The Caribbean television news exchange (Caribvision) and regional integration.

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THE CARIBBEAN
TELEVISION NEWS EXCHANGE
(CARIBVISION)
AND
REGIONAL INTEGRATION

by

Shaheed Mohammed

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Communication Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts at the
University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1993

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Early Childhood 0518
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Agricultural Economics 0283
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Analytical Chemistry 0486
Biochemistry 0487
Biological Chemistry 0488
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Radiation 0752
Mathematics 0405

ENGINEERING

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Aerospace 0538
Agricultural 0339
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General 0621
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Social 0451
ABSTRACT

This study examined a number of aspects of the Caribbean television news exchange system known as Caribvision with reference to its significance for Caribbean integration. Caribvision is the latest in a number of relatively recent attempts by Third World nations to improve the flow of news and images of one other among themselves via television with the aid of satellite technology. While the primary focus of the research was the content of material transmitted on the system, some insights were also gained regarding patterns of offers and usage by member stations. Additionally, key individuals involved in the submission and utilization decisions at member stations were interviewed to determine their orientations to the exchange and its role in the region.

It was found that there was moderate to high utilization of exchanged material by stations though absolute levels of regional television news remained small. While there was consensus among decision-makers on the importance of the exchange for integration, there was only limited occurrence of overt discussion of regionalism or regionally significant issues in the exchanged material.

In the context of Deutsch's communications approach to integration it is suggested that it is the level of exchange of material rather than the incidence of any particular topic which may signify unifying potential. Further research is recommended to ascertain the degree to which the exchanged material is received and utilized by various national audiences in the region.
DEDICATION

To Wends, the inspiration

To my parents, the foundation

To Sis, for her love

and

To Nabs, that he may be inspired
to continue succeeding.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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And to Ingrid Sampson, for all her help.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Abbreviations</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Background</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Origin</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Structure</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Theoretical Bases</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The Relevance of the NWICO</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Social Responsibility and Development</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Concept of Nationalism</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. The Theory and Practice of Regional Integration</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Caribbean Integration</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. METHODOLOGY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Definitions</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hypotheses</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Data Availability</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Assumptions</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Variables/Operationalization</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Quantitative Devices</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Qualitative Devices</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Validity and Reliability</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vi
IV. FINDINGS
   i. Survey/Content Analysis
      Duration
      Story Type
      Transmission Volumes/Pattems
      Offers
      Thematic Analysis
      Utilization

   ii. Interviews

V. DISCUSSION
   i. Recommendations

Endnotes

Appendix A - Questionnaire
Appendix B - The Caribbean Region

References

Ethics Statement

Vita Auctoris
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1  Summary of Story Codings by Thematic Categories  80
Table 2  Summary of material usage by number of stories and time for Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados  85
Table 3  Scope of Caribvision offers by number and percentage of total stories  88
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Duration of story by frequency of incidence</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Story type by number of stories</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Material time by frequency of incidence</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Country by level of contribution (in number of stories) and by level of contribution (in total time)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Contribution pattern (1991-93), country by number of stories</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Summary of contents of Barbados offers, percentage frequency by thematic category</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>Summary of contents of Trinidad and Tobago offers, percentage frequency by thematic category</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Summary of contents of Jamaica offers, percentage frequency by thematic category</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Summary of contents of Surinam offers, percentage frequency by thematic category</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>Breakdown of Caribvision story use at Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation Television (Barbados) for March 1993 by country of origin, number of stories and time used</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>Breakdown of Caribvision story use at Trinidad and Tobago Television for March 1993 by country of origin, number of stories and time used</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CANA</td>
<td>Caribbean News Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARICOM</td>
<td>Caribbean Community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARIFTA</td>
<td>Caribbean Free Trade Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBC</td>
<td>Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBU</td>
<td>Caribbean Broadcasting Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCN</td>
<td>Caribbean Communications Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable News Network</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENG</td>
<td>Electronic News Gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FES</td>
<td>Friedrich Ebert Stiftung [Foundation]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IAMCR</td>
<td>International Association for Mass Communication Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBC</td>
<td>Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NWICO</td>
<td>New World Information and Communication Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TSTT</td>
<td>Telecommunication Services of Trinidad and Tobago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTT</td>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago Television</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

i. Background

The CARIBVISION satellite T.V. news exchange can be viewed as one practical example of the effort to promote and preserve a Caribbean identity. (Marshall, 1990, 3)

At about 2 pm (Eastern Caribbean Time) every weekday, staff at television newsrooms in a range of Caribbean countries stand ready to share events in their respective territories with their regional counterparts. In the subsequent fifteen minutes each station feeds its own news stories via satellite to all the other stations and, in turn, records feeds from the others. This process provides the only regular source of television news from one country to another in the region. For the period January 1991 to December 1992 more than two thousand stories were carried on the exchange (Caribvision Statistics, 1993). This compares to virtually no formal or
regular inter-island exchange of television news prior to the establishment of Caribvision in 1988.

The Caribvision system is not a news agency and is not generally concerned with news gathering as a primary activity. It is, rather, an exchange; the news carried on the system is submitted by participating stations and each station chooses from the offers of its counterparts. Regular contributors to the system include the three founding stations, CBC Barbados, TTT Trinidad and JBC Jamaica as well as three new members, ATV Surinam, ATM Curacao and CCN TV6 Trinidad. Only the first five of this list have the capacity to transmit as well as receive stories while CCN TV6 sends and receives material through TTT's facilities in Trinidad (CBU, 1990).

Among the occasional contributors are stations from St Vincent, Grenada, St Kitts, and FBN St Maarten as well as various agencies such as the Guyana Television Service and the Barbadian Office of the USIS and even the CBU itself. Throughput originating from these and other occasional contributors amounted to only 2.2% of total story volume by number for the year 1991 (Caribvision Statistics, 1993).

Major funding for the system is derived from participating stations and the German-based Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) with the participants bearing the satellite costs and the FES
currently covering the administrative expenses under its project finance budget. Staff at the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU) coordinate the system with input from German consultative personnel.

Various regional stations are contacted by the CBU staff on weekday mornings and asked for their submissions (or offers) for that day. Generally, these come from the previous night’s major news in each territory. Same day offers are generally limited to very important stories and those which can be edited and packaged prior to that day’s satellite uplink. A process of negotiation follows in which slots are bargained for through the CBU depending on current availability of stories and relative lengths.

Telephone calls and fax transmissions are made to and from the Caribvision coordinators and the various editors at local stations until it is determined how much time and how many stories are to be submitted by each participant. This information is then collated by Caribvision staff and a so-called "Daily Menu" is then issued on the wire feed of the Caribbean News Agency, (CANA) (Marshall, 1992 b) which is accessible by most Caribbean media institutions. Extensive teleconferencing facilities are then employed to link telecommunication staff at television stations and local groundstations for preparations leading up to the actual
fifteen minute period of sequential uplinks and continuous downlinks.

Subsequent steps in the process are conducted at the local level. When received, Caribvision stories are selectively chosen for broadcast and then slotted into the local newscasts, usually in a separate regional section by "line-up" editors or other senior staff. Local "links" or announcer lead-ins are prepared and the Caribvision stories thus become part of the local broadcast. Additionally, text stories from around the region (generally obtained from the CANA wire service) are interspersed with the Caribvision items to complete the regional package.

Caribvision currently operates on weekdays throughout the year except on holidays which occur on the same day throughout the region. The mean monthly number of stories submitted by all participants to the exchange for the years 1991 and 1992 was 93 (Caribvision Statistics, 1993). For 1992 the maximum number of stories per month was 107 in October and the lowest monthly throughput was 77 in June (Marshall, 1993).

ii. Origin

The television news exchange is not a novel idea. The European Broadcasting Union inaugurated its television news exchange system "Eurovision" in 1952 (Keune, 1985, 31). Less than a
decade later, both the Western European "Eurovision" system and the Eastern European "Intervision" systems were exchanging news between their regions (Fortner, 1993, 155). The level of traffic was relatively small by today's standards -- 84 stories exchanged in 1961, moving through fluctuations to 239 in 1969 (Eugster, 1983, 230).

It was not until 1975 that the Eurovision-Intervision system approximated the levels maintained by today's youngest exchange -- Caribvision. In that year the level of traffic grew to over 1,100 items. It is important to note, however, that the flow was very one-sided as only 34 of the items went from Eastern Europe to Western Europe in that year (Varis and Jokelin, 1976, 82-88).

An attempt to trace the development of the television news exchange between developing countries takes one back to the year 1971 when two significant international fora were convened to discuss this notion. Tokyo hosted a meeting of Asian television officials to discuss a regional and international exchange of news; in Cairo, the Arab States Broadcasting Union brought their members together with UNESCO and European experts to discuss setting up a regional television news exchange as well (Keure, 1985, 29).
The Tokyo conference ended inconclusively and plans for the Asian exchange did not materialise until the 1980's. The Arab conference, however, led to the establishment of the first Third World news exchange in the mid-1970's with plans for a satellite based operation among the Arab states by the turn of the decade (Keune, 1978, 76). However, the satellite exchange in the Arab region did not materialise until March of 1987, prior to which the interchange of news was achieved primarily by physical transportation of videotapes (Pawlouschek, 1991, 34).

Asia lagged somewhat in the establishment of their exchange but came on stream with the benefit of a number of years of preparatory staff training and with the advantage of a satellite link-up on January 16, 1984 (Keune, 1985, 34). This exchange, Asiavision, is administered by the Asian Broadcasting Union and includes among its participants television broadcasters from Malaysia, China, Indonesia, Pakistan, Brunei, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and more recently, Japan, Australia, India, Iran and South Korea (Lent, 1989, 22).

Commenting on these exchanges at the International Association for Mass Communication Research (IAMCR) Conference in 1986, Professor Don M. Flournoy suggests:
The capability for collecting and sharing one's own news gives Third World countries a way to break out of the usual "dominance-dependence" relationships characteristic of news flows and make possible, what has been so difficult to manage until now, horizontal exchange between neighbouring or near neighbouring states.

The difference is that, increasingly, Third World countries now control the instruments of information production and distribution which were formerly controlled by others.

Gladstone Wilson (1990, 5) notes that the issue of regional news and programme exchange in the Caribbean dates back to the formation of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU) in 1970. Be that as it may, these exchanges were limited to radio link-ups and infrequent interchanges of videotape until 1986 when Trinidad and Tobago Television Ltd and CBC TV in Barbados began a satellite exchange. They were joined by the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation within a few months (Marshall, 1990, 4).

In 1987, Jones P. Madeira, former Secretary General of the CBU and then Head of News and Current Affairs at Trinidad and Tobago Television approached the German Freidrich Ebert Stiftung (Freidrich Ebert Foundation, FES) for assistance in operating the exchange (Marshall, 1990, 4). Subsequent discussions led to a Senior Specialist in news and exchanges from the FES, Mr. Michael Abend, being assigned to the task (Wilson, 7).
The joint venture, aided by the fortuitous occurrence of an agreement for block rates between regional broadcasters and INTELSAT, led to the launching of the regional television news exchange which was (perhaps following historical precedent) dubbed "Caribvision." It formally came into being on March 23, 1988.

The technical headquarters of the system is located at the Port-of-Spain office of the Trinidadian telecom agency — Telecommunication Services of Trinidad and Tobago (TSTT) while the administrative nerve centre is at the CBU's headquarters in St Michael, Barbados. The system now operates Monday to Friday on INTELSAT Major Path 1, coordinates 325.5 from 18:15 to 18:30 GMT (Marshall, 1990, 5).

The daily Caribvision feed involves the synchronization of highly sophisticated technical processes among the regional "telecoms" and their respective local stations. Some of the critical components in the operation are, however, extremely simple. The first basic requirement is capturing whatever is sent up to the satellite by all other stations during the link; this is the material which will make its way to the local nightly newscast and is recorded directly to videotape off the satellite feed. Thus a recording tape is run continuously for the duration of the link while other stations
uplink. This tape is stopped when it comes around to the local station's turn to uplink.

The second basic requirement is then met -- that of running (more precisely "rolling") the offer tape with the local stories at this time with the correct technical adjustments so that the best possible audio, video and synchronization signals reach the satellite. At the simplest level, these processes require little more than a basic knowledge of the controls on a videocassette recorder but from then on, matters grow progressively more complex.

One of the main complicating factors is the location of the telecom facilities relative to the television facility and the location of the telecom facilities relative to their earth stations. In Trinidad and Tobago, for example, tapes are often driven from Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT) in Port-of-Spain to the offices of Telecommunications Services of Trinidad and Tobago (TSTT) in Port-of-Spain for Caribvision transmission and recording via microwave links with the Mathura earth station more than 50 miles away. A similar situation exists in Jamaica as well.

Alternatively, as also obtains at TTT, technicians at the local station may establish a microwave link directly to the earth station and record and transmit via that link in
conjunction with earth station personnel. This, of course, depends on the availability of equipment and personnel and is not always possible.

Thus tremendous technical challenges arise not only in maintaining these links but also in maintaining the technical quality of transmission and reception material. The complexity of the television signal and the potential for signal loss and distortions during these terrestrial links weighs heavily on the quality of the pictures and sound reaching the main Caribvision feed. The reality of the situation is therefore one which requires highly skilled technical staff at the television stations to manage the daily feeds. A technical evaluation is also instituted on each transmission wherein each participant rates the quality of the signal received from every other and the ratings pooled.

iii. Structure

Caribvision is subsumed under the larger operation of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union. This agency was formed in 1970 and according to Gladstone Wilson (1990, 5), "a primary objective of the organisation involved the need to develop successful mechanisms for news and programme exchanges."
Established with input from UNESCO, the Union is an umbrella organization which covers almost all broadcasting interests in the region. The CBU is headed by a Secretary General (at time of writing, Leo de Leon of Trinidad and Tobago) and is run in consultation with representatives of member media houses. There are eleven members of staff in total (Marshall, 1993, n.p.).

The daily news exchange is only one of the activities in which the CBU is involved it has, inter alia, spearheaded a number of regional production activities and is the chief facilitator of live regional coverage of event, including cricket. The CBU also produces a weekly package, Caribscope comprised of features submitted on an ad-hoc (and completely voluntary) basis by regional television broadcasters. These features are generally not as current as Caribvision items and the Caribscope programme as a whole is more of a magazine-type presentation than a news package.

There is a member of staff assigned to the position of News Coordinator who oversees the running of the daily news exchange. Two other staff members are also listed under the Caribvision heading and are involved in technical activities, preparation of daily menus and dubbings for stations without the benefit of downlink facilities.
The formal structure of Caribvision at the CBU is supplemented by an informal network of decision-makers (who may change regularly) at the subscriber/utilizer level. Generally, these news editors and journalists are supervised by individual news directors who will either delegate or oversee the selection of items for submission and use.

The Caribvision exchange is the newest of the international satellite news exchanges and, perhaps consequently, still in relative obscurity. Literature on related subjects mostly predates this particular system and data about its activities have to be obtained directly from the CBU.

The present study examines the roles, both perceived and real, of the system. Implications of the system for the news media are also be taken in their social context, with particular reference to the integration process within the Caribbean region. Emphasis is also placed on characteristics of the exchange process i.e. volumes and patterns of flow as well as the nature of the constituent news items (through content analysis). The data gathered and analyzed within this study represents a pioneering effort.

The fact that little systematic academic research has been done into the phenomenon of TV news exchanges in general and the Caribbean system in particular provides a basis on which
to begin a justification of the thesis. Indeed, it has been noted that through the medium of regional TV news exchanges, many Third World countries are "quietly" challenging the former patterns of flow in international news." The relevance of this to the NWICO debate is evident and will be explored in greater detail later.

iv. Theoretical Bases

This thesis attempts to derive theoretical and intellectual grounding from a number of areas. These range from conceptual frameworks grounded in press and development theories to international frames of reference for the nature of news flows and communication structures. The issues falling within the ambit of press theories and international debate may be seen to fit into a more profound context in the Caribbean which is used as the overriding basis for the present analysis, namely that of Caribbean integration. Thus theoretical propositions about nationalism and regional integration are also central to the present concerns.

Relevant to the analysis of the exchange as well, is the so-called "Social Responsibility" theory of the press. In the Caribbean context, this body of thought provides a general
analytical orientation for activities associated with the Caribvision exchange. The theory has its foundations in libertarian views of the press but considers libertarianism alone to be inadequate to deal with the facts of a free press. Social responsibility theory has as its basic tenet, that freedom of the press has corresponding responsibilities associated with it (Lorimer and McNulty, 1991, 74). Related to this is the rejection of the idea of a self-righting process being inherent in the existence of a so-called free marketplace of ideas.

This theory is essential not only for fitting the Caribvision exchange into the context of press theory but also for relating its activities to the larger issues of the New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate. One of the main components of that debate places the ideals of a free press in opposition to responsible journalism as articulated by the interests of the Third World (see page 23).

The continuing New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate appears to have undergone a resurgence since its virtual collapse during the early and mid-1980's. The debate, carrying with it the concerns of developing nations in the international communications arena is of particular importance to the Caribbean area, situated in the backyard of the world's largest and most influential producer of media,
programming and communication infrastructure -- the United States. Significant in this respect is the finding of Aggrey Brown (1987) whose figures for imported programming in the Anglophone Caribbean distinguished the region as being "the most penetrated region by foreign television content in the world." (Brown, 1987, 19-20)

Given the developing-nation status of most of the Caribbean region it is unavoidable that reference must be made at times to the concept of "Development News." This concept has come to represent the opposite end of a continuum from metropolitan (Western) libertarianism. While the debate has centred primarily on the two extremes, it may be possible to place Social Responsibility somewhere in the middle.

Development news theory has been largely a response to concerns over perceived domination of the international news media by metropolitan interests. It has also taken on some nefarious connotations as it is suggested that the theory and practice of development journalism is simply a guise for the legitimization of government propaganda in the media of developing nations.6

Its relevance here is largely restricted to the fact that the basic thrust of the theory is toward utilising mass media through journalism to foster development in Lesser Developed
Countries (LDCs). It may be seen as concordant in some respects with the activities of Caribbean media practitioners in establishing Caribvision. Noteworthy, also is the fact that the CBU and Caribvision are de facto development projects.

The theory of nationalism is important to the present discussion primarily for its role in the development of theories of regional integration. Yet, obviously, the study of nationalism is also relevant to any analysis of integration among individual nation states as questions of nationhood and statehood and their fundamental definitions and bases are critical issues.

In the Caribbean context it may be seen that the concept of nationalism is ill-defined and open to different interpretations given decades of debate and major failed experiments (such as the Federation of the West Indies and Carifta, both discussed later). Nationalism in the context of nation-statehood is and has been the dominant concept in the past decade or two but the lingering notion of Pan-Caribbean nationalism defined across geographical boundaries has not completely disappeared. This emergent Caribbean nationalism has been manifest in a number of different guises since the end of the colonial era, all of which may be subsumed under the heading of 'integration.'
The formal sources of nationalism theory are as diverse as the variants of the theory. This diversity is reflected in the contention among political, philosophical and other orientations for supremacy in explaining the various manifestations of nationalism. In this present context, sources and determinisms grounded in social phenomena are most important. The work of Karl Deutsch is thus often highlighted in this study. This is so not only for the importance of that work in terms of the theory of nationalism, but as a basis for the theories of regional integration as well.

Such theory on regional integration represents a relatively sparse body of work faced with definitional and conceptual problems. Based heavily on works explicating nationalism, development of theory in the area of regional integration has been eclipsed by more established concerns such as the analysis of federation arrangements and the determination of economic imperatives among regional groupings.

The situation has also been obscured by the fact that:

...many of those who began by seeking insights into (political) unification found in their case study materials, wealths of new and interesting information about cognate occurrences in subject areas currently called international administration, transnational and transgovernmental relations, international political economy, international bargaining, linkage politics, interdependence, Third World political and economic development, and more. Each of these diversions into cognate areas produced a literature and several led to new bodies of theory.
Despite such limitations, at least three preliminary theories of regional integration have evolved (Lindberg and Scheingold, 1971, 19). The most important of these to the present study is the so-called "communications" theory of regional integration, itself based heavily on Karl Deutsch's social communication approach to nationalism. All of the approaches, however, consider information exchange at various levels to be of great importance. Therefore, the role of the media is likely to be significant in any integration context and even more so when it is placed in a position to mediate between the mass societies of a given region as in the case of Caribvision.
CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

i. The Relevance of The NWICO

It is important to note that the movement toward establishing the NWICO took a negative turn when UNESCO suffered the loss of both the United States and Great Britain because of those countries' opposition to the envisaged new order. This and other events have culminated in the new UNESCO Director General, Frederico Mayor, stating that plans for the NWICO no longer exist at UNESCO8 and the fact that:

The New World Information and Communication Order debate now has been replaced by the so-called 'New Communications Strategy' in the UNESCO documents (Mowlana, 1990, 26).

Despite the withdrawal of UNESCO support for the NWICO concept, the movement has continued and even shown a resurgence in recent times. Mowlana and Roach (1992, 8) attribute this to a shift in the locus of input towards professional and non-governmental efforts in the developing world (Traber and Nordenstreng, 1992, 7). The general concerns of the debate are best documented in the UNESCO-sponsored "Report of the MacBride Commission" (1980). The commission, headed by Irish diplomat Sean MacBride, investigated various
aspects of the international communication environment and proposed recommendations to address some of the problems.

At the "Second MacBride round table of Non-government Organisations" in Prague (21-22 Sept 1990), it was noted that:

...the principles and main recommendations of the Mac Bride report are as valid today as they were ten years ago (in Traber and Nordenstreng, 1992, 28)

Mowlana and Roach (1992, 4) characterise the findings of the UNESCO supported MacBride Commission (1980) in the following manner:

Although the members of the MacBride Commission held widely different opinions on the meaning of a NWICO, they were in agreement that the countries of the South were grossly disadvantaged by existing information relations.

They suggest, however, that the significance of the NWICO has grown even greater. Of particular interest to this present study is their citation of the European Commission's "Directive on Television Broadcast Programmes in Europe" (October, 1989).

On the one hand the directive calls for action on the "regional intergovernmental level" -- a notion which has bearing on Caribvision. On the other, the directive which points to a central concern with cultural identity -- a factor
which is expected to feature heavily in any analysis of Caribvision.

The directive recommends:

...among other things, that European broadcasting systems increase their local and national production, especially in light of the increased number of foreign programmes now being diffused in Western Europe (Mowlana and Roach, 1992, 8).

It is suggested that:

By recommending a quota for the importation and use of foreign television programmes, especially from the United States, the Directive underlined the importance of broadcasting and cultural identity, thus relating a number of issues that were at the heart of the NWICO debate in the 1970's (ibid, 8).

On this matter, in the Caribbean context, it will be seen that the recommendations to the CARICOM Heads of Government Conference (a forum directly analogous to the European Council) recognise similar problems but do not invoke restrictions on foreign programming. Rather, they suggest responses to the flows (Raphel et al., 1992, 301). Caribvision may be seen as one such response.

One of the noted proponents of the NWICO has been Tunisian diplomat Mustapha Masmoudi. His advocacy is couched in these terms by Anthony Smith (1980, 22):

The conditions as set out by Masmoudi consist partly in a scheme to 'eliminate the after-effects of the colonial era' in the collection, editing, selection and dissemination of news. The developing countries must devise their own national
communication policies which provide for the interchange of information at regional and local levels and the exchange of expertise, journalists and technicians among themselves, while working with developed countries to establish their media and train their personnel.

Caribvision, and its mother organization, the CBU, may be seen to represent such a forum for the interchange of information at the regional level as well as a system for the exchange of expertise (training programmes and exchanges are undertaken on a sporadic basis). Developed country involvement is also evident in the role of the FES.

Another constituent of the NWICO debate relevant to the Caribbean television news exchange may be found in the UNESCO Declaration of Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to The Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, Apartheid and Incitement to War (Oct-Nov, 1978). Article 44 of that declaration contends that:

For the establishment of a new equilibrium and greater reciprocity in the flow of information, which will be conducive to the institution of a just and lasting peace and to the economic and political independence of the developing countries, it is necessary to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries, and between those countries.

It is expected that an analysis of Caribvision will demonstrate that it addresses the concerns of information flows between the developing countries of the Caribbean and
thus begins to challenge the predominance of external flows into the region.

News and international news flows feature heavily in the debate and the question of "free" as opposed to "balanced" flows has always been contentious. With reference to this facet of the NWICO call, Keval Kumar (1990, 4) describes one perspective:

The debate...is not simply between the proponents of 'free flow' and those arguing for a 'free and balanced flow' of information across borders. It is, rather, between radically diverse approaches to news and news flows, which have their roots in distinct social philosophies and culture.

Caribvision and other South-South news exchanges (both television and otherwise) may be seen as partial resolutions to this aspect of the debate since (in these cases) the nature of the flow rests in the hands of those who would traditionally be (or claim to be) exploited or disadvantaged by external flows.

This point is supported in a special report carried by *World Broadcast News* entitled "News Exchanges Advance Information Order" (Sept 1984, 5). The report, which makes reference to the Caribvision exchange, suggests that despite the political controversy about the NWICO, Third World news exchanges are
making progress towards achieving the balance of news flows which the NWICO movement holds as ideal.

Wilson (1990, 5) contends that:

> The issues of programme/information exchange as a feasible and workable proposition among developing countries...are...important to the larger issue of how and by what methods meanings are conveyed about our environment.

This is also consistent with recommendation #6 of the Mac Bride Report which states in part:

> Where viable, regional networks should be set up to increase news flows and serve all the major language groups in the area. (in Traber and Nordenstreng, 1992, 49)

This is a concept which finds expression in Caribvision.

ii Social Responsibility Theory and Development News

The traditional libertarian theory of the press was the sole framework of reference for analysis of the emergent mass media until:

> In the 20th century in the United States the notion developed that the media, the only industry singled out for protection in the Bill of Rights, must meet a social responsibility (Severin and Tankard, 1988, 213-214).

This theory views the freedom of expression afforded the media as "a moral right with an aspect of duty about it" (Siebert,
Peterson and Schramm, 1963, 96). Its basic grounding is in libertarian theory and its first significant expression is cited as the report of the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press (1947) in the United States (Denis McQuail, 1987, 116). However, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1963, 5) contend that "all the essentials of this theory were expressed by responsible editors and publishers long before the Commission."

The development of this trend of thought was prompted by a recognition of deficiencies in classical libertarianism. According to McQuail (1987, 116) the main impetus for the theory "was a growing awareness that in some important respects the free market had failed to fulfil the promise of freedom and to deliver expected benefits to society."

One of the recommendations of the Hutchins Commission is directly related to the formation and running of Caribvision (which has been largely on the initiative of Caribbean media institutions):

We recommend that the agencies of mass communication assume the responsibility of financing new, experimental activities in their fields (in Schramm, 1960, 613).

Herbert Altschull in his book *Agents of Power: The Role of the News Media in Human Affairs* (1984), sees only three models of
the press in society: "the market (or capitalist) model, the Marxist (or Socialist) model, and the advancing (or, less accurately, developing countries) model." 12 This third "developing countries" model represents the so-called Development News theory of the media. Embden (1988, 2) traces this theory back to "Asia's attempt at utilising the media in promoting national development" and suggests that it "arose from the debate over the domination by the Western media of media in developing countries." Stevenson (1988, 12) confirms the Asian origin of the theory and suggests that it was "an outgrowth of rural development programs" and offers this description:

Development news was that which promoted development, everything from literacy and personal hygiene to agricultural practices and family planning. But it also was defined as that which reflected development, that is, the "good news" of development (ibid, 13).

Immediately evident from this is the fact of a definitional problem with the subject matter of the theory.

"Development" may be taken as contextual and dynamic, a notion dependent on social imperatives in different places at different times and defined variously by disparate interests. Varying conceptualizations of national development pose major problems even to development theorists; the bases of development outlooks range from economic to social to political.
Since the economist views development in terms of gross national product, per capita incomes and balance of payments and the political scientist views development in terms of class structure and distribution of power, the very act of defining "development" is a specious venture. Any proposed definition will depend both on context and purpose. Bearing this in mind, reference may be made to Brown's (1981, 41) definition:

In the context of History as the sum total of the dialectic of man and his environment, development is a continuous process of actualization of human potential.

Altschull (1984, 287) suggests a list of ideas behind the "advancing" or developing countries model. The first two are relevant here:

The press is a unifying and not a divisive force.
The press is a device for beneficial social change.

These two items are of importance to the matter at hand in this thesis. Caribvision's potential as a unifying force is critical to the present analysis and an attempt will be made to link the system to the socially beneficial (it is contended) concept of Caribbean integration.

Also, the basis of development news theory is congruent with one of the assumptions of this thesis, i.e., that news is contextual. One may argue that an obvious corollary to this is
the contention that what defines news is equally contextual. Far from simply accepting the classic criteria involving factors such as timeliness, proximity, etc., development news theory argues that "the centre of the problem is really the definition of news itself" and that "developing societies have totally different requirements of their news media from the more prosperous and stable societies" (Smith, 1980, 92-93). Yet certain conceptual problems with development news theory (e.g., lack of a complete and accepted definition of development news itself) make it unsuitable in large part for proper analyses beyond this point.

Given the reality of the Caribvision system, it is difficult to ignore the responsibility assumed by television journalists and news managers in Trinidad, Barbados and Jamaica in initiating news exchanges among themselves. Further, the ongoing exchange is itself a function of self-perceived social responsibility devoid of government or even capitalistic initiatives; the exchange is non-profit. Thus analysis of Caribvision suggests the relevance of social responsibility theory of the media in the context of the NWICO with passing reference to the development theory of news.

### The Concept of Nationalism

Anthony Smith (1983, 8-10) makes the point that the term "nationalism" has come to acquire a number of negative
connotations due to the use of the catchword in various political contexts including Hitler's fascist regime and in modern subversive movements. Apart, from its political use and abuse, however, the term does have other more neutral and constructive referents.

That is not to say it is a specific term with an agreed upon meaning. Like many other social science denotations, this term and its variants are subject to numerous interpretations. One definition may be found in the work of Karl Deutsch (1953, 4) who defines nationality as:

> a term which may be applied to a people among whom there exists a significant movement toward political, economic, or cultural autonomy, that is to say, toward a political organization, or a market area, or an area of literary or cultural interchange...

From this we may tentatively posit that the "movement" referred to constitutes what may be called nationalism. This assertion must be subject to a number of qualifications. Primarily, attention must be drawn to a distinction between nationalism as a process of development or an end-state of a people and nationalism as a doctrine or an ideology (Smith, 1983, 168). Following from this it must also be noted that the phenomenon of nationalism is not delimited in any way by the geographical boundaries of nation-states (Deutsch, 1953, 4).
Included among the myriad approaches to theorising about nationalism is the communications approach. The predominant forms of this approach were embodied in the traditional development models as proposed by Lerner, Schramm and others who saw the mass media as key to the modernisation (roughly equivalent to development in this case) of economies and nations (Smith, 1983, 65 and passim).

The communication theory of nationalism, however, transcends the economic determinism evident in these modernisation approaches. Central to the theory is a concern about the level of social communication and the degree of 'complementarity' of this social communication. Drawing an analogy to electronic communications systems, this concept is described in terms of:

How fast and how accurately do messages get through? How complex and voluminous is the information that can be so transmitted? How effectively are the operations on one part of the net transmitted to another? (Deutsch, 1953, 70)

Smith (1983, 225) also suggests that three types of nationalism are evident in groups that have recently attained independence, namely, 'integration,' 'protectionism' and 'expansionism.' It is instructive to note his description of this 'integration' variety of nationalism:

The aim is to weld a 'nation' out of the disparate cultural groups that make up the ex-colonial unit.
There is no question here of rejuvenating an ancient or declined society, but the founding of a new and modern culture and society through political action (ibid, 225).

With the caveat that 'political action' does not necessarily infer political unification, one may point to the similarity between this description and the Caribbean post-colonial experience.

If one considers the critical role of communication under the communication theory of nationalism, along with this view of Caribbean integration as a type of nationalism, it is clear that Caribvision is positioned to affect social communication among the disparate elements of Caribbean society. This connection also points to the necessity for investigation of the nature and flow of information on the exchange.

Even in non-communication theories of nationalism, the importance of shared experience in building a nation (not necessarily a nation-state) is emphasized. According to Ali A. Mazrui (1972,277-278) this is a psychological phenomenon involving a "process of acquiring a consciousness of having undergone some important experiences in the past together."

This is somewhat relevant in the Caribbean context due to the shared experiences of slavery, British colonialism and brief
Federation (see pages 39-42). Yet if one notes that the process is described as one of acquiring consciousness then it becomes clear that a mechanism for spreading this consciousness is important and, indeed, has been lacking in the Caribbean. Caribvision has the potential to be such a mechanism given its pervasiveness in Caribbean society and its ability to transcend certain traditional limitations to building regional consciousness. Two such limitations which may be cited are literacy problems in some territories and the hitherto dated nature of any visual material from the region.

**iv The Theory and Practice of Regional Integration**

It is contended that "regionalism is as old as history." (Garg, 1979, 1)\(^3\) It is a phenomenon which has taken many forms and till today defies comprehensive definition. Indeed, Duffy and Feld (1980, 499) suggest that:

> A problem which plagues the entire body of regional integration theory is the failure to reach an agreed upon operational definition of the concept.

Indeed, there are as many definitions as there are approaches to the field of regionalism.
Each definition provides only a partial picture of the concept, depending on the particular biases of the interest group which offers it.

Some scholars have written about economic cooperation, and that was integration to them. Others have written of forming new central governing authorities and called this political aspect integration. Still others have looked at communications or defense arrangements and called these social or military processes integration. Depending on how a theorist has approached integration and which of the above dimensions he has called integration, theorists have sometimes arrived at noncomparable findings (McCall, 1976, 17).

From the school of political determinism within the body of integration theory, therefore, one may find a definition of integration as:

...the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations, and political activities toward a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states (Haas, 1968, 16).

In the economic school, regional integration is grounded in measures such as the formation of free trade areas, common currency arrangements, customs unions and common markets (El-Agraa, 1982, 1-2). Theory in this area is relatively well developed and is usually traced back to the 1950's and the work of Jacob Viner (Axline, 1979, 2). Yet, the concepts involved in these theories go much further into history -- among them one may find the Ricardian Comparative Advantage
theorem as well as notions of free trade among nations which one may link to Adam Smith. The definition of integration in this realm of study runs thusly:

...a state of affairs or a process which involves the amalgamation of separate economies into larger regions... (which) is concerned with the discriminatory removal of all trade impediments between the participating nations...(El-Agraa, 1982, 1)

To further compound the definitional dilemma, some writers (notably Haas, 1970) have tried to make distinctions between the study of regionalism and the study of regional integration on the basis that "regionalism can be a political slogan" (Haas, 1971, 8). One might contend that this distinction is not only a minor semantic technicality but also an inhibiting factor to any holistic analysis of regional unity.

Feld and Boyd (1980, 3) offer a normative definition involving some of the basic elements involved in reference to a regional system:

...that the states in the group are in several respects interdependent, mainly because of their geographic relatedness; that this relatedness is a source of cultural and other affinities between those states; that consciousness of area identity can motivate some or all of these states to deal collectively with "outside" powers; and that policies toward any state in the group should take account of the likely reactions of its neighbours.

(highlights in original)
But a lack of coherence in the definition of a phenomenon is no indication of any lack of importance of the phenomenon itself. Under various banners and with different approaches, numerous regional movements and systems have been formed by contiguous as well as non-contiguous nation-states; many have developed only in the present century.

The Arab League, for example, came into being on March 22, 1945 with the signing of the ‘Pact of the League of Arab States’ by Egypt, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan and Yemen (Garg, 1979, 73). Formation of this league has been identified among the first efforts at Arab unification (Etzioni, 1965, 99). The European Economic Community is another example of regional integration, one which has progressed from largely economic concerns to broader social spheres. Significantly, Etzioni (1965, 257) somewhat prophetically noted the importance of communication to the growing success of that grouping.

Attempts to provide a theoretical basis for the myriad forms and conceptions of regionalism increased in the post-World War Two period along with the increased momentum toward integration in regions such as Western Europe (Duffy and Feld, 1980, 497). Out of these attempts, three basic theoretical approaches have evolved, namely, the federal approach, the
neo-functional approach, and the communications approach (Lindberg and Scheingold, 1971, 19).

The federal approach lays its faith in the development of institutions and constitutional frameworks to foster regional integration while the neo-functional school upholds incremental measures by political elites as the primary determinant of integration (ibid, 20-23). Whereas the federalists locate the nexus of integration in the formation of formal common institutions among nations, the functionalist school emphasizes a gradual approach centred on the development of common interests and cooperation (Caporaso, 1972, 26)

The communications approach to regional integration is similar to the communication theory of nationalism. Indeed, many of the bases of the one are common to the other. The communication theory of regional integration is largely credited to the work of Karl Deutsch (Duffy and Feld, 1980, 505) as, indeed, is the communication theory of nationalism. The theory serves to broaden the focus of integration beyond economic or political issues to the development of "a sense of community" (ibid, 506).

Central to this theoretical approach is the notion that indicators of integration may be derived or indexed from
levels of cross-border communication among component states. It thus provides a basis for quantifying the phenomenon (at least uni-dimensionally). Due to its heuristic utility and its recognition of the role of communication, it is of paramount importance in analyzing the Caribvision exchange.

Caribbean Integration

H.W. Springer (1961, 15-16) identified the major challenge to Caribbean integration in the following manner:

The problem to be solved is one of communications, and the progress that has been made in this direction in the last few decades makes it reasonable to expect that with time and perseverance the difficulty will progressively diminish...I believe that there is such a nationality as West Indian, created by common factors of racial origin, history, language, culture and association, and that, notwithstanding local differences, the West Indian is distinct from other peoples.

One of the primary dilemmas in writing about the Caribbean is delineation of which Caribbean is being referred to. There are many. The geographical region comprises nations as diverse in background and present-day status as Haiti, Cuba and Puerto Rico. A variety of different international standings are also
evident, from Dutch colonies to French Departments and newly independent nations.

One of the useful terms in such delineation is "West Indies" or "British West Indies." An alternative but equally apt term is "Commonwealth Caribbean." This is a useful starting point for expressing which Caribbean is being referred to in this study. From that basis one may progress to the notion of the CARICOM (Caribbean Community) nations. This grouping comprises those territories making up the Commonwealth Caribbean with a number of new additions and affiliates.

At any rate, the terms West Indian and Caribbean will be used interchangeably in this study to refer to the Commonwealth Caribbean, the core of English-speaking nations which were involved in the attempt to form a West Indian Federation, along with those now associated with CARICOM, and territories affiliated with this group.

The notion of Caribbean or West Indian Integration in one form or another may be traced back as much as three hundred years.¹⁵ However, Payne (1980, 4) suggests that:

Because the motive behind inter-island association in this period was no more than a desire to increase the ease and economy with which Britain might be able to administer its possessions in the Caribbean, the resulting unity was felt more in the Colonial Office than actually in the West Indies. At no stage did Britain consider it necessary to
promote cooperation amongst her West Indian subjects.

Through a number of stages of policy and debate as well as economic motives, the integration question became an issue of forging closer links among the British Colonies in the 1930's (Payne, 1980, 7). From November 1932 to February 1933, the Closer Union Commission visited the Eastern Caribbean. Despite noted divisions, this commission recommended uniting the Windward and Leeward islands (including Trinidad) into a single colony (Wallace, 1977, 95). But the proposal failed because:

...the islands feared that federation would bring increased costs and because Trinidad objected to any union with the poorer and smaller islands (Etzioni, 1965, 141).

The British Moyne Commission toured the region between November 1938 and March 1939 partly in response to growing civil unrest in a number of territories at the time (Wallace, 1977, 43). This commission identified a current of support for the notion of integration and advocated federation as a desirable goal in the long term (Etzioni, 1965, 141). Its conclusion in favour of integration may be attributed to the fact that:

Despite disagreement on details, almost every witness who appeared before the Moyne Commission favoured some form of closer union (Wallace, 1977, 95).
The next and perhaps most significant chapter in the history of West Indian integration was the formation of the ill-fated West Indian Federation. This was the most complete attempt at a political union. The option of federation was extended by Britain to the colonies as a step towards independence from the Crown.

Lewis (1968, 344) notes that there were fundamental problems even at the level of debate on formation of the Federation. These included:

i) a lack of consensus on which territories should be included in the Federation

ii) confusion as to the necessity of federation

iii) little agreement on the purposes of federation

Despite these problems, the final decision to pursue the Federal venture was taken at the Montego Bay conference held at Montego Bay, Jamaica in 1947 with the appointment of the Standing Closer Association Committee. This committee was set up to work out the details of the Federation's constitution and laws as well as economic measures (Wallace, 1977, 101).

It is suggested, however, that in the years from Montego Bay to the formation of the Federation, the ambitions of the territories were in conflict between the end-states of
independent self-government and federalism. Wallace (1977, 109) notes that:

Achievement of the latter goal steadily eroded earlier enthusiasm for the former.

Following years of debate, and disagreement over the strength of the federal arrangement relative to local autonomy, the basis of allocation of seats in the parliament and the choice of a leader (among other issues) the Federation was formally brought into existence on Friday, January 3, 1958 (Mordecai, 1968, 75).

In the leisure of retrospect, one may argue that these many bases of contention over the nature of the associative relationship proved fatal for a group simultaneously faced with the prospect of individual independence. Following Jamaica’s withdrawal (based on a local referendum on whether or not to stay in the group), Trinidad and Tobago’s Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams drew an analogy using the now famous turn of phrase: "One from ten leaves zero." Bearing out the mathematical allusion, the general council of Dr. Williams' ruling People’s National Movement later declared Trinidad and Tobago’s intention to withdraw as well.

In a resolution passed on January 14th 1962, the general council took the following position:
BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That Trinidad and Tobago reject unequivocally any participation in a Federation of the Eastern Caribbean, and proceed forthwith to National Independence, without prejudice to the future incorporation in the unitary state of Trinidad and Tobago of any territory of the Eastern Caribbean whose people may so desire, and, on terms to be mutually agreed or to the future establishment of a Common Economic Community embracing the entire Caribbean Area (Mordecai, 1968, 442).

With its two major powers gone, the Federation was dissolved on April 2nd, 1962 (Sherolcke, 1966, 89). It is relevant to note here en passant that for the brief period between 1958 and 1962, the West Indies was considered by many a de facto nation or nation-state (Lowenthal, 1961, 2, 95).

The notion of integration, however, has persisted, and though the idea of a federation or political integration has lost credence, integration in numerous other forms features high on the Caribbean agenda and many of these are finding support in various camps. Surlin, et al. (1992, 10) found that in a sample of West Indian University students "about half of all respondents see economic and social-cultural integration becoming a reality within the next ten years and approximately 75% of all respondents expect it could happen within the next 20 years."

In the post-federation era, the next most significant integrative phenomenon has been the formation of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). This was, however, preceded by the
development of the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA) which came into being in 1968 and provided for the 12 signatories, agreement

i) to explore the possibilities of establishing a Common External Tariff in whole or in part;

ii) to the principle of regional integrated industries and to its implementation:

iii) to the principle of establishing industries in the less developed countries of CARIFTA;

iv) to a regional policy on incentives to industry giving preferential treatment to the LDC's (Lesser Developed Countries);

v) to the introduction of special marketing of agricultural produce (Geiser, Alleyene and Gajraj, 1976,19-20).

This association gave way to the more enduring and more significant "Caribbean Community." Formed in 1970 by the Treaty of Chaguaramus with thirteen original signatories, CARICOM has as its basic objectives:

(a) the economic integration of the Member States by the establishment of a common market regime

(b) the coordination of the foreign policies of Member States and

(c) functional cooperation, including-

i. the efficient operation of certain common services and activities for the benefit of its peoples;

ii. the promotion of greater understanding among its peoples and the advancement of their social, cultural and technological developments... (Treaty Establishing the Caribbean Community, 1973, Article IV).
The Heads of Government Conference, which meets annually, is the highest decision-making body in CARICOM. This forum is supported by conferences of Government Ministers and a Common Market Council. Co-ordination and administrative functions are undertaken by the Caribbean Community Secretariat and relations are fostered with a series of Associate Institutions including the regional universities and the Caribbean Examinations Council (Axline, 1979, 79).

The grouping has focused on what has been called functional cooperation involving a number of joint ventures and trading arrangements (a few have been notorious failures). However, CARICOM has come under pressure, particularly since the West Indian Commission, to implement more meaningful activities such as steps toward a common currency and free movement of professionals as well as the formation of a customs union/free trade area. Even this forum, however, has seen problems of infighting. For example, the issue of the proposed common external tariff has widened rifts between Jamaica and the other territories due to disagreement on the level of the tariff and its perceived impact on US-Jamaican trade.

CARICOM has also long been criticised for a plethora of resolutions and accords with little concrete manifestation of proposed measures. Each annual Heads of Government Conference issues communiques with statements of agreements and proposals
but there has been increasing regional dissatisfaction with the rate and extent of implementation of the contents of these documents. Thus the West Indian Commission made a point of stressing implementation as a key factor for the success of the grouping.

The report of the West Indian Commission (1992) represents the most recent and authoritative document on the prospects and imperatives for a new integration. The six-hundred page document was compiled from interviews and hearings conducted throughout the region and in West Indian diaspora communities on the authority and mandate of the CARICOM Heads of Government Conference (the highest decision-making body in CARICOM).

The report expresses the view that the Federation of 1958-62 was "an honourable episode" which "must be allowed to settle in its niche in history" (Ramphal et al, 1992, 25). It also characterizes the new approach to the integration process:

Between the general desire to be closer and the general feeling that political unity is out of reach, we found any number of part-way stations, base-camps, so to say, on the way to the mountain summit (ibid, 24).

This report gives cognizance to the role of media in the integration process and recommends "the mobilisation of media (print and electronic) resources as an antidote to cultural
penetration and as an instrument of promotion of regional identity" (Ramphal, 1992, 291). Referring to Caribvision's weekly counterpart CARIBSCOPE, the Commission suggests that "the Caribbean Broadcasting Union, national television stations and a number of private producers have done valuable pioneering work, but something much more ambitious should be attempted..." (ibid, 299).

William Demas (1976, 122), former president of the Caribbean Development Bank and Member of the West Indian Commission notes:

> Obviously the real purpose of an integration movement is to bring benefits to the people of the member countries of the integration grouping.

Thus if the Caribvision exchange furthers integration it may be seen to indirectly foster beneficial social change in the manner conceptualised by the development and social responsibility schools of media.

Caribbean integration has therefore left the federal approach and the question of political integration behind. For most observers, that is an approach which has been laid to rest with little or no chance of resurrection. G. H. Flanz wrote as early as 1968 (Franck 1968, 116) that:

> It is unlikely that a new political design of federalism will be attractive to the West Indies. What may be needed is a more pragmatic, more widely regional approach to the development of common
services. Out of these efforts a more workable pattern of associations and cooperation may yet emerge.

The trend since the federal era has indeed been towards economic and functional cooperation, and while this approach is not without problems, there is some level of success. Indications are also present that some level of incremental regionalism is impending with bilateral and trilateral cooperation proposed. This all points to a consistent trend toward regionalism in various forms though no political manifestations are contemplated in the short term. The work of the West Indian Commission clearly holds that integration is still a viable concept and a desired end though the form may be the subject of much debate.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

1 Introduction
This study used a mixture of quantitative and qualitative approaches aimed at both testing given hypotheses and generating new questions. It is difficult to contextualize this approach against current practice since the existence of little or no research into this particular news exchange and a dearth of research into news exchanges in general meant that there were few models on which to pattern the inquiry.

Yet it became apparent in the early conceptual stages that the content of the material on the exchange was a crucial factor for providing grounds for argument and, therefore, that a content analysis would be an obvious and necessary undertaking if one were to explore Caribvision's role in Caribbean integration. Beyond content itself, it was also evident that the nature and patterns of material usage and attitudes of news personnel were also critical to understanding the role of the exchange.

The study thus proceeded with the purpose of investigating content, usage by member stations and attitudes of key decision makers. The next logical step in investigation,
encompassing numerous salient questions about the integration process and the integrative potential of Caribvision, would have been an analysis of viewer attitudes to regional content. It was decided, however, that given geographic and monetary limitations, such analysis would be beyond the scope of this study and would best be left for the future. Moreover, an undertaking of that nature would necessarily be guided by the preliminary findings below.

ii Definitions

Definition of certain recurrent terms in the subsequent analysis is necessary not only for explanatory purposes but also to make clear the choices of referents from among alternative available technical terms. A number of definitions have already emerged in the preceding sections. Among these are the terms Caribbean and integration and some related concepts. A few other terms need to be specified as well.

The term "offers" is used to refer to daily story submissions by contributing stations to the Caribvision exchange. These are the stories out of all those produced at the local station which are selected for one reason or another for submission and transmitted up to the satellite during the exchange period
for use by other stations. This label is borrowed from personnel at the exchange.

"Utilization" or "usage" of stories refers to the actual appearance of Caribvision stories received from other territories on the local newscast and not mere reception of material. Thus story utilization or usage presupposes decisions by local editorial staff on the need for and suitability of the received material for inclusion in their news package. In this study, it is recognized that usage levels can be measured in terms of number of stories used as well as in terms of total time used.

The term "press" will not always be limited to print media but will often denote all news media. This is a matter of current versus traditional usage. Many theories of the "press" are taken as relevant to electronic media as well although, particularly among media practitioners, the term press is used specifically to refer to the print industry.

A "story" refers in the analysis to any discrete item of television news transmitted on the exchange. Stories may be of different types. Those considered in this study are denoted by the terms "package," "sound bite," "video" and "rushes." The term "package" refers to stories containing reporter commentary edited together with visual material and ambient
sound and usually (but not necessarily) containing sound clips (also called sound bites or inserts). "Sound bite" refers to edited segments of a speech or comment made by someone and transmitted without announcer commentary. "Video" refers to an infrequent category of stories in which video (without sound) is transmitted. More commonly encountered, "rushes" (also called "raw footage") are largely unedited actualities transmitted for use in either announcer voice overs or subsequent packaging.

iii Hypotheses

Since there was little existing debate on this subject, three simple hypotheses were developed for testing within the parameters of the research project. These were kept closely aligned with the major objectives of the research which may be summarized as follows:

1) To test empirically the level and nature of material traffic on the exchange.

2) To identify the level of usage of material from the exchange by receiving stations.
3) To compare the prominence and programme share of exchange material vis-à-vis local and international news on major newscasts of receiving stations.

4) To analyze the content of material on the exchange for cues as to the criteria involved in the choice of the information used.

5) To analyze the criteria for submitting particular stories and to examine orientations of Caribbean TV news directors/editors as to how these choices are made.

6) To generate further hypotheses regarding regional media and the regional integration movement.

A lack of information on Third World news exchanges in general and Caribvision in particular made the process of developing hypotheses particularly difficult. This was compounded by the speculative nature of the suggested interplay between communications and integration. Thus the hypotheses had to be restricted to the relationships among clearly demonstrable measurements.

It seemed necessary to attempt to establish a connection, if any, between the phenomenon of regional integration and the daily operation of Caribvision. At this stage it was not seen
as essential to prove that Caribvision either results from or causes regional integration but rather to establish whether or not it is utilised in that context. Also, a preliminary estimation of the relative importance of Caribvision news in the region was found to be necessary to contextualize the significance of any observed or inferred links between the exchange and the integration process.

The following, therefore, are the hypotheses tested in the study:

1) That regionalism or integration is a motivating factor in choice of offer and selection.

2) That a high proportion of total offerings is utilised by recipients.

3) That regional news represents a relatively small proportion of total TV news in the region.

These are not highly controversial hypotheses or ones which have been previously debated to any significant degree. They indicate an exploratory approach in which either support or disproof are equally important as heuristic elements.

iv Data Availability

The Caribvision exchange is an ongoing system regularly spanning five nations in the Caribbean and involving satellite up-links and down-links on commercial microwave channels which
expose its traffic to international reception. Hence, numerous significant features of the exchange are very much in the public domain. Data was obtained from the central coordinating facility for the exchange at the Caribbean Broadcasting Union in Barbados and the major users and contributors -- television newsrooms in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago.

The most significant quantitative CBU data took the form of "menu"s or daily listings of story offers for the study period as well as video tape records of all traffic on the exchange for the period spanning February 1st to April 30th, 1993. Data from the receiving/submitting stations involved encoded records of material used from the exchange with additional information relating to volume and content.

Availability problems were not encountered for qualitative and subjective data as value orientations toward utilisation and offer choices was derived from interviews with those making the choices -- Afzal Khan, Head of News and Current Affairs at Trinidad and Tobago Television, Cliff Hughes, Director of Television News at the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation and Sonia Gill, Assignments Editor at CBC Television in Barbados. One limitation in this respect was the fact that the interviews were conducted via fax and telephone as opposed to face-to-face, therefore limits were imposed by the nature of the media involved. Also, simply locating the individuals in
question proved difficult as their schedules are both busy and unpredictable.

v Assumptions

As in any other social science study, certain assumptions are made in this work. For reasons of clarity it is best to make some of the critical ones explicit before proceeding further. They include the following:

a) That increased news flow among Caribbean nations is a desirable objective particularly with respect to developing a more unified world view. Though individual Caribbean nations may see themselves as having unique cultures and world views, the differences between them are far less significant than the differences between Caribbean world view and the world view of any other nation/s.

b) That news is communication and therefore contextual. This presupposes the assumption that news can never be totally objective. From these two assumptions, it is then possible to see that foreign news coverage, perceived as communication from a culturally alien context, may be included under the general heading of foreign content. Therefore, it is also reasonable to couch foreign news within concerns about
c) That there exists a basis for reference to the Anglophone Caribbean as a unit of analysis. This is based on both historical precedents as cited previously in the literature review and on currently germane grouping factors such as CARICOM and the West Indian Commission.

d) That valid generalisations and comparisons can be made from case studies of the communications and news scenarios of developing nations. The common thread of concern for more balanced and relevant coverage of regional issues among contiguous Third World nations as well as the adoption of similar models among the regional television news exchanges and even the involvement of common agencies in their development make this a reasonable assumption.

e) That the analysis of content can yield meaningful results. This follows from the general assumptions of content analysis outlined by Berelson (1952,18-20) as follows:

i) Content analysis assumes that inferences about the relationship between intent and content or between content and effect can validly be made, or the actual relationships established.

ii) Content analysis assumed that the study of manifest content is meaningful. This assumption requires that the content be accepted as "common meeting ground" for the communicator, the audience and the analyst.
iii) Content analysis assumes that the quantitative description of communication content is meaningful. This assumption implies that the frequency of occurrence of various characteristics of the content is itself an important factor in the communication process, under specific conditions.

vi Variables/Operationalization

Flournoy notes that, in proposing research on regional TV news interchange, a University of Ohio team envisaged "a comparison of items shared and items actually used." In other words, it is suggested that the degree to which stories are used relative to the level of traffic on the system is significant. The proportion of "items actually used" was independently employed in the present study to index subscriber utilization and to establish, at a preliminary level, some indication of levels of penetration by regional items. This may provide the basis for subsequent audience analysis to establish actual reception and reactions.

The important variables involved are:
1) the levels of traffic
2) levels of subscriber utilization
3) nature of traffic content
4) scope of content
5) nature of submission/utilization decisions
6) relative volumes of local/regional/international news
To operationalize the given variables, a number of facets of the exchange were considered including:

a) traffic time on exchange
b) programme lengths of main newscasts at receiving stations
c) incidence and prominence of regional (exchange) news
d) exchange story contents
e) number of exchange stories used by receiving stations
f) duration of exchange stories used by receiving stations
g) production format of exchange stories (ie: sound bite, package, rushes etc)

Item (d) was quantified by means of a multiple-option coding list of general topics against which individual stories were checked.

Among the less readily systematised variables were those dealing with the orientations of the news decision makers and exchange personnel. These were operationalized in a twofold manner. On the one hand interviews with the decision-makers sought to establish their ostensible rationales. On the other hand, analysis of the exchange traffic content provided a basis for comparison of the stated motivations with the results of those decisions.
vii Quantitative Devices

The main quantitative device was a survey (see Appendix A) designed to test the following variables:

a. proportion of time allocated Caribvision items as a function of total time of major newscasts.

b. proportion of items utilised on a daily basis by time and number of items for each of three major stations viz-a-viz total daily offerings on Caribvision.

c. nature of Caribvision items used on newscasts by format (soundbite, packaged, raw material etc.), content (nominally assigned categories) and geographical scope

d. technical quality of received stories

e. volume of stories not aired by receiving stations and reasons for non-airing

The survey was executed by operatives in the newsrooms of the two main contributing stations -- CBC (Barbados) and TTT (Trinidad and Tobago) for the month of March. The operatives, Sonia Gill and Ingrid Sampson were both practising television journalists, knowledgeable on the workings of the exchange in the daily life of the newsroom. They are graduates of the University of the West Indies, Ms Gill being graduate of the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication.

A third set of surveys, sent to the Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation's television newsroom was never completed and never returned despite repeated efforts on the part of the researcher. Operatives at that newsroom, both graduates of the
Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication, reported having problems completing the questionnaires arising primarily due to their coverage of the general elections in that country at the time.

A similar investigation was employed utilizing a modification of the survey questionnaire to analyze all stories submitted to the exchange and characteristics of all daily transmissions for a three month period. This wider analysis of the throughput and content of the exchange was based on the master records of daily transmissions obtained directly from the Caribbean Broadcasting Union offices in Barbados. These took the form of videocassette recordings of the actual stories and printed menus containing the running order, suggested lead-ins and other information such as technical ratings and running times.

The sample for the entire inquiry (i.e. of all traffic on the exchange) encompassed the period February 1st to April 26th, 1993 yielding 300 stories representing approximately 25% of projected annual throughput. The survey of stories used for the month of March at the two main member stations (i.e. CBC TV, Barbados and TTT, Trinidad and Tobago) yielded simultaneous (but different) sub-samples for each of these countries.
inter-coder reliability was established by comparing codings for a systematic sub-sample of the material. Stories considered for this purpose were limited to those falling in the survey period which were also coded by an independent, trained associate. Since all stories were also coded by the author, a maximum of four independent codings per story was possible (codings at TTT, CBC, by the author and by the peer reviewer) but given the fact that only stories run by their respective stations were considered by the Caribbean operatives, the actual encountered maximum was three codings.

The figure for inter-coder reliability was derived by considering the incidence, in each sampled case, of all thematic category assignments which demonstrated agreement by two or more coders. This incidence level was then divided by the total number of codings for all stories in the subsample (i.e. agreed plus disputed codings). The resulting figure was one of 81.25% representing agreed codings over all codings.

viii Qualitative Devices

1) Reliance was placed on content of Caribvision and CBU papers (conference papers) and documents for information related to the main hypotheses. Most of these were unpublished and were obtained directly from the CBU. In addition to
conference material and internal instructional documents, a number of useful statistics regarding exchange traffic were also made available. These provided context and allowed some level of analysis of traffic volume trends since 1992 when abstracts were first collated.

2) Interviews were conducted by phone and fax with regional news directors to elicit responses as to the criteria (implicit and explicit) used in determining offers to and airings from the Caribvision system. The interviews were recorded on audio-tape for further analysis and were standardised as far as possible in terms of questions and were few and in-depth. Analysis of the interviews was largely qualitative. The persons chosen for interviews were the three news directors at the sampling stations. These persons were identified for their roles in determining the format and content of the exchange traffic which were investigated and analyzed for meaning. Therefore it is seen as important that implicit and explicit criteria as well as value orientations on their part may not only influence the nature and content of the exchange but the subsequent impact on Caribbean society as well.

The questions asked were:

a. what are the qualities of a news story which you feel make it suitable for submission to the exchange?
b. what level of priority do you ascribe to regional news relative to local, international and sports news?

c. does your newsroom have any guidelines regarding the relative positioning of regional (Caribvision) news within your main newscasts? Summarise these for me please.

d. in how many of your newscasts do you include Caribvision items?

e. what do you see as the reasons for the exchange and do you see any benefits or negative effects associated with it?

3) Data was triangulated among content analysis findings, interview findings and the textual reading of the material gathered for possible implications.

ix Validity and Reliability

This study may be seen to have face validity as the propositions involved do not seem to contradict existing knowledge or information to the extent that these are available. At the very least, the notion that increased exchange of television news material among Caribbean countries could be linked with an already extant integration concept does not openly defy logic. Indeed, the lack of sufficient transportation and communication links between these territories has consistently been blamed as a militating factor against integration.²⁰
Attempts to strengthen internal validity centred on measuring specific concrete variables to derive support for particular hypotheses. As far as the survey was concerned, no abstractions or subjective interpretations beyond the assignment of thematic category headings were involved in the actual data gathering process. By limiting the variables to such verifiables as duration, numbers and dates, one could ensure that the study was measuring what it set out to measure. As far as the interviews went, information obtained by the news personnel interviewed was taken at its face value and every attempt was made to avoid leading respondents for particular answers. No attempt was made to second-guess the overt disclosures and their stated views were taken as their actual views.

External validity is difficult to establish as little relevant or analogous research is available. Yet it is significant to note that perhaps the only published document on the Caribvision exchange adopts the very same hypothetical position as this paper (see Gladstone Wilson, 1990). While not dealing specifically with the nature of the integration process, this work does investigate the functioning of Caribvision at the organizational level and its implications for regional information exchange.
Also, a study of the Asiavision exchange authored by Yrjo Lanispuro (1987) employs a similar approach to the present investigation. The Asiavision study, less concerned with regionalism than with the success of the exchange itself, emphasized the nature of traffic content as its central focus. Lanispuro tested both the volume of traffic and the thematic content of offer material, employing the content analysis as well. Even a number of his categories were found to be the same as those used in the content analysis employed herein; among these, some of the key headings such as POLITICS, ECONOMICS, SPORT, CULTURAL, CRIME, and HEALTH. Additionally, category significance was also expressed as a percentage of total contributions.

There is a built-in reliability check in the fact that three separate locations were coded simultaneously for part of the sample. Because there were featured stories common to more than one broadcast point, there was a basis for comparison of coding by the various operatives in addition to the author's own coding. Further attempts to foster reliability involved detailed instructions on the data-gathering procedures to operatives and standardization (and recording) of interviews with senior news personnel. Supplementary sources included a master videotape against which coding of stories by operatives was checked and original menus against which survey data regarding offers and utilization were checked. For this
reason, similar analysis of the data could conceivably be done independently at another time.
CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS

Survey/Content Analysis

Duration
The stories transmitted on the system over the three months of the study included a wide range of items ranging in duration from as little as 24 seconds to as much as 6 minutes and 30 seconds (see Figure 1). This is indicative of a great variety of story types submitted to the exchange. At the lower end of the scale are soundbites extracted from speeches and interviews transmitted in conjunction with written details which reach the various member stations either by fax or on the daily CANA wire feed. At the higher end are special packages and features as well as one instance of a six-minute raw feed from Trinidad carnival.

Despite concerns from Caribvision staff about the length of stories and a reminder to stations carried on at least one of the daily menu sheets to the effect that stories should be no longer than 2 minutes in duration unless otherwise negotiated, Figure 1 reveals that the modal story duration was exactly 2 minutes. Also, the mean value for story duration was 1.92 minutes.
Of the 300 stories analyzed in this study, it is noteworthy that stories greater than or equal to 3 minutes in duration amounted to only 23 (7.7%) while stories of 1 minute or less amounted to 32 (10.7%). Thus extreme values were not frequently encountered but tended to occur at the lower end of the scale more so than at the higher end. Additionally, 155 items (51.7%) of less than 2 minutes' duration were submitted, compared to 113 (37.7%) items of greater than 2 minutes.
Figure 1  Duration of story by frequency of incidence
Story Type

The dominant form of story submitted to the exchange was found to be the packaged item. 265 of the 300 stories analyzed (88.3%) were packages. Rushes and sound bites together made up the remaining 35 (11.7%) with no instances of video-only stories (Figure 2).

![Story type chart]

Number of stories (N = 300)

Figure 2. Story type by number of stories

Transmission Volumes/Patterns

Daily material time, while limited to 15 minutes, ranged from 6.8 minutes to 14.3 minutes with no clear tendency toward a modal value except for a cluster of transmissions in the range 10.6 - 11.4 minutes. Total material time for all transmissions over the three month period was 597.9 minutes yielding a mean of 10.31 minutes per day. It must be noted
that various factors including so-called "black" time and roll
time for tape together with the time taken up by visual
identifications as well as false starts makes a 15 minute
transmission unlikely on any given day. Figure 3 provides a
breakdown of the frequency of transmissions by duration.
Total Material Time

6.8  1
7.0  1
7.1  1
7.5  1
7.6  1
7.7  3
7.8  1
8.0  1
8.1  1
8.2  1
8.6  1
8.7  1
8.8  3
9.0  3
9.1  1
9.4  1
9.6  1
9.8  1
9.9  1
10.0 1
10.1 1
10.4 1
10.5 1
10.6 2
10.7 2
10.8 3
11.0 3
11.1 1
11.3 3
11.4 2
11.5 1
11.6 1
11.7 1
11.9 3
12.0 3
12.1 1
12.3 3
12.6 1
12.8 1
12.9 1
13.0 1
13.4 1
14.3 1

Number of transmissions (N = 58)

Figure 3. Material time by frequency of incidence
Offers

Contribution levels of the various member countries (see Figure 4) displayed patterns generally consistent with earlier data from the exchange. Barbados contributed the highest number of stories for the sample period with 124 stories (41.3% of total), followed by Trinidad and Tobago with 92 (30.7% of total) and Jamaica with 46 stories (15.3% of total). All other contributors pooled accounted for 38 stories (12.6% of total).

The traffic levels examined in terms of total time contributed per country revealed a similar pattern. In sum, Barbados accounted for 34.3% of the total time sampled, Trinidad contributed 30.1% and Jamaica 19.8%. The discrepancy between the two chief contributors, Barbados and Trinidad, therefore, is less significant in terms of total time than in terms of story volume.

Among the major contributors, an analysis of the average story durations (given by total time/number of stories) showed Barbados with a figure of 1.65 minutes per story, Trinidad averaging 1.97 minutes per story and Jamaica with a figure of 2.57 minutes per story. This reveals that over the study period, Barbados submitted a large number of shorter stories while Jamaica sent a smaller number of stories which were generally of greater length.
Figure 4  Country by level of contribution (in number of stories) by level of contribution (in total time)
Despite some level of adherence to previous patterns of contribution, there were a few significant changes. The most significant of these changes were a greatly increased level of contribution by Surinam over the same period in previous years and the first transmissions from Cuba. Surinam, hitherto an "occasional" contributor, surfaced with more than a tenfold increase in the present sample. An analysis of contributions over the corresponding time frame in the two preceding years (Figure 5) makes clear the extent of Surinam's increased input level.

At the same time, an equally dramatic drop off in contribution levels is evident in the case of Curacao. Listed as a regular contributor in the two preceding years, Curacao increased its offers by 24% in the February-April period from 1991 to 1992 although it showed an overall decrease of 30.6% in the annual figures for those years. However, none of these match the 87.1% drop between February-April 1992 to the equivalent period in 1993. This is even more significant if one notes that Curacao is also the sending centre for St. Maarten.

Less dramatic but perhaps equally significant is what appears to be a steady decline in the number of stories from Jamaica. That country's level of contribution declined by an overall 6.7% from 1991 to 1992 and by a further 17.9% from February-April 1992 to February-April 1993. Barbados' contribution
pattern fluctuated with a 20.9% drop from February-April 1991 to the same period in 1992 followed by a 42.5% increase from 1992 to 1993. Trinidad and Tobago remained relatively constant, increasing by approximately 7% from February-April 1991 to the corresponding quarter of 1992 and remaining at the same level into 1993.
Figure 5. Contribution pattern (1991-93), country by number of stories (for approx. equivalent 3 month periods Feb-Apr)
Thematic Analysis

The actual content of the material revealed what appears to be a certain level of preoccupation with economic matters in the region as this was the most pronounced category in the offers of Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago as well as Surinam (see Table 1). Jamaica's most frequently occurring thematic category was politics, understandable in light of the general elections which took place during the study period.

Economics and economic matters appeared in a total of 111 out of the total 300 stories (36.3%) while the next most frequently occurring category was Government Policy which showed up as a theme in 67 of the offers (22.3%). Among the factors which may have accounted for the high frequency of these categories were a budget presentation in Barbados and the decision to float the Trinidad and Tobago exchange rate, both issues having received major attention from the news media. This was in addition to the otherwise high interest in these areas given severe economic problems and the burden of IMF-mandated structural adjustment policies in the region.

The category of lowest incidence was religion with a 1% showing from 3 stories. The environment also featured quite
infrequently with a 3% incidence from 9 stories. Among the less frequent categories one also finds West Indian Integration which was mentioned only 12 times, representing a 4% showing in the sample.
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<th>JAMAICA</th>
<th>SURINAM</th>
<th>CURACAO</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>West Indian Integration</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
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Total codings: 512 (since most stories reflected multiple themes)
No of stories: 300

("Totals" column shown may exceed sum of row figures due to stories received from occasional contributor countries not listed in table.)

Table 1. Summary of story codings by thematic categories.
Graphical representation of the content of individual countries' offers is given in Figures 6 through 9. In each case, thematic prominence is expressed by the frequency of category incidence as a percentage of total stories offered by the respective countries. This provides a means for comparison of content despite differences in levels of offers (i.e. comparison on a relative rather than an absolute basis).

A noteworthy reading is that obtained for the category "Politics" in Jamaica. The figure of 58.8% represents the most complete domination of content by any one category in the sample (see Figure 8). Similarly, the high overall incidence of "Economic" matters (44.4%) and "Government policy" (20.2%) dominated the Barbadian agenda in comparative terms as well (see Figure 6).

Though Trinidad and Tobago demonstrated a much more even distribution of themes, highest prominence was again noted in the areas of "Economic" matters and "Government Policy" (see Figure 7). Thus the high incidence of these categories in the overall sample may be explained in terms of a high concentration of related material in the offers of the two main contributors.
Figure 6. Summary of content of Barbados offers, percentage frequency by thematic category.

Figure 7. Summary of content of Trinidad and Tobago offers, percentage frequency by thematic category.
Figure 8. Summary of content of Jamaica offers, percentage frequency by thematic category.

Figure 9. Summary of content of Surinam offers, percentage frequency by thematic category.
Utilization

Analysis of usage of offered stories during March 1993 by Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago (see figures 10 and 11) reveals that Barbados utilized some 55.2% (by number) of non-sport stories available to it from the exchange representing 39.3% of material time available to it in March. This included 70% of Jamaica's stories or 42.3% of time contributed by Jamaica, 52.8% of Trinidad's stories comprising 40% of time from Trinidad and Tobago, and 42.9% of Surinam's stories representing 29.9% of Surinamese offers (only 7 for the period). Trinidad and Tobago Television used 60% of non-sport stories available to it on the exchange comprising 52.9% of accessible material time. The highest proportion of stories used were again from Jamaica with 70% usage by number and 55.8% usage by time. 54.5% of Barbados's offers were used (48.5% by time) and 57.4% of Surinamese stories (55.5% by time) were used -- note again however, this is from a total of 7. These figures are summarised in Table 2.
<table>
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<th>Usage Origin</th>
<th>% usage of stories</th>
<th>% usage of time offered</th>
<th>% usage of stories</th>
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<td>n/a</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>48.5</td>
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<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>52.8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
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<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>55.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surinam</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVERALL USAGE</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>52.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Summary of material usage by number of stories and time for Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados (March 1993).
Figure 10. Breakdown of Caribvision story use at Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation Television (Barbados) for March 1993 by country of origin, number of stories and time used (excluding sports stories).
Figure 11. Breakdown of Caribvision story use at Trinidad and Tobago Television for March 1993 by country of origin, number of stories and time used (excluding sports stories).
ii Interviews

The senior news personnel interviewed at CBC, Barbados, TTT, Trinidad and JBC, Jamaica were unanimous on a number of points. It was evident from their responses, for example, that regional significance was a primary reason for their choices of stories to offer to Caribvision. However, it was also evident that stories of regional significance are not necessarily among the most frequently offered (see Table 3). Thus the offer determination procedure depends as well on the availability of local stories which may be perceived as newsworthy for the wider region. These include major local stories as well as other stories projecting information which the sending station would like other countries in the region to know about. Cliff Hughes, News Director of JBC Television, adds another category, that of business stories which involve companies with regional reach.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>SCOPE</th>
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<td>Local</td>
<td>225</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Scope of Caribvision offers by number and percentage of total stories. (N=300)
In all three countries, the pattern of presenting news items in local newscasts was similar. They all employed what Trinidad and Tobago Television News Director, Afzal Khan, calls a "graduated system" in which local news is presented first, followed by regional, then sports and international news. This system conforms to the general notion of news value or newsworthiness having to do, in part, with proximity. It was found that there are variations on this general pattern, however, from station to station. For example, the JBC, while maintaining the order described, has one section for both regional and international news whereas the other two stations allocate separate blocks for the regional items. However, the regional items precede the international ones on the JBC's newscast unless there is a big international story.

The question of relative importance of individual stories was also identified as a factor in placement of Caribvision items. All three interviewees suggested that regional items of sufficient importance would, given the salience of other stories available, sometimes be used as lead items -- heading the entire newscast. The JBC's news director identified the 1990 coup attempt in Trinidad and Tobago as the sort of news which would perhaps supplant local items. Such items are admittedly rare but the fact that major stories in one country
can lead newscasts in other countries in the region is testimony to the importance of Caribvision.

The responses also indicated that Caribvision items are normally carried on all the major weekday newscasts of the three stations. This demonstrates a high level of priority placed on the presence of regional news. Additionally, the JBC says that, depending on availability, it uses relevant items on its morning newscasts as well as its late-night edition. Ms Sonia Gill of the CBC in Barbados indicated that there is often carry-over of regional material into the weekend newscasts on CBC-TV and occasional inclusion in the late news. Trinidad and Tobago Television, currently without a morning newscast, also occasionally includes Caribvision items in its late news recap.

There was also unanimity among the respondents on the importance of the Caribvision exchange. They all considered it a positive development fostering mutual knowledge among the populations of the various territories. Further, they all linked the existence of the exchange to the concept of regional integration. According to Cliff Hughes:

"...it's really acting as a catalyst to bring the peoples of the Caribbean together."
Afzal Khan sees it as filling a need for information among Caribbean people in relation to the "whole thrust toward the integration process."

No negative effects were perceived by any of the respondents. Pressed on the matter of German involvement, Cliff Hughes, while saying that he was probably not close enough to the Caribvision situation to make any definitive statement about it, also said that, in his experience, he had not encountered any indications that there was influence on content from the German presence. He did lay some blame, however, on regional governments for not capitalizing on the gains from the potential cohesive effects of Caribvision, echoing concerns expressed earlier in this paper about the discrepancy between rhetoric and implementation in Caricom.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Caribbean integration as a motivational factor materialized consistently and without prompting among both regional newsroom officials and Caribvision personnel although it did not feature prominently as a topic in the material on the exchange. This reflects support for the first hypothesis while raising a number of questions about the manner by which the exchange may be fostering the integration process. While we may not assume that orientation to integration on the part of broadcasters necessarily indicates an active contribution to the process by Caribvision, we do need to consider how such orientation may be being translated into action. This is also important in light of the fact that 75% of the offers were stories which were "local" in scope compared to 20% categorized as "regional."

In the context of Deutsch's concept of the level of information exchange as an indicator of integration, the total material levels and, more importantly, the utilization levels are likely to be more salient indexes than the incidence of the topic "integration" itself in the content. That is to say, we need not assume that the integration process is fostered by sharing of information primarily or wholly on integration per
se. Rather it is the fact of that sharing and the shared information itself which may be involved in the promotion of closer association.

Also, the interchange of local stories among these contiguous states may be seen to be as important as stories of "regional" scope and it may be contended that this exchange of local information is in itself the mechanism by which each territory gets drawn into the reality of the others. Such exchange transcends the limits of abstract discussion of regionalism by providing a concrete basis on which Caribbean people may relate to their counterparts.

The sense of unity and the sharing of mutual images which may result from this process addresses some of the major limitations faced by Caribbean leaders as early as the era of Federation. The attempts in those days to make regional populations aware of each other by publication of pamphlets, by public discussions and through newspaper reports, however well-intentioned, could not begin to compare with the exchange of current actualities enabled by Caribvision.

The research also indicates a reasonably vibrant pattern of involvement by participants. The level of contribution as reflected in total daily material time was generally a high proportion of the available 15 minutes. In only 5% of the
cases did the duration of contributions fall below 7½ minutes. More importantly, the utilization levels of regional material in Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago were reasonably high. While 55.2% and 60% usage are by no means very high levels, they must be placed in context of their relation to a virtually zero level of regional news which would appear on local television newscasts otherwise. Thus limited support can also be claimed for the second hypothesis.

Indications from the data are that certain factors extraneous to content may explain why these levels of utilization are not higher than was found. Many of these have to do with technical factors including faulty audio and video originating at various points in the local production and transmission chain, compounded by other distortions such as satellite noise and microwave link signal loss. These factors dramatically reduce the likelihood of story usage in the light of competition for broadcast time from technically superior foreign sources and local stories with greater technical integrity. The News Coordinator at the exchange actually identifies this deficiency as the main problem facing the exchange at the moment.

Without comparative figures for utilization levels in other exchanges, (other studies have not concentrated on this aspect) the findings may also be placed in the context of the
percentage usage of international news available to these stations. With subscriptions to international television news services such as CNN and VISIBLEWS, CBC and TTT have access to vast amounts of international news on a daily basis. The percentage use of that news, even given a maximal slot in local newscasts would not, within reason, approach the Caribvision utilization levels. But this is an unfair comparison since the disparity is so great between the amounts of available material.

With reference to hypothesis 3, it was found that the level of regional news featured on regional stations was indeed small compared to total volume, accounting for just 14.75% of all "main newscast" news time. This reflects support for the hypothesis but is certainly not an impressive figure as far as regional integration is concerned. What might be considered impressive is the fact that in Barbados regional news averaged higher coverage than international news. While the average duration of the CBC's international segment for the sample period was 4.6 minutes, its regional package boasted 4.8 minutes on average. This is quite significant in the context of concerns about cultural imperialism and the NWICO as here we find an instance in which there is a clear challenge to the domination of foreign content.
If, therefore, information interchange is an indicator of integration, then Caribvision may be identified as an agent of the process within the limits of subscription and utilization performance as outlined. These levels of performance do, however, seem open to some improvement. Further, a true test of the impact of the exchange, at these or greater degrees of penetration, would require one to go beyond these figures into an assessment of the nature and extent of reception of this material by the news audiences. This would establish conclusively whether or not there is true "exchange" at the societal rather than just at the media organization level.

At the level of the media organizations, however, it is clear that the exchange manifests, at least ostensibly, a commitment to social responsibility. With no political input or economic imperatives, the regional television journalists continue to exchange their work in the interest of integration, or at least, enhanced mutual understanding. The considerable costs and effort associated with this process underlie an evident concern about Caribbean society and the undertaking of responsibilities to it. Willingness to continue shouldering these duties is also manifest in hard dollar terms with increasing funding from local stations being necessary as the FES gradually withdraws its financial support.
With reference to content, it is worthwhile to note that the findings were largely consistent (where comparable) with those obtained in Lanispuro's (1987) study of Asiavision. In both cases political and economic issues topped the agenda. Religion was, similarly, the category of lowest incidence with disasters or catastrophes also notably low. The low incidence of items on disasters in both cases challenges the perceived disaster/coup coverage biases of western news agencies and thus strengthens the case for a revision of the traditional order in international information flows. The laudable facet of both these exchanges and others like them is that they provide a seemingly viable alternative to the traditional order as opposed to advocating measures which would be perceived as censorship or control of information.

This raises the question of the "development news" phenomenon. While many of the stories did deal with government policy, and bearing in mind that the content was not specifically tested for the concept of development news, it was still clear that these were not stories which touted government's actions in any pronounced manner. The incidence of stories dealing with government policy was largely due to the Barbados budget and Trinidad and Tobago's flotation of the local currency. A high incidence of labour coverage including, in a number of cases, outright criticism of government policy also render notions of
a cheerleading or pro-government Caribbean media questionable.

Notable instances of such criticism of governmental policy or action (and inaction) include a Jamaican story in which Trade Union leaders and members accused the Minister of Labour of playing games, coverage of a huge march on the office of the Minister of Works in Trinidad, and beverage manufacturers' criticisms of the Sandiford government's policies in Barbados. Another Trinidadian story exposed the plight of rural villagers in Macac who have not been supplied with pipedborne water for years and Jamaican stories told of the inadequacy of bus services in some parts of the parish of St Andrew.

Therefore, despite the developing nation status of all the countries involved, there seemed little need to invoke traditional developmental frameworks of reference to analysis of their news coverage. There was indeed, little reason to suggest that a pro-governmental or "development" stance in its pejorative sense was evident in the Caribvision material. What may be said is that the exchange itself and the process of information interchange may be seen in a developmental context as, through this exercise, the countries of the region may eventually reduce their dependence on foreign sources of information and increase their own self-reliance and self determination.
There were a number of elements which the study did not set out to investigate but which were discovered along the way. Among these may be cited activities related to Caribvision which, outside of the daily exchange itself serve to foster closer links between Caribbean nations. The most significant of these was the trip into Cuba headed by the CBU and the initiation of Caribvision contributions from that long isolated Caribbean island. The inclusion of regional journalists on that trip and the filing of reports by them from Cuba was in itself another first.

Related to this is the extent to which Caribvision and its related activities force a reconceptualization of the integrative process and its bases. From the inclusion of the Dutch Antilles in the exchange since its early days to the aforementioned visit to Cuba, Caribvision has clearly not restricted itself to the limitations of the traditional Commonwealth or Anglophone Caribbean concept of integration. This is in some instances easy to justify as, for example, there has been some level of informal trade, travel and other interchange with the Dutch Antilles over the years. Other cases are not as clear, such as the inclusion of Surinam and its new role as a regular contributor. As with everything else, this increased scope has both benefits and dangers. If by increasing the scope of knowledge and appreciation of the region, it can foster a widening of the integration process,
this would be to its credit. However, it might be just as likely to obscure the direction of the integration movement if the basis for closer association is obscured by inclusion of tangentially related players at the expense of more socially and historically contiguous ones.

Another indirect effect of the exchange may be found in the fact that the tariff negotiations associated with the Caribvision exchange have resulted in improved rates for satellite time to regional television stations for other transmissions as well. The magnitude of this reduction was US$ 3.00 per minute (from US$ 15.00 to US$ 12.00). The effect of this is to make non-Caribvision interchange of material a less costly venture.

Therefore, Caribvision is clearly linked both directly and indirectly to the process of integrating the Caribbean region by facilitating the exchange of information and the promotion of greater mutual understanding among Caribbean populations. The system challenges the primacy of foreign sources of news in the region (and the cultural effects associated with such primacy) and establishes a basis for news about the region from the region itself as opposed to second-hand coverage from international sources. In addition to these effects, it simultaneously addresses the need for mutual information which has crippled integration efforts in the past and offers a
basis on which to develop a cultural defense to the constant barrage of information from the developed world.

i Recommendations

As was perhaps to be expected in an initial study of a non-traditional phenomenon, the findings generated more new questions for investigation than answers to the original inquiry. This points immediately to the need for further research on the matter and more in-depth study of particular areas. It is only after the present investigation and consequent information, however, that those areas could have been identified.

It is clear, for example, that the Caribvision exchange is linked with the process of Caribbean integration. However, since this study simply attempted to confirm an instinctive notion that this was so, much more detailed study is required to identify specific routes and means by which the process of exchanging television news may further the cause of integration in the region. None of this could have been done herein without first establishing that the two were indeed linked.
The static analysis of content and usage presented also behooves the conduct of another similar investigation in the future to map changes and emergent patterns. Ideally, such patterns could be mapped in time against social, economic and political developments in the region, with particular reference to the integration process and its relationship with shared information (TV news). As mentioned before, audience reception of regional stories needs to be analyzed as well before any definitive statements about the effectiveness of the exchange process can be made.

The present research has focused on local usage levels of exchange material in addition to thematic content and, in doing so, has explored a facet of the television news exchange not frequently investigated by other studies. Two imperatives are made clear from this. In the first place, longitudinal studies need to be initiated, perhaps by the CBU itself in conjunction with Caribbean television stations, to monitor levels of usage. This would be a critical indicator of trends and possible problems. Further, similar usage levels for other exchanges need to be obtained to place the present findings and future data in some sort of context.

Another dimension of the television news exchange ignored by this study in favour of more concrete investigation, was that of projected values. However, if the adoption of foreign
values through foreign television content is a concern of Third World theorists studying cultural penetration, then the values underlying content in foreign news should be contrasted with those underlying regional exchange content to determine whether or not these are, as might be expected, different. On the one hand, content could be determined by orthodox "news" values including proximity, timeliness and salience in both cases. On the other hand, it would be important to find out if there are indeed a different set of values operating in the case of Third World television news exchanges, a different scale of criteria for determining newsworthiness.

The search for answers about the Caribvision exchange and the Third World television news exchange phenomenon in general is therefore far from over. While the present research has provided a number of new insights it has also raised a far greater number of questions. In the case of the Caribbean news exchange, many of these questions are critical ones to the survival of the project and need to be investigated if the perceived and potential benefits of the exchanges are to be proven and achieved.
ENDNOTES

1. Siftung translates to 'foundation' or 'institution.'

2. See Reinhard Keune, "New Regional and International News Exchange Systems - Questions as to the German Contribution," in Dieter Bielenstein (Ed) Towards a New World Information Order: Consequences for Development Policy, (Bonn, Germany: Friedrich Ebert Siftung), 1978, 73 which also indicates that the question of German involvement is not a new one.


4. The potential role of these exchanges in affecting the international order is alluded to in Flourney "Emerging From the Periphery," 1986 and Keune "Television News in a North-South Perspective," 1985.

5. See Michael Traber and Kaarle Nordenstreng, Few Voices Many Worlds (London: World Association for Christian Communication, 1992), 7. Though many theorists now dismiss this debate, the fact that the underlying motivations are now being acted upon in fora other than international diplomatic circles indicates a transformation rather than a decline. It is this very transformation, also, which makes the concept of social responsibility germane in this context, for if Third World journalists are taking up the challenge of transforming the international information order without government intervention then they are in fact accepting a major social responsibility.


10. This quotation neglects to mention the important point that it was the newsmen themselves who came to this conclusion.


13. The same or similar contentions are also found in Karl Deutsch et al. (1957) as quoted by Louis McCall in Regional Integration: A Comparison of European and Central American Dynamics (Beverly Hills CA: Sage Publications Ltd) 1976, 5 and Anthony Smith, Theories of Nationalism, 1983, x.

14. This is taken from Ernst B. Haas, "The Study of Regional Integration" in Lindberg and Scheingold (Eds), Regional Integration Theory and Research (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press) 1971, 8 and echoes similar criticisms of the concept of development news.


17. This information is available from many sources but is quoted here from Jacqueline Carter, Economic Integration and Cooperation, Causes and Consequences: The CARICOM Experience (Windsor, Canada: University of Windsor) Major Paper, Faculty of Business Administration, 1987, 19.

18. The treaty establishing the Caribbean Community was signed at Chaguaramus in Trinidad and Tobago on July 4, 1973. Article 4 is also cited in Geiser et al, 1976, 191 and in Shaheed Mohammed, The Caribbean Community, (video production), broadcast Trinidad and Tobago Television/ Caribbean Broadcasting Union (Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Jamaica) July, 1992.

19. Don M. Flournoy mentions this in "Emerging From the Periphery," 6 but there was no subsequent indication found to confirm that the proposed study had actually been carried out.

20. This issue arose as recently as 1992 with the report of the West Indian Commission again pointing out the inadequacy of regional linkages. Significantly, this was only months after the collapse of CARICARGO, a regional transport venture.

APPENDIX A - QUESTIONNAIRE

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<th>Date:</th>
<th>Pgm/Station:</th>
<th>T/X Time:</th>
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Total Dur:       Segment times:  local  regional  int'l  sport

CARIBVISION Items (in running order)

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<th>Country Sending</th>
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Dur   Pkg/S.B./Video/Rushes

Subject Matter: (Tick all that apply)

WI Integra  Economics  Social
Cultural  Crime  Religion
Politics  Sports  Infrastruc
Gov't Policy  Law  Disaster

Scope: Local[] Bilateral[] Regional[] International[]

Describe Content


Technical Quality:  poor  fair  good

audio
video

Audio

Video

**ITEM # | Country Sending**

Dur   Pkg/S.B./Video/Rushes

Subject Matter: (Tick all that apply)

WI Integra  Economics  Social
Cultural  Crime  Religion
Politics  Sports  Infrastruc
Gov't Policy  Law  Disaster

Scope: Local[] Bilateral[] Regional[] International[]

Describe Content


Technical Quality:  poor  fair  good

audio
video

Audio

Video

**ITEM # | Country Sending**

Dur   Pkg/S.B./Video/Rushes

Subject Matter: (Tick all that apply)

WI Integra  Economics  Social
Cultural  Crime  Religion
Politics  Sports  Infrastruc
Gov't Policy  Law  Disaster

Scope: Local[] Bilateral[] Regional[] International[]

Describe Content


Technical Quality:  poor  fair  good

audio
video

Audio

Video

**ITEM # | Country Sending**

Dur   Pkg/S.B./Video/Rushes

Subject Matter: (Tick all that apply)

WI Integra  Economics  Social
Cultural  Crime  Religion
Politics  Sports  Infrastruc
Gov't Policy  Law  Disaster

Scope: Local[] Bilateral[] Regional[] International[]

Describe Content


Technical Quality:  poor  fair  good

audio
video

Audio

Video

107
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Gill, Sonia, Assignments Editor, Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation Television, Barbados, interviewed by author by phone, April 22, 1993.


Hughes, Cliff, Director of TV News, JBC Television, Jamaica, interviewed by author by phone May 17, 1993.


Khan, Afzal, Head of News, Trinidad and Tobago Television Ltd, Trinidad and Tobago, interviewed by author by phone, January 20, 1993.


Treaty Establishing the Caribbean Community, Chaguaramus, Trinidad and Tobago, July 4, 1973, Article 4, also cited in Geiser et al, 1976 (op cit), 191.


This study has been reviewed and has received clearance through the Department of Communication Studies Ethics Committee. Questions concerning this study should be addressed to the Office of Research Services.
VITA AUCTORIS

Shaheed Mohammed was born in 1968 in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. He obtained the Bachelor of Arts degree (with first class honours) from the Mona campus of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica in 1990. In 1992 he was awarded a Fellowship from the Organization of American States through the Government of Trinidad and Tobago which enabled him to pursue the Master of Arts degree at the University of Windsor in Canada.