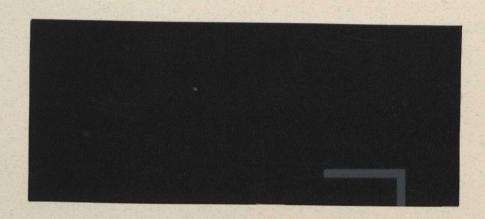
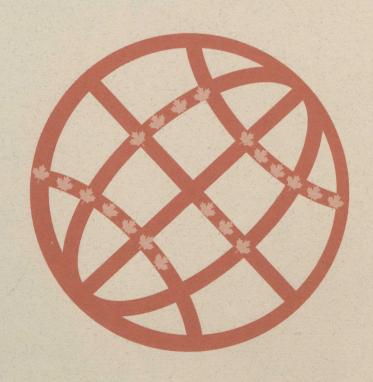
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### APEC MEDIA MONITORING REPORT A SYNOPSIS OF KEY FINDINGS FROM IMPACS' 1999 YOUTH INTERNSHIP PROJECT

Policy Report Submitted to the CCFPD by Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society

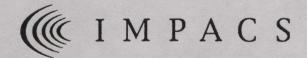
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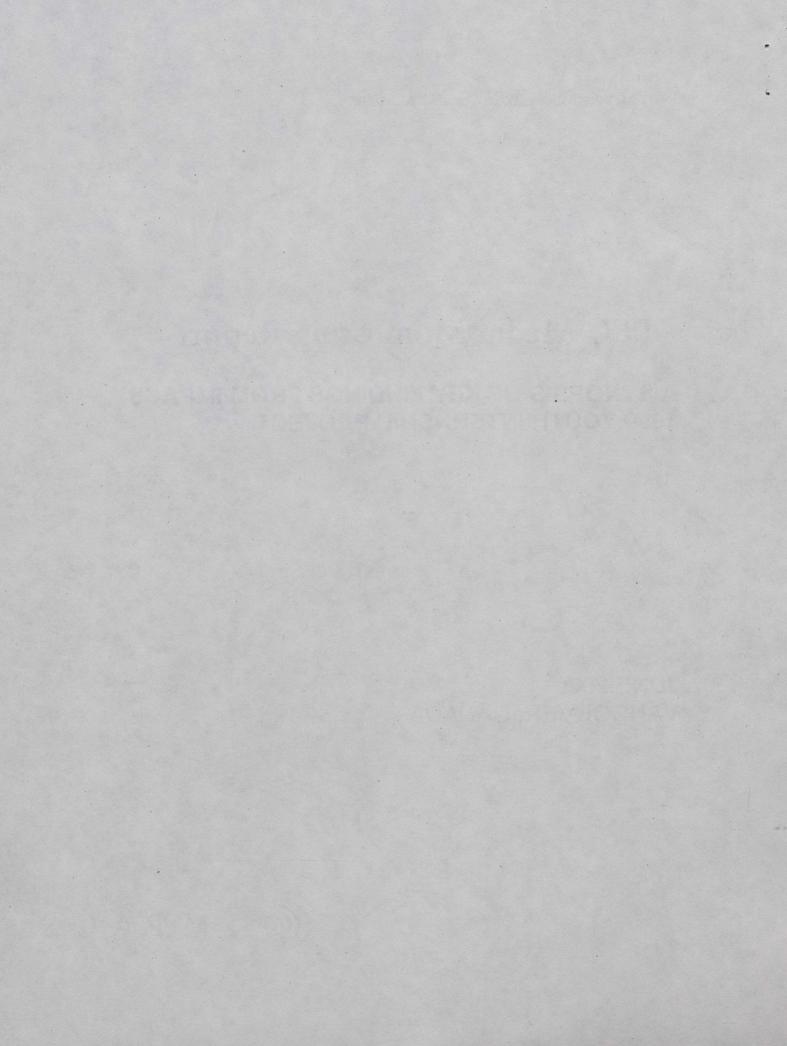


# **APEC Media Monitoring Report**

A SYNOPSIS OF KEY FINDINGS FROM IMPACS' 1999 YOUTH INTERNSHIP PROJECT

JUNE 2000 VANCOUVER, CANADA





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# APEC Media Monitoring Report: A Synoposis of Key Findings from IMPACS' Youth Internship Project

# I. SUMMARY

#### Introduction

IMPACS, the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society, coordinated the APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation)
Media Monitoring Youth Internship
Project.<sup>i</sup>

The goal of this project was to contribute to an understanding of how media in APEC countries cover trade issues, more specifically the 1999 APEC Summit in Auckland, New Zealand.

This project took place within IMPACS' Free Media Program and was supported by the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's Youth International Internship Program (DFAIT) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

#### Research

The media monitoring results presented in this report represent a 'snapshot', rather than a comprehensive analysis, of selected APEC media coverage in Canada, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Philippines and Thailand during a 17 day period from August 30<sup>th</sup> – September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1999 inclusive.<sup>ii</sup>

Using content analysis research techniques, the study aimed to investigate differences between various media in seven APEC countries in the following areas: the overall amount of coverage devoted to APEC, the origin of the news items, the most frequently used

news genre, the focus of news items, the topics discussed and the sources used.

The research and methodology techniques used enabled the interns to develop a sense of how the concerns of civil society are covered by the media in connection to a major trade forum such as APEC.

# **Key Findings**

#### A. General Conclusions

The participants in the APEC Media Monitoring Youth Internship Project concluded that the mainstream media in the sample APEC countries, whether privately owned or state—controlled, did not provide adequate coverage of the issues surrounding free trade negotiations. In particular, the perspectives voiced by civil society and perspectives critical of APEC or free trade in general were marginalized or absent.

Analysis of collected data found that, with the exception of the selected New Zealand media, most media outlets in the sample countries provided limited coverage of the 1999 APEC Summit in New Zealand. Regardless of the amount of APEC-related news, the media in question provided minimal space for a diverse range of issues or perspectives. The results from each individual study point to an almost uniform reliance on official sources, especially those representing government. Very little space was provided for the

representatives of civil society, in some cases none whatsoever. The range of topics discussed was similarly narrow. Most news items focused on events occurring at, or official statements from, the APEC Summit in Auckland.

# B. Comparative Analysis

The following discussion is a comparison of key reported results under the categories of amount, topic and sources. Detailed findings and discussions for each of the researched countries can be found below.

#### Amount

Not surprisingly, New Zealand, the APEC Summit host country, provided the most extensive APEC-related coverage – the largest amount of coverage was 18.5% of the total news reported on the TV One nightly news broadcast, and the average coverage from the three monitored sources was 14.8% of total coverage.

On average, the media analyzed in the

On average, the media analyzed in the remaining six countries devoted less than 5.0% of their coverage to APEC-related news. In some cases, this percentage dropped below 1% (i.e. 0.7% for El Universal in Mexico and 0.6% for The Thai Rath in Thailand). In Canada the media analysis provided little coverage of the Summit. For example, only 12 items appeared in the national newspaper, The Globe & Mail, which is surprising given its strong business focus.

After the New Zealand media, the most APEC-related coverage as a percentage of total coverage was found in the four print media selected from the Philippines (4.3% on average).

On the whole, print-based media tended to provide much more coverage than their broadcast counterparts. However, as a percentage of the total news items produced during the monitoring period, broadcast media often provided more APEC coverage.

# **Topic**

The topic category was a critical aspect of these studies because as media researcher Bernard Cohen has stated: the media "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but [they are] stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about." This said, our results suggest that the boundaries of debate in the selected media were narrow.

Despite the fact that the New Zealand media provided the greatest amount of coverage, they did not provide much space for alternative issues or perspectives. Indeed, although the People's Summit wasn't excluded from the coverage altogether, it appeared to be of marginal concern to the media analyzed. This translated into minimal opportunities to raise such issues as the environment, culture or labour concerns. For example, The New Zealand Herald, despite producing 301 total APECrelated news items, failed to ever cover these subjects as a main topic and in total, the environment, culture or labour concerns received were coded as 2.6% of the 'mentioned' topics.

The violence in East Timor was a main topic of discussion in most media we examined. The selected Canadian media tended to mention APEC only in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bernard C. Cohen, <u>The Press and Foreign</u>
<u>Policy Princeton</u>, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963, p13.

passing or in connection with East Timor or the arrival of Chinese migrants. It is not surprising that the Indonesian media were also preoccupied with the topic of East Timor. The political turmoil in the country, coupled with the history of government censorship, surely played a central role in the overall lack of coverage of APEC and free trade in general during this time period.

Malaysian media also paid a considerable amount of attention to East Timor. When they did discuss the Summit more directly, it tended to exclude non-economic concerns such as the environment, or the concerns of ethnic and indigenous groups, for example.

Like Indonesia, domestic troubles in Mexico along with the close relationship between the government and media may have been the most important factor in the limited and rather narrow coverage of APEC meetings by the Mexican media. When the Summit did make the news, the focus tended to be on economic issues. The People's Summit and the issues surrounding it were almost completely ignored.

Spaces for criticism of the APEC Summit were largely absent from the media we examined in both the Philippines and in Thailand. Economic issues, the politics of trade, events at the official Summit, and the violence in East Timor dominated APEC-related news during this time. In the Philippines, the media also focused on the actions of President Estrada.

The common thread running through most of the media coverage analyzed seems to be the focus on mainstream issues such as economics, the politics of trade and events at the Summit. East Timor also was a topic of some importance to most of the media examined. A more qualitative analysis is required to understand to what extent connections were made between free trade and human rights in this regard. Furthermore, it is uncertain at this point whether or not the atrocities occurring in East Timor diverted media attention away from other concerns of civil society.

#### Sources

Directly related to the topics being discussed in the media are the sources used to provide information. The voices heard in the mainstream media most often came from elite segments of society; government, business and experts such as academics and other professionals.

Official perspectives dominated the Canadian and Mexican media we examined, so much so that opposing perspectives were absent altogether from APEC-related coverage. Results from the media in the remaining countries were similar. For example, NGOs appeared only 4 times in the Philippine Daily Inquirer (8% of the total sources used) and only once as the first accessed source (3%). In the Indonesian newspaper Kompas, labour was the only oppositional source to appear and did so only once in a secondary capacity. Some media, such as Radio 4 or the Chinese language newspaper Sin Chew Jit Poh in Malaysia did not include any 'non-official' voices. This pattern of excluding oppositional perspectives was evident in all the media we examined. In general, however, when alternative perspectives were heard it tended to be in the print-based media.

#### Context

# A. APEC, Media and the Construction of News

1999 marked the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the formation of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The Cooperation provides the opportunity for member nations to discuss ways of removing barriers to international trade in the Asia-Pacific region. The 'free trade' debate is a heated one at this point in history - highlighted by the recent protests which shut down the World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle in December 1999.

Proponents of the global marketplace argue that all citizens benefit from the removal of obstacles to free trade and that third world economies are prime beneficiaries through the opening of major markets to their products. Others claim that any benefits are more than offset by the costs represented by the deteriorating health, safety and wages of workers, damage to the environment both local and global - and the destruction of unique cultures. Consequently, the APEC Leaders' Summits have for some years been a lightning rod for protest. This was clearly demonstrated during the 1997 APEC Summit in Vancouver, Canada where thousands of protestors converged to voice their concerns.

Mass media, be it newspapers, radio or television, has a critical role to play in presenting the plurality of perspectives surrounding issues such as free trade and globalization – issues intrinsically linked with events such as the 1999 APEC Summit. Despite this key role, very little research has been done on the topic of media representations of free trade or the negotiation process that precedes it.

The Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada produced the only found study in 1998.2 The authors examined a wide variety of media from Canada, comparing them with each other, with several American newspapers and with papers from mostly unnamed Asian countries. The study was highly critical of the Canadian newspapers for their lack of attention to Canadian trade policy and APEC's "relevance to Canada." But what particularly vexed the authors of the study was coverage of human rights issues which, according to the report, the Canadian media were preoccupied with. The American and Asian newspapers on the other hand were praised by the Foundation as they avoided human rights concerns and "adopted a more analytic approach" that focused on "the substance" of trade liberalization.

# B. Media Use of Sources

Mass media throughout the world are the primary forum for public discourse. This being the case, it is imperative to remember that the media provide us with particular representations of reality, representations that are highly constructed and the result of a whole host of decisions about what is important, what is not, who is a legitimate source of information and who is not.

Although no academic work seems to have been done on the reporting of international trade, many academic studies have shown that the mainstream media rely heavily on official sources in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <u>Canada Asia Review, 1998</u> Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, 1998 pp32-37.

all types of news discourse.<sup>3</sup> Sources from government, business and those representing expert opinions -i.e. academics, scientists, medical professionals, etc.- tend to dominate all other source types.

Furthermore, these groups also frequently set the terms of debate in news discourse, framing issues in ways that reflect their particular interests and positions in society. As a consequence, those expressing viewpoints that consistently conflict with these 'legitimate' sources tend to be marginalized. The particular interests of certain segments of society then come to be portrayed as universal, applicable to all.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For a discussion of the use of sources in mainstream media see Shoemaker, Pamela & Reese, Stephen Mediating the Message: Theories of Influence on Mass Media Content 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. Longman Publishers USA: White Plains, New York. For a study on the use of sources in mainstream news see Hackett, Robert A. "A hierarchy of access: aspects of source bias in Canadian TV news." Journalism Quarterly, 62, summer 1985, 256-65+.

# II. Research and Methodology

#### A. Introduction

Using content analysis research techniques, the study aimed to investigate differences between various media in seven APEC countries in the following areas: the overall amount of coverage devoted to APEC, the origin of the news items, the most frequently used news genre, the focus of news items, the topics discussed and the sources used.

The findings presented are based on the data collected by individual interns placed in each country. While some attempt at comparative analysis has been made, an inter–coder reliability test, a test for consistency between the individual researchers, was not performed. Further, content analysis provides only a snapshot of the coverage produced by a given medium during a particular time period and it requires subjective decisions about which content is relevant and how it should be categorized.

Prior to departing for their respective placements, the Interns participated in two seminars to explore a range of media issues that influence what information and analysis is presented as news and how this can vary depending on the social, economic, and political context of the country in question.

These seminars challenge the notion of information and news as objective and uncontestable. Issues covered in the seminars included: freedom of expression, access to information, models of media ownership, ownership concentration and its implications, media

accountability, and standards of journalistic professionalism.

# B. Methodology

The following section outlines specific methodologies used in the design and implementation of this media monitoring project.

# Study Design

For the purposes of this study, APEC-related news items are any news items -including news in business sections-mentioning the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation. News media were monitored for APEC news items in the following countries: Canada, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Philippines, and Thailand.

#### Sample

In each country, youth intern researchers were instructed to select one major daily newspaper, one radio news broadcast, and one television news broadcast. Researchers were also instructed to select the media that reached the highest number of people. Each medium was monitored for a 17-day period that began Monday, August 30<sup>th</sup> and ended Wednesday, September 15<sup>th</sup> 1999, inclusive.

Researchers were encouraged to consult with their host organization on other possible important publications (such as weekly or monthly magazines) or broadcasts (such as current affairs programs) that might also be monitored. Due to local variations in media product available, different types of media were used for the individual studies. For instance, in some cases several newspapers were analyzed, and in others broadcast media was not.

#### Amount

To determine the proportion of news coverage devoted to APEC-related issues, researchers tracked the overall number of articles or broadcast segments produced by each medium during the monitoring period.

#### Genre

Genre, the format in which the news item was presented, was broken down into the following categories:

- News breaking news events, including business news.
- Features in-depth news items that incorporated some or all of the following: extended background, analysis, judgment and opinion of the author.
- Editorial communicated the opinion of the newspaper/broadcaster as represented by the editorial staff.
- Opinion any other opinion piece that did not fit into the above categories.
- Other news items that could not be coded according to the above criteria.

# Origin

Origin refers to the source of the news item.

wire Service— any service supplying news items to newspapers, radio and TV stations (i.e. Reuters, Associated Press). A note was made on coding sheets to indicate individual news services where applicable.

- Local Reporter/Writer news item originated within the news medium in which it appeared.
- Other Newspaper news item taken from another national or international newspaper or broadcast medium.
- Other origin could not be coded under the above categories.

#### Focus

Researchers attempted to categorize news items as event or issue focused. Issue and event were defined as follows:

- Event news items that focused mainly on the spectacle of APEC-related occurrences (e.g. personalities, images of protest, logistics of travel or accommodation, etc.).
- Issue stories that focused mainly on the substance of APEC issues.
- Mixed news items that combined elements of both issuefocused and event-focused news.
- Not Applicable the item could not be coded according to these categories.

# Topic

Topic refers to the subject of the article or broadcast news item. Each piece could be coded for more than one topic but an attempt was made to indicate the main focus of each item. Because the range of potential topics surrounding APEC is vast, the following represents a partial list of possible topics.

Researchers were encouraged to postcode news items – this is to say, to use the following protocol initially and then to develop categories for 'other' topics that appeared frequently. When these other categories remained sizable (over 10%) the coding sheets were consulted and where possible new, post-coded categories were developed after data was returned to IMPACS.

- Economic Issues economic indicators (GDP, inflation, interest rates) economic planning, government spending, IMF bailout packages, debt, financial crisis, trade policy and law.
- Business Issues company profiles, profit, and corporate debt/mergers/business strategy, export strategy.
- Cultural Issues impact of free trade on national culture, domination of Western values, intellectual property rights.
- Politics of Trade news items which focused on the negotiation process rather than the substance of the issues. This category includes stories about accountability, transparency, leader strategy, international relations, and diplomacy.
- Globalization general philosophical debate on whether the process is good or bad -e.g. its potential effects on national sovereignty.
- Official Summit items about the official APEC events, ministerial meetings, etc.
- People's Summit stories about the People's Summit and alternative activities around the event, including protests.
- Labour Issues the concerns of workers, including strikes, disputes, layoffs, working

- conditions, health and safety, wages.
- Human Rights Issues civil and political liberties - freedom of speech, fair elections, etc- the concerns of citizens including child labour, women's rights, poverty, discrimination excludes Ethnic/Minority below.
- Environmental Issues –
   environmental degradation,
   preservation and laws and
   regulation.
- Informal Sector Issues the issues and concerns of peasants, small informal traders, subsistence farmers, fishermen, etc.
- *Ethnic/Minority* religious, aboriginal, ethnic group interests.
- Other topics that could not be coded according to the above categories. Post coded.

#### Sources

Sources are the people or institutions contacted by representatives of media organizations for information. Sources could be quoted directly or mentioned in the course of a news item. Researchers also made a note as to whether the source was local or foreign and whether the source type was quoted or mentioned first in the news item.

This method of coding cannot discern how many times an individual source type appears in each news item. Once again, the "other" category was postcoded in a manner similar to that used for topic.

 APEC – official statements of the APEC conference itself (excludes specific briefings given

- by the representatives of particular countries).
- Other Transnational
   Organizations includes
   organizations that act
   internationally, such as the IMF,
   the World Bank and the WTO.
- Government local or foreign government heads of state, ministers, spokespeople.
- Business local or foreign corporate representatives
- Expert/Academic includes individuals referred to for their expertise in a specific field of knowledge (e.g. economics, ecology), also includes think tanks and research organizations (excludes experts clearly affiliated with other source types e.g. an economist employed by a corporation – 'business').

- Political Party spokesperson for political party, not speaking as government.
- Ethnic/Minority minorities including aboriginal people, religious and ethnic minorities.
- Labour representatives of organized workers, nonunionized professional employees (i.e. teachers, journalists).
- Non Governmental Organizations – social advocacy organizations including groups advancing the concerns of citizens in general, women, homosexuals, children or the poor; includes environment, social programs and advocates for media freedom.
- Other sources that cannot be coded according to the above categories. Post coded.

# III. Research Findings

# A. New Zealand - Researcher: Lindsey Parry

#### i. Discussion

IMPACS' researcher Lindsey Parry chose three media for analysis: the New Zealand Herald, TV One, and radio station 1ZB. During the 17-day monitoring period each edition of the Herald, a major daily newspaper, was monitored. The nightly news broadcast from TV One was also monitored. And, finally, a current affairs program, The Larry Williams Show, was recorded from radio station 1ZB.

Given the fact that the 1999 APEC meeting took place in Auckland, it is not surprising that the New Zealand media provided the most substantial coverage of any of the APEC countries monitored for this study. The New Zealand Herald devoted almost 17% of their overall coverage during this time period to APEC-related news items, New Zealands' TV One devoted 18.5% and The Larry Williams Show, a current affairs program on Radio 1ZB, checked in at 9%. This volume, however, did not translate into generous opportunities for critical analysis.

Of the New Zealand Herald's 301 total APEC-related news items approximately 45% dealt with business issues, the politics of trade, economic issues or the preparations undertaken for the Summit. The violence in East Timor was also discussed frequently in connection

with APEC. The <u>Herald</u> also focused its attention in a less substantial way on a

diverse range of issues. These issues included such things as the traffic and security problems created by the Summit, Bill Clinton and his movements in New Zealand and general discussion of globalization. Although the People's Summit was the 7<sup>th</sup> most frequently appearing main topic, the concerns of civil society were not addressed in any significant way. In fact, while human rights were the focus of only two items, labour, the environment and cultural issues insofar as they are connected with APEC, were not the focus of any news item.

That many important issues were absent from the pages of the Herald during this time might be a result of the rather narrow use of sources. Representatives from government, the business community and APEC committee members made up almost 60% of the total sources used during the monitoring period. Furthermore, these sources also were by far the most likely to appear first in the articles that were examined, a key position considering the pyramidal news writing style that tends to put the 'most important' information at the beginning of the article.

While the evidence seems to point to an over-reliance on so-called mainstream sources, it also points to the marginalization of viewpoints critical of the Summit and to those wishing to raise the concerns associated with civil society. In this regard, NGO's, workers' organizations, representatives of ethnic or minority groups, and protestors

affiliated with a variety of concerns comprised just under 7% of all the sources used. The <u>Herald's</u> coverage provided its readers with a representation of APEC that was in line with viewpoints of governments, business and APEC itself.

The same can be said of the TV and radio coverage that were examined for this study. TV One's coverage of the newscast, tended to be centered on events. It focused much of its attention on the horrors occurring in East Timor, the preparations made for the APEC event itself and the movements and statements of U.S. leader Bill Clinton. This is likely a reflection of the medium itself, as TV coverage tends to concentrate our attention on images rather than issues.

When issues were raised they focused on the politics of trade, economic, and business issues. The People's Summit was again the focus of a few segments but many of the substantive issues surely of concern to the groups participating in this 'alternative' event, were either brought up infrequently or were ignored altogether. For instance, the environment was mentioned only once and was not the focus of any news item appearing on TV One during the monitoring period. Culture, and the homogenizing thrust of free markets in this regard, were not raised at all.

Once again government sources appeared as the most frequent source and were most apt to appear first in the sampled news items. TV One differed from its print cousin in that it relied heavily on 'person-on-the-street' interviews. In total, less than 20% of the

sources used for APEC-related news items came from traditionally marginalized groups.

The Larry Williams Show on radio 1ZB also focused heavily on the Indonesian government sponsored terror in East Timor. And once again, business and economic issues, the politics of trade and the official summit itself made up the bulk of the discussion during this time. In fact, this program did not raise any of the concerns of civil society whatsoever. The People's Summit was not acknowledged, nor were labour issues, the environment or cultural issues. The representation of APEC provided by the Larry Williams Show closely mimicked the mainstream opinions of government and business. This is evidenced by its almost total reliance on these two source types.

# **Concluding Remarks**

Although little critical study has been done on the representation of international trade in the mainstream media, previous research has consistently shown that only rarely do issues and opinions that conflict with the core goals and interests of corporate or government elites appear.

Individual politicians or parties, or even individual members of the business community are often singled out when their transgressions are particularly blatant. However, rarely is the legitimacy of these institutions challenged. From the initial results of the most substantial coverage of APEC, the New Zealand coverage, it appears that this trend is evident in reporting on APEC. The voices and concerns of civil society were covered infrequently.

# ii. Findings

#### 1. New Zealand Herald

#### Amount

During the monitoring period, the <u>New Zealand Herald</u> published 301 articles referring to APEC and international trade issues. In total, 17% of all <u>Herald</u> coverage during this time was APEC related.

#### Genre

Roughly two-thirds (63%) of the <u>Herald's</u> coverage was of the news variety. Features and Opinion pieces were the next most frequent types of APEC coverage at 17.6% and 13.6% respectively.

Table A.1 – Genre (New Zealand Herald)

	N	%
News	189	62.8
Feature	53	17.6
Opinion	41	13.6
Other	11	3.7
Editorial	7	2.3
Total	301	100.0

 "Other" included a range of items such as satirical fiction, edited transcripts of speeches made by political leaders and a summary of highlights from the Official Summit weekend.

# Origin

Staff members wrote 95% of APEC-related items appearing in <u>The Herald</u> during the monitoring period.

Table A.2 – Origin (New Zealand Herald)

	N	%
Herald	287	95.3
Wire Service	11	3.7
Origin Not Specified	2	0.7
Other Newspaper	1	0.3
Total	301	100.0

- 'Origin Not Specified' refers to two edited transcripts of speeches given by New Zealand Prime Minister Shipley and US President Bill Clinton.
- 'Other Newspaper' refers to one article written by a Japanese reporter (paper not specified).

#### Focus

The Herald published slightly more issue-oriented items than event-oriented.

Table A.3 – Focus (New Zealand Herald)

	N	%
Issue	138	45.8
Event	103	34.2
Mixed	37	12.3
Neither	23	7.6
Total	301	99.9

# Topic

'Business Issues' (i.e. company profiles, corporate profit, debt or mergers etc.) was the most frequently appearing main topic during the monitoring period at 15.9% of story topics. This was followed by news of APEC event 'Preparations', (11.3%) and items concerned with the negotiation process ('Politics of Trade' – 10.3%). 'Cultural Issues,' 'Labour Issues' and the 'Environment' did not appear as main topics in any <u>Herald</u> article.

Topic A.4 – Topic (New Zealand Herald)

Topic (Ivew Zea	Main	%	Ment'd	%	Total	%
Business	48	15.9	49	8.8	97	11.3
Preparations	34	11.3	13	2.3	47	5.5
Politics of Trade	31	10.3	64	11.4	95	11.0
Other	23	7.6	11	2.0	34	4.0
Economic Issues	22	7.3	66	11.8	88	10.2
East Timor	21	7.0	14	2.5	35	4.1
People's Summit	19	6.3	8	1.4	27	3.1
Bill Clinton	18	6.0	6	1.1	24	2.8
Security	18	6.0	30	5.4	48	5.6
Globalization	16	5.3	24	4.3	40	4.7
Leader Profile	12	4.0	4	0.7	16	1.9
Official Summit	11	3.7	43	7.7	54	6.3
Non-Affiliated Events	8	2.7	14	2.5	22	2.6
Other Concerns	7	2.3	3	0.5	10	1.2
Traffic	4	1.3	11	2.0	15	1.7
Human Rights	2	0.7	40	7.2	42	4.9
Informal Sector	2	0.7	20	3.6	22	2.6
Ethnic/Minority Issues	2	0.7	33	5.9	35	4.1
Other Transnational Orgs	2	0.7	52	9.3	54	6.3
Indirect Reference	1	0.3	3	0.5	4	0.5
CEO Summit	0	0.0	36	6.4	36	4.2
Labour	0	0.0	7	1.3	7	0.8
Environment	0	0.0	4	0.7	4	0.5
Cultural Issues	0	0.0	4	0.7	4	0.5

Total	301	100.1	559	100.0	860	100.4

#### Sources

Government sources (local and foreign -27.6%) were the most frequently used source types. They were also the most likely of any source to appear first in the articles we examined. Business sources were the next most accessed source (16.2%), followed by members of the APEC committee (13.2%). Those source types most likely to provide alternative perspectives on APEC were accessed much more infrequently. For example, people representing ethnic or minority groups made up less than 3% of the total sources appearing in the <u>Herald</u>. The same goes for representatives of NGOs, Labour groups and protestors. Together, these groups comprised about 7% of all source types.

Tonic A 5 - Source (New Zealand Herald)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	. %
Government	68	28.3	26	26.0	94	27.6
Business	38	15.8	17	17.0	55	16.2
APEC Committee Member	32	13.3	13	13.0	45	13.2
Other	15	6.3	8	8.0	23	6.8
Vox Pop	16	6.7	5	5.0	21	6.2
Expert/Academic	9	3.8	10	10.0	19	5.6
Local Business	14	5.8	3	3.0	17	5.0
Other Media	11	4.6	5	5.0	16	4.7
Police/Legal	8	3.3	4	4.0	12	3.5
Political Party	6	2.5	4	4.0	10	2.9
Ethnic/Minority	8	3.3	2	2.0	10.	2.9
NGO	8	3.3	1	1.0	9	2.6
Protestors	3	1.3	0	0.0	3	0.9
Labour	2	0.8	1	1.0	3	0.9
Other Transnational Organization	2	0.8	1	1.0	3	0.9
Total	240	99.9	100	100.0	340	99.9

# 2. TV One

#### Amount

New Zealand's <u>TV One</u> broadcasted 373 items on its newscast of which, 69 (18.5%) were APEC related.

#### Genre

The majority of APEC-related items appearing on <u>TV One</u> during the monitoring period were 'News items.'

Table A.6 – Program Type/Genre (TV One)

	N	%
News	60	87.0
Live Interview	9	13.0
Total	69	100.0

#### Origin

All items, including live footage, were attributed to TV One News.

#### **Focus**

Items appearing on <u>TV One</u> during the monitoring period were split between: Event, Issue, and Mixed.

Table A..7 – Focus (TV One)

	N	%
Event	24	34.8
Mixed	22	31.9
Issue	20	29.0
Neither	3	4.3
Total	69	100.0

### Topic

'East Timor' appeared as the most frequent main topic during the 17 day monitoring period. Indeed, about 1/3 (30.4%) of TV One's coverage focused on the violence occurring in the occupied island nation. Much of the East Timor coverage served as a lead-in to APEC and what the political leaders were doing to stop the genocide. In particular, the prospect of Indonesian President Habibie not attending the conference as a result of the violence was frequently emphasized. Behind the scenes 'Preparations' and U.S. President 'Bill Clinton' were the next most frequently covered main topics. 'Cultural Issues,' 'Ethnic/Minority Issues' and the 'Environment' were absent as main topics from TV One broadcasts.

Table A.8 - Topic (TV One)

Table A.8 – Topic (TV Oile)	Main	%	Ment'd	%	Total	%
East Timor	21	30.4	7	5.8	28	14.7
Preparations	11	15.9	1	0.8	13	6.8
Bill Clinton	10	14.5	1	0.8	11	5.8
Politics of Trade	4	5.8	17	14.2	21	11.1
People's Summit	4	5.8	5	4.2	9	4.7
Other	4	5.8	0	0.0	4	2.1
Economic Issues	3	4.3	5	4.2	8	4.2
Business	2	2.9	2	1.7	4	2.1
Profile of Leader	2	2.9	3	2.5	5	2.6
Security	2	2.9	0	0.0	2	1.1
Human Rights	1	1.4	27	22.5	28	14.7
Non-Affiliated Events	1	1.4	6	5.0	7	3.7
Traffic	1	1.4	1	0.8	2	1.1
Other Concerns	1	1.4	1	0.8	2	1.1
Globalization	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	0.5
Labour Issues	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	0.5
Ethnic/Minority Issues	0	0.0	30	25.0	30	15.8
Official Summit	0	0.0	8	6.7	8	4.2
Informal Sector	0	0.0	2	1.7	2	1.1
Other Transnational Orgs	0	0.0	2	1.7	2	1.1
CEO Summit	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Environment	0	0.0	1	0.8	1	0.5
Cultural Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	69	99.6	120	100.0	190	100.0

#### Sources

Government sources (33.3%) were again the most frequently used source type and most likely to appear as the lead source (27.6%) in APEC-related items during this time period. Person-on-the-street, or 'vox pops', was the next most frequent source type (13.0%) and lead source (19.0%). Although NGO's were tied with APEC committee members for fourth place in terms of overall frequency, NGO's did not appear as lead sources in any APEC-related TV One broadcast segment. Labour, once again, received minimal airtime (2.8%).

Table A.9 – Sources (TV One)	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	16	27.6	20	40.0	36	33.3
Vox Pop	11	19.0	3	6.0	14	13.0
Other	8	13.8	3	6.0	11	10.2
APEC Committee Member	3	5.2	5	10.0	8	7.4
NGO	0	0.0	8	16.0	8	7.4
Ethnic/Minority	* 4	6.9	3	6.0	7	6.5
Political Party	3	5.2	2	4.0	5	4.6

Business	2	3.4	2	4.0	4	3.7
Expert/Academic	4	6.9	0	0.0	4	3.7
Police/Legal	3	5.2	1	2.0	4	3.7
Other Transnational Organization	1	1.7	2	4.0	3	2.8
Protestors	2	3.4	1	2.0	3	2.8
Labour	1	1.7	0	0.0	. 1	0.9
Total	58	100.0	50	100.0	108	100.0

#### 3. Radio Station 1ZB

#### Amount

During the two-week monitoring period 301 items were broadcast on the "Larry Williams" show. Of these, 27 were APEC-related. Thus 9.0% of all items on this one-hour news program were APEC-related.

#### Genre

Only two genres were recorded for the "Larry Williams" show – 'news,' referring to hard news items in the context of a news broadcast and 'live interviews'.

Table A.10 – Genre (Radio Station 1ZB)

Table A.10 Geme (Radio Brains)	N	%
News	15	56.0
Live Interviews	12	44.0
Total	27	100.0

#### Origin

All radio news items broadcast were attributed to Radio 1ZB.

#### Focus

Roughly three-quarters of the items discussed on the Larry Williams show were 'Issue-oriented.'

Table A..11 - Focus (Radio Station 1ZB)

Table A 11 – Poeus (Radio)	N N	%
Issues	20	74.1
Event	4	14.8
Mixed	3	11.0
Total	27	99.9

Topic

The most prevalent main topic on *The Larry Williams Show* during the two-week monitoring period was 'East Timor.' Roughly one-half of the items were focused on the violence following the September referendum. Once again, these items used East Timor as a link to other issues related to APEC.

Table A.12 - Topic (Radio Station 1ZB)

	Main	%	Ment'd	%	Total	%
East Timor	13	48.1	3	4.3	16	16.5
Business Issues	4	14.8	1	1.4	5	5.2
Politics of Trade	4	14.8	17	24.3	21	21.6
Other Concerns	2	7.4	0	0.0	2	2.1
Economic Issues	1	3.7	2	2.9	3	3.1
Official Summit	1	3.7	10	14.3	11	11.3
Preparations	1	3.7	0	0.0	1	1.0
Other	1	3.7	0	0.0	1	1.0
Human Rights	0	0.0	15	21.4	15	15.5
Ethnic/Minority Issues	0	0.0	15	21.4	15	15.5
Other Transnational Orgs	0	0.0	3	4.3	3	3.1
CEO Summit	0	0.0	1	1.4	1	1.0
Traffic	0	0.0	1	1.4	1	1.0
Security	0	0.0	1	1.4	1	1.0
Non-Affiliated Events	0	0.0	1	1.4	1	1.0
People's Summit	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Globalization	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Labour Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Environment	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Cultural Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	27	99.9	70	99.9	97	99.9

#### Sources

Very few sources were used in the broadcast segments that were analyzed. Nevertheless, government sources dominated all other source types, accounting for almost two thirds of the voices heard during the broadcast monitoring period.

Table A.13 – Sources (Radio Station 1ZB)

	N	%
Government	10	62.5
Business	2	12.5
Expert/Academic	1	6.3
Other	3	. 18.8
Total	16	100.1

<sup>\*</sup> Only one source was heard as a secondary source, that being 'other.'

# B. Canada - Researcher: Leah Willis

i. Findings/Discussion\*

In Canada, IMPACS' researcher Leah Willis looked at the following media: the Globe and Mail, CTV and CKNW. All editions of the Globe and Mail, one of two Canadian national daily newspapers, were examined during the monitoring period. The Globe is privately owned by Thompson Corp. and is regarded as the "bosses' newspaper" in that it is targeted towards the more affluent segments of Canadian society. The nightly news broadcast on CTV, a privately owned national network of Canadian TV stations, was also monitored. And finally, a privately owned British Columbia-based radio station, CKNW was monitored for its nightly 8:00pm news broadcast.

In general, these Canadian media did a poor job in covering the APEC Summit in New Zealand. Not only was there an overall dearth of reporting on the Summit, but the coverage that was done was superficial and lacked any sort of analysis. Coverage of the Summit focused on official statements and events occurring in Auckland. APEC itself was mentioned more often in connection with events other than the Leaders' Summit - mainly in connection with East Timor, and the arrival of Chinese refugees in Canada.

Official perspectives dominated the discourse, so much so that opposing perspectives were altogether absent from the coverage. With the exception of two radio broadcast items that dealt with NAFTA, most of the Canadian media we

examined were devoid of analytic content or consideration that international trade agreements might warrant our protest, or our concern.

The Globe and Mail, one of two nationally distributed newspapers in Canada, published 12 stories mentioning APEC during the 17-day monitoring period. Of these 12 stories, half focused on the Summit as the main topic and only three of these were about the trade issues being discussed.

The Globe and Mail used the APEC Summit mainly as an opportunity to discuss the bloodshed in East Timor or the arrival of Chinese refugees off the shores of British Columbia. The People's Summit, and more importantly the issues and perspectives central to that gathering, were not covered in any substantial way. Indeed, the limited coverage the Globe gave to APEC was devoid of analysis or evaluation of the negotiations and agreements the Summit generated.

In the 3 items that were specifically about these meetings, the discussion could be more accurately described as a monologue. The only groups used as sources for these items were government officials attending the Summit and APEC representatives. The result was several news items that emphasized continued advocacy for trade liberalization, advocacy that was not balanced by opposing perspectives from labour unions, environmental organizations or other NGO's.

CKNW is a Vancouver-based, privately owned radio station that claims to have

<sup>\*</sup>Note: The discussion and results sections have been combined.

the largest audience of any news/talk radio station in the province. The nightly news broadcast at 8:00pm contained only three mentions of the APEC Summit during the 17 days. The Summit itself was discussed only in passing as two of these items concentrated on the situation in East Timor while the other focused on the Chinese refugees. Once again, government officials held a monopoly on the airwayes.

CTV is a privately owned national network of Canadian TV stations. The late night national news broadcast contained five stories mentioning APEC. Three of the five focused on the East Timor situation, while one dealt with the arrival of the Chinese refugees and the steps the Canadian government was taking to prevent the smuggling of human beings. The final item focused

on protest. As with much television coverage of such events, the spectacle was the story, and the concerns of the protestors were not explored. In all five news items, drama took precedence over issues.

# **Concluding Remarks**

Thus we see that the Canadian media selected for analysis presented a very limited and a very narrow representation of APEC. It should be noted that all three of these media are commercial endeavours. As such, their goal is not one of public service, like the national private broadcaster in Canada, the CBC, but to create a sizeable return on shareholder investment. Reporting on international trade surely isn't advertiser-friendly content – it's not entertaining, it is very complex and it does not make for good visuals.

# C. Indonesia - Researcher: Meghan Watson-Donald

#### i. Discussion

IMPACS' researcher Meghan Watson-Donald selected the following media for analysis: Kompas, an Indonesian Daily Newspaper; SCTV, an Indonesian television station; TVRI Siaran Berita (national news) and Dunia Dalam Berita (international news), two officially government-sponsored TV news programs; and a government-sponsored radio station, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI).

The period beginning in late August and early September of 1999 marked a pivotal period in Indonesia's history. Political relations were tense in both the domestic and international arenas. Indonesia witnessed democratic elections and the selection of its new president by the People's Consultative Assembly. President B.J. Habibie found himself increasingly isolated as he pursued policies, particularly in East Timor, that lacked not only popular support but also the crucial backing of the military.

In addition to this pressure from within, there was a great deal of pressure from outside, to either control the armed militias and Indonesian military troops in East Timor or allow foreign peacekeepers to restore order in the territory. For many Indonesians, this amounted to national humiliation. Others felt that weakened central authority and the untimely referendum in East Timor would lead to the breakup of the entire country.

The warning signs were clear as separatist violence raced on in Aceh and

Irian Jaya, and the Maluku (Spice Islands) were rocked by conflict.

In this politically tumultuous context, it must come as little surprise that trade issues ranked low in importance for Indonesian politicians, the local media and the public alike. As a result, the media coverage of the 1999 APEC summit in Auckland cannot be seen as an accurate reflection of the priority typically assigned to APEC and trade issues in the Indonesian media.

The nature of the coverage itself was likewise skewed, as violence in East Timor became one of the more prominent subjects of official debate at APEC, diverting attention from trade issues even at the international level. Thus, even where APEC was mentioned in the Indonesian press, it was often mentioned only insofar as it related to the situation in East Timor. While this may be fitting, given the widespread perception of the importance of the East Timor issue to Indonesia's national interest, it obscures the nature of the coverage typically devoted to economic issues in Indonesia, particularly with reference to freer trade.

More generally, it may be said that Indonesia has not yet developed a culture of open political criticism. And this is not surprising given Suharto's iron-fisted rule during the past thirty years. Indonesia's mainstream press still caters overwhelmingly to the official line, as the habits cultivated over a thirty-year period of authoritarian rule are not easily altered. Reporting tends to be highly selective, and any evidence that might contradict or even balance the

official perspective is usually quietly overlooked. This too is hardly surprising given that democracy is still in nascent form in Indonesia – its first democratically elected government was barely weeks old when the monitoring took place.

With this background in mind, it is apparent from the results of this study that in general, the Indonesian media provided little sustained analysis of the APEC summit. The Indonesia newspaper chosen for analysis, Kompas, dedicated over three-fourths of its APEC-related coverage to East Timor, focusing on the violence there and the international outcry that ensued. In only two items were economic issues the main topic of discussion, one of which parroted the official view that APEC is an effective forum for trade negotiations, the other quoting various statistics for the predicted economic growth of APEC nations.

Official sources, those from government, the military, APEC and the UN were used to the exclusion of local NGO's, labour unions, minority groups or other groups representing what has been called civil society. In fact, the only non-mainstream sources used by Kompas were Amnesty International and a labour group, both appearing as secondary sources.

This lack of critical analysis of free trade issues was also apparent in the TV coverage examined. SCTV, which broadcast only 5 APEC-related items, during the 17-day monitoring period focused again on East Timor and relied exclusively on government sources. The two government-sponsored news programs on TVRI also failed to interrogate the substance of free trade. Out of the 16 news items broadcast, only two focused on economic issues.

The process of trade negotiations was the main topic of the first item while the second was a heavily slanted piece that listed the positive aspects of freer trade and participation in APEC such as economic recovery and growth, increased opportunity and larger markets for export. The negative aspects of trade liberalization were ignored completely. And again, all other source types were absent as government sources, the UN, and representatives of business dominated the discourse.

Radio Republic Indonesia, the government-sponsored radio station, was the final medium selected for analysis. The news items tended to be short and offered little analysis. The conference itself was the focus of only one broadcast segment while East Timor was the main topic of 3 of the 7 items. The rest presented a mixture of topics. Once again, government sources were the only sources accessed for information.

# **Concluding Remarks**

In summary, the Indonesian media barely scratched the surface of the issues surrounding free trade and globalized markets. When these issues were raised, they were presented in a very narrow way and failed to address the potential negative aspects of trade liberalization. The over-reliance on official government sources and the failure to provide opposing viewpoints served to limit the scope of debate. The political context in Indonesia surely played a central role in the deficient coverage of APEC and free trade in general during this time period. The political dilemmas facing the country at this juncture far outweighed in importance any discussions of freer trade.

# ii. Findings

# 1. Kompas – Indonesian Newspaper

#### Amount

Kompas published 1,155 news articles during the monitoring period. 22 of these items were APEC-related, representing 1.9% of the total coverage.

#### Genre

Most of the APEC-related items were news-type articles – 18 of 22 (81.8%). Kompas also published 3 editorials and one opinion piece.

# Origin

The APEC-related items published during the monitoring period often originated from wire services with additional comments added by local reporters. These 9 items were coded as 'wire-service' items. The remaining 13 items originated in the <u>Kompas</u> newsroom.

#### Focus

Almost one-half of the articles were coded as not having a focus (9 of 22), while 5 were issue-focused, 7 were of mixed focus and one was event-oriented.

#### Topic

Over three-quarters of <u>Kompas</u>' APEC-related coverage focused on the violence in East Timor (17 or 77.3%). Only three of the 22 total items focused directly on the conference itself. The final two articles focused on economic issues.

Table C.1 – Topic (Kompas)

	Main	%	Mentioned	%	Total	. %
East Timor	17	77.3	0	0.0	17	54.8
Official Summit	3	13.6	3	33.3	6	19.4
Economic Issues	2 .	9.1	1	11.1	3	9.7
Politics of Trade	0	0.0	5	55.5	5	16.1
Total	22	100.0	9	99.9	31	100.0

#### Sources

Government sources, most of them foreign, made up nearly two-thirds of all sources used. Furthermore, government representatives were by far the most likely to appear first in APEC-related news items.

Table C.2 – Source (Kompas)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	14	73.7	16	53.3	30	61.2
Other Transnational Organization	3	15.8	4	13.3	7	14.3
Other Media	2	10.5	4	13.3	6	12.2
Business	0	0.0	2	6.7	2	4.1

Other	0	0.0	2	6.7	2	4.1
Labour	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0
APEC Committee Member	0	0.0	1	3.3	1	2.0
Total	19	100.0	30	99.9	49	99.9

#### 2. Television SCTV

SCTV broadcast only 5 news items concerning APEC. This represents less than two percent of the total items broadcast during the monitoring time frame (5 of 269). Four of these items focused on East Timor. All sources quoted were government officials, and all but one were foreign.

# 3. Television TVRI Siaran Berita and Dunia Dalam Berita

Siaran Berita (SB) and Dunia Dalam Bertia (DDB) are officially government-sponsored TV news programs. SB, the national news, carried 4 APEC-related items out of 176 broadcast segments (1.7%) while DDB, the international news, carried 12 out of 222 (5.4%). Together, 4.0% of the news items broadcast during the monitoring period dealt with APEC-related issues.

Of the 16 story items, 8 focused on the APEC summit, 2 of which these were based on trade or economic issues. East Timor was the main topic of discussion in 5 items, while 4 others focused on international relations. These items covered such items as security on the Korean peninsula and US relations with China. Three-quarters of the items broadcast on these two news programs relied on government sources and 3 of the remaining 4 quoted sources from the UN, business or politics. Representatives from NGOs, labour or minority groups were not accessed during the monitoring period.

# 4. Radio Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI)

Of the 189 stories broadcast during the 17-day monitoring period, 7 mentioned APEC – 3.7%. One piece focused on the Summit as its main topic. Three items were concerned with East Timor and one was about security on the Korean peninsula. The remainder covered a range of topics, in the course of which APEC was mentioned. Government sources appeared in 6 of the 7 items to the exclusion of all other source types.

# D. Malaysia - Researcher: Dorothy Bartozsewski

#### i. Discussion

Dorothy Bartozsweski, the IMPACS' researcher stationed in Malaysia, chose the following media for analysis:

<u>Utusan</u>, a Malay language daily newspaper; <u>Radio 4</u>, an English language radio station; the <u>Star</u>, an English language daily; and <u>Sin Chew Jit Poh</u>, a Chinese language newspaper.

Despite monitoring four major media in Malaysia, the coverage of APEC tended to be restricted to a uniformly narrow range of topics and sources. The majority of the discussion revolved around economic issues and was attributed to government representatives. This may be a consequence of government control, as all major Malaysian media outlets are owned by the ruling coalition.

Three daily newspapers were monitored. The Malay-language daily, <u>Utusan</u> focused on four main topics: Economic issues, the process of negotiation (politics of trade), events or outcomes from the official Summit and the violence in East Timor. Although the People's Summit was the main topic of one article, the concerns of civil society and indeed, other voices of opposition were marginalized almost to exclusion.

Government sources dominated the APEC discussion in <u>Utusan</u>. Not only were they the most frequently used source type, they were by far the most apt to appear first in these news items.

The English-language daily, <u>The Star</u>, provided a similarly narrow range of topics that in general relied on official government sources. It should be noted

however, that the results from one monitoring day are absent. This being said, the Star's APEC coverage at times tended to focus on trivial events such as a shopping trip by Bill and Chelsea Clinton, APEC leaders sporting new "APEC" windbreakers and faxes for US security plans mistakenly being sent to a chicken processing plant in New Zealand.

The Star provided extremely limited opportunities for voices critical of APEC to be heard. In fact, only one article mentioned the need to "broaden support from the grassroots" and "integrate women into APEC." However, representatives "from the grassroots" or women were not consulted in this piece as to whether they wanted to be included. The only other article that might be construed as an opportunity for criticism was one describing a "hex" that a group of witches put on APEC. Needless to say, such an item was surely meant to provide comic relief rather than a serious challenge to the legitimacy of the Cooperation.

Sin Chew Jit Poh, the Chinese paper, tended to be less conformist than its Malay and English language counterparts. While its coverage was less extensive than the other papers, Sin Chew Jit Poh focused on economic issues, and often put issues in context, something lacking in the other coverage. As well, the 'info-tainment' that marked much of the coverage in the Star, for example, was absent from Sin Chew Jit Poh. Not surprisingly, there was far greater coverage of China/Taiwan issues. Still, sources from government and APEC committee members

dominated the discourse to the extent that not one dissenting source was present. And as a consequence, the potential negative implications of trade liberalization in connection with APEC were left unheard during the monitoring period.

Radio 4, the English language station, provided its listeners with coverage that lacked any sort of critical analysis. Instead, the negotiation process and economic issues were the only topics of discussion. And once again, local and foreign government representatives, along with APEC officials, were the only source types given access to Radio 4's airwaves.

# **Concluding Remarks**

The Malaysian media's coverage of APEC was limited and superficial, a trend that seems evident in government-controlled media.

However, the lack of critical analysis in any of these media cannot be attributed to government control. Further analysis is required before this assertion can be made as it appears from previous research, in North America at least, that commercial imperatives and the interests of the business/advertising community often serve to marginalize opposing viewpoints.

# ii. Findings

# 1. Utusan - Print

#### Amount

<u>Utusan</u> published 32 articles referring to APEC, 2088 overall. APEC-related news made up 1.5% of the total articles published during this time.

#### Genre

Over three-quarters of <u>Utusan's</u> coverage was coded as news. The remaining articles were a mixture of features (4), one editorial and two items that could not be coded according to the categories.

Table D.1 – Genre (Utusan)

	N	%
News	25	78.1
Feature	4	12.5
Other	2	6.3
Editorial	1	3.1
Opinion	0	0.0
Total	32	100.0

#### Origin

Most of the items originated with the newsroom (21 of 32) and the remainder came from wire services.

Table D.2 – Origin (Utusan)

	N	%
Local	21	65.6
Wire Service	11	34.4
Total	32	100.0

#### Focus

Most of the APEC-related news in Utusan was issue-oriented.

Table D.3 – Focus (Utusan)

	N	%
Issue	28	87.5
Event	4	12.5
Total	32	100.0

#### Topic

<u>Utusan</u> focused on four main topics. Economic issues, that is news about economic policy, government debt or trade policy, for example, were the most frequently discussed issues (8 of 32 - 25.0%). This was followed by politics of trade (6 of 32 - 18.8%) and the Official Summit (6 of 32 - 18.8%). The violence in East Timor, discussed in connection with APEC, was the next most frequent main topic.

Topic D.4 – Topic (Utusan)

	Main	%	Ment'd	%	Total	%
Economic Issues	8	25.0	3	18.8	11	22.9
Politics of Trade	6	18.8	3	18.8	9	18.8
Official Summit	6	18.8	6	37.5	12	25.0
East Timor	5	15.6	1	6.3	6	12.5
Other	3	9.4	1	6.3	4	8.3
Human Rights Issues	1	3.1	2	12.5	3	6.3
Business	1	3.1	0	0.0	1	2.1
People's Summit	1	3.1	0	0.0	1	2.1
Informal Sector Issues	1	3.1	0	0.0	1	2.1
Total	32	100.0	16	100.2	48	100.1

#### Sources

Government sources dominated the APEC discussion in <u>Utusan</u>. They were both the most frequently used source type and the most apt to appear first in these news items.

Topic D.5 - Source (Utusan)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	20	83.3	0	0.0	20	76.9
Other	1	4.2	2	100.0	3	11.5
APEC Committee Member	1	4.2	0	0.0	1	3.8
Political Party	1	4.2	0	0.0	. 1	3.8

NGO	1	4.2	0	0.0	1	3.8
Total	24	100.1	2	100.0	26	99.8

# 2. Radio 4 (English Radio)

During the monitoring period, Radio 4 broadcast 120 total items, 6 of which were APEC-related -5.0%. All of the items were of the news variety, all originated with the Radio 4 newsroom and all were issue-oriented. Half of the items were focused on the politics of trade and the other half were focused on economic issues. Local and foreign government representatives, along with APEC officials, were the only source types given access to Radio 4's airwayes.

# 3.TV3 - Malaysia

Difficulties resulted in two key broadcasts being missed during the monitoring period. Thus the results from this portion of the study cannot be assumed to be reliable.

# 4. Star - Malaysia

#### Amount

The <u>Star</u> published 31 APEC-related news items -1.2% of the total articles. Once again, difficulties prevented the monitoring of one day during this period. The results are therefore tentative.

#### Genre

All items were coded as news.

#### Origin

The majority of articles (19) originated locally. The remaining 12 were taken from wire services.

#### Focus

Roughly two-thirds of the APEC items were 'Issue-oriented.'

Table D.6 - Focus (Malaysia Star)

	N	%
Issues	21	67.7
Event	10	32.3
Total	31	100.0

#### Topic

The most prevalent main topic in the <u>Star</u> during the two-week monitoring period was 'Economic Issues' (32.3%).

Table D.7 – Topic (Malaysia Star)

	Main	%	Ment'd	%	Total	%
Economic Issues	11	35.5	2	22.2	13	32.5
East Timor	5	16.1	0	0.0	5	12.5
Other	5	16.1	0	0.0	5	12.5
Politics of Trade	3	9.7	3	33.3	6	15.0
Official Summit	3	9.7	2	22.2	5	12.5
Security	2	6.5	0	0.0	2	5.0
Business Issues	1	3.2	0	0.0	1	2.5
Globalization	1	3.2	0	0.0	1	2.5
People's Summit	0	0.0	2	22.2	2	5.0
Total	31	100.0	9	99.9	40	100.0

### Sources

Very few sources were used in the broadcast segments that were analyzed: government sources dominated all other source types, making up almost two thirds of the voices heard during the broadcast monitoring period.

Table D.8 – Sources (Malaysia Star)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	21	67.7	8	53.3	29	63.0
APEC Committee Member	3	9.7	3	20.0	6	13.0
Business	4	12.9	0	0.0	4	8.7
Other	2	6.5	1	6.7	3	6.5
Other Media	1	3.2	1	6.7	2	4.3
Expert	0	0.0	2	13.3	2	4.3
Total	31	100.0	15	100.0	46	99.8

# 5. Sin Chew Jit Poh – Newspaper

### Amount

Of 3,881 total articles, <u>The Sin Chew Jit Poh</u> published 18 APEC-related items. This represents 0.5% of the total coverage during the 17-day monitoring period.

### Genre

Most (15) of these items were coded as news, while two were coded as editorials and one was coded as a feature.

# Origin

All items originated with the newsroom.

### Focus

Issue-oriented articles made up -12 of 18 pieces (66%). There were also 4 event-focused items (22%) and 2 mixed items (11%).

**Topic** Economic issues dominated the discussion in <u>The Sin Chew Jit Poh</u> (50%).

Table D.9 – Topic (Sin Chew Jit Poh)

	Main	%	Ment'd	%	Total	%
Economic Issues	9	50.0	0	0.0	9	32.1
Other	3	16.7	0	0.0	3	10.7
East Timor	2	11.1	1	10.0	3	10.7
Politics of Trade	2	11.1	2	20.0	4	14.3
Globalization	1	5.6	2	20.0	3	10.7
Human Rights Issues	1	5.6	1	10.0	2	7.1
Official Summit	0	0.0	3	30.0	3	10.7
Ethnic/Minority Issues	0	0.0	1	10.0	1	3.6
Total	18	100.1	10	100.0	28	99.9

## Sources

Government sources dominated the discussion around APEC.

Table D.10 – Sources (Sin Chew Jit Poh)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	12	63.2	3	75.0	15	65.2
APEC Committee Member	6	31.6	0	0.0	6	26.1
Other	1	5.3	1	25.0	2	8.7
Total	19	100.1	4	100.0	23	100.0

# E. Mexico - Researcher: Greg Raikes

### i. Discussion

The IMPACS' researcher stationed in Mexico, Greg Raikes, selected the following media to monitor: El Universal, a daily newspaper; Radio1260AM, The "Panorama" Morning Show; and Televisa Channel 2, the 10:30pm nightly news broadcast.

The media analyzed in Mexico handled APEC in a very perfunctory manner. In general, the media during the monitoring period did not stray from the official line, which tends to view the APEC Summit as a purely economic exercise, paying little attention to the broader social and environmental repercussions of freer trade.

The general trend in the coverage was to focus on the events taking place at the official summit and the agreements it spawned, and to exclude analysis, critical or otherwise. Moreover, the range of sources given access to these media was severely constrained: government sources dominated during this time. Given this trend, it is not surprising that the issues that tend to be marginalized in economic discourses, issues pertaining to the environment or culture or the rights of indigenous people for example, were almost absent altogether.

El Universal, the newspaper selected for analysis, focused its attention primarily on specific issues relevant to Mexico. The People's Summit, or any other dissenting voice for that

matter, was not mentioned. Instead, government sources, domestic and foreign, consistently framed the terms of

discussion. Surprisingly, <u>El Universal</u>, long considered a pro-government paper, did publish three editorial pieces critical of APEC. The pieces were, however, critical only in that they downplayed the significance of APEC, in particular its inability to formulate binding agreements.

The "Panorama" morning show on Radio Acir, a two-hour format show in which issues are discussed in depth, contained only one APEC-related news item. This three-minute item was meant as a primer, giving listeners an introduction to several topics surrounding APEC. Special attention was given to issues such as international trade and small and medium sized business concerns. A list of potential benefits was given with no mention of the concerns of importance to the participants in the People's Summit or other voices similarly critical of APEC and trade liberalization. Natural disasters and the governing party (PRI) captured the bulk of the headlines.

The 10:30pm nightly news broadcast on Televisa also gave minimal coverage to APEC. It should be noted that Televisa has a long history of unwavering support for the PRI. Over the years it has consistently trumpeted government policies and criticized or ignored any voice of opposition. Indeed, it is a widely held view, as yet unproven, that Televisa receives large amounts of financial support from the government in return for favourable coverage. Given its track record, it is not surprising that when Televisa did turn its attention to the APEC Summit, its coverage was entirely devoid of any opposing views

and was consistently supportive of any decisions reached by the Mexican government. Indeed, government voices held a total monopoly in <u>Televisa</u>'s APEC coverage.

The researcher stationed in Mexico, through his interviews with local journalists and his own experience, saw the limited APEC coverage as a consequence of several factors. Firstly, the majority of public in Mexico has little or no background on the history of APEC and the agenda it seeks to pursue. The media did little to remedy this situation as they provided superficial coverage that failed to situate the meetings in context. In the newspaper industry, this may be due to economic reasons in that the mainstream print media in Mexico are consistently behind the tabloids in sales. Clearly, international trade issues are not the bait to draw in readers in such a race and perhaps this is why international news at the time was dominated by the atrocities in East Timor, the Chechen war in Russia and other tragic and dramatic events.

Another factor to consider when assessing the media coverage of APEC is what might be called the local news scene. The APEC conference might have been marginalized due to the fact that the ruling political party in Mexico

(PRI) was undergoing its first ever primary to choose a new leader. Print, television and the radio were all consumed with the candidates in the run up to the vote.

Mexico had also been hit by a number of natural disasters including floods, earthquakes and hurricanes that resulted in the loss of many lives. In addition, the Mexican government is currently undergoing high level talks with the European Union to formulate a free trade agreement, and this agreement is considered much more important that anything that may have come out of the APEC talks. The reality is that Mexico, or at least the Mexican government, seems to find stronger economic or cultural connections with Europe rather that with its Asian counterparts.

# **Concluding Remarks**

Given the apparently symbiotic relationship that exists between the media in Mexico and the government, the lack of critical coverage of the 1999 APEC Summit comes as little surprise. Clearly, APEC was not an issue, or an event for that matter, of concern for the editorial staff in any of the media that were monitored. That the Summit might have been overshadowed by domestic concerns is indeed a strong possibility.

# ii. Findings

# 1. El Universal - Print

### Amount

The 15-day monitoring period of <u>El Universal</u> yielded 1488 total articles, 11 of which were APEC-related – 0.7%. The researcher in Mexico also tracked the total number of news items that referred to international trade. This count, APEC-items included, yielded 30 articles, representing 2.0% of all news published during this time.

#### Genre

<u>El Universal</u> used a variety of genres in its limited coverage of APEC. Of the 11 items, 5 were coded as news, 2 as features, 2 as editorials, 1 as an opinion piece and another which did not fit into the coding categories (other).

### Origin

Roughly half of the news items originated in the newsroom (6) while the others came from wire services (3) or other media (2).

### Focus

Most (7) of the items had a mixed focus, split between issues and events. Two of the remaining 4 were issue and 2 were event-focused.

# Topic

With the exception of one article focused on economic issues, and another on business issues, all of <u>El Universal's</u> coverage was dedicated to the official events occurring during the APEC meetings (9).

Table E.1 – Topic (El Universal)

	Main	%	Ment'd	%	Total	%
Official Summit	9		1		10	
Business Issues	1		1		2	
Economic Issues	1		4		5	
Politics of Trade	0		3		3	
People's Summit	0		1		1	
Human Rights Issues	0		1		1.	
Other	0		1		1	
Total						

#### Sources

Only 12 sources were used to provide information for these 11 articles. 5 of these were local or foreign government representatives. Official APEC statements made up 3 of the eleven sources while business sources were present twice. Two sources could not be coded according to the provided categories (other).

2. Radio - 1260AM - "Panorama" Morning Show

Richard Rocha's "Panorama" morning show broadcast only one APEC-related news item during the monitoring period. This represents only 0.5% of the total coverage (1 of 197). This lone news item focused on economic issues but also mentioned business concerns, the politics of trade and globalization.

### 3. Televisa Channel 2

Of 280 news segments, Televisa broadcast only 4 APEC-related items (1.4%). Two of these were event-focused pieces dealing with the President Zedillo's departure from Mexico and arrival in New Zealand. A third piece noted the initiation of free trade talks between Japan and Mexico while the final broadcast announced several trade agreements that Mexico had signed. No details were mentioned. In all four broadcast segments, the government's position was not balanced by any opposing sources.

# F. Philippines - Researcher: Maita Santiago

### i. Discussion

Maita Santiago, the IMPACS' researcher stationed in the Philippines, selected for her study three daily newspapers, the Manila Bulletin, the Philippine Daily Inquirer and the Philippine Star, along with a broadsheet devoted to business issues, Business World. Also examined was a news broadcast from Radio DZRH and another from Pulso, a TV station.

The research into the Philippine media coverage of the 1999 APEC Summit in Auckland, New Zealand revealed that although several newspapers devoted coverage to the meetings, the boundaries of discussion overall were rather constricted and the chorus of 'voices' was quite flat and monotonal.

Ms Santiago examined four publications and found that their coverage of the issues surrounding APEC was restricted to a narrow few. Three newspapers, the Manila Bulletin, the Philippine Star and the Philippine Daily Inquirer, along with a broadsheet devoted to business issues, Business World, provided readers with news about the process of negotiation, general economic issues, news of events at the official summit - but little focused attention on other important issues. Furthermore, these publications relied almost exclusively on what could be called the 'official viewpoint,' that is, opinion provided by government representatives or APEC officials.

A more in depth look at one paper, the <u>Philippine Daily Inquirer</u>, revealed that although the Indonesian government-sponsored bloodshed in East Timor once again was discussed in connection with the summit (roughly 15% of the

coverage), the potential consequences of trade liberalization on the environment, workers or culture, for example were overlooked in favour, it seems, of event-oriented articles focusing on President Estrada. And again, while governments, foreign and domestic were allowed to voice their interpretations of APEC, NGO's were relegated to a very minor role, appearing in only 4 items. Other groups representing traditionally marginalized opinions were relegated to the margins.

Due to unfortunate technical difficulties and the inconsistency in the approach taken to monitoring local radio, the findings for this portion of the study are tentative. Of the APEC related news that was examined, most avoided issues by focusing on events. The station in question seemed particularly fascinated with president Estrada and his performance at the Summit.

The violence in East Timor was also the focal point of several news items.

Although the process of globalization was discussed during one question and answer period, alternative perspectives were not mentioned nor were nonmainstream sources given access to the airwaves in the monitored broadcasts.

The performance of the television news broadcast was similar to its print and radio counterparts. Most of the APEC-related news focused on East Timor, specifically, the possibility of the Philippines sending troops to East Timor. By and large, the broadcasts ignored the issues surrounding APEC, and spaces for criticism were not made

available. Similarly, footage or reports of APEC protests were not broadcast.

# **Concluding Remarks**

The Philippine media provided their viewers with a one-dimensional view of APEC, and the potential consequences brought about by free trade were not addressed in any meaningful way. By

providing a very limited selection of topics and an almost uniform spectrum of opinion, the media in this country could in no way be seen to be serving the needs of audiences if we take the position that it is the duty of the media, as public trusts, to provide a public forum for open discussion.

# ii. Findings

# 1. Print

#### Amount

The three most widely read broadsheets and one business newspaper in the Philippines yielded the following amount of APEC-related news items during the two-week monitoring period.

Table F.1 - Amount (Print)

	Total News Items APEC-Related Items				
Manila Bulletin	1,483	58	3.9		
Philippine Daily Inquirer	1,047	43	4.1		
Philippine Star	1,114	46	4.1		
Business World	827	44	5.3		
Total	4,471	191	4.3		

#### Genre

The overwhelming majority of the selected articles from these four publications were news items. The Philippine Star also published 8 opinion pieces, representing 19% of its APEC coverage. Business World was the lone paper to publish articles (2) in the feature/analysis category.

Table F.2 - Genre (Print)

	News	Feature	Editorial	Opinion	Other
Manila Bulletin	44	0	2	4	2
Philippine Daily Inquirer	38	0	2	1	2
Philippine Star	35	0	0	8	0
Business World	38	2	0	2	0
Total	145	2	4	15	4

### Origin - Philippine Daily Inquirer

Because the data for the other three publications was unavailable at the time of this writing, the <u>Philippine Daily Inquirer</u> will be the lone print item analyzed for origin and focus. This being the case, the <u>Inquirer</u> relied on wire services for APEC-related news roughly half of the time (23 of 43 items).

#### Focus

Most of the items taken from the <u>Inquirer</u> were coded as having no focus (18 of 42). The remaining stories were split between issue-focused (11) and event-focused news (12). No items were coded as 'mixed.'

### **Topic**

Once again, the raw data was available only for the <u>Inquirer</u>. However, the IMPACS' researcher stationed in the Philippines compiled tables based on the 5 most frequently mentioned topics.

Table F.3 – Top 5 Mentioned Topics (Print)

	Manila Bulletin	Philippine Daily Inquirer	Philippine Star	Business World
Total Top 5 Topics	107	65	67	79
Other	23.4	36.9	44.8	21.5
Politics of Trade	21.5	30.8	35.8	30.4
Economic Issues	26.2	15.4	11.9	26.6
Official Summit	18.7	4.6	4.5	15.2
Globalization	10.3	12.3	3.0	6.3
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0

'Other,' a category representing a diverse array of issues that in many cases had only a tenuous link to the APEC Summit, was the most frequent topic category mentioned during the monitoring period. If we disregard the sizable 'other' categories represented in the table above it is apparent that the process of negotiation and economic issues made up a sizeable proportion of the news in these three publications. Little space was made for the concerns of labour, the environment, culture or minority/ethnic groups.

To better understand the breakdown of main topics and the composition of the 'other' category that has been expanded into new categories, the data for the <u>Philippine Daily</u> Inquirer is shown below.

Table F.4 – Main Topic in Philippine Daily Inquirer

	Main Topic	%
Economic Issues	8	18.6
Philippine Politics	7	16.3
Politics of Trade	6	14.0
East Timor	6	14.0
Official Summit	5	11.6
President Estrada	5	11.6
Other	3	7.0
WTO	2	4.7
People's Summit	1	2.3
Total	43	100.1

Economic issues once again were the most frequently focused upon topic. Philippine politics, which was the next most frequent topic category, refers to articles in which APEC was mentioned in connection with the local political scene. The violence erupting in East Timor was often discussed in connection with APEC. The 'President Estrada' category refers to news items that focused on the president's personality. For example the article entitled "Kiwi paper says Erap a hit in Auckland" is a piece focused on the popularity of president Estrada in New Zealand. Finally, WTO items were those focused on the upcoming World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle. Although the People's Summit was the main topic of one article, all other concerns of civil society were excluded from the Inquirer during this time period.

### Sources

Table F.5 – Top 5 Sources (Print)

	Manila Bulletin	Philippine Daily Inquirer	Philippine Star	Business World
Total Top 5 Sources	53	36	40	54
Foreign Government	52.8	44.4	37.5	44.4
Local Government	30.2	38.9	50.0	20.4
APEC	17.0	11.1	7.5	24.1
Business	0.0	2.8	2.5	7.4
Expert/Academic	0.0	2.8	2.5	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Government sources dominated all other source types. In fact, the top 5 source types accessed in these publications, during the monitoring period, were representative of only a small segment of official source types. Once again, to further examine the range of sources accessed, and the capacity in which they were accessed (as the first source or in a secondary capacity), the data from the <u>Inquirer</u> is presented below.

Topic F.6 – Source (Philippine Daily Inquirer)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	25	75.8	5	29.4	30	60.0
Other	4	12.1	3	17.6	7	14.0
APEC Committee Member	3	9.1	1	5.9	4	8.0
NGO	1	3.0	3	17.6	4	8.0
Business	0	. 0.0	1	5.9	1	2.0
Expert/Academic	0	0.0	1	5.9	1	2.0
Political Party	0	0.0	1	5.9	1	2.0
Ethnic/Minority	0	0.0	1	5.9	1	2.0
Other Transnational Organization	0	0.0	1	5.9	1	2.0
Total	33	100.0	17	100.0	50	100.0

Government not only made up the majority of the sources present but also was by far the most likely of any source type to appear first in these articles. NGO's were accessed only

4 times and only once as the first source while representatives of minority/ethnic groups appeared only once in a secondary capacity.

### 2. Radio DZRH

Unlike the other media monitored for this study, the news broadcasts from this station were not monitored systematically during the two-week monitoring period. Segments of a three-hour news program were monitored sporadically and technical difficulties resulted in some APEC-related news being lost. The following data is based on the remaining data and notes made during the broadcasts.

Of the broadcasts that were monitored, 19 news segments mentioned the APEC summit. Most were event oriented, a majority of which focused on president Estrada's performance at the Summit (11 of 19). The violence in East Timor (3) and the official summit itself (4), were also the focal point of several news items.

Despite the preponderance of event-oriented broadcast segments, the program did address the process of globalization during one question and answer piece between a reporter and the host. As well, the potential negative aspects of globalization were raised as the host remarked that the Philippine economy might be hurt by the elimination of tariffs in the agricultural sector. However, it must be noted that so-called alternative perspectives voiced by non-mainstream sources such as labour, environmental activists, or groups representing women or minorities, for example were absent from the broadcasts that the research did manage to examine.

### 3. Television: Pulso

Out of 124 stories aired by Pulso between September 6 and September 14, 7 were about or mentioned APEC. This represents 5.6% of the total news items broadcast. The majority of these items were event-oriented, focusing on East Timor, specifically, the possibility of the Philippines sending troops to East Timor. The issues surrounding APEC were by and large ignored and the station did not make spaces for criticism available. Similarly, footage or reports of APEC protests were not broadcast.

# G. Thailand - Researcher: Andrea Uzans

### i. Discussion

Andrea Uzans, the IMPACS' researcher stationed in Thailand, analysed the following media during the period August 30 – September 15: the Thai Rath, a tabloid-style newspaper; the Bangkok Post; and state-owned Radio Thailand.

The <u>Thai Rath</u> has a tabloid format and heavy focus on entertainment (roughly half the paper seems to be devoted to entertainment) which may be the primary reasons for its extremely limited coverage of APEC during the monitoring period (6 out of 925 total items -0.6%).

The Bangkok Post, on the other hand. contained 36 APEC-related news items (3% of its total coverage) during the 2 ½ week monitoring period. The Post is targeted towards the relatively affluent segments of the Thai population, those with overseas education or foreign residents of Bangkok. That APEC was an issue of some importance in this newspaper may be attributed to it sizable business section, which is slightly larger than the news section on weekdays. However, the relatively sizeable amount of articles did not result in a wide breadth of discussion or a wide representation of opinion.

Politics of trade, that is news about the process of negotiation, and the events at the Official Summit, dominated the APEC news in the Post. Together, these main topics made up 70% of all APEC coverage. And although human rights issues appeared as the main focus of 5 items during this period (14%), several issues of importance in civil society

were conspicuously absent. For example, cultural issues, the concerns of labour or environmental issues never appeared as main topics in any of the Post's coverage, nor were they even mentioned. Furthermore, 4 of the 5 human rights issues-focused items were concerned with the situation in East Timor.

Similarly, the diversity of opinion as represented by different source types was noticeably sparse. Roughly, 60% of all sources accessed during the monitoring period were representatives of government. And, government sources were by far the most likely to appear first in any news item (70%), an important position considering that the first source cited generally sets the terms of discussion or otherwise frames the debate.

The next two most frequently accessed source types were experts or academics (12%) and APEC committee members (10%). Sources most likely to present alternative perspectives on the events or issues related to the Summit were dramatically under-represented.

Members of ethnic or minority groups made up about 6% of all sources while NGO's of various types comprised only 4%. These findings suggest that The Bangkok Post presented a rather narrow spectrum of topics and viewpoints in its coverage of APEC.

Although APEC-related news made up roughly 4% of the total news segments broadcast on the state-owned <u>Radio</u> <u>Thailand</u> during our monitoring period, this number represents only 10 items. Again, format might be the primary factor in the dearth of APEC coverage as

international news makes up only a small portion of the one-hour broadcast. Half of the items selected for analysis focused on the negotiation process rather than the issues behind them. However, human rights issues were a topic of some concern, as the violence taking place, at the time in East Timor and the poor human rights record of China were discussed in 3 of the 10 APEC-related news segments.

Once again, the range of sources accessed was very limited. Government sources made up 10 of the 17 total sources used and appeared first in 9 of the 10 segments. The only other source types used were representatives of other international organizations (6) and APEC committee members (1).

# **Concluding Remarks**

Based on the findings from this 17-day period of analysis, in no way could the APEC coverage produced by these three media be seen as thorough or wideranging. In the case of the Thai Rath, the coverage was almost non-existent. Radio Thailand too provided limited coverage and relied exclusively on official viewpoints. And while the Bangkok Post did provide a relatively large volume of content dedicated to APEC, it provided a very narrow interpretation of the Summit, neglecting many important areas such as culture and the environment, areas that are directly affected by the liberalization of markets, the Cooperation's primary goal.

# ii. Findings

# 1. Thai Rath

#### Amount

Of some 925 total articles published by <u>The Thai Rath</u> during the monitoring period, there were only 6 articles referring to APEC and international trade issues. In total, 0.6% of all <u>Thai Rath</u> coverage during this time was APEC-related.

#### Genre

Of the 6 APEC-related items 4 were 'News,' 1 was 'Opinion' and 1 was coded as 'Other.'

#### Origin

4 of the 6 APEC items were coded as 'Unknown' while 2 were written by Thai Rath 'Staff' members during the monitoring period.

#### Focus

The Thai Rath published 4 'Issue-oriented' articles, 1 'Event-oriented' article and 1 'Mixed' item.

### Topic

Table G.1 below details both the main topics mentioned in the 6 APEC-related articles and those topics merely mentioned. Due to the limited coverage, very few APEC-related issues were discussed during the monitoring period.

Table G.1 – Topic (Thai Rath)

	Main	%	Mentioned	%	Total	%
Politics of Trade	3	50.0	3	21.4	6	30.0
Economic Issues	1	16.7	3	21.4	4	20.0
Ethnic/Minority Affairs	1	16.7	1	7.1	2	10.0
Other	1	16.7	1	7.1	2	10.0
Official Summit	0	0.0	3	21.4	3	15.0
Human Rights Issues	0	0.0	2	14.3	2	10.0
Globalization	0	0.0	1	7.1	1	5.0
Total	6	100.1	14	99.8	20	100.0

### Sources

Once again, the limited overall coverage resulted in the <u>Thai Rath</u> using only a handful of sources.

Table G.2 - Source (Thai Rath)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	2	40.0	2	50.0	4	44.4
APEC Committee Member	2	40.0	0	0.0	2	22.2
Other Transnational Organization	0	0.0	2	50.0	2	22.2
Ethnic/Minority	1	20.0	0	0.0	1	11.1
Total	5	100.0	4	100.0	9	99.9

# 2. Bangkok Post

### Amount

Overall, during the two-week monitoring period the <u>Bangkok Post</u> published 1246 items, 36 of which were APEC-related – 2.9% of all articles were then APEC-related.

#### Genre

Nearly 90% of the <u>Post's</u> coverage was coded under the genre of 'News.' 'Opinion' pieces made up the remainder of the items coded.

Table G.3 - Genre (Bangkok Post)

	N	%
News	32	88.9
Opinion	4	11.1
Editorial	0	0.0
Feature	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
Total	36	100.0

## Origin

The vast majority of APEC-related items surveyed during the monitoring period were taken from news services. Less than 20% originated in the <u>Post's</u> own newsroom.

Table G.4 – Origin (Bangkok Post)

	N	%
Wire Service	29	80.6
Local	7	19.4
Other	0	0.0
Total	36	100.0

#### Focus

Most articles appearing in the Post during this period were 'Issue-oriented.'

Table G.5 – Focus (Bangkok Post)

	N	%
Issue	30	83.3
Event	3	8.3
Mixed	3	8.3
Total	36	99.9

# Topic

Almost one-half of the examined news items had 'Politics of Trade' as their main topic. Although 'Human Rights Issues' was the third most frequent main topic, many related issues were ignored. For example, 'Cultural Issues,' 'Labour Issues' and 'Environmental Issues' were absent from the <u>Post's</u> coverage during this period.

Table G.6 – Topic (Bangkok Post)

	Main	%	Mentioned	%	Total	
Politics of Trade	17	47.2	19	24.7	36	31.9
Official Summit	8	22.2	16	20.8	24	21.2
Human Rights Issues	5	13.9	11	14.3	16	14.2
Other	4	11.1	8	10.4	12	10.6
Peoples' Summit	1	2.8	6	7.8	7	6.2
No Topic	1	2.8	1	1.3	2	1.8
Economic Issues	0	0.0	10	13.0	10	8.8
Globalization	0	0.0	2	2.6	2	1.8
Informal Sector Issues	0	0.0	2	2.6	2	1.8
Business Issues	0	0.0	1	1.3	1	0.9
Ethnic/Minority Affairs	0	0.0	1	1.3	1	0.9
Total	36	100.0	77	100.1	113	100.1

#### Sources

Almost 60% of the sources appearing in the <u>Post</u> during the two-week monitoring period were coded as 'Government.' Government sources were also overwhelmingly the most frequently used first source. APEC committee members (10.3%) and Expert/Academic (11.8%) sources were the next two most frequently used sources.

Table G.7 – Source (Bangkok Post)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	25	69.4	15	46.9	40	58.8
APEC Committee Member	3	8.3	4	12.5	7	10.3
Expert	2	5.6	6	18.8	8	11.8
Ethnic/Minority	2	5.6	2	6.3	4	5.9
Other	2	5.6	0	0.0	2	2.9
Business	1	2.8	0	0.0	1	1.5
NGO	1	2.8	2	6.3	3	4.4
Other Transnational Organization	0	0.0	3	9.4	3	4.4
Total	36	100.1	32	100.2	68	100.0

### 3. Radio Thailand

### Amount

During the two-week monitoring period 264 items were broadcast on the selected Radio Thailand news program. Of these, 10 were APEC-related. Thus, 3.8% of all items on this news program were APEC-related.

#### Genre

All 10 APEC-related items were coded as 'News.'

#### Origin

The researcher was unable to discern the origin of the items and thus coded them as 'Unknown.'

#### Focus

9 of the 10 broadcast segments were coded as 'Issue-oriented' while one was coded 'Mixed.'

### Topic

'Politics of Trade' was the most prevalent main topic on the Radio Thailand news program making up one-half of the coverage. Three items had 'Human Rights Issues' as their main topic. Once again, the limited overall APEC coverage during this time period resulted in many issues not being aired.

Table G.8 – Topic (Radio Thailand)

	Main	%	Mentioned	%	Total	%
Politics of Trade	5	50.0	6	33.3	11	39.3
Human Rights Issues	3	30.0	3	16.7	6	21.4

Official Summit	1	10.0	4	22.2	5	17.9
Economic Issues	1	10.0	3	16.7	4	14.3
Other	0	0.0	2	11.1	2	7.1
Peoples' Summit	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Globalization	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Informal Sector Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Business Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Ethnic/Minority Affairs	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Cultural Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Labour Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Environmental Issues	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
No Topic	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	10	100.0	18	100.0	28	100.0

## Sources

Very few sources were used in the limited Radio Thailand APEC coverage. Government sources were again the most frequently used source type and the most likely to appear as the first source cited.

Table G.9 – Source (Radio Thailand)

	1 <sup>st</sup> Source	%	2 <sup>nd</sup> Source	%	Total	%
Government	9	90.0	1	14.3	10	58.8
APEC Committee Member	1	10.0	0	0.0	1	5.9
Other Transnational Organization	0	0.0	6	85.7	6	35.3
Total	10	100.0	7	100.0	17	100.0

# IV. ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The opinions in this report reflect a summary of the perspectives within the Youth Internship Project and do not represent the views of the Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade or IMPACS.

The eight interns and their respective host organizations were as follows:

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### Leah Willis

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### \*Erin Phelan

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### Meghan Watson-Donald

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# **Greg Raikes**

Red Mexicana de Accion Frente al Libre Commercio - Mexico City, Mexico

## Margaritha Santiago

Centre for Media Freedon and Responsibility - Manila, Philippines

## Andrea Uzans

The Nation Multimedia Group - Bangkok, Thailand

- \*While Fiji was the host country for the intern, the intended country for media monitoring was to be an APEC member country in the Asia Pacific region (Fiji is not a member country).
- The media monitoring results from Fiji are not reported in this synopsis due to a conflict of interest the researcher also acted as a reporter during the study period, and had two APEC-related articles published in one of the newspapers that was being monitored.



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CA1 EA751 2000A65 ENG
APEC media monitoring report : a
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18080270

