



REUTERS
INSTITUTE for the
STUDY of
JOURNALISM

Reuters Institute Fellowship Paper

University of Oxford

REPORTING GLOBAL TRADE:

**IS IT A DYING ART AND IF SO, DOES IT
MATTER?**

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Michaelmas, Hilary and Trinity Terms 2011-2012

Sponsor: Helsingin Sanomat Foundation

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My supervisor Duncan Green, from Oxfam GB, and James Painter, at the RISJ, helped me to formulate the research questions. Colleen Murrell, from Deakin University, gave indispensable advice on the academic expression and structure.

I am most grateful to the Helsingin Sanomat Foundation for giving me the scholarship that enabled this research along with the studies in Oxford. The grants from Taloustoimittajat and Helsingin Sanomalehtimiesyhdistys also were a necessary aid during the academic year.

Emily Jones, Rasmus Kleis Nielsen and Vaclav Stetka gave me practical help during the first part of the research project. Andrew Crosby and Peter Ungphakorn deserve my appreciation for the perceptive comments that enabled me to clarify my ideas. Mike Kettlewell, of Green Templeton College, got the best out of my messy English! I also want to thank colleague Kirsi Hyytiäinen and Tytti Peltonen, Seppo Kallio and Reijo Paananen, Finnish business, farming and trade delegates, with contacts in Geneva and Brussels. Rebecca Edwards, Kate Hanneford-Smith, Sara Kalim and Alex Reid at the RISJ; your job may seem to be unnoticed, but we, journalist fellows, would definitely be lost without it!

My gratitude is devoted to all the interviewees. I want, especially, to tout for the disappearing breed of specialist reporters: Alan Beattie, Jamil Chade, Hanna Nikkanen, Dan Pruzin, Jyri Raivio, Amiti Sen, and Andrew Walker. Warm thoughts also go, of course, to all the interviewed experts that work, or have worked, with the not-so-media-sexy global trade in non-governmental organisations, national and EU delegations and the WTO secretariat.

RISJ journalist fellows, I will always remember the discussions about journalism and the state of the world that we shared. My parents made my year possible with their support.

And last but not least, my husband and our faithful dog – thanks for all the patience during the long periods that I spent away from home and, if at home, with the computer!

1 INTRODUCTION: TRADE REPORTING, A VANISHING TREND

1.1 BACKGROUND

Since the economic turmoil started in late 2008 with the collapse of big US banks and financial service firms, global public interest has concentrated very much on the economic crisis that thereafter spread to most parts of the world. This has meant that, especially in Europe, the main media interest has focused on financial regulation and market developments, instead of trade liberalisation and global policy making within the World Trade Organization (WTO).

At the same time, the urgent need to make internationally binding agreements on climate policy has also captured the attention of national governments, academia, civil society organisations and the media. But since the Copenhagen summit 2009, mainstream media have also lost their interest in climate summits.

As a result, topics about globalisation and liberalisation of trade seem to have shrunk in importance to the media when compared to the early part of the last decade. Of course it is easy to blame the notion that the WTO negotiations are far too complicated to be worth reporting. Equally it is easy to say that the progress in the Doha Development Agenda (DDA)¹ has been very slow.

But can such important topics be neglected? The western media in general – with the exception of a few newspapers – did not pay much attention to the record high food prices that made poverty so severe in many parts of the world, including many western welfare states. A very good example was the eighth ministerial meeting that was held in Geneva in

The ¹ Doha Development Agenda, also called the Doha Round, was launched by the member states of the World Trade Organization in Doha, the capital of Qatar, in November 2001. The work program covers about 20 areas of trade. http://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/dda_e/dda_e.htm

Switzerland a week before Christmas 2011. This event only elicited one bigger story that would make it to the political news of the day. And that was Russia joining the international organisation as the last of the big trading nations.

The ministerial summits from the round – Doha (2001), Cancún (2003), Hong Kong (2005) and the mini-ministerial in Geneva (2008) – had been more or less major hits in newspapers, as well on TV and radio. One hardly needs to mention the Seattle Ministerial (1999), which was meant to be the main preparatory meeting for the round but became famously chaotic.

So it is fair to say that global trade politics and the work done by the WTO, in the form of the DDA, have totally dropped off the agenda of mainstream media. Surprisingly, the biggest international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) have also lost interest in the DDA. There was only a few civil society activities organised at the Geneva mini-ministerial 2008 and even less in the official ministerial in 2011, which were both events that would normally draw considerable interest in the media.

UK born Oxfam International is a good example among the biggest INGOs. As campaigning demands a lot of resources, Oxfam has decided to concentrate its efforts under the umbrella of the so-called “Grow” program. This includes fighting hunger and helping the developing world to prepare itself for natural disasters and climate change. Global trade and the WTO negotiations are no longer an essential part of this (Green 2011).

At the same time, the news industry – especially in the western post-industrial countries – is going through the biggest turmoil in its history. The need to reduce costs means that media companies fund fewer foreign trips. The recent climate summit in Durban is another example of international multilateral meetings where western media are no longer present in large numbers (Arevalo 2012). Competition between media houses has meant that journalists have become more generalist. There are fewer specialist correspondents and reporters than there used to be. What are the consequences of this development in the long run?

In this context, journalists are more than ever in need of good sources - professionals who can explain and open up the complexity of trade negotiations. Such sources can be found in NGOs, among politicians and officials of governments and inter-governmental organisations as well as among scientists.

Recent research on climate change, as well as crisis reporting, has shown that many journalists now use information provided by civil society organisations as their source more than in the past. However, there is very little evidence of how close the relations between journalists and NGOs have become when it comes to news written about global trade. This is the main reason for this research project.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The target of the research project is to describe the role that civil society organisations have played as sources to journalists during the DDA.

The question is studied from two points of view. First, the research tries to reveal to what extent journalists trust NGOs as their sources when trying to understand the complexity of trade policy. My main research questions are:

- 1- How much visibility did different NGOs get in the media?
- 2- What makes journalists choose and trust an NGO?
- 3- Are there risks and possible problems in the journalist – NGO –relationship?

Secondly, I attempt to identify the main reasons that led to the media losing interest in the Doha Round and trade policy more generally, as described earlier. Furthermore, I aim to

discuss the possible risks of such developments in the light of the main findings from the interviews.

1.3 RESEARCH METHOD

The research was carried out in two phases – both with quantitative and qualitative methods. The reason for the quantitative study was mainly to give supporting evidence to the interviews.

The quantitative analysis was carried out on the content of news made during four big WTO meetings since the Doha Round was launched: the Cancun (Mexico) Ministerial in September 2003, the Hong Kong Ministerial in December 2005, the Geneva (Switzerland) summit in July 2008, and the Geneva Ministerial in December 2011. The Geneva mini-ministerial, between around 60 members at the end of July 2008, was chosen instead of the seventh official ministerial of the WTO which took place in Geneva in 2009 because the previous one was an essential part of the process. The latter proved to be nothing but a meeting where the July 2008 results were confirmed.

The content analysis was carried out on coverage by ten newspapers, selected to represent both western and developing economies (Finland, India, Malaysia, South Africa, United Kingdom, and United States). In most countries analysis was carried in both an economic and a more general newspaper.

The qualitative part is based on interviews with six journalists about their experiences of working together with NGOs on trade issues during the post-Cancún part of the DDA process. The journalists represent both western and emerging countries (Brazil, Finland, India, UK, and USA). Wherever practical, the interviews were conducted with journalists who worked for the newspapers included in the analysis. Other journalists were interviewed when this was not possible, for example, because of job changes. One journalist from Brazil was included in the group because Brazil, together with India, has played a leading role in the politics of the Doha Round.

As there is very little literature about the relations of NGOs and the media on trade issues, background interviews were carried out with NGO staff (both current and former ones), with some government officials and officials from the WTO, and with some selected scientists and/ or think tank researchers.

1.4 TERMINOLOGY AND RESTRICTIONS

Social movements that are related to the WTO have been examined and analysed, in detail by academia, mainly because the Seattle Ministerial in 1999 was the first stage of what became a series of anti-globalisation protests. Wall (2003: 33) divides them into organised institutions such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and decentralised street movements. In this research, the main emphasis has been on the previous group.

Non-governmental organisations are understood in a wide meaning as 'organisations that pursue some wider social aim that has political aspects, but that are not overtly political organisations such as political parties' (Green and Bloomer 2011: 113). Other terminology widely used as synonyms for NGOs are civil society organisation (CSO), non-state actor (NSA) – both mentioned e.g. by Capling and Low (2010: 4), and non-profit organisation which is used by several organisations especially in the United States (Global Trade Watch).

In this research the term NGO is chosen for formal, organised movements in the way Green and Bloomer defined above. On the other hand, street movements and other informal civil society critics of the WTO are simply referred to as protesters and demonstrators, unless there is a clear connection to a certain organisation.

My interest has been in two different types of NGOs:

- NSAs = associations of business, fields of economic activity like farming and labour unions; examples included in the research are BusinessEurope², Copa-Cogeca³ and ITUC / ETUC⁴.
- CSOs with a special interest in social and economic development, examples to be studied are Oxfam International⁵ and Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch⁶.

From both these groups, examples are mainly taken from Europe, with the exception of Public Citizen in the USA. The reasons for this are that: first, the European development organisations have, during the past decade, become international and they are usually the ones getting most coverage in the media world-wide. Secondly, at the level of business and farming associations, there are no similar international organisations, unlike the field of development. The third reason is practical: it was easier to choose European organisations that could be more easily reached in order to carry out personal interviews.

² BusinessEurope represents small, medium and large industrial and employers organisations. It has 41 members in 35 European countries. www.businessseurope.eu

³ Copa-Cogeca is a joint association of European farmers and agricultural and fisheries cooperatives. Copa has 60 full members from the EU member states. Cogeca has 35 full members and 4 affiliated members in EU countries. Both have 36 partner organisations in other European countries. www.copa-cogeca.eu

⁴ The International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) is a global association of national trade unions. It represents workers in 153 countries and territories and has 308 national affiliates. The European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) has 85 members in 36 European countries. www.ituc-csi.org and www.etuc.org

⁵ Oxfam International was originally a UK born development charity. It has grown to a network of 17 national / regional development agencies. www.oxfam.org

⁶ Public Citizen is an American non-profit organisation that works with topics related to consumer rights. It has a policy group that is specialised in trade, Global Trade Watch. www.citizen.org

2 HEIGHTS AND DEPTHS OF GLOBAL TRADE REPORTING

2.1 CIVIL SOCIETY GAINING STRENGTH THROUGHOUT THE 1990'S

According to Holton (2008: 175), civil society is very broad and diverse. However, it is often divided into two categories: social movements, such as political and other movements of opinion, and global grass-roots politics, for example NGOs that form different advocacy networks.

There was very little civil society interest in the world of trade agreements before the mid-1980's, but a number of major agreements – including the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) – began to attract attention (Capling and Low 2010: 6).

Since the 1990's, civil society has become increasingly critical of important decisions that affect local communities and are made by what they see as secretive and unaccountable international bodies – mainly the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF. Also the negotiations on Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) created a lot of resistance in the late 1990's (Khor 1998, Crosby, Howard 2012 and Nikkanen 2012a).

Williams (2005: 34) maintains that civil society groups feared that trade decisions were gradually and irretrievably displaced from the national realm, where civil society actors could exercise some influence, to a supranational organisation shrouded in secrecy. Jones (2004: 169) suggests that in the case of the WTO, the democratic deficit was largely due to the multilateral negotiation system itself resisting involvement in non-trade issues. There is however, a distinctive difference between the WTO, where decisions are made by unanimity of its members, and the World Bank and IMF which are bodies with more independent executives (Crosby 2012).

The examples of social movements most reported by the media and most analysed in research were the protests that took place in Seattle during the WTO summit in November 1999. Wall remarks (2003: 35) that Seattle has become a short hand term for the global justice movement. NGOs presented a reformist message that called for the WTO members (governments) to stop the plan on opening a new round of trade liberalisation negotiations. More radical street groups called for a total dismantling of the trade organisation (Wall 2003: 39).

Since then, NGOs have been created in order to work for constituency, equality, human rights and openness at local, national, regional and transnational levels. Woods (2003: 467) claims that NGOs have carved out a role for themselves in many multilateral organisations, and have taken a lead in international relations on some issues, such as the environment. Nikkanen (2012a) claims that the new generation of NGOs has adjusted quicker to using ICT than traditional business, trade and farming lobbies.

Occupy⁷ is a recent example of a grass root anti-globalisation movement that uses modern media to activate protestors. One can postulate that something has happened to awaken public interest in protesting. The Economist (2011: 72) observes that even if the protestors' message is vague, it may chime with a public sense of unfocused dismay. Yet, most protests lack the support from organized labour that crippled Greece (from violent demonstrations that took place at the same time). As the paper also points out (2011: 13), there are many other current global issues, such as high food prices and lack of jobs for young people, which have failed to raise the protests to the level seen in the early 2000's.

Bhala (2009: 117) conjectures that the Doha Round is, after all, about development and specifically about fighting poverty in the Third World. While trade negotiators "fiddled with details" as Bhala describes it, the number of chronically hungry people in the world rose from 857 million in 2000–2002 to over one billion in 2009. The rise was particularly high

⁷ Occupy Wall Street is a movement resisting multinational banks and companies by occupying public places for campaigning. It started in New York in September 2011 and has spread world-wide www.occupywallst.org

between 2008 and 2009, from 10 to 15 per cent (FAO). It needs to be kept in mind however, that fighting poverty and hunger is such a complex problem that it cannot be solved with fair trade rules alone.

2.2 DDA IN ACTION: A TRIANGLE OF NGOS, GOVERNMENTS AND THE MEDIA

It is clear that the role of civil society in democracy is now more powerful than ever but it should not be overemphasised either. As Halliday (2003: 496-497) stresses, NGOs are not replacement for states, or a solution for attempts to reduce the role of the state: they are part of the broader support for the role of states.

It is typical in trade policy, that policy makers do not always pay equal weight to the voices of different interest groups, but a government's negotiating position usually recognizes these different interests (Jones 2004: 169). On the other hand, Capling and Low (2010: 5) have demonstrated that most governments lack the internal capacity and commercial knowledge that is crucial to formulate negotiating positions for (international) trade agreements. Hence, governments are compelled to engage directly with business actors to overcome this deficiency. Equally, many NGOs are increasingly inclined to pursue their agendas through partnership with government.

During the past decade, governments have also established new processes for consulting civil society organisations (CSOs) on trade policy matters, alongside business groups. Huhtaniemi (2012) explains that in a small nation like Finland, the government must trust NGOs' observations on economic markets as well as other aspects of society. This practice of negotiating with non-state actors (NSAs) had already started in Finland in the 1950's and 1960's. Consulting with CSOs was started much later, in the 1990's (Huhtaniemi 2012). Civil society was also consulted in some parts of the developing world in the 1990's (Crosby 2012). Yet, Melamed (2012) notes that ActionAid had representatives who took part in the

Cancun summit in 2003 in governments' delegations, and it was, still at the time, regarded rare among INGOs.

Huhtaniemi, a long serving civil servant working on trade issues, notes that CSOs have acted more critically than NSAs towards the policy lines that Finland has taken in the WTO, probably in part out of sympathy with their international partners. Yet, he stresses that also these critical organizations established their role and became a recognized part in the national machinery of trade policy during the Doha Round.

Williams (2005: 42) emphasises that civil society organizations cannot claim responsibility for the current high profile given to development issues (in the DDA) but they have played a role through monitoring, analysis and lobbying to support the efforts of developing countries. Eckersley (2007: 354) further suggests that transnational public spheres (like INGOs) need to be inclusive and accountable to the public that they seek to represent. This not only empowers people but also enhances the credibility and authority of transnational advocacy.

This is where the media become important to NGOs, both nationally and internationally. Bob (2005: 7) explains that (local) movements aggressively pursue external aid: they seek to influence the media, (international) NGOs, and the broader public. In fact they behave just like their opponents, the governments, multinational corporations, and international financial institutions, with the difference that the latter have, as Bob puts it, 'huge resources and privileged access to the international press'.

The International Centre for Trade and Development (ICTSD)⁸ was one of the first non-profit development organisations that started attending the WTO summits, already in the Singapore Summit in 1996. It started providing information from the trade negotiations in a

⁸ Since the launch in 1996, ICTSD has become a non-profit non-governmental research and development institute based in Geneva Switzerland and is specialised in trade and development. It now has partnerships with 123 organisations in 37 countries (in 2009). ICTCD produces research reports and regular periodicals in six languages ictsd.org/about

news bulletin called Bridges, aimed at political decision-makers, trade and development experts and the media (Crosby 2012).

But it was Seattle that was the real turning point for the media in the way they treated civil society organisations. According to Wall (2010: 39-40), it was the first summit where NGOs were broadly present and working with mainstream media by organising press conferences and producing reports and briefs. What was very different in Seattle was that activists started to produce and distribute their own images of action (Shepard and Hayduk 2002: 26). Citizen journalism was born: the Independent Media Center (IMC) ran independently, and was partly a volunteer site for anti-globalisation news called Big Media (Wall 2003: 42). Later, Indymedia – as the network became better known – grew into a network that covered 18 countries (Downing 2011).

Mainstream media have been very cautious, even reluctant towards working with alternative media. Nikkanen (2012a) considers that citizen journalism only became presentable and respected around 2005 / 2006. Unfortunately, it took a series of tragedies, like terrorist attacks in New York, London and Madrid and the Asian 2004 tsunamis, to give citizen journalism a role in mainstream media (Kelly and Grant 2005: 14-15). Even though there are big differences within the mainstream media on how they adapted to the new era, gathering information from social media and different web sites has become an indispensable part of making news (Newman 2011: 47).

2.3 WHEN THE ECONOMICS OF GROWTH STARTED DRIVING THE GAME

Mainstream media are going through a historical change, particularly in the USA and UK but also in many other western states. In the search for economic profit, the western mainstream media have progressively withdrawn resources from specialised reporting in recent years.

More generally, the media works in constant tensions between corporate aims of expansion, profit and political influence on one hand and public interests on the other, which requires impartial information, investigation of abuses of power, diversity of expression and views and open debate on key issues. Murdoch (2012) claims that the emergence of global multi-media conglomerates that operate across all the media sectors and across national frontiers has increased these tensions. An example was the reporting of Iraqi War in the 175 newspapers that belonged to the Murdoch media empire in 2003. None of these papers opposed the war (Downing 2011).

As we clearly live in a time of “infobesity” – a term used by many academics – control of the news lies in the hands of the consumer, not the producer. Williams (2005: 46) argues that a free and democratic society is better off risking information overload than risking information scarcity. However, he asks an elementary question of how to balance the resources in the middle of information floods. This question of how lean can a news operation be before it ceases to be a credible news organisation (2005:47) is something that each serious media company should tackle.

NGOs and citizen journalists are in many cases filling in the gap left by the mass media with the help of new technology and social media. This has happened in climate change (Arevalo 2012, Shukman 2012) and science generally (Shukman 2012), in international trade (see chapter 3) as well as in foreign reporting (Kalcsics 2012:7, Kruse 2012). The broadcasting companies face the same problems but some try to fill the hole with parachute journalism and the help of stringers (Snow 2012). Also documentary makers rely more and more on the information obtained from NGOs (Koskinen 2012).

Whereas the media in the US and UK have been forced to cut journalists because of the loss of readers and advertisers, the same is actually occurring also in Brazil and India even though the growing middle class there is consuming more news than ever before (Banerjee 2012, Carranca 2012). The main reason seems to be the wish of the media companies to concentrate on the easy sources of news that capture the largest audience: national – particularly local – policy and economics, sports, and entertainment.

More often, news is made quickly from a few press releases or simply by reviewing news from other media outlets, with one or two new quick quotes to make the article look different. This is a phenomenon that Nick Davies has named “churnalism” because journalists are passively churning the news behind their computers instead of actively going out on the field in search for them (Vehkoo 2010: 29). Churnalism is both an advantage and a problem for NGOs. If they are able to produce timely press releases, it is easier to present critical opinions to journalists and to get them accepted. On the other hand, many journalists are unable to verify properly the arguments presented in the releases (Tucker 2012a). As a result, the media have become much more dependent on their sources.

Kunelius and Eide (2012) consider that disputes about climate change are marked by a changing post-colonial world order that is increasingly multipolar and globalised. This increases the persistence of national interests to be considered during international bargaining. In media and journalism studies, climate change opens new insights into old questions, reshaping journalist–source relations, audience reception, and issues of public opinion.

International trade policy and global climate policy have similarities. Both have first given rise to a huge interest in society because they have unknown consequences. Both have then fairly quickly lost the place for topics that are easier to comprehend, as trade and climate change are extremely difficult to report on and demand special skills from the journalists.

Reuters institute research on the news from the UN’s Copenhagen Summit on climate change in November 2009 shows that NGOs were quoted in 11 per cent of the articles that were written about the science of climate change. By the end of the summit, the NGOs had gained a distinctly bigger role and were quoted in 18 per cent of the articles. This made them the second most important source after national politicians and organizations (Painter 2010: 42-43).

He (2010: 58) found both eminent observers and journalists who were critical of the way the results of the summit were reported. The NGOs were competing with each other for publicity and funding. The biggest NGOs put enormous effort into influencing journalists –

especially those covering summits for the first time. A similar effect has been seen in the WTO summits, especially in Cancun and Hong Kong.

Furthermore, Painter (2010: 60) makes an important point about the resources of newspapers and biggest NGOs. Greenpeace alone had nearly twice as many media and communications officers registered at the summit than all of the 200-plus universities all put together.

However, the mainstream media still have a leading role in delivering news; TV and radio are particularly important in most countries. Also newspapers are gaining power in emerging countries like India and Brazil, where reading is rising along with the growth of a richer middle-class (Levy and Nielsen 2010: 137).

2.4 QUALITY OF JOURNALISM AT RISK

Complex issues arise when the media employ less expert journalists and rely more and more on external resources. Kalcsics (2012: 37-39) who studied journalists working closely with aid agencies asks whether the readers can, in the terms of accuracy, always be sure who is speaking to them. She asserts that transparency needs to be developed further; it should become standard practice to state clearly how the information was obtained. In order to avoid regionalising global humanitarianism – gazing at the world from a Western perspective – the media and aid agencies need to include more local voices. These apply equally to reporting trade and climate change.

The easy and almost instant availability of information online has been a major challenge for news rooms. It is not the question of getting enough information but the question of how to authenticate it and judge the usability of the digital data obtained straight from civilians or from social hubs. All the data needs to be monitored, verified, filtered and sorted before it can be used as a part of an article or report (Newman 2011: 38-39).

In the era of 'infobesity', hard tricks are often the most effective. Hence, the need to verify also applies to the material obtained from civil society movements. Some NGOs dramatize or over-simplify events in order to get attention to their cause. Without verification and showing context and background information, citizens can easily be misguided (Bailey 2012). The Kony2012 video for example attracted over 52 million views in YouTube in one week in early March 2012, which shows the power of like-minded audiences that share information and sets a question mark over the level of media literacy among the wider public that uses the internet.

With the real time communication that the Internet provides and with mainstream media pulling away their reporters from the field, many NGOs have started to create their own news sites in the footsteps of Indymedia. This is also a way for organisations to take on the role of a neutral provider of information and thus gain widespread acceptance by the mainstream media. They often recruit ex-mass media journalists for the purpose (Kalcsics 2012: 12-13). That is not difficult as there are many skilled journalists out of work in the USA (Tucker 2012a), and they are increasing in number elsewhere in Europe and Australia, too. The danger is a growth in "almost journalism", which is a confusion both for aid agencies / other NGOs as to what they are trying to do, and for the viewer / reader about what they are being presented with (Cooper 2009).

However, as Newman (2011: 55-56) concludes, the electronic coffeehouses of Twitter and Facebook are not replacing the mass media; rather they live in an ever-deepening, symbiotic relationship. This makes it necessary for journalists to build a greater trust with their sources among civil society organisations, because NGOs have their antennae much wider in society than media companies can ever do.

3. JOURNALISTS KEEPING TRACK OF THE ROCKY ROUND

Six interviews were conducted with experienced journalists who have reported the WTO Doha round at least in part, if not all of the active phases of negotiations that took place in 2001-2008. Five of them still follow trade questions; two full-time and three report regularly along with other, mainly economic issues. One is retired but follows global trade for the part-time articles that he writes about aviation.

The journalists were chosen independently from the content analyses that were carried out, mainly from the same countries and newspapers. Yet, as experts remaining in the field of trade reporting are very scarce, half of the interviewees were also part of the content analysis because their articles were among those that were selected for the sample. While doing the interviews, these articles were not referred to nor analysed in depth.

Half of the journalists work for special financial newspapers (the Economic Times, the Financial Times, the WTO Reporter); two for general newspapers (Helsingin Sanomat, O Estado de S.Paulo), and one for public broadcasting (BBC). The journalists come from five countries and three continents so that they represent different views played in the negotiations: one from Brazil and India – both emerging powers within the WTO, one from the USA and three from the European Union (two from UK and one from Finland). Lack of resources among most African newspapers made it impossible to find anyone who covered the WTO round in sufficient depth.

The interviews were carried out between January and April 2012, four in person, two by telephone. They followed the same list of questions and took 25-50 minutes.

In addition, background interviews of a more general nature were carried out with some reporters who have written about topics linked to global trade over the past decade. The views of these journalists were not used in the summaries about the use of sources and role of NGOs.

It should be noted that the brackets [anonymous] are used for quotes where the journalist did not want to be identified.

3.1 CREDITED WTO SECRETARIAT, DUAL FACE OF GOVERNMENTS

During the interviews, the journalists were asked to rank sources on how *useful* and on how *objective* they were when it came to delivering information and exchanging ideas on the Doha negotiation round. There were six categories of sources mentioned: academics and other independent experts; governments – i.e. national trade officials and politicians; journalist colleagues; other international organisations (than the WTO); non-governmental organisations; and the WTO secretariat. Each interviewee would give number 1 for the source that they found most useful or objective, 6 to the one that was the least useful / objective. An average on these ratings was counted for each source. Number 1 ranking was then given to the source that received the best overall result and 6 the one with the lowest average.

The WTO secretariat got the highest average ranking for usefulness, although the governments came very close. All journalists spontaneously expressed that they found the WTO web site better both in its extent and quality than the digital information available to the press from any other international organisation. Those working in Geneva have followed the press briefings on a regular basis and some others have subscribed to email newsletters that the secretariat provides on some sectors of the negotiations which is a unique service.

“The WTO secretariat has the best quality of the information by no means. It’s thorough and it’s professional. But this does not mean that it is the source that you use the most.”
[Chade]

The secretariat makes it to the top for objectiveness, as well: however, the information provided by it was not considered axiomatic. First, several of the interviewees had

difficulties in ranking the sources. A half of them ranked representatives of governments as the most useful source instead of the WTO. Secondly, opinions were divided about the communication policy of the secretariat, and criticism was made of secret briefings that were not open to all, but organised for special target groups.

Usefulness	AVERAGE	RANKING
NGOs	3,2	3
academics / experts	3,5	4
Governments	2,7	2
WTO secretariat	2,5	1
international organisations	4,3	5
other journalists	5,2	6

Objectiveness	AVERAGE	RANKING
NGOs	3,8	5
academics / experts	2,0	2
Governments	4,0	6
WTO secretariat	1,5	1
international organisations	3,7	4
other journalists	3,2	3

TABLE 1. How interviewed journalists have used different types of sources in covering news about the WTO

The journalists regarded NGOs really hard to judge because of their vast heterogeneity. On specific issues and at certain times however, NGOs were very useful in giving new views to reporting by delivering timely studies, for example.

“All the NGOs have their agenda that serves their targets. Anything they tell you is subject to critical analyses. But they have important input in the system. And they were quite good sources on what was going on in the negotiations.” [Walker]

The business organisations followed the round very closely in India and Brazil and were able to give background information that helped reporters follow the events in the negotiation groups. Interestingly, many of the European and US business organisations were almost the opposite – at least when compared to previous negotiations in the Uruguay Round. This, of course, reduced their usefulness as sources and, most importantly, their trustworthiness.

“For example, the International Chamber of Commerce would always come up with very general statements about getting the Doha Round done, but when you asked them on the specifics they didn't really know anything. Then they used to complain that they didn't get any coverage.” [Anonymous]

During the latter half of negotiations, many NGOs would deliver information regularly via digital channels. The reporters would routinely follow these messages and pick up the interesting ones for further verification.

There were very few academics and experts, but they were highly regarded, particularly on objectivity. Almost every journalist had certain experts with whom he or she exchanged views on a regular basis. Rather than in universities, these experts are found in the growing field of think-tanks, research institutes and non-profit consulting organisations that receive funding from various – often also public – sources. ICTSD and the South Centre, both based in Geneva, and CENTAD in India were mentioned, but also some law firms were mentioned. Between the lines, one can postulate that many journalists want to carefully nurture these few special contacts.

“All these research organisations in India; they have specialists in their own fields ... somebody who works on services, another on agriculture. They have a lot of in-depth knowledge. Over the years, we have built a relationship of mutual trust.” [Sen]

Half of the interviewees found other international institutions useful and also fairly objective. Here, the World Bank, IMF, FAO, UNCTAD, and OECD were mentioned. The rest of interviewees had barely, if at all, contacted them for information on trade.

Perhaps the most surprising finding in the interviews was how low the trade specialists and politicians from national governments and the EU were ranked on objectiveness by journalists. Even if they were rated almost as useful as the WTO, almost everyone would place them right at the bottom on objectiveness.

“They are always trying to spin the story for their own sake.” [Chade]

“Governments are on the bottom because of their one-sidedness. Recent dispute between US and EU was a typical example: each one tells they had a great victory – a victory on what? In one detail which is not relevant in the whole story?” [Pruzin]

Colleagues are considered of varying importance as sources. Actually, there is a contrast:

“Persons, who do not cover it (the WTO) in detail regularly, cannot really understand it. Nowadays you get much more reporting that is done from the capitals. It is not necessarily bad reporting, but reporting which is – let me think – it is sloppy. And it seems to me that it applies not only on the WTO, but on journalism in general.” [Pruzin]

“This network of journalists is powerful. Sometimes there is a source telling something to a small group of journalists, and then he says: ‘Don’t tell to others. Even if I know you are going to do it.’” [Anonymous quote, followed by laughter]

The first comment can also be interpreted vice versa: specialist correspondents were considered most trusted colleagues by journalists from more general newspapers. As with

researchers, one can conjecture that the opinions of other journalists were underrated by some interviewees. Another reason for few contacts can simply be the tight pace of work.

The objectiveness of journalists as sources is appreciated more than their usefulness. But it was also noted that the occasional trade policy stories made nowadays are usually written by general journalists – often in a hurry which may result in sloppy work.

“Journalists are not deliberately untrustworthy, it is un-deliberate untrustworthiness. And it is increasing.” [Anonymous]

3.2 OXFAM AND COTTON – SUCCESSES OF THE ROUND

The journalists were asked about how and which non-governmental organisations they used as sources for the news they wrote about the WTO negotiations. As this research is based on a broad definition of a NGO, the journalists were also asked about their relations with civil society organisations, mainly development advocacies, and with business and farmers associations as well as trade unions, i.e. organisations promoting the employment and economic interests of their members.

All the interviewees reported that they were involved with NGOs on a regular basis. Relations with them had increased during the round until about 2006-2008 when the last serious political action of the round took place. This involvement was always most active around the WTO ministerial meetings as these were the points that NGOs targeted most. Journalists would also turn to them when looking for new angles to report.

From the interviews, I have collected a list of 37 named organisations (*Annex1*). This is a large number considering the journalists were asked to report only those NGOs they used *the most*.

It was evident that one organisation at the Doha round achieved a reputation above all the others, when it came to building and maintaining media relations. Every interviewee regardless of nationality and the type of media they worked for would start the list by naming *Oxfam International*⁹ or one of its national offices.

“I would trust Oxfam more than other NGOs because they were less sensational; they had better people and more people, often who had real expertise in trade. Generally, they’d follow the process more closely, so they knew the players. I used to say they’re – and this sounds like an insult – a bit like the Goldman Sachs of the NGO world. They were kind of bigger, richer, and everyone was slightly envious of them.” [Beattie]

In fact, Oxfam created such an important role during the first part of the Doha round that one can claim that it was one of the key players within the process, with the governments representing the major traders. Further evidence for this is provided in chapter 4 in the form of the content analyses.

Some other NGOs also built up solid supply of information based on own research which was a key to building trust with the journalists.

“They put on their website a lot of articles written by people throughout the world. And they have their own research team also.” [Sen on Third World Network (TWN) and Oxfam]

“Another very good one was Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP) which is based in Minnesota. Like Oxfam, they based their work on serious research.” [Pruzin]

⁹ Oxfam International was formed in 1995 by a group of non-governmental organisations. It now has 17 member organisations on four continents. The total income of the INGO was £9 million and expenditure £8,5 million along the annual report 2010-2011. The number of staff in the five offices was 83, including the volunteers. Since the report was published Oxfam has founded one new regional office. www.oxfam.org

“A good NGO is active and it works in a “matter-of-fact” –manner. In big summits there are hundreds of journalists and only a few of them “get the substance right”, which makes plenty of market for those who can explain the issues in a popular way.” [Raivio]

Business, farming and trade associations – if well prepared – are valued for their comprehension to set the political dichotomies and technical clashes in to perspective, and the journalists – particularly the ones in financial papers – would follow as many as possible.

“Business and farmers’ lobby groups are useful for interpretation of the final statements and give real life to the politics.” [Walker]

“If there were specific issues (at the table in the negotiations) there would be a particular body. Say, for example on textile clothing issues, it was the association of European textile manufacturers. And their counter-partners on other continents.” [Beattie]

The two emerging traders included in the research have different political and business culture that reflects the working habits of NGOs and media. In Brazil, the relations between government’s negotiators and varied business associations were very close, due to the major interest of the round to both Brazilian industries and to agriculture.

“The best stories were always from the business side. Not because it was about business, but because they would always be in meetings where the government informs them what is happening.” [Chade]

In India too, the biggest industries are well connected with the government and followed the Doha round very closely with their own research in important areas. By contrast, farmers’ and trade unions are not very well organised and lack the resources to follow the international negotiations closely (Sen).

In the large international summits many countries have fairly small delegations and they are bound to the meeting routines. In these situations, NGOs have greater capacity to concentrate on contacts with (national) journalists (Raivio).

As previous journalistic research papers have proved, large international NGOs can help to provide access to interviews in developing countries. This is important particularly for broadcasting companies but also for newspapers with international distribution, and, of course today, for the digital news portals.

“Sometimes their staff or contacts with local NGOs help generate good photos and films that naturally give more interest to the news.” [Walker]

During the Doha Round, the problems of four poor cotton producing countries in Africa got recognition because of this¹⁰. The cooperation of NGOs and the media helped to raise that issue up the political agenda. As a result, it was considered one of the few real successes of the round by journalists as well as other experts interviewed for this research.

3.3 AVOIDING PIT HOLES: ALWAYS CROSS CHECK

None of the interviewees wish to share personal failures or misjudgements that may have happened with the NGOs when reporting trade. This was probably because these journalists were already experienced before entering the field of trade and therefore did not face any major catastrophes. Some mentioned a few occasions when personal communication had gone wrong that resulted in some sort of misunderstanding; something that is bound to happen, from time to time, in the high tempo of day-to-day journalism.

All of the interviewees stressed the importance of being careful when monitoring and verifying the information obtained from NGOs. Another factor uniting them was the

¹⁰ Four West-African countries, Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali, are economically and socially very dependent on cotton producing. The relation of their problems and the subsidies that particularly the USA has paid to its producers were brought up in the Cancun Ministerial in 2003 by INGOs and the media. The so-called cotton initiative was launched in Cancun and accepted in Hong Kong two years later. www.wto.org

distinctive principle of providing the audience with information from diverse sources without making a ready judgement.

“Because there are lots of leaked documents put out by NGOs, I want to be very sure about my facts. So even if I get to know something from a good NGO, I always double check it.” [Sen]

“I am always eased with using data from different public sources (for verification). I’d always check and see if the data from an NGO is subject to interpretation.” [Walker]

“I wouldn’t hesitate to use their quotes though. I want to hear the views from all sides and leave it up to the reader to decide.” [Pruzin]

The interviewees were reluctant to criticise NGOs by name. Some of the established development advocates and environmental groups would anyhow crop up as examples to be treated with special caution. Christian Aid, Friends of Earth, Greenpeace, Public Citizen and World Development Movement were regarded as controversial for their statements, the way they worked or because of the questionable quality of the staff.

“Some of them operate on an ideological, rather than factual and realistic basis. World Development Movement is an example of those driven by a loose, coloured agenda.” [Anonymous]

All the interviewees would avoid, or use with caution, the information delivered by radical groups. These were active particularly around the big summits of Cancun and Hong Kong, and as described in chapter 2 already in Seattle.

“There are some right-wing farmers’ organisations that get active just before an important meeting. They do have valid concerns but often are misinformed and spread wrong information.” [Anonymous]

“The Trade Justice Network was a coalition of a bunch of NGOs coming together. They tended to be very extreme. They didn’t know very much and a lot of what they were asking for was unrealistic.” [Anonymous]

“Such NGOs are unreliable that are actively involved in throwing stones, blocking the conference traffic, and in other militant activities. For some that may be exciting action, but putting all the stunts together does not give more credibility to their cause.” [Raivio on protesting in Seattle and Cancun]

Summing up, work with civil society requires special skill to study the different types of organisations and their motives. Often, this only comes with experience when the journalists can identify the critical points and avoid being misled. Also selecting the person to talk to in each NGO was found to be important.

“If you talked to the policy people, they would generally be more nuanced than the campaigns people.” [Beattie]

3.4 FADING INVOLVEMENT OF NGOS CAUSES CONFUSION

Mainstream media’s interest in the WTO and the Doha round faded after the Hong Kong ministerial in late 2005. However, many newspapers and broadcasting companies still followed the negotiations at least to some extent until summer 2008. The last serious push to solve the many political dead locks of the round took place in Geneva at the end of July 2008.

Most of the interviewees are amazed at how little attention many of the established western business associations paid to the Doha Round over the eleven rocky years of negotiations so far. After all, it was these associations that used to be the leading voice of civil society during the Uruguay Round in the early 1990’s.

“Business organisations systematically overestimated the momentum present in the Doha Round ... that was not very helpful because people got tired of being told that this thing was right on the brink of success so many times and then failed.” [Beattie]

“Service industry and their lobbying groups would wake up to the round very late. Many of them would show up in Geneva after the round had already got stuck in 2008.” [Pruzin]

“At the time I wrote about trade policy, the briefings of trade unions and industry organizations were very one-sided. They could cause even more of problems with the credibility than the others (civil NGOs).” [Raivio]

The interviewees felt that after 2006 the interest of the civil society, as a whole, seemed to collapse totally.

“I remember covering the 2008 ministerial, which was the point at which I personally decided that was it: Doha was dead. I think it was only Oxfam who were there of the NGOs. So certainly by that point it tailed off very sharply.” [Beattie]

Ever since, interest in the WTO has been almost non-existent. So not only have the political talks been grounded, but most of the WTO’s work has been ignored by NGOs. Some have tried to put in occasional efforts at dispute settlements. Chade tells a story about how Greenpeace wanted to put on a demonstration on the date that the verdict on a major dispute settlement was due to come out. They arrived, but three months too early! It shows how off-handed NGO efforts can be on trade topics, even from big organisations.

Since the Doha Round collapsed and other more urgent issues have occupied politicians, governments have directed their main efforts to regional and bilateral negotiations. The USA and EU in particular, but also some of the other “power houses” (a term referring mainly to China, India and Brazil) are aiming at separate agreements. Some of them are negotiated among the Geneva trade delegates; some are dealt straight “between the capitals”. This raises new problems:

“India has been engaged (in regional agreements) for some time now. I think our country is negotiating quite a few, certainly more than the government have resources for. However, it is necessary as big players, like the US and EU, have signed regional pacts years ago.” [Sen]

If a big country like India has difficulties in facilitating the multi-layered negotiations, then how can smaller developing countries handle such complex situations? There is a genuine risk that the attention of the global civil community and the mainstream media provides the WTO secretariat and governments with much more excuse to proceed, as they please, in small circles. The few specialist journalists keep reflecting on how democratic and fair the likely outcomes of such processes are when civil society has completely lost interest.

“For sure... this silence is very convenient for them (the WTO and governments). And let's say, in 2014, they sign the deal. Then some of NGO-world wants to comment. Then we can say, ‘Wait a second. Where were you? Were you part of the negotiations?’ ... Their departure can be very damaging if they want to come back just for the end to say: ‘Oh, we're against...’ or ‘We don't support this.’” [Chade]

3.5 FORCED RE-INVENTION OF TRADE JOURNALISTS

The collapse of the Doha Round occurred at the same time that mainstream media had been reducing resources for foreign and other specialist reporting. This reduction has happened mainly in the western media companies, but it has also been occurring in emerging countries like Brazil and India as noted in chapter 2. The journalists in this research were asked whether their employer has made any changes in the resources for trade reporting. They were also asked if these changes were based on the lost political appeal of multilateral negotiations or on a reallocation of journalistic work to less specialized fields of politics and economy.

The answers were clear. The three journalists working for financial newspapers saw that the slow progress of the Doha Round was the main reason for the drop in reporting.

“All papers always ask reporters to justify any trips they want to do. So I don't think that it was papers becoming a lot worse off. In the late 2000s people felt, ‘Why would we put effort into covering this thing which clearly isn't happening?’“ [Beattie]

Also these journalists have had to adjust to the new situation. They focus mainly on the political process around bilateral and regional trade agreements, trade disputes and the role of emerging countries in trade. If writing about the Doha Round demanded contacts, effort and time, the current plurilateral negotiating system is even more complicated.

“The WTO is not as newsworthy as it used to be. Compared with many other international organisations, it is very labour intensive. There are more secret meetings these days – even the secretariat does not always know of these meetings as they are often held between the governments.” [Pruzin]


However, the situation outside the few economic newspapers is totally different. In Geneva during mid 2000's, there used to be around hundred foreign correspondents: some of them free lancers, others permanently employed. They followed the UN, the WTO and other international organisations as well as the financing and bank businesses. Around 20 of them reported on the WTO on a regular basis; trade being their main task. Over the last three years, all of them have been forced to “re-invent” their professional status. A handful of specialists still write mainly about trade, but they also cover other international organisations and a lot of financing. A couple of them write about trade and also on sport, culture and economics in general. Most in the group of 20 have either returned to home newsrooms or undergone more dramatic changes, such as changing jobs to communications or PR (Hyttiäinen, Chade, and Pruzin 2012).

The New York Times is an example of an international newspaper that used to have a specialist correspondent. But since the economic downturn hit American newspapers around 2008 and 2009 there was no specialist left (Tucker 2012b).

Neither of the two Finnish newspapers that were part of the content analysis currently has a journalist who can specialise in trade. Both of them used to have an economic journalist who could spend part of the time on trade issues (Vuorela 2012, Oksanen 2012). When I asked Helsingin Sanomat whom to interview, they proposed the last journalist who had a proper knowledge of trade – even though he is now retired (Oksanen 2011). The Finnish news agency used to have a specialist in trade matters but had to concentrate resources on more general reporting over the past five years (Holopainen 2012).

In the USA and recently also in UK, NGOs have seen a considerable flow of excellent trade and other specialist journalists seeking jobs in communication for various civil society organisations, think-tanks and research centres during the past few years (Tucker 2012a, Barry 2012).

At the WTO secretariat end, this lost interest in trade issues — which can also be seen as a decline in what journalists would consider to be “newsworthy” coming out of the WTO — has been seen in fewer questions from journalists and fewer journalists attending the briefings, partly because some reporters have left town. On the other hand, the amount of information put out on the WTO’s web site and briefing documents sent out to journalists by email have increased steadily during the round. This has resulted as an increased amount of news in the international media, based solely or mainly on the WTO web site news releases (Ungphakorn 2012).



4. BEHIND THE SCENES IN CANCUN, HONG KONG AND GENEVA

A content analysis of ten newspapers was carried out from six countries. There was a general and a specialised financial / economic newspaper chosen from Finland, India, UK and USA. From Malaysia and South Africa financial papers were chosen only, because the interest towards the WTO was so low in general newspapers that it was not sensible to include any such papers in the research.

The general newspaper was chosen among the main dailies of each country, on the basis of how much reporting they presented to the WTO summits in question. Thus, the Washington Post was included before the New York Times in the USA, and Guardian was picked among the four biggest national dailies in UK. The great interest given to the WTO summits was also the reason why the newspaper Maaseudun Tulevaisuus, specialising in agriculture, forestry and other rural businesses, was taken into the research ahead of Kauppalehti which is internationally considered to be the leading financial newspaper in Finland.

Six of the papers are published in western industrialised countries and four in emerging nations that have had an important role in the WTO Round. It was not possible to include a paper from Brazil in the research because of lack of Portuguese skills, even if Brazil has been the most leading emerging country along with India in the round.

Ministerial / summit	Period (days)	Articles
Cancun	8.-16.9.2003 (9)	183
Hong Kong	11.-20.12.2005 (10)	170
Geneva I	19.7.-1.8.2008 (14)	109
Geneva II	13.-19.12.2011 (7)	14

TABLE 2. The amount of articles written by summit

The data was collected around three of the WTO's official ministerial meetings (2003, 2005, and 2011) and one unofficial mini-ministerial (2008). The samples were selected from a time period that started two days before and ended two days after each meeting (as shown in table 2). This was to ensure that from each paper there would be articles that were written before, during, and after the meeting. There was one exception made to this: Maaseudun Tulevaisuus got one extra day after the Cancun ministerial because the paper comes out only three times a week. Without this addition, no articles about the end of the meeting would have been included in the samples.

Three first meetings were part of the Doha Round negotiations. The eight ministerial meeting in December 2011 was included in the analysis, in order to see what the level of interest towards the WTO was after the Doha Round impasse in 2009.

4.1 SPICE OF LIFE RATHER THAN THE MAIN STORY

All the articles that were connected to the WTO meeting and were published in the papers during the four periods were included in the analysis. This totalled 476 articles.

It became very evident in the analysis of how the deadlock of the Doha Round influenced the interest of newspapers. There were a total of 14 articles only that were written about the eight ministerial meeting in Geneva last December whereas well over a hundred articles were written about each of the DDA summits. Half of the papers analysed did not publish a single article about the 2011 ministerial, even though Russia was accepted into the organisation as the last big trader. It was the economic newspapers (the Financial Times, the Wall Street Journal, the Economic Times and Maaseudun Tulevaisuus) and one general paper (Helsingin Sanomat) that reported this event. It is also important to notice that no NGO statements were reported from this ministerial. Therefore, the articles of the eighth ministerial were not included in the results, after all. The distribution of articles in each newspaper is shown in table 3.

Newspaper	Country	Articles / without Geneva2
The Financial Times	UK	85 / 79
The Guardian	UK	88
The Economic Times	India	77 / 75
The Times of India	India	16
The Wall Street Journal	USA	44 / 42
The Washington Post	USA	26
Maaseudun Tulevaisuus	Finland	57 / 54
Helsingin Sanomat	Finland	52 / 51
Business Day	South Africa	20
Business Times	Malaysia	11
Total of articles		476 / 462

TABLE 3. Numbers of articles included in the analysis by newspaper

Civil society organisations or individuals were either mentioned or quoted in little less than half of the analysed articles (47%). It was found that NGOs or other civil society actions were the main story in approximately one third (37%) of such cases which equals to every sixth article that was analysed (see table 4).

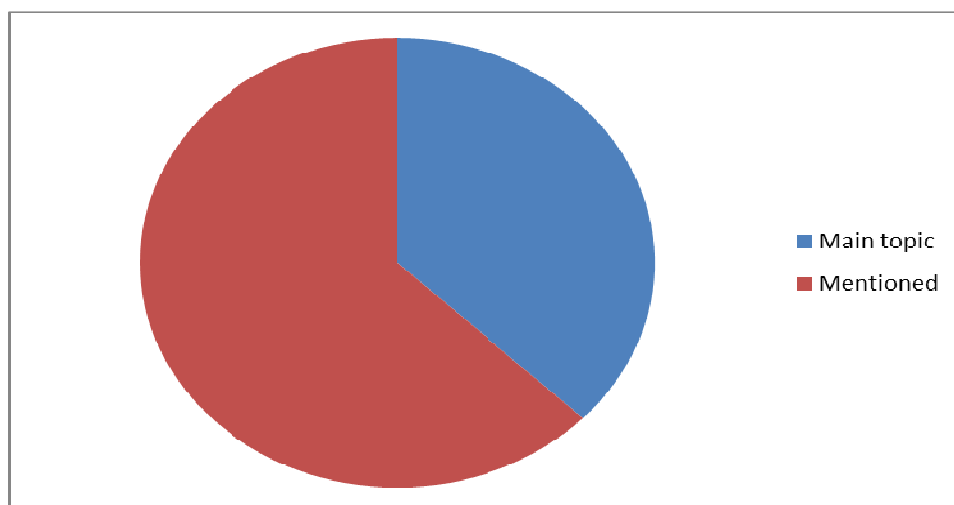


TABLE 4. Relative importance of the NGO in the articles

Every fourth article that had information about civil society included no quote from them. Most often such articles described demonstrations or protests that were reported in a general way. Because there were almost constant, organised protests that took place around both the Cancun and Hong Kong Summits, it is easy to understand why the proportion of such articles was fairly high.

The articles that contained direct or indirect quotes of identified civil society organisations formed one third of analysed articles (163 pieces). They were, mostly, based on interviews or on press releases of the NGOs. Surveys conducted by the NGOs were quoted in only 4 per cent of the articles. Additionally, in 12 per cent of the cases newspapers had given NGO representatives the possibility of writing opinion or commentary articles.

More of the results of content analyses can be found in *Annex 3*.

4.2 GENERAL-INTEREST PAPERS GOT CLOSER TO NGOS

Three newspapers – the Guardian, the Washington Post and the Wall Street Journal – quoted one or several NGOs in over half of the articles which can be seen in the analysis carried out by paper (table 5).

Economic newspapers (37% of articles) used NGOs as named sources clearly less than general papers (58%). There also seemed to be differences in the quoting culture, because the average of the papers published in western countries was 56 per cent compared to 30 per cent in the papers from emerging markets.

When looking into the results more closely, it has to be kept in mind that half of the papers often combined quotes from different types of NGOs in an article. More than a quarter (28%) of the articles that contained quotes fell in this category. In addition, the group or individual used as a source was classed as “unknown” almost a fifth of articles (18%) with

civil society content. This class included viewpoints and general critic expressed by demonstrators or protestors that were particularly visible during the two first summits in Cancun and Hong Kong as noted in chapter 4.1. These two categories together covered almost half of the articles where varied voices of civil society could be found.

Newspaper	Proportion
Guardian	69 %
Washington Post	69 %
Wall Street Journal	62 %
Helsingin Sanomat	48 %
Times of India	44 %
Maaseudun Tulevaisuus	43 %
Financial Times	41 %
Business Day	35 %
Economic Times	23 %
Malaysian Business Times	18 %
Average	45 %

TABLE 5. Proportion of articles containing information about NGOs

Trade unions were quoted in three newspapers or in five articles as the only civil society source. This is far less than the attention that business (25 articles) and farming organisations (39) were given. Combined, the three categories of NSAs were given a strong role in about one third of the articles.

Development organisations were used as the main source in almost a fifth of articles, which makes them the most powerful single group of NGOs together with organisations that represented farmers and peasants. However, it is worth noticing that the concerns of environmentalists and human rights organisations were reported much less. Both were used as main sources solely by one paper, the Guardian. The same applied to consumer groups; the only paper giving space to their concerns as a single source was the Economic Times which suggests that the two strongest forms of NGOs in India were business and consumer organisations.

An interesting finding is that the NGOs that lobby for more liberal trade were covered fairly broadly. This is particularly true when compared to trade unions and environmental, human rights and consumer organisations that used to be very vocal in the events that preceded the Doha Round, particularly the demonstrations in Seattle. The pro-trade organisations were used as main sources by four newspapers. The Wall Street Journal (WSJ) gave them room in three articles which was more than they wrote on the views of development or farming organisations.

Other economic newspapers used NGOs as sources less than WSJ. Maaseudun Tulevaisuus (MT) stands out of the group as it quoted farming associations much more than any other paper (33%). This can be partly explained by the fact that the paper is specialised in reporting about rural enterprises. However, MT and Business Times, with a very small sample, were the papers that had the least diversity in using different types of NGOs in the articles.

The results of NGOs' visibility by category can be found in *Annex 4*.

4.3 OXFAM, THE MOST VISIBLE - AGAIN

There were 106 NGOs that were quoted by name in the total of 218 articles. The Guardian used the biggest amount of separate NGOs in absolute measures. The Malaysian financial daily, the Business Times (BT), used the least, by naming only one NGO. However, one has to remember that also the sample of BT was the lowest, with only 11 articles.

However, in relative measures (table 6) the situation looks quite different. The Washington Post stood out clearly from all others, and also the Wall Street Journal ranked higher than the Guardian when the papers were compared by measuring the amount of individual NGOs quoted as against the total amount of articles that the paper had devoted to the WTO summits.

Newspaper	Ratio
Washington Post	0,65
Wall Street Journal	0,47
Guardian	0,42
Financial Times	0,37
Times of India	0,37
Business Day	0,30
Maaseudun Tulevaisuus	0,21
Helsingin Sanomat	0,19
Economic Times	0,13
Malaysian Business Times	0,09

TABLE 6. Use of different NGOs by the newspapers

Among the total of 106 NGOs, 31 organisations were quoted in more than one article (see the full list in *Annex 2*).

The multinational development organisation, Oxfam, was clearly the leading NGO with quotes in 28 articles. It was quoted in six different papers out of the ten analysed. Another British born INGO ActionAid was found 16 times, in half of the papers. This result corresponds with the finding from the interviews with journalists where Oxfam was largely regarded as the most trusted NGO.

The Guardian gave clearly more room for development agencies than the other newspapers. This finding is, anyhow, nothing new because the British newspaper has been shown to do so in other research reports, for example by Painter (2010: 50).

The most quoted business organisation was the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) in 10 articles, mainly because the Indian newspapers quoted it several times. The Finnish Farmers Union (MTK) with 11 quotes was, perhaps surprisingly, the most vocal farming association. However, the reason is fairly obvious because most of the quotes were by Maaseudun

Tulevaisuus which had the fourth largest amount of articles in the research and is specialised in rural businesses because it is owned by MTK.

Five NGOs were quoted 5-9 times: La Via Campesina, a network representing rural workers and small farm organisations; The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI); Christian Aid, British development organisation; Public Citizen, American consumer rights organisation; and another British development agency, CAFOD. Each of them was found in 3-4 different newspapers.

When the list of NGOs was compared to the names of organisations that came up in the interviews (*Annex1*), it can be seen that the list built up from the interviews was perhaps more diversified than the list based on the content analysis. This was probably because of the method of quantitative research which was carried out on very limited periods around the ministerial meetings.

Another explanation may be that journalists that work thoroughly on a subject use information from more sources that they can actually include a report. This then most probably applies to the articles written about the summits, particularly as there were such very diverse NGOs present in Cancun and in Hong Kong.

Some interesting differences were noted between the journalistic agendas of the newspapers:

- The Washington Post (USA) showed a most diversified picture of NGOs
- The Guardian (UK) gave most room to development advocacy groups
- The Economic Times (India) presented the interests of industry and consumers, but more than that, it explained the official targets of the Indian government
- Maaseudun Tulevaisuus (Finland) recalled the voice of farmers
- The Wall Street Journal (USA) expressed the ideas of pro-free trade movements
- The Financial Times (UK) and Helsingin Sanomat (Finland) represented a more neutral, maybe even a bit conservative line, towards NGOs

- Times of India and Business Day (South Africa) also gave a fairly balanced picture of civil society in the light of the small amount of articles
- Business Times (Malaysia) put clearly the greatest effort into echoing the interests of the Malaysian government and did not present the views of civil society very much.

4.4 RESEARCH INSTITUTES AND THINK-TANKS RARELY USED

Seven think-tanks and research institutes were found in the articles. Most quoted was the Cato Institute, an American pro-trade liberalisation think-tank: it got seven quotes and was mentioned by four newspapers. Another American, but more neutral institute, the Center for Global Development, was quoted almost as many times, but by two papers only. The other think tanks / research groups were quoted 1-3 times and mainly by one newspaper.

The Wall Street Journal was the only newspaper using more than two different research institutes / think-tanks in its articles. Half of the newspapers did not use any of them as named sources. One explanation to this is maybe the dominant role of the USA: five think-tanks were American; one was based in India and one in Malaysia.

The results confirm the findings of the interviews: the journalists told us that there were very few scientists they could use on trade (see chapter 3.1). The list of think-tanks is in *Annex 4*.

4.5 HERO PROTESTERS AND CELEBRITIES

The most famous individual of the Doha round was Korean activist leader Lee Kyoung Hae who committed suicide as a protest during the Cancun ministerial in 2003. Mr Hae was a

former farmer who had already previously harmed himself in protests against trade liberalisation. He was named in six of the ten newspapers analysed.

Another small farm activist Jose Bovè, who later became an MP in his home country, France, also received a lot of attention, partly because he attended all of the Doha Round summits. He was mentioned by half of the newspapers, but hardly quoted. The case of Mr Bovè tells us that, in much the same way as the story of Mr Hae, the main interest was addressed to imaginative “stunts”, and not so much to the ideas and reasons that the men had for protesting.

Particularly international development organisations started using celebrities in promoting their agendas, during the Doha Round. The British rock band, Coldplay, was campaigning for fair trade in the Cancun Summit, together with Oxfam. The band, or its leaders, singer Chris Martin and guitarist Jonny Buckland, were quoted twice by the Guardian and once by the Washington Post. The Irish musician and human rights campaigner Bono was mentioned by the Financial Times.

These individual protestors and celebrities received more attention than presidents of NGOs which gives a possible sign that entertaining factors provided by some organisations were used by the newspapers. This is something that NSAs (business, trade and farming associations) criticised in background interviews.

When the direct quotes of NGOs were studied, there was a named NGO representative in three out of those four articles where specific NGOs were mentioned, and together there were 127 such articles (table 7). Half of those quotes did not tell us which role the interviewee had in the relevant organisation. One reason for this might be that some of the NGOs used to give out press releases without exact information on the staff's positions. At least this was normal at the time of the Cancun Summit.

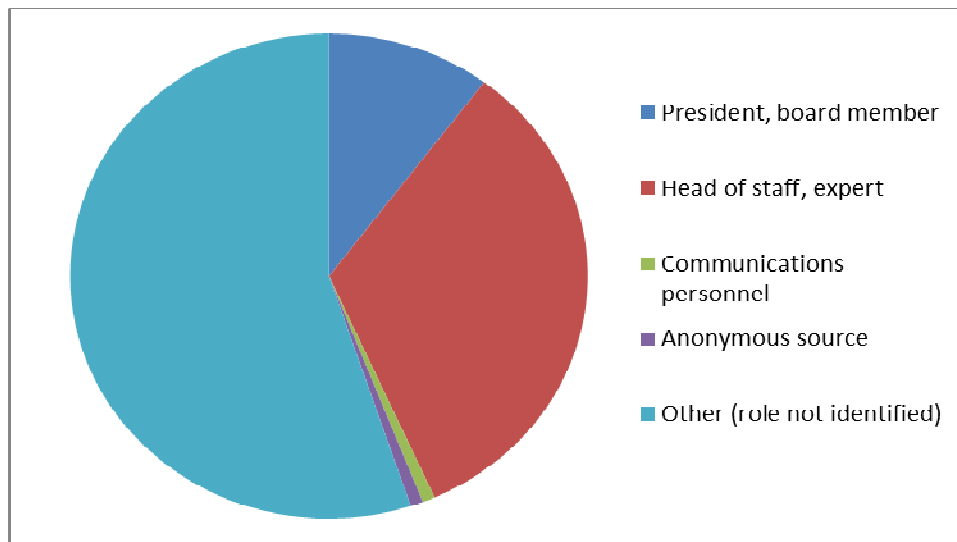


TABLE 7. Type of interviewees

There was a difference between NSAs and development organisations in quoting: it was the president / chairman of a business or a farming association that was presented in most cases, whereas the interviewed person of a development organisation was either named as staff or his / her position was not mentioned at all.

5. MULTILATERALISM IN CRISIS

5.1 LOSS OF INTEREST IN THE WTO, PERMANENT OR TEMPORARY?

Even if the question of further liberalising global trade still causes controversy – and it probably always will, there is an anonymous aspect to the work of the WTO: the framework of rules, the system for monitoring them and the possibility of handling possible violations in a dispute panel ‘form a ground floor’ for all trade (Salmimies 2012). It is just as widely acknowledged that the role of civil society is crucial beside governments in, a) monitoring the current situation of world trade and in b) evaluating and identifying possible problems that new trade agreements might cause (Bence 2012). In the matter of transparency, the international community around the WTO has taken huge leaps forward since the first steps of the Doha Round slightly over a decade ago.

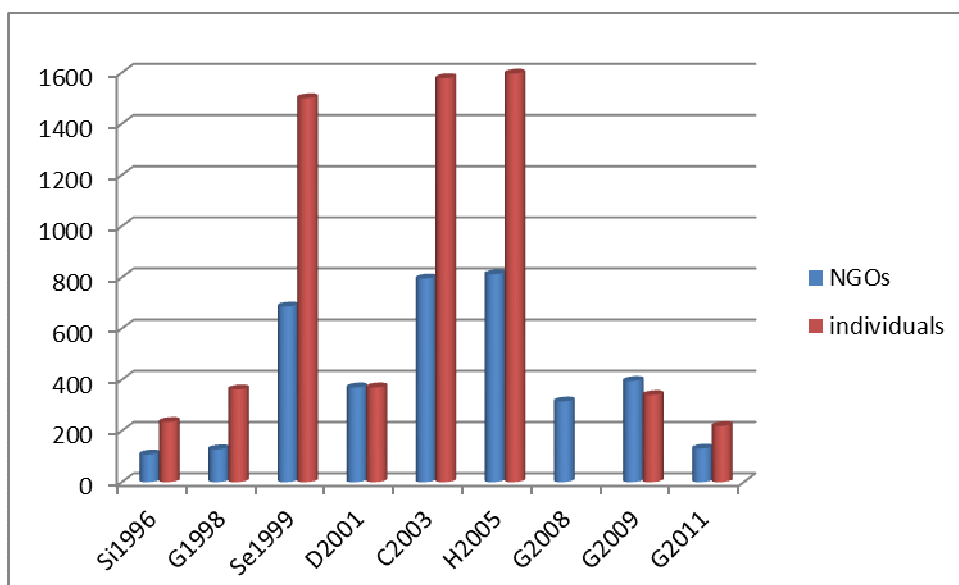


TABLE 8. The amount of NGOs registered in the WTO meetings 1996-2011¹¹

¹¹ Source: the WTO secretariat

Table 8 shows that civil society groups have been interested in the WTO summits in numbers that even exceeded the famous Seattle week. These conferences have been used to lobby delegates, organize public meetings and to present their analyses on trade issues (Williams, 2005: 37). Both the number of organisations and staff that they provide for the summits¹² grew from the end of the Uruguay Round in Singapore in 1996 until the Hong Kong ministerial in 2005. The only exception was the meeting in Doha that took place in the close aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in a place where the conference facilities were very limited (Kuiten 2012).

The level of interest shown by the media has followed a very similar pattern (table 9).

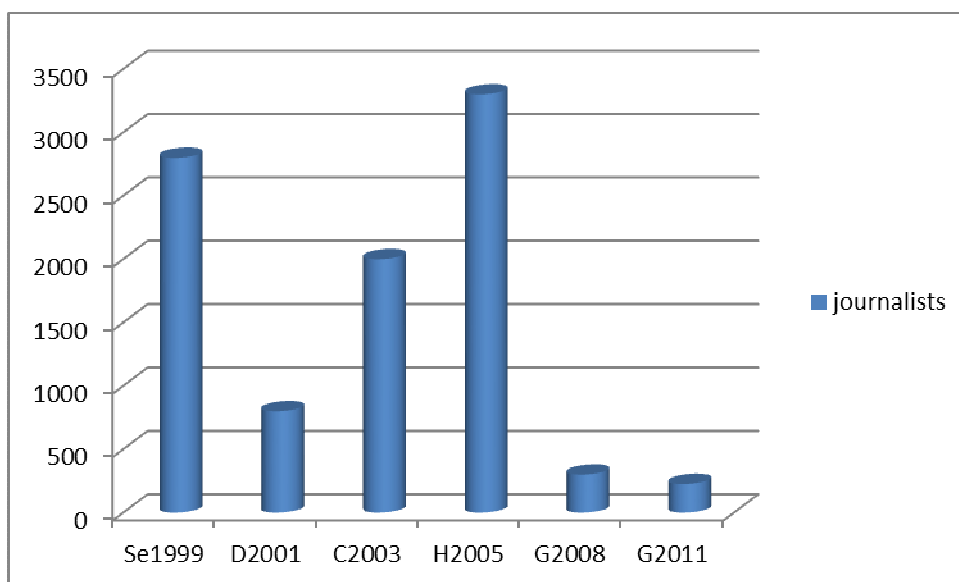


TABLE 9. The amount of journalists registered in the WTO meetings 1999-2011¹³

¹² The WTO secretariat has an accreditation for NGOs that want to attend the ministerial meetings. The maximum would vary according to the capacity of the conference centre and the hotels in the region. 4 persons per NGO would be accepted in most summits, only one in Doha (Kuiten 2012).

¹³ Source: the WTO secretariat

The first half of the Doha Round, about 2003-2006, was coloured by active lobbying from the development agencies (Green 2011, Melamed 2012, Barry 2012), which of course fed the interest of the media. There were several hot potatoes; the main criticism was aimed at the USA and the EU agricultural subsidies. The political pressure was so intense that the EU farm organisations, the commission and the governments felt the guilt of being 'the only bad guys blocking the whole thing' (Matthews 2012). Also the WTO secretariat faced similar black-and-white criticism (Kuiten 2012).

"Call me cynical, if you like, but despite the fact that our agricultural policy has changed, they (biggest NGOs) never changed their lobbying campaign. In advocacy terms I found them a constant irritation because they were just not listening to what we were actually saying." [Mann, then spokesman for the EU commissioner of agriculture]

In addition, the G20¹⁴ group of big emerging countries being created around the Cancun Summit received a lot of attention. This amplified 'the rich versus the poor' positioning and many NGOs took the advantage of using this in their campaigning.

"In reality, there are huge divisions between the developing countries. I used to say that they (development NGOs) have got this 'four-legs-good-two-legs-bad' -attitude where anything a rich country did was bad and anything a developing country did was good. And that was unhelpful as it did not fit the real world." [Beattie]

After the Hong Kong Summit, the momentum for change was anyhow over in the eyes of the general public. Since several attempts on the political level had failed, it is understandable that the media's interest turned to other major global issues. First there were the multilateral climate change negotiations and then the media went on to the global food crisis of 2007-2008 which was soon followed by the global financial crisis in late 2008.

¹⁴ G20 in the WTO jargon means a group of about 20 developing countries whose markets were emerging and who were more capable of doing foreign trade than the majority of developing states. Its most vocal members have been Brazil and India, also for the reason that those two have very different interests on agricultural trade.

It is probable that the media's interest will return if the political negotiations are eventually brought back on track, i.e. if there is enough common interest actually to conclude the round.

Holton (2008: 178) acknowledges that the functions of civil society networks change as state – civil society relations change and such changes are also inseparable from global processes. This is also true with the WTO: the lost appeal of international trade policy among the civil society can be partly explained by that.

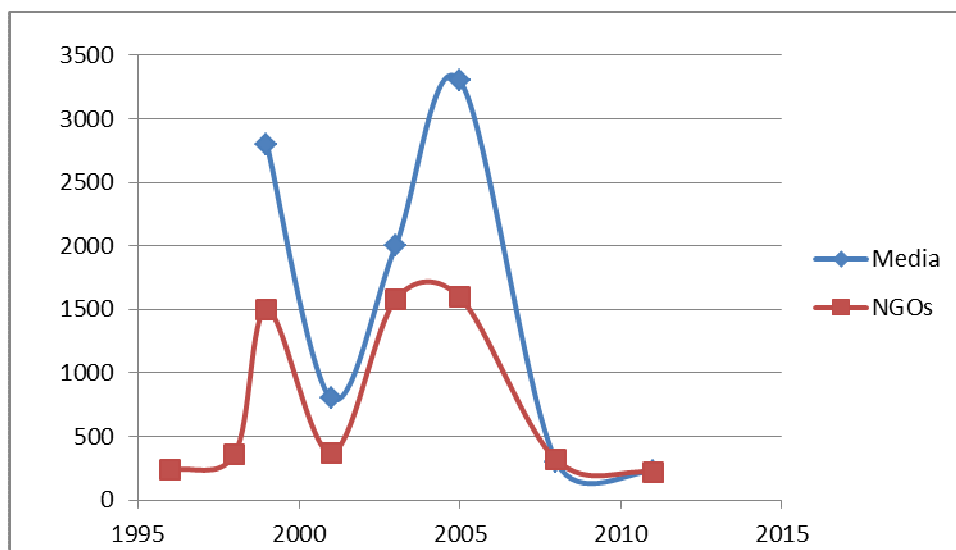


TABLE 10. The cycles of the media and civil society interest during and after the Doha Round

There are some signs that the media's interest in global trade is staying high in emerging countries even though it has faded in the west (Crosby, Sen, Tucker 2012). It goes along with the findings of Arevalo (2012) that the media in emerging countries sends more journalists to international climate summits than western media companies. These are the two multilateral forums where geopolitical powers have changed considerably in the past decade.

However, there is a potential risk of damaging consequences should the media and civil society together ignore the WTO's work as a whole in a way that the interest in its summits has faded.

5.2 DIFFERENT STRATEGIES OF CIVIL GROUPS AND BUSINESS LOBBIES

The interviews with the journalists suggested that civil society organisations actually lost interest in the Doha Round some time before the media. Interviews carried out with a large number of civil organisations that operate internationally show that, there are essentially none left that put their main efforts in following the global multilateral negotiations. Those with the biggest resources put some into monitoring the bilateral and regional agreements that governments are conducting.

The case of Oxfam tells how the story went. It was the most visible and also most trusted by journalists as shown earlier. Around 30 people worked on trade issues in the years 2004-2006 when the organisations put most effort into trade, and five of them were full-time (Benicchio 2012, Barry 2012). Now in Geneva there is only one person who follows international trade as a minor task. In addition, there are 5-10 policy and research people who follow regional trade agreements that are related to their main campaign (Benicchio 2012).

“The (Geneva) office has one member of staff dedicated to global humanitarian issues ... Other staff members carry out lobbying and alliance building work on food security and agriculture, access to medicines, and climate change. We also do some lobbying work at the World Trade Organization, building on Oxfam's global Make Trade Fair campaign for a pro-development outcome in the Doha Development trade round.”¹⁵

After going through over half a dozen web pages of international development and organisations that used to be the most active during the first half of the DDA, it became clear that few NGOs still focus systematically on trade; Public Citizen (Global Trade Watch) is one of them. Most of the former vocal advocacies – Oxfam, the Third World Network, the Institute for Agriculture and Trade and others mentioned by journalists (see list in *annex 1*) –

¹⁵ www.oxfam.org

have re-directed their agendas to combine social and economic development tied to poverty, food security and environment. Basically, the re-direction is similar to that taken by many expert trade journalists, as described in chapter 3.5.

The situation seems to be different with non-state actors. At least European business and farming organisations and trade unions follow the multilateral path, because changes in the plurilateral negotiations between the major traders affect their members' income. The monitoring work is much more complicated and labour-intensive than following the WTO process, because the possible consequences are both more variable and unpredictable. The European organisations do not have more resources for this but save money by not undertaking labour-intensive lobbying campaigns (Howard, Matthews, and van den Hoven 2012).

The organisations that have greatest resources for watching closely the work of the WTO closely are the research and consultant institutions such as the ICTSD, think-tanks like the South Centre and a handful of research institutes especially in the USA and in India.

5.3 SET BACK TO A PRE-DOHA LEVEL HAS ITS RISKS

There have been several incongruities within the WTO negotiation process that reflect the imbalance between rich and poor nations and the geopolitical shift of balance from old western industrialised states to the emerging markets. Bhala (2009: 118) implies that the Doha Round (DDA) was never politically intended to produce a perfectly balanced outcome: "The middle "D" (development) meant that there would be a preferential option for the poor. As the Third World began to take it seriously, claims came from the 'First World' that it was a mistake to use that middle "D." Doing so was a teaser, falsely raising expectations among poor countries."

Eleven years later, two ways of thinking can be recognised within governments' and the WTO representatives. For some, it is convenient that they can now operate in peace and are not bothered by the INGOs' claims and the media's questions which was the case during the peak years of the Doha Round. There is a certain similarity to the "pre-Doha" times of trade policy making when the civil society, with the exception of business and farming lobbies and trade unions, was not following the negotiations very closely.

Another group of both officials and NGO staff is disappointed – even worried – at the loss of interest:

"They (big development NGOs) tend to be fleeting in the world of fashion. Yes, it's been exhausting (with the ups and downs of the round). But if you really care about clearing it then you cannot decide one day that it's your principal objective and then just let it fall by the wayside." [Anonymous]

"You could get a fairly deep perspective about trade during the early years of the Doha Round just from reading the New York Times. Whereas now, if you are interested in trade, you cannot rely on NYT or others, and in fact, have to go to one of the subscription services that offer way more details than is necessary for the average reader." [Tucker]

There are at least two specific risks in the pre-Doha set back (Crosby, Kuiten 2012):

- a) The majority of developing countries do not have the means to follow the plurilateral processes now, that the official DDA is at stand still.
- b) The WTO is reduced to a group of few experts because the technicalities, the terminology and coherency to poverty reduction and sustainable development, in general, are far too complicated for lay people to follow.

One factor explaining the loss of interest by civil society is that the life cycle of campaigns has become shorter. Long-lasting international dilemmas, like multilateral climate and trade policy agreements, are too slow to be interesting for most people. It is also very tiring for those involved in negotiating, lobbying and reporting.

“The public, in general, have a limited attention span. You just cannot keep people’s interest and commitment for that long. There’s a life time of no more than, I’d say, four or five years.” [Melamed]

“The trade negotiations had been going nowhere for so long. It felt like a bit of a break from what felt fairly futile might actually enable people to see the wood for the trees more. I think, perhaps that's what we said to ourselves to justify it.” [Barry]

Being productive, even profitable, has also become normal practice in the world of civil society. NGOs have to monitor and provide proof to their financial supporters, whether public organisations, private donors or members, that they are achieving their stated objectives and influencing outcomes (Barry, Benicchio, Melamed 2012). As a part of this, there is the problem of balance with national politics when soliciting finance. Looking back, one can argue that the first half of 2000’s it was easy, at least for the NGOs in UK, but then came the inevitable downturn:

“It is perhaps a kind of hubris. NGOs got a bit twitchy... and part of the establishment. They were the cheerleaders for what the Labour government wanted to do on aid. (Since then) the interesting ones were those that were more critical. And the media’s treatment has followed a similar trajectory.” [Anonymous]

As a consequence, many big international NGOs now have fewer experts in fields of policy and economics, and so they rely more on undertaking well targeted specific campaigns where they cooperate with specific smaller organisations (Barry 2012). With new technology providing information straight from the field of action, international networks of NGOs have started to lose importance as key communicators (Melamed 2012).

At the same time, as mainstream media cut back on foreign reporting, civil society movements are putting considerable effort into building their own news sites, in order to serve their supporters and funders. The news they provide is especially about humanitarian aid, sustainability of food production and poverty reduction – but not so much on trade (Barry 2012). If a topic is very important to a development or environmental agency, they

are ready to invest great resources in investigative journalism, in order to get their causes picked up to by mainstream media. Examples of landownership in Uganda and China show this (Grainger 2012, Koskinen 2012).

There is generally a wide difference in the use of social media and other new information technologies between CSOs (i.e. humanitarian aid, development, human rights, and environmental organisations) and the NSAs representing business and farming organisations and trade unions (Nikkanen 2012a). The NSA representatives themselves admitted this in interviews.

Of course, one can insist that this latter group of lobbyists emphasises its effect upon society via their members and close contacts with governments, whereas the former group puts more effort into informing the general public. Seeing the recent trends – the falling numbers of jobs in agriculture, the loss of interest among young people in trade unions and the generally poor understanding of the role of business organisations – one has to ask whether they too would be better off using new tools to explain their roles and results to the general public.

5.4 TRADE POLICY, WORTH FOLLOWING DESPITE THE DOHA IMPASSE

Global trade is a complex combination of geopolitics, foreign diplomacy and macro- and micro-economics. It is slow, long-term, rather than rapid, short-term action, which makes it boring for a world consuming entertainment and news at an ever-accelerating pace. Furthermore, what makes the multilateral trade policy different from most political processes is its dual nature. Common international trade rules consist of technical details that need to be agreed upon before the political agreements can be made.

Even if global trade politics is boring and difficult to understand, every human being is affected by world trade in their daily lives. It is not so much about goods, but services: the

trade in services already counts for 70 per cent of the world's economic activity. Particularly important is how the service sector trade develops in the southern hemisphere (Salmimies 2012). The big questions for humanity are those of food security and health – as well as malnutrition and obesity. They unite both the developed and developing world, which make them important to us all. We know that food security is tied to sustainable production within limits set by climate change and it is affected very much by global trade and the role of MNCs (Barry 2012).

In times of trouble, such as the current world-wide financial crisis that is the most severe economic recession since the World War II, protectionism raises its head because politicians are occupied with domestic concerns and politics. The problems with multilateral trade negotiations, climate policies and most recently sustainable development (Halonen 2012) are a sign that multilateralism, with common rules, has been carried out for a very short time. It really only started when the Cold War ended (Kaukab 2012).

“Trust is linked with fairness. Bringing back trust via fairness to the multilateral system is very difficult. Who would stand up and be ready to give in?” [Kaukab]

History has shown that trade is what keeps the wheels of national economies running and that is why protectionism can only make the international financial crisis worse. As a consequence of the Doha Round deadlock, the big traders, particularly the USA, the EU, China, Brazil, etc., have started a run of bilateral and/or regional trade negotiations (Kuiten 2012). There are also negotiations about special areas like services and intellectual property rights – both inside and outside the WTO (Pruzin, Crosby 2012).

The WTO secretariat has counted that on average, its members (i.e. national governments) are involved in 13 preferential trade agreements. The process has been compared to a bowl full of spaghetti or noodles (Kuiten 2012). It is almost impossible to predict the consequences of such a complex regulatory system on local businesses and people's daily lives. The situation is a bit easier in EU countries where most civil society organisations are involved in the decision making process, both at national level and via the European Economic and Social Committee (EESC) at the union level (Bence 2012).

“Behind all the good thoughts about equitable development, fairness, and so on, there still is very hard trade reality. There is a lot of demand among some of the big players. If they cannot conclude negotiations on services, for example, as part of the WTO they’ll do it elsewhere.” [Crosby]

Crosby (2012) and several officials interviewed note that such separate agreements have the potential to unblock the Doha Round, but they also have the potential drawback of creating de facto global standards, among the most advanced countries, making it also potentially difficult to bring such issues back into inclusive negotiations in a multilateral process at the WTO.

In developing countries, who form the vast majority of the WTO members, such multi-layered negotiations cause much more trouble from lack of resources within governments and civil society organisations. Those countries that generally need most help getting into the global trading system get the least attention – thus they are left even further behind in adapting to modern international trade (Kuiten 2012) or the special treatment they have had within the current WTO agreements is undermined by possible new agreements (Crosby 2012). The process widens the gaps within the developing world even more because the developing world is not homogeneous. The problem does not lie between the big emerging markets (often known also as BRICK-countries)¹⁶ and the least developed or poorest states (LDCs)¹⁷. The problems are greatest in Latin America and Africa when comparing LDCs and those countries that are poor but above the rank that would entitle

¹⁶ group of five emerging nations: Brazil, Russia, India, China, (South) Korea; www.oecd.org

¹⁷ the Least Developed Countries; a rating by UN and other international organisations for those developing countries that are entitled to special treatment within international agreements due to several socio-economic factors; <http://www.unohrrls.org/en/ldc/25/>

them to the same special treatments and technical help in trade issues, which the LDCs can receive (Kaukab 2012).

It must be remembered that international development NGOs have carried out an important task in the trade negotiations, by helping the poor developing countries and collaborating with many of the emerging nations in media relations. The best example of this in the Doha Round was the cotton initiative that was negotiated to help the four West-African countries Benin, Burkina Faso, Chad, and Mali that was described in chapter 3.2. This was clearly different from the Uruguay Round and also from the first part of the DDA when most visibility was given to the issues that were important to the leading western countries.

It remains to be seen whether the complexity of bilateral and regional agreements is just another unavoidable phase in geopolitics, a learning curve that just needs to be lived through. Yet, the most important role of civil society and the media is to 'serve as radars for society' (Kuiten 2012).

"They see things often before we see them: they keep you on your toes and on the ground. I would not do anything to undermine the civil society and the media." [Kuiten]

5.5 PROMISES, PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS TO BE STUDIED FURTHER

In this chapter, I have tried to find reasons why the WTO negotiations and global trade issues do not fit the agenda of mainstream media. Since the big summits in Cancun and Hong Kong in mid 2000's, the media, with the exception of some financial and specialised trading newspapers and some broadcasters, have not been interested in the processes of liberalising trade rules and global trade flows.

"The break-downs every year and there were people continually claiming that the Doha Round was on the brink of being solved ... and it wasn't." [Beattie]

As Picard (2010: 21) reminds us, political, social, and economic crisis or disasters create a spike in news that becomes salient to many people. After these crises abate, the irregular news consumers return to their normal pattern of low news consumption. Thus, it is partly about the natural fluctuation of journalism.

It is easy to see that the role of civil society as a whole, and not only the business and farming lobbies and trade unions, has been much greater in the Doha Round than it was in the previous Uruguay Round of trade negotiations. This research gives strong support to the view that development organisations, in particular, were vital during all the years of active negotiations until around 2006. It was during the DDA only that the role of CSAs was institutionalised in multilateral processes and that the media also started taking them seriously on the side of NSAs.

The role of some NGOs has become so strong in communication that they in fact, now battle for an audience with mainstream media, because they want to get their voice heard by the public and political leaders and obtain greater visibility for their work among members and / or other funders. In order to do so, the biggest international development, humanitarian aid, environmental and human rights organisations have started their own news sites during the last ten years, with the help of Internet and social media. On the other hand, business and trade organisations have been more conservative with their communications, and relied mainly on their members, lobbying politicians and in sending traditional press releases.

At the same time, the world of making news and spreading communication has changed in an irreversible way. The traditional roles of journalism are not taken for granted anymore.

“Broadly, (the world) is more democratic than it used to be. People are getting closer to the truth as a result of more voices being able to be heard, and not editorialised by one man in an office in the Fleet Street, but rather by the masses on Twitter.” [Barry]

“The decline of journalism is very worrying. While we (as a NGO) are perfectly content to do blog posts and direct communication, I think it is really unfortunate for the democracy that you do not have reporters doing the independent work anymore.” [Tucker]

Hence, the NGO news sites must be viewed from a dual perspective. The advantage is that they deliver information from countries and regions that people might not otherwise reach and topics that seldom become headlines in mainstream media. They can enhance diversity in the world where most of the mass media outlets follow only 'one (e.g. the same) horse race at a time' (Crosby 2012). New technology enables small specialised organisations, even individuals, to promote causes and air grievances, assuming they have the necessary skills to target their message. It has also created new networks of small specific and big international NGOs where both partners gain (Barry 2012).

In addition, organisations that are more critical of trade liberalisation also have equal opportunity to deliver ideas and explain their reasons, with the help of new media (Tucker 2012). This is very important in the case of trade policy where the values embedded within the WTO support those groups with a similar commitment to trade liberalisation and marginalise those critical of strategies (Williams 2005: 36).

The disadvantage is that even if the content is written by skilful journalists, these sites only present news on topics that are of a top priority and fit the current agenda of the host, aka owner organisation (Kalcsics 2012: 13). The journalists are not free to make choices about what issues to report and whom to use as sources. And because of their background, particularly if they represent an NGO or think-tank known to be very critical, they do not get confidential background information from other contrary points of view in the way that independent journalists do. This often leads to news that reflects a narrow angle – a most extreme example of this is the Kony2012 video mentioned in chapter 2.4.

The more complex and coherent issue becomes, the greater is the risk that news made by NGOs cannot alone give a full, balanced picture of developments. Dogra explains that this is part of the increasing corporatisation and marketization of INGOs which can be seen in a trend of 'positive' communication instead of delivering constantly negative messages (2012: 191). The trend seeks 'new' and easy options that are safe for the INGOs' image and success. She suggests that it is time for development organisations to decide if they want to project deeper contexts of global poverty (and prosperity – something that can be created

via trade of merchandise and services) or carry on with small, individual stories without the context of global realities (2012: 193).

This leads us to another point that whereas it is often easy for people to obtain instant footage and news from NGO sites after sudden natural or political crisis, it may not be possible for complicated subjects. And what is more likely, the flow of information can be overwhelming, unless you are very savvy with using technology and have the time, speedy connections and best equipment for doing so. This dualistic situation is described very well by Melanie Sloane, executive director for an American non-profit group Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington:

“The proliferation of cyber advocacy has shown that while it may now be easier to educate the public about important issues, the potential for abuse is greater than ever.”
[Friedhoff 2012]

Considering that the news industry is going through a historical structural change in most western countries and elsewhere, journalists are more than ever dependent on their sources. Thus, they rely on the help of civil society organisations in complicated issues such as trade, climate change and humanitarian aid. We can speculate to what extent such news outlets also blur the line between independent news and civil society news with an underlying agenda, when it comes to raising the profile of NGOs in the competition for awareness and financing.

The skills of aggregating local content and verifying and interpreting it are becoming increasingly important for journalists as stated earlier in chapter 2.4. There is also a need of greater specialism and training of journalists to accurately reflect complex stories across boundaries (Sambrook 2010: 95) but unfortunately it seems that many media companies are going in the opposite direction. This leads to the question whether a news desk that is short of resources can be sure of the sources it uses.

Nikkanen (2012b: 138) notes that such news rooms become very vulnerable to external manipulation. The Syrian government which runs successfully its information campaigns on

the internet is an example of how difficult it is, even for experts of digital networks, to verify who is a real citizen journalist and who is merely acting to be one and is, in fact, spreading misleading information on the behalf of an unknown organisation.


Probably the most worrying problem is that these NGO sites mainly attract people who already consider their issues important and/ or support their ideas. Thus, these channels become amplifiers and promoters of certain causes, rather than public spheres where different opinions are voiced to reflect the true diversity of the surrounding world.

The final problem that always needs to be pointed out is the very nature of digital information: once misinformation – either deliberate or unwitting – is released on the internet, it is impossible to withdraw it and almost as difficult to correct it. Hence, false details and ideas can keep circulating in digital networks unless the audiences are critical, have good command of media literacy, and know how to question. This problem also concerns mainstream media: copying and delivering digital articles has increased which may lead to circulation of false or misleading material. These can be referred to repeatedly without ever noticing any correction that may subsequently have been made.

Several issues came up in this chapter that would deserve further research:

- Both the opportunities and the risks that new media opens to cooperation of civil society and journalists. Many NGOs put up their own news sites: where do they get funding for that? Are they more of a competition to mainstream media? Or do they form together with investigative journalism the road that will be the future of democracy in the digital era?
- What happens to equality of news production? Are we on a road to a world where special areas of politics and economics are only reported to elite audiences and to those who are savvy enough to dig up information in several outlets?
- The role of non-state actors compared to civil society organisations; the topics that trade unions and farming organisations are interested in, for example food safety and ethics of food production, child labour, short work contracts / internships, should be of interest to western countries, as well. Is their message just not

interesting enough to the younger generation, or is it about NSAs lacking ability to use new communication tools? What is the role of traditional journalism in keeping up the interest in these themes?

- There are more and more think-tanks and networks of research and communication that have been built between international and national civil society organisations. As a matter of fact, some of them work for governments and MNCs in order to promote their strategies but are built to look like non-profit organisations. How transparent are they about their funding and their aims? How can a journalist know which ones to trust and which ones not?
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6. NGOS, THE MEDIA AND THE FUTURE OF INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

6.1 SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

This research was targeted at finding what types of civil society organisations journalists used as sources when they reported on the Doha negotiation round of the World Trade Organization (WTO). It has demonstrated that NGOs were quoted more in general newspapers than in economic ones and also more in western papers compared to those from emerging countries. Both American newspapers studied in the content analysis showed a more diverse use of civil organisations as sources than the papers from other countries.

The results did not provide evidence that certain types of NGOs were favoured by newspapers because a broad variety of organisations came up both in the interviews and in the content analysis. Another factor explaining this might be the large amount of articles that only hinted about the involvement of civil society, with words such as protestors or demonstrators. Such articles about protests were typical in the first days of those two summits that were of greatest interest both in the media and among NGOs (the summits in Cancun in 2003 and in Hong Kong in 2005).

However, it emerged from the research that trade unions failed to get their message through in the news along with environmental, consumer and human rights organisations. This finding is important because these groups were very vocal and were largely used as examples of the criticism towards trade liberalisation and the WTO, in the phase that preceded the launch of the Doha Round in late 1990's.

In addition, the research suggests that development and farming organisations were mentioned and/or quoted more than business associations. This can be explained, at least partly, by the strong efforts of peasant movements from the developing world which were backed by international development organisations in the peak years of the round. The weak role of western business organisations, especially, was also recognised by the

journalists in the interviews. The only exception to this was India, where the results show that consumer organisations played an important role along with business associations.

The leading role of Oxfam international, in particular, was clearly shown in both the content analysis and the interviews.

The 'infotainment' effect was established also as a part of international trade reporting, during the Doha Round, as big development agencies used rock musicians to promote their campaigns – something that many NSAs are critical of, even now, because they are wary that such stunts could harm the credibility of the organisation. Yet, the results show that there were few hit stories during the Doha Round, and they were written on a factual basis. These stories concerned the problems caused by US cotton producing subsidies for some of the poorest African countries. Another story, found in all the studied papers, was about the suicide of Korean peasant leader and protester Lee Kyoung Hae in demonstrations during the Cancun Summit.

The research provides strong evidence that civil society had a great interest in global trade policy until around 2006: their presence in the WTO summits in Cancun and Hong Kong exceeded that of the Seattle summit, a meeting that is still famous for being the corner stone of the civil society movement. However, it also revealed that most NGOs lost interest in multilateral trade negotiations, even before the media.

Furthermore, it was confirmed that this loss of interest in the WTO was pronounced after the Doha Round deadlock in 2009. This was proved both by a marked fall in the number of articles written about the last ministerial meeting in 2011 and by the sharply reduced attendance in the meeting by the media and NGOs.

Secondly, the aim of the research was to find out how journalists used different sources when they wrote news about global trade. The following observations can be made:

- a) The WTO has in many ways done a better job in communication and transparency than its general reputation among the public at large might suggest.

- b) Governments are considered in two ways by the specialist journalists: national delegations are appreciated as useful sources for following political events and explaining the technicalities of the WTO practices, but they are thought to be the worst among all different sources, for objectivity.
- c) It became a normal standard in trade reporting to use all kinds of NGOs as a source, during the early years of DDA. Yet, verifying the trustworthiness of their statements takes a lot of time, even by an experienced journalist.
- d) There was little objective research undertaken on the possible effects of trade negotiations during the DDA, and journalists would have been happy to use more, had it been available. At the same time, there are several think-tanks that specialised in global trade but for some reason most journalists did not use their information.
- e) The information about trade that was made available from other intergovernmental organisations, such as the World Bank, the IMF and the OECD, was not widely used by journalists with the exception of some business-oriented newspapers.

It was also shown that journalists value the NGOs that are most capable of:

- Producing credible research and timely, up-to-date information
- Giving real life context to the technical details and political jargon; this takes both skilled staff and good connections to governments, international organisations and also to other NGOs so that an NGO can bring a good understanding of the political situation
- Helping to provide people for interviews; they can give a voice and a face to the effects of global trade, particularly via networks in developing countries
- Providing the media with pictures and video footage, particularly from remote sites
- Coming up with new angles to report when the political process is very slow and/or complex.

6.2 TRADE JOURNALISM IN GOOD FAITH, MORE VALUABLE THAN EVER

When writing this report, a constant issue in my mind has been in what direction the world is going. Mainstream media in western countries, and elsewhere, are driven by short-term income expectations more than the original idea of delivering news. The ever increasing speed of most news rooms makes journalists more and more dependent on their sources. It also makes them more vulnerable to misjudgements and unintentional faults because there is often little time for cross-checking.

This research has shown that a similar approach applies to many NGOs. Their work is based on shorter campaigns, where fund-raising seems to drive the agendas and not vice versa. It means that many important themes have to be pushed to one side. On the other hand, NGOs are putting more and more effort into digital communication. They do not need the media anymore because it is quicker and easier for them to blog and tweet their own stories. Instead of sending out press releases, they send out links to their own news sites. It is handy to combine communication, news production and advertising their activities at the same time.

I was told by many observers, that the reason for this is that people are not ready to pay for campaigns that take more than three years. People want results. And poverty, climate change, and problems related to global trade, such as use of child labour, unemployment and run-down small farms, are too complicated to be solved in that time. Campaigns must be something that is more compelling and easier to get attached to. Again, this sounds familiar to media houses: news must be catchy, selling and appealing to the readers. Unfortunately, consumerism has taken over both the media and work for a better civil society.

Media bosses keep confirming that their companies make quality news. But there are strong reasons to question this. For example, there was a very successful web campaign, in my home country Finland, against bullying in schools which was later in a police investigation

shown to be based on fiction¹⁸. Yet, it was sold to the public as if it was a true story. Journalists from at least a dozen of big media outlets reported the campaign without criticism (STT 2012) because it was considered a morally good and important cause. Finally, an article in *Kuukausiliite*, the monthly magazine of *Helsingin Sanomat*, questioned the credibility of the campaign (Nikkanen and Silfverberg 2012: 42).

News about global trade policy is not very popular in this world that offers entertaining stories and campaigns that are easy to absorb. My main argument is that such complex subjects have become too complicated for most journalists to report on because they have not enough time for building proper frames and setting their stories in the full context. Having said that, it needs to be pointed out that there are a few exceptions; the business papers, part of the news wires and some broadcasting companies still have resources for, and a belief in, thorough reporting.

This development has already meant a re-invention for many journalists and will be more so in the future, even though they would not want to become generalists who compete for clicks and reader ratings. In some cases, responsible information search has been outsourced from news rooms to free lancers and citizen journalists who are then left alone to carry the risks, and costs, of the work.

It is to be stressed that even if the Doha Round, just like other multilateral political agreements, is in serious trouble, and governments concentrate on fighting the global economic crisis, trade has not stopped. Trade agreements are being negotiated; the processes are now carried on at bilateral and regional levels, or special agreements are made between the largest traders. The last type is particularly dangerous because it may undermine the preferential treatments that some poorer countries now have. At the same time, mainstream media are reducing resources for special reporting and most NGOs have concentrated their campaigning on themes other than global trade. It is my opinion that

¹⁸ Story of a girl that was harassed at school and committed a suicide made a web campaign in winter 2011-2012. It received over 40 000 friends in Facebook. Enkeli-Elisa 1996-2011, www.jossainkaukana.net/elisa/

these two developments, together, lead to an increasing risk of the big powerful traders, governments and conglomerates, becoming even stronger.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the WTO has made positive progress when it comes to transparency and this is because of the pressure from civil society and NGOs. This is one of the few successes of the Doha Round. However, I wonder whether the trade system, as a whole, is falling back to a system “shrouded in secrecy” because the negotiations are, no longer, in a public sphere under the WTO procedures, but, in most cases, take place as closed meetings of few trading partners. Now that the emerging countries are included in these secret sessions, is the situation for the majority of developing countries, who still represent a majority of WTO members, any better than it was in the pre-Doha era? After all, the greatest challenge is to enhance trade within and between these countries, because this may help to lift them from poverty. The big questions are:

- a) Are the media and NGOs doing their share as radars for society or do they mainly concentrate on making money on a short-term basis in the easiest possible way?
- b) What happens to the role of journalism when it comes to distributing information about decision-making equally to citizens: will such complex subjects be reported only by special economic and financial media outlets for the political and economic elites?

There are also positive signs, however. New technology and social media open possibilities for new types of investigative journalism, and for NGOs to deliver information. Thus, NGOs are no longer dependent on the fading mainstream media, but can report on their work everywhere in the world, rapidly and with greater versatility than ever. Some of them have launched their own news sites and hired ex-journalists to run them.

It is very welcome that the new channels, operated by civil society, widen the diversity of information available to those citizens that actively use the internet. Here too, there are some problems that need attention. Firstly, not everyone has entered the digital era. Many lack the information flows from the internet. Secondly, it is important that the reader knows

who really is providing the news: a NGO, a citizen journalist, an independent journalist or a group of them all working together.

Finally, we should consider what this development means for democracy, if more and more people mainly turn to news sites reflecting a specific agenda. Where is the public sphere that can gather people to widen debates and argue about complex issues, such as global trade, food security and climate change? To exaggerate slightly, I want to imply that this is comparable to a situation where consumers are solely dependent on one or two suppliers, and they are unable to compare and check different options. Citizens are readily and rapidly provoked by commercial cartels. However, one can speculate whether they are sufficiently aware to appreciate the risks of narrow sub-cultures taking a leading role in their internet consumption.

When news production in many mainstream media companies becomes leaner and leaner it cannot be regarded as credible. Vehkoo has described this well by stating that without a democratic mission, journalism will be reduced to a mere commodity – like much of it already is (2010: 69). We should ask a similar question of NGOs, whether a campaign based approach, in particular, is sufficient to serve the public interest in highly complex issues which involve the lives of people in developed, emerging, and poor parts of the world.

On the contrary, there is a greater need than ever before, for investigative journalism. It is, after all, easy both to spread and to find information these days. But journalism should be more than sheer delivery of information: it is the task of explaining contexts and showing the consequences of complicated political and economic developments. This is why reporting on global trade – and its linkages to poverty and social inequality - should not be considered unfashionable or redundant. It should not be cast to one side.

ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	the British Broadcasting Company
BRICK	informal group of five emerging nations: Brazil, Russia, India, China, (South) Korea
CAFOD	the Catholic Overseas Development Agency, British development and aid agency
CENTAD	the Centre for Trade and Development, non-profit research institution in India
Copa-Cogeca	the European Agricultural Union and General Confederation of Agricultural Cooperatives, the two work under a joint secretariat
CSO	civil society organisation, mainly used for different non-governmental organisations without a business or income relation that are specialised e.g. in development, consumer questions or human rights
CUTS	the Consumer Unity and Trust Society, a non-governmental research, advocacy and networking organisation on consumer, trade and development issues, founded in India it now has 6 regional offices around the developing world
DDA	the Doha Development Agenda; the on-going negotiation round, the aim of which is to agree on new trade rules among the 153 current WTO members
EESC	the European Economic and Social Committee, an advisory organ that represents civil society institutions from all EU member states

EU	the European Union
ETUC	the European Trade Union Confederation
GATT	the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, agreed in the Uruguay negotiation round, a preceding system to the WTO
GTW	the Global Trade Watch, a division of the Public Citizen, an American lobbying organisation for consumer rights
FT	the Financial Times
ICT	information and communication technologies
ICTSD	the International Center for Trade and Sustainable Development, non-profit research and development institute based in Switzerland
IMC	the Independent Media Center; later Indymedia – independent network of citizen and professional journalists that run a news portal called Big Media
IMF	the International Monetary Fund
INGO	international non-governmental organisation, a network of nationally and/or regionally working civil society institutions, see NGO
ITUC	the International Trade Union Confederation
LDC	Least Developed Countries, an official ranking for the poorest countries of the world
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investments was negotiated in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

between 1995 and 1998 but the negotiations never led to an agreement.

MNC	multinational corporations
NAFTA	the North American Free Trade Agreement; a trade agreement between the United States, Canada and Mexico which entered in force in the beginning of 1994
NGO	non-governmental organisation, see CSO and NSA
NSA	non-state actor; often used to describe those non-governmental organisations that represent business associations, trade and farming unions
UK	United Kingdom
WTO	the World Trade Organization

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1 LIST OF NGOS MENTIONED IN THE INTERVIEWS

	journalists*
ABEF (Brazilian chicken meat exporters)	
ABIT (Brazilian textile industry)	
Action Aid	2
APROSOJA (Brazilian soy producers)	
Association of British Insurers	
Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie BDI (Germany)	
Business Europe	2
CAFOD	
CEFS (European sugar industry)	
Centre for Trade and Development CENTAD	
Christian Aid	2
Confederation of British Industry	
Confederation of Indian Industry CII	
Copa-Cogeca (European farmers and cooperatives)	2
Euratex European textile and clothing industry	
Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry FICCI	
FIESP (Brazilian industries, Sao Paulo region)	
Friends of Earth	
Green Peace	2
Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy	
International Chamber of Commerce	2
Kepa Kehitysyhteistyön palvelukeskus (Finland)	
Madhyam (India)	
Medicines Sans Frontier	2
National Association of Manufacturers (USA)	
National Farmers Union (UK)	
National Farmers Union (USA)	

Oxfam	6
Pharmaceutical and Chemical Association (Brazil)	
Public Citizen	2
Save the Children	
Third World Network	
Trade Justice Network	
UNICA (Brazilian sugar industry)	2
US Chamber of Commerce	2
World Development Movement	2
WWF	

TOTAL:37

* Amount of articles where the NGO is quoted. Only one article if otherwise stated.

ANNEX 2 LIST OF NGOS QUOTED IN THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

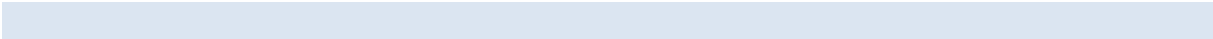
Action Aid	16
Africa Fighting Malaria	2
American Apparel and Footwear Association	
American Business Coalition for Doha	
American Manufacturing Trade Action Coalition	2
Asian Alliance of Appropriate Technology Practitioners ApproTEC	
Association for Support for Female Entrepreneurs	
Automotive Component Manufacturers Association of India ACMA	
Bahia Small Farmers Association (Brazil)	
Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie BDI (Germany)	
Business Unity South Africa BUSA	
Business Europe	
Campaign to Protect Rural England	
CAN (Brazilian land owners)	
Canadian Bar Association	
Catholic Overseas Development Agency CAFOD	5
Center of Indian Trade Unions CITU	
China Apple Association	
Christian Aid	7
Confederation of British Industry CBI	3
Confederation of Indian Industry CII	10
Confederation Paysanne CPE (France)	
Congress of South African Trade Unions	2
Czech-Moravian Confederation of Trade Unions	
Development Network Africa	
Disobedients of the World	
Dry Pea and Lentil Council (USA)	
Environment and Development Action in the Third World ENDA	
European Farmers Association COPA	4

Federal Trade Commission (USA)	
Federation of Indian Export Organisations FIEO	
FETRAF (Brazilian family farms association)	
Philippine Farmers Union	
Finnish Farmers Union MTK	11
Focus on the Global South	2
Food First	
Forum Against Imperialist Globalization FAIG	
Free Market Foundation FMF (South Africa)	
Freedom for Trade	
French Farmers Association FNSEA	2
Friends of the Earth	3
Ghana Association of Women Entrepreneurs	
Global Call to Action against Poverty	
Global Exchange	
Global Express Association	
Global Free Trade Association GFTA	
GRAIN	
Greenpeace	2
Hong Kong People's Alliance	
Indian Steel Industry	
International Federation of Agricultural Producers IFAP	2
International Federation of Free Trade Unions ICFTU	4
International Policy Network	
Istanbul Textile and Apparel Exporters' Association	
Jubilee 2000	2
Kagera Co-operative Union Tanzania	
Karnataka state farmers' association (India)	
Kehitysyhteistyön palvelukeskus Kepa (Finland)	4
Korean Agricultural Federation Trade Union	
Korean Farmers' Solidarity movement	

Korean peasants' league	4
Korean Struggle	
La Via Campesina	8
Medecins Sans Frontieres	
Mexican Action Network Against Free Trade	
Mexican Pig-breeders Council	
Migrant Domestic Workers (Malaysia)	
National Association of Manufacturers (USA)	3
National Confederation of Agricultural Workers of Brazil CONTAG	
National Family Farm Coalition NFFC (USA)	
National Farmers' Federation NFF (Australia)	2
National Farmers Union NFU (UK)	
National Milk Producers' Federation (France)	
Natural Capitalism Solutions (USA)	
Norwegian Farmers Union	
Our world is not for sale OWINFS	
Oxfam	28
People's Caravan for Justice and Sovereignty	
Popular Civic Front of Puebla	
Public Citizen / Global Trade Watch PCGTW	7
Rainforest Action Network	
Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers SIAM	
Soppexcca (Nicaraguan Coffee Producers)	
Swiss Farmers Union	
The Alberta Egg Producers Board	
The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry FICCI	8
The Infernal Noise Brigade	
The International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation	
The National Retail Federation (USA)	
Third World Network	
Trade Justice Movement	

U.S. High Tech Trade Coalition	
Union Industrial Argentina	
United Steelworkers of America	2
US Apple Association	
US Chamber of Commerce	4
US Family Farms Alliance	2
US Semiconductor Industry Association	
War on Want	
Washington State Apple Commission	
Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry	
World Development Movement	4
World Growth	
World Justice Network	
WWF	2
Zapatista National Liberation Army	4

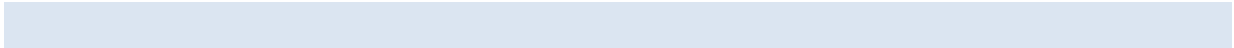
* Amount of articles where the NGO is quoted. Only one article if otherwise stated. Total: 106



ANNEX 3 GENERAL RESULTS FROM THE CONTENT ANALYSIS

The location of the quote		%
head lines / lead	69	32
Text	149	68
	218	
The relative importance of the NGO in the article		%
main topic	81	37
Mentioned	137	63
	218	
Type of quotes / mentions		%
Direct	128	59
Indirect	35	16
no quote	55	25
	218	

Sources based on		%
Interview	91	56
press release etc.	45	28
research, survey	7	4
other, i.e. opinion writing	20	12
	163	



ANNEX 4 RESULTS ON DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF NGOS

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Sum	Sum (1-9)
FT	47	1	1	7	6				9	8		79	32
G	27		1	6	20	2	1		21	9	1	88	61
EcT	58		10		1			2	1	3		77	17
ToI	9	1	3	1	1				1			16	7
WSJ	16		8	2	2				5	6	3	42	26
WP	8		1		3				11	2	1	26	18
MT	31			19					2	2		54	23
HS	26			3	5				9	8		51	25
BD	13	1		1	2				1	1	1	20	7
BT	9		1							1		11	2
total	244	3	25	39	40	2	1	2	60	40	6	462	218

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Sum	Sum (1-9)
FT	59 %	1 %	1 %	8 %	7 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	11 %	9 %	0 %	100 %	41 %
G	31 %	0 %	1 %	7 %	23 %	2 %	1 %	0 %	24 %	10 %	1 %	100 %	69 %
EcT	77 %	0 %	13 %	0 %	1 %	0 %	0 %	3 %	1 %	4 %	0 %	100 %	23 %
ToI	56 %	6 %	19 %	6 %	6 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	6 %	0 %	0 %	100 %	44 %
WSJ	38 %	0 %	18 %	5 %	5 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	11 %	14 %	7 %	100 %	62 %
WP	31 %	0 %	4 %	0 %	12 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	42 %	8 %	4 %	100 %	69 %
MT	57 %	0 %	0 %	33 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	4 %	4 %	0 %	100 %	43 %
HS	51 %	0 %	0 %	6 %	10 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	17 %	15 %	0 %	100 %	49 %
BD	65 %	5 %	0 %	5 %	10 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	5 %	5 %	5 %	100 %	35 %
BT	82 %	0 %	9 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	0 %	9 %	0 %	100 %	18 %
ave*		1 %	11 %	18 %	18 %	1 %	0 %	1 %	28 %	18 %	3 %		

* average of 218 articles

Average of articles including NGOs = 47%

Economic papers = 37%

General papers = 58%

Western media = 56%

Emerging media = 30%

Explanations of NGO categories:

- 0 no NGO mentioned
- 1 trade union
- 2 business association
- 3 farming union
- 4 development agency
- 5 environment organisation
- 6 human rights organisation
- 7 consumer organisation
- 8 several types of NGOs in the same article
- 9 category not clear (i.e. protestors, demonstrators generally)

Persons named / quoted (amount of mentions)

Lee Kyoung Hae (8)

Jose Bovè (7)

Coldplay (members) (3)

Bono (1)

Think-tanks / research institutes**Based in**

Cato institute

USA

Center for Global Development

USA

International Forum on Globalization

USA

Forum for Biotechnology and Food Security

India

South North Development Monitor (SUNS)

Malaysia

Heritage Foundation

USA

International Policy Network (IPN)

USA

Person quoted

%

President, board member	13	10
Head of staff, expert	42	33
Communications personnel	1	1
Anonymous source	1	1
Other (role not identified)	70	55

Total: 127