

Michelle Beyeler and Eveline Hübscher¹

Department of Political Science

University of Zurich

Switzerland

Correspondence:

mbeyeler@pwi.unizh.ch; ehuebscher@pwi.unizh.ch

Public opinion, media and protest against the World Economic Forum

Abstract

The media play an important role in transmitting the claims of social movements to the decision-makers and the public. There are several possible interaction-channels between the media and public opinion. On the one hand, we expect the way media frame and report movement claims to influence public opinion. On the other hand, media coverage may also reflect the existing public attitudes towards the movement, meaning that the media are themselves affected by public opinion. In the case of the global social justice movement, the targeted public is a global one – a setting that is attractive for analyzing the roles of the media. In this paper, we explore media coverage of protest events against the World Economic Forum in different countries. We are interested in the factors accounting for the differences in the degree of media attention towards the movement as well as for the differences in the representation and evaluation of the movement's claims. We find important differences in media attention and construction of the movement related to the national context in which the analyzed newspaper is published.

Introduction

Systematic research on the mechanisms affecting the impact of social movements is rare (Giugni 1998, 1999; McAdam and Su 2002). However, many scholars emphasize the role of public opinion as a central factor for movement's success in bringing about social change (Burstein, Einwohner, and Hollander 1995; Burstein and Freudenburg 1978; Neidhardt 1994; Rucht 1999). In this paper, we focus on the role of the media as mediators and translators between social movements and the public sphere. We are particularly interested in cross-national differences in the way news media report on protests against the World Economic Forum (WEF). The Anti-WEF campaign is one of the numerous activities of the anti-globalization movement, or the global social justice movement, as it is now called². We argue that the following factors influence the way the mass media cover and represent activities of the global social justice movement: the strategies and actions taken by the movement itself, the national context in which the news media is embedded, the specific news culture as well as the ideological alignment of the newspaper. With regard to the national context we are particularly interested in the differences in media reporting between industrialized and developing countries. Since a central issue of the movement is more justice between developing and industrialized countries, we expect the media from developing countries to be more interested on the very content and demands of the movement and to evaluate it more positively.

The data used in this paper stems from a political claims analysis (Koopmans and Statham 1999) that is based on newspapers from six countries, collected in the context of a larger project on the impact of the movement against economic globalization. The paper is divided into four sections. The first section puts forward a number of possible effects of the protest activities against the World Economic Forum. In the second section, we discuss the

¹ This paper presents preliminary results of the ongoing research project 'New Social Movements and Globalization' financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation. We wish to thank Nicholas Bornstein for his support with the coding work.

² At the 2002 edition, the World Social Forum argued that they do no longer want to be called an 'anti-globalization' -movement, since they advocate a more social globalization. In the French usage, the term 'antimondialisation' was transformed into 'altermondialisation'.

conditions that affect media reporting and construction of the movement. The third section explains our research strategy and data base. Section four puts forward first empirical results.

The impact of protest against the World Economic Forum

The annual meeting of the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos is the single largest and most illustrious gathering of the world's economic and political elite. The WEF is a private foundation, which is financed mainly by member firms. For over 30 years the WEF foundation has organized a discussion forum to which economic leaders, representatives of governments, scientists and increasingly representatives from non-governmental organizations are invited. According to the organizers the aim of the forum is to identify global trends and to develop new strategies³. The meeting is highly exclusive and only invited guests are allowed. In the last couples of years, the annual meeting of the WEF has been a fixed date in the agenda of groups protesting against economic globalization. Their main critic is that the WEF opens the doors for secret arrangements between economic and governmental actors. The WEF is different from other organizations criticized by the global social justice movement. Unlike the WTO, the IMF, the G8-gathering or the EU, the WEF is a private organization, which needs no democratic legitimization by any government or constituency. Thus, the WEF is not politically accountable, in spite of its role in providing an exclusive negotiating arena for politicians and business leaders. Although it opens up for the media and even though it invites some (mostly established) NGOs, the event still lacks transparency. Journalists criticize that their access to the different panels is controlled and that the most important 'deals' are made behind closed doors (NZZ, 1.2.1999: p. 5; NZZ 1.2.2002: p. 2; NYT, 27.1.2002: pp.35).

Even though the conference brings growing security costs with it, cities and countries are still interested in hosting the prestigious annual meeting⁴ – the WEF attracts a wealthy clientele and assures not only large profits for hotels and sellers of luxury goods, but also media presence from around the world.

Civil society groups criticizing the WEF apply different strategies and have various claims. Their strategies include lobbying and information work of NGO's, the organization of parallel meetings and conferences, as well as various protest activities ranging from demonstrations and symbolic actions over blockades and other illegal actions to violent confrontations. While a part of the protesters considers the WEF to be completely illegitimate as an actor and refuses to engage in a dialogue, other groups seek to get access to the WEF panels and to bring their point of view into the conference. The parallel meetings and conferences that are organized by the critics of economic globalization serve as forums to develop alternative ideas and to bring the critical voices and groups together. The largest of these alternative conferences is the fast growing World Social Forum (WSF) - first held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001. The WSF is staged at the same time and is explicitly set as a counterweight to the WEF. Other alternative conferences are 'the public eye on Davos' held close to the WEF meeting localities organized by NGO's and 'the other Davos' organized by social movement organizations in Zurich.

The often fuzzy boundaries between those sectors of the movement involved in violent confrontation and those primarily involved in other forms of issuing criticism and developing alternative ideas, have several implications for the impact of the movement. One apparent effect is that the street protests from radical groups, rejecting any legitimacy of the WEF and totally objecting its existence, have increased the access of the less radical civil society groups to the forum. By the appearance of very radical groups not prepared to engage in a dialogue with the WEF, other critical groups suddenly became addressable, and more acceptable to the criticized organization. A sign for these

³ <http://www.weforum.org/site/homepublic.nsf/Content/About+the+Forum+Subhome>, accessed June 5th, 2003.

⁴ When the New York officials claimed that they would like to have the WEF in their city also after its 2002 excursion, the response of the Swiss officials that they do want to keep the yearly forum in their country came promptly (NZZ 24.1.2002: p.13; NYT 31.1.2002: p. A16).

direct effects on the WEF is the growing participation of NGO's at the WEF meeting, as well as the increasing focus on the 'dark sides of globalization' in WEF panel discussions⁵.

Another set of effects of the street protests is the above-mentioned fact that the hosting of the conference becomes increasingly expensive for state authorities. On the one hand, political authorities face direct costs as they are responsible for the security of the WEF participants and the general public. On the other hand, they also face indirect costs as the security-measures come under attack from a large and predominantly peaceful social movement and not only from the very radical movement sectors. As a consequence we expect that the global social justice movement has effects on state authorities with regard to their policing strategies, but also with regard to the attention they give to the issues raised by the movement.

Thirdly, the protests against the WEF – and other organizations targeted by the movement - have clearly affected media attention towards the movement. Particularly, the so-called "Battle of Seattle", which stands for the massive protests and the parallel failure of the WTO ministerial conference in 1999, directed the attention of the media to the critics of globalization. After Seattle, meetings or summits of the international political and economic leaders were routinely facing massive demonstrations, and it looks as if the different gatherings are taken as "windows of opportunities" where critical groups benefit from the international media and public attention. However, while media attention has increased, the combination of confrontational and legal protest forms carries the risk that most of this attention is focused on the formal aspects of the protest events (e.g. damages, number of victims among the police and among the protesters etc.) while the issue-specific message is neglected. On the other hand, parallel forums and conferences organized by the movement, such as the WSF, may also profit from the attention of the media that is raised through the street protest. In this paper we focus on these interactions between the global social justice movement and the media and we are interested in the factors explaining media attention to, as well as construction and representation of the global social justice movement.

Conditions affecting media attention and construction of the movement

The dominating medium of the public communication is mass media (Neidhardt 1993: 341).. They have an important function as a mediator between the many political actors and their audience. Most democratic countries have a media system where mass media are highly independent and are in an exclusive position to structure and shape the flow of information between the different speakers and the public. The emergence of competing mass media has led to an enormous expansion of the public field and to an increasing competition between the different news topics. Nevertheless, the complexity of information and topics given/provided by mass media is a selective one. The media has the power to make a pre-selection of actors, themes and issues that enter the print-media. As a consequence the competition between the numerous political actors for attention and support by the public is embedded in the competition for attention and news-coverage by the media (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Due to the fact that public opinion cannot be neglected, political actors attempt to instrumentalize the media to strengthen their position within the parliamentary or administrative area where political decisions are finally taken.

As mentioned before, the way media cover movement issues is at the center of our research. Thus, it is essential that we take a closer look at the relationship and the interplay between mass media and the global social justice movement. In a recent paper Jimenez wrote that: *"to a great extent, the fate of social movements is to be decided in the process of the social construction of reality, in which the media constitute a central arena and play a key role"* (Jiménez 2003: 3). Media have not only the power to force existing movements but they also have the power to initiate a new movement – by intensive news coverage of a conflicting policy field (Rucht 1994: 338). Thus, the relationship between mass media and social movements is by and large

⁵ Cf. archives of the WEF on participants and subjects of the pannel discussion provided at the WEF-homepage: <http://www.weforum.ch>.

considered an asymmetric one. Challenging actors depend more on the media than vice versa (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993). Following Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) media coverage of movement issues serves three different purposes. Firstly, media coverage helps to mobilize allies by creating a public discourse on the issues put forward. Second, the movement needs the media for validation; the media spotlight adds to the importance of movement activities and suggests that movements are important players in the public sphere. Finally, movements need the media to broaden the scope of conflict and the scope of recognition. Three elements of media coverage are of particular interest to actors of social movements: (1) the extent to which the group is given media coverage (*standing*); (2) the prominence of the group's *preferred frame* in media discourse; and (3) the extent to which media coverage presents the group in a way that is likely to gain *sympathy* from the relevant public (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 121). With regard to the last two points, Bennett et al. (Bennett, Pickard, Lagos, Schroeder, Evans-Caswell, and Iozzi 2003) argue that an important aspect is how media characterize and evaluate movement actors as well as their allies and opponents, and consequently the type of *recognition* movement actors receive in media coverage themselves as well as in relation with other actors.

The above discussion suggests that the *media construction and representation of movement activities and issues* play an important role in affecting the public opinion with regard to movement claims. We argue that mainly three sets of factors affect access to and recognition of the media. (1) Factors related to the strategy chosen by the movement, (2) factors related to the specific news media that is considered and (3) contextual factors related to the countries (audience) such as socio-economic development in the country, the public attitude towards the movement claims or general attitudes with regard to protest movements (cf. model 1).

Model 1: Interactions between the public, the media and the social movement

VOIR ANNEXE 1

Movement strategies

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 121) hypothesize that media standing and the coverage of the movement's preferred frame will be more extensive, the greater the resources, organization, co-ordination and professionalism of the movement on the one hand, and the greater the complementary division of labour among movement actors on the other hand is. With regard to the last point, the authors claim that acts of disorder which bring media attention are problematic insofar as they obscure the issue-specific message: "*Those who dress up in costume to be admitted to the media's party will not be allowed to change before being photographed*" (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993: 121). As the two authors hold, this problem may be reduced or overcome if there is an intentional or non-intentional division of labour among actors: those who engage in actions designed to gain standing do not themselves attempt to be the main carriers of the issue frame.

Social movements attract the attention of the news media by producing "newsworthy" protest events. Following McCarthy et al. (McCarthy et al. 1996: 480) the newsworthiness of an event depends on the following, but quite similar criteria: actors or events should thereafter be (1) notorious in the sense that actors are famous or the events are trendy, (2) consequential in the sense that events can have a wide impact or the actors are powerful, (3) extraordinary in so far as the event is large, unusual and spectacular and (4) the event is culturally resonant because the actors / the event take up a socially relevant topic.

Newspaper related factors

We expect that media reporting does not only depend on the strategies of challenging actors, but also on media-specific factors. A first issue is the general ideological alignment of the news media. We assume that news media which have a more leftist tradition will be more sympathetic to the preferred frame of the global social justice movement and present critical positions of the global social justice movement, while right-wing leaning

media, being more close to the interests of business, are more likely to cover the issues and topics of the WEF. An important aspect relates to what McCarthy et al. call media issue attention cycle. A media issue attention cycle suddenly emerges from obscurity and dominates the news for a certain time period (McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith 1996: 481). Undoubtedly, globalization has become a catchword and the media attention towards globalization and related issues is high, especially since the WTO-conference in 1999. The global social justice movement has not only an interest to keep this attention at a high level but is probably also a trigger of the media issue attention cycle towards globalization.

A third issue is that the media not only shape public opinion, journalists themselves are also influenced by the prevailing public opinion with regard to movement claims. As a consequence, we expect media construction of movement issues to be more sympathetic if a large part of the public is already supporting the movement. The specific national context affects both, the public opinion with regard to the movement claims, but also the attitude of the news media. Since a central issue of the global social justice movement is the North-South division, we expect a more positive attitude towards the global social justice movement in third world countries than in industrialized ones.

A fourth point refers to proximity; the closer the protest event is to the home-office where the newspaper is produced, the more attention will be devoted to this protest event, especially to the procedural issues.

Research design

We are interested in the role of the media in transmitting, mediating and framing protest or critique against as well as support for the World Economic Forum. What is the picture the media draw about the forum and about the challengers of this summit of the international political and economic elite? We base our analysis on newspaper reporting on the World Economic Forum and activities by the global social justice movement during the period the forum is held. We consider newspaper from very different contexts and continents. We selected newspapers, which lay claim to high quality and independent journalism with a national reach. We control for a number of factors that might have an influence on media reporting, such as the media's emphasis on entertainment and visual material; this is in line with Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993: 124) who also expect these factors to have effects on the media's reporting on the movement. To assure a certain level of independence of the newspaper, we had to choose countries, which, especially during our period of study, were democratic and provided a considerable amount of civil liberties to their citizens. The more practical criteria we had to take into account were the publication languages.. From the point of language skills we had to take newspapers that were written in German, French, English or Spanish.

We chose the following newspapers: The Swiss *Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)*, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)*, the *New York Times (NYT)*, the Bolivian *El Diario*, and the South African *Cape Times*: The *NZZ* is the third biggest daily newspaper in the country and German-speaking Switzerland's leading elite newspaper with a strong liberal outlook. As a quality newspaper with a strong regional base, the *NZZ* has a wide national and international distribution. The *NZZ* was originally affiliated with the party of the Radicals and still has strong ties with the Free Democratic Party of Switzerland. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* is the leading German daily newspaper with a strong economic focus. The *FAZ* is a quality paper with national distribution, but it also has a local focus as is demonstrated with the Frankfurt and region section. The paper represents the moderate right on the political scale and traditionally supports the Christian Democrats (Noelle-Neumann et al.: 2002: 433-34). The daily newspaper *Le Monde* is the second biggest daily national paper in France. It is a pluralist newspaper without an ideological guideline for its journalists, but values like justice and solidarity are its main objectives. The favored party is the one, which proposes opening and international cooperation. *Le Monde* does speak its voice and is not just a neutral information distributor (*Le Monde* 2002: 2-5). In the student protests of 1968 *Le Monde* became the movement's newspaper and had to defend itself against attacks from the extreme right. *Le Monde* is traditionally in support of the Socialist Party of France.

The *NYT* is one of the largest newspapers in the U.S. It is committed to quality and excellence and has become the elite newspaper in America, as different polls have shown. The *NYT* has no party affiliation – as is usual in the United States press system and it also takes an independent position. Unlike most other newspapers in the USA, it adopts a liberal instead of a conservative perspective (Kurian 1982: 951-52). *El Diario* is the oldest Bolivian daily newspaper. It is a nation-wide paper and advertises itself as independent but with a national, state-supporting orientation. According to experts, the newspaper ranks amongst the twenty most influential newspapers in the Spanish-speaking world (Kurian 1982a: 149-50). The *Cape Times* is a well-established newspaper in South Africa, which focuses on the world news and the business report. The paper has a fairly liberal position and claims to be politically independent.

From these newspapers we selected the issues published in the four weeks around and including the WEF conference. For the *NZZ* we cover the years from 1994 to 2003, for the other newspapers 1995 and 2000 to 2003.

*The political claims analysis*⁶

Our methodological approach is a political claims analysis (PCA). The method extends the traditional protest event analysis, by putting more emphasis on political discourse and enhancing the range of actors. As Koopmans and Statham (1999: 204) point out: *'by systematically coding discursive dimensions, the focus shifted from "protest" to "political claims making", and by coding all actors which are relevant to our political issue field, the focus shifted from "movement" to "multi-organizational field"'*. The virtue of the methodology is that it allows for an analysis of the interaction between different actors and for the incorporation of the discursive side of collective action (ibid: 206). The authors hold that the PCA is best applicable to a research question focusing on political contention within broader issue fields or on a particular category of actors (ibid: 219). The reason is that one has to specify what articles of a newspaper are selected for the coding of claims. As the collected information is relatively detailed, it is impossible to code whole newspapers.

The primary focus in our research design lies on particular categories of actors – the WEF, the global social justice movement, political authorities dealing with protest events and security issues related to the first two actors. We have *selected all articles*, were these actors where mentioned in the article's heading, lead, photo, photo byline or in the first 150 words of the main text. The selection of articles poses no problems for the WEF. As far as the movement is concerned, this selection strategy poses the problem that not all the movement's claims are explicitly referred to as such. For instance, a protest event may consist of anonymous actors throwing paint at the headquarter of a multinational corporation. As a result, we, therefore, also included articles which refer in any way to planned, announced, or completed protest against actors and actions triggering economic globalization⁷.

The unit of analysis in the political claims analysis is not a newspaper article but an instance of claim-making ('claim') reported in a newspaper article. Claims are units of strategic action in the public sphere that express a political opinion by some form of physical or verbal action. This definition implies that a claim must be the result of purposive strategic action and that it must be political, i.e. relate to social problems and solutions to them. We include a wide possible set of actors: governmental actors, movement or

⁶ Our PCA draws heavily from the work of the europub.com project (cf. <http://europub.wz-berlin.de>). We are grateful to the europub.com research group for allowing us to use their material, as well as for helpful support.

⁷ We define economic globalization as the international integration of markets, which means an increase in cross-border flows of goods, capital, services as well as transnational production (c.f. Garrett 2000). Actions and actors triggering economic globalization therefore include cross-border market exchanges, bilateral or multilateral trade policy, unilateral liberalization, and de-regularization in order to open up home markets, measures increasing capital mobility, international economic organizations and development banks, multinational corporations, national corporations which engage in competitive price/wage dumping.

business actors, interest groups, journalists etc. A claim ideally involves information on seven aspects:

- 1) The location of the claim in time and space (when and where?)
- 2) The actor who is making a claim (who?)
- 3) The form of action (how?)
- 4) The actor, who is responsible of implementing the claim (addressee), inhibits the implementation of the claim (opponent actor), or supports the claimant (supported actor).
- 5) The issue of the claim (what?)
- 6) The actor who is affected by the claim (at/against whom?)
- 7) The justification, frame (why?)

In practice some of these aspects may not be coded, as the article may contain no relevant information. Coding is done by using both string-descriptions and code lists. The code lists are divided into a general/summarizing code and a more detailed, specific code. With regard to the specific codes, the lists are open ended, as it was impossible to know in advance all possibly relevant issues and actors. We use the PCA in to measure the *attention of the newspaper* towards the movement and also the representation and evaluation of movement actors.

Differences in the country specific context

With regard to the *country specific context*, we can roughly separate the countries from where we selected our newspapers into two different groups. Within the first group we have the advanced industrialized countries (Switzerland, France, United States and Germany). These four countries are highly integrated in the world economy and have stable political and social structures. With regard to globalization related issues Germany, France and the United States show – according to the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* – fairly similar positions (cf. table 1).⁸ We assume that Switzerland, which is not included in the survey, does not differ substantially from the one in Germany.

Nevertheless, we can clearly see that the public opinion in France is somewhat more critical towards globalization and the population – in comparison with other industrialized countries (including our sample) – is more sympathetic to the global social justice movement.

⁸ The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a recent report (June 2003), which covers 44 countries and outlines the following topics: War in Iraq, Democracy and Islam and Governance and Globalization. Besides Switzerland every country of our study is included in the sample.

Table 1: Country specific attitudes towards

	France	Germany	United States	South Africa	Bolivia
Growing Trade and Business Ties are good for the country	88%	91%	78%	88%	77%
Gap between rich and poor is getting worse (over past 5 years)	82%	90%	67%	73%	81%
Blame globalization for the growing gap between rich and poor	25%	24%	14%	22%	32%
Effect of "Globalization" is good / bad for the country	60% / 36%	67% / 26%	62% / 23%	70% / 9%	49% / 31%
NGOs have a good influence on the country.	94%	84%	89%	76%	83%
Anti-global protestors have a good influence on the country.	44%	34%	30%	44%	47%

As mentioned above we draw the questions and answer from The Pew Global Attitudes Project – Views of a Changing world, June 2003.

Within the second group we have two less developed countries. While South Africa is a state with a fairly developed infrastructure and economy, Bolivia is a highly indebted country with poor infrastructure and persistent political as well as social problems. As the World Bank Group Country Brief says, Bolivia is a good example of a country that has achieved successful stabilization and has implemented innovative market reforms, but one that made only moderate progress in the fight against poverty.⁹ Even though South Africa has – compared to Bolivia – a more positive perception of globalization, the critics of globalization have strong support, probably because the South African population is strongly fragmented.

Media construction and representation of the global social justice movement in six newspapers

In this section of the paper we discuss first results of our political claims analysis of the six newspapers (NZZ, FAZ, NYT, Le Monde, El Diario, Cape Times cf. above). At the time of writing this paper the coding work was still going on and therefore the results are only preliminary. We first focus on the dynamics of media attention and then turn to the representation and evaluation of movement actors, as well as their opponents (in this case the World Economic Forum) in the different newspapers.

The dynamics of media attention

With regard to the attention anti-WEF activists receive, one can clearly distinguish between an 'ante-Seattle' and a 'post-Seattle' period. Until 1998 there is no article that has its focus on actors, which are critical to the WEF or economic globalization during the four weeks around the WEF-summit¹⁰. In 1999 only one short article reports on protest

⁹

<http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/external/lac/lac.nsf/865d2d8ead6b9b14852567d6006acf08/6a9e1c5983be6311852567dd005dd5c9?OpenDocument>

¹⁰ If there were any anti-WEF protests before 1999, they were so small and unspectacular that they have neither been mentioned in the NZZ nor in several official documents and studies related to the protests in Switzerland.

activities against the WEF¹¹. However, the mobilization activities against economic globalization accelerated during 1998: In May of that year, the newly founded Peoples' Global Action (PGA) group coordinated a demonstration against the WTO ministerial conference in Geneva. Approximately 5'000 protesters demonstrated against the WTO-Ministerial conference (held in Geneva in May 1998). Although about 5'000 protesters were there and the damage was very large (5 Million Swiss Francs), these protests received comparably low media attention. However the protests against the WTO Ministerial conference in Seattle in the fall of 1999, received enormous, worldwide attention, and marked a clear change in press attention towards claims of actors being critical about economic globalization. The high interest of the media in both the critics of globalization and the street opposition starting with Seattle can partly be explained with the considerably larger size and militancy of the protest. In addition, the failure of the trade negotiations, which protest groups framed as being their victory, contributed to the comparatively large media attention to the protests (cf. Beyeler and Kriesi 2003).

Table 2: Number of articles in the selected period which focus on WEF, movement actors or security issues related to protests

Year	NZZ		FAZ		Monde		NYT		Diario		Cape Times	
	WEF	Prot.	WEF	Prot.	WEF	Prot.	WEF	Prot.	WEF	Prot.	WEF	Prot.
1994	8	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1995	7	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
1996	8	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1997	11	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1998	15	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1999	13	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
2000	31	13	16	7	9	12	7	5	2	4	10	7
2001	41	32	17	7	-	-	3	1	9	4	9	4
2002	21	15	29	11	-	-	49	36	7	10	10	1
2003	37	39	15	8	8	16	-	-	-	-	12	3

Focus of articles: Prot.: articles refer to movement issues, protest or security related to the discussion. '.' period not included in sample '-' period in sample, but has to be coded yet.

The WEF 2000 took place only a few weeks after Seattle and the media continued to refer to the Seattle protests and the failure of the WTO trade negotiations. All our newspapers paid attention to the critical voices against the WEF and they reported on the mobilization effort of WEF protest groups as well as the security provisions of the Swiss government. However, not only the coverage of protest activities and movement claims increased steadily, but with the increased presence of critics against the WEF, also the organization itself got more attention by both the Swiss **NZZ** and the other selected newspaper from around the world.

As mentioned above, the unit of analysis of our coding system is not articles, but instances of political claim making, i.e. units of strategic action in the public sphere, expressing a political opinion by some form of physical or verbal action. Table 3a lists the number of instances of political claim making in the different newspapers over time, which were either made by movement actors themselves, or where they were either addressee or object of the claim.

Table 3a indicates that the media issue attention cycle which kicked off with the massive protests against the WTO ministerial conference in 1999, did not develop evenly in all our newspapers. There is a clear effect notable related to the geographical distance of the newspaper to the protest events. The closer they are, the more a newspaper reports on them. This is obvious if one looks at the time series in New York. When in 2002 the WEF was held there, the expected protests were staged in the hometown of the New York Times. Small wonder this newspaper extensively covered the issue of expected street protests. The interesting point about the New York edition of the WEF is that protesters have been

¹¹ Although no demonstration allowance was issued, about 150 activists tried to travel to Davos, they were however held off by the police before the demonstration could unfold (NZZ 1.2.1999: p. 15).

very reluctant to engage in confrontations with the police and to use confrontational means for expressing their criticism. Nonetheless, the issue of possible violence and confrontation received considerable media attention and coverage, not only by the New York Times but also by the other newspapers (cf. table 3b).

Table 3a: Media attention

Year	NZZ	FAZ	Le Monde	NYT	El Diario	Cape Times
2000	31	35	20	25	10	16
2001	65	17	-	2	9	7
2002	41	27	-	120	21	2
2003	71	17	35	-	-	13
Total	208	75	55	147	40	38

Note: Number of claims where movement actors are claimant, addressee, issue or object actor of the claim.

'-' period has to be coded yet.

Table 3b: Media attention and 'violence'

Year	NZZ	FAZ	Le Monde	NYT	El Diario	Cape Times
2000	25.8	20.0	5.0	16.0	20.0	18.8
2001	27.7	35.3	-	100.0	11.1	0.0
2002	22.0	18.5	-	38.3	28.6	0.0
2003	40.8	23.5	8.6	-	-	-
Total	30.8	28.0	7.3	35.4	22.5	10.5

Note: Percentage of the claims reported in table 3a that refer to violence/violent action.

Read e.g. for the **NZZ** 2000: 25.8 percent of 31 claims refer to violence. '-' period has to be coded yet.

Table 3c: Media attention and movement's meetings and forums

Year	NZZ	FAZ	Le Monde	NYT	El Diario	Cape Times
2000	0.0	0.0	15.0	0.0	0.0	6.3
2001	1.5	0.0	-	0.0	33.3	0.0
2002	24.4	18.5	-	6.7	38.1	50.0
2003	7.0	11.8	22.9	-	-	46.2
Total	7.7	7.3	20.0	5.4	27.5	21.1

Note: Percentage of the claims reported in table 3a that refer to a meeting/conference/forum of the movement. Read e.g. for the **NZZ** 2000: 0 percent of 31 claims refer to movement's meetings. '-' period has to be coded yet.

Le Monde *El Diario* stand out for a comparably high attention towards counter summits and gatherings organized by the global social justice movement, most importantly the summit in Porto Alegre (cf. table 3c). Several factors account for the differences in media coverage related to claims made at counter-forums of the movement. *Le Monde* can be characterized as a rather leftist paper that is sympathetic to movements; thus, its attention towards movement activities and arguments is not surprising. As the polls in the Pew Global Attitudes Project clearly show, the public support for claims made by the global social justice movement in France is considerably higher than in other advanced industrialized countries. Furthermore, the largest non-Brazilian group of participants in the World Social Forum is French. The French government has also been sending a large official delegation to Porto Alegre right from the beginning of the World Social Forum's history.

With respect to the other newspapers the Latin American *El Diario* stands out for a relatively high attention to the Porto Alegre summit; this appears to be mainly related to the closer geographical distance to this event. Geographical distance also explains why attention towards the WEF and WEF-protest groups was higher in 2002 when the WEF took place in New York and not in the distant alpine village in Switzerland. The *Cape Times*, on the other hand, reports the lowest numbers of claims involving the movement, when the WEF was held in New York. The South African newspaper in 2002 weights the conferences of the movement comparably high and devotes none or only little attention to the issue

of violence. This corresponds with the opinion poll published in the Pew Global Attitude Project, where the sympathy with the global social justice movement is relatively high. However, *Cape Times* is generally rather reluctant to report on movement claims during the period the WEF is held.

Overall, we find evidence that the division of labour between movement sectors works: while initially mainly disruptive and confrontational protest raised attention, increasingly the newspapers also report on meetings and forums of the movement. This is especially the case in newspapers published in developing countries.

Representation of movement actors

To show how the newspapers represent movement actors, we look at two aspects: First, what kind of movement claims do the newspapers report on (where, who, how, and what)? Second: How is the movement itself, as well as the targeted organization, the WEF, evaluated in the different newspapers?

Table 4: Characteristics of the instances of political claim making by the global social justice movement (percentages of all movement claims coded in respective newspaper).

	NZZ	FAZ	Monde	NYT	Diario	Cape T.	Total
Country where claim is made							
Switzerland	83.9	58.3	11.1	15.4	15.0	42.1	47.3
Germany	0.0	5.6	.0	.0	.0	.0	.8
France	1.1	.0	48.1	0.0	5.0	.0	5.8
US	2.2	27.8	7.4	75.4	10.0	5.3	25.4
Other advanced	2.2	.0	3.7	0.0	5.0	.0	1.5
Latin America	9.7	5.6	22.2	7.7	55.0	31.6	15.0
Other developing	.0	2.8	7.4	0.0	10.0	21.1	3.5
unclear/unspecified	1.1	.0	.0	1.5	.0	.0	.8
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Type of claimant							
Named spokesperson	23.7	30.6	40.7	60.0	35.0	47.4	38.1
Named group/organization	26.9	27.8	44.4	16.9	30.0	21.1	26.2
Movement / NGOs	2.2	.0	7.4	3.1	10.0	15.8	4.2
Protesters/activists	47.3	41.7	7.4	20.0	25.0	15.8	31.5
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Action form of claim							
Judicial action	7.5	.0	.0	1.5	.0	.0	3.1
Public speeches/assemblies	23.7	25.0	33.3	16.9	35.0	5.3	22.7
Other oral statements	17.2	30.6	37.0	55.4	30.0	63.2	35.0
Written statements	10.8	5.6	14.8	7.7	5.0	10.5	9.2
Demonstrative protest	7.5	8.3	11.1	9.2	10.0	.0	8.1
Confrontational protest	33.3	30.6	3.7	9.2	20.0	21.1	21.9
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Issue of claim							
Substantial	62.4	77.8	118.5	72.3	140.0	133.3	83.8
Against conference	21.5	25.0	11.1	10.8	20.0	11.1	17.4
Procedural	69.9	50.0	40.7	106.2	20.0	5.6	64.9
Total	154%	153%	170%	189%	180%	150%	166%
N	93	36	27	65	20	19	260

Note: Coding based on articles selected in 1995 and 2000 to 2003, still missing: Le Monde 2001, 2002; El Diario 2003 and NYT 2003. The percentages refer to the total number of movement claims reported in a newspaper. With regard to the issue of the claim,

they add to more than 100 per cent, because we coded up to three issue variables per claim.

Table 4 covers all claims we coded from our newspapers, which reported on an instance of political claim making (claim) by an actor that forms part of the global social justice movement. The table characterizes the movement claims based on four differentiations: (1) *where* the claim was made (country/region); (2) *who* was identified as claimant, i.e. did the journalist identify a named spokesperson, did he mention specific groups or organizations, did he refer to NGO's or the global social justice movement in general, or did he not mention specific groups and only refer to a protest group specified by the protest target; (3) *how* was the claim made, i.e. was it a verbal statement, a public speech or a protest activity; (4) *what* was it about, i.e. was it rather a substantial point related to the issue-specific message the movement wants to carry, was it simply a claim against the WEF-conference, or was it a procedural aspect related to the conduct of protest events (legal disputes about demonstration allowances and the like).

With regard to the country where the claims were made, the newspapers clearly tend to emphasize the more proximate claims than those taking place far away. Remarkable is that *Le Monde* covers more movement claims made in France than in Switzerland, even though the World Economic Forum challenged by protesters took place in the neighboring country. The movement claims in France that were covered by *Le Monde* either refer to workshops and conferences held during that time (for 2002 in particular the World Social Forum) or to preparatory events of French activists travelling to Switzerland to protest against the WEF. *Le Monde*, among the newspapers from the industrialized countries, was most attentive to claims made by movement actors in non-industrialized countries (again this focus is also triggered by the large coverage of the Porto Alegre summit).

Among the newspapers from the industrialized countries, the leftist, movement-oriented newspaper *Le Monde* is the one that focuses most on the substantive issues of the claims. The Swiss *NZZ* (followed by the *FAZ*) is highest in reporting on confrontational protest, which is easy to explain for the *NZZ*, as Davos and other Swiss cities were most affected by confrontational protests. The contrast regarding this aspect of media coverage between the newspapers from the two neighboring countries of Switzerland is remarkable. Although we have not yet coded every volume of our *Le Monde* sample (the coding work for volume 2001 and 2002 is still going on) we can say that the confrontational aspect of movement activities is weighted much higher in the German *FAZ*, while *Le Monde* puts more emphasis on discussion forums and therefore is more concentrated on oral statements by movement actors. Also *El Diario* and the South African *Cape Times* are more attentive to the substantive issue of the claims, what confirms our expectations. Related to this point, these newspapers also tend to recognize movement actors by their names and point to specific groups rather just to 'the movement' or 'protesters against the WEF'. *El Diario* and the *Cape Times* as well as *Le Monde* stress the substantive issues of the global social justice movement. Procedural issues are far less important. In contrast, the newspapers from Switzerland, Germany and the United States concentrate more on movement claims that cover procedural issues as well as claims that are simply aimed against the conference. These findings largely support our expectations.

The second aspect we are interested in is how social movement actors are evaluated in the newspaper article. We underline our results with the data showed in table 5. Unless they are writing a comment, journalists do not normally state their opinion directly. By selecting certain citations or actions, they do however color 'neutral' news articles.

The evaluation of movement actors by newspaper reveals that the more liberal western papers have a more critical attitude towards the global social justice movement. If journalists do not criticize movement actors by themselves, they let critics of the movement speak through the lines of the article (see for example the *FAZ*, which has – from an editorial point of view - a neutral attitude towards movements but cites more critical actors). The newspapers from the developing countries and also *Le Monde* in

terms of whom they let speak have a more 'movement friendly' coverage. This finding also supports our hypotheses stated at the beginning.

Table 5: Evaluation of movement actors as addressees of the claim

Newspaper	Evaluation Journalists	byN	Evaluation by other actors ^(a)	N	Evaluation (all actors)	N
NZZ	-.33	22	-.13	68	-.17	99
FAZ	.00	15	-.14	29	-.07	45
Le Monde	.22	9	.00	18	.13	31
NYT	-.05	20	-.18	44	-.12	73
El Diario	.00	6	.00	8	.00	14
Cape Times	.40	5	.00	12	.12	17

Note: The evaluation is coded (1) positive, (0) neutral/ambivalent and (-1) negative. The table reports the mean.

(a) Other actors are neither journalists, nor movement related actors.

Table 6: Evaluation of WEF (and WEF actors) as addressee(s) of the claim

Newspaper	Evaluation journalists	byN	Evaluation by movement actors	N	Evaluation by other actors	N
NZZ	.06	16	-.95	40	.40	20
FAZ	.00	11	-.85	20	.20	5
Le Monde	-.67	9	-1.00	4	-.25	4
NYT	-.06	17	-.70	30	.29	21
El Diario	.00	4	-.70	10	.00	2
Cape Times	.33	12	-1.00	3	-.25	12

Note: The evaluation is coded (1) positive, (0) neutral/ambivalent and (-1) negative. The table reports the mean.

Table 6 shows how newspapers (journalists) and movement actors as well as other actors evaluate the World Economic Forum. Except for *Le Monde*, the newspapers tend to have a neutral or slightly positive attitude towards the annual meeting. Not surprisingly the evaluation of the WEF by movement actors is highly negative in every newspaper. The interesting point is the evaluation of the claims made by other actors (who are neither journalists nor movement related actors). The newspapers, which represent a more liberal and market friendly ideology, give voice to actors that have a positive attitude towards the WEF. The *Cape Times* and *Le Monde*, on the other hand, quote rather negative statements.

Conclusions

This paper explored media attention to and the representation of the global social justice movement. Thereby we focused on how newspapers from six different countries report on the global social justice movement in the period of four weeks around and including the World Economic Forum. We have delivered some preliminary evidence that the movement's strategy of combining different forms of action has been successful in attracting worldwide media attention towards its claims. However, the way newspapers weight their coverage about disruptive protest on the one hand and about movement's forums and conferences on the other, depends on contextual factors related to the country where the newspaper is published as well as on the ideological orientation of the newspaper itself. Newspapers from developing countries and left-wing newspapers in the advanced industrialized world tend to be more attentive to discussion forums of the global social justice movement, they put more emphasis on the issue-specific message, and they tend to present the movement in a more positive way. In the country where the targeted event is held, newspapers overall give more attention to the movement, they tend however to emphasize the procedural aspects, i.e. the security measures, legal issues and the (possible) use of violence.

Literature

- Bennett, Lance W., Victor W. Pickard, Taso Lagos, Carl L. Schroeder, Courtney Evans-Caswell, and David P. Iozzi. 2003. "Managing the Public Sphere: Journalistic Construction of the Great Globalization Debate." (Unpublished manuscript).
- Beyeler, Michelle and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2003. "The impact of the anti-globalization movement in the public sphere." Paper presented at the Conference "Transnational Processes and Social Movements", Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, July 22-26, 2003.
- Burstein, Paul, Rachel L. Einwohner, and Jocelyn A. Hollander. 1995. "The Success of Political Movements: A Bargaining Perspective." Pp. 275-295 in *The Politic of Social Protest - Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*, edited by C. J. Jenkins and B. Klandermans. London: University College of London.
- Burstein, Paul and William Freudenburg. 1978. "Changing Public Policy: The Impact of Public Opinion, Antiwar Demonstrations, and War Costs on Senate Voting on Vietnam War Motions." *The American Journal of Sociology* 84(1):99-122.
- Gamson, William A. and Gadi Wolfsfeld. 1993. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528:114-125.
- Giugni, Marco. 1998. "Was It Worth The Effort? The Outcomes and Consequences of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:371-393.
- 1999. "How Social Movements Matter: Past Research, Present Problems, Future Developments." Pp. xiii-xxxiii in *How Social Movements Matter*, edited by M. Giugni, D. McAdam, and C. Tilly. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Jiménez, Manuel. 2003. "Public Identity Configuration and Coalition Building Processes. The Antiglobalization Movement in Spain." Bellagio.
- Koopmans, Ruud and Paul Statham. 1999. "Political Claims Analysis: Integrating Protest Event and Political Discourse Approaches." *Mobilization* 4(2):203-221.
- Kurian, George Thomas 1982. "United States", pp. 946-1021 in *World Press Encyclopedia, Volume 1*, edited by Kurian, George Thomas. New York: Facts on File.
- 1982a. "Bolivia", pp. 149-152 in *World Press Encyclopedia, Volume 1*, edited by Kurian, George Thomas: New York: Facts on File.
- McAdam, Doug and Yang Su. 2002. "The War at Home: Antiwar Protests and Congressional Voting, 1965 to 1973." *American Sociological Review* 67(5):696-721.
- McCarthy, John D., Clark McPhail, and Jackie Smith. 1996. "Images of Protest: Dimensions of Selection Bias in Media Coverage of Washington Demonstrations, 1982 and 1991." *American Sociological Review* 61:478-499.
- Neidhardt, Friedhelm. 1993. "The public as a communication system." *Public Understanding of Science* 2(4):339-350.
- 1994. "Öffentlichkeit, öffentliche Meinung, soziale Bewegungen." *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 46(34):7-41.
- Noelle-Neumann, Elisabeth, Winfried Schulz, und Jürgen Wilke (eds.). 2002. *Das Fischer Lexikon. Publizistik Massenkommunikation*. Frankfurt; Berlin: Fischer.
- Rucht, Dieter. 1994. "Öffentlichkeit als Mobilisierungsfaktor für soziale Bewegungen." in *Öffentlichkeit, öffentliche Meinung, Soziale Bewegung*, edited by F. Neidhardt.
- 1999. "The Impact of Environmental Movements in Western Society." Pp. 205-224 in *How Social Movements Matter*, edited by M. Giugni, D. McAdam, and C. Tilly. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.