

What Makes News More Multiperspectival? A Field Analysis

Rodney Benson

New York University

Appendix A. Additional notes on newspaper sample and sources used for Table 1

In constructing the two national “fields,” it is important to search for “structural” comparisons and to take into account how the actors (the journalists themselves) understand who is or is not in the field. Thus, given the much more marginal place of the far left in the U.S. political and media spectrum, it would not be appropriate to balance France’s *L’Humanité* with the U.S. *People’s Weekly World*. The *People’s Weekly World* is the successor of the *People’s Daily World*, which closed in 1991, and is the official newspaper of the Communist Party USA. In 2000, *L’Humanité* formally separated itself from the PCF (French Communist Party) and allowed outside investors, which have included TF1 (the leading commercial television channel) and the aerospace and multimedia conglomerate Lagardère (see Eveno, 2004). *La Croix* (‘The Cross’) is a general interest newspaper published by Bayard Presse, and while generally supportive of church positions, is not officially affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church. Its current editor-in-chief, Bruno Frappat, is a former top editor at *Le Monde*. Thus, in terms of structural location in the field, *L’Humanité* is close to the “Catholic” *La Croix* in France, and both are in some ways comparable to the *Christian Science Monitor*. While more openly ideological than the *Monitor* and serving less elite audiences, *La Croix* and *L’Humanité* are similar to the *Monitor* in their low reliance on advertising revenues as well as their reputations for serious, in-depth analysis and commentary.

Given limitations of data, resources, and time, I did not include the *Financial Times* or the *New York Post* in the U.S. sample (as reported in this article), nor the business newspaper *La Tribune* and the conservative popular newspaper *France Soir* in the French sample. However, these exclusions are unlikely to have dramatically changed the results. For example, analysis of the *New York Post*, not included in this article, showed the *Post* placing a greater emphasis on certain frames (such as the public order frame) than the *Daily News*, but not substantially changing national averages of institutional or frame diversity or external pluralism: the *New York Post* generally was less multiperspectival than the *Daily News*, with just 2.15 fields per article ensemble and 1.42 frames per article ensemble.

The six newspapers identified as “agenda-setting” (*Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Libération*; *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Los Angeles Times*) and whose immigration news coverage is analyzed over time (from the 1970s to 2000s) are those which have accumulated the greatest amount of symbolic capital, via professional awards and other indicators of journalistic and public prestige, and thus exert an outsized influence in their respective national fields. *Libération* is only included in the study from the 1980s onward. In 1973, the year of its founding, *Libération* only published intermittently and was more closely associated with the French political field (small far-left parties) than the journalistic field.

Circulation of newspapers in the sample are as follows: in France, *L’Humanité* (52,000), *La Croix* (97,000), *Libération* (132,000), *Le Monde* (321,000), *Le Figaro* (332,000), *Les Echos* (117,000), *Le Parisien / Aujourd’hui en France* (517,000, for combined Paris and national editions); in the United States, the *Christian Science Monitor* (59,000), *Los Angeles Times* (1,231,000), *New York Times* (1,684,000), *Washington Post* (961,000), *Wall Street Journal* (2,058,000), *USA Today* (2,528,000), *New York Daily News* (795,000). U.S. circulation data are from Audit Bureau of Circulation 2006 reports; French circulation data are from OJD: Association pour le control de la diffusion des médias, 2007 reports. U.S. data are highest reported circulation, whereas French data are average circulation, thus slightly exaggerating cross-national differences. France has about one-fifth the national population of the United States (60 million versus over 300 million). Thus, on a per capita basis, the highest circulation French national newspapers -- *Le Monde*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Parisien / Aujourd’hui en France* -- have roughly equivalent or even higher circulations than their U.S. counterparts -- *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Washington Post*, and *USA Today*.

Sources for Data in Table 1:

- U.S. advertising revenues (as a percentage of total revenues) are derived from newspaper companies’ publicly available reports, which may include all newspapers owned by the company (2006 data; Washington Post Co. percentage excludes income from its Kaplan educational division and Dow-Jones percentage excludes income from information services); *Christian Science Monitor* data derived from personal e-mail communication to author from Susan Hackney, Marketing Director, *Christian Science Monitor*, June 23, 2008 (in addition to advertising, 30 percent of revenues are from church subsidy and 58 percent are from circulation). According to the International Directory of Company Histories, Vol. 32 (St. James Press, 2000), as posted on <http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/New-York-Daily-News-Company-History.html> (accessed October 8, 2008), the *Daily News* earned 53 percent of its revenues from advertising in 1997; more recent data are not available. French figures are for 1990 (Albert, 2004 [1990 edition: 81]). More recent, scattered data sources suggest little change (e.g., Charon, 2005; Mathien, 2003). Albert (2004: 98) does not provide percentage data for *Les Echos*, but he reports that in 2002 *Les Echos* and *La Tribune*, the two French financial dailies, published the highest number of pages of advertising (3,601 and 2,966, respectively) and were ahead of *Le Figaro*’s

2,848 pages, which suggests that *Les Echos*'s proportion of funding from advertising is roughly comparable to that of *Le Figaro*. Albert's 2002 data (ibid.) also shows continuity from 1990 in the relative amount of advertising for the major national newspapers: *Le Monde* followed *Le Figaro* with 2,532 pages, followed by *Le Parisien* with 1,462, *Libération* with 1,260, *La Croix* with 343 and *L'Humanité* with 246.

- Information about *Le Parisien* includes national edition *Aujourd'hui en France* (coding in this study was of national edition);
- Audience composition data are from 2004 (for *USA Today*) and 2006 U.S. Audit Bureau of Circulations Reader Profiles, Scarborough Co. (courtesy of Kristi Brumlevee) and National Newspaper Association (courtesy of William Johnson), and 2006 TNS-SOFRES – EPIQ French Newspaper Audience Composition Reports. Christian Science Monitor data are from roughly comparable 2007 MRI data, provided to the author by Susan Hackney of the *Christian Science Monitor*.
- Index of Parity is calculated to compare newspaper audiences in each country relative to the general population of that country (100 = parity with general adult population); Higher Education = college degree or higher in U.S.; any "enseignement supérieur" (education beyond the attainment of the high school "bac," which is a more advanced level of education than the U.S. high school degree) in France;
 (Household) High Income = €60,000 + in France / \$100,000+ in U.S.;
 (Household) Low income = Less than €12,000 in France / Less than \$25,000 in U.S.;
Professional occupation = Census category "professional and related" in U.S. / TNS-SOFRES – EPIQ categories "professionnel libérale + profession intermédiaire" in France. These categories are not exactly the same in the two countries, but there is a great deal of overlap. University professors, scientific researchers, artists and writers are included in the U.S. categorization, but not in France (where they are mixed together with "cadres" including business managers). Both national occupational groupings include some less-educated technicians. (Even so, the relatively lower-status "professions intermédiaires" are the second highest culture-consuming occupational group in France -- after the combined category of "cadres et professions intellectuelles supérieures" -- consistently more likely than the remaining occupational groups to attend theatre, visit a historical monument or library, read a book, or watch the French-German cultural channel Arte. See Olivier Donnat, *Les publics des équipements culturels*, DEP, Paris, 2001, p. 28.) The core of both the French and U.S. occupational groupings used in this study are professionals and other high "cultural capital" occupations including most doctors, lawyers, architects, teachers, clergy, librarians, etc. While "cadres" (in France) or "management, business and financial operations" (in the U.S.) occupational categories also contain many individuals with high cultural capital, these professions are also likely to be highest in economic capital. The occupational categories used in this study thus provide the best indicator, given the available data, of the proportion of readers with relatively high total capital and a higher proportion of cultural than economic capital.

Appendix B. Institutional fields

Institutional fields (16)	Description
EXECUTIVE/BUREAUCRATIC	Elected Executives (President, Governor, Mayor), Appointed Officials (Cabinet ministers, etc.), Civil Service bureaucrats, Military, and Police
JUDICIAL	Court decisions, Judges, Lawyers (advocates for individual clients)
CENTER LEGISLATIVE	Elected Legislators from dominant left or right political parties
CENTER POLITICAL PARTIES	Dominant left or right political parties (Democratic and Republican in U.S.; Socialist and centrist Right parties in France)
PERIPHERAL POLITICAL PARTY AND LEGISLATIVE	Peripheral left or right political parties and/or elected legislators (Green, Communist, other Far Left, National Front, other Far Right)
TRADE UNIONS	Specific labor unions and broad labor federations
RELIGIOUS	Churches, synagogues, mosques, and religion-based associations
UNIVERSITY/RESEARCH	Universities, 'Think Tanks', and other research centers
ASSOCIATIONS	Humanitarian, anti-racist, pro-immigration, anti-immigration, and diverse other voluntary associations
JOURNALISTIC	News and commentary-oriented media, whether newspapers, magazines, television, or radio (coded if presenting new information or promoting a viewpoint, not when serving as a venue for other institutional fields)
ARTS AND ENTERTAINMENT	Musicians, singers, actors, comedians, writers, artists
BUSINESS	Publicly-traded and privately-owned businesses, and business lobbying organizations (e.g., Chamber of Commerce)
FOREIGN AND INTERNATIONAL	Foreign governments, foreign political or civil society organizations, international regulatory or governmental bodies (United Nations, European Commission, WTO, etc.)
IMMIGRANT INDIVIDUALS	Immigrants or their direct descendants, both European and non-European origin
NON-IMMIGRANT INDIVIDUALS	Long-term residents or citizens, both European and non-European origin
PUBLIC OPINION	Polling agencies or categories of poll respondents (male versus female, racial-ethnic, age, educational or income level, regional location, etc.)

Selected institutional fields / combined field categories cited in French and U.S. national newspapers (Percentages of all citations)

Media outlet (N Total speakers cited)	Exec- bureauc	Judicial	Legis.	Center parties	Peri- pheral parties	Civil soc.*	Business	Indivi- duals & polls**	Foreign org.
L'Humanité (667)	16.6	1.8	4.0	2.7	10.6	39.3	1.0	19.0	4.8
La Croix (884)	20.4	1.4	7.0	2.8	3.2	35.2	0.3	16.1	13.7
Libération (1420)	17.9	1.6	5.4	5.1	5.1	33.7	0.6	21.4	9.1
Le Monde (857)	19.4	1.5	8.8	5.0	7.9	30.5	0.1	14.0	12.8
Le Figaro (744)	23.0	0.7	10.2	5.9	5.2	27.6	1.3	8.3	17.7
Les Echos (322)	28.9	0.3	3.1	5.9	1.9	25.2	4.3	4.3	26.1
Aujourd'hui en France (631)	29.6	2.1	2.1	4.6	2.9	23.1	2.2	30.7	2.7
FRANCE Averages	22.3	1.3	5.8	4.6	5.3	30.7	1.4	16.3	12.4
CS Monitor (590)	20.3	1.0	11.4	1.0	0.0	39.5	3.7	19.0	4.1
LA Times (1342)	20.2	2.6	12.6	2.1	0.1	22.7	5.3	28.6	5.8
NY Times (1005)	25.0	5.4	16.1	2.4	0.2	24.8	5.9	17.1	3.2
Wash Post (936)	27.4	6.5	18.3	1.4	0.0	20.3	4.0	17.7	4.5
WS Journal (679)	23.1	3.5	8.5	0.6	0.1	23.6	15.6	20.3	4.6
USA Today (637)	20.1	2.7	18.5	1.4	0.2	29.5	5.8	21.2	0.6
Daily News (422)	24.9	5.7	7.3	0.2	0.0	18.5	5.5	37.7	0.2
USA Averages	23.0	3.9	13.2	1.3	0.1	25.6	6.5	23.1	3.3

Notes:

*Civil Society includes trade unions, religious, university/research, non-profit associations, journalistic, and arts and entertainment fields.

**Individuals & polls includes immigrant individuals, non-immigrant individuals, and public opinion (polling categories and pollsters).

Appendix C. Immigration frames

Frames (10)	Discursive Indicators
GLOBAL INJUSTICE	Immigration is a sub-set of the larger problem of laissez-faire economic globalization and unjust North-South relations; problems of economic insecurity affect domestic workers as well as immigrants
HUMANITARIAN	Immigrants are victims of unjust government policies (violations of human rights, fair legal process) or business practices; social suffering related to dangers of border crossing, poverty, lack of access to health care, etc.; or have difficulties in adapting to their host society
RACISM / XENOPHOBIA	Immigrants are victims of racist or xenophobic slurs or hate crimes, or discrimination based on race, religion, or culture
CULTURAL DIVERSITY	Emphasizes positive aspects of the “differences” that immigrants bring to a society, from new cuisines to the unique contributions of immigrant artists, musicians, and writers
INTEGRATION	Emphasizes the ways in which new immigrants blend into the mainstream and become like other Americans – only more enthusiastically – in their adoption of cultural mores and civic obligations
GOOD WORKERS	Immigrants work hard, take jobs that citizens or legal residents will not or cannot do, or in general, contribute to economic prosperity and growth.
JOBS THREAT	Immigrants taking non-immigrants’ jobs or depressing wages
PUBLIC ORDER THREAT	Illegal immigrants break the law in coming into this country; once here, immigrants – legal or illegal – are more likely than others to commit crimes, use drugs, and carry diseases; immigrants are coming in such numbers that they threaten overcrowding and environmental degradation
FISCAL THREAT	Immigrants’ use or abuse of government social services (health, education, etc.) programs and the ensuing burden imposed on taxpayers.
NATIONAL CULTURE THREAT	Immigrants bring foreign customs and values that threaten to undermine the host country’s culture or national identity; immigrants are inassimilable

Immigration-related frames mentioned in French and U.S. national newspapers
(Percentages of all frame mentions)

Media outlet (N Frames)	Global injustice	Human.	Racism/xenoph.	Cult. diver.	Integ.	Good worker	Jobs	Public order	Fiscal	Nat. cult.
L'Humanité (192)	6.3	31.8	22.9	3.1	4.7	7.8	0.5	13.5	0.5	8.9
La Croix (158)	5.7	30.4	16.5	3.2	8.9	5.1	0.0	15.8	0.0	14.6
Libération (203)	11.3	27.1	10.8	3.4	5.9	8.4	2.5	16.7	2.0	11.8
Le Monde (185)	9.7	27.6	12.4	1.6	5.4	6.5	1.6	18.9	2.2	14.1
Le Figaro (146)	9.6	21.2	9.6	3.4	4.1	6.8	2.7	21.9	6.2	14.4
Les Echos (120)	6.7	27.5	16.7	3.3	2.5	15.0	0.8	18.3	2.5	6.7
Auj. En France (126)	0.8	30.2	11.1	4.8	10.3	3.2	1.6	19.8	4.0	14.3
Averages	7.2	28.0	14.3	3.3	6.0	7.5	1.4	17.8	2.5	12.1
CS Monitor (175)	3.4	23.4	9.1	4.0	4.6	9.1	9.1	22.9	8.6	5.7
LA Times (243)	4.1	28.8	7.0	2.1	4.1	13.2	4.9	24.7	4.1	7.0
NY Times (186)	5.9	28.5	8.6	3.2	4.8	12.4	5.9	22.6	5.9	2.2
Wash Post (221)	3.6	29.4	8.6	4.1	7.7	7.2	2.7	28.1	3.6	5.0
WS Journal (149)	2.0	24.2	10.1	1.3	6.7	17.4	3.4	27.5	4.0	3.4
USA Today (134)	2.2	23.9	8.2	2.2	7.5	10.4	6.7	26.9	6.7	5.2
Daily News (117)	0.0	46.2	9.4	4.3	3.4	11.1	0.9	21.4	0.0	3.4
Averages	3.0	29.2	8.7	3.0	5.5	11.5	4.8	24.9	4.7	4.6

Note: High and Low percentages for each national journalistic field are highlighted.