister (till Twitter/used Twitter)

News Agency	Date (article number)	Discernment	Comments
Interfax	2012-10-08 07:51	4	Close to balanced. Two competing sources, one close to pro Chavez (Carlos Bellorin) and another negative (Goldman Sachs)
	2012-10-09 09:52	4	Due to the fact of problematizes /comparing numbers (voting results)
	2012-10-09 10:10	3	No real issue, more stating
	2012-10-10 01:54	3	Re-reporting quote
	2012-10-10 02:28	1	Re-enforcing Chavez

News Agency	Date (article number)	Discernment	Comments
Xinhua	2012-09-23 13:33	1	Lets C.H. criticize his opponent, described as paratrooper
	2012-09-27 12:46	3	Nothing specific to H.C.
	2012-09-29 12:47	1	Leaning positive. Describes economy as "buzzling" compared to how other news agencies described it. Also more space for H.C. maybe
	2012-09-30 16:38	4	3 sources
	2012-10-01 11:54	4	Both sides represented
	2012-10-05 08:51	1	H.C. quotes all over
	2012-10-06 12:05	4	Seems to be fairly big enough room for both

2012-10-06 14:34	3	Keeping high on facts low on emotions
2012-10-07 09:55	3	H.C. believes the people will be calm
2012-10-07 10:45	3	Excellent
2012-10-07 12:05	4	Even though mentioning Capriles as ladies man
2012-10-07 13:06	4	Both candidates goals presented in "equal" ways
2012-10-07 18:35	3	No specific questions, no quotes
2012-10-07 20:47	4	Both candidates equal space, no issue
2012-10-08 05:17	1	Only H.C. and his people quoted and represented
2012-10-08 07:18	3	Despite "pit fall" of blame
2012-10-08 07:51	1	Unbalanced to H.C. concerning verbs
2012-10-08 08:04	1	Same as the one before
2012-10-08 10:38	1	Third party positive. Reflecting H.C. in good
2012-10-08 10:45	3	Stating facts
2012-10-08 12:44	1	Confirming his victory
2012-10-08 16:12	3	Fact
2012-10-08 16:53	1	Focus on positive aspects of H.C. Also quotes positive/powerful
2012-10-08 18:01	3	Only one H.C. quote

2012-10-08 19:30	3	See above. Also Raul Castro has different way of expressing
2012-10-09 04:33	3	See above. Interesting wording though
2012-10-09 11:07	2	All sources negative. +/- in first quotes when evolving only negative.
2012-10-09 13:55	4	Latin American leaders are general positive. Those who congratulated are included. Brazils "double edge" is showed. Contested election brings about ever more balance.
2012-10-10 10:26	4	Explains statements. Lets also the U.S. viewpoint (congrats the people not H.C.)
2012-10-11 12:06	3	Fact stocked article
2012-10-14 10:46	3	Still neutral although more positive considering H.C. quotes

News Agency	Date (article number)	Discernment	Comments
AP	2012-09-25 11:20	4	By a thin line Almost going over the line of painting a bribing picture of H.C.
	2012-09-27 11:09	2	By default- An article about why Chavez supporters have "ditched" him
	2012-09-29 03:03	2	Chavez supporters violent, Capriles to ensure voters have nothing to fear and are voting anonymously
	2012-09-30 09:08	2	Presenting direct links to opposition run website masked as "information" Many negative Chavez voices. 1 "pro" Chavez, an official referring to a law
	2012-09-30 07:09	3	Restrained in defamatory descriptions
	2012-09-30 02:39	2	Stone throwing broke out – Chavez supporters threw rocks
	2012-10-01 10:20	2	One sided reporting, z question Chavez, negative portrayal
	2012-10-01 03:14	4	Close to balanced even z though questionable portrayal of who's doing the violence

2012-10-01 03:08	2	One sided reporting only Capriles supporters interviewed
2012-10-02 11:38	2	Hugo packed the military, no one in the military can agree. Military officer, coup leader
2012-10-02 01:15	4	Both sides get to speak. Not so many "subtle" peaks at Chavez
2012-10-03 11:41	2	Hugo appears to be the only one doing actual tempering with vows and not in small amounts. Leaning on quotes numbers etc.
2012-10-04 11:05	2	Articles focus "why have Chavez lost votes?" "Outside" sources negative to Chavez
2012-10-05 12:41	2	Accusation without z response. Pro source seem to do this because he received stuff from Chavez
2012-10-06 05:26	2	The "balancing" source gives the impression of going along because he gets stuff (bribed)
2012-10-06 05:19	4	Puts forward facts in approximate equal portrayal (not clear but fairly balanced)
2012-10-06 11:50	2	Balanced in sources, negative looking at content.

		Pro side talks about "charity" Con side talks about "serious" policies and issues as inflation, economic growth (state questions)
2012-10-06 12:17	2	They don't even try to be balanced. Describes a totalitarian militarized society created by Chavez
2012-10-07 06:30	2	They don't even try. 1 pro voice with 3 paragraphs against 14 paragraphs of negative with 2 sources
2012-10-07 12:05	2	Only Chavez supporter actions and they are negative. Source?
2012-10-07 03:38	2	Ducks/Refuses questions. Citing a law, then this is used against him, implying double fault /be there, answer, don't be there) "Typically long-winded answers, obscure references"
2012-10-08 11:27	2	One source, opponents side, negative source
2012-10-08 07:19	2	Weak Cuba, Venezuela "bangs the drum" Implies Chavez bribes other smaller countries
2012-10-08 06:07	4	Fairly balanced, close call to negative though with and without coup wording

2012-10-08 06:02	3	Congratulations to the people, difference with Hugo Chavez, smallest margin
2012-10-08 03:14	2	Poor wording of H.C. Sources somewhat balanced in number (1+/- 2+ 2-) But their content advantage Capriles
2012-10-08 02:39	3	-
2012-10-08 01:02	2	Aggressive Chavez gangs cruise the street to keep polling stations open for unclear reasons
2012-10-10 01:32	2	Almost exclusively negative quotes. Retired electrician expert on campaigns? Pure demonizing
2012-10-11 11:29	2	H.C. smallest margin, Capriles relevant argument
2012-10-11 11:12	2	Questionable wording. Boss, chides, mustachioed, grooming (*2) unflagging loyalty. Connecting military sections to H.C. party
2012-10-11 12:14	3	Mention of coup. "smallest margin to date" Socialist system?
2012-10-12 08:41	3	Implies "fraud list" makes people curious. Just as if the election were questionable in general

News Agency	Date (article number)	Discernment	Comments
	2012-10-14 02:34	3	No sources
Reuters	2012-09-23 12:59	2	Story telling, almost positive towards H.C. until second half. Then Chavez become igniter for volatile pre-election atmosphere, his gang Otro Beta becomes vandals and H.C. is just embarrassing and out of place
	2012-09-24 23:56	2	Who is the article about? Focus on H.C. saying nothing about his policies, and emphasizing negative parts
	2012-09-25 19:37	2	Another love story with Capriles
	2012-09-25 19:38	2	Its a love affair, mainly Capriles and me (paraphrasing Ministry)
	2012-09-25 20:34	4	Informative, gives "all information" very nice.
	2012-09-25 21:19	2	Reuters seem to position with Capriles. Doesn't question double standards or "empty rhetoric" / compare Fact box about H.C.
	2012-09-26 04:23	4	Brings out both sides in a fairly balanced rhetoric. Although "socialist leader" –

		"opposition leader" "fresh confrontation", "support for leftist allies"
2012-10-03 02:35	2	Almost turns into a "commercial" for Capriles
2012-10-04 12:01	4	Mainly keeps to the informative side. Gives "good" and "bad" facts
2012-10-05 02:08	2	Exemplary negative illustrative, Equals Chavez and his policies as a reason for crime and violence. Implies he is a dictator, mainly because he has never lost or had to hand off power.
2012-10-05 20:38	2	Fairly balanced until last 7 paragraphs. Going strong negative. Made himself a Messiah on a socialist crusade.
2012-10-07 13:24	4	Presents both candidates in a "proper" manner. Surprising to learn Capriles been in jail.
2012-10-07 21:37	2	Why and how negative expats go to vote in New Orleans
2012-10-07 00:00	3	Only talks about the female candidates
2012-10-07 00:00	3	But, why relevant article for Reuters?

2012-10-07 06:59	4	Goes back and forth between positive/negative H.C. side and Capriles side
2012-10-08 04:40	3	-
2012-10-08 04:46	4	Same as next one, although this time leanings positive
2012-10-08 04:56	4	Tips towards negative but benefit of a doubt gives it balance
2012-10-08 05:06	3	Sometimes companies are paid "fairly" sometimes "arbitrary" If nationalization is +/- is neglected. Do they give the actions as facts or fill actions with value laden words?
2012-10-08 05:12	3	Although this is only one side of it all- Benefit of a doubt
2012-10-08 07:13	2	The issue is expats being sad because of H.C.:s victory. Implies "everyone" then "Most....likely"
2012-10-08 04:04	3	Celebrate/Crying
2012-10-08 11:57	3	Government list and actually is
2012-10-08 12:01	2	If considering balanced is a an ideal I've never read worse. Cheering on the opposition, hoping for cancer?

2012-10-08 16:15	2	His economic policies are bad. His positive side are meet with implies of improper behavior
2012-10-08 19:24	4	Balanced between positive actions and quotes. Negative action in business. He can't manage business but there is potential
2012-10-08 20:17	2	If Chavez continues what he has done in the past it's bad. Lifts the most negative source out of 3
2012-10-08 10:37	2	Chavez may be an icon for left but nothing of what he has done is positive.
2012-10-09 21:09	2	A business report and they certainly don't like Chavez. "Only light in the tunnel is the fact that Chavez is sick and can die"
2012-10-09 22:29	2	A bit negative. Implicitly takes Capriles side. "Disappointment" he didn't win. Business hope Chavez gets more ill
2012-10-10 17:29	4	Both sides get to speak and Reuters avoid derogatory terms when discussing, presenting H.C.
2012-10-11 12:59	3	Strict to facts
2012-10-11 17:10	3	-

2012-10-14 00:52

3

Fairly neutral

Appendix IV

Word statistic of all articles

Total number of articles	Total number of words	Number of words per article (on average)
AP 35	24 262	693
TT 17	4 417	260
Xinhua 30	14 204	473
Interfax 5	1 161	232
Reuters 35	25 983	742

Articles used in Critical Discourse Analysis

To view the article in its original please visit the web address above each article unless else indicated.

To find the article in a search engine please search for; Headline + date.

These are a “stripped” version without banners, pictures, links to related articles etc.

Associated Press

<http://www.lexisnexis.com/en-us/home.page> (Login required)

The Associated Press

October 8, 2012 Monday 03:14 AM GMT

Headline **Chavez wins re-election, electoral council says**

BYLINE: By IAN JAMES and FRANK BAJAK, Associated Press

SECTION: INTERNATIONAL NEWS

LENGTH: 701 words

DATELINE: CARACAS, Venezuela

Lead President **Hugo Chavez** won re-election Sunday, defeating challenger Henrique Capriles and gaining six more years to cement his legacy and press ahead with his crusade for socialism in Venezuela.

Paragraph 1 With about 90 percent of votes counted, Chavez had more than 54 percent of the vote, and Capriles had 45 percent, National Electoral Council president Tibisay Lucena said. She said 81 percent of the nearly 19 million registered voters cast ballots, one of the largest turnouts in years.

Paragraph 2 It was Chavez's third re-election victory in nearly 14 years in office, though by a smaller margin than in 2006, when he won 63 percent of the votes.

Paragraph 3 Fireworks exploded in downtown Caracas, and Chavez's supporters celebrated waving flags and jumping for joy outside the presidential palace.

Paragraph 4 Chavez won more than 7.4 million votes, beating Capriles by more than 1.2 million votes, Lucena said.

Paragraph 5 Capriles congratulated Chavez and told his supporters not to feel defeated.

Paragraph 6 "We have planted many seeds across Venezuela and I know that these seeds are going to produce many trees," he told supporters in a speech late Sunday.

Paragraph 7 Chavez spent heavily in the months before the vote, building public housing and bankrolling expanded social programs providing benefits to poor families.

Paragraph 8 Capriles, a youthful state governor, became a strong challenger after winning a February primary and rallied an opposition that grew more united and better organized than in the past. But in the end, it was no match for Chavez's electoral prowess.

Paragraph 9 Just as polls closed on Sunday night, hundreds of young red-shirted Chavistas took to the streets on motorcycles and said they were ready to begin celebrating.

Paragraph 10 "Let them accept defeat," Kleiver Gutierrez said of the opposition.

Paragraph 11 People holding posters of Chavez shouted to passing cars outside the Miraflores presidential palace.

Paragraph 12 One pro-Chavez voter, private bodyguard Carlos Julio Silva, said that whatever his faults, Chavez deserved to win for spreading the nation's oil wealth to the poor with free medical care, public housing and other government largess. The country has the world's largest proven oil reserves.

Paragraph 13 "There is corruption, there's plenty of bureaucracy, but the people have never had a leader who cared about this country," Silva said after voting for Chavez at a school in

the Caracas slum of Petare. "That's why the people are going to re-elect Hugo Rafael Chavez Frias."

Paragraph 14 At many polling places, voters began lining up hours before polls opened at dawn, some snaking for blocks in the baking Caribbean sun. Some shaded themselves with umbrellas. Vendors grilled meat and some people drank beer.

Paragraph 15 Maria Leonis was selling CDs of Chavez's campaign theme music on a sidewalk next to a polling center. "Today I've sold about 100 CDs, just Chavez's song," Leonis said, adding that she supported Chavez because "I want to keep seeing change."

Paragraph 16 Chavez's critics say the president has inflamed divisions by labeling his opponents "fascists," "Yankees" and "neo-Nazis," and it's likely hard for many of his opponents to stomach another six years of the loquacious and conflictive leader.

Paragraph 17 Some said before the vote that they'd consider leaving the country if Chavez won.

Paragraph 18 Gino Caso, an auto mechanic, said Chavez is power-hungry and out of touch with problems such as crime. He said his son had been robbed, as had neighboring shops.

Paragraph 19 "I don't know what planet he lives on," Caso said, gesturing with hands blackened with grease. "He wants to be like Fidel Castro end up with everything, take control of the country."

Paragraph 20 The 40-year-old Capriles, a wiry former governor affectionately called "Skinny" by supporters, infused the opposition with new optimism, and opinion polls pointed to him giving Chavez his closest election contest ever.

Paragraph 21 Chavez spoke little during the campaign about his fight with cancer, which since June 2011 has included surgery to remove tumors from his pelvic region as well as chemotherapy and radiation treatment. He has said his most recent tests showed no sign of illness.

Associated Press writers Fabiola Sanchez, Christopher Toothaker, Jorge Rueda and Vivian Sequera contributed to this report.

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Headline Chávez vann i Venezuela

Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå. Publicerat i print 2012-10-08 08:01.

Lead **Caracas: Venezuelas frispråkige vänsterpresident Hugo Chávez omvaldes med drygt 54 procent av rösterna. Hans anhängare firade med jubel och fyrverkerier på gatorna i Caracas. Utmanaren Henrique Capriles gratulerade till segern.**

Paragraph 1 "Tack mitt kära folk. Leve Venezuela. Tack Gud. Tack till er alla" utbrast den 58-årige presidenten på Twitter sedan det officiella valresultatet meddelats. Chávez har redan avverkat nästan 14 år på presidentposten. Om hälsan inte sviker honom kan han nu sitta 20 år vid makten. Han behandlades för cancer i början av året.

-- Erkänner nederlag --

Paragraph 2 I motståndarläget var besvikelsen stor. Den här gången hade oppositionen lyckats samla sig kring en kandidat, den karismatiske 40-årige Henrique Capriles. Denne erkände sig besegrad och gratulerade i ett tal Chávez till segern.

Paragraph 3 Jag är demokrat i själ och hjärta, jag accepterar och respekterar folkets val, sade Capriles.

Paragraph 4 Han fick 45 procent av rösterna.

Paragraph 5 Valdeltagandet angavs till över 80 procent. Köerna ringlande långa och några vallokaler fick hålla öppet flera timmar extra för att alla skulle få chans att rösta.

-- Beundrar Castro --

Paragraph 6 Sedan han kom till makten 1999 har den före detta soldaten blivit en förkämpe för anti-imperialism och en högljudd USA-kritiker. Han har knutit vänskapsband med ledare i Iran och Vitryssland och andra länder som ses med misstänksamhet i väst. Han är en stor beundrare av Kubas förre ledare Fidel Castro.

Paragraph 7 På hemmaplan har han använt oljepengar till att bekämpa fattigdom. Det har tillsammans med hans enkla bakgrund och vältalighet gjort honom populär i breda folklager. Men även om han vann valet så visar den krympande segermarginalen att det finns ett växande missnöje med hans misslyckande att lösa grundläggande problem som våldsbrott, dåliga vägar, elavbrott och utbredd korruption.

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Xinhua

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/world/2012-10/08/c_131893509.htm

Headline **Venezuela's Chavez wins third re-election**

STORY HIGHLIGHTS

- Lead**
- Venezuelans re-elected incumbent President Hugo Chavez on Sunday.
 - "Venezuela will continue its march toward democratic socialism of the 21st century," said Chavez.
 - Chavez also called on the opposition to unite with him and seek a peaceful future.

Paragraph 1 CARACAS, Oct. 7 (Xinhua) -- Venezuelans re-elected incumbent President [Hugo Chavez](#) on Sunday, giving him another six-year mandate to pursue his "21st century socialism" project of greater nationalization.

Paragraph 2 Chavez, who has nationalized ever larger sections of the economy and initiated a wide range of programs benefiting the nation's poor, declared victory in the name of the 19th century independence hero Simon Bolivar.

Paragraph 3 Dressed in a signature red shirt, Chavez, 58, led throngs of cheering supporters in celebration from the balcony of his Miraflores presidential palace and pledged to press ahead with a socialist revolution.

Paragraph 4 "Today we've shown that Venezuela's democracy is one of the best democracies in the world, and we will continue to show it," he said, brandishing a replica sword of Bolivar, who was born in Caracas.

Paragraph 5 "Venezuela will continue its march toward the democratic socialism of the 21st century," said Chavez, who won the third re-election in nearly 14 years in office. His new six-year term begins on Jan. 10.

Paragraph 6 Chavez also called on the opposition to unite with him and seek a peaceful future for the South American country.

Paragraph 7 "I would like to thank, first of all, the opposition leadership, because they have recognized the truth, the truth of people's victory," he said. "That is why I begin by thanking them, because we are all brothers in Simon Bolivar's fatherland."

Paragraph 8 "The voice of the majority must respect the voice of the minority. That is the first step towards our living in peace together," he added.

Paragraph 9 A fan of Bolivar, Chavez often says that his policy of expanding nationalization and increasing rights to the poor as a fulfillment of Bolivar's original plans some 200 years ago.

Paragraph 10 Between words, Chavez sang the national anthem to the crowd of supporters, who waved flags and wore red shirts of the Great Diplomatic Pole coalition that Chavez led to power again.

Paragraph 11 The election began at 6:00 a.m. (1030 GMT) and was supposed to close at 6:00 p.m. local time (2230 GMT). Many remained open beyond their planned shutdown because voters were still queuing up to vote.

Paragraph 12 The National Electoral Council said that with 90 percent of the ballots counted, Chavez garnered 54.42 percent of the vote, compared with 44.47 percent for opposition candidate Henrique Capriles, who represents the Democratic Unity Roundtable (MUD) coalition.

Paragraph 13 Capriles, a 40-year-old law graduate, promptly conceded defeat at a televised press conference, saying that "For me, the will of the people is sacred. And I would like to thank the more than 6 million Venezuelans who placed their trust in me."

Paragraph 14 Chavez's victory speech marked a huge difference to the tone in the campaign, during which his supporters accused Capriles of seeking to destroy the social programs created by the Chavez government.

Paragraph 15 Capriles had been campaigning as a self-style "progressive," which he described as seeking an efficient implementation of social programs, rather than their abolition.

Paragraph 16 However, one of his allies called the programs as a "tremendous drain on the state" and documents leaked to the media ahead of the election day showed that MUD plans to slash eligibility and raise prices for such welfare programs.

Paragraph 17 Chavez received swift congratulations via social media from Cuba, Argentina, Ecuador and Bolivia, some of which he read to the audience in the city center of Caracas.

Paragraph 18 Sunday's election was widely considered free and peaceful. Five domestic observer groups and several international observer watchdogs monitored the elections.

Paragraph 19 Some 19 million Venezuelans were eligible to vote. Voter turnout was an unprecedented 81 percent, compared to 75 percent in 2006. Local television showed citizens queuing outside polling stations from as early as 5 a.m. local time.

Paragraph 20 The election was praised for its transparency and efficiency. Around 90 percent of the vote was counted by 10 p.m. thanks to automated voting systems across the nation. Voting machines were also laid out in a so-called "horseshoe" in most polling stations, a shape that allowed five people to vote secretly at the same time.

Paragraph 21 As Venezuela's youngest president at the age of 44 in 1998, Chavez embarked on reforming the constitution and reducing the power of Congress and easily won the 2000 election.

Paragraph 22 An opposition attempt in 2004 to oust him in a recall referendum was defeated by popular vote.

Paragraph 23 Elected to a second six-year term in 2006, Chavez then won a 2009 referendum that abolished the two-term limit and enabled him to run indefinitely.

Editor: Fang Yang

Xinhua

http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/indepth/2012-10/09/c_131895018.htm

Headline **News Analysis: Chavez wins presidential election, but policy challenges remain**

by Alexander Manda

Lead CARACAS, Oct. 8 (Xinhua) -- Although Venezuelan incumbent President Hugo Chavez won another victory on Sunday, policy challenges remain for him who has been in office since February 1999.

Paragraph 1 His victory triggered a massive celebration in the capital by Chavez supporters, with fireworks lighting up the night sky after a preliminary result was announced by the National Electoral Council (CNE) at 10:00 p.m. local time (2300 GMT).

Paragraph 2 It gives Chavez another six years to push forward his policies focusing on the nation's poor, which he describes as a "Bolivarian Revolution" or "21st century socialism."

Paragraph 3 With 90 percent of the vote counted, the CNE reported that Chavez had won around 54.8 percent of the vote. Henrique Capriles, the only candidate considered capable of offering a serious challenge, won around 44 percent, and conceded defeat shortly after the partial result was announced.

Paragraph 4 Enrique Alvarez, a financial analyst at IDEAGlobal in New York, told Xinhua that Chavez's reelection represents an element of stability for the nation, but some Chavez's economic policies, including fixing its currency, risk creating serious problems.

Paragraph 5 "Having two exchange rates has a long history of creating a perverse incentive for corruption in Latin America," said Alvarez. "The attraction of buying the currency at the official rate and selling into the higher parallel rate is an enormous arbitrage opportunity."

Paragraph 6 Supporters of Capriles, who drew 6 million votes, published the opposition's economic plans to the electorate the day before the election, containing measures to gradually ease Venezuela's currency control so that it can move closely to rates in the informal market.

Paragraph 7 The mismatch between the two rates is unpopular in Venezuela and might have given Capriles a last minute boost among the nation's middle-class.

Paragraph 8 "Everyone is affected by this, as most goods are imported at the floating rate due to a lack of dollar supplies at the official rate," a Venezuelan businessman told Xinhua, adding that "something has gotten worse under Chavez's rule."

Paragraph 9 Chavez supports the argument that a strong interest rate helps contain inflation and that his wider policies, including massive homebuilding, literacy and public health programs, help those who suffer most from financial problems.

Paragraph 10 "Chavez remains popular with many Venezuelans because he has transparently transferred income from oil exports to the lower class," Eric Farnsworth, an analyst from U.S.-based Americas Center, told Xinhua. However, he argued that social spending is harming government finances.

Paragraph 11 In a statement published after the election, financial rating agency Fitch warned that if current policies remain in place, inflation could continue to stand at the current 22 percent and the government's budget deficit may rise beyond current forecasts of 6.9 percent.

Paragraph 12 Chavez has used state-run oil company Petroleos de Venezuela (PdVSA) to bankroll programs for the poor and also supplies cheap oil to energy poor nations in the Caribbean, allowing them to pay in kind and with cheap credits.

Paragraph 13 It is clear, however, that Chavez has changed Venezuela's politics profoundly. Capriles, a candidate from a rich Venezuelan family, sought to win power by promising a government modeling Brazil's Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, a former union leader whose presidency was characterized by a mix of social programs and business-friendly development plans.

Paragraph 14 Among the development plans is a vast pre-salt oil field in the deep waters off Brazil's Atlantic Coast. To fund the activity, state-oil company Petrobras went public on the New York Stock Exchange.

Paragraph 15 By contrast, PdVSA is completely state-run. Prior to Chavez, Venezuela has basically sought to follow the lead of its neighbor Colombia, the U.S.' closest ally in Latin America.

Paragraph 16 The election race, which has given Chavez the strongest challenge since coming to power, may have also triggered changes in Chavez. Notable in his victory speech were references to seeking unity with the opposition, describing all Venezuelans as "brothers in Simon Bolivar's fatherland."

Paragraph 17 Bolivar, after whom Chavez named his Bolivarian Revolution policy, is a Caracas-born 19th century general who led much of South America to independence from Spain and is a personal hero to Chavez.

Editor: Wang Yuanyuan

Interfax

Accessed through Interfax database no link available.

POLICY-REGULATION-LATIN-AMERICA

10/08/2012 7:51:29 PM MSK

Headline Chavez wins another six years

Lead Hugo Chavez has comfortably won Venezuela's presidential election, which will allow him a new six-year term in office. Analysts told Interfax that the victory will allow Chavez to retain his tight grip on the country's oil and gas sector, with little prospect of change in the short to medium term.

Paragraph 1 Chavez said he had scored a "perfect victory", after defeating challenger Henrique Capriles with 54% of the vote, and a healthy turnout of 81%.

Paragraph 2 Television pictures showed thousands of supporters marching in the streets of Caracas near the Miraflores presidential palace, chanting Chavez' name. Chavez appeared on the balcony of the palace on Sunday evening, brandishing a replica sword of Latin American military hero, Simon Bolivar. "I promise you I'll be a better president," he said.

Paragraph 3 Argentine President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner welcomed Chavez' victory on Twitter, writing "your victory is also ours - South America and the Caribbean".

Paragraph 4 The result was closer than had been predicted. Last week's polls suggested the president no longer enjoyed widespread support and that the result was too close to call, with a large number of voters either undecided or unwilling to state their preference. However, the margin of victory was around 9.5%, much slimmer than the 25 percentage points seen in 2006, but still significant.

Paragraph 5 Analysts are not predicting immediate changes to the country's oil and gas sector as a consequence. "I don't expect things to change in the short term," Carlos Bellorin, an oil and gas analyst at IHS, told Interfax on Monday. "The hydrocarbons industry will still have pre-eminence in Venezuela's economy, and tight state control over hydrocarbons operations and the high state-take are likely to remain the same."

Paragraph 6 However, Bellorin added that the comfortable victory would allow oil companies operating in Venezuela greater certainty for "at least the next six years".

Paragraph 7 Chavez' victory could have greater consequences beyond then. "Over the next seven to 10 years, new oil and gas projects in the Orinoco's belt, such as La Perla, are expected to be fully operational. However, these depend on many factors, such as oil and gas prices, the implementation of fiscal and contractual flexibilisation mechanisms, funding and contractual and legal stability to name just a few," said Bellorin.

Paragraph 8 Goldman Sachs sounded a note of caution on the country's overall economic prospects. The bank said Chavez' victory could bring a sell-off of the country's bonds as it entails continuity of the "current?interventionist policy approach". It added that the market is likely to treat Venezuela as a "gradually deteriorating macro story and trade it increasingly as an oil play".

Paragraph 9 Chavez' health will also be a factor. If the president has recovered his energies following cancer treatment, as stated in official announcements, it is likely to limit political instability, but prolong his "idiosyncratic" management style, said IHS in a client note last week. If he is in poor health, it will bring uncertainty to the country's political arena, with a likely succession battle and revitalised opposition.

Reuters

<https://global.factiva.com/> (login is required)

Headline **UPDATE 6-Venezuela's Chavez revels in convincing election win**

1,166 words

8 October 2012

10:37

Reuters News

LBA

English

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Lead * Chavez beats state governor Capriles with 55 pct of votes

* Socialist leader vows to extend his socialist revolution

* Possible cancer recurrence remains short-term wild card

(Adds details on Chavez's phone call with Capriles)

By Todd Benson and Helen Murphy

Paragraph 1 CARACAS, Oct 8 (Reuters) - Venezuelan President **Hugo Chavez** pledged to deepen his socialist revolution after a comfortable election victory that could extend his divisive leadership of the OPEC nation to two decades.

Paragraph 2 The new six-year term clears the way for Chavez, who is recovering from cancer, to consolidate state control over Venezuela's economy, possibly with more nationalizations, and continue his support for left-wing allies in Latin America and around the world.

Paragraph 3 The victory also cements his status as a towering figure in modern Latin American history and an icon of the political left. But the slimmer margin of victory - 10 percentage points, down from 25 points in 2006 - reflected growing frustration among Venezuelans at day-to-day problems such as rampant crime and blackouts, which Chavez will be under pressure to tackle.

Paragraph 4 Tens of thousands of ecstatic supporters celebrated in the streets around the presidential palace overnight, pumping fists in the air after the former soldier was re-elected with 1.5 million more votes than younger rival Henrique Capriles.

Paragraph 5 "Venezuela will continue along the path of democratic and Bolivarian socialism of the 21st century," Chavez, 58, thundered from the palace balcony, holding up a replica of the sword of independence hero Simon Bolivar.

Paragraph 6 It was an extraordinary victory for a leader who just a few months ago feared for his life as he struggled to recover from cancer. Turnout was a record 80 percent of registered voters, boosting Chavez's democratic credentials despite critics' depiction of him as an autocrat who tramples on private enterprise and silences political foes.

Paragraph 7 In a nod to the opposition's strong showing, Chavez promised in his victory speech to be a "better president. " On Monday, he said on his Twitter account that he had a

"pleasant conversation" with Capriles and called on Venezuelans of all political stripes to unite.

Paragraph 8 The conciliatory tone marked a stark contrast to Chavez on the campaign trail, when he never publicly named Capriles and repeatedly disparaged his challenger as a "pig" and a "right-wing oligarch" who would govern only for the rich.

Paragraph 9 That message resonated with poor voters, with whom Chavez has cultivated a remarkable bond over the years by funneling record oil revenues to social programs.

Paragraph 10 Chavez's victory pushed Venezuelan bond prices slightly lower on Monday in thin trading as some investors unwound bets that Capriles would win. Despite Chavez's anti-capitalist rhetoric, Venezuelan bonds are among the most-traded emerging market debt on Wall Street because they offer high yields.

ALL EYES ON CHAVEZ

Paragraph 11 A retired lieutenant colonel who first won fame with a failed 1992 coup, Chavez has become Latin America's main anti-U.S. agitator, criticizing Washington while getting close to its adversaries, including Syria and Iran.

Paragraph 12 A decade-long oil boom has allowed him to fund ideological allies from Bolivia to Cuba, where Chavez's victory was met with relief. Cuban leader Raul Castro was among the first foreign leaders to congratulate Chavez, calling the vote a resounding endorsement of the Venezuelan leader's "Bolivarian Revolution."

Paragraph 13 Chavez sends discounted oil to more than a dozen Central and South American countries. Communist-led Cuba, for example, receives more than 100,000 barrels a day of Venezuelan crude.

Paragraph 14 Venezuela is often repaid for the oil in services - Cuba sends doctors to Venezuelan slums, others pay in food and livestock - putting strain on the finances of state oil company PDVSA, which is already struggling to meet output targets.

Paragraph 15 With the election over, all eyes are on what Chavez will do next. After his landslide win in 2006, he ordered takeovers in the telecommunications, electricity and oil sectors. Some worry he could now extend nationalizations to other corners of the economy, including the banking, food and health industries.

Paragraph 16 Any recurrence of the pelvic cancer that has already forced him to undergo three operations in Havana since June 2011 could derail his plans.

Paragraph 17 The constitution states that if an incumbent steps down in the first four years of a six-year term, a new vote would be called - meaning that under such a scenario Capriles or another opposition candidate would have another crack at power.

Paragraph 18 Opposition leaders were crushed by the loss. After a tireless campaign that generated widespread euphoria among anti-Chavez voters and saw Capriles narrow the gap in polls, the opposition was hoping to finally unseat their nemesis.

Paragraph 19 Capriles, a 40-year-old state governor, bared his soul on Monday in a flurry of emotional Twitter messages, and urged his followers not to give up.

Paragraph 20 "I know a lot of people are sad, but we need to bounce back and keep believing that we can and will build a better country," he said.

STATE ELECTIONS LOOM

Paragraph 21 Capriles and other leaders of the Democratic Unity coalition must now prepare for state governor elections in December. They were hugely disappointed at winning a majority vote in only three of Venezuela's 24 states on Sunday, and need to win more governorships to chip away at Chavez's influence.

Paragraph 22 The Obama administration praised the Venezuelan people for the high turnout, but stopped short of congratulating Chavez.

Paragraph 23 "We have our differences with President Chavez, but we congratulate the Venezuelan people on a process that included high levels of participation," White House spokesman Jay Carney told reporters aboard Air Force One.

Paragraph 24 Relations with Washington are likely to remain on edge, though Venezuelan oil has continued to flow to the United States over the years despite diplomatic tensions.

Paragraph 25 Though Capriles was indisputably the strongest candidate to face Chavez since the leftist leader was first elected in 1998, few in the opposition thought the fight was fair.

Paragraph 26 Chavez made ample use of state television and spent 47 hours in "chain" broadcasts that forced other local television stations to carry speeches peppered with political commentary.

Paragraph 27 He also handed out houses and pensions financed with state funds, often in ceremonies that glorified his administration, while warning that the opposition would undo such programs.

Paragraph 28The spending spree has weakened Venezuela's finances and may force a currency devaluation in early 2013, which would likely spur inflation that has been a top complaint among voters.

Paragraph 29Rating agency Fitch voiced concerns on Monday about the Chavez government's ability to rein in its fiscal deficit while maintaining economic growth and curbing inflation.

(Additional reporting by Caracas bureau, Daniel Bases in New York and Jeff Mason aboard Air Force One; Editing by Andrew Cawthorne, Kieran Murray and Claudia)