# TWO CULTURES, TWO WORLDVIEWS:

# PAGE 1 NEWS IN LE MONDE AND ASAHI SHIMBUN, 2005

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#### This thesis entitled

## TWO CULTURES, TWO WORLDVIEWS:

# PAGE 1 NEWS IN *LE MONDE* AND *ASAHI SHIMBUN*, 2005

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Abstract

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TWO CULTURES, TWO WORLDVIEWS: PAGE 1 NEWS IN LE MONDE AND

*ASAHI SHIMBUN*, 2005 (94 pp.)

Director of Thesis: Anne Cooper-Chen

This study explores how *Le Monde* (France) and *Asahi Shimbun* (Japan), two

prestigious newspapers from economically developed and free-press countries, report

international news.

This study investigated and compared the international news on the front page of

the two newspapers (from March to August, 2005). By coding the story types,

countries/regions, topics and news sources, the study discovered that the two newspapers

had significant differences in their coverage of foreign countries.

The research found that not only did *Le Monde* have a larger percentage of

international news on its front page than Asahi, but also that Le Monde's "foreign news

abroad" accounted for a larger percentage of international stories than Asahi's. In other

words, Asahi was more inward looking (i.e. printing more "foreign news at home" and

"home news abroad" stories) than Le Monde.

Approved:

Anne Cooper-Chen

Professor of Journalism

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#### **CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION**

A country can act only on what it knows. In a very real sense, a country is only what it knows. (Wilbur Schramm, 1959, p. 5)

Schramm (1959) notes that an elite newspaper "in an interesting way mirrors, and at the same time influences, the leadership and the culture of its country ... Therefore, to examine the prestige papers of a country is to see the country very much for what it is" (p. 5). Leadership, of course, is not only in the hands of politicians or government officials. Leaders exist in every aspect of our society, including business, the arts, science and religions.

Inspired by Schramm's statement, the goal of this research is to begin to understand France and Japan by studying two elite newspapers, *Le Monde* and *Asahi Shimbun*. More specifically, it aims to know 1) what kind of information the two newspapers are transmitting to the country; 2) how they are transmitting it; 3) if there is any difference in their transmissions; and 4) how they cover each other.

Though this study examines both domestic and international coverage, its focus is more on the latter. Domestic news, in this study, is dealt with only in relation to international news (the ratio of domestic and international stories). Wu (2003) says that "solid impacts of international news coverage on the audience" have already been demonstrated by many researchers (p. 10); therefore, the analysis of the international coverage in the two elite newspapers can also help understanding the world view of French and Japanese people.

#### Le Monde and Asahi Newspaper: Origins

Three months after the liberation of Paris, in 1944, when Parisians were still in a jubilant mood, Charles de Gaulle, the head of the provisional government at that time, asked Hubert Beuve-Méry to found a national daily newspaper, *Le Monde* (Le Monde, 2006). It took over the platform of *Le Temps* (1861-1944), whose reputation was destroyed during the Nazi-occupation period, under the expectation of providing French people with a newspaper serving as "the conscience of the nation" (Le Monde and Le Temps, 2005). One year after the rebirth of the newspaper on November 5, 1945, one-third of a world away, a newspaper company announced the resignation of all the top executives, declaring it would "stand with citizens" (Maesaka, 1999, p. 9). *Asahi Shimbun* (literally, "rising sun newspaper" in Japanese), which was born in 1879 as a minor journal in Osaka, Japan, and is 18 years younger than the predecessor of *Le Monde*, was launching major reforms in its structure that had been compromised under the military rule.

#### **Elite Status**

The similarity of these two newspapers goes beyond their 19th century birthdays and post WWII rebirth. In the six decades after the rebirth of *Asahi* and *Le Monde*, both have emerged as among the world's best newspapers. In 1980, 1990 and 1999, Merrill released rankings of newspapers based on questionnaires that he sent to opinion leaders in various sectors in 25 countries. In all three years, he included *Le Monde* and *Asahi*. He also cited four important factors for the development of elite newspapers: "a sound national economy," "a well-developed educational system," "a high literacy rate" and "a significant degree of press freedom," of which France and Japan clearly have the first

three (detailed descriptions of the two countries are discussed later) (Merrill, 1990, p. 100). Also, they enjoy the same level of press freedom. Freedom House, the oldest nongovernmental organization in the United States, rated both of the countries as "free" in its study (using three grades, "free," "partly free" and "not free") (Deutsch, 2004, p. 10-11). It ranked Japan as the 33rd best country (score, 18) and ranked France as 37th (score, 19) of 193 nations in 2004 (rating is 0-100: the lower the score, the more the country has press freedom).

What is the implication of being an elite newspaper? Merrill (1990) explains that elite papers "are directed at a fairly homogeneous audience globally and have a greater interest in international relations and the arts and humanities than the general run of mass-appeal papers" (p. 93). Therefore, they "are read by the world's intellectuals, political and opinion leaders, and cosmopolitan, concerned citizens of various countries" (Merrill, 1990, p. 93). In other words, their readerships include more elite or well-educated people than those of the other newspapers and, thus, they exert a strong influence on government policies, business activities and many other important decisions in their countries.

#### **National vs. Local/Circulations**

There is a vast difference in the circulations of the two newspapers. *Asahi* has the world's second largest circulation at 8.27 million (2004), surpassing by far the circulation of *Le Monde*, 0.37 million (2004) (Le Monde, 2006; Asahi Shimbun, 2006).

The circulation of *Le Monde* is declining, as is the case of most of the major newspapers in France, despite the increase in literacy of the French people (Feinstein, 1996). The circulation of *Asahi* is also on a downward trend, but the rate of decline is negligible. From 2001 to 2005, *Asahi* lost 0.7% of its circulation, while *Le monde* lost

10.3% in the same period (see Table1.1) (Circulation and Sales Territory of Asahi Shimbun, 2006).

Table 1.1 Circulation of *Le Monde* and *Asahi* (morning edition)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Le Monde	405,983	407,085	389,249	371,803	363,999
Asahi	8,322,046	8,324,641	8,321,934	8,284,513	8,259,173

One of the reasons that Le Monde only has about 1/23 of Asahi's circulation is the dominance of regional newspapers in France. For example, *Ouest-France*, a daily newspaper in Rennes, has more than twice the circulation as Le Monde (BBC News, 2005). Kuhn (1995) cites three factors to explain the dominance of French provincial papers. First, during World War II, France was divided in two parts, an occupied zone and an unoccupied zone. In the occupied zone, newspapers were under the control of the Nazi regime. Therefore, the newspapers in an unoccupied area became more and more important during that period. Second, even after the war, regional newspapers were essential for people in France because they depended on their local newspaper for the information about ration distributions. The third and the most important factor is French people's adherence to their regional identity. In fact, despite the efforts of the central government to standardize the culture of France, such as the uniformity of language in the 19th century, French people still retain strong regional identities. By reading newspapers that highlight the culture, food and events of their own areas, Kuhn (1995) claims, they reinforce their sense of identity.

However, the numerical superiority of French provincial newspapers does not mean they determine the direction of the country. Kuhn (1995) states;

Whereas the provincial dailies may be important sources of information for the mass of society, it is the Paris dailies which reflect the concerns of the elites. In particular, the quality Parisian dailies such as *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro* and *Libération* exercise a strong influence among key economic and political decision makers, as well as acting as a major forum for the discussion of new ideas in social and cultural matters (p. 32).

Contrary to the case in France, generally speaking, daily national newspapers have an edge over local papers in Japan (Even though Asahi has a few pages of local news that vary from region to region, most of the pages, including the front page, are the same in all the regions in Japan). In fact, the world's highest and the second highest selling newspapers are Japanese national dailies, *Yomiuri* and *Asahi*. In addition, people in Japan can read at least five national papers wherever they live (even in the most depopulated area), while people living in rural areas in many countries, including France, often have only one newspaper to read. According to the data collected in 2003, Japan has the world's highest newspaper circulation rate, 649.6 per 1,000 people, while France is ranked 13th with the rate of 167.0 (Media Data, 2005). This trend could be explained by a large number of faithful subscribers in Japan. A study in 1998 showed that 93.2% of newspaper copies were delivered to their subscribers' homes in Japan, while 23.9% of newspaper copies were delivered in France (Maesaka, 1999). In 2005, there were 20,865 newspaper delivery agencies in Japan, most of which are independent from newspaper companies, and about 439,107 people working for newspaper delivery business (Koyou, Hanbaiten Jyuugyouin, 2006). The large distribution chains make it possible for

Japanese newspaper companies to sell their newspapers all over the country, increasing the circulations of elite dailies.

#### **Editorial Policies**

When Beuve-Méry founded *Le Monde* in 1944, by replacing its predecessor *Le Temps*, he demanded that Charles de Gaulle assure its editorial independence as a condition of taking the reins of the company. It might make the journalistic stance of *Le Monde* different from other world newspapers in that it values voicing of opinions and analyzing background of the news rather than uncritically publishing all the news that is available. Recently, it has distinguished more clearly news from opinions; it prints either an *Analyse* (analysis) or *Point de vue* (point of view) section on a fixed part of its front page every day, showing its continued commitment to airing opinions.

The journalistic style of *Le Monde* can be described as "serious" and "very dry," as seen in a small number of photos used on all pages (not only on the front page) (Kuhn, 1995, p. 73). In addition, its eyes are directed more to the entire world than its homeland. Consequently, *Le Monde* de-emphasizes coverage of crimes, accidents, disasters and human interest to print "an extraordinarily rich coverage of international events" and little local news (Schramm, 1959, p. 16). *Asahi*, on the contrary, even published a story about the victory of the Japanese soccer team in the World Cup Championship on top of its front page with a big photo.

Newspapers in France, in general, are not politically skewed. Kuhn (1995) explains one of the reasons, saying, "With the exception of the Communist press, the readership of most newspapers in France is politically heterogeneous" (p. 70). Therefore, in general, the newspapers in France do not show strong political favoritism, avoiding the risk of

losing readers. In the case of *Le Monde*, too, according to Kuhn (1995), it considers independence from any political parties as essential for its business, despite the fact that it strongly supported François Mitterrand (Socialist Party) during the election period in 1981 and printed harsh criticism against Le Pen (National Front Party) in 1980s. In fact, as a newspaper company, *Le Monde* has no connection with political organizations. It clearly mentioned non-partisanship in its principles, and it very carefully ensures that its shares are held by diversified people.

However, that does not mean *Le Monde* is hiding its political stance. On the contrary, as previously noted, with its highly analytical voice, *Le Monde* often presents its "socio liberalism or liberal socialism" points of view, as the founder Beuve-Méry described it (Seymour-Ure, 1974, p. 172). Kuhn (1995) claims that "[i]deologically, the paper is committed to socially progressive and politically left-of-centre goals" (p.73). That is why *Le Monde* sometimes cannot help but articulately support a specific party when it considers it is time to break its political independence and make its choice known to the public, as seen in some of the past election times (as mentioned above).

Non-partisanship is clearly stated in the guidelines of *Asahi* newspaper, too. *Asahi* is the first Japanese newspaper company that used the word "fuhen-futou" (neutrality or, literally, "not slanted to any political party") in its editorial guidelines established after the *Hakkou Jiken* (1918). In that incident, *Asahi* implied that civil strife in Japan was imminent, and the high authority, which had been heavily criticized by *Asahi*, judged that *Asahi* was itself instigating civil disturbance. As a result, *Asahi* had to dismiss the president and many executive editors (Hakkou Jiken, 2006). The *Asahi* newspaper effectively surrendered to the government and barely escaped dissolution. In 1952, after

World War II, *Asahi* included the same word in its newly drawn editorial guidelines, and it claims that "*fuhen-futou*" is now a symbol of Japanese journalism. *Fuhen-futou* editorial policy does not exactly mean "independence" as used in European and American newspapers. Amano (1999) points out, "By *fuhen-futou* policy, Japanese newspapers do not support any specific political parties even during the election period when newspapers in foreign countries usually do" (p.56).

#### The Kisha Clubs

Unlike Le Monde, Asahi's (or Japanese newspapers') non-partisan policy comes more from its unusual journalistic practice rather than from its journalistic faith or politically heterogeneous readership. In Japan, from the office of prime minister, the Diet and the central government bureaucrats down to the local government units, they have membersonly news-gathering groups called kisha clubs. The estimated number of those clubs is more than 1,200 (Asano, 1999). The controlling members of the kisha clubs consist of five national newspapers (including Asahi), three regional newspapers, five TV stations and two news agencies (Cooper-Chen, 1997b). Only 114 companies have access to the kisha club, and the club excludes any political parties, religious organizations, unions, periodicals and magazines (Feldman, 1993). They pay monthly membership fees (600 yen or about \$5 per reporter). The kisha club system serves both the interests of the media and the government (or other organizations that have kisha clubs). In brief, the government gives the right to obtain important and newsworthy information exclusively to the members of the club, and in return, or by the fear of losing their membership, the media that have their employees in the club show some restraint in criticizing their news sources. Cooper-Chen (1997b) says that even if the club members find scandals about

the news sources of the club, they may refrain from publicizing them, feeling a sense of loyalty.

According to Hirose (1994), the *kisha* club system is essential for the business of Japanese media for two reasons. First, members of the *kisha* club have less risk of missing important news than those who do not have access to the club. Second, they can obtain reliable information without any delay, making their news production process very efficient and stable. For example, the club members can attend news briefings by the chief cabinet secretary that take place twice a day, interviews with ministers (twice a week), interviews with vice ministers (once a week) and so forth, in addition to having access to a pile of documents that are made available to them almost every day (Fukui, 1999). The *kisha* club is also playing a crucial role for the government because the club makes it very easy for the government officials to provide mass media with any information that they have to communicate to the public.

However, the *kisha* club system, at the same time, is a magnet for harsh criticism not only from media critics in Japan but critics from all over the world. Van Wolferen, author of *The Enigma of Japanese Power*, stated at a Kyoto conference, "nowhere else in the industrialized world is self-censorship so systematic. Japan is a paradise for the study of self-censorship" (Vanden Heuvel & Dennis, 1993, p. 73). Amano (1999) points out three problems of the *kisha* club system: a monopoly of information, collusion between media and news sources and a risk of information manipulation. In the incident of the Matsumoto sarin gas attack in 1994, the mass media published misinformation from the *kisha* club of the metropolitan police department and implicitly accused an innocent citizen of spreading sarin gas (Matsumoto Sarin Jiken, 2006).

Of course, in France too, government officials are essential news sources for almost the same reasons as in Japan. Kuhn (1995) points out two reasons: First, they make French newspapers' routinized news-production process much more efficient; second, news from those sources is authoritative enough to publish without scrutiny because of their social status, technical expertise, economic power or political position. He calls government officials in France "primary definers" in the sense that they define the news stories prior to journalists (Kuhn, 1995, p. 65). However, the case in France must be distinguished from the case in Japan, because what makes the *kisha* club system controversial is its exclusiveness that prevents outsiders from obtaining important information.

Nevertheless, despite its membership in the *kisha* club and non-partisan policy, many Japanese people consider that *Asahi* has an anti-government and anti-superpower stance (left-leaning) (Cooper-Chen, 1997b). Though *Asahi* bases its journalistic policy on non-partisanship, it cannot completely refrain from siding with a specific party or parties. *Asahi* often shows its leaning in subtle ways, such as affectionately scolding and encouraging its favorite parties, and satirizing its least favorites. It is arguable that, as well as *Le Monde*, *Asahi* is a politically neutral but ideologically charged newspaper.

#### **Ownerships/Alliances/Partnerships**

Le Monde is a major publication of Groupe Le Monde, which owns the monthly Le Monde Diplomatique, the weekly Courrier International and the bimonthly Maniere de Voir (Le Monde and Le Temps, 2005). Groupe Le Monde owns some stock in a Swiss daily, Le Temps. As mentioned above, the shares of Le Monde are owned by diversified people so that the paper is not affected by any specific person or group. Sixty percent of

the stock was held by its own staff, and the rest by the individuals outside the company, including university professors (Seymour-Ure, 1974).

A majority of *Asahi* newspaper's stock was held by descendants of its founding families, Murayama and Ueno (Dai 61 Kai Syougai Geneki Kouza, 2003). *Asahi Shimbun*, as a group, owns more than 200 companies around the world, including TV Asahi, one of Japan's five largest commercial TV stations. The Asahi Group manages varied businesses, such as book publication, culture centers, travel vendors, a real-estate company, building management and an insurance firm (Asahi Shimbun Sha Kaisha Annai, 2006). Until 2001, it published the *Asahi Evening News*, in English. *Asahi Shimbun*, with the *International Herald Tribune*, publishes the English-language daily *International Herald Tribune/The Asahi Shimbun (Herald Asahi)*. It also publishes the English-language *Asahi Weekly* and sells *The New York Times' Weekly Review. The New York Times* buys wire news from *Asahi* (University of Southern California, Annenberg School for Communication, 2005).

#### **Cultures in France and Japan**

According to Hofstede (1984), who argues that cultures are "most clearly expressed in the different values that predominate among people from different countries," cultures can be defined by four dimensions: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism and masculinity (p. 11). France and Japan have relatively close scores in power distance (68 and 54) and uncertainty avoidance (86 and 92), indicating that both of the countries moderately value the equality of power and wealth and that their people are concerned about uncertainty and ambiguity, trying to avoid risks in their life. On the other hand, in the indexes of individualism and masculinity, the scores of France and Japan are

markedly different, 71 and 46 for individualism and 43 and 95 for masculinity. This means that Japanese society emphasizes collective achievement and personal relationships (rather than individual rights) more and has a higher level of differentiation and discrimination between genders than French society. Moreover, high masculinity, according to Hofstede (1984), is related to high level of "work centrality," meaning that people living in a country with high masculinity are more likely to regard their work as the purpose of life, rather than a means of achieving the good life" (p. 196).

#### **Other National Characteristics**

The following tables (1.2 – 1.7) give some background information on France and Japan. These data were taken from List of Countries (2006), CIA – The World Factbook (2006), Global Market Information Database (2006), Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry in Japan (2005) and NationMaster.com (2006).

Income Equality is the percentage of people whose incomes are below a minimum standard that is set for each country. Japan has the second lowest rate (France 34th) of 124 countries, meaning its internal economic disparity gap is very small.

Table 1.2: National Characteristics – France and Japan

	France	Japan
Capital	Paris	Tokyo
Language	French	Japanese
Population (July, 2005)	60,496,000	128,085,000
Surface Area (sq. km)	551,500	377,873
Population Density (Population/Surface Area)	110	337
Life Expectancy (2006 est.)	79.73	81.25
Sex Ratio (male(s)/female)	0.95 (2006 est.)	0.95 (2006 est.)
GDP (in dollars) (nominal) (2005)	2,105,864	4,571,314
Income Equality	32.7 (1993)	24.9 (1995)
Average Income (U.S.\$) (2005)	38,683	36,344
Unemployment Rate	10.1 (2004 est.)	4.4 (Dec., 2005)
Literacy Rate	99% (2003 est.)	99% (2002)
Internet Users (2005) (million)	26.2	86.3
Road Ways (km)	891,290 (2003)	1,177,278 (2002)
Railways (km) (2004)	29,519	23,577
Military Expenditure (% of GDP) (2005 est.)	2.6	1
Hours of work (per year) (2003)	1,538	1,975
Enrollment in Tertiary Education (2001/2002)	2,029,179	3,966,667
School life expectancy (1998/1999/2000)	15.4	14.3

Table 1.3: Government Type – France and Japan

France	Republic
Japan	Constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary government

Table 1.4: Ethnic Groups – France and Japan

France	Celtic and Latin with Teutonic, Slavic, North African, Indochinese, Basque minorities
Japan	Japanese 99%, others 1%

Table 1.5: Age Structure (2006 est.) – France and Japan

	0-14 years	15-64 years	65 years and over
France (%)	18.3	65.3	16.4
Japan (%)	14.2	65.7	20

Table 1.6: Religion – France and Japan

France	Roman Catholic 83%-88%, Protestant 2%, Jewish 1%, Muslim 5%-10%, other 4%
Japan	Shinto and Buddhist 84%, other 16% (including Christian 0.7%)

Table 1.7: Land Use (2005) – France and Japan

	Arable land	permanent crops	other
France (%)	33.46	2.03	64.51
Japan (%)	11.64	0.9	87.46

#### **CHAPTER II: RELATED STUDIES**

#### **Comparative Communication Studies and Their Limitations**

Theories of comparative communication (a study field within international communication), generally speaking, are far from being established. Edelstein (1982) says that he could find "disappointingly few solid contributions to theory" in this field (p. 11). He states that similar behaviors sometimes have different meanings in two cultures, making it difficult for researchers to establish international communication theories. For example, Wiio and McCallister (1981) compared communication behaviors of men and women in American and Finnish organizations and found that the distinction between men and women was much smaller in Finland than in the U.S. In Finnish cultures, they use the same word to say "he" and "she" (or "his" and "her", or "him" and "her"). Thus, in comparative communication studies including a nation like Finland, the difference between male and female communications may not have as much significance as studies of other countries where verbal distinction between genders is clearer than in Finland.

While there are some limitations in the field of comparative communication in general, communication researchers must deal with the same kind of difficulties when they study mass media between (among) different cultures. For example, when Iwao, Pool and Hagiwara (1981) compared the amount of violent acts in the America's and Japan's TV programs by using an established coding categories (Gerbner's categories for

violence), they had to devise some additional categories to cover all the violent actions made by the characters in Japan's TV programs where they had more behaviors to express violence than in America's TV programs.

For another example, Wilke (1987) found that censorship and press control encouraged media to produce less domestic news and more international news. Thus, the proportion of domestic and foreign news coverage in China and that in Japan cannot be explained by the same factor because their levels of press freedom are greatly different (18 and 80 in the scale developed by Freedom House) (Deutsch, 2004, p. 10-11). International news in Chinese media could be increased by the "widespread restrictions on freedoms of the press and of expression" and, on the other hand, foreign news in Japan could be decreased by the affluent and stable sources of domestic news from the *kisha* club system (Deutsch, 2004, p. 78). Therefore, "(t)he basic problem of conducting research of this kind is," in the words of Edelstein (1982), "establishing an equivalence of measurement between nations and between cultures" (p.10).

Nevertheless, there are numerous studies conducted in the field of international media study. "Despite confusion over theory and method," Stevenson (1992) says, "the output of international communication research is enormous as well as disparate" (p. 549). However, many of the comparative media researchers are based on the United States, and they studied, for example, how differently the U.S. and foreign media covered the same event, such as disasters or conflicts (Cooper-Chen, 2001). Tsang, Tsai and Liu (1988) also found that, of all the international news studies they sampled, 43.8% of them used the United States as a host country (a country in which the studied media are located), followed by West Europe (13.0%) and Asia (11.5%) (p. 194). For guest countries

(countries covered by the media in host country), most selected areas were Third World nations, such as Egypt, Israel, Iran, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Korea and Nicaragua, often in relation to crises and conflicts, supporting the Cooper-Chen statement (Tsang, Tsai & Liu, 1988).

Furthermore, according to Cooper-Chen (2001), few studies have been conducted globally, making it almost impossible to build any general (or universal) theories of international news flow. One of the reasons is that global research projects require too much money and human resources, for example, to hire researchers and translators in several countries (Wu, 2003). Of those few globally conducted comparative media studies, the researcher made brief summaries of three studies. The first study was selected because the research was conducted globally, it analyzed only "elite" newspapers (including both Le Monde and Asahi) and it is often regarded as a milestone in the study field of international news flow (Edelstein, 1982; Cooper-Chen, 2001). In fact, Wu (2003) says that the study "is probably the first endeavor to investigate how the press around the world presents the world" (p. 11). The second and the third studies were chosen because they are "global projects," their results were discussed well in their (or in others') studies, and they produced substantial data to establish some general theories (or at least hypotheses) about international news flows. Also, the data from these three studies are, at least to some degree, comparable with the data collected in this Le Monde and *Asahi* study (which will be discussed later).

## [Global Research Project 1] One Day in the World's Press (Wilbur Schramm, 1959)

In this study, the researchers compared 14 "elite" newspapers, including *Le Monde* and *Asahi* when two world-shaking events occurred almost at the same time: On

November 1, 1956, the Soviet Union moved troops to Hungary to suppress the so-called Hungarian Uprising; and, on the same day, the British air forces started bombing Egyptian military bases, triggering the Suez (canal) crisis. As a result, the eyes of the world were distracted from Hungary and focused on the event in the Suez Canal that many countries considered could lead to World War III. In spite of the repeated petitions by Nagy, the prime minister of Hungary at that time, the United Nations did not take up this incident on the agenda, leading to more than 2,500 casualties and 200,000 refugees (Hungary Douran, 2006).

The study analyzed all the pages of the newspapers issued on November 2, 1956, in 14 cities (Moscow, Paris, Warsaw, Frankfurt, Prague, Stockholm, Belgrade, Cairo, Peking, Tokyo, Buenos Aires, Delhi, London and New York) to see how differently each of them reported these two events. The researchers measured column inches devoted to the two events and to other non-advertising space. As a result, *Le Monde* used 38.1% of its non-advertising space for the story of Suez Canal and 5.6% for Hungary. For *Asahi*, the percentages were 21.8% (Suez) and 2.0% (Hungary) (see Table 2.1).

On its front page, *Le Monde* summarized the situation in Hungary and questioned what would happen next. Also, in the articles about Suez, it summarized the military action and predicted that no further large-scale military action would occur. Schramm concluded that, for *Le Monde*, the first page was "a kind of summary of important developments in the chief stories of the day" (p. 15). He also noted, "Some other newspapers carried many more column inches on Suez and Hungary than did *Le Monde*, but it would be hard to find many that gave so much of the necessary detail and still put it into perspective and relationship as well as *Le Monde* did" (p. 15).

Table 2.1: Percentage of Non-advertising Space on Two Crisis, November 1956

Tuble 2.11. Tereenings of Itom university b		,	Proportion of Space
	Suez	Hungary	Suez/Hungary
All Ahram (Cairo)	66.9	0.7	74.2
Pravda (Moscow)	35.6	0.8	43.7
The Times of India (Delhi)	13.1	0.4	34.4
The Times (London)	35.0	3.0	12.0
Asahi (Tokyo)	21.8	2.0	11.0
The New York Times (New York)	22.7	2.9	7.8
Jen-min Jih-pao (Peking)	39.4	5.8	6.9
Le Monde (Paris)	38.1	5.6	6.8
Frankfurter Allgemeine (Frankfurt)	14.4	4.0	3.6
Borba (Belgrade)	24.8	7.3	3.4
La Prensa (Buenos Aires)	13.4	4.6	2.9
Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw)	12.5	5.8	2.1
Rude Pravo (Prague)	30.4	20.4	1.5
Dagens Nyheter (Stockholm)	13.1	13.4	1.0-

On the other hand, Schramm pointed out that *Asahi* was not as intellectual as *Le Monde*, which had deep interest in international news, but it was dedicated to cover the national news as fully as possible. Consequently, in the coverage of Suez and Hungary, *Asahi* reported the two incidents from local points of view (how were they related to Japan, or Japanese people?). Schramm says that *Asahi* was "trying to represent as fully as possible the Japanese interests in the Suez and Hungarian events" (p. 105).

The following tables were developed from the data collected in the research (Table 2.2, 2.3).

Table 2.2: Percentage Distribution of Stories, November 1956

	Le Monde	Asahi
Own Country	34	60
Own Country and Region	50	62
Rest of World	50	38

Table 2.3: Percentage Locations of Stories, November 1956

	Le Monde	Asahi	
Western Europe	50	8	
Sino-Soviet	12	7	
Middle East	12	16	
Asia	5	62	
Africa	9	0	
North America	8	2	
Latin America	0	0	
Oceania	1	4	
UN	3	1	

# [Global Research Project 2] Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in 29 Countries (Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson & Ugboajah, 1985)

In this report by UNESCO, authors studied three or four daily newspapers in 1979 (including the one with the largest circulation), a TV station and a radio station in each of 29 countries: three of them are from Latin America, one (the United States) from North America, seven from Africa, three from the Middle East, five from Asia, four from Eastern Europe and six from Western Europe (neither France nor Japan was included).

The research period of this study consisted of one chronological week and one "composite week" from a three-month period, which allowed them to include one week with intensive coverage on "hot" issues and, at the same time, to use six days to follow up the news that appeared in the media continually over a long period. Many of the newspapers they studied did not have a Sunday issue; therefore, in their research, "week" means six days, Monday through Saturday.

For newspapers, only the international news from general news pages was analyzed, and, for broadcasting, only "the main news bulletin of the day" was used for the research, excluding sports, documentaries and cultural and current affairs parts (p. 14). One of the

reasons they omitted finance, fashion, travel and other sections of newspapers was to increase the "compatibility of result" (p. 14). Although they consider that this criteria caused the over-representation of political news stories in the results, their method of using only general pages of newspapers made their research more comparable to this *Le Monde* and *Asahi* study, which uses only front pages for the analysis (see Method part).

As a result of coding only general pages of newspapers and the main news of TV news programs, they found that sports news and "soft" news hardly appeared and even economic and business news was hardly included. In addition, the researchers in the United States, the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany reported that the number of international news items in general was also under-represented because of this method.

#### Finding 1: Frequently mentioned themes

Table 2.4 shows the number of countries in which each theme appeared as one of the three most frequently mentioned themes. The 14 themes that were not included in the table (themes that became one of the three most mentioned themes in less than four countries) were, communism, rich/poor division, racism, home nation benefactor, individual freedom, subversion, aid to developing countries, development of the Third World, political independence, home country benefactor, population growth, democracy, racialism and economic self-sufficiency.

Table 2.4: Most Frequently Mentioned Themes, 29 Nations' News, 1979

Terrorism	14
Human Rights	12
Independence	11
Nuclear Arms	8
Religious/Ethnic-Antagonism	7
Energy	6
Imperialism	5
Ecology	5
East-West Détente	4
14 other themes	15

#### Finding 2: Amount of international news

To assess the amount of international news, they measured column centimeters for newspapers and timed broadcasting seconds for television and radio. They noted that there were various patterns in the amount of international coverage between elite newspapers and mass papers (they didn't mention which ones contained more international coverage than the others).

In Argentina, the Ivory Coast, Tunisia, Zambia, Poland, Yugoslavia, the USSR and the Federal Republic of Germany, international news occupied more than 50 % of the general pages in at least one newspaper. On the other hand, in Egypt, Iran, Thailand, Greece and Iceland, no paper devoted more than 25 % of the space to international news. At this point, they suspected that some countries had a large amount of international coverage because of the censorship and repression over domestic news, supporting Wilke's (1987) finding (mentioned above). They also found that television and radio included a smaller number of international news items than newspapers but their percentages of foreign news items in overall output were higher than those of

newspapers, suggesting that broadcasting media tend to extensively cover a small number of international stories.

#### Finding 3: Story types

The study defined international news as "events or situations outside the home country, or events in the home country in which foreign nationals take part or which are presented as having substantive relevance to foreign situations" (p. 14). Accordingly, in their study, each international news item was coded as either "foreign news at home," "home news abroad" or "foreign news abroad" (p. 14) (for more explanation of those categories, see Method).

In 27 countries, "foreign news abroad" categories dominated the overall international news coverage with the percentages from 50 to 85. The two exceptions were Nigeria (36%), which had many news items that were unclassifiable for the researchers, and the USSR (40%) where there were big domestic concerns during the research period. For the other two categories of international news, in 22 countries, more "foreign news at home" stories were found than "home news abroad" stories. They attributed this trend to the media's tendency "to create national relevance (often at the expense of other perhaps more important news values), and to make international news palatable" (p. 39).

They also found that the "foreign news at home" type of international stories were over-represented due to "domestic stories with a foreign flavor" and that "more politically self-conscious the media system, the more will opportunities be seized to select items and write-in angles that relate international events to one's own situation" (p. 39). Clausen (2003) argues that this "domestication" phenomenon is observed in news productions around the world (p. 33).

For the other five countries, whose "home news abroad" stories outnumbered "foreign news at home" stories, they explained that the media in those countries had a tendency to focus on their national figures (for example, the Polish Pope for Poland at that time).

### Finding 4: Regions in the news

In all the countries studied but Yugoslavia and Poland, international news came more from their own regions (26-63%) than any other part of the world. Rank orderings of regions that appeared in the international news in West European countries (Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Greece, Iceland, the Netherlands and Turkey) and Asian countries (Australia, India, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand) were cited in Table 2.5. In addition, they argued that geographical proximity and former colonial orientations were the two leading factors of the amount of coverage.

Table 2.5: Rank Ordering of Regions in West European and Asian Nations' International News, 1979

	Regions in the news								
	North	Latin	Africa	Middle	Asia	Eastern	Western	General	
	America	America		East		Europe	Europe		
West	2	8	5	3	5	4	1	7	
Europe									
Asia	3	8	5	4	1	6	2	7	

The small number of international news items about Latin America (ranked 6th, 1st, 8th, 8th, 8th, 8th, 8th in the seven regions), according to the researchers, can be explained by the fact that no "hot" news happened there during the research period. On the other hand, they found that the Middle East was frequently covered (ranked 2nd, 4th, 2nd, 1st, 4th, 4th and 3rd) because of the Camp David Agreement and the events following the Iranian revolution. They concluded, "[N]ews values of sensation, drama, world

significance allow parts of the Third World to wax and wane in news attention depending on the particular period of time and the specific events occurring" (p. 42).

Concerning this argument, Chang (1998) also points out that, for "peripheral" countries, their chance of appearing in the world's media is largely left to chance, such as natural disasters (p. 557). Furthermore, Stevenson and Gaddy (1984) found that the Third World countries were more likely to be covered in the "political bad news," such as conflicts, but they were less likely to be covered in "nonpolitical bad news," such as natural disasters, than the First World nations (p. 94).

#### Finding 5: News topics

As noted above, high percentages of the two categories, "international politics" and "domestic politics," were observed in their research. When combined, they account for 32% to 66% of the total international coverage in all but three countries, Nigeria (23%), Australia (26%) and Iran (73%). The media in Western Europe collected most of the international politics news from their own region and most of the domestic politics news from Africa, followed by Latin America. For the media in Asia, Eastern Europe and the United Nations were covered most in the international politics news, and much of their domestic politics news came from Africa and Western Europe.

For other findings related to the news topics, it was shown that the Western nations were more likely to be covered in crime and human interest stories than the Third World nations. On the other hand, they found that "hot news," such as disasters, became news regardless of the region or country where it occurred.

Media in Asian countries, in general, had more coverage about the other 15 topics (military, economics, international aid, social services, crime, culture, religion, science,

sports, entertainment, personalities, human interest, student matters, ecology and natural disasters) than countries from the other seven regions.

#### Finding 6: News sources

News sources were coded only for newspapers, but they found some serious methodological limitations in identifying news sources. For example, the percentage of unidentifiable items is as high as 90% in Tunisia, 84% in the Ivory Coast and 70% in Brazil. Overall, the big four news agencies (Reuters, UPI, AP and AFP), when combined, appeared as the most used news source, followed by "home country agency" and "own staff."

In conclusion, they said that the results of their study, on the whole, supported the results of the past news coverage studies.

# [Global Research Project 3] Unpublished International News Study of 44 Countries by Sreberny, A. and Stevenson, R. (1995)

UNESCO's study was followed by numerous studies and debates, and Sreberny and Stevenson themselves, who conducted the UNESCO research, replicated it in 1995 by, this time, studying the media in 44 countries around the world (Wu, 2000). One of the reasons that they felt the need for the replication is explained in their study: After the end of the Cold War, "major political changes, technological developments and economic shifts have all played a role in reshaping the environment of international news" (Sreberny & Stevenson, 1999, p. 62). Also, Vanden Heuvel (1993) remarked that "the East-West confrontation model" could not be applied to the post-Cold War media (p. 19). After the Cold War, according to Hoge (1993), both the public and the media became aware of how domestic news had been under-represented during that period. In fact, the

end of the Cold War triggered a significant decrease of international news (especially political news) with the sharp decline of the coverage of the Soviet Union or Russia (Norris, 1995).

Even though this "unprecedented" project has not yet been published (as of May, 2006), Wu. H. D. (2000, 2003 & 2004) conducted several analyses by using the data collected by Sreberny and Stevenson (Wu, 2004, p. 96).

#### Research design and data collection (Wu, 2004)

Accredited researchers in the 44 countries conducted content analysis of the media in their countries during the period of two weeks (September 3-9 and 17-23, 1995). Of those 44 countries, 15 of them were developed countries and 29 of them were developing countries. In each news item, only the most important country mentioned was coded.

Japan was included in those 44 countries, but France was not (even though France was the second most "covered" country in this research).

The top 20 countries that appeared most frequently in the world's media are the United States (6,699 mentions), France (3,280), the United Kingdom (2,833), Russia (1,992), Bosnia (1,696), China (1,495), Germany (1,391), Italy (1,206), Japan (913), Israel (771), Spain (642), Sweden (499), India (468), South Africa (420), Australia (399), Switzerland (356), Iraq (349), Turkey (344), Austria (321) and Brazil (304).

Newsworthy events that occurred during the research period might influence the result: those are the United Nations Women's Conference in China (intentionally included), NATO's military campaigns in Bosnia-Herzegovina and nuclear experiments by France.

Media in Japan covered the United States most (600+), followed by France (283) and China (223). Wu points out Japan's tendency to "favor developed, powerful countries,"

such as the United Kingdom (88), Russia (77) and Germany (57) (p. 101). For other countries, there was extensive coverage of Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Vietnam. In addition, Bosnia's warfare had abundant coverage (86), and the nuclear experiments in French territory might have boosted Japan's (the only nation to be bombed with atomic weapons) coverage of France.

Perhaps due to the methodological similarity (the same researchers conducted UNESCO's (1985) research and this), the media's tendency to cover countries in their own regions was noted again.

#### Determinants of international news coverage (Wu, 2000)

In this study, Wu (2000) used the data of 38 countries (from the 44 countries Sreberny and Stevenson studied) to find significant systemic determinants of international news coverage. Of those 38 countries, 17 nations fell into Europe, four into North and South America, six into Asia and Pacific, seven into Africa and four into the Middle East. Also, 12 of them were developed nations and 26 were developing nations. He tested nine independent variables (guest country's population, territorial size, level of economic development, language, degree of press freedom, presence of international news agency, geographic distance, trade volume and colonial ties with the host country) by conducting multiple regression analysis.

Of those independent variables tested, trade volume appeared as the leading determinant of foreign news in many countries: only eight countries did not have trade volume as the news predictor, and, for 12 countries, the only significant factor in foreign news was trade volume. The second most influential determinant of international news coverage was the presence of international news agencies: it related to foreign news

coverage in 15 countries. Population, geographical size and GDP were also found as important factors, but the influence of these determinants was not as consistent across different countries as trade volume and the presence of news agencies. In the case of Japan, only trade volume and the presence of news agencies were related to the international coverage.

Comparison of the determinants between developed and developing countries (Wu, 2003)

In this research, Wu (2003) answered the question posed in his earlier study in 2000, "Are developing countries more likely to cover countries closer to them?" (Wu, 2000, p. 125). He examined the difference of international news determinants between developed and developing countries by testing nine variables: press freedom, population, geographic size, geographical proximity, language, trade volume, economic power (GDP and GDP per capita), colonial ties and international news agencies.

In the regression analysis, trade volume and the presence of international news agencies appeared as determinants of international news coverage in both developed and developing countries. GDP was found to predict the amount of foreign news only in the developed countries, and the influence of geographic distance and population was restricted to the developing countries. None of the other four systemic variables (press freedom, geographic size, language and colonial ties) were significantly related to the news influx in either developed or developing countries.

#### **Determinants of International News Flow**

Although some factors of international news coverage were observed in the global research projects summarized above, it is also necessary to review the determinants found in other research. Wu (1998) sampled 55 studies to see what variables were found to be

valid as foreign news determinants in them. He found that those studies focused not only on logistical factors such as trade volume and geographical distance but also on gatekeeping factors such as deviance of the news.

For gatekeeping factors, traditional newsworthiness, sociocultural structure and organizational constraints over news professionals and the agenda-setting impact of international news services appeared as foreign news determinants in at least one study. For logistical factors, GNP, trade volume, regionalism, population, geographical size, geographical proximity, political/economic interests of host countries, "eliteness," communication resources and infrastructure and cultural affinity were found to play a role in news selection. Wu (2000) explains the "eliteness" as follows: "(N)ews professionals, usually elites of every country, tend subconsciously to impose an elite perspective when they process news stories from various parts of the world" (p. 127). Trade volume and the level of economic development

According to Wu (2003), trade volumes and GDP account for the international coverage in developed countries, but is it a trend found only in the data collected in Sreberny and Stevenson's (1995) research? The findings of the past determinants studies are "not entirely in rapport with each other, nor are they mutually comparable" (Wu, 2003, p. 508).

When studying the front pages of *The New York Times*, Charles, Shore, and Todd (1979) observed a strong correlation between the number of news items about the Southern African nations and their trade volumes with the United States. Kariel and Rosenvall (1984) found that both trade volumes and GNP explained the amount of international coverage in the Canadian daily newspapers. Ahern (1984) found the same

correlations (between trade volume/GNP and coverage) in the U.S. newspapers, but he also mentioned that an increase in the trade volume with the United States usually meant an increase of GNP of that country. For other studies, Dupree (1971) and De Verneil (1977) also reported that trade volume is one of the most important factors to explain the amount of international coverage, and Kim and Barnett (1996) reported economic development as the most important factor.

On the other hand, according to Robinson and Sparkes (1976) who studied 29

American newspapers and 10 Canadian newspapers, level of trade is only correlated with the foreign news in the Canadian press, and GNP has no correlation with the international news in any paper of the two countries.

#### Studies of Asahi Shimbun

Frequently appearing countries and the determinants of international news in *Asahi* (Ishii, 1996)

Ishii (1996) studied *Asahi*'s international news items published in 1987, 1990 and 1993 and found that, considering its GDP and population, the United States was not overrepresented in *Asahi Shimbun*. In this study, he defined international news as "a news item whose content directly concerns one or more foreign countries," thus, possibly excluding the "foreign news at home" and even "home news abroad" from his samples (p. 137). Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 respectively show the number of articles about each country and the number of *Asahi*'s correspondents.

Table 3.1: The Number of Foreign News Items, *Asahi* 

1987	1990	1993
8949	9294	8900
2239	2666	3329
2885	5253	2774
1897	2565	1756
1220	1508	1410
897	991	1080
869	1080	1076
498	1399	931
215	353	551
1016	3283	479
239	421	478
347	309	471
317	328	422
824	545	382
168	240	312
184	216	305
1448	340	293
277	230	288
107	191	262
132	155	255
99	167	224
229	361	209
	8949 2239 2885 1897 1220 897 869 498 215 1016 239 347 317 824 168 184 1448 277 107 132	8949         9294           2239         2666           2885         5253           1897         2565           1220         1508           897         991           869         1080           498         1399           215         353           1016         3283           239         421           347         309           317         328           824         545           168         240           184         216           1448         340           277         230           107         191           132         155           99         167

Table 3.2: The Number of *Asahi* Correspondents

	1978	1993
United States	11	12
United Kingdom	3	5
China	3	4
U.S.S.R./Russia	2	4
Egypt	3	3
Thailand	1	3
Singapore	2	2
France	2	2
(West) Germany	1	2
South Korea	1	2

Ishii examined the correlation between the number of international news items and the following variables: population, GDP, geographical distance, amount of exports, amount of imports, the number of foreigners from the countries in Japan, the number of students

from various countries in Japan, the number of Japanese who visited various countries, the number of diplomats delegated to various countries and the number of overseas correspondents of *Asahi*. Among those variables, by regression analysis, he found that GDP and population were the most important factors in *Asahi*'s international news coverage. He concluded that, considering the international news determinants that were proved valid in his study, the United States was not significantly over-reported and that, in 1987 and 1993, Hong Kong, India, Taiwan, Italy and (West) Germany were consistently under-represented.

Also, Cooper-Chen (1998) studied Japan's foreign news coverage in 1995 using the same database as Wu (2000, 2003) and Sreberny and Stevenson (1999). The *Asahi Shimbun* accounted for about one third of the news stories in the Japan sample, with the United States by far the most-covered political entity. Also, the sample of 10 years earlier found France as the second most-covered entity in *Asahi*, due to the nuclear tests it conducted in Polynesia.

Frequently mentioned topics and themes in *Asahi*'s editorials (Cooper-Chen, 1997a)

Cooper-Chen (1997a) studied the editorial section in English-language *Asahi Evening News* (1954-2001) from July 1993 to June 1994 because there was a great change in Japan's political environment during that period. Although the aim of the study was to examine the influence of political reform on *Asahi*'s editorials, it also produced some useful data that explained *Asahi*'s coverage in general. Table 3.3 and 3.4 show the topics and themes that appeared in *Asahi*'s editorials, and Table 3.5 shows the story types as defined in the UNESCO study in 1985. Concerning the determinants of news topics in Japan, Cho and Lacy (2000) found that the more the Japanese local newspapers were

dependent on news agencies, the more their topics of foreign news were focused on conflicts and disasters.

Table 3.3: Topics in *Asahi*'s Editorials (N=282)

Politics within states/countries	30.5%
Economic matters	28.7%
Military and defense	13.8%
Crime, politics, judicial, legal and penal	8.5%
Diplomatic/political activities between units	6.7%
Ecology	2.1%
Scientific, technical	1.8%
International aid	1.8%
Education, student matters	1.8%
Others	4.3%

Table 3.4: Themes in *Asahi*'s Editorials (N=282)

Change/reform	43.30%
Corruption in public life	12.80%
Post Cold War politics	11.30%
Nuclear arms proliferation	5.30%
Freedom of speech, opinion	4.30%
Human rights	3.50%
Social inequality, status of women	1.80%
Peace/war	1.80%
Media related/communication	1.40%
Religious/ethic	1.10%
Ecology, environment	1.10%
Others	5.70%
Unclear	6.00%

Table 3.5: Story Types in *Asahi*'s Editorials (N=282)

(11-202)	
Home news at home	70.60%
Foreign news at home	3.50%
Home news abroad	9.90%
Foreign news abroad	16.00%

## Studies of Le Monde

The author could not find many studies of *Le Monde*'s foreign news coverage. A single-topic case study was done on the Danish Muhammad cartoon controversy, but it

was not comprehensive (Berkowitz & Eko, 2006). Wilke (1987) studied foreign news in *Le Temps*, the predecessor of *Le Monde*, but he studied the issues published more than a century ago (1906).

## **Research Questions**

RQ1: What percent of the front page is international in Le Monde and Asahi?

RQ2: What percent of stories is "foreign news at home," "home news abroad" and "foreign news abroad" in *Le Monde* and *Asahi*?

RQ3: Which countries (or regions) are prominent?

RQ4: What topics are prominent in international news of *Le Monde* and *Asahi*?

RQ5: What is the nature of France's coverage of Japan, and Japan's coverage of France?

## **Hypotheses**

H1: *Le Monde* has a higher percentage of international items on the front page than *Asahi*.

-- because *Le Monde* is a more "intellectual" newspaper and, thus, more interested in international affairs than *Asahi* (Schramm, 1959).

H2: Both *Le Monde* and *Asahi* cover the United States more than any other country.

-- because in the unpublished study of 44 nations by Sreberny and Stevenson, the United States was by far the most covered country (Wu, 2004).

H3: Both *Le Monde* and *Asahi* have more stories with political topics than stories with any other topics.

-- because the international news stories studied by UNESCO in 1985 were dominated by political topics.

- H4: *Asahi* uses domestic government officials as its news sources more frequently than *Le Monde*.
  - -- because of *Asahi*'s deep dependence on the *kisha* clubs.
- H5.1: Trade volume and GDP correlate highly with prominence of countries.
- -- because Wu (2003) found that these two variables were related to international news coverage in developed countries.
- H5.2: Correlation between GDP and prominence of countries is more significant in *Asahi* than in *Le Monde*.
- -- because Wu (2004) pointed out that Japan had a tendency to cover "developed and powerful" countries.

# **Chapter III. METHOD**

## **Content Analysis**

This study used content analysis as a method to examine international news coverage of *Le Monde* and *Asahi*. Weber (1990) defines content analysis as "a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text" (p. 9). Also, Holsti (1969) defines it as "a multipurpose research method developed specifically for investigating any problem in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference" (p. 2).

The definition developed by Riffe, Lacy and Fico (1998) is more specific:

the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which
have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the
analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, in order

to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption (p. 20).

Content analysis bases its methodological credibility on "the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p. 18). The definitions of the words "objective" and "systematic" are explained by Wimmer and Dominick (1997): The results derived from content analysis do not include any personal bias (objective), and its measures (selection, collection and evaluation) are explicit and consistent throughout the research (systematic). Therefore, the objective and systematic nature of content analysis enables any researcher to reproduce the same result from the same method.

### Newspapers

The researcher used newspapers as a subject of research for the following reasons. Schramm (1959) notes that a newspaper transmits news less quickly than radio, contains a smaller amount of information than books, shows viewpoints less in detail than magazines and is less visual than television. Moreover, Schramm (1959) adds, "it can do the combination of these things probably better than any of the other media" (p. 5).

Among a myriad of newspapers published in Japan and France, this study chose to study *Le Monde* and *Asahi Shimbun*. As noted in Introduction, both are great dailies (Merrill, 1999), published in the countries ranked as "free" by Deutsch (2004), with France scoring at 18 and Japan at 19. In addition, as elite presses, they have a great influence on powerful people's thinking and thus on the politics and economies of each country. They are both broadsheet newspapers.

## **Front Pages**

Only the articles on front pages were examined for this study for two reasons. First, people are more likely to read the articles on the front page than articles on other pages (Media Book, 1984). Naughton says, "If you merely mean to scan it en route to the comic strips, it can serendipitously grab your attention and tell you a valuable tale" (Poynter Online, 2001). Schweitzer (1980) found that most adults thought that the front page stories carried the most important national news every day. In fact, according to Reisner (1992), front pages tell readers what the newspaper considers the most important stories of the day.

Second, the front page is the end of the gatekeeping chain and represents an editorial staff consensus of the day's most important news. For many newspapers, front pages are so important that editors spend from 20 minutes to an hour discussing front page stories in their news conferences (Sigal, 1973), where "[e]ditors routinely signal front page newsworthiness by elaborating/defending their choices and work hard to defend the newsworthiness of their choices" (Reisner, 1992, p. 971). Therefore, most of the newspaper's characteristics (editorial policies, readership, etc.) are epitomized on the front page.

#### **Time Frame**

This study includes stories on page 1 that were published from March 1, 2005, to August 31, 2005. From March to June, the national assemblies of both countries are in session, and, therefore, newspapers do not lack for news during that period. Also, the researcher wished to include August 6 and 9, anniversaries of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when newspapers in many countries mention Japan in the context of nuclear bombs.

Furthermore, in France, the summer months are domestically slow news months, leaving more room for foreign news. This method makes it possible to include both the period of the congressional session and the period with few political movements. March 1 was chosen because the researcher wished to have at least half a year of continuous research period to have significant results in his analysis, while including enough politically active months and the anniversaries of the atomic bombs. The researcher chose the year 2005 to study the most recent period when data for both newspapers were available. All the front page stories of the two newspapers were coded from Tuesday through Saturday, because *Le Monde* does not publish on Monday and because Sunday papers often "break the normal pattern of weekly presentation" (Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson & Ugboajah, 1985, p. 13). The individual story was the unit of analysis.

#### Coding

#### Domestic vs. international

The first variable was used to clarify whether an article was about domestic or foreign news. As mentioned in Related Studies, Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson and Ugboajah (1985) define international news as "events or situations outside the home country, or events in the home country in which foreign nationals take part or which are presented as having substantive relevance to foreign situations" (p. 14). Thus, rather than simply sorting articles between "domestic" and "international," the following four categories, which originate from Golding and Elliott (1979), were used.

0) Home News at Home – News that occurs domestically and does not include any principal actors from foreign countries (e.g. foreign politicians, ambassadors).

- 1) Foreign News at Home News that occurs domestically and whose principal actor(s) is from a foreign country. For example, if Bill Gates makes a speech at Tokyo University, that is "foreign news at home" for Japan. This category also includes news about domestic actions taken by domestic actors under the influence of foreign elements. If the prime minister of Japan is criticized for visiting the Yasukuni Shrine, which is dedicated to war dead including Class-A war criminals, by the opposition party due to concerns about Japan's relationship with China, this event is "foreign news at home." All the domestic political movements in France over the referendum on the EU constitution were coded under this category.
- 2) Home News Abroad News that occurs abroad and whose principal actor(s) is from the country of the newspaper (France or Japan). For example, if French President Jacques Chirac has a meeting with the German chancellor in Berlin, that will be "home news abroad" for France (and "foreign news abroad," if this news is published in *Asahi* newspaper). Also, news about the EU summit meetings and "six-nation talks," the conference on peace in the Korean Peninsula in which Japan, the United States, North and South Korea, China and Russia participated, were coded as "home news abroad" unless the talks were held in the host country ("foreign news at home" in that case) or neither the name of the host country nor name of any domestic person was mentioned in the news ("foreign news abroad" in that case). In addition, news about the region of the host country (e.g. Asia, Far East Asia, Europe, West Europe) was coded in this category unless

the name of the host country was not mentioned in the article at all (in that case it is "foreign news abroad").

3) Foreign News Abroad – News that occurs abroad and whose principal actor(s) is from a foreign country or countries.

Domestic (home news at home) stories were counted only to calculate the page 1 percentages of domestic and international news. Therefore, if an item were coded as "home news at home," it was not coded further. Also, a small column for either a picture of flowers, plants or poems, which was printed in the same place on *Asahi*'s front page every day, was not counted. Advertisements for events or TV programs that are funded or broadcast by Asahi group and apology ads on *Asahi* newspaper were not coded either.

#### Countries and regions

All the countries (countries or political entities) and regions covered on page 1 were noted on the coding sheet, once per story. The names of the independent states in the world listed by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research (see Appendix B) were used to code each country by "FIPS (Federal Information Processing Standard) code" rather than noting the exact name of each country and to prevent miscoding or overlooking mentions of any countries or their capitals. Names of the regions were noted as they are mentioned in the article. For the names of the countries that no longer exist, such as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, their current names were used (e.g. Russia, Serbia and Montenegro). Also, based on the definition of "country" established by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research and the fact that the U.S. government acknowledged that Taiwan was part of China in 1979, Taiwan was coded as China (CH), and Chechnya was coded as Russia (RS).

When a story covers more than six nations, only the most important six nations were coded. For regions, the researcher did not code more than the most important three. If the importance of the countries (or regions) could not be judged from the text, countries (or regions) that were mentioned earlier in the text were coded. In addition, if Japan were covered by *Le Monde* or if France were covered by *Asahi*, the context was described in detail on the coding sheet.

#### **Topics**

The researcher coded one topic for each story. However, if a story could not be defined by one topic, two topics were coded. The coding sheet (see Appendix A) lists 16 topics; their definitions follow. Some of the codes and definitions were directly quoted, and the others were developed from the studies of Stempel (1985, p. 793) and Mansfield-Richardson (1996, p. 242-243).

- 1) Government and Politics Government acts and politics at local, national or international levels.
- 2) War, Defense and Terrorism War, defense, rebellion and military use of space. Terrorism, proliferation of nuclear weapons, problems of U.S. military bases and articles that discuss responsibilities in past wars are also coded under this category.
- 3) Diplomacy and Foreign Relations Items dealing with diplomacy and foreign relations.
- 4) Economic Activity and Trade General economic activity, prices, money, labor, wages and natural resources. This does not include success stories of French immigrants.

- 5) Agriculture and Climate Farming, farm prices and economic aspects of agriculture, also including news about climate such as typhoons, droughts and global warming.
- 6) Transportation and Travel Transportation and travel, including economic aspects (tourism).
- 7) Crime All crime stories including criminal proceedings in court. Abduction of citizens, such as a French journalist, in Iraq is coded under this category.
- 8) Public Moral Problems Human relations and moral problems including alcohol, divorce, sex, race relations and civil court proceedings. This includes stories on human rights.
- 9) Accidents and Disasters Both man-made accidents and natural disasters.
- 10) Science, Technology and Invention Science other than defense related.

  Thus, stories about leakage of nuclear technology are coded as "war, defense and terrorism."
- 11) Public Health and Welfare Health, public welfare, social and safety measures, welfare of children and marriage and marriage relations. This category includes stories about poverty problems.
- 12) Education and Religion Education, religion and philanthropy.
- 13) Popular Amusement/Sports Entertainments and amusements, sports, TV, radio and other media. News about films, actors and film directors comes under this category.

- 14) Art Classical music, opera, painting and other traditional and contemporary art forms of the East, West and other regions. Stories about novelists, photographers and other artists are coded as "art" stories.
- 15) General Human Interest Human interest, animals, cute children, obituaries and juvenile interest. Success stories of French immigrants are included in this category.
- 16) Other Any article that does not fit into the first fifteen categories.

#### News sources

All the news sources (including those of photos) mentioned in the article were coded as follows:

1) Domestic Government/Official 9) Foreign Government/Official

2) Domestic Expert 10) Foreign Expert

3) Domestic Student 11) Foreign Student

4) Domestic Business Person/Artist 12) Foreign Business Person/Artist

5) Domestic Blue Collar Worker 13) Foreign Blue Collar Worker

6) Domestic Citizen 14) Foreign Citizen

7) Domestic Media/News Agency 15) Foreign Media/News Agency

8) Other Domestic Source 16) Other Foreign Source

0) Unclear \*Codes are adopted from Kang's (2006) study.

Clerical and staff members in NGOs or NPOs come under "experts." Announcements by terrorists were coded as "other sources." If more than three sources were mentioned, the most important three (or the three first mentioned) sources were coded. Also, if the

researcher could not tell whether the source was domestic or foreign, that source was not coded.

### Non-news

"Analyse" and "Point de Vue" sections in *Le Monde* and "Tensei-Jingo" sections in *Asahi* were noted as "non-news" because they are think pieces rather than news stories.

Illustrations and photos

News articles accompanied by illustrations or photos were coded as such. Graphs, tables and other visual information were not coded.

#### **Determinants**

Correlation of external variables with country's prominence was calculated by Pearson's correlation, which is "a measure of how well a linear equation describes the relation between two variables X and Y measured on the same object or organism" (Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient, 2006). The range of the result (r) is from -1 to +1. If the value of r is +1, for example, that means the two variables have a perfect positive correlation.

The variables used for this study were trade volume and GDP, because, as mentioned in Related Studies, Wu (2003) found that these two factors explained international news flow in "developed" countries. Although he also found that the correlation between presence of international news agencies and country prominence was significant in developed countries, it was not tested in this research because one can argue that the presence of international news agencies is a result of the large amount of potential foreign news rather than a determinant. In other words, news agencies may establish their bureaus in response to the demands of their clients.

Trade volume between the host country (France or Japan) and the guest country (one covered by *Le Monde* or *Asahi*) was calculated by adding the values of imports and exports. Those data are derived from the International Monetary Fund's *Direction of Trade Statistics Yearbook 2005*, which prints the import and export numbers of 183 countries from 1998 to 2004. The researcher used 2004 data for this study. The GDP figure of each country in 2004 is derived from *The World Almanac 2006*.

## **CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS**

### **Descriptive**

In the period of 132 days (from March to August, 2005, five days per week), a total of 522 international items were coded for *Le Monde*, and 220 for *Asahi*. No significant difference in the number of international stories by month or day of the week was found except for the relatively small number of *Asahi*'s international items in August, which was probably caused by a widely watched national election campaign in Japan (see Table 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). There is no wide disparity between the number of articles on the front pages of *Le Monde* (764) and that of *Asahi* (638).

Table 4.1.1: Number of Page 1 International Stories by Month, Le Monde and Asahi, 2005

	March	April	May	June	July	August	Total
Le Monde	80	98	89	85	72	98	522
Asahi	37	44	36	39	41	23	220

Table 4.1.2: Number of Page 1 International Stories by Day of the Week, Le Monde and Asahi, 2005

	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Total
Le Monde	114	110	103	91	104	522
Asahi	43	38	52	44	43	220

Appendix C lists, as a context for the RQs, the events that were covered by each of the papers and that were also mentioned in the "news digest" pages of *Keesing's Record of World Events 2005*.

### Non-news, Illustrations and Photos

In *Le Monde*, 18.0% of the international stories were coded as "non-news" (Table 4.2). As mentioned in Method, *Le Monde* prints a non-news story ("Analyse" or "Point de Vue") every day as one of the average 5.79 front-page stories (17.3%). Therefore, there seems to be no significant difference in the possibility of being international between news articles and non-news articles. However, 63.8% of the non-news international items in *Le Monde* have a topic of "government and politics," suggesting that its non-news columns, at least when it has an international topic, tends to discuss "government and politics" issues.

Table 4.2: Page 1 Non-news Stories and Stories with Illustration/Photo. *Le Monde* and *Asahi*. 2005

masaanon i noto, Ee monae ana maan, 2005						
	Non-news	Illustration/photo				
Le Monde (N=552)	18.0% (94)	38.7% (202)				
Asahi (N=220)	27.7% (61)	28.2% (62)				

For *Asahi*, whose non-news "Tensei-Jingo" accounts for 20.5% of the front page stories in average, the fact that 27.7% of its international stories are non-news means that *Asahi*'s non-news articles have slightly more chance to have international topics than its news articles. Of all the non-news international items in *Asahi*, 37.1% of them have "war, defense and terrorism" as a topic, possibly because of *Asahi*'s interest in the memoirs of the Second World War. Neither of the papers have many non-news stories other than those from the "Analyse" or "Point de Vue" section for *Le Monde* and from the "Tensei-Jingo" section for *Asahi*.

In *Le Monde*, which has at least one illustration (for the top story) and one photo (usually for a sports, art or interview spot) every day, 38.7% of the international items are accompanied by an illustration or photo. On the other hand, *Asahi* does not have any photo in the fixed place on a daily basis but 28.2% of its international items have a photo (*Asahi* does not print any illustrations on the front page). No non-news story has an illustration or photo.

### **Domestic vs. International Stories [RQ1 and H1]**

Of all the front-page articles, 68.3% are international for *Le Monde*, and 32.2% for *Asahi*, showing inverted ratios of domestic and international items in the two papers (Table 4.3). This distribution has a chi-square value of 188.25 (df: 1) (p<0.001), meaning that *Le Monde* has a significantly higher percentage of international items on the front page than *Asahi*. *Thus*, *Hypothesis 1 was strongly supported*.

Table 4.3: Page 1 Domestic vs. International News, *Le Monde* and *Asahi*. 2005

115 <i>anu</i> ; 2005						
	Domestic	International	Total			
Le Monde (N=764)	31.7% (242)	68.3% (522)	100% (764)			
Asahi (N=683)	67.8% (463)	32.2% (220)	100% (683)			

## **Story Types [RQ2]**

Table 4.4 shows the numbers of international articles in the three story types. While *Asahi* has almost the same number of news items in all three categories, *Le Monde* has half of its international stories in "foreign news abroad" category. In neither of the newspapers was a significant difference observed between the number of "foreign news at home" stories and the number of "home news abroad" stories. The distribution of the three story types in the two papers is significant with a chi-square value of 17.23 (df: 2) (p<0.001).

Table 4.4: Page 1 Story Types, Le Monde and Asahi, 2005

	Foreign news at home	Home news abroad	Foreign news abroad	Total
Le Monde (N=552)	26.1% (136)	23.9% (125)	50.0% (261)	100% (522)
Asahi (N=220)	32.3% (71)	34.1% (75)	33.6% (74)	100% (220)

The gap between the percentage of "foreign news abroad" stories in *Le Monde* and that in *Asahi* could be explained by the topics covered by the two papers. While the "foreign news abroad" stories in *Le Monde* have various topics such as "government and politics" (25.4%), "war, defense and terrorism" (12.5%), "economic activity and trade" (8.9%) and "art" (8.9%), those in *Asahi* are dominated by the "war, defense and terrorism" topic (34.6% of the "foreign news abroad" items). In fact, *Asahi*, compared with *Le Monde*, does not print many stories that are not related to its home country on its front page unless they have a topic of "war, defense and terrorism," often with some casualties: 13 out of *Asahi*'s 28 "foreign news abroad" stories with a topic of "war, defense and terrorism" are about terrorism with casualties.

## Countries and Regions [RQ3 and H2]

In the six-month period, 106 countries and 14 regions were covered by *Le Monde*, and 54 countries and 11 regions were covered by *Asahi*. Table 4.5 shows the most prominent 19 countries covered in the two papers (see Appendix D for all the countries coded). The United States was covered most frequently in both of the papers (16.2% for *Le Monde* and 20.4% for *Asahi*), *supporting Hypothesis* 2. The difference in the coverage of the United States between the two papers will be discussed later.

Table 4.5: Top 19 Countries Covered by Le Monde and Asahi, 2005

	Le Monde	N=1034	%		Asahi	N=451	%
1	United States	167	16.2	1	United States	92	20.4
2	United Kingdom*	102	9.9	2	China*	63	14.0
3	Germany*	69	6.7	3	South Korea*	37	8.2
4	Belgium*	47	4.5	4	North Korea*	27	6.0
5	Italy*	43	4.2	5	United Kingdom	26	5.8
6	China	37	3.6	6	Germany	19	4.2
7	Iraq	35	3.4	6	Iraq	19	4.2
8	Spain*	32	3.1	8	Indonesia*	18	4.0
9	Japan	31	3.0	9	Russia	17	3.8
9	Russia	31	3.0	10	France	16	3.5
11	Netherlands*	28	2.7	11	India*	9	2.0
12	Israel	27	2.6	12	Italy	8	1.8
13	Mexico	24	2.3	12	Pakistan*	8	1.8
14	Lebanon	18	1.7	14	Iran	7	1.6
15	Syria	14	1.4	15	Malaysia*	6	1.3
16	Iran	13	1.3	15	Philippines*	6	1.3
16	Poland*	13	1.3	17	Netherlands	5	1.1
18	Luxembourg	12	1.2	17	Thailand*	5	1.1
19	Canada	11	1.1	19	Brazil	4	0.9
19	Egypt	11	1.1	19	Egypt	4	0.9
19	Qatar	11	1.1	19	Libya	4	0.9
	Other countries	258	25.0	19	Singapore*	4	0.9
*Euro	ope (own region) N= 334				Other countries	47	10.4

<sup>\*</sup>Asia (own region) N=183

Six countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, China, Iraq and Russia) were ranked in the top 10 countries in both *Le Monde* and *Asahi*. Five countries in the top 10 of *Le Monde* came from Europe (the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Spain), and four countries in the top 10 of *Asahi* came from Asia (China, South Korea, North Korea and Indonesia). Stories about Taiwan or Chechnya were only a few. Therefore, even if they had been coded separately from China or Russia, the number of China or Russia would have not been significantly decreased.

For the regions, the researcher found that both *Le Monde* and *Asahi* did not have many news items about regions as a whole (most of the news items are about specific country or countries), except for the coverage of the European Union in *Le Monde* (133). The

number of stories about the EU, as an entity, in *Le Monde* was boosted by the nationwide debate over the referendum for the EU constitution ("Oui" or "Non"): In fact, 51.9% (69) of EU stories in *Le Monde* are "foreign news at home" stories. Also, the United Nations was coded 17 times in *Le Monde* and five times in *Asahi*.

### Topics [RQ4 and H3]

Of all the international items in *Le Monde* and *Asahi* (742), only 7.7% of them (57) have two topics because most of the items clearly fell into one of the 16 categories. In *Le Monde*, "government and politics" (188) is far and away the most covered story, followed by "economic activity and trade" (62) and "popular amusement/sports" (50) (see Table 4.6). In *Asahi*, "war, defense and terrorism" (60) and "diplomacy and foreign relations" (58) topped all the other news topics and "government and politics" (27) came in the third place. *Thus, for Asahi, Hypothesis 3 was not supported, while for Le Monde it was supported*.

Table 4.6: Page 1 Topics Covered by Le Monde and Asahi, 2005

	Le Monde (N=557)	Asahi (N=242)
Government and politics	33.8% (188)	11.2% (27)
Economic activity and trade	11.1% (62)	5.4% (13)
Popular amusement/sports	9.0% (50)	5.0% (12)
War, defense and terrorism	8.4% (47)	24.8% (60)
Art	7.9% (44)	2.9% (7)
General human interest	4.7% (26)	5.0% (12)
Crime	4.5% (25)	5.8% (14)
Science, technology and invention	3.8% (21)	5.0% (12)
Education and religion	3.4% (19)	2.5% (6)
Public health and welfare	3.1% (17)	0.4% (1)
Diplomacy and foreign relations	2.9% (16)	24.0% (58)
Transportation and travel	2.9% (16)	0.8% (2)
Accident and disasters	1.3% (7)	2.9% (7)
Agriculture and climate	1.1% (6)	2.5% (6)
Public moral problems	0.9% (5)	0.0% (0)
Other	1.4% (8)	2.1% (5)

Of the five most prominent topics in each of the two papers, the widest disparity in percentage was observed in the topic of "diplomacy and foreign relations" (2.9% for *Le Monde* and 24.0% for *Asahi*). More than half (53.4%) of *Asahi*'s "diplomacy and foreign relations" stories are "home news abroad," possibly due to the coverage of Japan's worsened relations with China and South Korea over the prime minister's visit to Yasukuni Shrine, a territorial dispute (Liancourt Rocks) and gas exploration rights in the East China Sea (accounting for 28 stories out of *Asahi*'s 58 "diplomacy and foreign relations" items), in addition to the coverage of the "six-nation talks" in China (10 stories out of 58).

The high percentage of "government and politics" in *Le Monde* could be explained by the extensive coverage of EU constitution issues (73), the Israelis' retreat from the Gaza Strip (13) and the change in political administrations in Lebanon (9). For *Asahi*, "government and politics" stories are about Yasukuni Shrine issues (6), the new administration in Iraq (3) and so forth.

Asahi's "war, defense and terrorism" stories are mostly represented by "foreign news abroad" (45.0%), especially by the coverage of the terrorism in Iraq and in the United Kingdom (13), followed by "foreign news at home," such as "60 years after World War II." In *Le Monde*, 74.5% of its "war, defense and terrorism" stories are "foreign news abroad."

Also, sports news (27), such as the world championship in athletics in Helsinki, accounts for about half of the "popular amusement/sports" stories in *Le Monde*, followed by stories about films (14).

### **News Sources (H4)**

At least one news source was coded in 63.4% (331 out of 522) of the international news items in *Le Monde* and 75.0% (165 out of 220) of the international items in *Asahi*. For the news sources of *Le Monde*, "foreign government/official" (27.6%) was most frequently mentioned in the articles, followed by "foreign media/news agency" (20.5%) and "domestic government/official" (11.0%) (Table 4.7.1). Also in *Asahi*, those three news sources were coded more than any other sources; "foreign government/official" (30.6%), "domestic government/official" (23.8%) and "foreign media/news agency" (14.0%). However, of all the news sources coded, *Asahi* has more than twice as high percentage of "domestic government/official" sources as *Le Monde*: *Thus, Hypothesis 4 was supported*. Also, both in *Le Monde* and *Asahi*, foreign news sources were coded more frequently than domestic sources.

Table 4.7.1: Page 1 News Sources Quoted by Le Monde and Asahi, 2005

	Le Monde (N=410)	Asahi (N=235)
Foreign government/official	27.6% (113)	30.6% (72)
Foreign media/news agency	20.5% (84)	14.0% (33)
Domestic government/official	11.0% (45)	23.8% (56)
Foreign expert	10.2% (42)	8.9% (21)
Domestic media/news agency	9.8% (40)	1.7% (4)
Foreign business person/artist	7.1% (29)	4.7% (11)
Domestic expert	4.4% (18)	3.4% (8)
Foreign citizen	3.2% (13)	1.7% (4)
Domestic business person/artist	2.0 % (8)	3.4% (8)
Domestic citizen	0.7% (3)	2.1% (5)
Foreign blue collar worker	0.5% (2)	0.9% (2)
Domestic blue collar worker	0.5% (2)	0.0% (0)
Foreign student	0.2% (1)	0.9% (2)
Domestic student	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)
Other domestic source	1.0% (4)	0.9% (2)
Other foreign source	1.5% (6)	3.0% (7)
Domestic source total	29.3% (120)	35.3% (83)
Foreign source total	70.7% (290)	64.7% (152)

Le Monde and Asahi have surprisingly similar ratios of domestic and foreign news sources in all the three story types (Table 4.7.2 and 4.7.3). Both of the newspapers used more domestic sources for news that occurred at home and more foreign sources for news that occurred abroad.

Table 4.7.2: Page 1 News Sources and Story Types in *Le Monde* 

	Foreign news at	Home news	Foreign news
Le Monde	home	abroad	abroad
Domestic source (N=120)	64.7% (55)	39.6% (40)	11.2% (25)
Foreign source (N=290)	35.3% (30)	60.4% (61)	88.8% (199)

Table 4.7.3: Page 1 News Sources and Story Types in Asahi

	Foreign news at	Home news	Foreign news
Asahi	home	abroad	abroad
Domestic source (N=83)	62.7% (37)	40.7% (37)	10.6% (9)
Foreign source (N=152)	37.3% (22)	59.3% (54)	89.4% (76)

## Coverage of Japan in *Le Monde*/Coverage of France in *Asahi* [RQ5]

Japan was covered in 31 stories (3.0%) in *Le Monde*, and France was covered in 16 stories (3.5%) in *Asahi* (Table 4.5). For *Le Monde*, 61.3% of the coverage of Japan is "foreign news abroad," and, for *Asahi*, 50.0% of the articles about France are "foreign news at home" (Table 4.8.1). "Economic activity and trade" is the topic that appeared most frequently in the *Le Monde*'s articles about Japan (18.8%), followed by "government and politics" (15.6%) (Table 4.8.2). On the other hand, France was most covered in the topics of "war, defense and terrorism" (17.6%) and "art" (17.6%) by *Asahi*. Furthermore, while only 12.9% of the coverage of Japan in *Le Monde* is "nonnews," France was covered by *Asahi* mainly in the "non-news" stories (62.5%) (Table 4.8.3).

Table 4.8.1: Japan in *Le Monde* and France in *Asahi* (Page 1 Story Types), 2005

Foreign news		Home news	Foreign news
	at home	abroad	abroad
Le Monde (N=31)	9.7% (3)	29.0% (9)	61.3% (19)
Asahi (N=16)	50.0% (8)	12.5% (2)	37.5% (6)

Table 4.8.2: Japan in Le Monde and France in Asahi (Page 1 Topics), 2005

Tueste treiz, eupani in Ze treiture unte l'autre in l'age l'appres), 2000			
	Le Monde (N=32)	Asahi (N=17)	
Economic activity and trade	18.8% (6)	0.0% (0)	
Government and politics	15.6% (5)	11.8% (2)	
Diplomacy and foreign relations	12.5% (4)	11.8% (2)	
Transportation and travel	9.4% (3)	0.0% (0)	
War, defense and terrorism	6.3% (2)	17.6% (3)	
Art	6.3% (2)	17.6% (3)	
Crime	6.3% (2)	11.8% (2)	
Popular amusement/sports	6.3% (2)	11.8% (2)	
Science, technology and invention	6.3% (2)	5.9% (1)	
General human interest	3.1% (1)	5.9% (1)	
Agriculture and climate	3.1% (1)	0.0% (0)	
Public health and welfare	3.1% (1)	0.0% (0)	
Education and religion	3.1% (1)	0.0% (0)	
Public moral problems	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	
Accident and disasters	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	
Other	0.0% (0)	5.9% (1)	

Table 4.8.3: Japan in *Le Monde* and France in *Asahi* (Page 1 Non-news and Illustration/Photo), 2005

	Non-news	Illustration/photo
Le Monde (N=31)	12.9% (4)	25.8% (8)
Asahi (N=16)	62.5% (10)	25.0% (4)

## **Correlation between the Prominence of Countries and Trade Volume/GDP (H5)**

The top 18 countries that were covered most frequently by each newspaper were used to examine how their trade volumes with the host country (or GDPs) are related to their prominence in each paper. Only the top 18 countries were selected because the researcher wished to include only the countries that were coded at least five times (see

Table 4.5). As mentioned in Method, Pearson's correlation (Pearson's r) was used as a method of analysis. For trade volumes and GDPs of the countries, see Appendix E.

For *Le Monde*, the correlation between the prominence of countries and their trade volumes was found to be moderately significant (r=0.487, p<0.05), and GDP was proved to be a strong factor in explaining coverage (r=0.761, p<0.01). For *Asahi*, both trade volume and GDP have a high correlation with the countries' prominence (trade volume: r=0.896, p<0.01) (GDP: r=0.890, p<0.01). *Thus, both Hypothesis 5.1 and 5.2 were supported*.

### **Coverage of the United States**

As mentioned above, the United States is the most covered country in both *Le Monde* and *Asahi*, but is there any difference in the ways they cover this economic and military giant?

Compared with the distribution of the three story types in the overall sample (Table 4.4), the United States was covered less as "foreign news at home" and more as "foreign news abroad" in *Le Monde*, and more as "home news abroad" in *Asahi* (see Table 4.9.1). However, the distribution of the topics in the coverage of the United States does not show much difference from the distribution of the topics in the overall sample (Table 4.6 and 4.9.2). Also, in both of the papers, stories about the United States have almost the same possibility to become non-news, or to be accompanied by an illustration or a photo as all the samples combined (Table 4.2 and 4.9.3).

Table 4.9.1: The United States in *Le Monde* and *Asahi* (Page 1 Story Types), 2005

	Foreign news at home	Home news abroad	Foreign news abroad
Le Monde (N=167)	17.4% (29)	25.1% (42)	57.5% (96)
Asahi (N=92)	29.3% (27)	41.3% (38)	29.3% (27)

Table 4.9.2: The United States in Le Monde and Asahi (Page 1 Topics), 2005

	Le Monde (N=180)	Asahi (N=99)
Government and politics	19.4% (35)	10.1% (10)
Economic activity and trade	18.9% (34)	6.1% (6)
Popular amusement/sports	16.1% (29)	1.0% (1)
War, defense and terrorism	12.8% (23)	29.3% (29)
Science, technology and invention	6.7% (12)	9.1% (9)
Diplomacy and foreign relations	5.0% (9)	23.2% (23)
Art	5.0% (9)	1.0% (1)
Crime	3.9% (7)	5.1% (5)
General human interest	2.8% (5)	6.1% (6)
Education and religion	2.2% (4)	1.0% (1)
Public health and welfare	1.7% (3)	1.0% (1)
Accident and disasters	1.1% (2)	1.0% (1)
Transportation and travel	1.1% (2)	0.0% (0)
Agriculture and climate	0.6% (1)	4.0% (4)
Public moral problems	0.6% (1)	0.0% (0)
Other	2.2% (4)	2.0% (2)

Table 4.9.3: The United States in *Le Monde* and *Asahi* (Page 1 Non-news and Illustration/Photo), 2005

	Non-news	Illustration/photo
Le Monde (N=167)	15.6% (26)	34.7% (58)
Asahi (N=92)	30.4% (28)	26.1% (24)

### **CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION**

Le Monde and Asahi, world-renowned elite newspapers from two democratic nations with the same level of economic power and press freedom, showed significant differences in their coverage of foreign countries.

## Domestic vs. International/Story Types

While about two thirds of the *Le Monde*'s front pages are international, only one third of the *Asahi*'s front pages consist of the international items. There is a similarity between the percentages of domestic news ("home news at home") observed in this study and those in Schramm's study (for *Le Monde*, 31.7% and 34%, for *Asahi*, 67.8% and 60%)

(see Table 4.3 and 2.2). Does this mean *Le Monde* is a more "intellectual" newspaper that is more concerned with international events, as Schramm (1959) said? That may be true because, in addition to the large number of international stories, half of its international items are "foreign news abroad," meaning that *Le Monde* generously publishes foreign news even if it does not have any connection with its own country. In *Asahi*, "domestication" phenomenon is more remarkable because about two thirds of its international articles have some domestic elements.

Also, considering that 50% to 85% of the international news was "foreign news abroad" in 27 out of the 29 countries studied by Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson and Ugboajah (1985), *Asahi*'s percentage of "foreign news abroad" (33.6%) may, in some degree, be lower than the world average. Cooper-Chen (1997b) points out that "psychological insularity," derived from Japan's geographical isolation, decreases the number of oversea news stories in Japan (p. 17). As shown in Table 1.4, 99% of Japan's population is Japanese mainly because of the tight immigration controls by the government. Therefore, for most of the Japanese, there are few opportunities to communicate with people from different ethnic backgrounds, developing a sense that Japan is insulated from the influences of foreign cultures.

Moreover, "foreign news abroad" may be even more underrepresented in *Asahi* than in other Japan's media. In the 1995 study of 44 nations (Cooper-Chen, 1998), Japan's percentage of "foreign news abroad" in all media was as high as 53.8% of foreign news.

### **Countries and Regions**

As expected, the United States was coded most both in *Le Monde* and *Asahi*, but there are some differences in the ways they covered it. It was covered mainly as "foreign news

abroad" in *Le Monde* and as "home news abroad" in *Asahi* (Table 4.9.1). For *Le Monde*, political and economic presence of the U.S. is the top concern, while *Asahi* focuses on its military power and diplomacy (Table 4.9.2). Considering the scale of the U.S. forces in Japan, the latter case is understandable.

The countries and regions that frequently appeared in *Le Monde* show a great importance of the European Union for France. There are 133 EU-related stories in *Le Monde*, and Germany and Belgium, the 3rd and 4th most coded countries in *Le Monde*, have the European Central Bank in Frankfurt and the headquarters of the European Commission in Brussels, respectively. In addition, the United Kingdom (2nd) was holding the presidency of the council of the European Union from July to December in 2005.

For *Asahi*, nine countries that appeared in Ishii's (1996) study as one of the 10 most prominent countries in 1993 (the United States, China, South Korea, North Korea, the United Kingdom, Germany, Iraq, Russia and France) are included in the 10 countries that were coded most in this research, showing *Asahi*'s invariable predilection for these countries (Table 3.1 and 4.5). It is likely that Indonesia was ranked 8th in this study because of the earthquake off Sumatra and the summit of the Asian and African nations in Jakarta. The 1995 study of Japan's media also had the United States, China, France, the United Kingdom, Russia, South Korea, Germany and North Korea in the most frequently coded 10 countries, indicating that these countries are matters of concern to Japan's media in general (Cooper-Chen, 1998).

## **Topics**

Compared with the high percentage of "government and politics" stories in *Le Monde*, *Asahi* has a smaller percentage of those stories, contrary to the trend found in the UNESCO study. In fact, *Asahi* did not print many political movements in foreign countries on the front page. It has only eight "foreign news abroad" stories about "government and politics," such as politics in Iraq, UN Security Council reform, regime collapse in Kyrgyzstan, rejection of EU constitution and Bush's appointment of John Bolton as an ambassador to the United Nations. "Foreign news at home" and "home news abroad" stories with "government and politics" topics are dominated by the prime minister's visit to Yasukuni Shrine and the summits, respectively. On the other hand, *Le Monde* covered diverse countries in "foreign news abroad" about "government and politics" (40 countries were covered compared with *Asahi*'s nine).

In other words, *Asahi*, in its limited front page space for international news, chose to publish more "war, defense and terrorism" and "diplomacy and foreign relations" stories. Further study is needed to find the reason why they prefer those two topics to "government and politics" for the front page, but its tendency to value memoirs of World War II and relations with neighboring countries explains it to some extent.

In the 1995 study of Japan's media, "international economics/ trade" (18.9%), "international politics" (18.1%) and "international military/defense/conflict" (12.2%) were the top three topics, showing higher newsworthiness of economic news for Japan's media in general than for *Asahi*'s front page in the present study (Cooper-Chen, 1998).

For other topics, the researcher found that "economic activity and trade" articles in *Le Monde* had various sub-topics, from merger and acquisition activities to soaring oil price.

It could be explained by the fact that *Le Monde*, as a "newspaper of reference," is expected to cover fully this major part of globalization, which is now threatening French economy and culture. In addition, *Le Monde* constantly published "popular amusement/sports" and "art" stories in the small section on the front page, making the percentages of those topics higher than those in *Asahi*.

Finally, even though the concept of the EU constitution was rejected in 2005 (during the research period of the present study), the politics and economy of the 25 member states (as of September, 2006) are already deeply interdependent. Therefore, there is no doubt that more and more political and economic news about those countries contains international elements, as shown in the high prominence of "government and politics" and "economic activity and trade" topics in *Le Monde*.

#### **News Sources**

In contrast to the UNESCO study, news agencies were not found to be the most dominant news sources for either *Le Monde* or *Asahi* (Table 4.7.1). The result could be explained by the newspapers' large number of foreign correspondents. For example, 14 of the 37 *Asahi*'s foreign news stories coded in March are written by its foreign correspondents. As of 2005, *Asahi* had about 50 foreign correspondents around the world, including Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Europe and North and South America (Asahi Shimbun Kansai News, 2005) (also see Table 3.2). For *Le Monde*, only eight of the 80 international items coded in March have a byline of a foreign correspondent, but most of the stories in its international section are accompanied by the name of a foreign correspondent. Therefore, it is likely that both *Le Monde* and *Asahi* use stories written by

their own staff rather than purchasing stories from news agencies, enabling the two papers to obtain stories directly from "foreign government/official" sources.

Asahi's large percentage of "domestic government/official" sources may be explained by its reliance on the *kisha* club, but some anonymous officials were also observed in the coding process. The high percentage of domestic and foreign media/news agencies as sources in *Le Monde* is partly due to the news agencies that provide photos for the newspaper.

#### **Cultural Implications of the Study**

Asahi's smaller percentages of "foreign news abroad" as well as "foreign news at home" and "home news abroad" on its front page could be due to those news sources nurtured in Japanese culture. As mentioned in Introduction, Japan is a more "collective" society than France. Many major companies in Japan (not only media companies) prefer to employ graduates of the prestigious universities not only for their academic backgrounds but also for their personal connections to the elites in various fields of society. In Japanese society, the "old school tie," especially for alumni of elite universities, has great significance. For example, a journalist who graduated from Keio could likely get an interview with a Keio alumnus (politicians, high-level government officials, business executives, etc.) because Japanese social elites often have more confidence in those who graduated from the same university. As a result of the personal connections made to obtain valuable information, Japanese media heavily depend on domestic news sources. When reporters can easily gather a large amount of news domestically, page 1 will reflect a decreased amount of foreign news, and more foreign news stories will take on a local angle ("foreign news at home" or "home news abroad"). Another cultural difference between France and Japan might have influence on the distribution of the topics coded in this study. Japan's high masculinity score (95) and France's relatively low score (43), according to Hofstede (1984, p. 197), implies that Japanese people "live to work" and French people "work to live," as explained in this thesis' Introduction. Those who consider their work as the purpose of life usually work longer and spend less time for other activities. In the data of 2004, people in Japan work 1,828 hours a year while people in France work 1,346 hours (Working Time, 2006). Furthermore, by law, French employers must give five weeks per year of paid vacation to their employees (Spano, 2006, September 3). It is arguable that, because of this difference in "work centrality," *Le Monde* has higher percentages of "popular amusement/sport" and "art" stories (9.0% and 7.9%) than *Asahi* (5.0% and 2.9%).

#### **Limitations and Future Research**

In this research, the size of the articles was not coded. Therefore, it is possible that items with some topics, such as "art," "popular amusement/sports" and "general human interest," are over-represented in the result because the researcher found that stories with these topics were usually shorter than stories with other topics, such as "government and politics." Especially when the result of this research is compared with the results from other studies, in which the size of each article was coded, some attention should be paid to that variable.

The high percentage of the non-news international items in *Asahi* could be a problem when the results are compared with other studies that used only normal news items.

Also, Research Question 5 was not answered completely because of the small number of the samples. To examine the characteristics of the coverage of Japan in *Le Monde* and

France in *Asahi*, another study with a longer research period is needed. Furthermore, because only the front pages were examined in this research, the difference between the pattern of news on the front page and that in the whole paper would be a good research subject for further study.

As for the determinants of international news, the researcher found that, both in *Le Monde* and *Asahi*, trade volumes and GDPs of the 18 most frequently-coded countries were highly correlated with the prominence of those countries, supporting the findings of previous studies. However, more potential determinants of the international news flow, such as population, geographic distance, eliteness and cultural affinity, could be tested in future.

Finally, this research used the story as the unit of analysis, but, by transforming the data, it is possible to make the country a unit of analysis. By doing this, characteristics of the coverage of each country could be examined. For example, the following questions could be answered: if there is a difference in the coverage of China between *Le Monde* and *Asahi*; which country or countries tend to be covered as "home news abroad" most; which country or countries are most frequently represented with a photo?

### Conclusion

Kayser (1953), who studied 17 newspapers around the world in one of the oldest international news studies, wrote in the "summary and conclusions":

Some are plain instruments of government policy, others are free of official entanglements. Some have no serious competitors, others have to keep an eye constantly on their rivals. Some try to cover "everything"; others leave subjects like sport, literature, or economic problems to supplements or affiliated

publications. Some are very wealthy, others are not. Some are produced in countries where newsprint is restricted, others in countries where it is plentiful. Some are profit-making concerns and go out of their way to attract and flatter their readers; others consider that they have a "mission". These and other differences largely determine the outward appearance of newspapers, the kind of news that is given preference and the amount of "entertainment" which they provide (p. 90).

The researcher chose *Le Monde* and *Asahi* as a research subject because they have various similarities as mentioned in Introduction. However, the results showed that those two newspapers have significant differences in their ways of covering foreign countries. Therefore, the study raised another question about the attempts to establish solid theories in the study field of international news flow.

Nevertheless, the researcher believes that there is certain significance in studying the two prestigious newspapers of France and Japan, because, as Schramm (1959), Merrill (1990) and Kuhn (1995) claim, it is the elite presses that have a great influence on politicians, business leaders and other powerful decision makers of every sector of society. Thus, studying foreign news in the elite presses will at least help our understanding of the international diplomacy of the highest-level people in a society.

Furthermore, with the wide use of the internet, it has become almost impossible to examine all the information about foreign countries that people receive. For example, even if all the newspapers, radio and TV broadcastings are studied, the audience may obtain most of the foreign news from numerous news websites.

With the deluge of information brought by the internet, the reliability and quality of the information is becoming more and more important. Therefore, the prestigious newspapers that have built up a solid reputation through the years have much to contribute to those needs by providing accurate news and shrewd opinions. In this sense, the researcher believes that the study of elite presses, as a method of researching international news flow, will take on even more significance in the future.

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## **Appendix A: Coding Sheet**

## Coding Sheet for Content Analysis of Le Monde and Asahi Shimbun

1. Newspaper	Le Monde / Asahi (	(circle)	2. Date (MM-DI	D)
0) home news	s. International (circ at home 1) foreign n abroad 3) foreign n	ews at hom		
3. Headline				
4. Countries a story)	nd Regions (see App	pendix B fo	r country codes) (i	n order mentioned in
Country 1	Country 2		Country 3	
Country 4	Country 5		Country 6	
Region 1 _	Country 5 Region 2		Region 3	
4-2. Is France	mentioned by Asah	<i>i</i> , or is Jap	an mentioned by	Le Monde?
Yes / No (circle	e)			
5. Topics To	opic 1	Topic 2	(not main	ı, subsidiary)
relations 4) ectravel 7) crime technology and	e 8) public moral pro	rade 5) aga blems 9) a c health and	riculture and clima ccidents and disast d welfare 12) educ	te 6) transportation and ters 10) science, cation and religion 13)
6. Sources (in	order mentioned)			
Source 1	Source 2	Source 3		
business person media/news ag expert 11) fore	ency 8) other domeseign student 12) fore	olue collar v tic source ign busines	worker 6) domesti 9) foreign governn s person/artist 13)	c citizen 7) domestic nent/official 10) foreign
7. Non-news	Yes/No (circle)	8. Illustr	rations or Photos	Yes/No (circle)

## **Appendix B: Country Codes**

## Independent States in the World

Short-form name	Long-form name	FIPS Code	Capital
Afghanistan	Islamic Republic of Afghanistan	AF	Kabul
Albania	Republic of Albania	AL	Tirana
Algeria	People's Democratic Republic of Algeria	AG	Algiers
Andorra	Principality of Andorra	AN	Andorra la Vella
Angola	Republic of Angola	AO	Luanda
Antigua and Barbuda	(no long-form name)	AC	Saint John's
Argentina	Argentine Republic	AR	Buenos Aires
Armenia	Republic of Armenia	AM	Yerevan
Australia	Commonwealth of Australia	AS	Canberra
Austria	Republic of Austria	AU	Vienna
Azerbaijan	Republic of Azerbaijan	AJ	Baku
Bahamas, The	Commonwealth of The Bahamas	BF	Nassau
Bahrain	Kingdom of Bahrain	ВА	Manama
Bangladesh	People's Republic of Bangladesh	BG	Dhaka
Barbados	(no long-form name)	BB	Bridgetown
Belarus	Republic of Belarus	во	Minsk
Belgium	Kingdom of Belgium	BE	Brussels
Belize	(no long-form name)	ВН	Belmopan
Benin	Republic of Benin	BN	Porto-Novo
Bhutan	Kingdom of Bhutan	ВТ	Thimphu
Bolivia	Republic of Bolivia	BL	La Paz (administrative), Sucre (legislative/judiciary)
Bosnia and Herzegovina	(no long-form name)	BK	Sarajevo
Botswana	Republic of Botswana	ВС	Gaborone
Brazil	Federative Republic of Brazil	BR	lia اي Bras
Brunei	Negara Brunei Darussalam	BX	Bandar Seri Begawan
Bulgaria	Republic of Bulgaria	BU	Sofia
Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	UV	Ouagadougou
Burma	Union of Burma	BM	Rangoon
Burundi	Republic of Burundi	BY	Bujumbura
Cambodia	Kingdom of Cambodia	СВ	Phnom Penh
Cameroon	Republic of Cameroon	СМ	Yaoundé
Canada	(no long-form name)	CA	Ottawa
Cape Verde	Republic of Cape Verde	CV	Praia

Republic Central African Republic CT Bangui Chad Republic of Chad CD N'Djamena Chile Republic of Chile CI Santiago China People's Republic of China CH Beijing Colombia Republic of Colombia CO Bogot J Comoros '+ Union of Comoros CN Moroni Congo (Brazzaville) Republic of the Congo CF Brazzaville Congo (Kinshasa) Democratic Republic of the Congo CS San José Cotta Rica Republic of Cotta Rica CS San José Côte d'Ivoire Republic of Côte d'Ivoire IV Yamoussoukro Croatia Republic of Cotta Rica CS San José Côte d'Ivoire Republic of Cotta Rica CU Havana Cyprus Republic of Cotta CU Havana Cyprus Republic of Cyprus CY Nicosia Czech Republic Czech Republic EZ Prague Denmark Kingdom of Denmark DA Copenhagen Djibouti Republic of Djibouti DJ Djibouti Dominica Commonwealth of Dominica DO Roseau Dominican Republic Dominican Republic DR Santo Domingo East Timor Democratic Republic of Egypt EG Cairo El Salvador Republic of El Salvador ES San Salvador Egypt Arab Republic of Estania ER Asmara Estonia Republic of Estonia EN Asmara Estonia Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic GR Da Santo Dominica Estinopia Ethiopia ET Republic GR Finland Republic of Federal Democratic Republic of EN Addis Ababa Fiji Republic of Finland FI Helsinki France French Republic of Gemany GM Berlin Gambia, The Republic of Gemany GM Berlin Gereada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guinea-Bissau Cy Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau Cy Conakry	Central African			
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Colombia         Republic of Colombia         CO         Bogot J           Comoros**         Union of Comoros         CN         Moroni           Congo (Rinscazaville)         Republic of the Congo         CF         Brazzaville           Congo (Kinshasa)         Democratic Republic of the Congo         CG         Kinshasa           Costa Rica         Republic of Costa Rica         CS         San José           Cote d'Ivoire         Republic of Côte d'Ivoire         IV         Yamoussoukro           Croatia         Republic of Côte d'Ivoire         IV         Yamoussoukro           Croatia         Republic of Cuba         CU         Havana           Cyprus         Republic of Cyprus         CY         Nicosia           Czech Republic         Eze Republic of Eyprus         CY         Nicosia           Czech Republic         Eze Prague         DA         Copenhagen           Dijbouti         DA         Opjenhagen         Dijbouti           Dominica         Republic of Dijbouti         DJ         Djibouti           Dominica         Commonwealth of Dominica         DO         Roseau           Dominican         Republic of Epotatic of Eypto         EG         Cairo           East Timor         Democratic				
Comoros *+ Union of Comoros CN Moroni Congo (Brazzaville) Republic of the Congo CF Brazzaville Congo (Kinshasa) Democratic Republic of the Congo CG Kinshasa Costa Rica Republic of Costa Rica CS San José Côte d'Ivoire Republic of Côte d'Ivoire IV Yamoussoukro Croatia Republic of Croatia HR Zagreb Cuba Republic of Cuba CU Havana Cyprus Republic of Cuba CU Havana Cyprus Republic of Cyprus CY Nicosia Czech Republic Czech Republic EZ Prague Denmark Kingdom of Denmark DA Copenhagen Djibouti Republic Of Djibouti DJ Djibouti Dominica Commonwealth of Dominica DO Roseau Dominican Republic Dominican Republic of Timor-Leste TT Dili Ecuador Republic of Egypt EG Cairo El Salvador Republic of Egypt EG Cairo El Salvador Republic of Egypt EG Cairo El Salvador Republic of Eguatorial Guinea EK Malabo Eritrea State of Eritrea ER Asmara Estonia Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic of ET Eliopia Efficipia ET Einion Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic of ET El Salvador Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic of ET El Salvador Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic of ET El Salvador Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic of ET El Salvador Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic of ET El Salvador Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Democratic Republic of ET El Salvador Republic of Estonia EN Tallinn Federal Republic of Georgia GG Tbilisi Gambia, The Republic of Georgia GG Tbilisi Germany Federal Republic of Germany GM Bertin Ghana Republic of Ghana GH Accra Greece Hellenic Federal Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau		People's Republic of China		Beijing
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Brazzaville   Republic of the Congo   CF   Brazzaville		Union of Comoros	CN	Moroni
Costa Rica         Republic of Costa Rica         CS         San José           Côte d'Ivoire         Republic of Côte d'Ivoire         IV         Yamoussoukro           Croatia         Republic of Croatia         HR         Zagreb           Cuba         Republic of Cuba         CU         Havana           Cyprus         Republic of Cyprus         CY         Nicosia           Czech Republic         EZ         Prague           Denmark         Kingdom of Denmark         DA         Copenhagen           Djibouti         Republic of Dijbouti         DJ         Djibouti           Dominica         Commonwealth of Dominica         DO         Roseau           Dominican         Commonwealth of Dominica         DO         Roseau           Dominican         Dominican Republic         DR         Santo Domingo           East Timor         Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste         TT         Dili           Ecuador         Republic of Ecuador         EC         Quito           Egypt         Arab Republic of Estavador         ES         San Salvador           Equatorial Guinea         EK         Malabo           Eritrea         Republic of Estonia         EN         Tallinn           Federa		Republic of the Congo	CF	Brazzaville
Côte d'Ivoire         Republic of Côte d'Ivoire         IV         Yamoussoukro           Croatia         Republic of Croatia         HR         Zagreb           Cuba         Republic of Cuba         CU         Havana           Cyprus         Republic of Cyprus         CY         Nicosia           Czech Republic         Czech Republic         EZ         Prague           Denmark         Kingdom of Denmark         DA         Copenhagen           Djibouti         Da         Djibouti         DJ           Dominica         Commonwealth of Dominica         DO         Roseau           Dominican         Republic of Dijbouti         DJ         Djibouti           Dominican         Republic         Dominica         Dominica         Dominica           East Timor         Democratic Republic         DR         Santo Domingo           East Timor         Democratic Republic of Egypt         EG         Cairo           Egypt         Arab Republic of Egypt         EG         Cairo           El Salvador         Republic of Egypt         EG         Cairo           Ejypt         Arab Republic of Egypt         EG         Cairo           Ejyatorial Guinea         Republic of Egypt         EG <t< td=""><td>Congo (Kinshasa)</td><td>Democratic Republic of the Congo</td><td>CG</td><td>Kinshasa</td></t<>	Congo (Kinshasa)	Democratic Republic of the Congo	CG	Kinshasa
Croatia         Republic of Croatia         HR         Zagreb           Cuba         Republic of Cuba         CU         Havana           Cyprus         Republic of Cyprus         CY         Nicosia           Czech Republic         EZ         Prague           Denmark         Kingdom of Denmark         DA         Copenhagen           Djibouti         Republic of Djibouti         DJ         Djibouti           Dominica         Commonwealth of Dominica         DO         Roseau           Dominican         Republic of Dominican Republic         DR         Santo Dominigo           East Timor         Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste         TT         Dili           Ecuador         Republic of Equatorial         EC         Quito           Egypt         Arab Republic of Egypt         EG         Cairo           El Salvador         Republic of Equatorial Guinea         EK         Melabo           Eritrea         Republic of Egyatorial Guinea         EK         Melabo           Eritrea         State of Eritrea         ER         Asmara           Estonia         Republic of Estonia         EN         Tallinn           Ethiopia         Ethiopia         ET         Addis Ababa	Costa Rica	Republic of Costa Rica	CS	San José
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Finland Republic of Finland FI Helsinki France French Republic FR Paris Gabon Gabonese Republic GB Libreville Gambia, The Republic of The Gambia GA Banjul Georgia Republic of Georgia GG Tbilisi Germany Federal Republic of Germany GM Berlin Ghana Republic of Ghana GH Accra Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	Ethiopia		ET	Addis Ababa
France French Republic FR Paris Gabon Gabonese Republic GB Libreville Gambia, The Republic of The Gambia GA Banjul Georgia Republic of Georgia GG Tbilisi Germany Federal Republic of Germany GM Berlin Ghana Republic of Ghana GH Accra Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	Fiji	Republic of the Fiji Islands	FJ	Suva
Gabon Gabonese Republic GB Libreville Gambia, The Republic of The Gambia GA Banjul Georgia Republic of Georgia GG Tbilisi Germany Federal Republic of Germany GM Berlin Ghana Republic of Ghana GH Accra Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	Finland	Republic of Finland	FI	Helsinki
Gambia, The Republic of The Gambia GA Banjul Georgia Republic of Georgia GG Tbilisi Germany Federal Republic of Germany GM Berlin Ghana Republic of Ghana GH Accra Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	France	French Republic	FR	Paris
Georgia Republic of Georgia GG Tbilisi Germany Federal Republic of Germany GM Berlin Ghana Republic of Ghana GH Accra Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	Gabon	Gabonese Republic	GB	Libreville
Germany Federal Republic of Germany GM Berlin Ghana Republic of Ghana GH Accra Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	Gambia, The	Republic of The Gambia	GA	Banjul
Ghana       Republic of Ghana       GH       Accra         Greece       Hellenic Republic       GR       Athens         Grenada       (no long-form name)       GJ       Saint George's         Guatemala       Republic of Guatemala       GT       Guatemala         Guinea       Republic of Guinea       GV       Conakry         Guinea-Bissau       Republic of Guinea-Bissau       PU       Bissau	Georgia	Republic of Georgia	GG	Tbilisi
Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	Germany	Federal Republic of Germany	GM	Berlin
Greece Hellenic Republic GR Athens Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	-	Republic of Ghana	GH	Accra
Grenada (no long-form name) GJ Saint George's Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau	Greece	Hellenic Republic	GR	Athens
Guatemala Republic of Guatemala GT Guatemala Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
Guinea Republic of Guinea GV Conakry Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau		, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,		
Guinea-Bissau Republic of Guinea-Bissau PU Bissau				
	Guyana	Co-operative Republic of Guyana	GY	Georgetown

Haiti	Republic of Haiti	НА	Port-au-Prince
Holy See	Holy See	VT	Vatican City
Honduras	Republic of Honduras	НО	Tegucigalpa
Hungary	Republic of Hungary	HU	Budapest
Iceland	Republic of Iceland	IC	Reykjavىk
India	Republic of India	IN	New Delhi
Indonesia	Republic of Indonesia	ID	Jakarta
Iran	Islamic Republic of Iran	IR	Tehran
Iraq	Republic of Iraq	ΙΖ	Baghdad
Ireland	(no long-form name)	EI	Dublin
Israel	State of Israel	IS	Jerusalem
Italy	Italian Republic	IT	Rome
Jamaica	(no long-form name)	JM	Kingston
Japan	(no long-form name)	JA	Tokyo
Jordan	Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	JO	Amman
Kazakhstan	Republic of Kazakhstan	KZ	Astana
Kenya	Republic of Kenya	KE	Nairobi
Kiribati	Republic of Kiribati	KR	Tarawa
Korea, North	Democratic People's Republic of Korea	KN	Pyongyang
Korea, South	Republic of Korea	KS	Seoul
Kuwait	State of Kuwait	KU	Kuwait
Kyrgyzstan	Kyrgyz Republic	KG	Bishkek
Laos	Lao People's Democratic Republic	LA	Vientiane
Latvia	Republic of Latvia	LG	Riga
Lebanon	Lebanese Republic	LE	Beirut
Lesotho	Kingdom of Lesotho	LT	Maseru
Liberia	Republic of Liberia	LI	Monrovia
	Great Socialist People's Libyan		
Libya	Arab Jamahiriya	LY	Tripoli
Liechtenstein	Principality of Liechtenstein	LS	Vaduz
Lithuania	Republic of Lithuania	LH	Vilnius
Luxembourg	Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	LU	Luxembourg
Macedonia	Republic of Macedonia	MK	Skopje
Madagascar	Republic of Madagascar	MA	Antananarivo
Malawi	Republic of Malawi	MI	Lilongwe
Malaysia	(no long-form name)	MY	Kuala Lumpur
Maldives	Republic of Maldives	MV	Male
Mali	Republic of Mali	ML	Bamako
Malta	Republic of Malta	MT	Valletta
Marshall Islands	Republic of the Marshall Islands	RM	Majuro
Mauritania	Islamic Republic of Mauritania	MR	Nouakchott
Mauritius	Republic of Mauritius	MP	Port Louis

Mexico	United Mexican States	MX	Mexico
Micronesia,			
Federated States of	Federated States of Micronesia	FM	Palikir
Moldova	Republic of Moldova	MD	Chisinau
Monaco	Principality of Monaco	MN	Monaco
Mongolia	(no long-form name)	MG	Ulaanbaatar
Morocco	Kingdom of Morocco	МО	Rabat
Mozambique	Republic of Mozambique	MZ	Maputo
Namibia	Republic of Namibia	WA	Windhoek
Nauru	Republic of Nauru	NR	Yaren District (no capital city)
Nepal	Kingdom of Nepal	NP	Kathmandu
			Amsterdam, The Hague (seat of
Netherlands	Kingdom of the Netherlands	NL	gov't)
New Zealand	(no long-form name)	NZ	Wellington
Nicaragua	Republic of Nicaragua	NU	Managua
Niger	Republic of Niger	NG	Niamey
Nigeria	Federal Republic of Nigeria	NI	Abuja
Norway	Kingdom of Norway	NO	Oslo
Oman	Sultanate of Oman	MU	Muscat
Pakistan	Islamic Republic of Pakistan	PK	Islamabad
Palau	Republic of Palau	PS	Koror
Panama	Republic of Panama	PM	Panama
Papua New Guinea	Independent State of Papua New Guinea	PP	Port Moresby
Paraguay	Republic of Paraguay	PA	Asunciín
Peru	Republic of Peru	PE	Lima
Philippines	Republic of the Philippines	RP	Manila
Poland	Republic of Poland	PL	Warsaw
Portugal	Portuguese Republic	PO	Lisbon
Qatar	State of Qatar	QA	Doha
Romania	(no long-form name)	RO	Bucharest
Russia	Russian Federation	RS	Moscow
Rwanda	Republic of Rwanda	RW	Kigali
Saint Kitts and	- topasio of the angel		- tigain
Nevis	Federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis	SC	Basseterre
Saint Lucia	(no long-form name)	ST	Castries
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	(no long-form name)	VC	Kingstown
Samoa	Independent State of Samoa	WS	Apia
San Marino	Republic of San Marino	SM	San Marino
Sao Tome and Principe	Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe	TP	S <sub>č</sub> o Tomé
Saudi Arabia	Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	SA	Riyadh
Senegal	Republic of Senegal	SG	Dakar

Serbia and	(no long form name)	YI	Dolarado
Montenegro	(no long-form name)		Belgrade
Seychelles	Republic of Seychelles	SE	Victoria
Sierra Leone	Republic of Sierra Leone	SL	Freetown
Singapore	Republic of Singapore	SN	Singapore
Slovakia	Slovak Republic	LO	Bratislava
Slovenia	Republic of Slovenia	SI	Ljubljana
Solomon Islands	(no long-form name)	BP	Honiara
Somalia	(no long-form name)	SO	Mogadishu
South Africa	Republic of South Africa	SF	Pretoria, Cape Town, Bloemfontein
Spain	Kingdom of Spain	SP	Madrid
Sri Lanka	Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	CE	Colombo, Sri Jayewardenepura Kotte (legislative)
Sudan	Republic of the Sudan	SU	Khartoum
Suriname	Republic of Suriname	NS	Paramaribo
Swaziland	Kingdom of Swaziland	WZ	Mbabane (administrative), Lobamba (legislative)
Sweden	Kingdom of Sweden	SW	Stockholm
Switzerland	Swiss Confederation	SZ	Bern
Syria	Syrian Arab Republic	SY	Damascus
Tajikistan	Republic of Tajikistan	TI	Dushanbe
Tanzania	United Republic of Tanzania		Dar es Salaam, Dodoma (legislative)
Thailand	Kingdom of Thailand	TH	Bangkok
Togo	Togolese Republic	то	Lomé
Tonga	Kingdom of Tonga	TN	Nuku'alofa
Trinidad and Tobago	Republic of Trinidad and Tobago	TD	Port-of-Spain
Tunisia	Tunisian Republic	TS	Tunis
Turkey	Republic of Turkey	TU	Ankara
Turkmenistan	(no long-form name)	TX	Ashgabat
Tuvalu	(no long-form name)	TV	Funafuti
Uganda	Republic of Uganda	UG	Kampala
Ukraine	(no long-form name)	UP	Kiev
United Arab			
Emirates	United Arab Emirates	AE	Abu Dhabi
United Kingdom	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	UK	London
United States	United States of America	US	Washington, DC
Uruguay	Oriental Republic of Uruguay	UY	Montevideo
Uzbekistan	Republic of Uzbekistan	UZ	Tashkent
Vanuatu	Republic of Vanuatu	NH	Port-Vila
Venezuela	Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	VE	Caracas
Vietnam	Socialist Republic of Vietnam	VM	Hanoi
Yemen	Republic of Yemen	YM	Sanaa

Zambia	Republic of Zambia	ZA	Lusaka
Zimbabwe	Republic of Zimbabwe	ZI	Harare

<sup>\*</sup>Taken from Bureau of Intelligence and Research http://www.state.gov/s/inr/rls/4250.htm#note2

#### Appendix C: Events from Keesing's Record of World Events 2005

Events covered by *Le Monde* or *Asahi* that were also mentioned in the "news digest" pages of Keesing's Record of World Events 2005 (the descriptions of the events were taken from the book).

<u>Le Monde</u> in March, 2005 – Pressure for Syrian military withdrawal from Lebanon, death of Chechen rebel leader in Russia, relaxation of stability and growth pact in EU, earthquake off Sumatra in Indonesia and progress of Gaza disengagement plan in Israel.

<u>Asahi</u> in March, 2005 – Overthrow of president Akayev in Kyrgyzstan and earthquake off Sumatra in Indonesia.

<u>Le Monde</u> in April, 2005 – Assessment of global ecosystems (UN), death of Pope John Paul II (Holy See), signing of peace agreement in Côte d'Ivoire, death of Prince Rainier in Monaco, appointment of prime minister in Iraq, deterioration in relations with China (Japan) and presidential elections in Togo.

<u>Asahi</u> in April, 2005 – Appointment of prime minister in Iraq, death of Pope John Paul II (Holy See) and deterioration in relations with China (Japan).

<u>Le Monde</u> in May, 2005 – Withdrawal of Syrian forces in Lebanon, review conference of parties to NPT, diplomatic crisis over U.S. killing of negotiator in Iraq (Italy), general election in the U.K., resignation of Israeli cabinet minister over Gaza plan, massacre in Andizhan (Uzbekistan), referendum rejection of EU constitution in France and crisis over constitution (EU).

<u>Asahi</u> in May, 2005 – Review conference of parties to NPT, massacre in Andizhan (Uzbekistan) and deterioration in relations with China (Japan).

<u>Le Monde</u> in June, 2005 – Meeting of G-7 finance ministers, Brussels summit deadlock (EU), presidential elections in Iran, completion of legislative elections in Lebanon and presidential address on Iraq in the U.S.

<u>Asahi in June, 2005</u> – Referendum rejection of EU constitution in France.

<u>Le Monde</u> in July, 2005 – US-Asia climate change initiative (international), summit meeting (G8), suicide bombings in the U.K, continued insurgency in Iraq, exchange-rate reform in China and formal renunciation of violence by the IRA (Ireland).

<u>Asahi</u> in July, 2005 – Summit meeting (G8), suicide bombing in the U.K, first launch of shuttle since loss of *Columbia* and exchange-rate reform in China.

<u>Le Monde</u> in August, 2005 – Withdrawal from Gaza Strip (Israel), death of King Fahd in Saudi Arabia, return of shuttle (space), calling of general election in Japan, charging of U.K. bombing suspects, disagreement over draft constitution for Iraq and publication of list of banned airlines (international).

<u>Asahi</u> in August, 2005 – Return of shuttle (space), death of King Fahd in Saudi Arabia, signing of Aceh peace agreement in Indonesia and withdrawal from Gaza Strip (Israel).

## Appendix D: Countries Covered by Le Monde and Asahi

	Le Monde	N=1034	%				
1	United States	167	16.2	44	Australia	4	0.4
2	United Kingdom	102	9.9	44	Brazil	4	0.4
3	Germany	69	6.7	44	Denmark	4	0.4
4	Belgium	47	4.5	44	Jamaica	4	0.4
5	Italy	43	4.2	44	Romania	4	0.4
6	China	37	3.6	44	Serbia and Montenegro	4	0.4
7	Iraq	35	3.4	44	South Korea	4	0.4
8	Spain	32	3.1	51	Bolivia	3	0.3
9	Japan	31	3.0	51	Chile	3	0.3
9	Russia	31	3.0	51	Cuba	3	0.3
11	Netherlands	28	2.7	51	Estonia	3	0.3
12	Israel	27	2.6	51	Kyrgyzstan	3	0.3
13	Mexico	24	2.3	51	Peru	3	0.3
14	Lebanon	18	1.7	51	Togo	3	0.3
15	Syria	14	1.4	58	Sri Lanka	2	0.2
16	Iran	13	1.3	58	Czech Republic	2	0.2
16	Poland	13	1.3	58	Haiti	2	0.2
18	Luxembourg	12	1.2	58	Côte d'Ivoire	2	0.2
19	Canada	11	1.1	58	Jordan	2	0.2
19	Egypt	11	1.1	58	Lithuania	2	0.2
19	Qatar	11	1.1	58	Madagascar	2	0.2
22	Afghanistan	9	0.9	58	Morocco	2	0.2
22	Algeria	9	0.9	58	Niger	2	0.2
24	Argentina	8	0.8	58	Sierra Leone	2	0.2
24	Finland	8	0.8	58	Ukraine	2	0.2
24	Portugal	8	0.8	69	Albania	1	0.1
24	Turkey	8	0.8	69	Angola	1	0.1
28	Austria	7	0.7	69	The Bahamas	1	0.1
28	Pakistan	7	0.7	69	Bangladesh	1	0.1
28	Sweden	7	0.7	69	Bosnia and Herzegovina	1	0.1
28	Switzerland	7	0.7	69	Burma	1	0.1
28	Venezuela	7	0.7	69	Bulgaria	1	0.1
28	Holy See	7	0.7	69	Cambodia	1	0.1
34	Colombia	6	0.6	69	Chad	1	0.1
34	Ireland	6	0.6	69	Congo	1	0.1
34	Greece	6	0.6	69	Cameroon	1	0.1
34	Indonesia	6	0.6	69	Central African Republic	1	0.1
34	India	6	0.6	69	Dominican Republic	1	0.1
34	Singapore	6	0.6	69	Eritrea	1	0.1
34	Thailand	6	0.6	69	Ethiopia	1	0.1
41	North Korea	5	0.5	69	Croatia	1	0.1
41	Saudi Arabia	5	0.5	69	Laos	1	0.1
41	South Africa	5	0.5	69	Latvia	1	0.1

69	Liberia	1	0.1
69	Moldova	1	0.1
69	Malawi	1	0.1
69	Monaco	1	0.1
69	Maldives	1	0.1
69	Nigeria	1	0.1

	Asahi	N=451	%	
1	United States	92	20.4	26
2	China	63	14.0	26
3	South Korea	37	8.2	35
4	North Korea	27	6.0	35
5	United Kingdom	26	5.8	35
6	Germany	19	4.2	35
6	Iraq	19	4.2	35
8	Indonesia	18	4.0	35
9	Russia	17	3.8	35
10	France	16	3.5	35
11	India	9	2.0	35
12	Italy	8	1.8	35
12	Pakistan	8	1.8	35
14	Iran	7	1.6	35
15	Malaysia	6	1.3	35
15	Philippines	6	1.3	35
17	Netherlands	5	1.1	35
17	Thailand	5	1.1	35
19	Brazil	4	0.9	35
19	Egypt	4	0.9	35
19	Libya	4	0.9	35
19	Singapore	4	0.9	35
23	Bahrain	3	0.7	
23	Israel	3	0.7	
23	South Africa	3	0.7	
26	Belgium	2	0.4	
26	Canada	2	0.4	
26	Cambodia	2	0.4	
26	Cuba	2	0.4	
26	Finland	2	0.4	
26	Kyrgyzstan	2	0.4	
26	Switzerland	2	0.4	

2	0.4
2	0.4
1	0.2
1	0.2
1	0.2
1	0.2
1	0.2
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1	0.2
	2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

## **Appendix E: Trade Volume and GDP Figures**

	Trade volume with France	GDP
United States	53,578	11.8
United Kingdom	74,302	1.8
Germany	156,560	2.4
Belgium	78,178	0.32
Italy	81,130	1.6
China	24,436	7.3
Iraq	640	0.05
Spain	76,619	0.94
Japan	15,266	3.7
Russia	13,047	1.4
Netherlands	48,227	0.48
Israel	2,108	0.13
Mexico	2,554	1
Lebanon	946	0.02
Syria	822	0.06
Iran	4,672	0.52
Poland	9,015	0.46
Luxembourg	7,143	0.03
	(Millions of LIS dollar)	(Trillians of LIS dollar)

(Millions of US dollar)

(Trillions of US dollar)

	Trade volume with Japan	GDP
United States	192,211	11.8
China	205,430	7.3
South Korea	66,310	0.93
North Korea	252	0.04
United Kingdom	21,791	1.8
Germany	36,058	2.4
Iraq	1,242	0.05
Indonesia	27,727	0.83
Russia	8,850	1.4
France	16,775	1.7
India	5,655	3.3
Italy	13,357	1.6
Pakistan	1,411	0.35
Iran	9,386	0.52
Malaysia	26,658	0.23
Philippines	17,841	0.43
Netherlands	15,375	0.48
Thailand	34,372	0.52

(Millions of US dollar)

(Trillions of US dollar)

### Appendix F: Front page of *Le Monde* (March 1, 2005)

## Le Monde

www.lemonde.fr

ST ANNÉE - Nº 18692 - 1,20 € - FRANCE MÉTROPOLITA

La foule libanaise

TEUR : HUBERT BEUVE-MÉRY - DIRECTEUR : JEAN-MARIE COLOMBAN

## SUPPLÉMENT ÉCONOMIE au développement : faire plus et mieux

#### **EMPLOI** IRAK

Ibrahim Al-Jaafari au « Monde » : « Accepter des bases militaires étrangères permanentes ne serait pas sain » p. 4

#### VACHE FOLLE

La plupart des 50 000 Français qui ont été exposés à un risque de contamination sanguine ne seront pas informés

#### HORIZONS

Voyage dans l'enfer des « crackeurs »

défie le pouvoir prosyrien GALVANISÉ par l'assassinat de l'ex-premier ministre Rafie Harini el 14 févrie à Beyrouth, le mouvement antisyrien au Liban 'ermbol-le, Bezaurt Titterdiction officielle, des dizaines de milliers de manifestants etaient réunis, lundi matin 28 février, à l'appel de l'opposition, sur l'accident réunis, lundi autorité de l'accident l

mée sysienne, dans un discours dif-ign. 10
p. 1



▶ Des dizaines de milliers de Beyrouthins dans les rues

►L'armée n'empêche pas le rassemblement

► Réunion extraordinaire du Parlement libanais

► Attentat de Tel-Aviv: M. Sharon met en cause Damas

►Un entretien avec un membre du gouvernement syrien

Lire pages 2 et 3 et Débats page 16



#### Didier Lombard président de France Télécom

SUCCESSION logique à France Télécom: c'est Didier Iombard, jusque-la numéro deux, un proche de Thierny Breton, le PDG sortant et nouveau ministre de l'économie et des finances, qui dirigera désormals l'entreprise.

M. Lombard, de l'économie de l'économie

#### Europe : le rendez-vous du Congrès à Versailles

LES DÉPUTÉS et les sénateurs ont pris lundi 28 février, au complet et en autocars, le chemin de Versallies, oil sis se réunissaient dans l'après-midl en Congrès. Cet te procédure solemente, uniter dans l'après-midl en Congrès. Cet te procédure solemente, uniter dans l'après-midl en Congrès. Cet te constitution européen l'active des parlementaires la Charte de l'entre de parlementaires la Charte de l'entre des l'entre de l'entre de l'entre de l'entre de l'entre de l'entre des l'entre de l'entre

La Poste va partir en guerre citoyenne contre les incivilités à ses guichets

#### CINÉMA



#### Eastwood rafle les Oscars

MEILLEUR film, meilleur MELLEUR im, meilleur réalisateur, meilleur actrice (Hillary Swank) et meilleur second rôle masculin (Morgan Freeman): avec quatre Coscars, Clint Eastwood (photo) et son film Million Dollar

RENDEZ-VOUS	***********	115111
Société	résultats p	. 23 à 25
Le syndrome du duplex p. 18	OBJETS 2005 Nintendo lance la DS,	
Sports Rugby, football, échecs,	console portable double écran	p. 26
International 2 Régions 19	Entreprises 19 Jeux	26

## L'obsession allemande du pacte de stabilité

OUTRE-ATIANTIQUE, l'essentiel du débat économique tourne
autour de la façon de rédquilibrer les
comptes intérieurs et extéties comptes intérieurs et extéties comptes intérieurs et extéinent, il porte, depuis plusieurs
années, sur la façon d'aménager le
texte aride du paste de stabilité et
de croissance (PSC). A intervalles
réguliers, les règles censées assul'Esturope, au bord de la crise de
nerfs.
Il y a quelques jours, le ministre
allemand des finances, Hans
Eschel, a déclenché un scandale en
tes les processus de sanctions
contre les Estas coupables de déficit excessif. Un mois auparavant,
c'est le chanceller allemand,
Gerhard Schröder, qui avait provoque un toilé en proposant une lectier et souple des critères du
partie de la contre le service de la contre les
tes souple des critères du
Dans les deux cas, les réactions

Pierre-Antoine Delhommals



## Appendix G: Front page of Asahi (March 1, 2005)



# Hiroshima entre mémoire et oubli



SOIXANTE ANS après l'explosion des premières bombes atomiques sur Hiroshima, le 6 août 1945, et sur Nagasaki, le 9 août, la mémoire de l'horreur nucléaire s'estompe. Même au Japon, où 541 800 habitants ont été atomisés, le drame tend à se diluer dans l'Histoire : de moins en moins d'élèves sont capables d'indiquer la date des bombardements.

Lire page 4 et l'éditorial page 15

## Appendix I: France in Asahi (March 26, 2005)

仏大統領府(エリゼ宮)で、朝日新聞記

者と単独会見した。欧州連合(EU)が

本を訪れるフランスのジャック・シラク 大統領は21日夕(日本時間22日未明)、 【パリ=富永格、沢村亙】26日から日 は、小泉首相との会談の一ぬぐいたい」としたうえ いる対中武器禁輸の解除 里 日本や米国が反対して | 焦点の一つ。シラク大統

領は「日本国民の懸念を

一をする」とした。

相には友好と信頼の精神 で、必要なすべての説明

示した。さらに「小泉首 は直結しないとの考えを 強調し、解除が輸出増に 対中関係の正常化だ」と くない。欧州が望むのは

で、大統領は「(解除後に)欧州が武器 検討している対中武器禁輸の解除問題

制出政策に乗り出す考えは全くない」と

김 会見するシラク大統領=樫山晃生撮影

めて表明した。大統領は一部の質問には

民田事国入りを狙う日本への支持を改

明言、日本の懸念への配慮を強くにじま

でた。国連改革でも、安全保障理事会の

書面で答えた。

12・6面に関係記事

ジャック・シラク氏(Jacques 1932年パリ生まれ。 77~95年に はパリ市長を兼任。72歳。

Chirac) 67年に国民議会議員に当選(ドゴ ール派)、農業・地方開発相、内相を経て74年にジスカールデスタン大統領の下で首相。大統領との 路線対立から76年に辞任し、旧ド ゴール派を東ねた保守政党、共和 国連合(RPR)を創設、党首に 就任した。86年、ミッテラン大統 領の下での保革共存体制(コアビ タシオン)で再び首相に就任。88 年の大統領選は決選投票でミッテ ラン氏に大敗したが、95年の大統 領選で当選、02年に再選された。 任期は07年半ばまで。

どで停滞気味の日中関係 参加を高く評価する。日 の正当性と有効性を強化 する」と述べた。 本の常任理事国化は国連 については、日中を熟知 一方、歴史認識問題な れることを証明してい も政治意思で乗り越えら ことは、どんな歴史の傷 容することからもたらさ 関係は、互いの過去を受 期待を寄せ「当事国が望 る」と「助言」した。 れる。独仏が成し遂げた がある」と表明した。 に直接的に関与する用意 めば、欧州は危機の解決 完全に支持している」と ンスとEUは6者協議を したうえで、早期再開に 大統領は米欧関係の 北朝鮮問題では「フラ

好転」にも触れたが、 戦も予定している。 博(愛・地球博)にも期 日には大相撲者場所の観 終日の翌日には天皇、 博に立ち寄って上京し、 阪に到着、27日に愛知万 晴らしい」と述べた。 関係は何の留保もなく素 小泉首相と会談する。 待を示したほか、 后両陛下と会見する。26 25日に開幕する愛知万 大統領は26日午前に大 豆

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する立場から「両大国の ゆるものを得られる」と ば、アジアと世界はあら 政治・経済関係が深まれ 指摘。「隣国との良好な

支援や平和維持任務への

いては、「日本の途上国 任理事国になることにつ

日本が国連安保理の常

政策に乗り出す考えは全 請してもいない武器輸出 で、「欧州は、中国が要

とが重要だ」と指摘し 全勢力が認知されるこ たな政治制度でイラクの い」と注文した。さらに の道をさらに歩んでほ イラク復興問題では「新 地球温暖化などの問題で 「米国は国際協調主義へ