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Analysis of G8 Media Coverage at the 2010 G20 Seoul Summit

Media Analysis Unit, G8 Research Group
at the Trinity College, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto
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The G8 Research Group is based at Trinity College, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto. It is an international network of scholars, professionals and students interested in the activities of the Group of Eight (G8). Its mission is to serve as leading source of independent research and analysis on the G8, its member states and related institutions in the world.

This report was prepared by the G8 Research Group's Media Analysis Unit, 2011.

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Introduction

This report summarizes the nature of media coverage of G8 members during the 2010 Seoul Summit on November 11-12, 2011, in Korea. In total, content analysis was performed on the top circulating newspapers of each G8 member. The results are not surprising from the outset: The world economy surfaces as the most prominent issue comprehensively. With this predictable result in mind, the Media Unit conducted a deeper analysis of the combined dataset by taking into consideration the ideological slant through which each media outlet presents its information. Granting this particular perspective of analysis, patterns in news-gathering practices, with respect to sourcing for instance, appeared uniformly across the board. It seems government representatives are considered the most reliable sources, and in many cases the exclusive source that journalists turn to for facts. The United States and China are the countries most commonly referred to in news reports, in some cases exemplifying the G20 itself. The concentration of coverage also differs across member states, with alarming paucity in Russia, to overwhelming profusion in United Kingdom.

Beginning on October 1, 2010, the G8 Media Unit commenced to build a dataset of mainstream newspaper reports on the G20. Newspapers were selected based on circulation, coverage of international affairs and ideological stance. Articles were collected one month prior to the G20 Summit to the last day of the event itself. Articles themselves were collected through the monitoring of newspaper websites and Boolean searches of the database Factiva.

This report aims to outline, in simple terms, what is the case with coverage of the G20 Summit in Seoul. In effect, this research lays the necessary groundwork to probe questions in the vein of why it is certain frames of coverage are adopted over others by journalists and editors; the limitations of such coverage; and the aspects of the summit issues that remain under-covered, if appearing at all. Presently, these particular questions are beyond the scope of this research endeavour.

France

Analyst: Jean-Claude Mugisha

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Newspapers and Political Orientation

The study of France's coverage of the G20 has focused on the three primary national dailies: *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and *Liberation*. Based on data from 2009, *Le Figaro*'s daily circulation of 331,022 was the highest of the newspapers studied, closely followed by *Le Monde* (323,039). However, as France's paper of record, *Le Monde*'s foreign circulation was seven times greater than *Le Figaro*. *Liberation* had the lowest circulation rate of the three with only 117,547 newspapers per day. It should be noted that national newspapers are not the most read news sources. *France-Ouest* — a regional daily — has the highest circulation of any daily newspaper. On the political spectrum, *Le Figaro* is the furthest to the right of the three newspapers studied. *Le Monde* is centrist, if not slightly to the left of centre, and *Liberation* is clearly to the left of centre.

Overall, G20 received the most coverage in *Le Figaro*; 45.9% of the French articles on the G20 summit were published in *Le Figaro*. In absolute terms, this amounts to 61 articles whereas 40 articles were published in *Liberation* and 32 were published in *Le Monde*.

Prominent Agenda Issues

The world economy was the central focus of every newspaper's coverage of the G20 summit. However, as one moves left across the political spectrum, the focus on the world economy lessened in French newspapers. Specifically, *Le Figaro* focused on the economy in 83.6% of its articles, *Le Monde* did so 68.8% of the time and *Liberation* only focused on the economy in 52.5% of its articles. The corollary of that phenomenon is that *Liberation* was the only newspaper to publish an article addressing food security and *Le Figaro* was the only newspaper not to publish an article about climate change. In all of these non-economic issues, however, the sample size is exceedingly small; no newspaper published multiple articles on either climate change or food security. These few articles cannot distract from the basic reality that the economy was the single most important issue. As a matter of fact, most agenda issues surveyed such as African development, regional security, non-proliferation, terrorism and intellectual property were completely disregarded.

Much of the French coverage of the Seoul Summit looked ahead towards the French presidency of the G20, which begins in January 2011. This reality is by no means mutually exclusive with the centrality of the world economy in French coverage of the G20. Indeed, all three newspapers frequently analyzed how President Sarkozy might reform the world economy. As a result, French newspapers rarely focused on the Seoul Summit in isolation, but rather as an indication of the challenges that will come in 2011.

The focus on the economy translated into a relatively narrow number of states receiving attention in French coverage of the G20. France is the focus of the most (50) articles, while China is the focus of 48 articles and the United States are the focus of 37. Frequently, all three states were mentioned in the same article. At the same time, half of the G20 nations were not the focus of a single article. There is a significant north-south disparity insofar as Brazil is the only country in the southern hemisphere to be the focus of an article. The most notable exclusions from the northern hemisphere are India, the United Kingdom, Canada and Italy. Effectively, French newspapers have recognized the shift from the G8 to G20 by stressing the importance of China.

However, one does not get the sense that there are 20 equal states in the G20 from French coverage. Rather, the G20 appears primarily as an arena for the United States and China to address economic differences.

Sourcing Trends

Government representatives were the sources most frequently cited in all three newspapers. As with the focus on agenda issues, a political split was observed. Whereas *Le Monde* (67.7% of all sources) and *Le Figaro* (65.5%) used government representatives in a relatively similar fashion, only 43.2% of *Liberation* sources were in government. Moreover, *Liberation* cited academics and NGOs more frequently than the other two newspapers. Given that only 2 articles were written in France about protests, the fact that police spokespeople were never cited is not entirely surprising.

The selection of sources represents the confluence of domestic and international issues in French coverage of the G20. Although he does not fit neatly into any of the specific categories coded, Dominique Strauss-Kahn — the director of the IMF — was frequently cited. On the one hand, the IMF has played an important role in the world economy in the last few years. Thus, Strauss-Kahn is directly relevant to the G20. However, Strauss-Kahn also appears to receive special attention from the French media because of his role in domestic politics. Due to the widespread speculation that he may run for the leadership of the Parti Socialiste ahead of the next presidential election in 2012, he also receives a fair amount of attention as a political rival of President Sarkozy. In all likelihood, the frequent citations of Strauss-Kahn in French newspapers are due to a confluence of these domestic and international factors.

Italy

Analyst: Dylan C. Robertson

Lead Analyst: Samya Kullab

General Findings

Coverage of the 2010 G20 summit by the Italian press was rather unremarkable. Most news reports were balanced, and most commentaries were negative. The vast majority of content from all three papers focused on disputes between the US and China over currency rates.

Events covered in the articles included the summit itself as well as the pre-summit meeting of finance ministers. There was little reporting on the G20 between these two events, with the exception of the US federal reserve's \$600 billion quantitative easing package (criticized by both EU sources and newspaper columnists alike).

Scores of articles were not coded as they only mentioned the G20 in passing. The majority of these surrounded a domestic political crisis that took place during the summit in which opposition members once again tried to remove Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi from office.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

Corriere della Serra had the most G20 coverage, followed closely by *La Repubblica*. Both papers had a mix of news reporting and editorial content. *Corriere della Serra*, the nation's largest paper with presumably the most resources, published briefs as the summit progressed.

La Stampa, an intellectual paper known for its analysis, featured more opinion than reporting. All three papers had predominantly balanced reporting of the G20, and almost all opinion pieces took a slightly negative view of the summit.

It should be clarified that as with most European press, each Italian newspaper carries some bias in its reporting. However, differences among how the three papers reported on the summit were not substantial.

Country Prevalence

By far, the two most mentioned countries were the US and China, with most articles focusing on relations between the two. Some articles focused on Italy and the European Union within the G20, but both were portrayed as playing a less important role in the summit.

Germany's interests in the currency war were also discussed, often linked to the ongoing EU sovereign debt crisis. European interest in the Tobin tax was mentioned in passing, with one paper suggesting it would only be discussed at the next summit held in France.

Prominent Agenda Issues

With one exception, each article focused on the world economy. With few exceptions, each article focused on a looming "currency war" (expressed as *guerra delle valute*, *guerra delle monete* and *guerra monetaria*).

One article made reference to Asia-Pacific regional security, but linked it to the US-China currency feud. Although the Italian press could be criticized for reporting solely on economic issues, it appears that no other business was discussed in detail at the summit, nor leading up to it.

Two news articles covered Italian president Giorgio Napolitano’s response to calls for summit leaders to discuss Liu Xiaobo, which he qualified as extravagant. Only one article referenced non-agenda events of the G20: passing references to large protests outside the summit site.

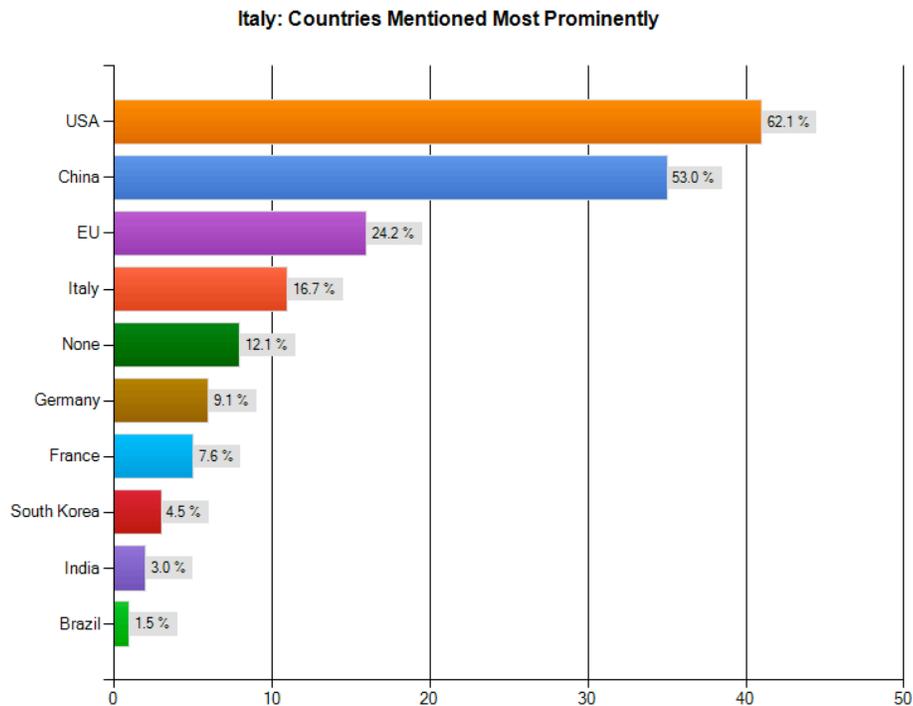
Sourcing Trends

Of all articles coded, only one article contained a quote from a non-governmental source. Most articles sourced government representatives, with a particular emphasis on the American government.

US treasury secretary Tim Geithner was by far the most quoted source, followed by FSB chair Mario Draghi, who is also the governor of the Bank of Italy. Other prominent sources included American and Chinese heads of state and financial ministers. IMF director Dominique Strauss-Kahn was featured in two papers when he urged the G20 to respond to currency battles.

Commentaries often used no sources; those who did relied on government officials.

Italian media coverage of the G20 summit was similar to the summit itself: tame. Just as no solid solutions were agreed upon at the summit, no radical viewpoints were printed in editorials. Issues covered were identical to issues discussed at the summit, with almost all articles focusing on the so-called currency war.



United States

Analyst: Jason Li

Lead Analyst: Patricia Sarnicki

General Findings

American news media is known to be one of the most dynamic media systems in the world. Within the United States, freedom of the press is codified in the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights, allowing journalists to pursue their craft more aggressively and creatively than their counterparts in other countries. Additionally, the news media in America is almost entirely privately-owned and corporations compete with one another to provide the most comprehensive coverage of current affairs. For most of the twentieth century, a driving profit motive and intense competition between companies have increased both the quality and quantity of news products offered to consumers. News has also been differentiated and packaged differently, according to specific audiences, creating target groups for advertisers.¹ Over time, this has led to domination of the news market by a few giant news enterprises.

For this report, the print version of three privately owned publications, the New York Times (NYT), the Washington Post (WP) and the Wall Street Journal (WSJ), were chosen for their large circulation numbers and their ability to influence the news agenda in America. In total, 170 articles were coded for the research (69 appearing in NYT; 69 appearing in WSJ; 32 appearing in WP). Political leanings are manifest in journalists' choice of words, and if there is a coherent and consistent trend displayed in the majority of a publication's articles over time, a political bias might be discerned. Ascertaining bias, however, is not within the research scope, and there was no obvious sense in the research process that the three publications displayed prejudice in their coverage of the G20.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

While NYT and the WP are considered more 'liberal'², they are occasionally accused of being too conservative. Both publications view themselves as adhering to journalistic ethics. While Rupert Murdoch's takeover of the Wall Street Journal has led to fears that the paper will swing to the right of the political spectrum, this was not obvious in its G20 coverage. There was certainly none of the vitriol that has come to characterize News Corp's other media outlets, such as Fox News.

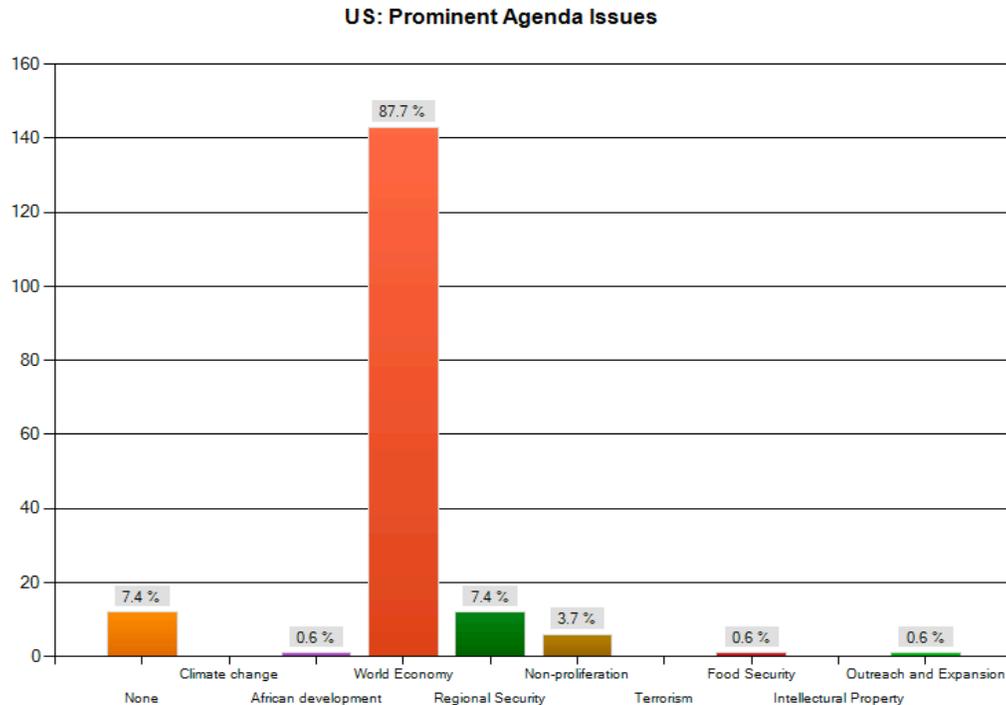
It is evident that the internet is the 21st-century battleground for these news corporations. While WSJ.com was the lone news outlet to charge for content, the NYTimes.com will start charging consumers beginning January 2011. WashingtonPost.com is closely monitoring the success of the payment models as well.³ Much of the print content can be found online, although it is not uncommon for online articles to be updated in real-time as new information becomes available.

¹ Poitras, Marc, and Daniel Sutter. "Advertiser Pressure and Control of the News: The Decline of Muckraking Revisited." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 72. 3 (2009): 944-58.

² Tan, Yue and Weaver, David H. 'Media Bias, Public Opinion, and Policy Liberalism from 1956 to 2004: A Second-Level Agenda-Setting Study', *Mass Communication and Society*, 13. 4 (2010): 412-434.

³ AFP. "Washington Post watching online pay experiments." Google News. 6 Dec. 2010.
<<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5j8VXxXDPyeKdFbTcNoXgRLurUtg>>.

The circulation figures come from the Audit Bureau of Circulations, widely recognized as the leading authority regarding publication circulation in America.⁴ The statistics are accurate for six months ending September 30, 2010. NYT is owned by The New York Times Company and has a Monday to Friday paid circulation of 876,638. WP is owned by The Washington Post Company and has a Monday to Friday paid circulation of 545,345. WSJ is owned by News Corporation and has the largest Monday to Friday paid circulation of 2,061,142. Saturday circulation numbers are as follow: NYT 916,865; WP 516,067. Sunday circulation numbers: NYT 1,352,358; WP — 764,666. WSJ has a weekend edition instead of separate Saturday and Sunday editions and its circulation number is 1,839,029.



Country Prevalence

Not all countries were given equal coverage by the American media regarding the G20 Summit. Our research finds that the US, which was prominently mentioned in 65.2% of the articles, and China (54.9%) is portrayed by the American media as the main contenders of the G20 Summit. Korea, the host of the G20 Summit 2010, comes in third at 25%.

Sourcing Trends

Sources were used for the vast majority of articles across all three publications. Most articles used government representatives as their primary source; sometimes different officials from different departments and countries within a single article. 79% of WP articles used government sources. Academics were also sought for their views of the G20 events in 50.9% of the articles overall. Specifically, this figure was 55.2% for the NYT, 48.3% for the WP, and 47.7% of WSJ. The academics, mainly economists, come not only from educational institutions but private institutions as well, like multi-national investment banks. NGOs on the other hand, including but

⁴ Audit Bureau of Circulations. “US Newspaper Search Results.” Audit Bureau of Circulations. 30 Sep. 2010. Dec 15, 2010. <<http://abcas3.accessabc.com/ecirc/newstitlesearchus.asp>>.

not limited to the IMF and the World Bank, provided information for 39.1% of the articles overall. The figure was 38.8% for the NYT, 24.1% for the WP, 46.2% for the WSJ.

Prominent Agenda Issues

World economy was the issue that dominated 2010 G20 coverage. Overwhelmingly prominent in 87.7% of the articles overall, with the NYT (82.5%), WP (84.4%), and WSJ (94.1%) giving it extensive coverage. While world economy could be broken down into further subsets like exchange rate revaluation and free trade pacts, it was beyond the scope of our research to include such subsets. After world economy, the next most prominent issue was regional security (7.4%). It was covered in 9.5% of NYT articles, and 9.4% of WP articles. WSJ, being a financial newspaper, gave it even less coverage at 4.4%. Furthermore, non-proliferation issues were featured in 3.7% of the articles. While they are not featured at all in WSJ, 4.8% of NYT articles and 9.4% WP featured them prominently. Interestingly, 7.4% of the articles overall did not feature any issues prominently. This figure is highest for WP at 12.5%, and 9.5% for the NYT, and 2.9% for the WSJ, respectively.

United Kingdom

Analyst: Fareedah Abdulqadir

Lead Analyst: Patricia Sarnicki

General Findings

The news media of the United Kingdom has both a well-developed public and private sector. Private corporations largely make up press publications and as such, are an important factor in the focus of this research. The aim of this report is to lay out the United Kingdom's media coverage of the 2010 G20 Summit in Seoul, South Korea.

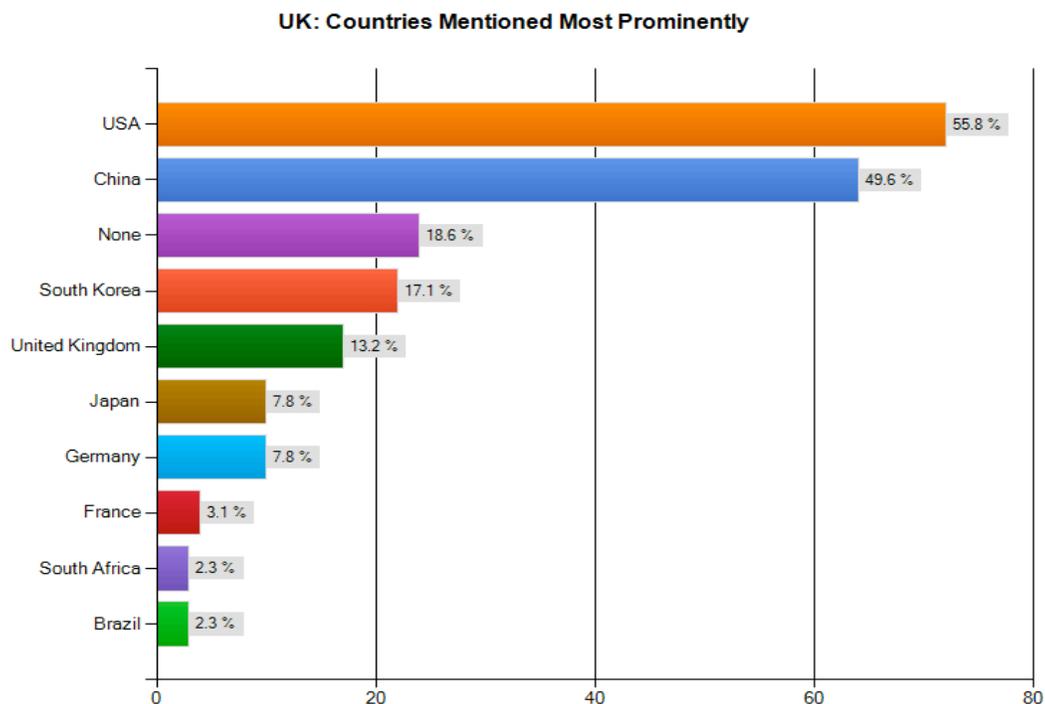
According to our data, coverage in the United Kingdom was dominated by the topic of the world economy. This level of coverage was in line with the main topic of the Summit: reform of the world economy, in particular, world financial markets. The majority of media articles mentioned a government representative as their primary source for consideration of these issues. The result, however, was that non state-centric NGOs seemed to be missing from the process. Furthermore, China and the United States were the countries mentioned most often in media reports.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

Data was collected from three of the UK's largest papers: The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian and the Financial Times. Of the three, the Financial Times had the most extensive coverage of the Summit, while the Telegraph, the very least.

Prominent Agenda Issues

The major topic of coverage was the world economy; 91% of all of the articles collected were pertaining to this issue. Second came African development, mentioned in a mere 1.6% of all of the articles. The overwhelming coverage of the global economy is most likely the result of continued fears about the instability of worldwide financial markets and the global economy.



Since the beginning of the current financial crisis in 2008, world leaders have continually sought to create solutions at gatherings such as the G8/G20. Additionally, the recent fears of currency wars coming to fruition between the United States and China have focused the Summit, as well as media coverage, on economic issues. While a reform of development approaches by the international community was also on the agenda, development, specifically African development, was only mentioned in less than two percent of the articles coded.

Sourcing Trends

Perhaps resulting from the state-centric topic of the world economy, data shows that in all of the articles collected, 87% of sources were government representatives. The second most cited groups were NGOs. Academics were cited the least often.

Country Prevalence

In all of the articles collected, the United States and China were mentioned the most at 56% and 50%, respectively. Given their importance in the global economy, it is likely that their involvement in economic reform would be the most noteworthy and therefore, newsworthy.

Canada

Analyst: Natasia Kalajdziovski

Lead Analyst: David S. Rudin

General Findings

The Globe and Mail, *The Toronto Star*, and the *National Post* all presented the majority of their G20 coverage through the agenda issue of the world economy to provide information that surpassed regional disparity and interest. The ideological leanings of the papers themselves did have some impact on coverage; in particular regarding what other information was presented alongside or within G20 articles. The atmosphere of Canadian print media surrounding G20 coverage is, in this sense, pragmatic in its nature, as national viability is contingent upon sustained readership levels.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

According to the Canadian Newspaper Association's *2009 Circulation Data Report*, the *National Post*, *The Toronto Star*, and *The Globe and Mail* were in the top five paid English-language newspapers in terms of national circulation numbers, with *The Toronto Sun* and *Vancouver Sun* being the other two rounding out the top five. In 2009, *The Toronto Star's* weekly circulation levels were at 2 199 214 — the highest in Canada — with *The Globe and Mail's* and *National Post's* weekly circulation figures at 1 891 629 and 939 874 respectively.⁵ There is, of course, something very telling in this assessment which must be considered: the top five pay papers in English-Canada — save *The Vancouver Sun* — are all concentrated in Ontario, if not predominantly Toronto. Moreover, as Paul Nesbitt-Larking attests, Canada has the highest concentration of corporate ownership of print media outlets out of all capitalist countries⁶, with ownership of the *Star*, *Globe*, and *Post* belonging to Torstar, CTV Globemedia Inc and CanWest Mediaworks Publications respectively.

Of the *Post*, *Star*, and *Globe*, world economy presented itself as the most topical issue in 72.6% of articles covered in that timeframe. However, this number is not entirely reflective of each respective paper's own informational slants. Nesbitt-Larking argues that newspapers were formally more ideologically oriented; having said that, each paper still does possess some form of ideological slant through which their information is presented⁷. The *Post* for example, a paper accepted to be more right-wing in its ideology and more business-oriented of the three papers — particularly in its large *Financial Post* section — saw world economy as the prevalent agenda issue in 94.1% of its G20 coverage articles. The *Globe*, considered the centralist of the three papers with 'Red-Tory' leanings, presented 73.3% of its G20 articles through the world economy lens. Being the most left-leaning of the three, the *Star* only demonstrated world economy as the most prevalent agenda issue in 55.6% of its G20 article coverage.

But, to highlight ideological leanings as the only dictator of G20 coverage is not wholly accurate. There is, of course, concern over the nature of ownership in Canadian media, which suggests that the current trend of ownership concentration and corporate convergence denotes minimized variety in opinions.⁸ For example, the six largest of these print media corporations are: CanWest

⁵ Canadian Newspaper Association. *2009 Circulation Data Report*. 15 April 2009.

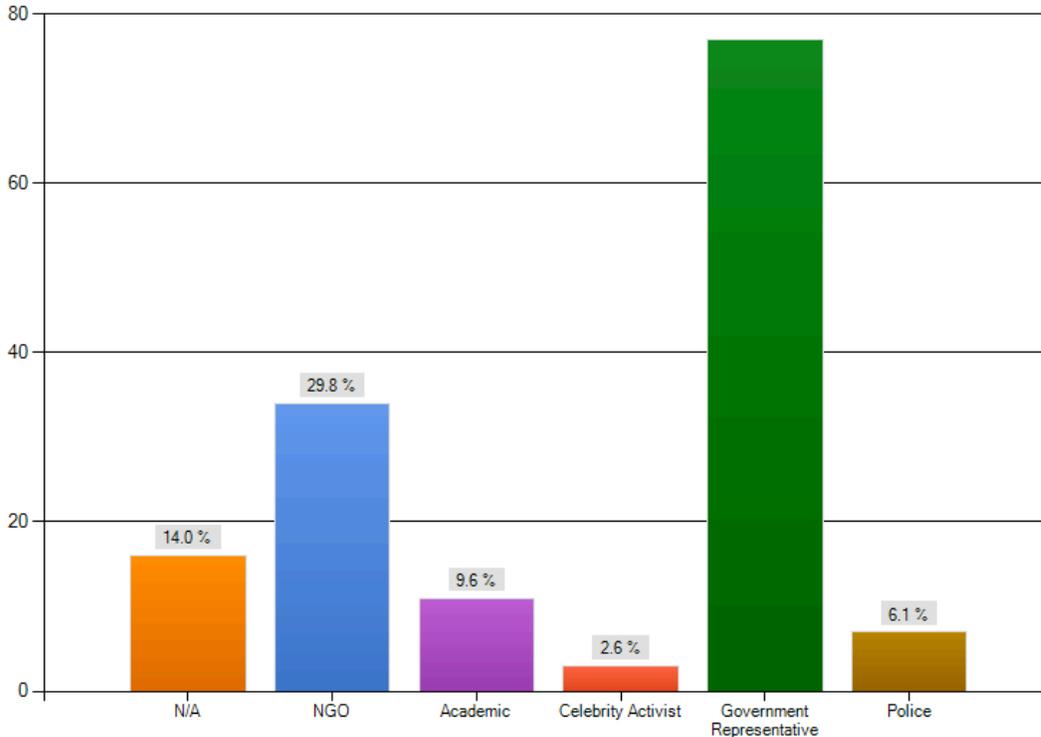
⁶ Nesbitt-Larking, Paul. *Politics, Society and the Media: Canadian Perspectives*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, Ltd., 2001

⁷ Nesbitt-Larking, Paul. *Politics, Society and the Media: Canadian Perspectives*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, Ltd., 2001, pg 113

⁸ Dyck, Rand. *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*. Toronto: Nelson Education Ltd., 2010

Mediaworks Publications, Quebecor/Sun Media/Osprey Media, Transcontinental Inc., Glacier Ventures, Power Corp. Canada and Torstar. According to the CNA's *2009 Circulation Data Report*, these companies produce the majority of Canadian pay papers; of the 96 total pay papers, these six companies are accountable for producing 79. It is through the lens of ownership where corporate solvency, ideology and circulation levels can be seen in a symbiotic relationship. While print media today may not have as clear-cut definite ideological leanings as in the past, basic capitalist ideology dictates that an industry run mainly by corporate enterprises will print that which helps elevate circulation numbers.

Canada: Sourcing Trends



Prominent Agenda Issues

While the world economy represents a lens through which Canadian print media has chosen to portray agenda issues for the G20, the way in which that general theme is disseminated of course differs from paper to paper. This is particularly relevant to the sources used, what countries are highlighted as significant G20 members, as well as other agenda issues deemed relevant by each paper. The *National Post*, of all papers researched, presented the greatest analysis and focus upon the world economy as a G20 agenda issue: 94.1% of articles cited this agenda issue, only 2.9% cited outreach and expansion, and 5.9% dealt with no agenda issue whatsoever. Only one *Post* G20 article dealt with the issue of security and protests with respect to the Summit, which related to the June 2010 summits held in Ontario; this is the lowest number of all three papers, with the *Star* citing the highest number with 31.9%. The *Post*'s focus on economic issues both affords it the opportunity to reach a wider audience while simultaneously working in accordance with the paper's moderately right-wing, pro-business leanings.

While its coverage was not quite as homogenous as that of the *Post*, *The Globe and Mail* also placed a strong focus on the world economy as an important G20 agenda issue, with 73.3% coverage. This was followed by 2.2% coverage of climate change, whereas 24.4% of articles presented had no dominant agenda issue at all. However, a significant difference between *Post* and *Mail* coverage can be seen within articles dealing with the topic of protests and summit security. As mentioned previously, the *Post* only provided one such article relating to the G20, whereas 13.3% of G20-coverage *Globe* articles fell under this frame. This 13.3% was again predominantly representative of the June 2010 summits held in Canada. Although not nearly as dominant as the *Star*'s reporting of issues pertaining to security/protests, it is still significant to note the *Globe*'s inclusion of these articles for two key reasons: its impact on trusted sources, and its correlation to its ideological leanings.

As mentioned previously, only 55.6% of *Star* articles relating to the G20 fit under the agenda issue of world economy; rather, 31.9% of articles related to issues of security and protests. Moreover, world economy was, in fact, the only agenda issue covered by the *Star* at all.

Sourcing Trends

In the *Post*, the inclination to focus on the world economy saw the highest source trust with government representatives, used in 62.1% of articles, and NGOs in 41.4%. Academics were used in 10.3% of articles, with the same percentage reflective of non-sourced articles. The highly concentrated sourcing of government representatives and NGOs, particularly US Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner and the International Monetary Fund respectively, is again reflective of the *Post*'s inclination to run and source G20 articles related to the world economy.

Overall, the *Globe*'s most utilized sources were, like the *Post*, the government representative and the NGO, found in 45.7% and 28.6% of articles respectively. This was followed by non-sourced articles at 9.5%, academic sources at 4.3% and, most noteworthy, police sources in 11.9% of G20-related articles. Interestingly, all police sources were cited within the 13.3% of articles that related to protests. Moreover, 'civilian' was utilized as a credible source in 33.3% of those 13.3% of articles. This inclusion of a noteworthy amount of articles under the "security/protests" frame should not be seen outside the logic of the paper's ideological bias; rather, it appears that the further centre or left-of-centre a paper leans, the greater chance of it incorporating articles that highlight the issues raised by the June 2010 summits held in Ontario, in particular questions surrounding civil liberties and legislative action taken by various levels of government. This is most concretely solidified with *The Toronto Star*'s inclusion of articles that fall under this frame.

Within the totality of G20 *Star* articles, the source most utilized was government representative, which was evident in 69.8% of articles. This was followed by NGO at 23.3%, non-sourced articles at 20.9%, with celebrity activist (7%), academic (4.7%) and police (4.7%) all under 10%. There is, however, a large contrast between sources used overall versus sources used for the 31.9% of articles under the "security/protests" lens. Of this 31.9%, the second most significant source used after government representative was 'civilian', seen in 26.7% of the articles. Moreover, all sourcing of the police was found within this 31.9% of all *Star* articles. While there is evidence of civilians being sourced in both the *Globe* and *Post* articles referencing "security/protests" issues, it is pertinent to note the *Star*'s significant trust in civilians as reliable sources due to its heightened number of "security/protests" article coverage in comparison to the two other papers, and the link this has to its ideological bias.

Country Prevalence

In terms of predominance of country coverage, while Canada remained the most prevalent country cited in the *Post*'s G20 articles — 63.6% coverage — the United States and China were

represented strongly, with 54.5% and 36.4% coverage respectively. No other country's coverage reached above a 10% mark: other member countries mentioned included Japan and Germany, who were dominant in 9.1% of articles, and the UK, Brazil and Indonesia in a mere 3%. This is reflective of the main issue found within the world economy itself, that of the so-called "currency wars," which has been symbolized in Canadian media as a struggle between Chinese and American currency valuations. Yet, while the *Post* was very inclined to highlight issues presented by other G20 member nations, its concurrently strong predominance of Canada within its G20 articles is representative of its desire to analyze this nation's place within the international system, thus enabling the paper's success in a national audience.

The *Globe's* main objective in its G20 reporting is undoubtedly to present coverage through the world economy lens, and this fact is compounded by which member countries it portrayed most prominently in its coverage. Interestingly, the *Globe* is the only newspaper of the three to show a country other than Canada as the most referenced member country in their reporting. Rather, the United States was prevalent in 57.8% of articles with Canada at 33.3%, followed closely behind by China at 31.1%. Other member countries that were referenced in the *Globe's* G20-related articles were Japan and South Korea at 6.7%, the United Kingdom at 4.4% and Australia at 2.2% inclusion. Again, the elevated numbers of Chinese and American inclusion are reflective of the world economy's pertinent currency war crisis, but the lack of Canadian prominence is a curious factor. It appears that while the *Post* focused on Canada's place within the G20 and thus the geopolitical sphere, the *Globe's* main desire — driven by its centralist ideology — was to outline the G20's impact on the international system from an objective stance that did not judge the G20's movements based on the impact it would have in the domestic theatre. But, what the *Globe* is ideologically able to do is include articles that are *directly* in relation to Canada — the 13.3% that fell under the "security/protests" frame — in an effort to somewhat counter-balance the lower level of Canadian inclusion that was more prevalent in the other two papers. In a similar sense, the *Post's* right-wing, big-business focus restrains it from the inclusion of significant numbers of articles that fall under the "security/protests" lens, thus narrating its demonstration of the world economy agenda issue in relation to its impact on domestic affairs.

In the *Star* An overwhelming 73.3% of articles mentioned Canada as a prominent member country; 28.9% mentioned the US, 17.8% reflected China, and 8.9% referenced South Korea, whereas Japan(2.2%), the UK (2.2%), and India (2.2%) were all under the 5% range. This finding is also reflective of another key assertion which can be derived from the *Star's* reporting of the G20: while the majority of reporting reflected pre-eminence of the world economy, *Star* consumers also demanded a product which was further in line with their left-of-centre ideological leanings. Of those 31.9% of articles which fell under the "security/protests" category, 80% made no mention of the impending G20 summit in Seoul; rather, they dealt with the ongoing ramifications of Canada's hosting of the G8 and G20 summits in June 2010 and the questions raised concerning civilian democratic rights which proceeded the event. Also, 93.3% of these articles mentioned protestors, none of which were classed into a negative category. This is further compounded by the 40% of "security/protest" articles which were considered editorial/op-ed pieces, a stark distinction from the *Globe* who had only 16.7% fall under this category for their "security/protest" articles.

Japan

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Newspapers and Political Orientation

The two major Japanese newspapers we will take into account in this analysis are the *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi Shimbun*. *Yomiuri Shimbun* circulates by far the largest number of issues in the nation, averaging over ten million copies daily in the first half of 2010⁹. *Mainichi Shimbun* enjoys the third highest amount of readers, averaging approximately 3.5 million issues daily circulated in the same time frame.¹⁰ Although the gap between the numbers of copies issued by the two newspapers is substantial, it is interesting to note that approximately 52% of articles published concerning the G20 conference in Seoul were that of *Mainichi Shimbun*, and 47% *Yomiuri Shimbun*. This is due to the ideological orientation of the two newspapers, as the *Mainichi* is known to be a relatively liberal paper, while the *Yomiuri* is considered to be a conservative one. The *Asahi* newspaper had no mention of the Summit, possibly because much of its international news is provided by the *International Herald Tribune*.

Sourcing Trends

With respect to sources cited within the articles, government representatives were by far the source considered most credible for both the *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi Shimbun*. 89.8% of the *Yomiuri* and 93% of the *Mainichi Shimbun* articles were published with government representatives as their central source. NGO personnel and academics followed with 7.4% and 5.6% of the total ratio. Celebrity activists and police were not cited at all, which may be because both newspapers were more concerned with the actual contents and negotiations brought up at the conference rather than its security. The influence of the Kisha Club, a unique system of organizing interviews and conferences in the Japanese media, and its history may be one reason why the government representatives are thought to be more legitimate than other sources. In the past, individual journalists were assigned to a specific politician to extract real-time information.

Country Prevalence

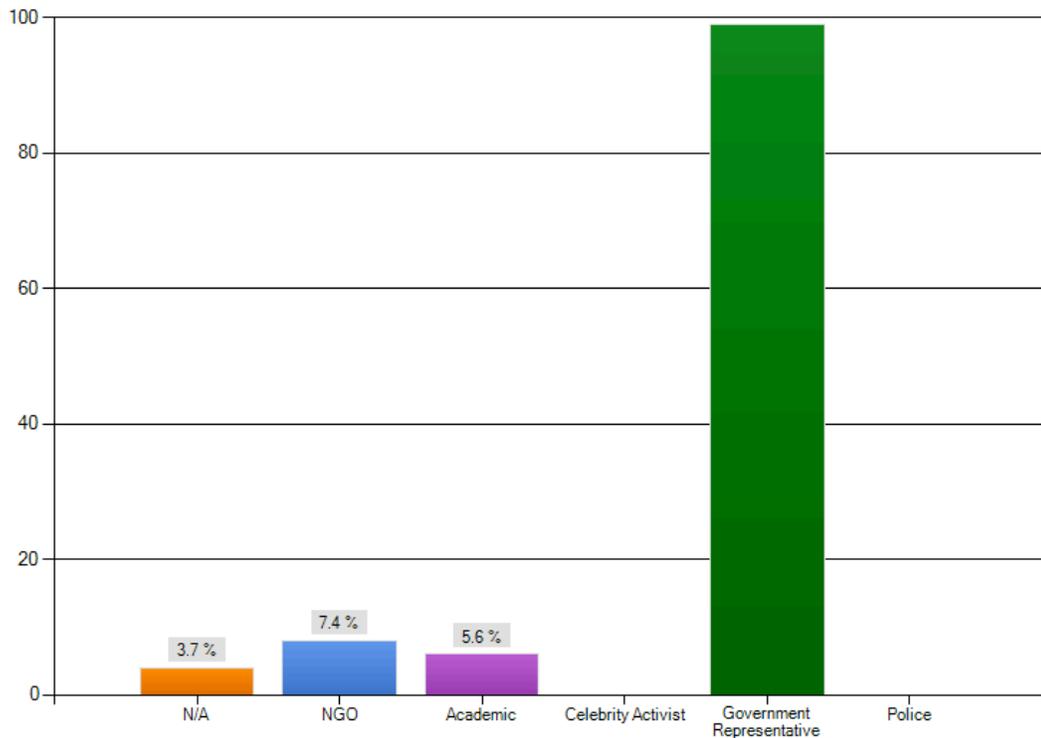
The countries most prominently mentioned in the articles of both the *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi Shimbun* were the United States and China. As a matter of fact, the United States was mentioned in just over half of the articles coded, followed by China. These numbers exceed far beyond that of Japan's. This data testifies the importance of the debate which occurred at the G20 conference regarding currency rates and world trade. The United States was arguing for a universal guideline suggesting limits for current account surpluses and deficits. However, developing nations led by China opposed this suggestion arguing that a guideline with such limitation will merely increase the inequality of global economic growth. Other nations and institutions mentioned prominently in the two major newspapers of Japan include South Korea (16.2%), the host country of the conference, and the European Union (4.3%), which was one of the few institutions the Japanese finance minister Yoshihiko Noda was able to hold an actual business negotiation with. There is a tendency in both newspapers to exclude Western European nations such as the United Kingdom, France, and Germany with the exception of Russia.

⁹ 数字で見る読売新聞. July 2010, 読売新聞へようこそ, Jan. 30, 2011

<<http://info.yomiuri.co.jp/company/data.html>>

¹⁰ 全国の配布エリアと販売部数. Jan. 2010, Mainichi Shimbun Advertising Division Cyber Space, Jan. 30, 2011 <<http://macs.mainichi.co.jp/now/section-b/01.html>>

Japan: Sourcing Trends



Prominent Agenda Issue

It is no surprise that the most prominent agenda issue taken up in both the *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi Shimbun*s was the world economy. 82.1% of the articles in both newspapers concerned the world economy or at least mentioned some aspect of it. Agenda issues such as regional security and non-proliferation followed with 20.5% and 7.1%. However, it is noteworthy to point out that while the *Mainichi Shimbun* contained articles about other issues including climate change, terrorism, and intellectual property, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* only published those concerning with the world economy and the Japanese national security in general. Although *Mainichi Shimbun* published more articles concerning the G20 Summit, *Yomiuri Shimbun* prevailed in the number of articles addressing topics of regional security and non-proliferation. This may also be an instance resulting from the differing ideological orientation of the two newspapers.

The issues covered by the *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi* newspapers between November 1 and 15, 2010, were the world economy and regional security. They attributed the greatest significance to these two issues in the past year or so, possibly because Japan derives international influence from its economic power, power currently being threatened by China's growing economy and global influence. Regional stability was more frequently discussed than it has been in the past year. These discussions were concerned either over growing Chinese influence, or over the proximity of the G20 Summit to North Korea, which poses a military threat to both South Korea and Japan.

Concern over the growing influence of the regional competitor China, in particular, was manifest in numerous articles discussing Hu Jin Tao's deliberate absence from the Summit and what effect it would have on the proceedings.

Russia

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Newspaper and Political Orientation

The Russian print media presents a unique case for analysis as there were a significantly lower number of articles mentioning the G20 than other countries. We had to expand our study to include other popular newspapers with widespread circulation in order to create a substantial statistical pool. The initial newspapers were: *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* (RG), *Daily Vedomosti* (DV), and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (NG). In the period of analysis, RG featured only 5 articles mentioning the 2010 G20 Seoul Summit, DV had 4, and NG had only 2 articles. In order to explain this it may be important to consider the degree to which the Russian government influences the press. It is well known that the state controls a variety of media outlets in Russia, censoring content and ideas. The Russian press is often forced to comply with state restrictions, and in effect, has resulted in the devaluation of national news mediums as a source of information.¹¹

Rossiyskaya Gazeta is in fact a state-run newspaper, used to publish official documents and statements of the various government organs. The newspaper can even be responsible for promulgating new law at times. This is significant consideration, given that the circulation is 220,000, and the average national readership is approximately 1.3 million.¹² *Daily Vedomosti* is an independent daily business newspaper published as a joint venture with the Dow Jones, Financial Times, and Sanoma Magazines.¹³ The circulation is 80,000 copies weekly, and caters to middle and top management of key Russian industries, as well as the real estate and banking sectors. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* is another daily newspaper in Russia, and is one of the most popular nation-wide. It “covers all aspects of social, political and cultural life”.¹⁴

Prominent Agenda Issues

The most widely covered issue was, unsurprisingly, matters related to the world economy, which featured in 16 out of 17 articles. Other issues mentioned include African development, regional security, and non-proliferation. The dominance of world economic issues may also explain why the US was mentioned the most, in 82.4% of articles, and China was mentioned the second most, in 52.9%, as they are presently at the center of global currency negotiations. The majority of sources in the articles were government representatives, used in 58.8% of articles, but there were also NGOs mentioned in 29.4% of articles, a surprising finding given the limited forum for civil society actors in Russia. The majority (94.1%) of articles focused on issues of the world economy. RG mentioned global economic issues in all 5 articles on the G20, but also referenced regional security and non-proliferation in 20% of the articles. Of the 2 articles in NG, one made reference to the world economy, and another contained no direct reference to any agenda issues. In the 4 articles in DV, the only issues discussed were those of an economic nature as well. The 7

¹¹ Elder, Miriam. “Russian journalists find a bit of freedom online.” *Global Post*, 20 November 2010. Web. 23 December 2010. <<http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/russia/101119/russian-press-freedom-internet>>.

¹² Rossiyskaya Gazeta. “Russia: Beyond the headlines.” *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, (no date). Web. 23 December 2010. <http://rbth.ru/files/RBTH_for_SMI_eng.pdf>

¹³ Daily Vedomosti. “Vedomosti: The Russian Business Daily”. *Daily Vedomosti*, (no date). Web. 23 December 2010 <http://www.vedomosti.ru/eng/Vedomosti_-_The_Russian_business_daily.pdf>

¹⁴ Miller, Steven E. “The Noose Tightens: The US and Iraq after the Blix Report.” *Harvard — Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs*. John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, 28 January 2003. Web. 23 December 2010. <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/893/noose_tightens.html>.

articles that mention Russia discuss how the country can benefit from the stabilization of the global economy. They are generally Russo-centric in nature, and as such, stress the need for domestic economic growth. The dominant aspects of the economy discussed were global economic stabilization, foreign exchange disputes, and trade imbalances.

It is interesting to note that the newspaper with the most G20 mentions is the state-run *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*. This newspaper promotes the government's position on international affairs, and thus can not be considered a bipartisan perspective on the politics of the G20.

Sourcing Trends

According to our data, government representatives were sourced most often. 4 articles in fact directly reference President Dmitri Medvedev. Government officials were referenced most frequently in the Russian newspapers, with RG showing the highest rate at 60% of articles. RG also drew upon the expertise of NGOs in 40% of their articles. DV used government representatives 50% of the time, and NGOs 25%. In 3 of the articles overall, no sources were used.

Country Prevalence

The US was by far the most featured country, appearing in 14 articles. China was mentioned with the second highest frequency, appearing in 9 articles, and Russia had the third highest mention, in 7 articles. Of the lesser mentioned countries, the EU, Japan, and South Korea had a higher rate of appearance, at 4, 3 and 3 articles respectively. Other countries to receive a brief mention were Germany, Brazil, and Turkey. The member countries to receive no mention include Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, India, Indonesia, Italy, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and the UK.

Germany

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General Findings

The general findings have also given insight into who might be the central actors at this G20 Summit, based on which countries have the most media coverage. Across the board, Germany was the most referenced country, appearing in 32 out of 41 articles total. The USA and China were also sourced frequently, referenced in 31 and 22 articles respectively. In all three newspapers, government representatives are the major source of information, appearing in over 60% of the articles. Only FAZ and SZ featured an academic as a source in their articles, and the frequency was only 6.7% and 10% respectively. In terms of tone, the study found that for the majority of articles there was no clear rating of the G20 Summit itself. 75.6% of articles maintained a neutral tone, which 14.6% were most positively framed, and 7.3% were negative.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

This report aims to track media coverage of the G20 Seoul Summit in November 2010 in the three most widely circulated German newspapers: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)*, and *Die Welt*. FAZ took the lead by covering the summit in 16 articles within the particular window, and SZ and *Die Welt* both featured the G20 in 12 articles. Based on a statistical analysis, the report has been able to get a picture of what/who is being represented in the media, and what is (or is not) considered newsworthy. As a result, these findings serve as a launching point for identifying what issues are considered most prominent, and perhaps, which issues are not on the policy agenda. For example, in each of the newspapers more than 80 percent of the articles focused on the world economy as the dominant agenda issue for the Seoul Summit. By contrast, issues of aid and development, expansion and outreach, terrorism, and climate change ranked very low in terms of coverage, with food security and intellectual property issues not appearing at all.

FAZ, SZ, and *Die Welt* are all daily newspapers distributed on a national scale throughout Germany. FAZ is of a classical liberal political orientation; SZ is progressive/liberal;¹⁵ and *Die Welt* takes on a liberal cosmopolitan viewpoint with regards to editing, but is generally considered conservative amongst readers. The circulation of FAZ is approximately 366,844, and it maintains the highest number of foreign correspondents for a European newspaper. Though FAZ is a liberal paper from an official standpoint, it has been known to have conservative and centre-right leanings at times. The newspaper's mantra is to provoke readers thinking, and they aim to uphold their integrity through 'truthful' reporting. SZ is the largest German national newspaper with 442,000 in circulation reaching over 1.1 million readers daily. It has 40 foreign correspondents, and publishes the New York Times International Weekly, featuring 8 pages of English articles from the New York Times. *Die Welt* has a circulation of 209,000, and is owned by Axel Springer AG, one of the largest multimedia companies in Europe.

Sourcing Trends

With respect to sourcing, government officials were deemed to be the most credible. Overall, government representatives were featured in 28, or 73.7% of articles. In FAZ, they were sourced in 66.7% of articles, accompanied by a small percentage of academic references (6.7%).

¹⁵ Schafraad, Pytrik, Scheepers, Peer, and Wester, Fred. "Dealing with the 'devil of the past': Attention to the far right in the German press (1987-2004)". *Publizistik* 53 (2008): 366. Print.

Politicians and other officials were sourced in 90% of SZ articles, and in 75% of Die Welt articles. 12 of the 41 total articles contained no references.

Country Prevalence

Outside of Germany, the findings show that the most prominently featured countries were China and the United States. While some articles did mention the host of the G20 member countries, the frequency was below 50%. The most mentioned countries were: Germany, in 78% of articles, the US, in 75.6%, and China, in 53.7%. The other country that had a relatively significant showing was South Korea, with a mention in 43.9% of articles. Other countries to receive a mention were: France (22%), Japan (19.5%), UK (9.8%), Italy (9.8%), and Russia (9.8%). The EU was mentioned in 7 articles overall. These statistics leave out mention of the following G20 members: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, and Turkey.

Prominent Agenda Issues

The statistics on which countries were represented most heavily begs the question of what the major issues are at the 2010 Seoul Summit. The dominant subject of the articles was the world economy, featured in 35 of 41 articles. In FAZ, 13 articles focused on global economic issues, with 1 article each on outreach and expansions, and African development. 3 articles in the newspaper referenced no issues. In SZ, all 12 articles referenced the international economy, and 1 incorporated issues of climate change. *Die Welt* had by far the broadest range of issues covered. 83.3% focused on the world economy, but 25% also referenced regional security and outreach and expansion. Approximately 8% of the articles mentioned African development, non-proliferation, and terrorism.

With respect to the world economy, a number of specific concerns surfaced frequently: suggested regulation of the banking industry, international currency wars, export restrictions, and trade imbalances. These issues relate particularly to both China and the US, which explains their high rate of mention in the articles overall. German newspapers highlighted the lack of consensus between China, the US, Germany, and the EU on banking and foreign exchange regulation reform, and expressed a negative sentiment towards US demands on Germany to establish a trade quota, and thereby sink its exports. They also supported the view that Washington had little means of pressuring Beijing to cooperate on international monetary policy reform.

The German press also seemed to be more concerned with domestic affairs, than global ones. The newspapers made continuous reference to domestic German politics, and in particular, to the scandal surrounding current Finance Minister and his Press Secretary, and Angela Merkel's reaction. The focus on domestic issues in their relation to the G20 is an interesting point of analysis. This may be the result of difficult economic times in Germany, where the unemployment rate is 7.5% and GDP is growth is -4.75%, and so a particular reluctance to cede any economic strength. In light of German (and more general EU) economic woes, some articles mocked President Sarkozy's new 176 million Euro Airbus 330, arguing it to be an 'insult' during this period of financial instability. *Die Welt* was the most outspoken supporter of Angel Merkel, and praised her tough stance on currency and export levels despite the intense pressure from President Obama and President Hu Jintao.