



UNIVERSITY OF
TORONTO

MUNK
SCHOOL
OF
GLOBAL
AFFAIRS

Join the Global Conversation

Analysis of G8 Media Coverage at the 2011 Deauville Summit

Media Studies Unit, G8 Research Group

at Trinity College, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto

May 2012

This report was prepared by the G8 Research Group's Media Studies Unit, 2011-2012:

Director

David Rudin

Lead Analysts

Dylan C. Robertson
Natasia Kalajdziovski
Samya Kullab
Polina Osmerkina

Analysts

Monika Kolodziej
Katrina Pirner
Fabio Ponti
Vahini Sathiamoorthy
Sunnie Huang
Amina Abdullayeva
Albina Tyker
Takuma Yoshida

Contents

Introduction	4
Field Notes: Journalists and Non-governmental Organizations during the Deauville Summit	6
Canada	9
United States	12
Italy	15
Germany	17
United Kingdom	20
Japan	23
France	25
Russia	28

Introduction

How do media cover the G8? There are two essential aspects to this question. The first is a matter of process: what do journalists look for and expect when they attend the G8's annual summit? The second is about outcome: how is the G8 ultimately portrayed by these journalists? Through article analysis and on-the-ground research, this report addresses both facets of this question with regards to the 2011 G8 summit in Deauville, France.

On May 26 and 27, 2011, during the Deauville summit, analysts from the G8 Research Group's Media Studies Unit interviewed journalists tasked with covering the proceedings. The majority of reporters did not come to Deauville with a set angle to pursue.

The utility of NGOs as a source when reporting on the G8 was a major point of contention. Some journalists noted the utility of NGOs when reporting on issues such as food security or health. With regards to prominent issues such as the Arab Spring, however, NGOs were seen as being far less useful.

The use of NGOs as sources during the Deauville summit owed a great deal to the fact that they were housed in the same facility as the media, a practice not followed at every G8 summit. However, certain journalists questioned whether NGOs belonged in the same press conferences and facilities as the press. In their totality, these interviews reveal that, while journalists do not have set agendas when covering the G8, they do have strong, albeit divergent views, about the utility of non-governmental sources.

In addition to these anecdotal accounts of how the Deauville summit was covered, the Media Studies Unit conducted a systematic study of the coverage of the G8 in each of its member states. Content analysis was performed on the articles about the G8 published in the major dailies of each state between May 28 and July 1, 2011. The resulting dataset, comprising 196 articles from 22 newspapers, revealed some important trends about the legacy of the Deauville summit as perceived by the media. The particular findings for each country are analyzed in this report. However, four general trends bear noting.

First, there was a considerable domestic bias in the coverage of the summit. G8 leaders tended to be mentioned more frequently in the press of their country of origin than those published in other G8 states. This effect was particularly strong in Canada, Japan and Italy, states that were otherwise portrayed as occupying a peripheral role during the summit.

Overall, the global economy was the most discussed issue in articles about the G8. However, this general trend masks the differences between G8 states; journalists from the United States and United Kingdom were far more focused on this issue than their counterparts from other countries. Indeed, for many European states, the biggest issue at the Deauville summit was the ongoing Arab Spring. In Japan, on the other hand, the future of nuclear energy was the most important issue due to the recent meltdown of the Fukushima Daiichi reactor. Finally, the creation of the e-G8 summit by France transformed the Internet from a fringe issue to a major concern during the Deauville summit.

When reporting on these issues, government representatives were the most cited sources by an overwhelming margin. Indeed, they were referenced five times as often as NGOs. This finding backs up the ambivalence towards the presence of NGOs identified in the interviews with journalists during the summit itself.

Finally, the dataset reveals that interest in the G8 faded quickly after the summit. Most of the articles analyzed in this report were published in the days immediately following the Deauville summit. A month later, at the end of the period being studied, articles about the G8 were few and far between. On the one hand, this finding suggests that much of the public profile of the G8 is owed to its annual summit. At the same time, it also indicates that the G8 struggles to enter the public consciousness for much of the year.

Field Notes: Journalists and Non-governmental Organizations during the Deauville Summit

Interviews: Dylan Robertson and Samya Kullab

Report: Samya Kullab

An expansive room brimming with over 200 journalists busily typing away; Perched along the sides are cameras and lights, carefully pomaded broadcasters look over their notes; Giant screens diligently monitor the arrival of statesmen and their representatives. If it weren't for the considerable windows overlooking a serene harbour and a cluster of homes in the traditional French country style, one would be surprised to learn that we are in fact in Deauville, the so-called *Parisian Riviera*. Frequented by the haute societé of France, from May 26-27 2011 it was also where heads of state congregated for the annual G8 Summit.

During the Summit, the G8RG Media Unit conducted a series of interviews with journalists to isolate trends in news gathering practices. Interviews with Non-Governmental Organizations then helped to expose issues of media access and the challenges that invariably arise when attempting to raise awareness about concerns not included in the G8 agenda.

The majority of reporters interviewed did not have a mandated angle to pursue during the Summit, but were expected to file up to four stories a day.

"I file usually three or four times a day in the form of quick on-camera reports [...] and usually a mandated piece at the end of the day if they want it, which isn't a given. I have a deadline at 6 a.m. EST time, and I'll update that if news warrants, then I'll have something to do for the afternoon shows and something for the evening, *The National*," explained Terry Milewski of *CBC Canada*. Other journalists were themselves unclear concerning how much content to file by the end of each summit day, "I really don't know," said Daniel Proussalidis of *Sun Canada*, "[My deadlines] are pretty fluid, have to have things in by 6 p.m. EST probably at the latest."

Broadcasters typically produced two-minute stories a day, plus two or three "live hits" during the day, each lasting up to a minute and a half each.

Social media was a secondary medium that reporters could have to use to describe events as they unfolded, however, as Daniele Hamamdjian of *CTV Canada* explained, "Of course, there is Twitter, which they're not forcing us to [use], and I'm not too big on Twitter," for the most part, it did not play a significant role.

Non-governmental organizations are also present at the Summit and are often consigned to observer status during press conferences. They are considered experts in their fields, and as such, usually share an accommodating relationship with journalists, often providing contextual and counter commentary, "reading between the official lines" so to speak, with respect key agenda issues.

During the Deauville summit, press and NGO representatives worked under the same roof. This was not the case during last year's Toronto Summit, where NGOs were situated in another building and were not able to visit the media centre. The ability to access journalists meant NGOs had more opportunities to be persistent and have their respective positions acknowledged.

Journalists often practiced discretion when deciding to approach NGO reps, however, and were divided in their opinion of how important NGOs were as sources in actual fact.

“Sometimes they have useful briefings, and I go to those at summits. Sometimes they can be very important; Copenhagen would be an example of that. In some respect some people wouldn’t go near it [...]. In other cases, I’m thinking of Commonwealth summits, and large summits like G20s, the NGOs get squeezed out by the sheer volume of official commentary. That’s usually not the case at the G8 where you’re talking about eight, the European Union, and the agenda is typically a little stale and we’re looking for some sort of commentary other than self-interested remarks by briefers” explained Milewski.

Discretion, of course, related to the issue in question, “I mean [when it’s] food security or child and maternal health, those sorts of things, than I could see some commentary from an NGO being helpful. Generally speaking on a foreign policy issue like governance in Tunisia and Egypt, perhaps not as much” said Prousalidis.

Other journalists expressed logistical difficulty communicating with protesting NGOs, “The trouble is that the protests are going on in another city, so it’s kind of difficult to be in touch with them, in here” said Tatiana Bensa of *Cuatro* a Spanish broadcast/online outlet, “Mostly I think that here it’s kind of weird because we come here, we’re inside, we don’t have a lot of exchange which is you know, writing what we see on other medias, going to press conferences...eating” she laughed.

“I don’t think you can do much here, actually. You come here, you’re basically enferm  [shut in], you can’t go anywhere, because everything is closed outside. I had a lot of trouble here, right here from my hotel it took me two hours and I’m three kilometres or four. So basically I’m not going to come outside of here because I don’t know if I can come back [laugh]. I find it funny, you know, but I think it’s kind of difficult when you’re here to do real information, you don’t have real sources other than really big media who have a lot of representatives here” Bensa concluded.

Though NGOs and the press were situated in the same space, this did not mean that they were necessarily visible to each other at all times, or that one could be distinguished from the other: “I don’t really use them, because I don’t see them anywhere.” said Amal Abou Moussa of APTN-Koweit “They should be here in the media centre because we should get multiple perspectives. [Interviewer points out that they are in the room] Really? I didn’t see them. I don’t think they’re doing a great enough job at promoting themselves; I didn’t know they were here!”

Tayara Bassam of Arabe Presse Net shared Abou Moussa’s concern, “We don’t really interact all that much.”

By attending press conferences, we took note of the variety of questions journalists were asking, in particular the manner in which questions were phrased. We observed the habit by which critical questions posed by NGOs were eschewed and the official line was often towed by the mainstream — at one point a journalist exclaimed, “Press conferences are for the *press*, madame!” when an NGO representative posed a question about aid during Amr Moussa’s address. Key words like, “Arab Spring” “Internet Security” and “Africa” were rampant but remained, over the course of two days, superficial in purport. In this fashion, we were able to become familiar with the newsworthiness of certain issues over others.

For the most part, NGOs had favourable interactions with the press insofar as their work had a presence in each country, as Kate Redmond of *Save the Children* explains, “We have more presence in the US and the UK, so journalists from those countries come to us. As for the others, we are knocking on their doors.”

Redmond noted, “it’s great to have the layout of journalists by nation [in the media centre], it helps for our messaging and gives us the best chance to get our messages back to each country government.”

InterAction’s Sue Fleming was in a privileged position as she was a Reuters reporter before she was appointed as Director of Communications. “It’s difficult to get a development message across when the stories are leaning toward Libya, nuclear proliferation and geo security issues.”

Indeed, attendance for the AIDS press conference was sparse, without any big name media houses in sight. Amr Moussa’s conference, on the other hand, was full to capacity largely because the Arab uprisings was a hot button issue at the time and the Deauville Summit marked the first time the Arab League was invited to participate.

In the face of these challenges, NGOs like Interaction, Oxfam and ActionAid have resorted to performing stunts to capture the press’ attention. The alternative is to simply wait for the quiet periods between press conferences to encourage journalists to look at issues that are not necessarily on the agenda, or to wait for journalists interested in development issues approach NGOs for feedback.

“I’ve covered Summits myself, as a reporter and there’s a lot of pressure on journalists to go where the story is going. So I would say getting our message across has always been a struggle,” Fleming concluded.

Canada

Analyst: Monika Kolodziej

Lead Analyst: Natasia Kalajdziovski

General findings

The *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* all present a majority of their coverage on agenda issues and world economy in providing information on regional disparity, specifically African development. The ideological leanings of the papers themselves had impact on coverage, as the atmosphere of Canadian print media surrounding G8 coverage is pragmatic given its viability sustained through readership on a global level.

Newspapers and political orientation

The three Canadian newspapers that were analyzed in this project are the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*. The circulation numbers for these papers are among the highest in the country. The weekly cumulative circulation for the *National Post* in 2011 was 474,200. *The Globe and Mail* doubles the *Post* with 874,800. In 2011, the *Star* circulated a total of 1,085,300 newspapers weekly.¹ Thus in 2011, the *Star* was the leading newspaper in daily circulation based on the three papers analyzed in this study.

In addition to differing circulation figures, these three newspapers have varying ideological leanings. Of the three, the *Star* is the most left-leaning. The *National Post*, on the other hand is the most conservative in its politics. *The Globe and Mail* is nearer to the centre of the ideological spectrum however, much like the *National Post*, endorsed the incumbent Conservative government in the 2011 election. It bears noting that, as English-language publications, all three of these newspapers represent a particular — albeit large — portion of the Canadian population; French-Canada is notably unrepresented by the newspapers used in this study.

Given the ideological leanings and statistics on newspaper circulation, it is also important to analyze which newspaper covered articles most relevant to the G8. Between May 28 and July 1, 2011, the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* combined to publish 31 articles about the G8. The *Toronto Star* published the majority (54.8%) of these articles. In comparison, *The Globe and Mail* published 32.3% articles relating to the G8. The *National Post* published a respective 12.9% on such articles.

The portrayal of the G8 was split between neutral and negative throughout the three different national newspapers. No positive portrayal of the G8 is noted in any of the three newspapers. In the *Toronto Star*, 52.9% of the articles portrayed the G8 neutrally while 47.1% did so in a negative manner. Similarly, 70% of *The Globe and Mail* articles portray the G8 neutrally while 30% of articles in the paper present the G8 in a negative light. In contrast, the *National Post* took a much more pessimistic stance towards the G8; 75% of its articles depicted the G8 negatively whereas only 25% were neutral.

Most of the criticism of the G8 was related to past summits. This included comments on the budget spending for past summits (namely Huntsville in 2010) protesters at the summits.

Prominent agenda issues

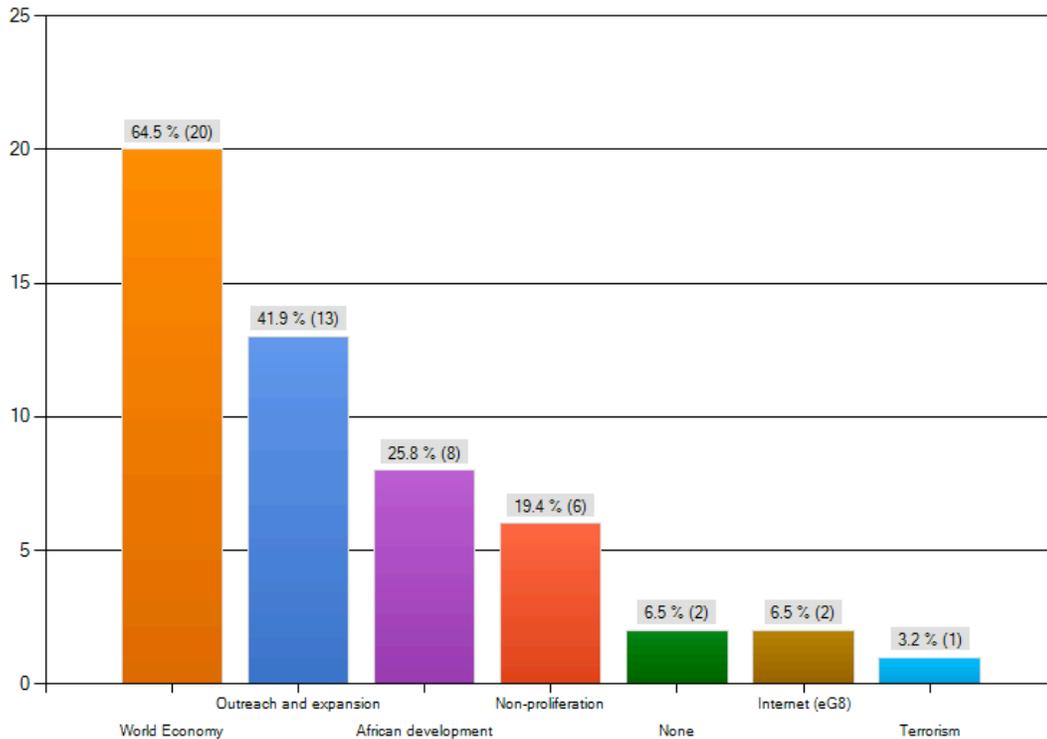
Outreach and expansion was the most prominent topic in 35.5% of the articles published in Canada. This is notable since outreach was not a major issue in the coverage of the G8 in other

¹ “Readership Results - 2011 Study”. NADbank. 29 March 2012.

<http://nadbank.com/en/system/files/2011NADbankStudyPressRelease.pdf> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

member states. Despite the interest in outreach and expansion, the world economy remained a major concern, appearing as the most prominent issue in 29% of the articles studied. Moreover, the global economy was referenced in 64.5% of articles compared to outreach and expansion, which was only referenced 41.9% of the time.

Agenda Issues Referenced in Candian Newspapers



The correlation between the aforementioned findings should not be seen as extraneous. With the rise of the G20, the G8 must consider the growing political clout of developing nations and emergent powers, especially with the lingering Eurozone crisis and global recession.

It may be useful to distinguish between the two topics. The global economy presents a more broad focus, which includes discussions between many nations. In comparison, outreach and expansion focuses specifically on emergent powers and less developed countries. Meanwhile, the topic of African Development is the third highest referenced topic at a rate of 25.8%. While each of these topics vary in their scope, all three topics have an overarching economic theme.

Sourcing trends

The different types of sources consulted by these publications were: NGOs, think tanks and non-academic institutions, academics, government representatives, police and protestors. On average each article, of the three respective newspapers, had 2.77 sources.

Government representatives were the most frequently used sources by an overwhelming margin; they were cited in 80.6% of the articles studied. Most were members of Parliament or ministers. By comparison, think tanks and non-academic institutions, the next most prominent category of sources, were only cited in 25.8% of articles.

Country prevalence

Canada was the country mentioned the most often in the *Star*, *Post* and *Globe and Mail*. To wit, Canada was featured prominently in 77.4% of articles about the G8. In addition to the existence of domestic bias in covering international affairs, Canada's prominence reflected the legacy of the previous year's summit, which had been hosted by Canada, was still being discussed.

Of the articles that mentioned Canada, 38.7% portrayed the government in a negative light whereas only 3.2% did so positively and 48.8% neutrally. There also appeared to be a vast amount of articles discussing the domestic impacts created by G8 initiatives taken on by the Canadian government.

After Canada, France — the host of the Deauville summit — was the main focus of 12.9% of the articles studied. However, its portrayal was far more neutral than that of Canada; the French government was only cast in a negative light 12.9% of the time.

Both the prominence and portrayal of the governments were reflective of their involvement on different issues of the G8.

United States

Analyst: Vahini Sathiamoorthy

Lead Analyst: Natasia Kalajdziovski

General findings

The *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* portrayed the majority of their media coverage through the agenda issue of the world economy. This presented the Deauville summit in a way that highlighted an agenda issue prevalent on a worldwide scale in a generally neutral manner. The United States was the country most discussed in these publications, reflecting an interest in international affairs expressed through a national narrative. Finally, it should be noted that the Deauville summit was transpiring as the events of the Arab Spring unfolded; this had an impact on how the summit was reported, particularly in the coverage of non-G8 member states.

Newspapers and political orientation

The publications chosen for this study carry significant influence in the American media landscape. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations — a leading non-profit agency which provides media audits — the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* ranked among the most widely circulated publications in the United States as of the six month circulation period ending 31 March 2012. Within this timeframe, the *Washington Post* had a total average circulation of 2,118,315 — the highest number in the country. *The New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* saw average circulation numbers of 1,586,757 and 507,613 respectively, ranking 3rd and 8th in the country.²

U.S. media ownership is much more heavily regulated than in other Western states. The U.S. currently bans media cross-ownership despite numerous appeals for the legislation to be revoked.³ While this does not necessarily affect newspaper ownership, it is worth noting for it suggests that there are a larger number of corporations operating media outlets. This is in starker contrast to Canada, for example, which has the highest concentration of corporate ownership of print media outlets in the western world.⁴ Respectively, the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* are owned by The Washington Post Company, The New York Times Company and the Dow Jones Corporation, a subsidiary of News Corporation.

The New York Times, the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal* published a combined 27 articles about the Deauville summit during the studied time period. The bulk of the coverage took place in the *Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* with 13 and 11 articles respectively, whereas the *Washington Post* only published three articles about the Deauville summit in that timeframe.

All 27 articles were written by staff writers and none were featured on the front page of their newspaper. American coverage of the G8 reflected a clear tendency of discussing international affairs in the context of a national narrative. To wit, the United States was mentioned in 55.6% of the articles studied while no other country exceeded 30%.

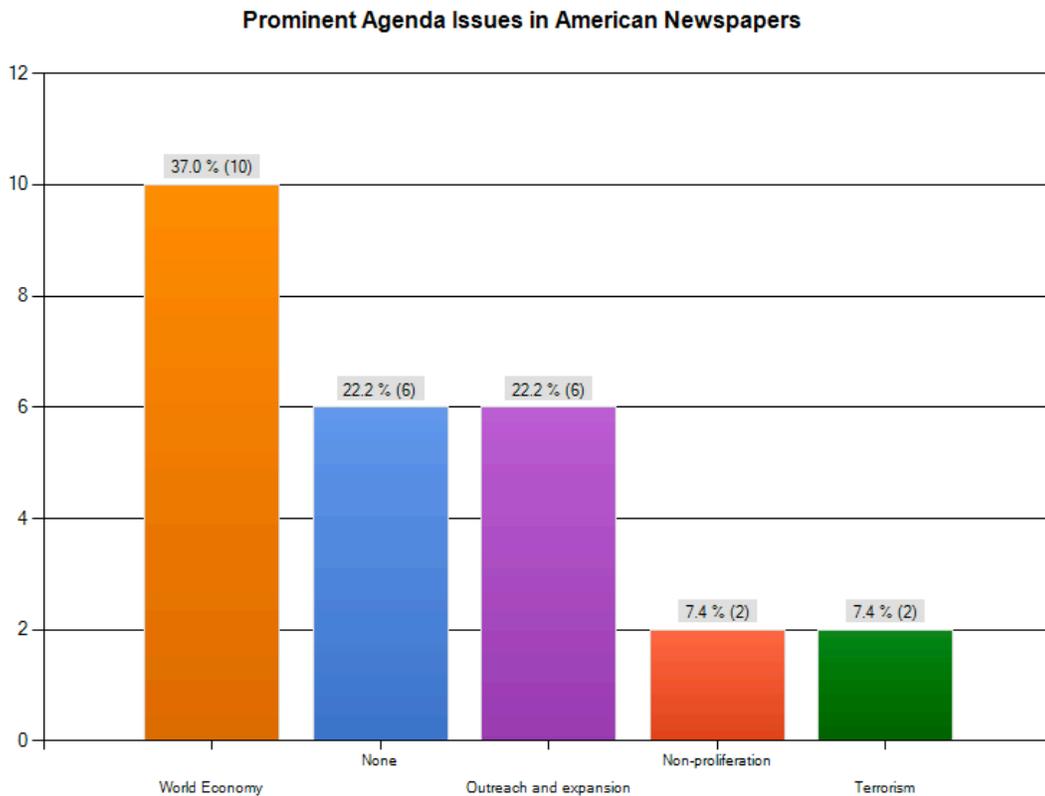
² “US Newspaper Search Results”. Audit Bureau of Circulations, 30 September 2011. Accessed 06 May 2012. <http://accessabc.wordpress.com/2012/05/01/the-top-u-s-newspapers-for-march-2012/>

³ Julia Zebley. “Federal appeals court restores cross-ownership ban on media”, *Jurist*, 07 July 2011. (USA) Accessed: 06 May 2012. <http://jurist.org/paperchase/2011/07/federal-appeals-court-restores-cross-ownership-ban-on-media.php>

⁴ Paul Nesbitt-Larking. *Politics, Society and the Media: Canadian Perspectives*. (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press Ltd, 2001), 110.

Overall, American coverage contained few positive or negative portrayals of the Deauville summit. The G8 was portrayed in a neutral manner 96.3% of the time and no article portrayed the Deauville Summit in a positive or negative manner. Similarly, France’s presidency of the G8 was predominantly ignored (55.6%) or treated in a neutral manner (40.7%). The G8 and Nicolas Sarkozy’s turn as host of the summit were each portrayed in a positive light in one article (3.7%). In large part, the generally neutral tone in the coverage of the summit reflects the fact that *The New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *Wall Street Journal* did not publish any editorials about the summit in the period being studied.

Prominent agenda issues



In all three newspapers studied, the world economy was treated as the most important agenda issue. This topic featured prominently in 46.2% of the *Wall Street Journal*’s articles whereas outreach and expansion — the only other issue of note — was only the focus in 23.1% of the articles. The Journal’s focus on the economy can be credited not only to the global prominence of this agenda issue, but also to its ownership by the Dow Jones Company. Arguably, this also goes hand in hand with the Journal’s more predominant business focus. The *Washington Post* and *New York Times* also presented the world economy as the significant issue of the G8 agenda with 33.3% and 27.3% of coverage respectively. It should be noted that the summit’s overlap with the Arab Spring resulted in many articles mentioning this topic in addition to traditional agenda issues.

Sourcing trends

The *Wall Street Journal*, in conjunction with its focus on the economy, used government officials as its foremost source: they were cited in 76.9% of the paper’s articles. In comparison, NGOs

were cited in 53.8% of the Journal's articles whereas think tanks and academics were each used as sources in only one article.

The *New York Times*' most employed sources were also government representatives, found in 72.7% of articles, followed by NGOs in 54.5%. Think tanks and non-academic institutions were found in 18.2% of articles and protestors in 9.1%. The *New York Times* was the only publication to cite protestors as a source.

Unlike the other two publications, the *Washington Post* utilized NGOs the most as sources, found in 66.7% of articles. Non-academic institutions and government representatives were each cited in 33.3% of the *Washington Post*'s articles. This was followed by non-academic institutions and government representatives in 33.3% of articles respectively. Furthermore, academics were not cited at all in the course of these articles.

Country prevalence

In covering the Deauville summit, all three newspapers focused on the United States, mentioning it in 55.6% of articles. This is a significant figure when one considers that no other country was mentioned in more than 30% of the articles published in the United States about the G8. Moreover, the United States was the prominent focus of 25.9% of the articles published about the Deauville summit. Non-G8 member states were mentioned in every fourth article. Of this group, China (22%), India (19%), South Africa (15%), and Brazil (11%) received the most attention. However, countries such as Libya, Syria and Egypt were also given attention due to the Arab Spring, whilst Greece and Portugal were also mentioned due to their economic woes.

The *Wall Street Journal* mentioned the United States in 61.5% of its articles, followed by Germany (46.2%), and the United Kingdom and France in 38.5%. The United Kingdom, Germany and Canada were the only G8 members who were not the main focus of a *Wall Street Journal* article. Countries outside of the G8, however, took precedence over many G8 member countries, being mentioned in most of the *Wall Street Journal*'s G8 coverage. The coverage of the U.S. within in the paper is congruent to the publication's focus on the world economy.

The *New York Times* made the United States the focus of 36.4% of its articles and, overall, mentioned it in 54.5% of its articles about the G8. Otherwise, non-G8 countries featured prominently. The only G8 member that was never mentioned by the *New York Times* was Canada. China was mentioned in 36.3% of articles, followed by India and South Africa in 27% of the articles. While the *New York Times* did focus on the world economy and Arab Spring, it was focused on an international platform of issues for its American audience.

The *Washington Post* mentioned the United States along with France and Russia in 33% of its articles. The remaining member states of the G8 were not mentioned at all. The United States was the only country to feature prominently in the *Post*'s coverage, achieving this feat in 66.7% of its articles. Interestingly, the *Washington Post* was the only American newspaper not to mention China. Rather, Libya, due to the Arab spring was mentioned in 66.6% of the *Post*'s articles about the summit.

Italy

Analyst: Fabio Ponti

Lead Analyst: Dylan C. Robertson

General findings

Coverage of the Deauville G8 Summit by the Italian press was minimal. Most articles that mentioned the G8 did not fully examine the summit and its agenda issues. Only 19 of the 157 articles mentioning the G8 covered the summit in a significant way. Of those 19 articles, only one appeared on a front page.

The Italian media's coverage of the summit mainly reported domestic issues relating to the disputes between Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and the judicial authorities. Several articles explained how Berlusconi would take advantage of the G8 Summit to share with the other world leaders his opinion that the Italian judges were left-wing oriented and unjust towards him.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

Of the newspapers studied, *La Repubblica* published the most articles about the G8 summit (8), followed by *La Stampa* (6) and *Corriere della Sera* (5).

This finding is somewhat surprising insofar as *Corriere della Sera* is the most prominent newspaper in Italy with a circulation of 780,412 in 2008.⁵ This is probably because of its shift in political orientation in the recent years from a conservative to a more centrist oriented daily paper⁶. Since then it has opposed ex-Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's actions and views significantly. Around the same time as the Deauville Summit, Berlusconi was in the middle of one of his judicial scandals and *Corriere* referenced this issue in several of its articles.

La Repubblica and *La Stampa* are both oriented left-of-centre and respectively achieve a circulation of 710,716 and 418,328 in 2008.⁷ They were each less opinionated in the coverage of the G8. The general view of the G8 summit by the Italian media was neutral with no clear rating and there was a balance between the positive and negative opinions of the newspapers. However, because of the slim coverage of the Italian media on the G8 summit, these standpoints were not substantial.

Prominent agenda issues

Agenda issues were the focus of 68.4% of Italian coverage of the G8 summit. Of these issues, the two most prominent were the world economy and issues relating to the Internet. Each of these policy areas featured in 21.1% of the articles analyzed. The world economy became the centre of attention because of the Euro crisis, which at the time saw Greece on the edge of a default. At Deauville, the G8 countries discussed fiscal consolidation measures to deal with this crisis. This particular aspect of the summit was likely of interest to the Italian press because Italy is one of the countries who has one of the highest debt-to-GDP ratio. The Internet received a considerable amount of attention because the e-G8, which was held in Paris days before the Deauville summit, highlighted the policy issues raised by this pivotal technology.

⁵ "Diffusione media (Italia + Estero)". Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa, 2008. http://www.adsnotizie.it/certif/certificati_2008.xls

⁶ "The Press in Italy." *BBC News*. BBC, 31 Oct. 2006. Web. 05 Apr. 2012. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4373775.stm>

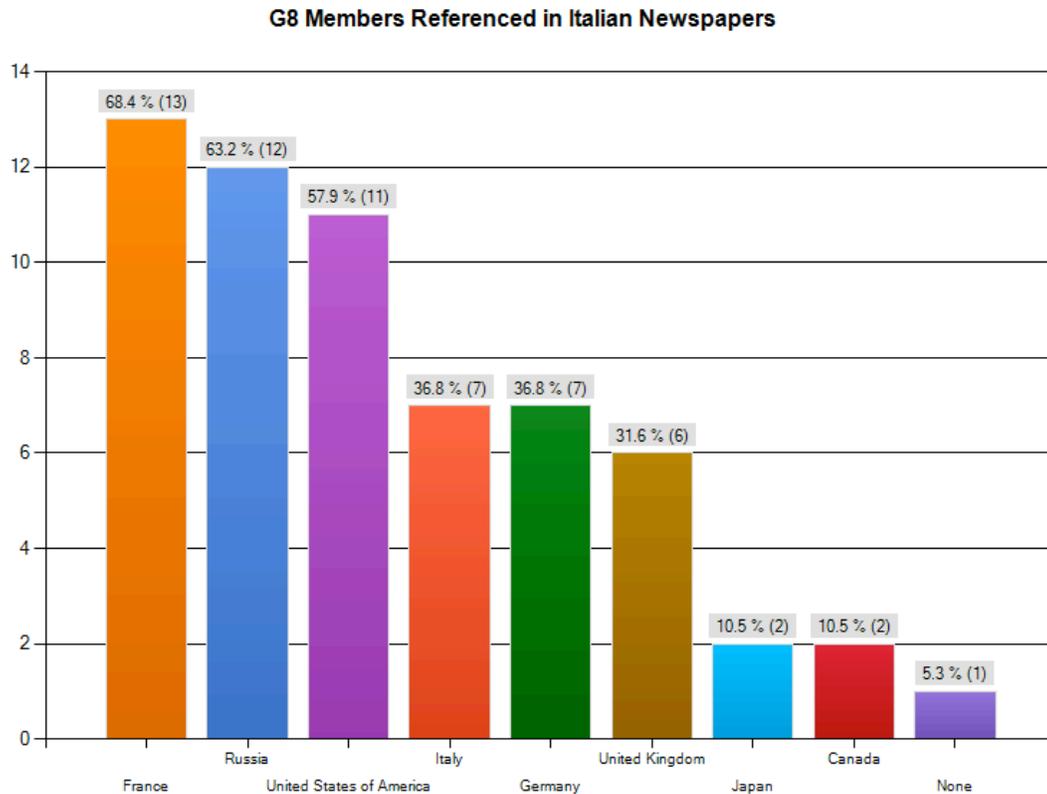
⁷ "Diffusione media (Italia + Estero)". Accertamenti Diffusione Stampa, 2008. http://www.adsnotizie.it/certif/certificati_2008.xls

In addition to covering agenda issues, 10.5% of Italian coverage of the Deauville summit focused on security measures. However, in doing so, no protesters or protests were mentioned. A further 21.1% of Italian coverage focused on the logistics of the Deauville summit.

Sourcing trends

While some think tanks were approached, the vast majority of sources in the Italian press were governments and their representatives.

Country prevalence



Out of all the articles collected, France, the United States and Russia were respectively mentioned in 68%, 57% and 63% of the articles analyzed. This is not surprising given these countries' importance in the global economy, an issue widely covered by the Italian media. France and its president Nicolas Sarkozy were also mentioned because of Sarkozy's involvement with e-G8 and issues regarding economic growth and the Internet. It bears noting that Italy (36.8%), was mentioned far less than these three countries by the Italian media.

An outstanding trend that appeared in most articles was the prevalence of countries outside the G8 group. China was mentioned in 15.7% of the analyzed articles while India, Mexico and Brazil were all mentioned in 5.9%. In addition to these emerging economies, the nations involved in the Arab Spring, particularly Libya and Egypt, were also cited by the Italian press when covering the Deauville summit.

Germany

Analyst: Katrina Pirner

Lead Analyst: Dylan C. Robertson

General Findings

While the majority of articles in the German press took a neutral tone while reporting on the G8, a couple stood out for their criticism of the events at Deauville. One article in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* mocked the crass competition amongst politicians for a photo-op with Obama, and took a cynical view of the façade of harmony that the leaders attempted to portray at these staged meetings with journalists.

Another article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* argued that since the creation of the G20, the G8 has suffered from a legitimacy problem and further questioned the effectiveness of discussions held by the G8. These results, coupled with the absence of any articles expressing a positive opinion of the G8 or Deauville summit, appear to suggest that much of the German media tend to view the G8 at best as benign, and at worst as a somewhat dated and ineffective organization for global governance.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

Three prominent daily newspapers, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Welt*, and *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* were studied. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* is a centre-left newspaper with a circulation of approximately 445,000.⁸ *Die Welt* has a circulation of 263,000 and is a conservative leaning newspaper.⁹ The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* is a conservative-liberal newspaper with a daily circulation of 382,000 and a considerable foreign readership.¹⁰

Between May 28 and July 1, 2011 the three newspapers published 14 articles about the G8. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* most extensively covered the Deauville summit (50%) followed by *Die Welt* (36%), and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (14%). All of the articles analyzed were written by staff writers and only one article appeared on the front page of a newspaper.

No obvious slant could be identified in 42.8% of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*'s articles while a further 42.8% cast the Deauville summit in a negative light. One article did not offer an opinion on the summit. In terms of how the G8 itself was portrayed in this newspaper, five articles expressed a neutral opinion of the group, while two articles offered a negative opinion of the G8.

Die Welt published five articles in reference to the Deauville conference during the time period monitored. All five expressed a neutral viewpoint of both the conference and the G8 itself. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* only published two articles during the six weeks after the conference. One article provided a neutral report on the conference and the G8 while the other was more negative in its tone to both the conference and the G8 in general.

Of the fourteen articles, about one-third could be classified as editorials with the remainder categorized as news articles. The G8 summit did not dominate the news in the German press, with

⁸ "Sources and authors: Süddeutsche Zeitung". PressEurop. <http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/source-profile/553-sueddeutsche-zeitung> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

⁹ "Sources and authors: Die Welt". PressEurop. <http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/source-information/35581-die-welt> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

¹⁰ "Sources and authors: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung". PressEurop. <http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/source-profile/555-frankfurter-allgemeine-zeitung> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

just one article appearing on the front page of a newspaper. Only two articles mentioned the G8 in their headline.

Prominent agenda issues

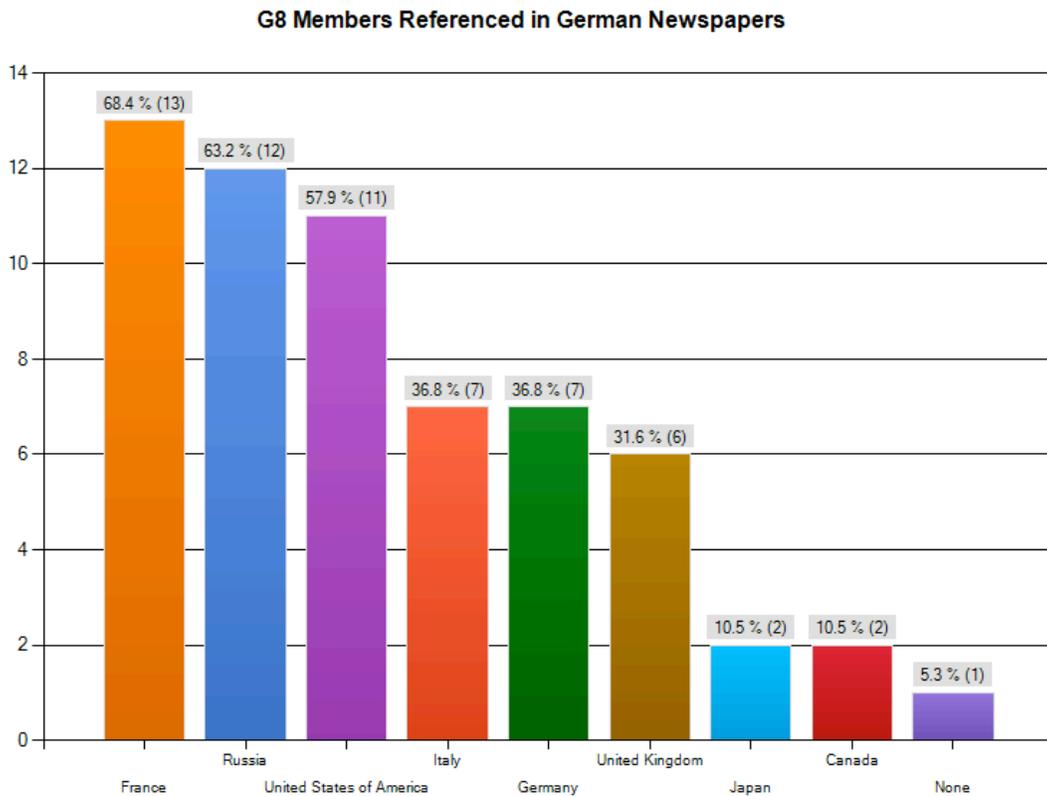
The three most prominent topics discussed in the articles studied were, in descending order: outreach and expansion, the Internet (e-G8), and the world economy. Moreover, the Arab Spring and in particular, Libya was consistently cited by the German media in articles about the G8.

Germany's abstention from the UN Security Council vote authorizing the creation of a no-fly zone over Libya resulted in a great deal of anxiety in the German press about the country's international standing. Several articles mentioned the strain this placed on Germany's relationship with other G8 countries. In effect, the German press argued that while Germany may have been politely listened to, there was a palpable tension due to Germany's nuclear energy policy, abstention from the Libya vote in the UN, and the Euro Stability Pact. Consequently, the G-8 itself was overshadowed by other concerns in the German media's coverage of the Deauville summit.

Sourcing trends

Government representatives were the most common sources, appearing in 64% of the articles studied.

Country prevalence



Unsurprisingly, Germany was the most frequently mentioned country. After Germany, France, as the holder of the G8 presidency and host of the summit, received the most attention. However, it

should be noted that half of the articles failed to even mention the French Presidency in their coverage of the Deauville Conference.

United Kingdom

Analyst: Sunnie Huang

Lead Analysts: Polina Osmerkina and David Rudin

General findings

The post-G8 coverage in the British media was slightly UK-centric, monitoring discussions on international issues in the G8 agenda while maintaining a clear UK focus. Media outlets closely covered debates over Prime Minister David Cameron's generous aid budget during a worldwide recession, bringing the G8 agenda issue of world economy close to home.

Newspapers and political orientation

The study of media coverage of the G8 in the United Kingdom analyzed three of the most important national dailies: *The Guardian*, *The Financial Post* and *The Telegraph*. According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, in May 2011 (at the time of the Deauville summit) *The Telegraph* had the highest circulation of the three newspapers, with 635,967 copies. This was followed by *The Financial Times* and *The Guardian*, with 362,685 copies and 262,937 copies respectively.¹¹

In the time period studied, a total of 29 articles about the G8 were published in these newspapers. The most extensive coverage of the G8 was found in *The Guardian*, which published 44.8% per cent of the articles examined. The Financial Times, which supplied 31% of the articles studied, came second, followed closely by The Telegraph with 24.1%.

The publication of these articles demonstrates that the G8 continued to receive attention in the UK after the Deauville summit ended on May 27. In the week immediately following the summit, each newspaper published multiple articles about the G8 and its agenda issues. However, the coverage of the G8 slowed down significantly thereafter; in late June, there were often significant gaps between articles.

It should be noted that while all three newspapers have prominent political leanings, their post-G8 coverage was not found to have substantial biases.

By and large, articles about the G8 in the British press did not present strong opinions about the group; 62.1% of articles espoused a neutral point of view whereas 24.1% cast the G8 in a negative light and 13.8% did so positively. Similarly, the Deauville summit was portrayed neutrally in 55.2% of the articles studied, negatively in 17.2% and positively in 13.8%. In the remaining 13.8% of articles, the Deauville summit was not mentioned.

Prominent agenda issues

Of the 29 articles analyzed in the British media, 27 focused on G8 agenda issues. The most prominent of these issues was the world economy, which was the main focus of 34.5% of the articles studied. Three topics within the framework of world economy stand out: aid budget, the Arab Spring and IMF leadership change.

Prime Minister David Cameron's plan to raise Britain's aid budget to 0.7 per cent of national output by 2013 — the most generous among its G8 partners — was extensively discussed within the framework of world economy. All three media outlets offered a mix of news reporting and editorial pieces to present both the supporters and detractors of Cameron's aid budget.

¹¹ "ABCs: National daily newspaper circulation May 2011." *The Guardian*. 10 June 2011
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/table/2011/jun/10/abcs-national-newspapers> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

The financial toll of the Arab Spring also falls within the agenda issue of world economy, as debate over the \$20-billion international loan by G8 countries to Tunisia and Egypt continued after the summit. All three media outlets placed as much emphasis on security issues around the Arab spring as its financial impact.

There are also numerous articles in all three newspapers on the race to win the leadership of International Monetary Fund, almost all of which betting on the charismatic French finance minister Christine Lagarde.

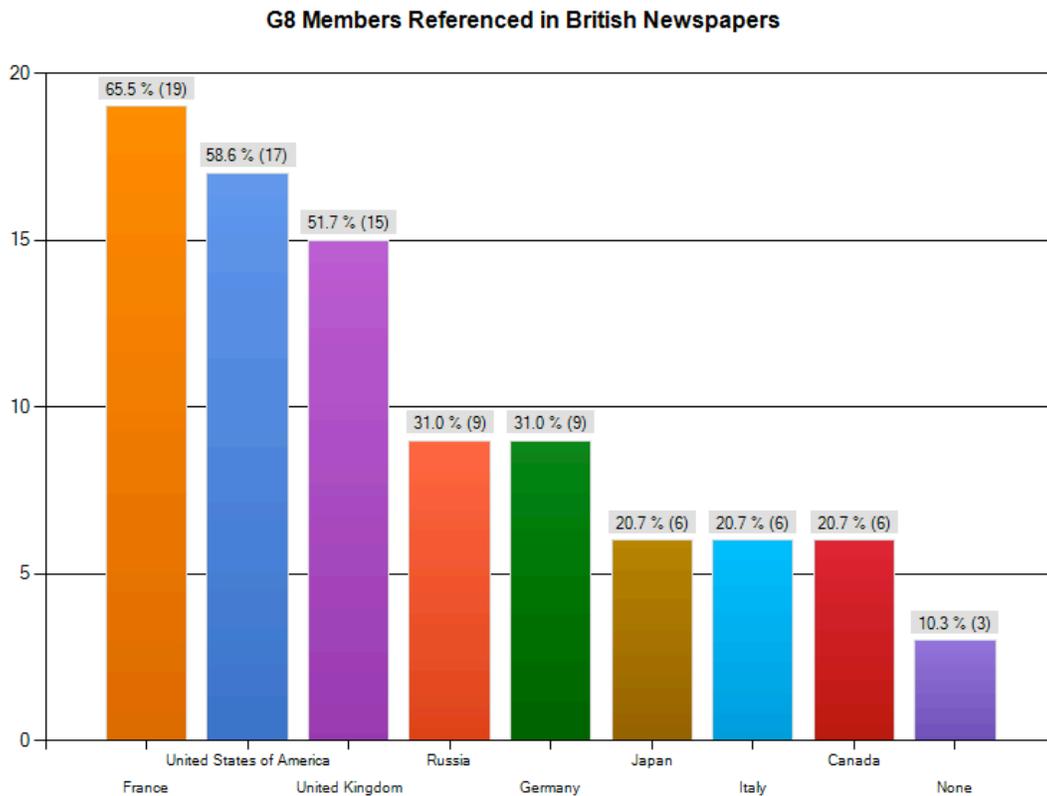
African development was the second most prominent agenda issue, serving as the focus of 13.8% of the articles. This is followed closely by food security (10.3%), and climate change — carbon emission in particular — and the e-G8, each of which were the focus of 6.9% of the articles studied.

Sourcing trends

The sources used in British articles were relatively homogeneous. Government representatives — more specifically, heads of government and their ministers — were the most quoted sources in the UK coverage, as 79.3% of the articles cited at least one government representative. Prime Minister David Cameron was by far the most quoted source across all three newspapers. It was not uncommon for articles to be entirely based on his speech at an event.

The average article cited 2.31 sources while 17.2% of articles did not cite a single source. After government representatives, academics were the most cited sources, appearing in 6.9% of articles. Think tanks were cited in 3.4% of the articles. No references were made to celebrity activists, NGOs, police or protestors.

Country prevalence



The most prominent G8 member in the British media's coverage of the summit's aftermath was the United Kingdom, which was the focus of 37.9% of the articles published. This figure was more than double that of the United States (17.2%), which was the country to feature prominently in the most articles after the United Kingdom.

While the United Kingdom was the focus of many articles, it was not the most frequently mentioned state; France was mentioned in 65.5% of the articles analyzed and the United States in 58.6%. Britain was the third most frequently mentioned state at 51.7%.

While Britain was the main focus of the most articles, it was often not the most mentioned state, producing some interesting implications. This suggests that the British press caters its coverage of international affairs through a domestic narrative. At the same time, the more frequent mentions of France suggest that this domestic bias is a limited one; the fact that France was the host of the summit was hard to get around and indeed there is no reason to believe the British press attempted to marginalize this reality.

Japan

Analyst: Takuma Yoshida

Lead Analyst: David Rudin

General Findings

Very few strong opinions about the G8 were expressed in the Japanese media. The G8 was portrayed in a neutral manner in 91.4% of these articles compared to 8.6% which were negative. Similarly, the Deauville summit was treated in a neutral manner 88.6% of the time, negatively in 5.7% of the articles published and positively in just one article (2.9%). These findings largely reflect the dominance of news articles (82.9%) over editorials (17.1%) in the coverage of the G8 published in *Yomiuri* and *Mainichi*.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

Yomiuri Shimbun and *Mainichi Shimbun* were analyzed for their coverage of the G8. The national edition of *Yomiuri Shimbun* has a daily circulation of 9,983,368 in 2010. *Mainichi Shimbun*'s circulation paled in comparison with an average of 3.5 million copies.¹² Despite this significant dropoff, *Mainichi Shimbun* was the third most read newspaper in Japan.¹³ In terms of political orientation, *Yomiuri* is considered to be a conservative publication whereas *Mainichi* is more liberal.

The two newspapers combined to publish 35 articles about the G8. 51.4% of the articles were published in *Mainichi* whereas the remaining 48.6% were published in *Yomiuri*. 11.4% of these 35 articles appeared on the front page of their respective newspapers. Moreover, the G8 was mentioned in the headline of 60% of the articles studied, a far higher rate than in most other countries.

Prominent agenda issues

Of the 35 articles analyzed, 34 focused on G8 agenda issues. The most prominent of these issues was nuclear energy, which was cited in 68.6% of articles about the G8. The meltdown of the Fukushima Daiichi reactor following an earthquake on March 11, 2011 prompted many states to revisit their views on nuclear energy.

While this issue was discussed by all of the G8 states, its immediacy was far greater in Japan. As such, the fact that nuclear energy received more coverage in Japan than in any other G8 member state is not all that surprising. The Japanese press espoused a further concern about all things nuclear, referencing nuclear proliferation — particularly in the context of the North Korean weapons program — in 20% of its articles.

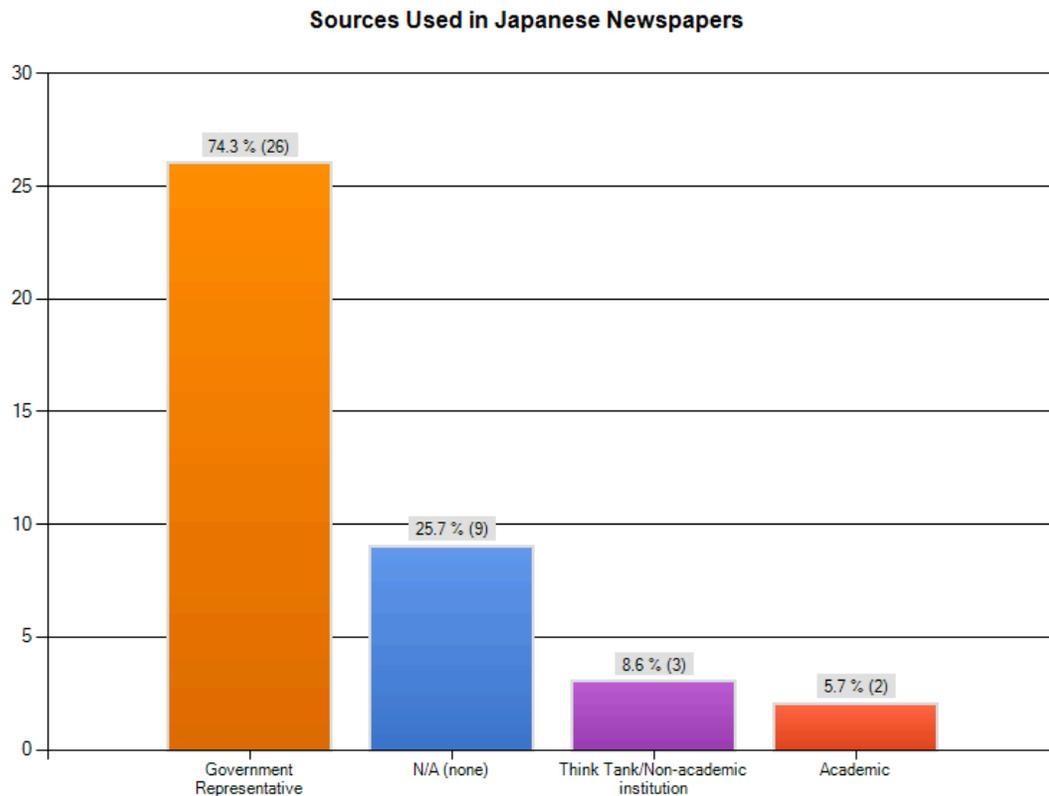
The next most prominent issue was the Arab Spring, which was mentioned in 40% of the articles analyzed. This was largely due to the Deauville summit having taken place near the peak of the uprisings in Libya.

Due to France's hosting of the e-G8 summit in the run-up to Deauville, issues pertaining to the Internet were mentioned in 14.3% of Japanese articles and were the main focus in 5.7% of them. The global economy and the expansion of the G8 were each mentioned in 8.6% of articles yet neither subject was the main focus of a single text.

¹² "Media Data: Yomiuri Shimbun Media Kit". *Yomiuri Shimbun*. <http://adv.yomiuri.co.jp/m-data/english/mediadata/circulation01.html> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

¹³ "□□□□□□□□□□□□□□". *Mainichi Shimbun*. <http://macs.mainichi.co.jp/now/section03/01.html> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

Sourcing trends



On average, the Japanese articles analyzed cited 1.97 sources. Government representatives were the most frequently used sources as they were cited in 74.3% of Japanese articles about the G8. Think tanks were cited in 8.6% of the articles and academics in 5.7%. No NGOs, protestors, police representatives, or activists were cited in the Japanese coverage of the G8.

Country prevalence

The Japanese press discussed their home state the most often. Japan was the focus of 42.9% of the articles about the G8 and mentioned in 74.3% of them. Furthermore, members of the Japanese government were mentioned in 74.3% of the articles analyzed. The United States, which was the second most referenced state, was only the focus of 20% of the articles studied and was mentioned 62.9% of the time.

The other prominent G8 in the Japanese coverage of the G8 were France (54.3%), Russia (37.1%), Germany (28.6%), and the United Kingdom (25.7%). None of these countries were the focus of more than 12% of the articles studied. Italy and Canada were given demonstrably less attention by the Japanese press. Respectively they were mentioned in 8.6 and 5.7% of the articles studied without being the focus of a single one.

Japanese coverage of the G8 also paid attention to states that are not G8 members. Notably, China was mentioned in 20% of the articles studied while India was referenced in 17.1%. Due to the emphasis on the Arab Spring in the Japanese coverage of the G8, the main countries involved — Libya, Egypt, Tunisia, and Syria — were all frequently mentioned. Moreover, as a result of its nuclear program, North Korea was also referenced in multiple articles.

France

Analyst: David Rudin

General Findings

Le Figaro, *Le Monde*, and *Libération* published a total of 29 articles about the G8 between May 28 and July 1, 2011. The vast majority of these articles were news reports and none of them espoused strong opinions about the G8 or the summit of either the positive or negative variety.

The Arab Spring, which was taking place at the same time as the Deauville summit, was the policy matter to receive the greatest amount of attention in French coverage of the G8. Accordingly, Libya and Egypt, despite not belonging to the G8, were frequently mentioned. However, France was the most frequently and prominently referenced state. The other significant issue in French coverage of the G8 was policy towards the Internet, which was relevant due France's hosting of the e-G8 in the lead-up to the summit.

Newspapers and Political Orientation

France's three major national daily newspapers — *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, and *Libération* — were chosen for this study. *Le Figaro*, which is slightly to the right in its political leanings, has the highest daily circulation of the three (394,237). While the centrist *Le Monde*'s daily circulation of 386,177 copies is slightly lower than *Le Figaro*, it serves as France's paper of record and has the highest foreign circulation of the newspapers studied. The left-leaning *Libération* has the lowest circulation of the newspapers studied (163,432). It bears noting that these newspapers are not the most-read by the French public; *Ouest-France* — a network of regional dailies — has the highest circulation of any daily newspaper in France.

In the period of May 28 to July 1 2011, 29 articles about the G8 were published in these three newspapers. *Le Figaro* (44.8%) featured the greatest share of these articles, followed by *Le Monde* (34.5%) and *Libération* (20.7%).¹⁴

Prominent agenda issues

The most prominent issue in the French coverage of the G8 was the Arab Spring, which featured in 44.8% of the articles analyzed. In large part, this is due to the fact that the Arab Spring was ongoing at the time of the Deauville summit. It should be noted that French newspapers did not all devote equal attention to the Arab Spring. Whereas this issue was mentioned in 66.6% of *Libération*'s coverage of the G8 and 46.1% of *Le Figaro*'s, it was only referenced in 30% of *Le Monde*'s articles.

After the Arab Spring, the most prominent issue was the Internet, which was referenced in 24.1% of the articles analyzed. This was due to France's hosting of the e-G8 in the days preceding the Deauville summit. The interest in this issue was partially due to the presence of major figures such as Mark Zuckerberg. Moreover, the French government had heavily promoted the e-G8 summit as part of its presidency of the G8.

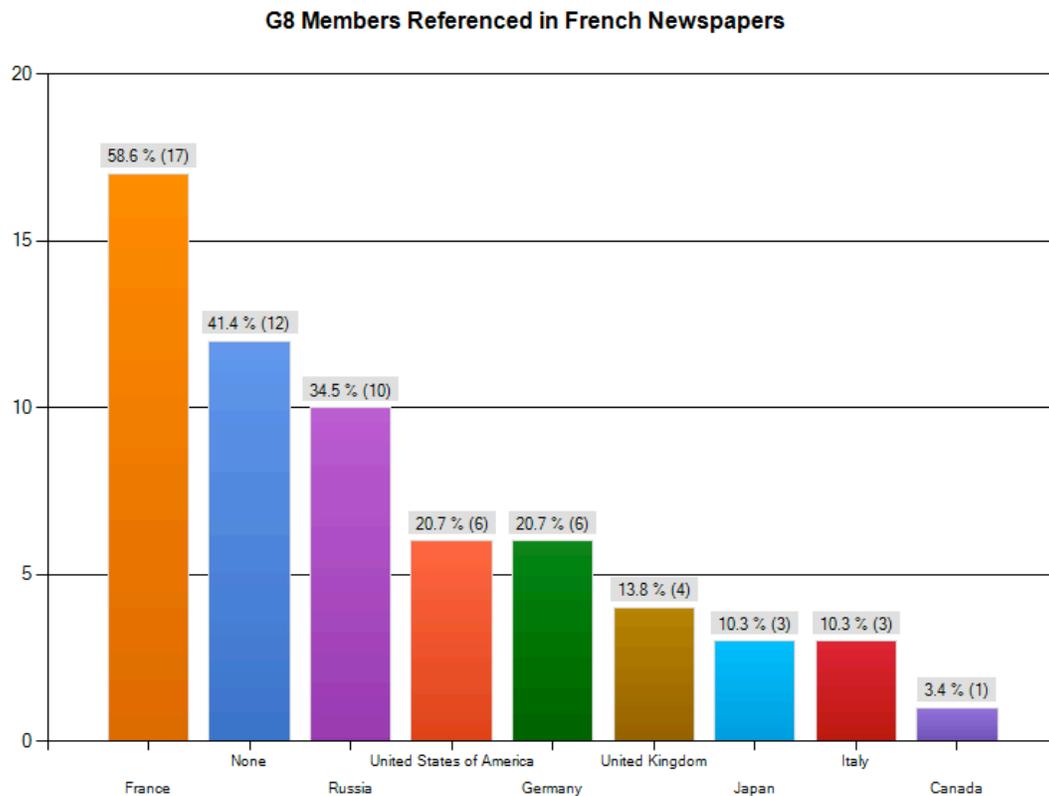
All other issues paled in comparison to the Arab Spring and e-G8. The global economy and African development were mentioned in 6.9% of the articles studied. Climate change was referenced once.

¹⁴ "Book 2011 Presse Payante - Grand Public". Associations pour le contrôle de la diffusion des medias. <http://www.ojd.com/books/export/218> Accessed: 15 May 2012.

Sourcing trends

In covering these issues, government representatives were the most commonly used sources (34.5%). Moreover, French coverage of the G8 was noticeably devoid of any strong opinions. None of the articles analyzed presented the G8, the Deauville summit, or France's presidency of the G8 in either a positive or negative light. This generally neutral tone partially reflected the fact that only 20.7% of French articles about the Deauville summit were opinion pieces.

Country prevalence



Not unsurprisingly, France received the greatest attention in French coverage of the G8. France was mentioned in 58.6% of the articles analyzed and the most prominent state in 17.2% of the articles. This finding can partially be understood as the result of a domestic bias in the French press. However, France's prominence was hardly illusory; the focus on France also reflected Nicolas Sarkozy's role as president of the G8 and the fact that the summit was hosted in France. In that regard, it made sense for France to be the most prominent of states.

Russia was the second most frequently mentioned state (34.5%) as well as the only G8 member other than France to be the focal point of an article. In part, this was due to the pressure placed on Russia by its fellow G8 members to take a stronger stance in opposition to the Ghaddafi regime. However, Russia's presence at the Deauville summit also reflected particular French concerns. An article in *Le Monde* noted that Presidents Sarkozy and Medvedev used the occasion of the Deauville summit to complete a bilateral agreement to cooperate in developing the Caucasus with a particular focus on sports facilities.

The United States (20.7%) and Germany (20.7%) were the other G8 members to receive a significant amount of attention from the French media.

The French media looked beyond the members of the G8 in covering the Deauville summit. Libya was mentioned in 27.6% of the articles analyzed and Egypt in 20.7%. Tunisia and Syria were also referenced albeit to a lesser extent. These countries' prominence reflects the importance of the Arab Spring as an issue in covering the Deauville Summit.

Russia

Analysts: Albina Tyker and Amina Abdullayeva

Lead Analyst: David Rudin

General findings

The Russian press coverage seemed insular, with a focus on the country's own issues, and few sources outside government spokespeople. The coverage of the government's positions were notably positive. Most articles were neutral toward the G8 itself. Like most countries, the two main issues for the Russian press were the Arab Spring and the world economy.

Newspapers and political orientation

Rossisykaya Gazeta and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* were analyzed for this study. *Rossisykaya Gazeta*, which has a daily circulation of 220,000 copies, is, by its own description, an organ of the state. Indeed, it describes itself as "the official publication of the Government of the Russian Federation." This title is far from symbolic, *Rossisykaya Gazeta*'s media kit goes so far as to declare "All governmental documents come into force after publication in RG."¹⁵

Nezavisimaya Gazeta, whose name translates to "independent newspaper," is nominally independent from the government. However, journalistic independence at the paper is somewhat limited by the fact that its owner, Konstantin Remchukov, appointed himself editor-in-chief. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* has a circulation of approximately 50,000 copies.¹⁶

Combined, *Rossisykaya Gazeta* and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* published 11 articles about the G8. The former published 54.5% of those articles; the latter, 46.5%.

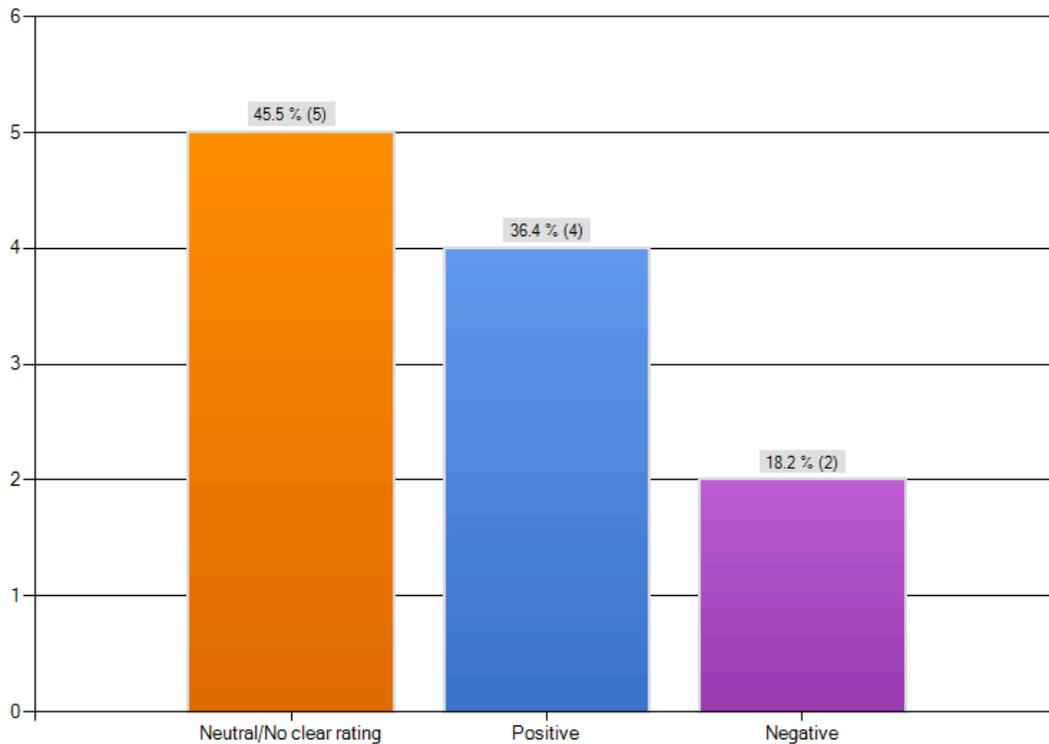
None of these articles were featured on the front-page of their respective newspapers. The G8 was mentioned in the headline of 36.4% of the articles analyzed. 90.9% of the reports analyzed were news articles whereas only one editorial (9.1%) was identified.

The majority of the articles published by the Russian press expressed a discernible opinion about the G8. 36.4% did so in a positive manner, whereas 18.2% cast the G8 in a negative light. The remaining 45.5% were neutral in their portrayal of the G8. The Deauville summit itself generated fewer strong impressions; 54.5% of the articles on the G8 were neutral about the summit and 18.2% did not mention it at all.

¹⁵ "Russia: Beyond the headlines." *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, 23 December 2010. http://rbth.ru/files/RBTH_for_SMI_eng.pdf Accessed: 17 May 2012.

¹⁶ "The Press in Russia." *BBC News*. 16 May 2008. Web. 05 Apr. 2012. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4315129.stm> Accessed: 17 May 2012.

Portrayal of the G8 in Russian Newspapers



Prominent agenda issues

Every Russian article about the G8 focused on agenda issues. The dominant issue was the Arab Spring, which was the focus of 63.6% of the articles published about the G8. This can be attributed to the Libyan crisis being at its peak during the Deauville summit and many countries used the summit to press Russia to take a stronger stance about the conflict.

The dominant issue was the global economy, which was the focus of 45.5% of the articles analyzed and mentioned in 81.8% of them.

The only other issues to serve as the focus of articles were outreach and expansion, and internet policy related to the e-G8 summit, both of which were the subject of one article (9.1%).

Climate change and food security both failed to receive a single mention from the Russian press.

Sourcing trends

On average, articles on the G8 in *Rossiskaya Gazeta* and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* had 1.82 sources. Government representatives were, by far, the most commonly used sources as they were cited in 81.8% of articles. In comparison, members of the police forces, NATO, and the African Union were each cited once. The Russian press did not use academics, NGOs, think tanks, protestors or activists as sources when covering the G8.

Another important trend was the usage of wire services in covering the G8. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* in particular, used ITAR-TASS and RIA Novosti in its coverage. Insofar as both of these agencies

are organs of the state, this dependency somewhat undermines the newspaper's claim to being independent of the state.

Country prevalence

In both *Rossisykaya Gazeta* and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, Russia was the most prominent state. Indeed, Russia was the focus of 81.8% of the articles analyzed, the largest figure of any state analyzed. Moreover, the Russian government was mentioned in 81.8% of articles about the G8. When government officials were mentioned, they were either portrayed in a positive manner (22.2%) or treated in a neutral manner (77.8%). No other national government was referred to in a positive manner as frequently as Russia's.

France, as the host of the Deauville summit, was the only other country to be the focus of an article. Yet there was a significant drop-off in attention between Russia and France with the latter only being the focal point of 18.2% of the Russian articles. France was also referenced in 72.7% of articles.

The United States, like France, was mentioned in 72.7% of articles — the second-highest rate. Moreover, the American government was the only one to be cast in a negative light by the Russian press. In the articles that mentioned, it was portrayed negatively 33.3% of the time compared to the 66.7% that were neutral.

The importance of the Arab Spring in the discussions of the Deauville Summit led to non-G8 states receiving attention from the Russian press. Libya, for instance, was mentioned in 54.5% of the articles studied, a higher rate than five of the eight G8 members: Japan, Germany, Italy, Canada, and the United Kingdom. For similar reasons, Syria, Egypt and Tunisia were also mentioned by the Russian press in the context of the G8. Emerging economic powers from outside the G8 were also discussed in the coverage of the Deauville summit. China was mentioned in 27.3% of the articles studied whereas India, South Africa and Brazil were each mentioned in 18.2%. Mexico was mentioned once (9.1%).