

Media & Information

practices and realities of diversity in France



Results of a preliminary comparative analysis of information content published by ethnic media, mass media and NGO media, between 5 - 9 July 2005.

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From Media Diversity to Media of Diversity, content for analysis

This report presents the results of a comparative analysis of news coverage produced and disseminated by ethnic media, mass media and media produced by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It is an integral part of the Institut Panos Paris programme, Mediam'Rad – Ethnic Media in Europe. The overall objective of this European programme is to show in which ways the ethnic media in Europe constitute an alternative source of information, notably on international and intercultural issues. As such, they contribute to media pluralism, reflect the diverse composition of European society in general, and French society in particular.

The content analysis focused on media coverage of intercultural and international relations by a sample of media produced in France. Similar analyses were carried out in parallel in the Netherlands (Mira Media) and Italy (Cospe)¹.

This report is based on a triple approach. In the first instance, the selected media

were observed for their general coverage of intercultural and international issues (quantitative approach). The study then concentrated on coverage of an international event, namely the G8 summit in Gleneagles (Scotland) in July 2005. According to its initial agenda, this summit was to deal principally with debt and development in Africa. Thirdly, the analysis focused on a national event – the selection of the city that would host the 2012 Olympic Games, with Paris one of the main contenders.

On the basis of these three levels of observation – global coverage, coverage of an international issue, and a national event – the study aims to show the importance accorded to international and intercultural issues in the three groups of media analysed, and how these issues are treated. The study also looks at the ways the three groups of media differ, and the ways in which they are complementary. The ultimate aim is to arrive at a better understanding of the original contributions being made by ethnic media.

¹ Both the methodology and the measurement tools (quantitative and qualitative questionnaires) are available from Institut Panos Paris.



Intercultural and international relations, general comparison of media

The global and quantitative coverage of intercultural and international issues was studied for 15 media: 2 NGO media, 9 ethnic media (6 print media, an 3 radio stations) and 4 mass media (2 print media, 1 radio and 1 television station).

Media observed within the study

Type of media	Title	Description
NGO	Faim Développement Magazine	Monthly, published by the Comité catholique contre la faim et pour le développement (CCFD)
	Altermondes	International solidarity monthly, co-published by Ritimo, CRID, <i>Frères des Hommes</i> , <i>Peuples solidaires</i> and <i>Terre des Hommes</i>
Ethnic	Respect Magazine	Monthly, which aims to reflect a multi-ethnic and mixed-race France
	Divas	Women's monthly aimed at women 'of colour'
	Salama	'Bi-cultural' monthly with news targeted at French and North African readership
	Cité Black	Arts and news monthly mainly for a black readership
	Haiti Tribune	Bi-monthly with news mainly on Haiti, as well as the Caribbean and their diaspora
	Saphirnet.info	News website aimed at the Muslim community
	Beur FM	Radio station aimed at listeners from North Africa, though not exclusively
	Radio Aligre	Multicultural radio station
	Radio Orient	Arts and news radio station
Mainstream	Libération	National daily newspaper
	Ouest France	Regional daily newspaper
	France Inter	National radio station
	TF1	Independent national television channel

We will first of all present the different kinds of information covered by each of these media, then present a picture of the regions mainly concerned by the articles published or programmes broadcast by the study sample. We will then look at the attention given by

these media to 'migrants', 'visible minorities' and their particular issues. Using these observations, we will then present a review of coverage of intercultural and international issues by the three kinds of media in this study.

Audiences and their opinions

Specific audiences for NGO media

Faim Développement Magazine mainly focuses on countries in the East, Asia and black Africa. Published by the Comité Catholique Contre la Faim et Pour le Développement, the magazine is aimed principally, but not exclusively, at this NGO's members, donors and supporters. Similarly, *Altermondes* is supported by a group of development NGOs, and is mainly oriented towards countries of the South. It is mainly read by those interested in development, cooperation and international solidarity.

Multiple audiences for ethnic media in France

Respect Magazine and *Cité Black* are read by younger generations, whose parents or grandparents migrated to France from various regions of the world, especially countries in the South and developing countries. They therefore target a young French readership, born out of a mix of cultures and geographies. *Divas* is aimed at 'women of colour' in the French-speaking world. *Salama*, *Beur FM* and *Radio Orient* are essentially, but not solely, devoted to

migrants from North Africa and the Middle East who have settled in France. *Saphirnet.info* targets Muslims as a whole. Meanwhile, *Haiti Tribune* is aimed at members of the Haitian diaspora living in France or elsewhere, as well as people living in Haiti. There are several opportunities within the magazine to extend readership to those from the Caribbean, living in France or elsewhere. *Radio Aligre* broadcasts multicultural programmes about France and the countries of origin of a very diverse population of migrants, and does not seem to have a specific target audience within the French public.

Mass media audiences

TFI, *France Inter*, *Ouest France* and *Libération* are all aimed at the general public, with no particular distinctions, apart from any strategies that may be oriented towards the expectations of their respective audiences, or towards their own development as media. Nevertheless, the audiences for these respective media do not have the same profile, even if the media are aimed at the general public.

Diverse realms of information

International issues at the core of NGO media

The NGO media studied here are primarily interested in subjects with an international orientation, and by definition, have a slant

dictated by their priority sectors of action. Articles appearing in *Faim Développement Magazine*, as we have already mentioned, deal mainly with countries in the East, Asia and black Africa. There is a detectable intention to promote CCFD's network of partner associations, by publishing articles that are often accompanied by a kind of promotional feature on these associations, or the projects they support. Meanwhile, *Altermondes* devotes a large share of its articles to development in countries of the South, the work of non-profit associations, minorities, the environment, and poverty. When national subjects are dealt with, the articles usually have an anti-discrimination angle.

Variable geography for ethnic media

For the ethnic media studied here, three main categories emerge regarding the manner in which national and international news is treated. The first category gives priority to national news, the second shares its columns and airtime between national and international news, and the third gives priority to international affairs.

Radio Aligre, a multicultural station, does not seem to differ much in policy to the mass media. Priority is given to national news, except when there is a major international event. However, while the choice of subject matter may be similar to that of the mass media, the way the news is treated, and the angles adopted, are quite distinct.

Respect Magazine appears quarterly, and gives particular priority to intercultural information within a national, French context. Its central themes include immigra-

tion, integration and diversity. These are mainly treated from the angle of individual rights (e.g. health, education, employment, etc) and citizenship. Several issues of *Respect Magazine* have featured articles on 'the diversity charter'. The magazine's editorial policy also puts 'migrant' youth and women high on its list, and more broadly, but not exclusively, those from 'visible minorities'. A significant proportion of its articles focus on diversity in France, with others looking at North Africa and, less often, other regions of the world.

In *Cité Black*, several articles have a cultural orientation, featuring interviews with artists, painters, actors, etc., reviews of exhibitions, and publications by 'migrants', and, more generally, those from black minorities living in France or elsewhere. *Cité Black* encourages (and thus gives value to) personal accounts from black celebrities from theatre, and the world of the arts in general, originally from Africa, Martinique, the Caribbean, and even Haiti – the latter always the cover story. Nearly all of its articles feature these people, with considerable importance accorded to the use of photographs to illustrate the various subjects. While many of the articles in *Cité Black* deal with national current affairs, foreign news also features prominently.

In this first category of media, 'national' news and information are given priority. Foreign news is by no means absent, but tends to be more of a complement to the subjects being dealt with.

Saphirnet.info offers 'continuous news', as well as 'debates' and articles from its archives. This information focuses especial-

ly on Arab and Muslim countries, but also France, if a subject affects Muslim and/or Arabic speaking communities there. No particular emphasis was detected regarding 'development' as a theme, in its strict sense. However, as the life of Muslims is a major component of the website, these issues contribute to understanding current events as a whole, and so include the development aspect, in its widest sense.

The space *Beur FM* gives to news is by no means negligible, but the station only produces two bulletins itself. These are supplemented by news programmes in the morning, put together with the Franco-Moroccan station, *Medi 1*. Most of *Beur FM*'s news programmes go out from late afternoon, and include debates and bulletins. Current affairs programmes go out once a week. *Beur FM* gets its information from several sources - when it is not simply re-broadcasting programmes - including the French and foreign press, (especially from North Africa). There are also interviews with experts on daily news events. There is a preference for news about Algeria in particular, and North Africa in general, with regular reference, albeit to a lesser extent, to news on the Middle East. Most subjects deal with national French news, as they affect 'migrant' communities and those from 'visible minorities' originally from North Africa and now living in France. News programmes (e.g. debates and phone-ins) focus on national news, with the foreign dimension appearing less fundamental. These programmes feature invited experts and listeners who are, themselves, 'migrants' or from 'visible minorities',

giving voice to a diversity of opinions that is rarely heard on other stations.

A second category of ethnic media thus emerges, which, like *Saphirnet.info* and *Beur FM*, seeks more of a balance between national and international news. For *Saphirnet.info*, the information that is offered concerns Arab countries as much as France, with the choice of subjects favouring Muslim life, both in France and abroad. Similarly, for *Beur FM*, Algeria, North Africa and, less often, the Middle East, are regions to which the station devotes a non-negligible part of its news and information programming, even though most programmes are devoted to national French news.

A third category also emerged during the study, namely, media that devote more attention to international rather than national news.

Divas magazine is particularly oriented towards the role of women in the development of countries in the South, and to international relations in general. Similarly, *Salama* tackles international current affairs from a 'super-cultural' perspective. Thus, for example, the Arab League summit was the international news cover story when we were carrying out our survey.

Like its two sister publications, *Haïti Tribune* devotes most of its news coverage to the situation in Haiti and the Haitian diaspora abroad. With most of its articles devoted to intercultural relations, *Haïti Tribune* focuses on anything that affects Haiti, wherever the news may be coming from. Nevertheless, a non-negligible pro-

portion of articles deal with the French Caribbean, Guyana, the Caribbean in general, as well as France. *Haiti Tribune* concentrates on political analysis, using a variety of sources, including wire services, experts, collaborators, members of the Haitian diaspora and those from the Caribbean in general.

Radio Orient devotes 18% of its airtime to news - one hour and forty-five minutes per day in French and the same amount of time in Arabic. Its news flashes give priority to international events. National events tend to appear at the end of the bulletin, with proportionately less time given to them. Items on intercultural relations pay no particular attention to themes such as discrimination, racism or citizenship. Development in its strict sense is not covered directly. Nevertheless, by giving priority to contemporary international

Divas, *Salama*, *Haiti Tribune* and *Radio Orient* thus give priority to countries in the so-called 'South', and therefore to international news. Within this category, *Divas* devotes most coverage to development issues, emphasising the contribution made by women. The predominance of international current affairs in the news coverage of the other three media gives them an 'international' character, where the dynamics of development, in its wider sense, are dealt with indirectly.

The variety of the different positions adopted by ethnic media also reflects the diversity of their targeted readers and audiences, even if they still have a broader scope.

Mass information for a varied public

Libération and *France Inter* reserve a significant part of their editorial space for international news, whereas *Ouest France* is more oriented towards regional and national subjects. Overall, *TF1* gives priority to national subjects. While the 1 p.m. television news bulletin focuses mostly on regional news, the 8 p.m. programme covers more national news, followed by an international magazine. For the past two years, *Libération* has devoted a page every day to the environment, with regular articles on sustainable development. As part of its news coverage, *France Inter* has a number of regular sections, such as 'Périphéries', 'Cartier libre', and 'Géopolitique', which look at international and intercultural relations, and supplement information that is broadcast in its other news programmes. Similarly, *France Inter* has its own sections, such as 'CO2 mon amour', 'Au détour du monde', 'Là-bas, si j'y suis', which look at the environment, sustainable development and international relations. And 'Ecclectik' very frequently covers diversity issues in France, especially regarding the arts. These programmes are nevertheless more of a reflection of the editors' choices than the news itself.



International and intercultural - differences in treatment

A second aspect of our quantitative analysis looked at the editorial priorities and information content of coverage of intercultural and international relations by the various media surveyed.

By intercultural relations, we mean relations between several socio-cultural groups in a given country. In this category, one might find for example, articles looking at relations between African or Caribbean women and 'white' women in France (*Divas*), or wearing of the veil (*Saphirnet.info*), immigration and integration (*Respect Magazine*). By international relations, we mean the set of political, social, economic and diplomatic relations, etc., involving several countries or regions across the world.

One of the major aspects of our analysis involved seeing how intercultural and international relations were covered by the three categories of media, both as a whole and in the two examples used for the analysis (i.e. the G8 and Olympic games).

Priority to sustainable development for NGO media

Faim Développement Magazine, gives by far its greatest priority to intercultural relations. The magazine's main orientation, given its target readership and the fact that it is put out by one of the most important French development NGOs, is towards sustainable development and international solidarity. Meanwhile, *Altermondes*, published by a development and international solidarity NGO, generally features articles on international relations from the angle of sustainable development and the South. It devotes some coverage to intercultural relations, paying regular attention to 'migrants', those from 'visible minorities', and also to the issue of discrimination.

From intercultural to international - the multiple orientations of ethnic media

In *Respect Magazine*, priority is given to intercultural relations within France, with lesser coverage of international news.

Cité Black devotes almost 60% of its articles to intercultural relations. In the five issues we studied, only minimal space was devoted to international news, with most articles featuring France.

Haiti Tribune looks mostly at intercultural, and to a lesser extent, international relations, from the point of view of Haiti and the Haitian diaspora.

Beur FM and *Radio Aligre* devote more time to intercultural relations than to international relations, both because of the nature of their programme schedule (mostly music and arts programmes) and the coverage of their news bulletins.

Divas, *Salama*, *Saphirnet.info* and *Radio Orient* devote a large part of their content to international relations, from an essentially 'super-cultural' perspective. For *Divas*, this means the « black world » (Africa and French Caribbean), and the Arab world, for *Salama*, *Saphirnet.info* and *Radio Orient*.

International and intercultural - diverse approaches of the mass media

On a daily basis, *Libération* and *France Inter*

as often present topics and news items with an intercultural relations aspect, as those with an international relations orientation. However, these themes are rarely present in *Ouest France* or on *TFI*.



Treatment of the diversity of French society

Still as part of the quantitative part of the study, one of the main questions for each media was to see under which headings 'migrants' or those from 'visible minorities' were mentioned, interviewed or quoted. The terms 'migrants' and 'visible minorities' raise their own questions. How do we identify who is a 'migrant'? What criteria should be used? How many generations before a family member is no longer a 'migrant'? And how to define 'visible minorities'? Where is the boundary between visible and invisible? Within the strict framework of this research, 'migrants' or those belonging to 'visible minorities' were identified as such, according to their designation within the given article or programme (immigrant, minority, refugee, asylum-seeker, etc.), the name of the country of origin if this was mentioned, a name referred to, or indeed the term the person might have used to refer to himself or herself in the article or programme.

Alongside each mention of the term 'migrant' or 'visible minority', the research study had to note the category of article or programme in which it was mentioned (e.g. national, international, finance, politics, war, society, health, women, arts, religion,

sport, etc) and the role played by the person in the piece (e.g. expert, witness, etc).

*NGO media,
a certain visibility of diversity*

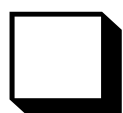
While *Altermondes* referred to the term 'migrants' in all of its columns, *Faim Développement Magazine* only referred to them, in the period of our study, in its 'international' and 'arts' columns.

*Very different references
to diversity by ethnic media*

Respect Magazine, *Salama*, *Cité Black* and *Haïti Tribune* constantly referred to 'migrants' or those belonging to 'visible minorities' in most of the articles in each of their columns. *Divas* used the terms especially in its 'international', 'arts', and 'fashion' columns, *Beur FM* and *Saphirnet.info* in their 'national' programmes. *Radio Orient* never mentioned these terms in the study period (apart from one programme on the Middle East) and *Radio Aligre* not at all.

*A very variable place
for diversity within the mass media*

Every day, *Libération* quoted or referred to 'migrants' (mainly in its 'finance', 'arts', 'national', and 'international' columns), as did *France Inter* in its programmes (especially in the 'international' and 'national' sections). On the other hand, *Ouest France* made little or no reference to these terms. Meanwhile *TFI* did not mention them at all and never gave them an opportunity to speak.



The G8 summit of July 2005 – Pluralist media coverage of the same international event

Our study also looked at qualitative indicators, focusing on coverage of an international event – the G8 summit of 6 - 8 July 2005 in Gleneagles (Scotland). The sample included several types of media, all published or broadcast during the week of 5 - 9 July 2005. This part of the analysis looked at the way the same international event was treated by different categories of media. This part of the analysis first identi-

fied the sources used by the respective media in their treatment of the summit. It then looked at the context for the coverage and any supporting material (e.g. photography, music, etc). It also sought to identify the topics treated and the columns or sections in which they were reported. It then attempted to study the stereotypes used or conveyed by the various individuals quoted, interviewed, named or represented.



Articles and frequency of published information

Broadcasts or articles on the G8 summit included in the study – 5 - 9 July 2006

Type of media	Title	Programmes/Articles
NGO	Faim Développement Magazine	1
	Altermondes	3
Ethnic	Respect Magazine	0
	Divas	0
	Salama	0
	Cité Black	0
	Haiti Tribune	0
	Saphirnet.info	1
	Beur FM	3
Mainstream	Radio Aligre	4
	Radio Orient	17
	Libération	16
	Ouest France	9
	France Inter	6
	TFI	6
Total		66

In the period studied, the ethnic media, *Respect Magazine*, *Divas*, *Salama*, *Cité Black* and *Haïti Tribune* did not mention the G8 summit in Gleneagles. However, it is worth noting that *Haïti Tribune* did publish two articles in issues just before the study period on subjects close to those dealt with in the G8 summit. These dealt with exploitation of gas reserves in Bolivia, and the worldwide women's march against poverty (first fortnight of June). Similarly, *Divas* (n° 53) devoted an article to microcredit, which is one of the tools used by women

to combat poverty. Finally, *Cité Black* (June 2005) published an article on an agreement being negotiated by the major powers to reduce Africa's foreign debt.

As these articles were not published during the period of our study, they were not included for the qualitative analysis. They nevertheless are relevant to the G8, as the British presidency of the summit wanted the G8 to focus on poverty and reduction of the foreign debt of the poorest African countries.

Frequency of broadcasts and articles on the G8 summit

	5-7-2005	6-7-2005	7-7-2005	8-7-2005	9-7-2005	Total
Saphirnet.info	—	—	1	—	—	1
Beur FM	1	1	1	—	—	3
Radio Aligre	1	1	1	1	—	4
Radio Orient	4	4	4	3	2	17
Libération	2	7	2	2	3	16
Ouest France	4	2	1	1	1	9
France Inter	1	1	3	1	—	6
TFI	1	1	2	2	0	6
Altermondes	June-August 2005					3
Faim Dév.	June 2005					1

From identical sources for all, to multiple sources for some

It is no surprise that *Altermondes'* premier sources were NGOs (Coalition Alternative, Conseil des ONG d'appui au Développement (Sénégal), Nouveau Partenariat pour le Développement), as well as politicians (e.g. Jacques Chirac and Nelson Mandela) and institutions (World Bank). It also referred to websites (e.g. www.farmafrica.org.uk, www.makepovertyhistory.org, and www.g8.gov.uk), as did *Faim Développement Magazine* (e.g. www.2005plusdexcuses.org, www.actionaid.org, and www.agirici.org).

In its only article on the G8 summit, on 7 July 2005, *Saphirnet.info* did not reveal its sources, and only one person was cited – a 54 year-old demonstrator from the Scottish town of Aloa.

Beur FM did not admit to using other media as sources, or wire services, even if it is known that the station uses dispatches from AFP. A few experts were interviewed (e.g. the editor-in-chief of *Pétrole et Gaz* magazine), politicians were quoted (e.g. Dominique de Villepin, and Kofi Annan), and websites mentioned (e.g. www.plusdexcuses.org, www.actionaid.org, www.cidse.org, and www.agirici.org), thus passing on information available to NGOs.

Radio Aligre quoted French President, Jacques Chirac, several times, as well as UK Premier, Tony Blair, when London was the target of terrorist attacks.

Radio Orient also quoted or mentioned politicians (Jack Straw, Gordon Brown,

Queen Elisabeth II, Jacques Chirac, Dominique de Villepin, George W. Bush, José Manuel Barroso, Nelson Mandela, Kofi Annan, and Leila Shahid), as well as experts (the director of *Arabies* magazine) and celebrities from the arts world (e.g. the singer, Bono from U2).

Libération used a variety of sources, including members of civil society – usually from Great Britain – representatives of institutions, politicians and diplomats (e.g. Tony Blair, Gordon Brown, Jacques Chirac, George W. Bush, Gerhard Schroeder, José Manuel Barroso, and Kofi Annan), the mass media (*The Guardian*, *The Times*, *The Sun*, ITV, Live-8), academics (French and African), international organisations (UNICEF, UN), NGOs (Oxfam), and celebrities from the arts world (Bob Geldof).

The range of sources used by *France Inter* seemed more limited, and news flashes on the G8 summit essentially quoted or referred to academics and specialists (e.g. economists and climatologists) and politicians (e.g. Jacques Chirac, and George W. Bush).

TF1's treatment of the event exclusively used interviews with politicians (e.g. George W. Bush, Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair, and Silvio Berlusconi).

Politicians were the major reference for coverage of the G8 summit (the extreme case being *TF1*, which only cited politicians). Most of the media studied mentioned or called upon experts, cited other media, and even some internet sites. However, only *Altermondes* and *Saphirnet.info* really set themselves apart from the other media we looked at, with the former

referring to NGOs specialising in development in the South, and the latter calling on players from civil society. None of the media analysed cited a wire service dispatch, even if most of the media used them.

Images and sounds, predictable illustrations

Remaining faithful to its editorial approach and following the logic of the sources it used, *Altermondes* published a photo of people attending the July 2005 People's Forum, an image of demonstrations against the G8, and caricatures of Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair, George W. Bush and Gerhard Schroeder. *Faim Développement Magazine* showed a photograph of demonstrators brandishing puppets of Mr Blair, Mr Bush and Mr Berlusconi.

Ethnic media, on the other hand, were more restrained in terms of their use of images and music. The article published on the *Saphirnet.info* site was not illustrated. Similarly, the broadcasts by *Radio Aligre* and *Radio Orient* on the G8 never used any musical accompaniment. *Beur FM* used a background jingle in its coverage of the summit, as it did for all of its news flashes.

Of all the mass media studied, only *France Inter* did not make use of illustrations. *Libération* sometimes used images. Some showed the proceedings of the G8 summit itself and associated images (e.g. a map of Great Britain showing the location of Stirling, Gleneagles and Edinburgh; British police lining the road to Gleneagles; an image of the eco-village in Stirling which was out of bounds to mass media journal-

ists); others illustrated poverty and development (women on their knees in Nigeria in 2004 demonstrating against poverty; a person on a road in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2002). TFI screened footage of Gleneagles (a discussion panel, and the considerable security forces deployed in the town), certain politicians (Tony Blair, and George W. Bush), as well as anti-globalisation militants. More didactic images showed polluting industries and statistics illustrating global warming.

Altermondes once again set itself apart by using more challenging images. The ethnic media were remarkably silent in this respect. It was no surprise, however, that the mass media followed their respective editorial orientations, with *Libération* more willing to show images of the sidelines of the summit, while *TFI* concentrated on television reports on the event itself, and its political and security aspects.

Very different themes for the same G8 summit

Several recurring subjects emerged from our analysis of the 57 broadcasts and articles on the G8 summit in Gleneagles.

Faim Développement Magazine approached the subject from both social and political angles, raising the alarm regarding promises that had not been kept from previous G8 summits. *Altermondes* cultivated its incisive analysis by focusing articles on Africa (e.g. 'is the G8 interested in Africa? More promises') and pointing to the work of a few NGOs in sub-Saharan Africa.

Saphirnet.info focused on the 'thousands of

protestors demonstrating near to the G8 summit. Demonstration is presented as one of the intangible rights of democracy – although the term ‘anti-globalisation’ was not used.

Beur FM adopted a political and economic angle (the distribution of the world’s wealth). It also referred to the declaration by G8 members condemning the London bombings from the political and security angles.

News flashes on *Radio Aligre* regularly referred to the incidents, arrests and protests on the sidelines of the G8 summit. In its coverage of the summit itself and the discussions by Heads of State, *Radio Aligre*’s news only mentioned global warming. Several broadcasts referred to the terrorist bombings in London.

Radio Orient presented subjects on the summit agenda. Several programmes emphasised the lack of agreement among the ‘eight’ on agricultural subsidies, debt cancellation, and global warming. The station reported on the anti-globalisation demonstrations and, in several broadcasts, brought up the London terrorist bombings. *Radio Orient* closed its series of broadcasts on the G8 with an image of Heads of State united against international terrorism, and arriving at a consensus on summit issues .

Libération returned several times to a number of themes. The summit discussions were covered from a political angle, with particular emphasis on differences between France and Britain. This included President Chirac’s criticisms of British policy, and the pressures from George W.

Bush. The French daily also devoted several articles to questions of poverty and African development, especially sub-Saharan Africa. Its coverage adopted either an economic angle (e.g. initiatives to tackle poverty in Africa), or a political/economic angle (a review of the G8’s interest in Africa, [*‘a continent locked into a spiral of defeat’*]), including poverty in Nigeria, despite the country’s wealth of natural resources, and the proposed solutions for Africa at the end of the summit). A few, rare articles were devoted to counter demonstrations by anti-globalisation movements. There were also several articles on the impact of the London bombings on the G8 summit, with a paper on the links between terrorism and poverty (as highlighted by the declaration of Heads of State the day after the bombings).

Like *Libération*, *Ouest France* published several articles on the G8 in the study period, focusing on Africa’s debt and the fight against poverty, devoting its front page to this, on the day before the summit opened. In the following days, various articles continued to illustrate the economic and political aspects of the G8 summit.

France Inter essentially covered the political angle of the event, with an overview of the summit agenda (the issues to be discussed, global warming, foreign debt of poor countries, AIDS in Africa, etc), tensions and differences between Jacques Chirac and Tony Blair, against a backdrop of competition to host the 2012 Olympic games, George W. Bush’s concessions on the Kyoto protocol, and global warming. One report discussed the fact that the summit was going ahead despite the London bombings. Even so, and

unlike *Libération*, very little was said about questions of poverty and development. *TF1* devoted a considerable part of its coverage to the environmental angle of the summit's discussions (global warming). The channel also spoke about the incidents provoked by anti-globalisation movements on the sidelines of the summit. It insisted in particular on the solidarity of Heads of State vis-à-vis the London bombings (several reports).

The recurring themes were therefore:

- organisation and proceedings of the G8 summit: all the media studied, without exception, covered these details, even if *Faim Développement Magazine*, *Altermondes* and *Saphirnet.info* preferred critical analysis of, rather than information on the event;
- the African continent, especially Sub-Saharan Africa: *Altermondes* made this its principal subject, whereas the other media tackled the 'problems' of Africa in several articles and broadcasts, with the exception of *TF1* which remained largely silent on this issue;
- the climate was raised by all the media studied, and most emphasised the disagreements between George W. Bush's America and Europe. Global warming was raised most often, in all the media studied, compared to all the other subjects dealt with at the G8;
- the anti-globalisation demonstrations: all the media mentioned these, in more or less positive terms. *Saphirnet.info* even devoted most of its only article on the G8 summit to this issue. And, of the 57 broadcasts and articles analysed, only one article

(*Faim Développement Magazine*) and one programme (*Beur FM*) mentioned Global Poverty Action Day (so-called White Band Day) which was held just a few days before the G8 summit in Gleneagles (1st July 2005) and organised by a variety of international development NGO networks and movements. *Faim Développement Magazine* mentioned the event in militant terms, calling for a general protest against the 'disregard of members of the G8';

- The London terrorist bombings: almost all of the media studied referred to these events (except for *Faim Développement Magazine*, *Altermondes* and *Saphirnet.info*), with certain media taking a political angle (*Libération*), others a more security angle (*Beur FM*), and others emphasising the 'solidarity' of Heads of State towards the British government and society (*Radio Orient*, *TF1*);
- the outcome of the G8 summit: almost all of the sample media dealt with this (except *Altermondes* and *Saphirnet.info*).

Five kinds of media coverage of the same event

The study set out to look at which themes were treated repeatedly, and from which angles. Did the subject being tackled constitute or illustrate a problem or a conflict, a danger or a threat, something positive, with possible solutions, or an abuse?

Problem, conflict

Many articles and broadcasts dealt with the G8 summit in terms of problems and

even conflicts. Disagreements between the USA and Europe were raised and denounced regarding decisions to be taken during the summit on the environment, agriculture, the economy and policy. Radio Orient stressed the negative aspects (over a third of its reports stressed a problem of conflict). The problems mentioned by the other media concerned the environment (*TFI*), the policies of Jacques Chirac (*France Inter*), George W. Bush (*Libération*) and conflicts between Heads of State (*Libération*), liberal economics coupled with the inaction of politicians, and corruption (*Libération*). More generally, *Altermondes* strongly criticised the 'hypocrisy of the G8', which, it claimed, only came up with 'inadequate measures'.

The G8 summit was also described as an event provoking violent incidents (*TFI*). These are of two kinds and closely linked to current news events:

- The anti-globalisation demonstrations (*Radio Orient*) that led to several incidents and arrests (*Radio Aligre*). This being said, *Saphirnet.info* presented the demonstration as an intangible in a democracy;
- the London bombings (*TFI*).

The problem of (aid to) Africa was principally raised by two of the ethnic media studied and aimed at North African readers (*Beur FM* and *Radio Orient*), as well as by an NGO media concerned with questions of ecology and economics (*Altermondes*). *Radio Orient* is the only media in the study to mention the call, by the African summit for two permanent seats on the UN Security Council. Perhaps less surprising

was *Radio Orient's* references to the cancellation of foreign debt, while *Altermondes* focused on problems of extreme poverty faced by rural populations.

Danger and threats

Very few of the studied media explicitly treated the G8 summit as a danger or threat. The most important risks were seen to be global warming (*Beur FM*) and poverty (*Libération*), to which the summit proved to be incapable of providing an adequate response.

Something positive, with possible solutions

It is interesting to note that the media most violently opposed to the G8 summit, in terms of its policies and decisions, were those that also tried to show the potentially positive side of the event, emphasising possible solutions. Thus, *Altermondes* mentioned, in counterpoint, the Peoples' Forum in Fana (6-9 July 2005), and used it to call on the G8 to adopt measures to resolve the problem of increasing poverty in rural areas by strengthening their agricultural base. *Beur FM* proposed a doubling of state aid for development in Africa to US\$25 billion per year. And, on the environment, *France Inter* referred to the recognition of the Kyoto protocol by George W. Bush. On the economy, *Libération* suggested following a plan put forward by Britain. And, in terms of policy, *Libération* welcomed the fact that Heads of State showed a common front on terrorism, thus raising the issue of solidarity in the face of a common enemy, without asking (this time) how they would go about this.

Abuse

With the exception of *Faim Développement Magazine*, which criticised the G8 states for its abusive domination, few of the media studied tackled or addressed any forms of abuse by the G8 summit, except, to an extent, *Beur FM* and *Libération*, which criticised the ‘petty’ political games of certain Heads of State.

The G8 summit compared to other events...

The media studied tended to make few comparisons with other similar events. *Libération* drew a parallel between the solutions that could come out of the G8 summit in Gleneagles and the Marshall Plan agreed at the end of the Second World War, as a way to overcome poverty in Africa. In nearly half its broadcasts, *Radio Orient* referred to the 5th African summit, which was meeting at the same time as the G8. In the same vein, while recalling previous G8 meetings and the promises that arose from them, *Altermondes* raised the Peoples Forum of 2001 and 2004 as offering constructive alternatives. The Gleneagles summit having been dramatically overtaken by events, *Beur FM* devoted one broadcast to the terrorist attacks, comparing the London bombings to those in Madrid.

Words and their consequences...

The terminology employed by the various media when referring to countries in the South and the North, and their citizens, was relatively neutral, and remained very traditional. Countries in the South were referred to as ‘poor countries’ (*Faim Développement Magazine*, *Altermondes*, *Beur FM*, *France Inter*, *Libération*), ‘oil-producing countries’ (*Beur FM*) or ‘producer States’ (*Libération*) and as ‘emerging countries’ (*TFI*, *Radio Orient*). Countries in the North were referred to as ‘rich’ or ‘industrialised’ (*Faim Développement Magazine*, *Beur FM*, *Radio Orient*, *Altermondes*, *Libération*), or ‘donor’ countries (*Altermondes*). This presents an image of a double dichotomy - rich countries versus poor countries and producer countries versus donor countries.

Of the countries in the South, ‘Africa’, or the ‘African people’, is the only geographical area explicitly referred to, no matter which type of media. In one of its articles, *Altermondes* – which is generally more careful than the other media – talked about ‘African civil society’. Most of the time, reference was not made to a given country or countries, but to an entire continent, with the media totally disregarding the continent’s diversity. There were some exceptions, however. *Radio Orient* talked of poor countries, as well rich countries in Africa; *Altermondes* specified that it was referring to small farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa, and thus to a well-defined condition – if not a class. First prize goes to *Libération* however, which specified South Africa, the Horn of Africa, and the Great Lakes region in its articles, as well as poor countries not situated on the African continent, such as China and India (with its ‘record number of

disenfranchised people’).

With a few rare exceptions (where reference was made to ‘civil society’ organised into pressure groups, *Faim Développement Magazine*, and *Beur FM*), the citizens of countries in the North were lumped together as countries or states in the West – major powers, G8 countries (*Altermondes*, *Libération*, *France Inter*), the Elysée, France, Great Britain, Switzerland, USA (*Libération*) – as inter-State meetings (G8 summits of 2000, 2002, and 2003) (*Libération*) or more or less vague entities – e.g. ‘the international community’, (*Beur FM*), the World Bank, and UN, (*Libération*).

To sum up the way countries of the South or North were represented, or implied, by the media studied, we could borrow from *Libération*, which, without distorting the paper too much, referred to the former by their financial difficulties and the second as holding the solution.

Some witnesses absent, others too visible ...

The overwhelming majority of those quoted or interviewed were from the West, white and male. These were mainly personalities from the worlds of politics, economics or science (experts). Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair and Gerhard Schroeder were the most frequently quoted or paraphrased.

Citizens from either South or North – ‘civil society (or societies)’ –, ‘migrants’ or ‘minorities’ were neither cited nor referred to. When there was mention of

‘civil society’, it was usually to talk about the anti-globalisation demonstrations on the sidelines of the Gleneagles summit.

The G8 summit – second-rate or obsolete?

According to the media studied here, coverage of the Gleneagles G8 was very varied. Of the NGO media, the contribution of *Faim Développement Magazine* was relatively brief, concise and informative, highlighting the essential in its various issues. *Altermondes* devoted more space to the event. Its critical, but constructive, approach stood out, and was not found in the other media, no matter which kind.

Of the ethnic media, several did not cover the event in the period of the study: *Divas*, *Salama*, *Respect Magazine*, *Cité Black*, *Haïti Tribune*. *Beur FM* devoted a little time to the event and appeared quite neutral in its treatment of information, even if, like most of the other media, it did not air some of the more provocative points of view. The information presented could have been treated in greater depth. *Radio Orient* gave most details on the summit, and set itself aside remarkably from the mass media (like *TF1* or *Ouest France*) by explaining clearly all the measures arising from the summit’s deliberations (financial aid, debt cancellation, climate change, universal access to AIDS therapies, etc.). Special reference was made to Palestine.

The mass media all covered the G8 summit. Preferring to look at the political angle, *Libération* covered the issues raised by the event, as well as the positions taken

by Heads of State and on the sidelines (i.e. the anti-globalisation protests). Coverage by Ouest France and TFI was superficial, with no attempt to explain the issues to viewers or readers. Coverage of the London bombings by these two media almost entirely obscured their coverage of the G8's final decisions and the measures it adopted. For *France Inter*, the decision

on which country should host the 2012 Olympic games received most attention during the study period. As a rule, for several media, and not only the mass media, two events overtook coverage of the G8 summit in Gleneagles – the London terrorist bombings and the decision on who should host the 2012 Olympic Games.



Hosting the Olympic games – a national, intercultural or international event

This section of the report is devoted to an analysis of media coverage of a national event – the decision on who should host the 2012 Olympic Games, and thus the elimination of Paris as a candidate, in favour of London. The official decision was announced on 6 July 2005. The body of media coverage collected and analysed for the study used the same media as for the analysis of the international event (the G8 summit). The programmes and articles used had all been broadcast during the week of 5 - 7 July 2005.

The rejection of the Paris bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games turned out to be a good choice, when it came to studying the importance attached to intercultural and international relations. The event itself enabled the issue of intercultural relations to be raised, since the cosmopolitan nature

of London was mentioned by several media. And the elimination of Paris in favour of London inevitably had consequences in terms of international relations, at least between France and Britain.

As for the qualitative analysis carried out for the G8, our analysis of media coverage of the decision on who should host the 2012 Olympic Games, and therefore the elimination of Paris, looked at content, identifying the sources used by these media. It then looked at the context surrounding the article or programme and any supporting material (photographs, music, etc). Similarly, it sought to define the topics that were covered, and the columns or sections in which they were reported. The analysis also looked at the stereotypes used for the various individuals who were cited, interviewed, named or represented.

Articles and frequency of news items

Broadcasts and articles on the rejection of the Paris bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games included in the study

Type of media	Title	Programmes/Articles
NGO	Faim Développement Magazine	0
	Altermondes	0
Ethnic	Respect Magazine	0
	Divas	0
	Salama	0
	Cité Black	0
	Haïti Tribune	0
	Saphirnet.info	0
	Beur FM	1
	Radio Aligre	2
	Radio Orient	11
Mass media	Libération	14
	Ouest France	22
	France Inter	15
	TF1	30
Total		95

It is interesting to note that none of the NGO media in our sample, and few ethnic media (*Beur FM, Radio Aligre and Radio Orient only*), dealt with the rejection of Paris as candidate to host the 2012 Olympic Games. *Respect Magazine* published a short piece in its first issue after the summer vacation, outside our study period.

However, most of the mass media devoted more coverage to this event than they had to the G8 summit in Gleneagles. In total, out of 73 broadcasts or articles on the 2012 Olympic Games, 59 (81%) were published or broadcast by the mass media, compared to only 14 (19 %) in ethnic media and none in NGO media.

Frequency of broadcasts and articles on the Paris bid to host the 2012 Olympic Games included in the study

	5-7-2006	6-7-2006	7-7-2006	Total
Beur FM	-	1	-	1
Radio Aligre	1	1	-	2
Radio Orient	4	4	3	11
Libération	1	4	9	14
France Inter	3	10	2	15
Ouest France	5	8	9	22
TFI	13	17	0	30

Multiple sources

Ethnic media used few sources and seldom mentioned them. *Radio Orient* generally did not mention its sources on air, except for three reports in which it quoted the president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Jacques Rogge, President Chirac, the ambassador of Great Britain to France and Tony Blair. John Lesfield and Philippe Renard were also interviewed. The two reports by *Radio Aligre* on the Games gave brief airtime to Jacques Chirac (quoted) and the French basketball player, Tony Parker (interviewed). *Beur FM* talked to unnamed interviewees, as well as Patrick Vassort (member of an anti-Olympic Games group).

Coverage by the mass media studied was of three main kinds. *Libération* primarily

quoted politicians, such as the Mayor of Paris, Bertrand Delanoë, the Socialist party congressman, Christophe Caresche, the Green party councillor, Sylvain Garrel, Jacques Chirac, Tony Blair, the French director of the City of Paris Olympic bid committee, Armand de Rendiger, the president of the Ile-de-France region, Jean-Paul Huchon, the Minister of Sports, Jean-François Lamour, the Prime Minister, Dominique de Villepin, the UMP party candidate for the Paris municipal elections, Pierre Lellouche, the Green party councillor for Paris, Charlotte Nenner. Then came personalities from the world of Olympic sport, such as the IOC president, Jacques Rogge, 'the world stadium expert,' Rod Sheard, the 'planning and sports' director, Etienne Thobois, as well as Marc Perelman and Patrick Vassort, members of the anti-Olympic Games collective. Finally, one article cited passers-by from various professions in several towns in France, asked to

give their opinions on the rejection of the Paris Olympic bid.

France Inter interviewed a relatively large number of sports personalities, such as Marie-José Perec, David Douillet, Adrien Metkalf (the Olympic medallist who directed the Eurosport television channel in Great Britain). Politicians came a close second, with Jean-François Lamour, Jacques Chirac, Bertrand Delanoë, Jean-Paul Huchon, the socialist party congressman François Loncle, etc. Some broadcasts featured experts (e.g. Philippe Tétard, historian), as well as passers-by (on the square in front of the Hôtel de Ville in Paris). Foreign correspondents also sent in reports, from London and Singapore.

Finally, in its news bulletins on the rejection of the Paris bid, *TF1* mainly interviewed passers-by (residents of Rochelle, Calais and Lyons, volunteers working for the 1992 Winter Olympic Games in Albertville, residents of the Batignolles district in Paris, where part of the Olympic village was to be located, and athletes, etc). Well-known figures were also mentioned (e.g. Jacques Chirac, and Jacques Rogge) or interviewed (e.g. Bertrand Delanoë, and Arnaud Lagardère). On four occasions television archives of former Olympic Games were broadcast. On several occasions the channel also showed correspondents in Singapore, and in the French regions.

The Olympic Games in images and music

None of the three ethnic media studied used music in its news flashes or reports. In contrast, the mass media made consider-

able use of images and music. On the eve of the decision on which city would host the 2012 Olympic Games, *Libération* published a photograph taken in Singapore showing Bertrand Delanoë, Arnaud Lagardère and Jean-François Lamour. A few hours before the decision, the paper presented a half-page photo of members of the IOC committee posing in front of the Eiffel Tower during their visit on 10 March 2005, and another showing close-ups of the faces of Bertrand Delanoë and Jacques Chirac on their visit to Singapore. The day after the decision, several images were published: half-page photos of the 'first moments of anxiety in front of the City Hall just before the results were announced' and another taken 'a few seconds later after Jacques Rogge's speech awarding the organisation of the Olympic Games to London'. Other photos showed the accolade of Bertrand Delanoë and the former Olympic champion Jean-Claude Killy after the announcement of the defeat in Singapore, and the Olympic hording on wasteland in the Batignolles district of Paris.

The day the Paris bid was rejected, *France Inter* broadcast in one of its news flashes the song 'Douce France', and used a soundtrack of violins when the journalist spoke from London. In another broadcast, voices of the crowd in front of the Hôtel de Ville in Paris could be heard in the background.

On the eve of the decision, *TF1* broadcast footage from Singapore, showing the arrival of Jacques Chirac and Tony Blair, along with the French delegation. The channel also showed live interviews with Paris Mayor, Bertrand Delanoë, images of areas of Paris where construction work for the Olympic Games would start, and broadcast the

French national anthem. Shortly before the decision was announced, the channel showed archive footage retracing the Paris bid, images of the Hôtel de Ville and the crowd that had gathered around giant screens, waiting for the results, and again played the 'Marseillaise' anthem. Once the results were known, reports and 'roving mike' interviews were carried out in several towns in the Greater Paris area (Ile-de-France).

The Olympic Games, a game with themes

Having examined the 73 broadcasts and articles on the rejection of the Paris bid for the 2012 Olympic Games, a certain number of subjects were found to recur.

Radio Orient emphasised the competition between Paris and London, increasing the suspense just before the announcement of the decision. When the announcement came, all that followed were the reactions of disappointment and bitterness, and protests against the British, who were accused of cheating. The London campaign was accused of being less discrete than that of Paris. In a similar vein, and via an invited expert, Pascal Boniface (director of the Institute of International relations and Strategies, IRIS), *Beur FM* explained the defeat of Paris by the strong British lobbying. *Radio Aligre* however, continued to provide news, without any particular comments.

The angles covered by the mass media were more varied. *Libération* emphasised the 'tense' relationships between London and Paris during the bid, showed the role of lob-

byists, came back to the political reasons for the involvement of Bertrand Delanoë and Jacques Chirac, and attempted to assess the chances of Paris winning. When the results were announced, the paper emphasised the political consequences of the failure to win (including the international effects) and showed the public disappointment, going on to say that the morale of the French was low in general and that support for President Chirac was continuing to fall. Finally one of the articles carried information about the Paris bid for the 2010 'Gay games'.

France Inter showed the tense relations between London and Paris, with a news flash on Britain's aggressive attitude ('*Can we tolerate the English lobby?*') and another on the furore stirred up by Jacques Chirac's reference to British and Finnish food. A political angle was used to analyse the defeat of Paris (a failure and 'slap in the face' for Bertrand Delanoë and Jacques Chirac), even if one report presents the IOC decision as incomprehensible.

TF1 emphasised the efforts of the French delegation and Jacques Chirac in support of the Paris bid to the International Olympic Committee, insisted on the financial benefits of hosting the games (for local and national businesses) and the public's hopes if France hosted the Olympic Games (reports and 'roving mike' interviews in several towns), returning to past victories by French Olympic athletes (from archives). On the eve of the decision, the channel tried to be reassuring, using a report to say that nothing in the British capital suggested the Olympic Games would be held there. Forecasts gained momentum, and, in general, the idea that

'France is ready' was put across. However, once the IOC decision was announced, there was an outburst of disappointment, even if the 'sporting behaviour' of Jacques Chirac was highlighted.

The recurring themes were:

- The political and diplomatic effort by France versus the more arrogant, even downright aggressive, approach of Great Britain;
- the positive side of Paris hosting the Olympic Games (the political and economic angles, as well as a great popular event), highlighted in almost all the media;
- the surprise and disappointment, both political and popular, after the rejection of the Paris;
- It is worth noting that the Madrid bid was almost totally ignored, as if it were not taken seriously by the media in the sample.

The Olympic Games and the five kinds of coverage

As for the analysis of the G8 summit, albeit from a different angle, one of the issues examined in the study makes it possible to highlight the recurring themes in the sample media. Did the topic being presented constitute or illustrate a problem or a conflict, a danger or a threat, something positive, with possible solutions, or an abuse?

Problem, conflict

The suspense surrounding the IOC decision was first of all described as a source

of anxiety (*Radio Orient, TFI*). Also, relations between Paris and London were unanimously analysed as a problem, even a conflict. *Libération* and *France Inter* talked of the doubtful and aggressive British lobbying tactics, but also were even more keen to denounce what was felt to be Jacques Chirac's negative attitude. The final decision was treated as a 'defeat' and a 'disappointment' by all the media studied.

Danger, threat

All of the media in the sample insisted on the threat posed by the London bid. Nevertheless, *Radio Orient* was one of the rare media that, several times, also pointed out the threat from the Madrid bid, saying it should not be ignored.

In the event that Paris were to win, *Libération* predicted that the Olympic Games would cost more than it earned for France.

Something positive, with possible solutions

For *Beur FM*, if Paris were to host the 2012 Olympic Games, this would mean the French Minister of Sport would have to implement a plan for encouraging sports. For *Libération*, the Olympic Games would bring tourists to regions in the north of France. The private TV channel, *TF1* preferred to look at the economic benefits for France of hosting the Olympic Games.

Abuse

For *France Inter*, the defeat of Paris for no apparent reason was to be explained by an abuse of power by the IOC.

The Olympic games, Astérix and the European Constitution – multiple comparisons!

Before the IOC decision, *TFI*, *France Inter* and *Libération* referred to other major sporting events (other Olympic Games, the 1998 World Cup) already hosted by France. When the defeat of Paris was announced, a *TFI* journalist compared it to French defeats at football (*'The English are also taking our best footballers!'*), thus fuelling a sense of injustice and bitterness towards a country sometimes implied to be the enemy, i.e. Great Britain. The attitude of *France Inter* was much less arrogant, comparing France to the Astérix theme park, to highlight the inward-looking attitude of French society. In a more politically oriented piece, *Radio Orient* compared the defeat of Paris to that of Jacques Chirac in the 2004 regional elections 2004, and the referendum on the European Constitution.

Monochrome words...

During the analysis, the question was raised of whether 'migrants' or those from 'visible minorities' were mentioned in France by the media during coverage of the Paris Olympic bid – as the British media had, to show how cosmopolitan London is. And, if this was the case, how were they described? It turned out that in neither the ethnic media nor the mass media studied, was there any mention of 'migrants' or those belonging to 'visible minorities'. *TFI* was the exception, mentioning the origin of two Olympic sportswomen as 'Algerian' and 'from Guadalupe'. Nevertheless, unlike

the international relations discussed by most of the media when covering the Olympic bid, intercultural relations were overlooked.

...and monochrome voices

Almost all of the people quoted or interviewed were from the West, white and male. They were essentially from the worlds of politics and/or sport, much less often from the world of science (experts). Jacques Chirac, Bertrand Delanoë and Tony Blair were among the most often cited, shown or interviewed. Also, several media carried out reports in the Greater Paris region and the provinces, allowing part of the population to have their say. But those interviewed with the 'roving mike' never reflected the diversity of French society.

Coverage – highly varied, but not very objective

...

Coverage of the Paris Olympic bid was quite varied. The NGO media ignored it completely, preferring to focus on the G8 summit in Gleneagles. Few ethnic media covered the event either. *Beur FM* and *Radio Aligre* made two references to the bid in three reports (the approach was informative, but did not reflect the very large range of opinions on the event), whereas *Radio Orient* set itself apart with news and analyses in eleven reports. The mass media, though, gave ample coverage to the question, each with a specific approach. *Libération* talked about the event by focusing on what was presented as a political

defeat for Jacques Chirac and Bertrand Delanoë. For *France Inter* it became an obsession. *TF1* on the contrary tried to be more understanding of the President, congratulating him on his sporting behaviour. It

appeared however that many mass media journalists were not objective, often expecting Paris to win, and crying foul and scandal when it did not turn out that way.



A world ready to be opened, areas to be covered, voiced to be discovered ...



News worthiness does not explain everything ...

In general, treatment of the two themes (the Olympic Games and G8) was very different for the media studied. Sometimes the coverage was inadequate, or even non-existent. Besides the editorial priorities of each media, it seemed evident that the London bombings 'ousted' the two events chosen for this analysis. But this does not explain everything. *Faim Développement Magazine* for example, which did not devote a single line to the London bombings, could have written more about the G8 summit and its inevitable consequences for development and the environment.



The international element - speeches and realities

Above and beyond the editorial orientations of each of the media, the way international news was covered differed significantly according to the kind of media analysed. The study revealed that the angle

adopted was mainly linked to the kind of 'filter' used, to a particular self-perception in the dynamics of international current affairs. To summarise, international news was presented in the mass media in terms of political actions (speeches, declarations, summit meetings, etc). For the ethnic media, international news was essentially linked to a cultural entity, which interacted with the 'dominant group' in the political arena. For the NGO media, international news was relative to the problem of development and showed 'poor countries' or 'countries of the South' confronting 'rich countries' and 'countries of the North'.



The intercultural - to be lived by all and represented by some

There were also great differences, not only between the media themselves, but also between the three groups of media analysed. Both the NGO media and mass media made little reference overall to the intercultural theme. Nevertheless, when they did, the approach was pluralist and

corresponded to the editorial position of the media, even of the journalist. The position of the ethnic media was quite different. A phenomenon worth noting is that the intercultural dimension was not treated in terms of a given country, but a geographical zone, or even a globalising notion (mixing of races). *Divas* and *Cité Black*, for example, talked about Blacks; *Salama*, *Beur FM* and *Radio Orient* also included North Africa, and the Arab world as a whole; *Saphirnet.info* aimed at Muslims. It seems that, rather than stratifying 'migrants' or, more generally, those making up the diversity of France, these media put them together and, as a result, gave a more up to date picture of French 'culture'. Meanwhile, the ethnic media treated intercultural relations by more willingly giving a voice directly to those concerned, without focusing on politicians, and thus offered a genuinely public space for sharing lives and stories.

orities, not found in either the mass media or ethnic media. This magazine offers a genuinely alternative source of information, in the sense that it is not found in any other media. Meanwhile, as in most of the ethnic media, the priorities of *Radio Orient* are clearly different to those of the mass media. While it often tackled the same subjects, the angle of approach was sometimes different, and especially the sources used. Ethnic media are therefore a genuinely alternative source of information on countries, cultures and a specific culture (arising from the ethnic mix found in French society), which, even today, is still hardly covered by the mass media.

Ethnic media – a genuinely different contribution

One of the hypotheses of the *Mediam'Rad* programme is that the NGO media and ethnic media provide a varied and complementary alternative to the mass media, which are better established in institutional terms, and primarily address French society as a whole. This hypothesis was verified by the first analysis of content. To illustrate this result, we will give a few examples taken from two, perhaps emblematic, media, given their positions, - namely *Altermondes* and *Radio Orient*. *Altermondes* has very precise editorial pri-