1986


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University of Windsor

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NIGERIAN NEWS AND THE TREATMENT OF AID IN

by

IMEH INYANG

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
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
1985
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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the memory of my beloved sisters, Stella Dyeris and Comfort Udibh, and to the Inyang Family, especially my parents Hanson and Atim, my sister Enoh, my wife Sonja and my children Enem, Imoh and Idara. Life, we know, does not cease to be serious when we laugh anymore than it ceases to be funny when we cry.
ABSTRACT

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This study uses media imperialism debate, allegations of news distortion, and the call for a new world information order as a theoretical framework and content-analyses the Globe and Mail to examine how it covered Nigerian events for twelve years, between January 13, 1970 (immediately after the Nigerian civil war) and December 31, 1981. The overall reliability check for coding yielded .89, .93 and .94. Using the entire population of 237 news stories and editorials from 150 issues of the Globe and Mail, four aspects of Globe and Mail coverage of Nigeria are explored through related hypotheses.

Hypothesis I compares the use of "spot" or "action" news with the use of background news. The results indicate that spot news comprised a larger percentage than background news. There was a consistent lead by spot news in each year except in 1974 and 1977 when 40% of news items for each year
was in the spot category. In 1976, for example, 94% of news items were in the spot category. There were more spot stories in 1970, due to "spot" reporting of the Biafran crisis, than any other year; spot stories in 1970 made up 52% of the total news stories, 63% of total spot stories or 91% of all 1970 news items.

Hypothesis II was designed to determine the direction of the Globe's content vis a vis favourability of coverage. There were, overall, more unfavourable comments than favourable comments. However, a year-by-year assessment indicates that in 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975 and 1979 there were more favourable comments than unfavourable. Thus, the dominance of favourable comments over unfavourable comments occurred in five years while the dominance of unfavourable occurred in seven years.

The study examined the source of Nigerian news in the Globe and Mail with hypothesis III. News stories attributed to the staff of the Globe and Mail accounted for 16%, followed by the New York Times at 12%, Associated Press, 11%, and Reuters, 9%. A country-by-country comparison indicates that Canadian sources contributed about 25% of the news stories compared to 23% from U.S. sources and 16% from British sources. Although the Globe and Mail relied more on U.S. news sources than on British in general, it relied more on British sources than on other sources for its coverage of the Biafran
crisis in 1970. The staff and correspondents of the *Globe and Mail* contributed more news items than each news source. However, the *Globe*’s and Canadian sources each contributed fewer news stories than other sources combined: 79% of spot comments, 73% of background comments or 83% of all news stories originated from non-Canadian sources.

Finally, to ascertain whether opposing dimensions of an issue are discussed, a specific issue of developmental assistance — aid — was examined using hypothesis IV. The results indicate that 80% of the comments relating to aid, appearing in 33 news stories, treated aid as a benevolent act which is beneficial only to the recipient, or did not benefit the donor. 20% of the comments, appearing in 9 news stories, dealt with the opposing dimension by treating aid as beneficial to the donor. Aid was not given adequate in-depth coverage since 84% of aid-related comments were in the spot news category. Despite the inadequacies of aid coverage, the mean of comments treating aid as beneficial to the recipient alone, and that of comments treating it as beneficial to the donor was 5.7 and 5.3 respectively.

The study concludes that although distortions and inequities did occur in the *Globe*’s coverage of Nigeria, one is inclined to believe that they were not deliberately perpetrated.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There is an African proverb, *Eto kiet ikemeke ndikabade akai* (one tree cannot a forest make), which reminds me of Philo’s refutation of the notion of one supreme being in the teleological argument (see David Hume’s Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion): “A great number of men join in building a house or ship … why may [it] not [be the case that] several deities combine[d] in contriving and framing [this] world?”. This study is not the “world”, but many deities joined hands to make it what it is. To them, I give profound gratitude especially my thesis committee’s Chairman and friend, Prof. James Winter, the second readers, Prof. Stewart Ferguson and Prof. Marlene Cuthbert, and the third reader, Prof. Terence Keenleyside, whose invaluable input and constructive criticism gave me a broader perspective towards this study. I would like to thank Miss Iris Walters, Miss Ebierie Deiseide and Miss Karen Sisson for their help in typing the drafts, Miss Ginette Langlois for typing the final copy (Thanks GiGi for being a friend), and Mr. Shawn Cohoon for the many hours spent “in search of a compatible package”.

While these deities were in front of the camera, others worked behind the camera. I am grateful also to them,
specifically my wife Sonja for coping with my absence, my children Kewu, Imoh and Idara who, despite not understanding "why daddy is still going to school", gave me the inspiration, Prof. Stanley Cunningham and Prof. Stuart Surlin whose interest and encouragement kept me going, Mrs. Sheila Labelle and Mrs. Anne Gallant, the Secretaries for the Department of Communication Studies for making the Department a home away from home, and my friends and room-mates Donatus Mnorom and Ignatius Nwosu for their encouragement. To these and also those whose names I have not mentioned due to lack of space, I say, "Esosongo eti eti" (Thank you very much).
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: ISSUES IN THE GLOBAL FLOW OF NEWS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.
The formal international dispute on the flow of information began when the Soviet Union disagreed with the 1946 United Nations Declaration on Freedom of Information. The Soviets maintained that true freedom of information is meaningless as long as a small group of capitalists controls the media (Gunter, 1978: 146). This objection, typical of the ideological warfare between the East and the West, dates back to 1948. The objection was echoed more frequently in the early 1970's when the emerging nations, controlling about two thirds of the potential votes in the United Nations (U.N.), continuously demanded a new world order, one dimension of which would entail changes in the information process.

The Third World or developing countries give many reasons for arguing that there exist basic inequities in the international information-communication exchange. They argue that the present structure of information-communication flow promotes cultural and media imperialism, which poses a threat to their "national sovereignty". They also allege that the news media of developed nations paint distorted images of the Third World (Aggarwala, 1979; Masmoudi, 1979). Besides the effects of distorted perception, cost factors also affect newsflow. A 1956 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) publication, in asserting that newsflow is influenced by the cost factor, noted that it costs considerably more to transmit news from the developing
countries to the industrialized nations than it does to send news from the industrialized nations to the developing areas (UNESCO, 1956). With the aid of advanced technology, the rich and industrialized nations can gather and disseminate news more efficiently, and with cost savings. Without such advanced technology or the financial capability to produce or purchase news, the developing nations cannot compete with the industrialized nations. This means that while the views of the industrialized nations are heard, there isn’t an equitable means for transmitting the views of the developing countries. This situation has been called the “one way flow” of communication by communication scholars.¹

This “economic” cause (cost factor and economic needs) has created a situation whereby news about one developing country is transmitted to a developed country before reaching another developing country, although the two developing countries may share the same geographical region. Furthermore, in the process of collecting and transmitting news, the type of impression given to and accepted by the developed Western population is exemplified by the continuous perception of Africa as the "Dark Continent" or as a "Heart of Darkness" in Western literary circles.² Such distortion of the African milieu results from the use of Euro-American values to evaluate African culture, which may also lead to introducing and imposing alien cultures as if superior.³

The arguments advanced by those concerned with the
influence of the developed countries on the communication of information about developing countries, can be summarized in the following way: There is a

...monopoly on the distribution of news whereby even stories written about one Third World country for distribution in another, are reported and transmitted by international news agencies based in New York, London and Paris (Rosenblum, 1981: 223).

Besides this monopoly, "...information is distorted by reference to moral, cultural, or political values peculiar to certain states in defiance of the values and concerns of other nations" (Masmoudi, 1979: 174). Therefore, they conclude, there is an imbalance in the type and process of global newsflow.

There are many ways of describing this imbalance and its causes. Some scholars, viewing the problem in the context of the broad issue of development, see the situation as consequent upon the "old paradigm" of development. Schramm (1978), Rogers (1978), Inayatullah (1978), and Lerner (1978) are some of the scholars who discuss the issue of development in the context of this old paradigm, and consequently call for a new paradigm of development.

What is the Old Paradigm? How is it different from the New Paradigm? Rogers (1978: 48) reviewed some elements in the theory of development to explain the old paradigm. He noted that in the era of the old paradigm, economic growth through industrialization and urbanization was seen as the
Development performance was quantified in terms of economic progress, and capital-intensive, labour-extensive technology, mainly imported from the developed nations, was seen as the formula for development. Centralized planning by economists and bankers was advocated in order to guide and speed up the process of development. Finally, according to Rogers, it was assumed that the causes of underdevelopment lay mainly within the developing nations, rather than in their external relationships with other countries.

The New Paradigm, which is the emerging alternative to the old paradigm, as Rogers (1978: 51) further explained, advocates equality of distribution and an emphasis on the quality of life, instead of economic growth. Instead of the capital-intensive technology, emphasis is placed on labour-intensive technology. There should be an integration of the "traditional" with "modern" systems in a country. Self-reliance in development and popular participation in decentralized planning and execution should replace centralized planning. Finally, the causes of underdevelopment should not be attributed to internal factors alone, but to both internal and external factors.

Besides the old paradigm/new paradigm approach, other scholars, notably Latin American sociologists and economists, see the imbalance in terms of the "dependency" model. Cardoso (1977), Wattelart (1978), Fox de Cardona (1975), and Beltran
(1976) to name a few, contend that Third World countries occupy a subordinate position in the international economic and political systems because the systems are structured primarily according to the needs of the developed countries (Fejes, 1982: 62). Third World countries are exploited to satisfy the needs of the developed countries. The exploitation leaves Third World countries in a position of "dependency".

In comparing the "dependency" approach with the approach of the "old paradigm", Fejes concludes that the old approach was a model which defined communication, for example, as requiring modernization processes without consideration for the effects. The dependency approach, on the other hand, emphasizes the results of relationships between the developed and developing countries, by examining the communication problems of the Third World in terms of these relationships (Fejes, 1982: 62).

Some scholars, who support the dependency theory, argue that this situation in which Third World countries are placed in a subordinate position is reminiscent of events in the imperialism era. Thus, with specific reference to the media, they call the imbalance "media imperialism". Although the use of the term "imperialism" in this sense implies a Marxist-Leninist interpretation of Capitalist-Third World communication relations, Fejes (1982: 61) notes that it would
be a mistake to label this analytical approach as Marxist-Leninist in any detailed and precise sense. He argues that, some researchers who are not identified as Marxist-Leninists do use the term "imperialism" in their analysis of control of the media by the developed states. The media imperialism approach, however, does represent a fundamentally different perspective from the old paradigm (though not from dependency theory) in analysing the general problem of communications and national development. As Fagen (1977: 7) pointed out, the dependency approach, (or as some would describe it the imperialism approach) is a "way of framing" the problems of development and it is "...in reality a conceptual framework, a set of concepts, hypothesized linkages, and above all an optic that attempts to locate and clarify a wide range of problems". Fejes (1982: 61) agrees that the imperialism approach is a way of framing because it is a critique based on the premise that "...in the global growth of western communications, media researchers see a reflection of the general imperialist expansion of Western Capitalist societies" (emphasis added). Since it is a reflection, some scholars prefer the term neo-imperialism. Other scholars contend that it is not a reflection, but that it is the same type of exploitation (though) occurring in a different historical period and through different means of exploitation. Hence, they maintain that it is still imperialism.

In describing international newsflow and the
relationships between or among nations, one may prefer any of the different terms, namely media dependency, media neo-imperialism, media imperialism, or media based on the old paradigm. This study is not a systematic analysis of the various theories involved in describing and accounting for the communications imbalance, nor is the research an analysis of the general problems of development. The main concern here is to present the divergent perspectives on the specific issue of international newsflow and then to establish whether the allegations of distortions in the global flow of news (as a result of control of newsflow by developed countries) stand up to empirical testing in a specifically Canadian context.

To test the allegation of distortions, this research proposes to examine the type of coverage given one developing country, Nigeria, by the newspaper of a developed country, Canada. In general, the research is a study of the Globe and Mail, a Canadian newspaper accorded the status of an "elite" newspaper, through the use of content analysis. The research is designed to accomplish one main objective: to provide some indication of the quality and extent of the Globe and Mail's coverage of Nigeria (and given the Globe's status as an "elite" newspaper, it will thus probably reflect the highest level of Canadian coverage of Nigerian events). The twelve-year period covered extends from the end of the Nigerian Civil War (January 13, 1970) to December 1981.
In this thesis, Chapter 2 gives a review of the available literature on global newsflow. The literature review reveals the lack of studies which specifically and directly link Nigeria with Canada. The available literature treats Nigeria either in the broad context of Third World countries or among African countries in general; there is thus a justification for a specific study. Indeed, specificity may eliminate distortion since generalizations may not do justice to individual situations; single country studies may yield more reliable findings or findings which refute conclusions drawn from studies which focus on a region or continent.

Since the Third World countries argue that the present structure of global newsflow promotes cultural and media imperialism, Chapter 3 examines the media/cultural imperialism debate. The Chapter assesses the arguments advanced by both parties - those who propose that there is media/cultural imperialism and those who refute the presence of media/cultural imperialism. Chapter 3 also examines the call for a "New World Information Order", a call arising from the media imperialism debate.

Chapter 4 examines the bilateral relationship between Canada and Nigeria in order to indicate that these two countries enjoy a mutually important relationship, namely in the areas of trade, aid, flow of immigrants, and formal educational exchange agreements. By establishing the
importance of the bilateral relationship between the two countries, the chapter indicates not only the need for studies of their inter-relationship, but why the media of one need cover the events of the other country. Consequently, this chapter offers a justification for this project and also for the choice of the particular newspaper examined.

In Chapter 5, the methodology for achieving the aim of this research project is described. Four aspects of Globe and Mail coverage of Nigeria, together with related hypotheses, are set out in this chapter.

Chapter 6 analyses the data collected in this study and focuses on the following dimensions of Globe and Mail coverage:

(a) The use of "spot" or "action" news is compared to background or development news. "Spot" or "action" news lacks adequate background information and as a result does not give a good understanding of complex issues. On the other hand, background news, like "features", helps clarify issues. The quantity and presentation of "spot" news is compared with that of background news to determine the quality of coverage given Nigeria.

(b) The coverage is evaluated to determine the balance between stories favourable and unfavourable to Nigeria. More emphasis on negative events or frequent resort to unfavoura-
ble (or favourable) comments might mean that the Canadian reader is receiving the wrong impression about events in Nigeria.

(c) Since normally more foreign news comes from the global agencies than Canadian sources, the study compares the amount of Globe and Mail news on Nigeria originating directly from the Globe and Mail (the Globe's Staff Correspondents and Editors) with Nigerian news in the Globe and Mail originating from each global agency (i.e. Reuter, United Press International, and Associated Press), and other sources (namely the Times, the Financial Times of London, and the New York Times). The study also compares Nigerian news in the Globe and Mail originating from Canadian sources like Canadian Press (C.P.) with news from non-Canadian sources.

(d) The coverage is examined to ascertain whether or not opposing dimensions of an issue are discussed. Given the multi-dimensional nature of development issues, this study proposes to limit the evaluation to aid alone, the reason being that aid is a very controversial issue. Some proponents of the imperialism thesis have extended their argument to aid (cf. Hayter, 1974; Goulet, 1971), thereby holding a negative view of the motives and consequences of aid. This study, therefore, examines the coverage given to aid to Nigeria in general and to Canadian aid to Nigeria in order to determine whether there was a reasonable presentation
of opposing points of view regarding the desirability and effects of aid. The presentation of only one side of the issue might suggest a distortion in the Globe’s coverage of the subject of developmental assistance.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the conclusions of the study and suggests areas for further research.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: GLOBAL NEWSFLOW
Perhaps, when an idea is stated very frequently, people become weary of it; consequently, its importance tends to be downplayed. Tate's (1971: 89) cliche, "Information is power", may well be one of those important, but downplayed statements. However, the multi-dimensional relationship between and among nations indicates that whatever the type of relationship - bilateral or multilateral, friendly or hostile - there is a need for information about other nations. The need arises not only from the desire to understand events, but also from the need to use information in decision-making about other nations.

Nations are linked by events. A local event in Timbuktu may have economic, political and social effects on the residents of Timiskaming. A military coup in Nigeria may eventually result in war, as it did, thereby endangering the lives of Canadian missionaries. The same coup may mean that the payment of Nigeria's debt to Canada is delayed. It may also mean that Canadian businessmen may not consider Nigeria a safe place to invest; hence, they may not expand their business. In other words, the interdependent relations between and among nations make it necessary to be informed about other nations.

2.1 The Importance of Foreign News

These simple examples indicate the ripple effects of
events in one country, and how they affect other countries. The links explain the importance of foreign news. News of events in one country can be of benefit to people of another country for numerous reasons. The importance of news, implied by the importance of information, was noted by Parker:

Many individuals in our society value information highly. For some, information is its own reward. The satisfaction of curiosity is itself a sufficient justification for information seeking. For having appropriate information may facilitate specific problem solving. It may mean economic or occupational advancement. It may mean an increase in social status either in a small circle of acquaintances or in the society at large. It is likely to give one increased power in manipulating one’s environment, both physical and social. (Parker, 1970: 63).

Parker’s postulation is that improved information gives one the advantage of managing one’s affairs more effectively. While people may easily (though rarely) have opportunities to get local or national news through interpersonal contacts or personal observation, news about the rest of the world usually must be imported through the media. Due to the limited opportunities and the financial constraints involved in travelling abroad, the individual’s needs for foreign news must be met through the mass media (Lippmann, 1922: 32). Accurate information usually serves as an advantage, while the opposite may be counter-productive. This means that one need not only be informed, but need be informed correctly; inaccurate or distorted media coverage of international events can create misperceptions about other
nations, groups, individuals and events.

The importance of foreign news can also be illustrated by its impact (directly or indirectly) on policy makers. In attempting to determine whether the changes in Turkish-American relations were mirrored in changes in the news reporting of the New York Times, Sahin (1973: 685) found that the evaluation of foreign political events or political actors by the New York Times changed in response to changes in American foreign policy. Conversely, the existence of substantial influence by internal interest groups, who are informed by their media on foreign policy, has been examined and supported by Barry (1975) and Staires (1976). Studies have shown that the local media influence foreign policy-makers, either indirectly through pressure groups (Barry, 1975) or directly through their relationships with policy-makers (Cohen 1973; Staires, 1976).

2.1.1 FOREIGN NEWS AND PUBLIC INTEREST

Although foreign news is important because of its potential usefulness, the public's interest in news is another factor in evaluating the importance of news. The public's need for foreign news was emphasized by the Canadian Communication Research Centre in its report to the Royal Commission on Newspapers, the Kent Commission. The Centre's report indicated that when respondents were asked to indicate their interest in different kinds of news coverage, 66%
indicated that they were "very interested" in world and international news; 68% in local or regional news and 50% in national news, specifically politics (King, 1981: 71).

Sparkes and Winter (1981), interested in public attitudes towards news, undertook a study of audience interest in and preference for foreign news. They concluded that although television is judged slightly ahead on currency, interesting foreign news, and accuracy, newspapers score better on the depth factor. Since their sample included 47% of respondents with college education and 27.5% who had attended graduate school, it perhaps was not surprising that 73.1% of the respondents claimed to read a newspaper every day. Their study confirmed not only the importance of foreign news, but the importance of newspapers as a more informative news service when in-depth analysis is sought.

Kriegbaum's (1958: 11) study focused on the credibility of newspapers as a source of foreign news. Kriegbaum, who was mainly interested in the importance of the different media, namely newspapers, radio and T.V., found that 21% of newspaper subscribers claimed to have read all foreign news stories daily, while 36% said that they read some foreign news stories. Interestingly, the 14% of respondents who expressed an interest in more international news coverage was almost exactly the same figure for the percentage interested in more national news.
Another study, however, has refuted the contention that an increase in foreign news coverage will lead to increased reader interest in such news. Nichols (1975b) explored the relationship between readers and international news by attempting to find out whether increasing foreign news content was followed by an increase in reader interest in foreign news. He hypothesized that if the gatekeepers increased their foreign news content, there would be a concomitant increase in public interest in foreign news, an hypothesis which was not supported.

If news is important and there is public interest, there is a need to examine the type of news presented to the public. The examination could be done by attempting to answer the question, to what type of foreign news are members of the public exposed? To answer the question, there is a need to understand the factors which influence the process of news gathering and dissemination.

2.2 FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE NEWSFLOW

There are numerous factors which influence the flow of foreign news. Galtung and Ruge (1965: 70), for example, list seventeen conditions which may make an event newsworthy. For an event to be considered as a potential news item, there are certain elements which qualify it. Cultural proximity and timeliness are two of the elements which are considered
necessary for the classification of an event as newsworthy. Besides factors which qualify an event as newsworthy, there are factors which not only influence the decision on what is newsworthy, but also influence what newsworthy item should or should not be transmitted.

Many factors which influence the flow of news, advanced through research, have been established by Markham (1961), Hicks and Gordon (1974), Zipf (1946), and McLean and Pinna (1958). This study, while acknowledging the above research, will limit its examination to cultural proximity and ethnocentrism, ideological factors, economic factors, and the role of the world agencies as gatekeepers of international news.

2.2.1 CULTURAL PROXIMITY AND ETHNOCENTRISM

One aspect of global newsflow influencing factors was explored by Ostgaard (1965). Defining cultural proximity as the sharing of meaningful political, economic and socio-cultural values, Ostgaard contended that cultural proximity affects the flow of news. Ostgaard also contended that while cultural proximity may clarify why the media of one nation report the events of another nation, there are ethnocentric factors of the mass media industry of a particular country which affect the nature of the flow of news. Some of the factors are of a political and economic nature. Such ethnocentric forces as biases derived from publishers'
policies, nationalism, and biases attributed to intentional or unintentional allegiance to some political/economic ideology affect news gathering and dissemination. Furthermore, since news is audience-oriented, it has to be designed to suit the audience. To do this, there may be a desire for, and eventually, the act of simplification. To simplify events, journalists may emphasize issues they know to be familiar to their own nationals while overlooking complex ones. This act of simplification presents a problem because the news is, therefore, not the event but a "reconstruction" of the event.

For Ostgaard (1965), while cultural or geographical proximity explains the "whys" of global newsflow, ethnocentrism and the act of simplification explain the "hows" of newsflow. Ethnocentrism and the desire to simplify events explain how sensationalism becomes a way of news reporting; for instance, the reporting of an event within the East-West ideological framework, such as whether the leader of a developing country is pro East or pro West, may trivialize complex events and consequently result in sensationalism.

Galtung and Ruge (1965), using Ostgaard's theoretical framework, presented a psychological explanation, based on empirical analysis, in examining the factors which influence the flow of foreign news. For Galtung and Ruge, one goes through psychological processes to evaluate events as newsworthy. During this evaluation, events with a high
score on one or more news factors are given preference by the news media over those with a low score. In this examination of news about elite nations/people, Galtung and Ruge formulated "additivity" and "complementary" hypotheses to analyze the presentation of crises in four Norwegian newspapers. Events were regarded as news if conditions (which they called factors) such as cultural proximity, unexpectedness, reference to elite nations or people etc. had a high score.

They stipulated that a higher total score of an event is marked by a greater probability that such an event will be considered newsworthy. They called this the "additivity" hypothesis. Since events may have more than one factor which make them newsworthy, Galtung and Ruge also stipulated that if an event is low on one factor, then it will have to be high on another factor to be considered newsworthy - the "complementary" hypothesis. The two hypotheses were supported by their findings, and led to an analysis of how complex newsworthy events tend to be simplified.

Galtung and Ruge, in explaining the simplification of news, argued that more distant events tend to be reported less ambiguously. Complex, remote and strange events have to be treated within one's own cultural parameters. Such presentation, which leaves the impression of homogeneity and uniformity, may not necessarily be the reality of the reported
nation. Thus, through simplification, the reality of the events may be distorted.

2.2.2 IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS

The two studies conducted by Galtung and Ruge (1965) and Ostgaard (1965) emphasized the absence of cultural proximity as a factor which, when combined with ethnocentrism, hampers both the flow and the quality of global news. As an extension of this cultural "framework", Elliott and Golding (1974: 230-5) traced the problems of news factor influences to human use of available facilities. Using the relationship between the developed and the developing nations, they noted that since the developing countries use the available technology of the developed countries, there is an orientation of the developing countries to the ideology and culture of the developed countries. To support this opinion, they offer an analysis of the cultural and ideological orientation by the industrialized nations. They argue that since the industrialized nations control the production of communication hardware (in this case communication technology such as satellites), and the content which they disseminate around the world (such as TV programs exported to the Third World), their culture and ethnocentrism will be dominant. This dominance has led to a "one-way" flow of information distribution, resulting in disparity in the flow of information.

While Elliot and Golding (1974) were concerned with a
general analysis of ideology as a factor which influences the international flow of news, other scholars have been concerned specifically with the impact of ideology on news source; still others have dealt with ideological factors as they affect the receiver.

Akinyemi (1971) undertook a study to evaluate media perceptions in the United States about the Nigeria/Biafra war. He content-analysed the New York Times, the Christian Science Monitor, and Time magazine to establish the position taken by the American media. The findings from the study indicated that all three publications perceived and praised Nigeria as a democratic and stable country prior to 1966. As soon as the war started, however, the New York Times viewed the situation from an ideological perspective related to East-West relations and was on the side of the West. This pro-West orientation was evidenced by its opposition to Nigeria’s arms trade with the Soviets, and the Soviet’s support for Nigeria. Time magazine’s reports were generally unfavourable in its evaluation of Nigeria’s efforts and actions to end the war. Although Akinyemi does not say whether the Christian Science Monitor viewed the war through an East-West ideological perspective, he found the Christian Science Monitor to be “surprisingly perfunctory” in its treatment given its high dependence on news agencies as an information source (Akinyemi 1971: 242).
Mohammed (1981) examined the amount of coverage given to Nigeria, and the attitudes toward that country as expressed by the press of the United States. He analysed the content of the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Chicago Tribune, and the Miami Herald to examine whether the U.S. press's news about Nigeria was framed to reflect U.S. political and social ideals and interests. The study showed that although Nigeria was the second largest supplier of oil to the United States, very little or nothing (only one news story) was reported on the United States' dependence on Nigerian oil. Mohammed then concluded that although the results demonstrated in part that American ideals and interests sometimes influenced the way the four newspapers treated Nigerian affairs, generally the American press did not always report Nigerian news in terms of its relationship to American interests and/or ideals.

One relevant study, dealing with the impact of the ideological factor on the receiver was done by Kriesberg (1946). The study treated the era between the beginning of negotiations for the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty of 1918, and the first Paris Peace Conference of 1946. Kriesberg studied the nature of Soviet news presented to Americans by the New York Times by classifying comments as favourable, unfavourable or neutral. The study evaluated news stories to determine whether the values or ethics attributed to Soviet actions were in harmony with the value system to which most
Americans adhere. The assumption was that comments critical of other peoples tend to accentuate the ethnocentric predispositions within the country (U.S.) and that "[c]harges against an 'out-group' tend to solidify feeling within the 'in-group'". Thus, "[n]ews which criticizes Soviet Russia implicitly reaffirms the correctness of the American point of view" (Kriesberg, 1946: 540).

Although the study acknowledged that newspapers are only one in a number of complex factors which determine attitudes, it observed that the attitudes which readers developed towards other nations reflected American values and goals. Despite the problems in ascertaining the cause-effect link, the study also observed that the attitudes of those who already held pro-American values were reinforced by the type of Soviet news presented.

Kriesberg's conclusion suggests a close relationship between ideological and ethnocentric influences on newsflows. In this case ethnocentrism leads to seeing things the "American Way", but the "American Way" becomes, in effect, an ideological framework for seeing things and anything contrary to the "American Way" is considered ideologically alien and possibly pro-Soviet.

2.2.3 Economic Factors

Another important factor which influences the flow of
global news is the functioning of the marketplace as it affects news - the "economics" of news.

As noted earlier, a UNESCO (1956) publication examined the effects of cost factors in the global flow of news. Another dimension of the effects of economic factors on global newsflow is the notion of news as a commodity. News is a commodity because it is "bought" from the news agencies. Like other economic goods, news is affected by market factors. For example, the Canadian newspaper industry relies on advertisers for about 80% of its revenue, while private TV and Radio rely 100% on advertisers. Advertisers are naturally concerned with the needs of the consumer. News thus becomes a commodity since it is designed to attract consumers. Simplification, sensationalism etc. exemplify the way news is designed to attract consumers. Thus the economic circumstances surrounding the publication of a newspaper determine the nature of its news coverage.

Robinson and Sparkes (1976: 205-218), acknowledging the "news-as-commodity" definition in their study of newsflow between the United States and Canada, noted that sensationalism, for example, was manifested in terms of an emphasis on conflict, rather than on agreement, in the disarmament debate headlines of the press of Canada and the U.S. They concluded that a "games" approach, with its clash, colour and scoring, tended to set the pace for generating public interest and
attention on international affairs in North American society.

Besides the aforementioned three factors, the role of the world news agencies as gatekeepers is another important factor which influences the flow of global news. Who is a news gatekeeper, and what is the role of a gatekeeper?

2.2.4 THE GATEKEEPING ROLE OF WORLD NEWS AGENCIES

Blake and Haroldsen (1975: 109) defined a gatekeeper in the mass communication media as a person who, through his or her interaction with the formal or informal channels of communication, decides what message should be transmitted. The gatekeepers also decide if and how such messages should be transmitted. Newspaper editors, correspondents, news agencies, and indeed the newspaper reader are gatekeepers. Robinson (1981), in explaining how gatekeeping and editing practices affect world news interpretations, notes that international information collection and dissemination is executed through a three-tiered manufacturing process involving the global, national and local media agencies. The relationship between and among these agencies explains the gatekeeping process; for example Canadian Press (CP), a cooperative owned by and servicing 106 Canadian daily newspapers, subscribes to some of the global news agencies, namely the Associated Press (U.S.), Reuter (Britain) and Agence-France Presse (France). Discussing the influences exerted by the global agencies on the national agencies,
Robinson notes that "...The global news agencies with their superior technological and personnel [resources], do provide the general framework or universe of discourse from which the international agenda is assembled". Hence, they are "...potentially able to dominate inputs into national agencies by the very mass of stories they report each day" (Robinson, 1981: 197). The abundant input from the global agencies, coupled with the national agencies' inability to absorb all of the information available, results in selective, quantitative and qualitative gatekeeping on the part of the national agencies.

After selection at this level, the national agencies send the edited news items to newspapers which subscribe to the national news agencies. Each newspaper selects what is desired. Hence, the same gatekeeping process occurs between the national agencies and the newspapers which subscribe to them. This means that news items which originate from the global agencies, through national agencies to newspapers, undergo more levels of gatekeeping than news items which originate directly from the correspondents of a newspaper. Robinson (1981: 193) notes that between the globals and the nationals, there is "...a discard rate of approximately 88 percent ... [by the nationals] indicating that even though the globals potentially provide a fairly substantial coverage of world events, much of this information is discarded by the national agencies."
Although the discard rate explains the inadequacies of news from the nationals, there are, of course, inadequacies within the globals themselves. Our discussion on economic, ideological and cultural factors indicates that news reports are influenced by these factors. These factors may (and do) create distortions in the news reports of the global agencies. The explanation given by Hester (1974) of the gatekeeping process of the globals speaks to this point:

Of the many potential news events, only some are covered by reporters, "stringers" or members relaying stories to the bureau of the global news agency. Editors there forward important news items to the world headquarters of the agency. Editors at world headquarters select what they think newsworthy and pass it on to the media. Editors in each medium further select what they believe most newsworthy. (Hester, 1974: 210)(Emphases added)

Hester's explanation excludes one level of gatekeeping, namely national news agencies such as CP. More levels of gatekeeping may result in more opportunities for distortion because at each level news reports, phrases and words are rejected or modified (or left as they are). As a result of this selective procedure; reality is mediated.

The elimination of one level of gatekeeping may mean the elimination of one level for the probability of distortion and an increase in the probability of better reporting. This means that news reports coming directly from a newspaper's
correspondents to the editor go through fewer levels of
gatekeeping or distortion than news reports coming from the
correspondents of a global news agency. Ultimately, this
implies the need for newspapers to have correspondents all
over the world, a rather expensive undertaking.

Studies have shown that Canadian coverage of
international affairs relies more on global agencies than on
Canadian newspaper correspondents. If there is more
foreign news coming from the global agencies than from a
paper's own correspondents, then, by implication, more
distorted news items may be received. On a national scale,
foreign news reports received from global news agencies
instead of a paper's own correspondents may not only have a
higher probability of distortion, but by originating from
other countries' national news services or from the
correspondents of newspapers based in other countries, may
also reflect perspectives different from those of the
recipient country. Several studies have emphasized the
need for local or national perspectives instead of foreign
perspectives.

2.3 THE CANADIAN PERSPECTIVE

Scanlon's (1973) assertion that "Canada sees the World
through U.S. Eyes" carried the implication that it is impe-
orative that Canada should see the world through "Canadian
eyes". This theme was similar to the emphasis placed by the
1970 Special Senate Committee on Mass Media chaired by Senator Keith Davey. The importance of the Canadian perspective was emphasized as one of the concerns of the committee. The Davey Report, while reflecting on the Canadian news agency, Canadian Press (CP), noted that foreign news is "...an area of operation in which...CP could be, and should be, doing a better job for the people of Canada...[and] should have more staffers abroad, reporting the world scene as Canadians speaking to Canadians." (Davey, 1970: 232-3) (emphasis in original).

The committee further argued that if foreign news was not important, then CP would not bother to place its Canadian staff correspondents in Washington, New York, London and Paris. Eleven years later, the Kent Commission echoed the Davey report by stressing the need for a Canadian perspective in international news coverage (Kent, 1981: 167).

The premise for the Commissions' argument is based on the fact that a high percentage of foreign news in Canada comes from the international news agencies of the U.S., Britain, Soviet Union and France. If one doubts the validity of such concerns, or the allegations of inadequate intentional coverage by Canadian sources, a brief review of empirical studies on Canada's coverage of the Third World may clarify the effects of relying on foreign news services. Such studies on international newsflow acknowledge the role of the global
news agencies in transmitting information to Canadians, and
have focused on the Third World in general; specific Third
World regions (e.g. Africa); or a specific Third World country
(e.g. Jamaica).

2.3.1 CANADIAN COVERAGE OF THE THIRD WORLD

Scanlon (1968) found that Canadian mass media give
preference to on-the-spot coverage of Third World crises
rather than providing balanced, comprehensive coverage. Ten
years later, Schroeder (1978) conducted research to examine
the ways in which coverage of issues related to the Third
World appears in Canadian publications, and to determine the
extent of such coverage and the events linking Canada with the
Third World. He observed that although a large proportion of
respondents to his survey expressed personal interest in Third
World issues, this interest was not usually reflected in the
priorities followed in the selection of news items. The data
from the study indicated that 100% of the respondents, who
claimed to have read daily newspapers, said they were either
very interested or interested in Third World news. However,
when rank-ordered, the topics related to the Third World which
appeared most frequently were in this order: political
upheavals (16.8%), natural disasters (15.5%), international
crimes (13.5%) and personalities in the news (11.4%)
(Schroeder, 1978: 29). Thus, out of seventeen topics coded,
the first four accounted for 56.8%, and none of these
reflected in-depth coverage of Third World developments or
Canadian relations with developing countries. Schroëder concluded that the answer to the fundamental question of "whether Canadians are in fact well informed about the Third World and Canada's relations with the Third World" would have to be "No", even though they are interested in this subject.10

Onu (1979) investigated the allegation by leaders and scholars of developing countries that news about their nations is distorted, and the dissatisfaction of such countries at the image of them presented abroad. Onu content-analysed Canadian newspapers to determine their treatment of one developing region - Africa. Onu's study, treating the African continent instead of specific African countries, dealt with three Canadian newspapers (Toronto Star, Vancouver Sun and Montreal Star) but not the Globe and Mail. As a result of his study, he suggested that Canadian news media should depend on their own correspondents in Africa, and that Canadian editors and publishers should try to change their perceptions of Africa.11 Such suggestions stemmed from his finding that the "...overall presentation of Africa in the (Canadian) newspapers...was unfavourable" and that "...this ranged from a high -65% negative margin of favourability in the Montreal Star to a low negative margin of -18% in the Vancouver Sun". (Onu, 1979: 107)

Cuthbert (1980), concerned with the areas of Canada
which provide the majority of tourists and investors for Jamaica, studied the coverage of Jamaica by three Canadian dailies - the Montreal Star, the Toronto Star and the Ottawa Citizen - for a period of one year. She found that the Canadian press placed emphasis on violence in Jamaica, and that hard news stories of violence, crime and politics in Jamaica were not balanced with soft news stories, such as those on culture, education, and development, nor with stories of a human interest nature. Therefore, she noted, Canadians who relied entirely on the press for news about Jamaica were "...left with the dominant image of a politically divided, unstable, crime ridden society" (Cuthbert, 1980: 29).

Based on the studies cited, it appears that there is not only an inadequacy of Canadian perspective in international news reporting, but that the reporting is done with little or no sensitivity to the problems of the Third World, or without a desire for balanced reporting of third world events.

2.4 SUMMARY: RELEVANCE OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

The relevance of the literature on newsflow can be assessed by examining the relationship between each study and the purpose of the present study. The postulation by Parker (1970: 63) asserts simply the importance of news to the consumer. Sahin (1973) explored the relationship between policy changes and concurrent attitude changes by the media.
Cohen (1963) explored the relationship between the media gatekeepers and foreign policy-makers and indicated that each impacts upon the other. In establishing the importance of foreign news, Lippmann (1922: 10) indicated the need for foreign news to be accurate. This need is partly supported by the public's interest in foreign news, as indicated by studies conducted by the Canadian Communication Research Centre (King, 1981), Sparkes and Winter (1981) and Kriegbaum (1958). However, at least one study indicated that an increase in foreign news content does not lead to increased reader interest in such news (Nichols, 1975b).

The review of four of the factors which influence newsflow, namely cultural proximity and ethnocentrism, ideological factors, economic factors, and the gatekeeping role of news agencies, has presented a framework for exploring and eventually understanding factors which influence coverage of the Third World by the media of the industrialized nations. Ethnocentrism may create a desire to simplify events that are geographically distant, thereby resulting in distortion (Saltung and Ruge, 1965). Ideological influences on the mass media have been demonstrated by several researchers (Akinyemi, 1971; Sahin 1973; Robinson and Sparkes, 1976; Kriesberg, 1946). Although the studies by Akinyemi (1971), Robinson and Sparkes (1976) and Kriesberg (1946) dealt with different periods, they tend to agree that national ideals and interests seem to influence the way the media report international
affairs. Mohammed's (1981) study postulated a different conclusion that ideals and interests of a country do not always influence news coverage. One is, therefore, left wondering what conclusion a more specific study, dealing with a different period and a different relationship, might lead to. Although there may be only minor differences in the ideological orientations of Canada and the U.S., there are differences between the United States' relationship with Nigeria, and Canada's relationship with Nigeria (for example, Commonwealth membership). This raises the question as to whether Canadian coverage of Nigeria will be more favourable than Akinyemi found in his study of U.S. coverage.

The similarities in the nature of news about the Third World in Canada and the U.S. are explored by the Robinson and Sparkes' (1976) study. Their emphasis on the "game" approach, with its clash and colour, and the stress on conflict rather than agreement, supports the study by Scanlon (1968), and creates the need to examine whether this form of coverage is applicable to Canadian reporting of Nigerian news.

Scanlon's (1968) contention that spot coverage of foreign events by Canadian journalists rises in times of crises makes the study of post-crisis coverage an interesting area to explore. Since studies on coverage of Nigeria during the Biafran war period (Scanlon, 1968; Akinyemi, 1971; and Mohammed, 1981) have supported Scanlon's hypothesis, a
post-crisis study would offer another dimension in the study of Third World coverage. Furthermore, studies by Schroeder (1978), Onu (1979) and Cuthbert (1980) which dealt with Third World news coverage by the Canadian press, also indicate that inadequacies exist in the coverage of Third World events by the Canadian media. Despite the above noted studies, there has not heretofore been an analysis of Canadian press coverage of Nigeria, although there has been a growing interest in the coverage of Nigeria by United States’ newspapers (cf. Akinruntan, 1971; Mohammed, 1981). Thus it seems appropriate to study Canadian press coverage of Nigeria to establish whether or not distortions exist in this case.13

The foregoing sections have dealt with the importance of foreign news, factors which influence foreign news flow, and the state of foreign news flow between developed and developing regions. In order to give a specific, theoretical framework to newsflow, this review attributes the problems of newsflow to such factors as cultural proximity and ethnocentrism, ideological orientation, economic factors which affect newsflow, and gatekeeping. The review aimed at creating an understanding of the problems which hamper the flow of global news and subsequently result in distortions during the process. Equally important to this understanding of the distortion is an understanding of the global system of international relations. While it is not possible in this paper to examine all potentially relevant international
relationships, it is important to look at the current debate on newsflow and the call for a New World Information Order (N.W.I.O.). In examining the call for a new world order, the next chapter also attempts to clarify some concepts used in the debate, such as media imperialism and cultural imperialism.
CHAPTER 3

GLOBAL NEWSFLOW DEBATE: MEDIA/CULTURAL IMPERIALISM AND THE CALL FOR A NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER
As noted earlier, there have been allegations that the control of communication hardware and software by the developed nations has led to a "one way flow" of communication. This one way flow of communication has been termed media imperialism by some scholars, notably Marxist-Leninists. The allegation that such a situation exists has led to a demand for a New World Information Order. To clarify the different positions in the media imperialism debate, an examination of the arguments which support or disagree with the existence of an "imperialist" relationship will be examined. Since Marxist-Leninists tend to view communication dependence in the context of cultural dependence, an examination of arguments which support or refute the relationship between media imperialism and cultural imperialism is needed. Since media imperialism or cultural imperialism has usually been attributed to capitalism, this chapter will also examine arguments for or against the validity of such an attribution.

What, then, is media imperialism?

3.1 MEDIA AND/OR CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Boyd-Barrett (1977: 117) postulated a significant theory which is helpful in understanding media imperialism. Media imperialism, according to Boyd-Barrett, does not result from a deliberate manoeuvre, but is a result of socio-economic forces. He sees media imperialism as a consequence of the design of international communication "vehicles". Such
factors as population, economic wealth, and communication technology are "vehicles" which lead to the desire for market expansion. Since these vehicles require expansion of the market, it is inevitable that the standards and values of the owners of these "vehicles", in this case the rich industrialized nations, are spread to other countries. Thus, according to Boyd-Barrett, international communication "vehicles" establish a "media-formation model" that is "imperialistic" in the sense of its being a product of the interests of the industrialized states. This media imperialism, however, is a by-product of the vehicles of communication and not a deliberate, strategic manoeuvre.

To exemplify Boyd-Barrett's contention, one may use the U.S. to explain the "media-formation model". The population of the U.S., which is over 240 million, makes it more feasible for a producer to spend nine-hundred thousand dollars producing an episode of a TV series because he/she has a "market" (advertisers and viewers) for his product. A Canadian producer does not have such a sizeable market considering Canada's population of about 25 million; hence, Canadian broadcasters buy the U.S. product for about $15,000 (Department of Communications, 1983: 8). The large U.S. population, in becoming a market for advertisers, becomes a market for the producer. The U.S. population (consumer) gives the U.S. producer a low rate per unit cost. This low rate per unit cost is a result of technological advancement which, by
enhancing mass production of goods, lowers the cost of production. This means that technology, population, and capital are components which make up a model of mass media formation.

The feasibility of producing costly programs of good quality and having a good potential home market has some ripple effects. The producer, in recovering his costs with profit from the home market, can afford to sell his product to other countries at a cheaper rate (known as "dumping") or reinvest in a new product. This explains why Canada and Third World countries buy U.S. TV programs; it is cheaper to buy than to produce because costs can be recovered for U.S. products but not from the Canadian products.

This simplification of Boyd-Barrett's contention signifies a situation in which the process, organization and management of the media in country A (or the portrayal of that country in its media), become the norm for country B. This dependence by country B, due to its subservience to the interests of country A, clarifies Boyd-Barrett's definition of media imperialism. He defines media imperialism as:

the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution, or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial pressure from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected. (Emphasis added)

The situation of dependence means that one country's point of view dominates another's. The lack of reciprocation may be traced to the economic imbalance (whether deliberately created or inevitably encountered) in world relations. The economic imbalance makes it more feasible to buy media products designed to meet the market demands, and conform to the cultural value system of an alien country rather than produce those designed specifically for the local market. This situation echoes the themes which characterize the arguments on the colonial exploitation of the Third World.

Other scholars have narrowed the application of the term (media imperialism) to a specific communication medium. McPhail (1981), for example, deals with the electronic media (radio spectrum, tv, satellites) by talking about "electronic colonialism" instead of "electronic imperialism". Although electronic colonialism focuses principally on the transfer of communication hardware, it also refers to the one-way flow of information since the hardware is used in the transmission of the software (programs)2. Hence, McPhail defines electronic colonialism as:

...the dependency relationship established by the importation of communication hardware, foreign-produced software, along with engineers, technicians and related information protocols, that vicariously establish a set of foreign norms, values and expectations which, in varying degrees, may alter the domestic cultures and socialization processes (McPhail, 1981: 20).
For an understanding of the debate regarding the media imperialism vs cultural imperialism thesis, Lee's review of the thesis may be used as a point of departure (Lee, 1980). Lee's evaluation of the imperialism debate considers the debate as one between two camps - the neo-Marxists and the non-Marxists. Lee, claiming to be a "chung" (one without inclinations to either side), observes that both sides have been guilty of attempting to refute or support "media imperialism" with limited (scientific?) evidence.

The neo-Marxists (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1973; Schiller, 1976), according to Lee, employ a holistic approach in analysing global communication flow. They examine the role of the media in the context of the whole society. They explore the relationship between the "subliminal seduction" of capitalist ideology (in this case creating the desire for wealth) and its effect on the proletariat. The neo-Marxists, holding to the Marxist-Leninist dictum that imperialism is a necessary result of advanced monopoly capitalism, transfer this concept to the communication/cultural area. They see the mass media as a "consciousness" industry because the mass media are perpetrators of culture and are ultimately instrumental in the control of culture. Further, they view the media as being controlled by bourgeois owners who use the media to maintain their socio-economic status and ideals. Thus, for them, communication imperialism is part of cultural imperialism, and eventually a part of the larger monolithic
imperialist syndrome.

The non-Marxists, according to Lee, argue that for a better understanding of the concept, the propagation of media technology or programs to the Third World should be viewed as "media imperialism" but not "cultural imperialism". The non-Marxists contend that mass media institutions should be accorded a considerable degree of autonomy within a pluralist model of industrial society. For them, when the media, the church, the family or the school (for example) are accorded autonomy and treated separately as autonomous segments of the society, there is better opportunity for distinct analysis. Since "media imperialism" refers to a more specific range of phenomena, it should not be "confused" with a broader concept such as "cultural imperialism". Thus, they would prefer to call the infiltration of Third World markets with media technology and program as media imperialism but not as cultural imperialism.³

If Lee's evaluation has done justice to the two camps, then the argument by the non-Marxists has not explained why media technology transfer is media imperialism, but not cultural imperialism. The spurious argument advanced by the non-Marxists overlooks the relationship between communication and culture. Culture is a collection of shared values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour patterns. Communication is the sharing of meanings based on "similarity" of values and
beliefs. The transactions on communication media constitute the cultural building blocks of a society. Thus, one cannot have media imperialism without, by implication, having cultural imperialism. The non-Marxists have pointed out the importance of specificity as opposed to gross generalizations. Nevertheless, their emphasis on the part—media—instead of the whole—culture—is tantamount to treating an issue as if it exists in a vacuum. The introduction of Western religion to Africa, for example, affected social-cultural changes in the lives of worshippers of traditional religion. This in turn had adverse effects on the society as a whole. To speak of Western religion per se in Africa without its relationship with African society or its consequences parallels the approach suggested by the non-Marxists. While it is important to clarify the nature of an event, it is also important to view such an event as it affects the larger whole. No matter how rigorously one examines aid, for example, one still gets a better perspective by relating aid to economic or social development.

The relationship between imperialism and capitalism has been explored by a non-Marxist, Merrill (1979: 27-43), who warns that imperialism should not be discussed within the context of capitalism. To Merrill, imperialism should not be confused with capitalism because communication imperialism is a "...typically exaggerated Marxist-Leninist polemic designed as a step to make capitalism synonymous with imperialism".
Merrill offers no arguments to indicate why imperialism should not be "confused" with capitalism. He, however, argues against the imperialism-capitalism thesis on the grounds that it is a:

...rhetorical shooting match...between the Marxist world and the capitalist world, with the...Third World countries adding their shrill voices usually in concert with the Marxist world..., the Third World is... doing the actual fighting for the Marxist powers, having been provided the ideological bullets..." (Merrill, 1979: 27-28).

Merrill's argument suggests that the imperialism thesis is not seriously considered by those who propose it. Furthermore, while implying that the Marxists cannot do their "battle" without the help of the Third World, his comments suggest that the Third World has no ideological framework of its own. This is emphasized by Merrill's warning that Third World communication people should be careful not to fall under one type of communication imperialism while trying to resist another. In other words, while denouncing imperialism by the capitalists, the Third World should be careful not to fall under communist imperialism.

Merrill's warning points out that while there is a correlation between capitalism and imperialism, such a correlation does not necessarily indicate that the former causes the latter. His argument is that media imperialism should not be attributed to capitalism alone, since socialism does not preclude imperialism.
Merrill has raised a valid point. To understand this, one has to remember that the trend of Soviet territorial, military and political expansion, coupled with the activities of Soviet international broadcasting, indicate that imperialism need not be blamed only on international capitalism. The exploitation of Third World countries by both capitalist and Soviet powers indicates that capitalist media imperialism and Soviet media imperialism have some similarities - both are exploitative.

The foregoing explanation notwithstanding, Merrill's arguments do not convincingly refute the arguments for a relationship between imperialism and capitalism. Indeed, he has offered a red herring by arguing that socialism is also exploitative. If he had shown that neither capitalism nor imperialism is exploitative, or that one is, while the other is not, then his dismissal of the imperialism-capitalism link could be accepted as valid. His argument only suggests that if capitalism is exploitative, so also is communism. While he gives a sound warning, he has also dismissed a genuine concern of the Third World by being more concerned with the East/West ideological "warfare".

Some scholars have warned against this attitude of viewing Third World issues within an East/West perspective. Ellie Abel, the U.S. representative on the International
Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, warned against such an attitude. He explained that:

...the American press does not understand the UNESCO communication decisions of recent years...[Many] in the U.S. press are viewing the UNESCO debates on communications through narrow, parochial eyes instead of taking a broader, historical perspective which would reveal the Third World's growing efforts to develop their own communication systems and gain control of their own resources...[S]uggestions that the Soviets have been behind the adverse UNESCO decisions...[are] not true...we are dealing with a genuine Third World Movement to gain control of its future. At times the Third World decisions are as offensive to the Russians as they are to the U.S. - although for different reasons (emphasis added) (Schneider, 1980: 11).

Abel's explanation indicates that Third World countries have reservations not only about Western imperialism, but also state "capitalism" which is sometimes cloaked as socialism. When Third World scholars and leaders oppose imperialism, they are ultimately opposing exploitation by capitalism or communism. One would expect the Third World countries to be more concerned with controlling their own communication systems than taking sides for the benefit of either the East or the West. The exploitative and consequently oppressive nature of both imperialism and capitalism, for example, explains why they have been lumped together and condemned; both have gone hand-in-hand.

The above evaluation of the imperialism debate, in
providing the arguments from both camps on the debate, indicates that the proponents of the media/cultural imperialism thesis have convincing arguments to support their position. It is thus not surprising that they have called for a New World Information Order. What is the New World Information Order? To explain the origin of this call, one must discuss the politics of world resource transfers.

3.2 THE NEW WORLD INFORMATION ORDER

The imbalance in the flow of manufactured goods and raw materials between the developed and developing worlds was noted in a 1949 United Nations' study (U.N.E.A.D., 1949: 7; Myrdal, 1969: 232). The U.N. study dealt with the unfair world price structure of international trade. The report criticized the relatively large price gap between manufactured goods of Western developed countries and the primary materials produced by the developing countries. The document argued that, by paying a high price in importing goods manufactured from their raw materials, the developing countries had helped in maintaining a rising standard of living in the industrialized world.

If accepted at face value, this form of world resource transfer reveals what Chinweizu calls the "colonial order" (Chinweizu, 1975: 55-79). The colonial order is not an idea expressed only by Third World scholars. One of the most prominent British administrators, and the architect of
Britain's colonial policy in Nigeria, Lord Frederick Lugard acknowledged this order. He once agreed that "...the partition of Africa was, as we all recognize, due primarily to the economic necessity of increasing the supplies of raw materials and food to meet the needs of the industrialized nations of Europe" (Lugard, 1923: 613).

The 1949 U.N. report suggested that in the transfer of resources the developing countries did not receive "...a corresponding equivalent contribution towards their own standard of living". This implied that while the industrialized nations were enjoying economic wealth and affluence as a result of world trade patterns, the developing nations were not doing as well. This economic imbalance, as earlier noted, contributed to and resulted in the imbalance of communication flow between the industrialized and the developing nations.

The U.N. report was prepared while none of the African countries were members of the U.N. so that at that time changes were not strongly demanded. However, the growing presence of Third World countries at the U.N. in the late fifties and early sixties eventually resulted in new demands being expressed on world issues, including that of resource transfers. A vast majority of the 146 member states of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) belongs to the Third World. It is
therefore not surprising to find that pressure from the Third World countries has prompted UNESCO to review some Third World demands within its areas of jurisdiction.

3.2.1 THEORETICAL ARGUMENTS

To the Third World leaders the colonial economic order of Western industrialized states enhanced their acquisition of wealth, which eventually furthered their advances in communication. The Third World’s call for a New World Economic Order (NWHO), being a call arising from unfair and unequal trade flows, was naturally extended to a call for a New World Information Order (NWIO), since inequities in the media were also a product of economic imbalances. The demand for a new world communication and information order is, therefore, an offspring of the call for a new world economic order. Being a call for global distributive justice, the NWIO, as McPhail defines it, is:

...an evolutionary process seeking a more just and equitable balance in the flow and content of information, a right to national self-determination of domestic communication policies and...at the international level, a two-way information flow reflecting more accurately the aspirations and activities of the less developed countries.

UNESCO, in responding to the Third World’s call for a new communication order, established a commission to investigate the state and problems of international communication. The commission was established as a result of a
mandate given to the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr. Armadou-Mater M'Bow, from Resolution 100 of the 19th General Assembly in Nairobi, 1976.

The International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems (generally known as the McBride Commission) was established with sixteen members, including a chairman, the distinguished Irish personality, Sean McBride. The fifteen remaining members represented Africa (4), Asia (5), Europe (2), North America (2), and South America (2). The McBride Commission's report agreed that imbalances and inequalities exist in the global communication system. The Commission noted that the powerful and technologically advanced states have occupied a dominant position. This position has helped them in propagating their lifestyles, values and models to the rest of the world. The imbalance in the flow of information is not limited to newsflow, but also covers the collection and diffusion of data necessary for scientific purposes, technological innovation, commercial needs, trade development, and exploitation of natural resources (McBride, 1980: 34-43).

The Commission, in making its case, relied on documents and briefs submitted by its members, academics, politicians and mass media organizations. The most influential and elaborate background document presenting a good case for a NWIO was provided by one of its members,
Mustapha Masmoudi (Masmoudi, 1979).

Masmoudi remarked that the basic imbalance in information-communication reflected the general imbalance that affected the political, legal, technological-financial spheres of the international community. He argued that the quantitative imbalance is obvious, given that almost 80% of the world's newsflow emanates from the major transnational agencies, which are located in the Western, industrialized states, and only 20-30% of the news coverage is devoted to 75% of the world population. The qualitative imbalance is demonstrated by the marked indifference of the industrialized nations not only to the quantitative imbalance, but to the problems, concerns and aspirations of the developing countries. This indifference is apparent when current events in the developing countries are reported only after they have been filtered, cut, and distorted by reference to moral, cultural, or political values peculiar to the industrialized nations. Such reporting, according to Masmoudi, defies the values and concerns of the developing countries (Masmoudi, 1979: 174).

The implication of the call for a NWIO is that each nation, being a sovereign and independent state, should determine its own social, cultural, and economic goals, while enjoying a harmonious and creative relationship with other cultures. However, it is difficult to achieve harmonious
inter-cultural relationships because the world communication system, according to Rosenblum,

...is geared as much to amuse and divert as it is to inform, and it responds inadequately when suddenly called upon to explain something so complex and menacing as a dollar collapse or a war in Asia. Yet it is the American citizen's only alternative to ignorance about the world. (Rosenblum, 1979: 1-2).

Consequently, Third World leaders and scholars demand that in the coverage of developing countries amusement be balanced with serious information, diversion via negative news be balanced with positive news, and that simple explanation be supplemented with in-depth analysis. Western scholars acknowledge Rosenblum's points regarding the international flow of communication. However, generally their responses emphasize that the situation is not an outcome of deliberate manoeuvre (Abel, 1979), and some attribute it to the nature of news (Merrill, 1979; Stevenson, Cole and Shaw, 1982: 23).

In the document submitted to the McBride Commission by the U.S. representative, Elie Abel, he agreed with Masmoudi that gross imbalances exist in the present world information system. However, Abel disagreed with Masmoudi's contention that these imbalances are deliberately perpetrated by the Western Media (Abel, 1979). Abel also pointed out that international news flow monopoly should not be blamed on the source, but on the receiver because the world news agencies do not have direct access to the eyes and ears of readers and listeners in developing countries. Abel's point is that
without the approval and corroborations of third world leaders, bureaucrats and communication-business entrepreneurs, Western news agencies, for example, would not have access to third world audiences. Furthermore, the people of the Third World are neither forced to watch foreign programs nor to read foreign newspapers. This view of who to blame is shared by Merrill, who, taking a bold and clearcut stand, declared:

If national leaders and concerned editors of the third world really see in Western communication output, the grave danger to their cultures that we constantly hear... then by all means they should shut off the invidious flow for the good of their countries. (Merrill, 1979: 41)

It is not simple, nor is it practical for the third world leaders to shut off communication contact with the Western world. The current state of interdependence in the world system makes such action impractical. Since no nation can survive in a vacuum, such suggestions ignore many factors which influence the formulation of international communication policies. The plight of the third world leaders, therefore, resembles that of a cancer patient whose cure lies in a drug with serious side effects. The trade-off becomes a dilemma. While constantly taking the drug, third world leaders continuously decry the side effects.

3.2.2 EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE

Another issue raised in rejecting third world demands has been that there isn’t much empirical evidence to indicate
the extent to which the media in the Third World are infiltrated by the Western Industrialized World.

So far, our discussion of the imperialism thesis has been at a theoretical level. To understand the extent to which the media in the third world are controlled by Western capitalist states, more empirical studies are needed. Although there is a shortage of empirically based accounts of media imperialism, there are some comprehensive and well researched studies. The most prominent are studies by Guback (1969) and Schiller (1969). Guback analysed Hollywood's dominance of the film industry while Schiller was concerned with American export of television programs. Perhaps one needs to examine a specific developing area to understand the extent of Western media control of the third world. Figures are readily available from studies which deal with Latin America. However, inferences from the Latin American situation to the third world in general should be made with some caution.

Wells (1972), in presenting the television imperialism thesis as it applies to Latin America, argues that over three quarters of the world is controlled by U.S. television programs. Tunstall (1977: 40) disagrees with Wells' (1972: 121) contention that approximately 80% of the hemisphere's television programs were American produced. Tunstall argues that the figures are unreliable because they concentrate on
only the high figures of program exports. Tunstall, however, accepts Varis' conclusion (Nordenstreng and Varis, 1974: 14) that the television channels in Latin American countries like Argentina, Columbia and Mexico imported between 10% and 39% of programming; Guatemala was the only country (out of seven Latin American countries studied by Varis) which imported as high a figure as 80% of its programs.

Tunstall (1977: 46-47) also admits that "Time and Newsweek are available in most countries in the third world" and that the American "off-shore style of production" has "...led to overseas editions of various magazines of which Reader's Digest is the most famous...". He notes that "American manufacturers and advertising agencies tend to work together" since several American advertising agencies have "gone international", specifically to service the multinational operations of their major consumer advertising clients (Tunstall, 1977: 55). By 1973, Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela were some of the Latin American countries in which at least three of the five largest advertising agencies had American interests; Indonesia, Pakistan, Thailand, Malaysia, Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Colombia and Peru were among at least twenty countries whose largest single advertising agency was American.

Tunstall's figures seem to support other more detailed and comprehensive studies which deal with the influence of
American-owned advertising agencies. Mattelart (1975: 87) notes that in Argentina, six advertising agencies, (among the ten most important) are affiliates or associates of North American agencies, and command 70% of the billings of the ten agencies. Beltran and Fox de Cardona (1979: 36) contend that in Central American countries such as Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador, advertising is practically in the hands of one firm, McCann Erikson. Schenkel (1973: 21) indicated that in 1960 the top five U.S. advertising agencies controlled 35% of Argentine television commercials, while Ford, Standard Oil, Shell, Coca-Cola and other U.S. affiliates represented between 30% and 45% of all Argentine television advertising clients. While the top ten agencies in Venezuela were either directly U.S. owned or controlled in 1975, sales of the two largest agencies in Brazil (McCann Erikson and J. Walter Thompson) represented almost twice those of leading Brazilian national companies (Mattelart, 1975: 87). Indeed, a U.S. company (Crompton Advertising) managed the presidential campaigns of Venezuela’s Christian Democrats’ candidate, Rafael Cadera. Another U.S. company (J. Walter Thompson) managed the 1970 campaign of Chile’s right wing candidate, Alessandxi, and the 1972 campaign of Argentine’s General Alsongaray. Thus:

Latin American media are principally financed by commercial advertising. U.S. advertising companies lead the field in most of the countries of the region...their main clients are the U.S. multi-nationals. Advertising-related service industries such as public opinion and public relations are also U.S. owned and managed. (Beltran and Fox de Cardona,
1979: 38)

While the foregoing indicates the extent of control in the advertising industry, the news industry is similarly controlled by Western interests. A 1967 study, conducted by the Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Periodismo para America Latin (CIESPAL), indicated that 80% of the foreign news in twenty-nine dailies of Latin America was contributed by the U.S. agencies and 13% by Agence France Presse. UPI contributed 50% while AP contributed 30% (Betran and Fox de Cardona, 1979: 39). A 1975 joint study between UNESCO and CIESPAL, which surveyed communication institutions in Latin America, indicated that UPI serves sixteen out of twenty countries and AP serves fourteen out of that twenty. The following descriptions of the role of foreign news agencies in Latin America as offered by Schenkel (1973), indicate the extent of Western control of Latin American news media.

In Argentina, AP and UPI manage the international news. UPI has exclusivity in La Prensa of Buenos Aires, and Los Andes of Mendoza, while AP serves La Nación and at least four provincial dailies.

In Colombia, international wire services filter news to and from the country, in addition to some of the internal national news. UPI and AP together account for 70% of international news in that country.

The Chilean press, radio and television are also serviced by the non-national news services, in particular by UPI, that maintain a monopoly on news leaving the country.

In spite of the fact that Mexico has two national news agencies, one State owned, 90% of international news is provided by AP and UPI and AFP.
Sixty percent of international news in Peru before the revolutionary government was provided by UPI and AP, although there are three small national agencies.

The extent of control may be more or less in other regions of the third world such as Africa and Asia. However, the Latin American situation gives an indication of the extent of American dominance in one region of the third world. It is, therefore, understandable that Beltran and Fox de Cardona (1979: 39) should contend that "[t]he U.S. news agencies manage 80% of the international news in Latin America, and in many countries a significant percentage of national and regional news as well is controlled by these agencies".

Other studies on international news agencies, notably by Boyd-Barret (1980), corroborate the influence of the Western media on the Third world. Although the monopoly of media facilities and the distortion of third world events by the Western media is blamed on the Western capitalist countries, it would be naive to assume that third world countries are not to some degree responsible. Deficiencies are present in the news coverage by third world journalists themselves, and there also are cases of monopoly of media facilities by companies in developing countries. Third world leaders and scholars acknowledge these deficiencies in their society. As a result, besides the political rhetoric, abstract philosophical arguments and debatable suggestions for improvement, third world countries have taken some practical initiatives to change the nature of the present flow of
international information.

3.3 **ACTION AND SUGGESTIONS BY THE THIRD WORLD**

One specific suggestion of the Third World has been that Third World news agencies should be set up, and at the same time that there should be a redefined and broadened concept of news. Their communication scholars have suggested that the emphasis on "spot", "hard" or "action" news should be shifted towards "soft" or "development" news. They point out that "development journalism" is not synonymous with officially prepared public relations handouts or so-called "positive" news. It is the reporting of developmental processes rather than random selection and reporting of events. The emphasis should not be on what happens at a particular time or day, but on what happens over a period of time. Indeed, the advocates of change argue that increased emphasis on development news should not be restricted to the Western industrialized media alone, but should also occur in the Third World media which need to shed the cloak of a neo-colonial mentality.

Besides mere suggestions for a re-orientation of news coverage, positive action has been taken in the form of the establishment of numerous regional news agencies in the Third World. The Caribbean islands in 1976 established CANA - the Caribbean News Agency (Cuthbert, 1982). The Latin American countries joined hands to establish a cooperative news agency
called Agencia Latino-Americano de Informacion (Nichols, 1975a). An Asian news agency - ANN - was established in 1981 through the efforts of twenty-three news agencies from nineteen countries. African countries have joined together for the establishment of PANA - A Pan African News Agency.

These regional efforts have not been the only steps taken. The Non-Aligned News Agency Pool (NANAP), established for the non-aligned nations, exists in part for the dissemination of news pertinent to Third World countries. There is also the Inter Press Service (IPS) which is an independent agency, co-ordinating news for and about the Third World. Finally, there is the Broadcasting Organization of Non-aligned Countries (BONAC) which aims at international broadcasting from Third World perspectives.

Since these initiatives are fairly new, certain constraints and problems are to be expected. Cuthbert's evaluation of CANA indicated that six years after its birth, CANA faced financial, political and ideological constraints (Cuthbert, 1982). The progress of PANA had been stalled because of internal problems; for example, out of the sixteen countries slated to participate in a conference of the West African chapter in November 1981, only eight turned up. Besides, only a small number of states have met their financial commitments towards the establishment of PANA (Soremekun, 1981: 3).
These undertakings are currently facing problems and their future is indeterminate. Their major problem may well be that they are trying to solve their problems by establishing newsflow systems based on the same economic principles they deplore. If Third World leaders agree that distribution should not be based on capacity alone, but also needs, then the more economically affluent countries in the Third World may have to subsidize the distribution systems of the less affluent ones. As it stands, in the African context, the economic inequality between OPEC nations of Africa and the poor states of Africa may well result in "brotherly" imperialism in the communication industry (Inyang, 1981). However, apart from this problem, given the high cost of information transmission, and the imbalance in the present world economic order, speculation about the "death" of third world news agency ventures may not be far-fetched.

3.4 SUMMARY

The relationship between the Third World and the industrialized countries suggests a relationship of inter-dependence. The present economic order, which has led to a flow of communication between industrialized nations and the Third World nations that is controlled by the former, substantiates the "imperialism" thesis. As a result of the present order, Third World countries, for example, do not have sufficient wealth to set up news agencies as efficient and as
sophisticated as the international news agencies - United Press International (UPI), Associated Press (AP), Reuters, Agence France-Presse (AFP) and TASS. Since the Western media rely on these world news agencies for news about Third World countries, any distortion by the agencies may be accepted as reality by the Western media.

The present international communication order indicates the dominance of the developed states over world newsflow, without adequate opportunity for the expression of "other" views. The dominance of the industrialized nations' views and the absence of third world perspectives, can lead to misrepresentations of third world views, resulting in distortion. This is because the preponderance of perspectives of the industrialized world has led to third world events being viewed within the East/West ideological framework and/or from cultural/ethnocentric points of view different from those prevailing in the developing countries. This dominance translates to distortion, given the lack of Third World perspectives.

In view of our understanding of the state of international newsflow (Chapter 2) and the current debate regarding international communication (Chapter 3), this study proposes to examine the possibility of distortion of Nigerian events by the Globe and Mail. The next chapter examines the extent of the bilateral relationship between Nigeria and
Canada in an attempt to justify their selection for this study. The rationale behind the choice of the *Globe and Mail* for study as a principal purveyor of information to Canadians about Nigeria is also explored.
CHAPTER 4

CANADA AND NIGERIA: BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP AS A MEASURE OF INTERNATIONAL PROXIMITY
This chapter explains the importance of the bilateral relationship between Nigeria and Canada. In order to examine the relationship, and also indicate why the Globe and Mail has been chosen for this study, this chapter is divided into three parts. The first provides an indication of the extent to which the two countries interact in the areas of trade, aid, immigration and education. The second, which is a by-product of the first part, is a critical evaluation of the relationships in these areas, using the imperialism thesis as a framework. The third part explains the rationale behind the choice of the Globe and Mail in this study.

4.1 AREAS OF BILATERAL CO-OPERATION

While it is relatively easy to find Canadian government policy articulated about African countries like South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia), it is difficult to find many statements on relations with Nigeria. Indeed, a thorough search has not produced any such statements about Nigeria that are equivalent, for instance, to the 1977 Department of External Affairs statement outlining "Canadian Policy Towards South Africa" (External Affairs, 1977). However, on February 23rd, 1982, the Honourable Pierre DeBane, Canadian Minister of State for External Relations, in his address to the Canadian Institute for African Affairs in Montreal, did outline "Canadian Policy in Africa" in general (DeBane, 1982), and argued that the relations between Africa and Canada had reached an advanced stage of maturity.
While there are no specific policy guidelines on Nigeria, the nature of Canada-Nigeria relations may be assessed by examining the extent of Canada's formal diplomatic relations with Nigeria, the flow of Nigerian immigrants to Canada, trade relations, Canada's aid to Nigeria, and a specific area of educational agreement, namely the special cost recovery technical assistance program implemented through the auspices of the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE). While there are many factors which contribute to the Canadian-Nigerian relationship, it is expected that the five areas chosen for discussion may give some insight into the nature of the relationship.

4.1.1 DIPLOMATIC BRIDGE

The establishment of diplomatic relations between countries reflects the importance of a bilateral tie. From Canada's standpoint, the "diplomatic role" is one of implementing the country's policies in the areas of aid, trade, politics, culture, etc. The importance of these areas may be reflected by the number or rank of personnel assigned to deal with relations pertinent to each area. An evaluation of the total Canadian diplomatic personnel assigned to Nigeria reveals that the figure is low when compared with Kenya and South Africa, which together with Algeria and Nigeria are Canada's leading African trading partners (Table 1). The total Nigerian figures are generally half of those
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Note: Comm - Commercial

* Figures indicate the number of Canadian representatives stationed in Cape Town and Johannesburg who, prior to 1975, were designated as Trade Commissioners or Assistant Trade Commissioners. In 1975 these representatives were designated as Consuls or Vice Consuls although they were still stationed in Cape Town and Johannesburg. The only Consul in 1978 was stationed in Cape Town.

** High Commissioner's post was vacant.

for Kenya. If the commercial attaches are not included, the number of Canadian diplomatic personnel in South Africa is also higher than for Nigeria. But relatively speaking, representation in Nigeria has improved vis-à-vis Kenya. The explanation for the large, non-commercial staff in South Africa is that large aid programs in the enclave states, especially Lesotho, are administered by the embassy in Pretoria. With regard to Algeria, the level of representation is about comparable to that in Nigeria.

The importance of the trade tie with Nigeria is illustrated by the number of commercial attaches assigned to the country relative to the total size of the diplomatic establishment. A comparison of the number of commercial attaches assigned to the four countries reveals that Nigeria has a fairly equal number vis-à-vis Algeria. This indicates that, although Nigeria may not be currently as important a partner as Algeria, she is at least a potentially important partner, warranting the same number of commercial attaches as Algeria.

The importance of this partnership also is indicated by the numerous exchanges of visits among government officials of each country. Thus, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s visit to Nigeria in 1980 indicated the important link between the two countries. So, too, did the visit the same year by a 30-member delegation of the Nigerian Chamber of Commerce to
Canada for trade discussions with government and industry (Industry, Trade and Commerce, 1980-81: 21). Similarly, the Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs in 1976 discussed trade links between the two countries during his visit to Ottawa. The importance of the bilateral relationship between Canada and Nigeria is reflected in a review of that relationship by the Department of External Affairs in its 1980 Annual Review. The report notes that:

...Bilateral relations burgeoned during the year as Nigerian legislators and administrators, re-acquiring the skills of civilian government, showed keen interest in comparing notes with their Canadian counterparts. Official and unofficial visits and exchanges between the two countries increased markedly and, by year's end, Prime Minister Trudeau was planning a visit to Nigeria, his first as head of government to a Sub-Saharan African country (External Affairs, 1980: 54).

Besides the official visits and exchanges between the two countries, there are informal visits, such as those by the many Nigerians who come to Canada to visit relatives, for there are over two thousand Nigerians who have taken up landed immigrant status in Canada within the twelve-year period between 1970 and 1981 (Table 2).

4.1.2 NIGERIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

Although formal bilateral relations between Nigeria and Canada did not begin until 1960 with the opening of the Canadian High Commission in Lagos, Nigerians are known to have arrived in Canada as early as the 1930's. The establishment
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<td>184,288</td>
<td>218,465</td>
<td>187,901</td>
<td>149,429</td>
<td>114,914</td>
<td>96,313</td>
<td>112,896</td>
<td>143,117</td>
<td>129,618</td>
<td>1,716,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>-14.0</td>
<td>-18.5</td>
<td>-25.1</td>
<td>-24.9</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>-10.2</td>
<td>n.a. **</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria % rel to world</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: * n.a. = not applicable

of a Nigerian mission in Ottawa a few years after Nigeria's independence indicates that an "immigration relationship" had been established even before any formal diplomatic relationships necessitated Nigerian representation in Canada.

An Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation publication confirmed this early arrival of Nigerians, and reported that there were at least 1,500 Nigerians in Ontario by 1980 (Ontario, 1980). The publication noted that there were Canadian-trained Nigerian doctors who graduated from the University of Toronto as far back as 1949. The publication also contended that:

It is some of these highly-professional, highly skilled Nigerians who remain after training to compose the immigrant population. Quite significant is the fact that in Ontario, no record has been found of full-time unskilled labourers in the group. Of those encountered, everyone has received at least a community college diploma (Ontario, 1980: 1).

Table 2 indicates that out of 1,716,652 immigrants admitted into Canada between 1970 and 1981, 74,196 or 4.4% were Africans. Of the total African immigrants, 2.9% were from Nigeria. Furthermore, Table 2 indicates that within the same period 0.12% of the world total immigrants to Canada were from Nigeria. This low figure (0.12%) seems to contradict any assumption that Nigerians constitute an important segment of the Canadian mosaic. However, an in-depth evaluation of the classification of Nigerian immigrants, according to their occupations, reveals interesting results. A year-by-year
analysis shows that the occupational category of scientists, engineers, and mathematicians ranked first among the occupations of Nigerian immigrants. In 1974, 12.7% of the Nigerian immigrants "destined for the labour force" were in the science, mathematics and engineering professions. In the same year, 9.6% of the immigrants were of the professional and managerial class, while in 1973 the figure stood at 45%. The 1979 figures included 37.8% who were registered as scientists, mathematicians and engineers. These figures indicate that, although the number of Nigerians admitted as immigrants may be minimal, their occupations make them an asset to the mosaic.

Further observation reveals that when rank-ordered, Nigerian immigrants in the twenty-five to twenty-nine year age group were the most numerous, followed by those from twenty to twenty-four and twenty-nine to thirty-four. In 1980, 63.2% of the Nigerian immigrants admitted to Canada were in the 23-34 age group. This group constituted 59.3% of the 1978 immigrants, and 52.4% of those who arrived in 1973. Considering the age and occupational qualities of Nigerian immigrants, a case can be made that while the quantity of Nigerian immigrants may be fairly low, the percentage of those in the prime age category and with good qualifications is very high.

4.1.3 TRADE RELATIONS

In 1960, Canada's two-way trade with Africa (i.e
imports and exports) amounted to a little more than $100 million, of which about 64% was with South Africa. While Canada's exports to Nigeria in 1960 amounted to only $2.3 million, her exports to South Africa were $52.7 million (Matthews, 1976; 96). Similarly, at that time South Africa was a much more important source of imports. In 1960, Canadian imports from South Africa amounted to $11.5 million compared to $4.4 million from Nigeria.

Since that time, however, Canada's trade relationship with Nigeria has improved substantially, as illustrated by Table 5. Although the trade figures show irregular fluctuation, they indicate a remarkable growth over the decade of the 1970's. Within the twelve-year period from 1970 to 1981, Canada's exports to Nigeria experienced a twelvefold increase, while the value of imports increased by 151%. Although exports increased at a rate higher than imports, the total value of imports was $729.9 million compared to $473.7 million for exports. The yearly figures indicate that Canada normally imports much more from Nigeria than it exports to Nigeria, the exceptions being 1978, 1979 and 1980. In terms of the dollar value of trade, this means that Canada spends more dollars buying from Nigeria than vice versa.

The above observation does not mean that Canada is not gaining from her trade with Nigeria. Trade relations may contribute to the economic development of both partners as
TABLE 3

CANADA'S TRADE WITH NIGERIA (1970-1981)  
(Thousands of Dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exports</td>
<td>8,160</td>
<td>9,799</td>
<td>20,533</td>
<td>22,924</td>
<td>23,772</td>
<td>30,265</td>
<td>32,776</td>
<td>31,543</td>
<td>36,691</td>
<td>58,113</td>
<td>102,424</td>
<td>96,797</td>
<td>475,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>113.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>68.9</td>
<td>-14.3</td>
<td>-3.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>104.4</td>
<td>-5.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imports</td>
<td>44,550</td>
<td>57,243</td>
<td>68,788</td>
<td>82,158</td>
<td>53,754</td>
<td>73,571</td>
<td>155,860</td>
<td>37,563</td>
<td>10,007</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>41,750</td>
<td>112,011</td>
<td>729,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>-34.6</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>-75.9</td>
<td>-73.2</td>
<td>-92.9</td>
<td>5722.9</td>
<td>168.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Yr-yr - Year to year  
n.a. not applicable

Statistics Canada, Exports by Countries, (1972-81)  
Statistics Canada, Imports by Countries, (1972-81)
well as to other mutually beneficial ties. However, the central question in the assessment of economic relations may be, who gains more? Canada's aid disbursements to Nigeria may suggest that Nigeria, the recipient, gains much more from Canada than Canada does from Nigeria, when the overall aid and trade relations are assessed. The next section, thus, attempts to assess Canada's aid to Nigeria.

4.1.4 CANADA'S AID TO NIGERIA

The extent of Canada's aid to Nigeria is illustrated by Table 4. Canada's aid disbursements to Nigeria have shown irregular fluctuation from year to year. However, when comparison is made with the total disbursements to Commonwealth Africa, the percentage allocation to Nigeria indicates a steady decline. Nigeria's figures, when compared with Canada's total disbursements to the world, also show fluctuations. These irregularities notwithstanding, Canada's aid to Nigeria has shown a steady decline since the 1975-76 financial year. Understandably, this decline can be attributed to Canada's policy of phasing out aid to countries which do not really need it. The Nigerian economy has enjoyed growth due mainly to the development of oil reserves. Hence, the country's need for foreign aid has decreased.

Aid is valuable to both the donor and the recipient because aid (expecially tied aid) can lead to commercial relationships between the donor and the recipient. (DeBane,
<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>12.13</td>
<td>12.61</td>
<td>11.98</td>
<td>10.20</td>
<td>13.95</td>
<td>8.14</td>
<td>2.86*</td>
<td>1.69*</td>
<td>0.56*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>-5.6</td>
<td>-14.9</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>-41.6</td>
<td>-64.9</td>
<td>-41.0</td>
<td>-66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>212.65</td>
<td>278.53</td>
<td>283.06</td>
<td>333.38</td>
<td>367.94</td>
<td>582.73</td>
<td>525.71</td>
<td>466.47</td>
<td>541.46</td>
<td>559.35</td>
<td>598.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>-42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comm. Africa</td>
<td>29.43</td>
<td>26.44</td>
<td>24.31</td>
<td>23.37</td>
<td>18.65</td>
<td>9.32</td>
<td>12.98</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>1.40</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>-42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comm. Africa</td>
<td>15.73</td>
<td>25.88</td>
<td>49.89</td>
<td>53.95</td>
<td>64.22</td>
<td>109.47</td>
<td>108.32</td>
<td>180.62*</td>
<td>263.92</td>
<td>238.69</td>
<td>138.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>-42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>212.65</td>
<td>278.53</td>
<td>283.06</td>
<td>333.38</td>
<td>367.94</td>
<td>582.73</td>
<td>525.71</td>
<td>466.47</td>
<td>541.46</td>
<td>559.35</td>
<td>598.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>-42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigerian %</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>212.65</td>
<td>278.53</td>
<td>283.06</td>
<td>333.38</td>
<td>367.94</td>
<td>582.73</td>
<td>525.71</td>
<td>466.47</td>
<td>541.46</td>
<td>559.35</td>
<td>598.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr-yr % change</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>98.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>-1.1</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>n.a</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>-42.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- The aid figures for 1977-78, 1978-79 and 1979-80 included 2.05, 1.32 and 1.02 thousand dollars worth of actual grants respectively. These figures do not account for Nigeria's repayments for the three financial years which were .31, .23 and .46 thousand dollars respectively.
- In the 1976-77 fiscal year, figures for Commonwealth Africa alone was not available. The figures shown represent disbursement to Africa as a whole.
- n.a. Not applicable
- w.r.t. with respect to.

Source: CIDA Annual Review. 1971/72 - 1979/80
1962: 6). In 1971, for instance, Canada granted a twenty-million dollar loan to Nigeria for the purchase of Canadian-made locomotives. Such a loan might be seen as much as a trading venture as aid, although it definitely qualified as the latter. It is true that Canadian loan terms are generous (zero percent interest and fifty years repayment, or 3% interest and 30 years repayment) and have a high grant component. However, since such loan agreements require the purchase of Canadian goods, and often at prices that are not competitive internationally, it is apparent that aid is not necessarily entirely benevolent, but may be designed as well to assist Canadian exporters.

Some Canadian aid to Nigeria has been channelled through the education and training of Nigerians to meet Nigeria's high level manpower needs. The early seventies (up until 1974) witnessed educational aid from Canada in the form of advisors, educators and training for Nigerians in Canada. The Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), plays an important role in bilateral relations between Canada and Nigeria in the field of education. For example, out of the 132 Canadian advisors deployed through CUSO to developing countries in 1974, 7 were sent to Nigeria, and of the 155 educators, 70 were sent to Nigeria. Such Canadian aid to Nigeria resulted in the enrollment of over 387 Nigerian students in Canadian universities and colleges between 1971 and 1974 (CIDA, 1974-75). These students were registered
through the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Canadian Commonwealth Scholarships Program.

Although CIDA and CUSO are examples of aid channels, other Canadian institutions operate on a non-aid basis with regards to education in the Canada/Nigeria relationship. One such agency is the Canadian Bureau of International Education (CBIE).

4.1.5 CBIE AND THE "CRASH" PROGRAM

Although it is difficult to get figures on the combined number of private and government sponsored Nigerian students in Canada, there were at least 775 Nigerian students enrolled in the 1979-80 academic year in Canada as a result of a special cost-recovery technical assistance program initiated by the Federal Government of Nigeria and administered by CBIE. This international exchange scheme (popularly known by Nigerians as the "Crash Program on Manpower Needs") was an offspring of the Industrial Training Fund (ITF), a special fund set up by the Nigerian Federal Military Government with the objective of providing training for Nigerian manpower needs.

The crash program was launched in 1977 with the participation of eight countries - Great Britain, the United States, France, Poland, Italy, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania (Tuzo and Shute, 1980). Although Canada did not
participate in the first year, the Canadian connection was established in 1977 and after negotiations and explorations, an agreement was signed on June 6, 1978. In negotiating for this assistance, the Nigerian Government emphasized that instead of being an aid program the scheme had to be a reimbursable one, since Nigeria was purchasing Canadian educational services. As CBIE's director of the program, Floyd Tuzo, and a co-author explain:

The Cost-recoverable tuition fee was a very important item in the agreement. The Nigerian government...insisted this program was not to be viewed as an aid program from Canada. In determining a per student fee, Canada was asked by Nigeria to charge a fee based on the total cost of training without relying on Canadian Provincial or Federal Government help. The Nigerian Government was clearly purchasing training spaces and the fee was to be a public indication that Canadian students were not being displaced by Nigerians... (Tuzo and Shute, 1980: 7-8).

The importance of this agreement in strengthening Canadian-Nigerian relations was noted in the 1978 Department of External Affairs annual review. The review noted that during the first five years of the scheme, about 2,500 Nigerian students were to be registered due to this agreement (External Affairs, 1978). The "crash" program was, however, cancelled by the Nigerian government in 1979. Nevertheless, the end of this program did not put any dent in bilateral projects between Canada and Nigeria. "The cancellation of [the] bilateral technical training arrangement was offset by agreements for the development of polytechnic schools in
Nigeria, and by negotiations to establish a joint economic committee" (External Affairs, 1979: 60).

What are the implications of the Canada-Nigeria relationships discussed above? Are the ties fair to both parties or does one party gain more than the other? To venture an answer (or answers) to these questions, the next section evaluates some of the areas of co-operation.

4.2 CANADA AND NIGERIA: AN IMPERIALIST LINK?

In this section, the imperialism thesis is used as a framework to analyse the bilateral relationship between Canada and Nigeria. Generally the term, imperialism, is used by Marxist-Leninists to describe the exploitation of third world countries and control of their resources by the West. The imperialism framework has been chosen for three (among several) reasons:

(a) The imperialism thesis offers an alternative approach to the analysis of international relations.

(b) One of the reasons given by Canadian scholars for Canada's success and credibility in her relationship with developing nations is that Canada neither has any imperial tradition to live down, nor has she ever colonized other nations (Lyon and Ismael, 1976: XXXVI). However, the contention that Canada has no imperial tradition to live down
has been challenged. Buckley (1981: 49), in briefly tracing the history of Canadian Catholic missionaries in Africa, questions the type of co-operation which existed between the French Canadian Catholic missionaries and the British imperialists who afforded them protection. She notes that although the historical experience of Africans with Canadians was primarily in the religious sphere, Canada’s expanding connection with the Third World requires more rigorous and empirical studies with respect to the degree of Canada’s influence. Given the controversy over Canada’s status as a potential imperialist, the imperialism thesis is used to evaluate Canada’s relations with Nigeria especially since it provides an alternative approach. Consequently, this section examines the use of the term imperialism to ascertain whether it appropriately describes Canadian-Nigerian relations.

(c) There have been instances when Canada’s relationships with the Third World have been described as imperialistic (cf. Saul and Heron, 1980). The success of Canadian business in the U.S. and in the international market has also been assessed within the imperialism framework (cf. Whittingham, 1980: 32-36). The term has, however sometimes, been used loosely and there is, thus, a need for a clear definition.

The term, imperialism, has its roots in the 1880’s when Joseph Chamberlain argued that, to counterbalance the
expanding influence of France and Germany, the United Kingdom should expand its sphere of influence. This led to the search for captive markets and resulted (for example) in the annexation and partition of Africa into empires for European powers, a move which Hobson in 1902 criticized as a form of exploitation (Scrutton, 1982: 215). Lenin viewed imperialism as a means for the powerful industrial countries to open new investment outlets, secure cheap raw materials for their domestic industries, and find new markets for the excess production that could not be disposed of in the home market (Plano, Greenberg, Olton and Riggs, 1973: 190). The term imperialism, has, therefore, been defined by Roberts (1971: 98) as a superior-inferior relationship between nations in which some nations are exploited by other nations "... for purposes of economic self-advantage, military security, international prestige, and the furtherance of some ideology or 'civilizing' mission". Raymond (1980: 295-296) carries it further by explaining the form of influence known as economic imperialism. He points out that an imperialist may constantly seek ways to influence and control other states either through open aggression or more subtle ways of aggrandizement and expansion. Such an influence may manifest itself through "... the exposure of another state to new and more rewarding modes of production and distribution of goods and services which render more and better material rewards at less cost..." (Raymond, 1980: 295-6).
Some scholars tend to view the relationship between the Western industrialized nations and the developing nations within the framework of the imperialism thesis, given that aspects of these relations tend to give the industrialized nations control over developing nations, advance the national interest of the Western industrialized nations, and also tend to be counter-productive to the aspirations of the third world. Some would argue that Canadian-Nigerian relations may not be imperialistic, given the fact that Canada's motives for the relationship may be genuine, and that Canada does not have a significant influence or control over the affairs of Nigeria. To examine this argument, an analysis of Canada's trade with Nigeria, as well as the aid disbursements, may clarify the nature of the relationship. In the evaluation of aid, the main focus will be on the motives and outcomes of aid. Canada's aid to third world countries is usually assessed as either an endeavour to serve Canada's economic and political self-interests or a purely humanitarian gesture with no imperialist overtones. Aid critics usually focus on the outcomes of aid and argue that aid leads to the exploitation and control of Third World countries which ultimately leads to the retardation of third world development (cf. Carty and Smith, 1981).

While the motive-outcome method may be applicable to the evaluation of other areas of Canadian-Nigerian relationships, namely immigration, trade and education, the
imperialism thesis would hardly apply to these areas. For example, Canada's immigration policy, with the motive of bringing "qualified" immigrants into Canada allegedly results in a "brain drain" from the Third World. However, while the motives behind such policy are questionable, it would be difficult to argue that Canada, by its immigration policy, "controls" the affairs of the Third World. Therefore, the evaluation of Canadian-Nigerian relations in an "imperialist" context will be restricted to aid because aid can be seen as a design to control the third world. Due to the controversial nature of aid, there are a lot of misconceptions about aid. Aid is thus chosen over other aspects of Canada-Nigeria relations because there seem to be more substantial arguments in this case to support the imperialism thesis than with respect to immigration and trade. Since Canada's trade relations with developing nations can be criticized as serving Canada's national interest, even if they are not specifically imperialistic, trade will also be evaluated, though not as extensively as aid.

4.2.1 TRADE

The evaluation of Canada's trade with Nigeria shows that Canada spends more dollars buying from Nigeria than vice versa. Does the fact that Canada imports more from Nigeria than she exports to Nigeria mean that Canada has been shortchanged?
The disparity between exports and imports may be explained by the nature of the goods involved in the trade. Matthews (1976: 97), in assessing the nature of Canada's exports to Nigeria, explains that Canada tends to import raw materials and agricultural products, while exporting mostly manufactured or processed goods. Nigeria exports cocoa, crude natural rubber, crude petroleum and fuel oil to Canada. Canada's exports to Nigeria, on the other hand, include locomotives, agricultural products and machinery. Considering the nature of the goods exchanged, on balance the trade is to Canada's advantage in terms of its job producing effect. The high percentage of finished goods exported by Canada to Nigeria is supportive of job creation or maintenance for Canadians. Nigeria's raw material exports, by contrast, serve to fuel the industries of the West, while not creating as many jobs for Nigerians as would the development of industries centred around the domestic use of these resources. A high rate of employment translates into satisfaction, which eventually leads to political, economic and social contentment. In addition to that, Canada has neither facilitated the advancement of developing countries, including Nigeria, through generous tariff preference schemes, nor has she been generous in commodity prices stabilization agreements that would ensure stable and adequate prices for the resources of developing countries, including Nigeria.

This brief assessment of Canada's trade relations with
Nigeria indicates that Canada benefits from her trade with Nigeria more than the balance of payments suggests. Thus, the nature of Canada's trade with Nigeria reveals that Canada may not necessarily be shortchanged.

The benefits of Canada-Nigeria trade to Canada may suggest to Marxist-Leninists that the relationship is exploitative and thus imperialistic. Taking imperialism to mean the control of (or effort to control) one state by another, Canadian-Nigerian trade relations cannot be termed imperialistic because although the trade arrangements may be to the advantage of Canada more than Nigeria, Canada does not "control" the affairs of Nigeria through its trade endeavours. Thus, Canada's trade relations with Nigeria can be viewed as serving Canada's national interest, but not necessarily as imperialistic. Since profit-making is the major objective of a business endeavour, Canada's success in serving its national interests in its trade relations with Nigeria cannot be criticized entirely fairly within the imperialism framework. This study has, therefore, focused on aid much more than trade. While one is expected to make profit from a trading venture (although Marxist-Leninists may disagree), such expectations are not extended to aid, since aid donations are usually viewed as benevolent gestures.

4.2.2 Aid

Before evaluating Canada's aid to Nigeria, an overview
of the issues raised by critics of aid and proponents of the
"aid-as-imperialism" thesis would be useful. On the global
scale, Hayter (1974), for example, has asserted that foreign
aid is tantamount to the Trojan Horse, helping in the
enlargement "...of the overseas market for the products of the
private companies" of the donor country. By empirically
assessing the use of aid as a "lever" for the achievement of
other goals of the donor, Hayter argues that aid stunts and
distorts development in the Third World by its exploitative
nature. Thus, for Hayter, aid is an attempt to preserve the
capitalist system in the Third World because aid "...has never
been an unconditional transfer of financial resources". 3

Goulet (1971), in assessing development reports
written for agencies representing the "developed" segment of
the world, indicates that the interests represented by the
donor countries conflict with those of the recipients, thereby
placing the recipients at a disadvantage. For Goulet (1971: 15),
the lack of insight into aid problems in developed
countries can be attributed to capitalist aid analysts'
"omissions" by, inter alia, not properly analysing the
structures of dependence and domination. While acknowledging
that neither is mass poverty good nor is mass affluence always
an evil, Goulet, nevertheless, emphasizes his concern by
questioning whether third world countries do not often pay an
unnecessarily high price to obtain development's benefits:
"More basically still, it is to question whether present modes
of pursuing development do not cripple the ability of most Third World societies to control their own destinies" (Goulet, 1971: 17).

Writing in the context of Canadian involvement in aid disbursements, but without arguing that aid is "imperialistic", Triantis (1971) questioned whether aid is at all useful as a tool for international co-operation. By examining the motives behind Canada's aid to the Third World, Triantis argued that, while philanthropy may appear to be the motive of Canada's foreign aid, if that is the case, aid would eventually represent an economic loss for Canada. Consequently, aid would not serve the economic interests of Canada. Besides that, while philanthropic motive assumes that economic development is desirable in Third World countries, such development, at least if along the lines intended by the industrialized states, may not be in the best interests of the Third World. Triantis also argues that there may be a considerable difference between what Canadians as donors think their motives are, and what the recipients think they are (or what the results are). Philanthropic aid, continues Triantis, would involve a transfer of income without conditions. This unconditional transfer may be counter-productive since "...education and communication, if expanded at an unduly high rate, may increase the needs of the people faster than their ability to satisfy them, or the range of choice faster than the ability to choose" (Triantis, 1971: 4). Thus by
deduction, while aid may be philanthropic, it may also be counterproductive.

Lyon and Ismael (1976: XXXVIII), taking a moderate position, discuss the potential for aid to be a service to Canada's national interest. They admit that aid may sometimes be used as a "diplomatic calling card". In other words, the aid donor holds the ace and may try to use it to influence the recipient. In the end, however, Lyon and Ismael argue that aid with this purpose in mind is usually ineffective. They further contend that aid does not mean placing the recipient in a subordinate position. In this respect, they argue that the objective is not necessarily self-seeking. Aid, in their view, does not serve political and economic goals, since "...it is easy to think of more certain means than the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars on foreign aid..." to advance Canadian interests in the Third World.6

Marxist-Leninists who focus on the correlation between capitalism and imperialism would term Canadian aid as imperialistic because Canada's forays into the family of aid donors originated at least partly out of ideological conviction. After the Colombo Plan Conference of the Cold War era, Lester Pearson, explaining the goals of Canadian aid to Asian nations, stated that:

If Southeast Asia and South Asia are not to be conquered by communism, we of the free"
democratic world must demonstrate that it is we and not the Russians who stand for national liberation and social progress (Canada, 1950: 131).

As late as 1976, then Minister of External Affairs, Alan MacEachen, considered aid to a non-communist group of Asian nations (The Association of Southeast Asian Nations - ASEAN) to be a support for "the last bulwark against communism" in that region (Toronto Star, 1976).

Besides the "ideological" dimension, Canadian aid has also been given to third world countries essentially to minimize Canada's internal political friction. Analysts of Canadian aid have argued that Canada's aid to Francophone Africa was given partly to delegitimize Quebec's attempt at Sovereignty (cf. Armstrong, 1975: 46).

To understand the outcome of Canada's aid to the third world, one must examine the conditions set by Canada for aid disbursements. In the 1974-75 fiscal year, Canada's bilateral aid amounted to $496 million of which 81% was tied, 8% allocated to cover transportation costs, and 11% was untied (Carty and Smith, 1981: 102). Case studies of Canada's aid to developing countries indicate that third world countries have had to allocate precious foreign exchange to pay the exhorbitant (usually monopoly) prices of goods or spare parts supplied by Canada in order to meet the conditions of tied-aid agreements. In most cases this is done at the expense of cheaper alternatives. Thus, prononcements of the "aid-as-
imperialism" thesis argue that, by deciding how its aid is to be disbursed (i.e. where the goods should be purchased), Canada ultimately decides who the trading partners of the Third World will be. By making this decision for the Third World, Canada, therefore, indirectly "controls" the affairs of third world countries and also exploits the third world countries by the terms of its aid. Given that as a result of the conditions of Canada's aid, Canada, to a certain extent "decides" who the trading partners of a third world nation will be, advocates of the imperialism thesis may see Canada either as an imperialist or at least a potential imperialist not only because Canada "controls" some of the decisions of these countries, but also because aid may benefit Canada more than it does the recipient.

Canada's aid to Nigeria was more publicized during and immediately after the Nigerian civil war when Canada, by increasing its food aid and continuing the relief to war victims initiated earlier, established a more active bilateral relationship with Nigeria. While other forms of aid are often criticized as imperialistic, food aid, given as relief materials in times of crisis, is usually viewed as a benevolent act. What is often overlooked is the fact that Canadian food aid to the Third World, accounting for about 20% of CIDA's annual budget and representing only 3% of all Canadian agricultural exports, may be as self-serving as other forms of aid. Critics of Canadian food aid have recently
started viewing food aid as a tool of "Canadian imperialism" (cf. Hamalenga, 1984). Other food aid critics argue that Canada’s food aid is usually leftover give-aways – a form of surplus disposal – which serves as samples intended to advertise Canada’s agricultural products abroad for future exports. They argue that while the surplus in wheat in the 1960’s (due to a slack in demand and depressed prices) resulted in large quantities of wheat being sent to third world countries, the spectre of massive starvation in the Third World in the early 1970’s was not met with more donations but rather was greeted with Canadian wheat food aid being cut in half (Cohn, 1976; 1980). Other critics (Islam, 1981: 367-8; Hopkins and Puchała, 1978: 597) contend that in Canada (and the U.S.) alleviation of hunger and malnutrition are weighed against profit maximization, market stability, and political gains, and that political gains generally take precedence. As Islam argues: "... it seems that when food aid is most needed, it is least available, as was evident during the famines in Bangladesh and the Sahel in 1972-74". Furthermore, it is worth noting that with regards to tied aid conditions, the major share of Canada’s contributions to the major outlet for multilateral food aid (the World Food Program), is tied to the use of Canadian commodities (William and Young, 1981: 344). Aid critics also argue that Canada ultimately benefits because food aid diverts public tastes from locally grown traditional foods to those imported from the developed nations. A question has been
raised about the desirability of food aid, such as milk powder, to third world countries where 60% to 90% of the population lacks the enzymes required to digest the lactose in cows' milk.

The consequences of food aid have been further explored by Carty and Smith (1981: 123) who argue that food aid ends up encouraging third world corruption and mismanagement through local smuggling, pilfering and profiteering. Consequently, Canadian food aid sold at less than the prevailing local prices undercut the domestic market prices for the small local farmer, who may be forced to sell his land and become jobless. However, most importantly:

Food ... to the Third World often...staves off urgent agrarian reforms, supplying a meal for a day while the planning of food production for tomorrow is overlooked by governments intent on following a more glamorous, western inspired model of development... (Carty and Smith, 1981: 123).

Thus while food aid, as in the case of milk powder sent to victims of the Nigerian civil war, may be viewed as a benevolent act, non-benevolent motives and counterproductive consequences should not be overlooked.

Aid may be given in many forms. The late Prime Minister of Canada, Lester B. Pearson, according to an April 7, 1969 issue of the Globe and Mail (p. 11), has been credited with the quote, "...poor countries should get used to the idea
of private investment as aid. Canadian aid may also be given in the form of loans, which must be repaid, usually with interest, as was the 1971 loan granted to Nigeria for the purchase of Canadian made locomotives. Aid may also be given in the form of a grant where no repayment is required. In fact, the bulk of Canada's aid to Nigeria in recent years has been in grant form. Table 4 indicates that Canada's aid to Nigeria is declining, a situation attributable to Canada's policy of phasing out aid to countries which have little need for aid. This implies that the Canadian motive is, indeed, to enhance development rather than to enhance Canadian interests. Secondly, given that the bulk of Canada's aid to Nigeria has been in grant form, how is it that Canada can be accused of being an imperialist?

4.2.3 Canada: Self-Interest or Imperialism?

It may be argued that the decline in Canada's aid to Nigeria indicates that Canada's influence in Nigeria is declining, thereby implying that Canada cannot be considered a potential imperial force as far as her aid relations with Nigeria are concerned. Such an assumption belies the fact that aid is like a seed; once planted, it need not be continuously watered for it to grow. The assumption that a decline in aid is followed by a decline in influence is based on the rather naive premise that past favours, when completed, are easily forgotten.
While the policy of phasing out aid to countries which have little or no need may imply that Canada's motive is to enhance development rather than Canadian interest, it is worth noting that there are cases where the aid program has grown, although the countries concerned are not in great need (e.g. Kenya and Brazil). Furthermore, since aid is but the tip of the iceberg in the larger issue of development, the explanation that aid is not for Canada's self-interest but for development begs the question on the objective of the industrialized states in fostering third world development. In this regard, it can be argued that aid is not given without conditions, since the type of development encouraged is the western industrialized model of development. Aid is, therefore, a way of expanding the Canadian way (or generally the Western way) of economic life, and thus ultimately serves Canada's self interests by opening up new markets for its goods and services and by providing it with the resources required by its industries.

The foregoing evaluation indicates that Canada's aid to and trade with Nigeria are designed to enhance Canadian self-interest, which Marxist-Leninists would view as tantamount to an imperialist motive. This broad view of imperialism would mean that all nations are imperialistic since nations interact with each other mainly to serve their own self-interest. Therefore, this does not qualify Canada as
an imperialist, since all self-serving endeavours need not necessarily be imperialistic. Using the preceding definition, self-serving endeavours are imperialistic only if they result in the domination or control of one nation by another. One would be hard pressed to find convincing evidence that Canada's relatively modest aid to Nigeria results in the control of Nigerian political and economic affairs by Canada. Indeed, the problem in ascertaining (from the donor's angle) whether Canada's aid to Nigeria is imperialistic lies in the difficulty in determining what the motives are. Given this problem, this study will address the notion of Canadian aid as self-serving instead of the notion of aid as imperialistic. In the case of Nigeria, the motives for Canadian aid appear, in part, to be mixed. The Canadian loans may be of more commercial benefit to Canada than developmental benefit to Nigeria, while the technical assistance offered to Nigeria may be legitimately designed to assist Nigerian development.

The objective of the above section has been to show that there are various perspectives that one can take on Canadian-Nigerian trade, aid and immigration relations, against which one can then evaluate the objectivity and balance in the coverage of Nigeria by a Canadian newspaper. One may assume that a newspaper accorded an "elite" classification would give a thorough and impartial coverage of news events; this type of coverage would include the presentation of alternative perspectives. If the Globe's
coverage of aid is balanced and objective, it will reflect the complexity of the debate over motives and outcome. Since the Globe and Mail has been chosen for this study, the next question which must be addressed should relate to the appropriateness of that choice.

4.3 RATIONALE FOR USING THE GLOBE AND MAIL

The Globe and Mail, generally regarded as Canada's elite, national newspaper, came into existence in 1936 as a result of a merger between the Globe newspaper and the Mail and Empire. Its history has been documented by Phelan (1969) and Kesterton (1978). The Globe and Mail joined FP publications in December 1965. The FP chain was acquired in 1979 by the Thomson chain of newspapers.

The role of the Globe and Mail as an international news source for Canadian policy makers and, indeed, the Canadian public has been examined in recent research. The importance of the Globe and Mail was articulated by the Royal Commission on Newspapers, chaired by Thomas Kent of Dalhousie University. The Commission's report, based on elaborate research, had this to say in its assessment of the Globe and Mail:

The Globe and Mail testifies to the influence that continues to be exerted by a newspaper with a clearly defined idea of its own role and substantial editorial resources. It is read by almost three-quarters of the country's most important decision makers in all parts of
Canada and at all levels of government. More than 90% of media executives read it regularly and it tends to set the pace for other news organizations. (Kent 1981: 138)

The Commission further noted that the use of computers and satellite communications, resulting in the simultaneous printing of the Globe and Mail in various locations across Canada, has enabled the Globe and Mail to become, "...in reality as well as in ambition", Canada's truly national newspaper.

One academic study has explored the relationship between Ottawa's international affairs opinion makers and their use of the mass media (Gordon, 1973). The study observed that when rank-ordered, the Globe and Mail was first among the newspapers they read, with 86% of the respondents indicating that they read the Globe and Mail for international news, compared to 81% for the local Ottawa Citizen and 50% for the New York Times (Gordon, 1973: 39). The study also found that the Globe and Mail was rated first in editorial coverage of international news, with 50% of respondents indicating that the Globe and Mail had the best editorials on international affairs; The New York Times was second at 13% while Le Monde ranked third at 6% (Gordon, 1973: 45).

With its computer-age library launched in 1979, which markets its database through a division called Info-Globe, the Globe and Mail may well claim to be Canada's national
newspaper. It is one of the few, if not the only newspaper, which is designed to appeal to readers in all parts of Canada, and it also attempts to market its product nationally.

Merrill and Fisher (1980: 20-21), profiling fifty dailies of the world, establish certain criteria in defining what makes a newspaper great, unique, prestigious and of good quality. Their criteria are: depth and analytic perception of stories; thorough and impartial news coverage and a serious-minded, moral approach to news; excellent editorial page; a lack of sensationalism and more emphasis on cultural news. They describe the Globe and Mail, one of two Canadian newspapers profiled, as a paper that emphasizes national/international news and business/finance information designed to appeal to the substantial number of readers of the Globe and Mail with professional backgrounds. The Globe, they say, appeals to judges, lawyers, doctors, diplomats, clergymen, bankers, teachers and other influential readers, without deserting the wider interests of its readers. Merrill and Fisher contend that although the Globe and Mail may take stands on issues:

...its approach is always open and provocative, and it continually attempts to inform its readers with a well rounded and reasoned picture of any given situation. Its approach and its scope...its broad, well-balanced, high-quality coverage of the international scene and of Canadian business and government affairs...[keep] its readers well informed and set the pace for all of Canadian journalism (Merrill and Fisher,
Given the above, one can understand why Keate (1966: 28-32) concluded that the *Globe and Mail* has a calm and level-headed tone which lets it mirror a calm and balanced nation accurately. The *Globe and Mail*, in a June 1982 advertisement, compared itself to the *New York Times*, as Canada's "Newspaper of Record", because "...it is referred to more often as a source of vital, accurate information than any other...paper". The *Globe and Mail* has thus been selected for this study because it most clearly meets the criteria for an elite newspaper. As an elite newspaper, the *Globe's* popularity with or influence on Canadian policy-makers (Stairs, 1976) justifies an examination of its coverage of Nigerian events.
CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY
This study has adopted a content-analysis technique as the method for examining whether distortions occur in the coverage of Nigeria and Canadian-Nigerian relations by the *Globe and Mail*. Before outlining the hypotheses, method of operationalization and data collection, there is a need for a clarification of terms and concepts.

5.1 **DEFINITIONS**

Definitions assure us that we say what we mean and mean what we say; it is necessary for the receiver to know exactly what the sender is communicating. The following definitions serve as a guide to the operationalization of variables in this study.

5.1.1 **NIGERIAN NEWS**

Events which occurred in Nigeria or involved the participation of Nigerians on an official or individual basis are considered Nigerian news. Nigerian news in the context of this study refers to news with the main thrust directed towards Nigeria. For example, a report on a Canadian parliamentary debate on aid to Nigeria or a report on Canada's aid to Nigeria is considered Nigerian news.

The following items are not regarded as Nigerian news: advertisements, comic strips, letters to the editor, notices designed for purely informational purposes and news dealing mainly with other countries. Nigerian news items are defined
as everything considered "newsworthy" and published about Nigeria with the exceptions noted.

5.1.2 FAVOURABLE COMMENT

Any good, positive, approving or praising unit of statement, or any unit of statement interpretable in a positive light about the activities or people of Nigeria is deemed favourable comment. Favourable comment is, therefore, that which is supportive of Nigeria: for example, a report on Nigeria immediately after the civil war, noting that Enugu, the state capital, which was captured by Federal Nigerian troops early in the war, was rapidly returning to pre-war conditions.

5.1.3 UNFAVOURABLE COMMENT

Any negative, criticizing or disapproving statement about the activities or people of Nigeria, any expressions of opposition to policies and actions of Nigeria or statements attacking the country, its people, policies and activities are considered to be unfavourable comments; for example, an article captioned "Nigeria's New Problem: What to do with its Soldiery", which states that "[i]dle soldiers and hard-pressed former rebels are swelling the ranks of professional bandits".

5.1.4 NEUTRAL COMMENT

A statement of fact with no clear implication or obvious opinion/intentions is deemed to be neutral. A neutral
comment can be a sentence comprising equal units of favourable and unfavourable words.

5.1.5 **DISTORTION**

Distortion is simply the misrepresentation of facts through the perversion of meaning. A misrepresentation of facts through more weight to one side of an issue, reliance on one source more than another or others, or an inaccurate presentation to create a desired impression are some examples of how news may be distorted.

5.1.6 **SPOT OR ACTION NEWS**

A short and precise account of an event emphasizing "what" happened, or "who" did "what" to "whom", "where" and "when", without an adequately informative account of "why" is classified as spot or action news.

5.1.7 **BACKGROUND NEWS**

News stories which not only discuss the "who", "what", "where" and "when", but present an adequately informative account of "why" are termed background news in this study. Background news is usually in the form of feature stories which not only discuss the concrete facts, but sometimes venture into in-depth analysis.

5.1.8 **DEVELOPMENT NEWS**

Development news is a type of background news which
involves reporting the development process — the “how” and “why” an event unfolds and also doing such reporting over a period of time. There is no major difference between development news and background news. The minor difference is that development news, according to Aggarwala "...is the reporting of development processes rather than events." The emphasis in "development news" is not on what happens at a particular moment or on a given day but what is happening over a period of time" (Aggarwala, 1979: 51). Despite this definition, it is still difficult to distinguish between feature news stories and development news. In this study, news stories coded as development news were background news items which focused on reconstruction after the Nigerian civil war or on any economic development projects.1

5.1.9 AID AS BENEVOLENCE

The term “aid as benevolence” is used in this study when there is a discussion of or a statement about aid to Nigeria as a benevolent handout with little or no benefit to the donor, i.e. when aid is treated as more advantageous to the recipient than to the donor.

5.1.10 AID AS SELF-SERVING

The term “aid as self-serving” is employed to describe the situation where aid to Nigeria is evaluated as more beneficial to the donor than to the recipient, especially within the context of the degree of Canada’s economic gains
from aid disbursements, or Canada's resulting influence over the internal policies of the recipient country. Aid is also defined as self-serving when there is an acknowledgement that both sides may benefit, but the recipient is seen as not benefiting as much as the donor thinks.

5.2 HYPOTHESES

In analysing the type, tone, and consequently the standard of coverage given Nigeria by the Globe and Mail, four hypotheses are advanced.

5.2.1 HYPOTHESIS I

Galtung and Ruge's (1965) study noted that distant events tend to be covered less ambiguously and that complex, remote and strange events may be treated within one's own cultural norms, thereby simplifying complex issues. Scanlon (1968) concluded that Canadian mass media give more on-the-spot coverage of Third World crises than background coverage. Schroeder (1978) noted that a high percentage of Third World topics covered by Canadian publications do not reflect in-depth coverage of Third World development. In view of the aforementioned studies, hypothesis I deals with spot news and states that:

Coverage of Nigerian events as "spot" or "action" news will comprise a larger percentage than that of background.
5.2.2 **HYPOTHESIS II**

Galtung and Ruge regarded the reporting of unhappy events such as coups, earthquakes, hunger and crises as negative news while positive news was regarded as happy events, or the reporting of political, economic and social advancements. Onu (1979) noted that the overall presentation of Africa in Canadian newspapers was unfavourable. Cuthbert (1980) found that the Canadian press emphasized violence and crime in the coverage of Jamaica without a balanced account of positive news regarding culture, education and development. Hence, hypothesis II deals with favourable and unfavourable coverage by stipulating that:

Unfavourable comments will outnumber favourable comments.

5.2.3 **HYPOTHESIS III**

The Davey Committee report (Davey, 1970), Scanlon’s (1973) study, and the Kent Commission report (Kent, 1981) noted that Canadian coverage of other nations relies more on global news agencies than on Canadian correspondents. They noted that if more Canadian correspondents reported the world as Canadians speaking to Canadians, Canada would not see the world through U.S. eyes. The Davey Report, Scanlon’s study and the Kent Commission Report compared non-Canadian sources (combined) with Canadian sources. Given the disparity between the financial, personnel and management resources available to non-Canadian sources combined and that available to Canadian
sources, it is, perhaps, unfair to make such a comparison. Therefore, hypothesis III(a) compares each foreign news source (by country) with Canadian news sources. Since, this study deals specifically with the Globe and Mail, hypothesis III(b) compares each news source with the Globe and Mail. Furthermore, given the advantage gained through editorial and staff analysis, one would expect the Globe and Mail to contribute more news stories than each equivalent source. Hypothesis III stipulates that:

(a) Canadian sources will account for more news than each country as a news source, but for less than the sources combined from all other countries.

(b) The Globe and Mail's sources will account for more news than each news source, but for less than all other sources combined.

5.2.4 HYPOTHESIS IV

Having singled out aid as one of the controversial issues of development, hypothesis IV examines the type of coverage given to aid with respect to Nigeria in view of the debate on the role of aid. Hypothesis IV states that:

There will be more emphasis on aid as beneficial to the recipient country than on the notion of aid as self-serving to the donor or as beneficial to both the donor and recipient.

Hypothesis IV focuses on the interpretation of the motives of aid. Hence comparison is made between the interpretation of aid as the donor's benevolent act, and the
interpretation of aid as the donor's self-serving act, which is the "provocative" interpretation based on a rigorous, indepth analytical perception.

5.3 METHOD AND OPERATIONALIZATION

This study analyzes the content of the Globe and Mail between January 13, 1970 and December 31, 1981. The entire available population of news about Nigeria in the Globe and Mail is used as opposed to a sample. Over the period of study, there were 150 issues of the Globe and Mail which had at least one Nigerian news item, and there were a total of 237 news stories on Nigeria, including seven editorials and 1 commentary (not letter to editor) on the editorial page.

A coding sheet was designed to accommodate the variables to be tested. One coding sheet was used for each news story or each editorial. Each story or editorial was coded considering each sentence as a thought unit. To check for inter-coder reliability, three other coders (besides the author) were given a sample of articles randomly selected from amongst all the news stories. Using the author's coding as the reference, a test for inter-coder reliability was made using the formula suggested by Holsti (1963: 49). To account for the number of categories where inter-coder disagreements existed and also to account for chance, Scott's index of reliability (pi) was used. The overall reliability check (not for individual variables) yielded .89, .93 and .94. With an
expected agreement of .74, Scott's indices for the reliability check were .58, .73 and .77 respectively.

To test hypothesis I, the stories were categorized according to their type - spot/action news and background news. A sub-category of background news was established to distinguish between feature stories and development news. Computations were made for the annual and overall percentages of spot news and background news. The mean of "spot" news and that of background news for the entire period under study was also computed.

To test hypothesis II, the news stories were classified into three categories: favourable, unfavourable and neutral comments with respect to Nigeria. The neutral category included comments that were neutral and relevant (directed) to Nigeria and also comments which were irrelevant to or not directly concerned with Nigeria.

Hypothesis III was tested by comparing news items originating from the Globe and Mail and Canadian sources with those originating from each other equivalent source. For source identification, the stories were categorized according to the sources of Nigerian news in the Globe and Mail, namely Globe and Mail sources (staff correspondents or staff wire), CP, UPI, AP, Reuter, New York Times, any Nigerian news agency, Times of London, and the London Financial Times.
Finally, regarding hypothesis IV (aid), two categories of aid were established to examine the type of aid-related coverage - "Aid as benevolence" and "Aid as self-serving".

All computations (except the inter-coder reliability) were done using the SPSS package with the Wulbur Computer System at the University of Windsor.
6.1 **HYPOTHESIS I**

The yearly distribution of all news items coded may help to explain the overwhelming dominance of spot news over background news. Table 5 indicates that more than half the total news items were filed in 1970; it accounts for 57% of the total of news stories. This indicates that a high percentage of the reporting on Nigeria was done immediately after the civil war. The same trend is observable in 1975, in which 73% of the eleven stories for that year were filed in the period after the 1975 military coup that ousted General Gowon. Furthermore, 1976, the year with 7% of total news stories (ranking third after 1970 and 1981) and the highest focus on spot news was the year a counter coup was staged against those who had ousted Gowon.

Considering that 1970 stories dealt with the Biafran crisis, it is not surprising that spot news was the dominant category. Indeed, as Table 6 discloses, 122 spot stories were published in 1970 and they made up 52% of the total news stories or 63% of total spot stories for the entire study period; in 1970 alone, news in the spot category was 91% of all 1970 news items while background news accounted for 5%. News items in the spot/action category accounted for 31% of the total compared to 14% for background news. Of the 16 news stories filed in 1976, 15 of them, or 94%, were spot news while the remaining one was an editorial. Indeed, there was a
### Table 5

**Yearly Frequency Distribution of News Stories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Abs. Freq.</th>
<th>Pcnt. of Total</th>
<th>Cum Pcnt.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>62</td>
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<td>1973</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td>1974</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>78</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1979</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- Valid cases 237
- Missing cases 0
- Cum Pcnt Cumulative percent
**TABLE 6**

**DISTRIBUTION OF STORY-TYPE BY YEAR**

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Story Type</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spot/Hard</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of year</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial/ p &amp; Opinion</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Background</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of year</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>134</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
consistent lead by spot news in each year except for 1974 and 1977. Of the 5 news stories filed in 1974, 3 were background stories and 2 were spot stories. In 1977, 6 of the ten stories were background while 3 were spot stories. Four of the background stories of 1977 dealt with issues of a bilateral nature between Canada and Nigeria; two dealt with the All Black Festival of the Arts held in Lagos, and the decision of Canada's Secretary of State to write off a grant of $80,000. The other two stories dealt with the activities of the Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO) in Nigeria.

One cannot adequately answer why these years were exceptions. However, it appears it was inevitable that four years after the war, there would be an interest in examining how Nigeria was faring. Three background stories, written by a Swedish freelance journalist based in Africa, illustrate the point. In the introduction to one of the stories which examined the progress made by the Ibo after the civil war, the reader was told that "[four] years after the end of the Nigerian Civil War ought to be a long enough period to establish if Col. Ojukwu's ominous forebodings came true". Another story focused on the Indigenization decree which was designed to nationalize key industries controlled by foreign interests. The third article, taking five-sixths of a page, discussed the prospects and problems of Nigeria's proposal to launch Universal Primary Education. The nature...
of the background stories indicate that it was perhaps time for Canadians to be "filled in" on what was going on in Nigeria. It appears it was neither possible (due to the nature of spot news) nor deemed appropriate to cover such "progress reports" with spot-type news stories.

Table 7 indicates that background stories were mostly feature stories (94%) with 6% accounting for what may be termed "development" news. The two development type stories (6%) were each filed in 1974 and in 1975. A May 16th background story was categorized as development news because the story, in dealing with the progress made by the Ibos, examined the process of development in Nigeria between 1970 and 1974, with emphasis on the participation of the Ibos. Another article examined petrol shortage in Nigeria, an oil producing nation. Although the tone of the article was negative (development news need not always be positive news), the main thrust was the role of oil in the process of Nigeria's economic development.

Table 7 also indicates that there were no background stories in 1976. By contrast, the highest number of background stories (accounting for 21%) was filed in 1970, an indication that that crisis year received both more background and more spot coverage than any other year.

Spot news items in 1970, 1975 and 1976 combined
### Table 7

**Distribution of Background Stories by Year and Background Type**

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<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearly %</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devel'nt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearly %</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Missing Cases - 204
accounted for 75% of all spot news items or 69% of all news items (see Table 6). The findings support Scanlon's (1968) study which concluded that spot coverage rises in times of crisis. Schroeder's (1978) conclusion that Canadian coverage of the Third World does not emphasize in-depth analysis is also supported by our findings. With specific reference to our study, the results support hypothesis I which states that:

Coverage of Nigerian events as "spot" or "action" news will comprise a larger percentage than that of background.

6.2 HYPOTHESIS II

Hypothesis II, dealing with favourability and unfavourability, states that:

Unfavourable comments and stories will outnumber favourable comments and stories.

The yearly distribution of favourability of comments is shown in Table 8. Hypothesis II is supported if the total number of comments is considered. However, a year-by-year analysis indicates that there are exceptions. For example, in 1972, 41 of the comments, accounting for 16% of the 257 comments, were favourable compared to 10% which were unfavourable. The dominance of favourable comments over unfavourable comments was also observed for four years other than 1972. They were 1973 (21% to 2%), 1974 (21% to 7%), 1975 (17% to 15%) and 1979 (35% to 16%). In 1974 news stories
### Table 8

**DISTRIBUTION OF FAVOURABILITY OF COMMENTS BY YEAR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favourable n</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral n</td>
<td>1536</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>2890</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavourable n</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>1393</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** | 2907 | 149 | 257 | 43 | 165 | 223 | 179 | 468 | 134 | 238 | 184 | 421 | 5368 |

Year as % of Total | 54 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 9 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 100 |

**Notes:** Total % may be > 100 due to rounding

- *n* number of comments
- *%* column percentage
which evaluated Nigeria’s progress with respect to the war had a lot of favourable comments as indicated by the following examples:

[Effort towards]...Federal Unity that was at stake during the Civil War is now beginning to pay off.9

With its leading position in Africa, its not negligible political weight and its oil riches...Nigeria clearly is a federation worth belonging to....9

While fears of genocide against the Ibos were entertained during and after the war, these fears were allayed with favourable comments that focused on the progress made by the Ibos:

It would seem that, far from being exterminated, the Ibos - the former Biafrans - are now on their way back into the mainstream of Nigerian life.10

They are back in Industry which has been expanding and clamouring for qualified Nigerians regardless of tribe or ethnic background.11

The Ibos who were for a while "Biafrans" are now once again Nigerians.12

Despite the dominance of favourable comments over unfavourable comments in 1975, there were more unfavourable headlines than favourable as indicated by the following:

"12 Governors Replaced: Power Widely Abused, Nigerian Leader Says".13

"Lagos Coup"14, an editorial on the Coup.
"New Man at the Helm and a Tough Problem". However, there also were headlines which were neutral by virtue of being negative in one sense and positive in another:

"Nigeria Frees 50 Prisoners".

This story dealt with amnesty granted to those imprisoned for criticising the former head of State – General Gowon.

"Nigeria Purge of Officials is reported".

This story reported the government's efforts in purging widespread corruption.

Typical favourable headlines in other years, though few, included the following:

"Ready for Profit: Nigerian Economy Expected to Boom".

"African Arts Festival in Nigeria a Huge Success".

The results from Table 9 indicate that 20% of all comments were favourable to Nigeria compared to 26% which were unfavourable. Comments that were not applicable to the purpose of the study, deemed irrelevant to Nigeria, or considered neutral were classified in the neutral category. Comments that were neutral in their nature or neutral to the purpose of the study (not applicable) were lumped together. Thus, the large number of neutral comments does not indicate the composition of relevant neutral comments. Table 9 shows the composition of comments according to the type of
**TABLE 9**

**DISTRIBUTION OF COMMENTS AMONG TYPES OF NEWS STORIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Spot/Hard</th>
<th>Editorial</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>% of Total Comments (N)</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Favourable</strong></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>705</td>
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<td>326</td>
<td>1086</td>
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<td>151</td>
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<tr>
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<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral</strong></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>982</td>
<td>2890</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>228</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unfavourable</strong></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>874</td>
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<td>420</td>
<td>1397</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cI</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3366</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>1729</td>
<td>5360</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- n: number
- cI: column percentage
- N: number of stories
- X: mean number of comments per story
news stories - spot, background or editorial. The table indicates that out of a total of 5,368 comments in the whole population, 3,366 comments (63%) were related to spot news coverage while 1,728 comments (32%) were related to the background category. Although there were more spot stories than background stories, and more spot comments than background comments, the average number of comments in background stories surpassed the average number in spot stories. In comparing the mean number of comments in spot stories (17.4) with that for background stories (52.4), the average background story had three times as many comments as the average spot story. It is not surprising that the few background stories, on the average, carried more comments than the large number of spot stories because background stories are usually longer than spot stories and more evaluative in nature.

The results from Table 9 also indicate that there were more unfavourable comments than favourable in each of the three types of news stories. In the spot category, 26% of the comments were unfavourable compared to 21% which were favourable. 36% of editorial comments were unfavourable while 20% were favourable. In the background category, 24% of the comments were unfavourable compared to 17% which were favourable.

Aside from the 16% point difference in the editorial
comments category, the difference between favourable and unfavourable comments may seem minor. There is a 5% point difference between favourable and unfavourable comments in the spot news category and also in the background news category. However, the 5 point difference in the spot category can be seen as a 24% difference considering that there is a 24 percent difference between 26 and 21; 26 is 24% larger than 21. By the same token there is a 26% difference in the background category (24 versus 19) as is an overall 30% difference (26 versus 20) between total unfavourable comments and total favourable comments. The mean of unfavourable comments at 8.6 compared to 7.2 for favourable indicates that (on average) there were more unfavourable comments per story than there were favourable, although once again the difference is not great. Evidence of the greater frequency of unfavourable comments over favourable comments is also apparent from the large number of cases where a comment coded as neutral had implications which were clearly unfavourable. Comments in a spot story about Nigerian businessmen being investigated for business transactions with South Africa were coded as neutral reporting of an event, yet the fact that such a story was given preference over others raises questions about the negative light in which Nigeria is being cast in the Globe and Mail. At the same time, there were comments relating to the South African issue which, by neutrally reporting Nigeria's firm stand (and, therefore, coded as neutral), had favourable implications. For example, Nigeria's
firm rule of rejecting bids from British firms due to Britain's role vis-a-vis South Africa was reported as a rule fairly enforced, as illustrated by comments like the following: "...all companies with British interests including those with up to 60 per cent Nigerian shareholding are ruled out". Some headlines relating to South Africa, however, portrayed Nigeria's actions as inconsistent; e.g. "Nigeria Stand on Games at Odds with Trade Policy". This story went on to say that "Nigeria has trade links - albeit on a devious and indirect basis - with South Africa...". Still other stories, coded as neutral, (e.g. "Cracking the Whip") portrayed Nigeria as taking a consistent stand towards the issues, and commented favourably on its policy:

Earlier this year, the Government declared that multinational companies would have to make a choice - either to do business in Nigeria or South Africa but not both...So it was not surprising that in March, after the chairman of Barclays Bank in Britain announced the purchase by the Bank of South African Government Bonds, Nigeria acted against the Bank. Despite the fact that the Nigerian Government is the majority partner in Barclays (Nigeria) it ordered that two thirds of the Bank's expatriate staff be sent home. Furthermore, it ordered the withdrawal from Barclays of all Nigeria Government deposits.

Clear cases of unfavourability are exemplified by the headlines of most such stories. A typical headline informed the reader that "Rioting in Nigeria Causes 34 Deaths". Headlines like "32 sentenced to die in Nigeria" reported an order that 32 members of the armed forces, found guilty of
involvement in the 1976 coup, be executed by a firing squad. However, it was not uncommon to find unfavourable headlines which carried favourable comments. For example, a story headlined "Cutlass-carrying Pirates are back, Preying on Foreign Vessels" contained favourable comments that "The backlog of ships awaiting berths, which ran to more than 500 at the peak of the crisis, has been reduced to between 50 and 60". Another example was the headline which, though noting that "Canada is Wasting its Time, Money in Nigeria..." due to maladministration by Nigerians, nevertheless commented that a Canadian teacher was "called Buba by the students, the Hausa term for an older person. Here they respect a person who is older..." Thus, while in this case the headline gave an unfavourable slant to the story, there were favourable comments (albeit of a different focus) in the story. "Nigerians Unruffled during Carter Visit", the headline from a New York Times wire story that was generally unfavourable talked about people being "swallowed in traffic jams" and described the attitude of the Nigerian government to President Carter's visit as reflecting "...a lingering suspicion of the United States that developed when Washington extended 'humanitarian aid' to Biafra ...". On the other hand, a largely favourable report on Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to Maiduguri noted that "[people] were enormously friendly, offering a few salutations in local languages..." Another more negative report on Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to Nigeria informed the reader about Trudeau's arrival in
Lagos only to learn that his first meeting with Nigeria's President had been unexpectedly cancelled.32 A Canadian official in Lagos was quoted as saying that "[t]hese kinds of things happen here all the time". Six paragraphs later, the reader was informed that "[stories] of traffic jams, port congestion and poor communications are legendary".

Although one story talked about Nigeria's subtle "hostility" to the American President and another story talked about Nigeria's "hospitality" to another visiting head of state, none reported the official explanation given by Nigerian officials for the attitude towards President Carter or the delay in meeting Prime Minister Trudeau. However, this type of bias was balanced by the partly favourable comment that despite the problems caused by traffic jams, "[t]he Prime Minister eventually did get to see everyone, because of the efficiency of Nigerian motorcades. Without a hitch, Nigerian officials cleared a path for Mr. Trudeau's motorcades through traffic-clogged Lagos".33

In several basically unfavourable stories, negative comments were sometimes incorporated so as to give the reader an unpleasant image of Nigeria: e.g. "A new telecommunications centre has opened, but making a telephone call remains a trying experience".34 Later, the reader was told that "[no] one knows how many are unemployed, but the streets are crammed with thousands of idle men and women. Crime is increasing
dramatically". Interestingly, while Nigeria was thus reported as having no figures for unemployment, it seems to have provided statistics for the crime rate, which would be the only plausible explanation for the conclusion that crime was increasing.

The dominance of unfavourable comments over favourable comments occurred in seven years, i.e. 1970, 1971, 1976-78, 1980-81. Unfavourable comments in 1970 accounted for 53% of all unfavourable comments and 14% of all comments, due mainly to the focus on the war. In other stories, there were favourable comments which addressed efforts by the Nigerian government towards reconstruction and reconciliation. For example, in one such story the reader was informed that "...Priority is being given to providing shelter for the dispossessed, and to repair of existing buildings" and that "[the] observer team found that roads throughout the recently captured area were in "very good condition", and bridges on the road between Aba and Owerri had been repaired with "commendable efficiency"." In 1977, 40% of the comments were unfavourable to Nigeria while only 17% were favourable. The negative tone of 1977 stories was exemplified by the January 12th, New York Times story captioned "Cutlass-Carrying Pirates are back, preying on foreign vessels off Nigerian ports", which commented that "Lagos wharves have long had a reputation as a place where goods disappear into thin air". Another negative story was the earlier
mentioned *Globe and Mail* staff story which reported with the
headline that, according to a Canadian University Services
Organization's (C.U.S.O.) volunteer, "Canada is wasting its
time, money in Nigeria". In this particular story, 26% of the
comments were unfavourable compared to 14% which were
favourable. Favourable comments in this story emphasized
progress in the education sector: e.g. "Welding and Carpentry
are among the subjects studied, and the workshops are well
supplied with necessary equipment ... Graduates have been
getting jobs in such places as Nigerian Broadcasting".38

The percentage point difference between favourable
and unfavourable comments for some years of unfavourability
was higher than the percentage points difference for some
years of favourability such as 1973 (18) and 1979 (19). For
every example in 1981, 36% of the comments were unfavourable
compared to 13% which were favourable. This 23 percentage
point difference is higher than the 19 percentage point
difference for 1979 when 35% of the comments were favourable
compared to 16% unfavourable.

A breakdown of the comments by three important pages -
front page, editorial page and opposite editorial (OPED) page
- in Table 10 indicates that there were more favourable
comments (29%) on the front page than unfavourable comments
(24%). Although Table 9 indicates that there were more
unfavourable editorial comments than favourable, Table 10
**TABLE 10**

**FAVOURABILITY OF COMMENTS (TREATMENT)**

**BY PAGE LOCATION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$N^*$</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$n$</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of page</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$X$</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- F Favourable
- N Neutral
- U Unfavourable
- $N^*$ Number of Stories
- $X$ Mean or average number of comments on page
indicates that there was a 5% lead by favourable comments over unfavourable for comments located on the editorial page i.e. "editorial" and other analysis on the editorial page.

Favourable editorial comments were exemplified by comments which lauded the decision of the military government to hand Nigeria "back to the voters". Thus, one editorial noted that in a world full of military governments, as exemplified by countries like Pakistan and Argentina, where governments "talk about restoring democracy while doing everything in their power to keep it in exile, Nigeria stands out as a bright spot." However, there was a 14% point difference between favourable and unfavourable comments on the OPED page with unfavourable comments leading at 31%. The mean number of comments per story illustrates in another way the fact that there were more favourable front page comments than unfavourable front page comments on average. The mean number of favourable comments per front page story is 9.8 while the mean number of unfavourable comments per story on the front page is 3.1.

Generally, hypothesis II is supported given that the number of unfavourable comments is somewhat greater than the number of favourable comments. However, there is no apparent pattern of consistency on a year-by-year basis. The overall results support the hypothesis, yet the greater prominence given to favourable comments on the front page and editorial page shows no evidence that unfavourable comments were
highlighted at the expense of favourable ones.

6.3 HYPOTHESIS III

According to Hypothesis III:

(a) Canadian sources will account for more news than each country as a news source, but for less than the sources combined from all other countries.

(b) The Globe and Mail's sources will account for more news than each news sources, but for less than all other sources combined.

The comparison of news stories sources (Table 11) indicates that when individual sources are analysed, the Globe and Mail is ahead of any other individual, identified source. The "other" category consists of news briefs with no identifiable source, and background stories from Canadian and non-Canadian freelance writers. There were 5 news stories from freelance writers so that the high composition of the "other" category is due principally to the numerous unidentifiable stories. The comparison of news stories according to sources in Table 11 shows that news stories from the Globe and Mail account for 18%, the New York Times, 12%, Associated Press, 11%, while Reuter and Multiple Sources tie, each at 9%, followed by Canadian Press (CP) with 6%. This means that about 24% of the news stories are identified as originating from Canadian sources compared to 23% from U.S. sources and 15% from British sources. This means that hypothesis III (a) is supported because although more news is
**TABLE II**

**FREQUENCY OF NEWS STORIES BY SOURCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times of London</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London Financial Times</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other British</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated Press</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple*</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Total**                     | 237| 100**

Notes:  
* Multiple may be foreign, Canadian or both.  
** Sum of % may not = 100 due to rounding.
derived from all foreign news sources by country combined than from Canadian sources, more news is derived from Canadian sources when each country is compared individually.

The distribution of comments in spot stories by source is indicated by Table 12 which shows that 22% of the comments are attributable to the Globe and Mail, 20% to the New York Times, 16% to multiple sources, 12% to Associated Press and 6% to Reuter. The results indicate that if rank-ordered (excluding "other" sources at 27.4%), the Globe and Mail and the New York Times maintained first and second positions respectively in terms of both news stories in total and spot or hard news comments; the difference is that the Globe had a 7% point lead in the total number of stories, but only a two percentage lead with comments in spot stories. This means that hypothesis III (b) is supported given the 7% point lead by the Globe over the second-source (and about 8 percentage point difference between the Globe and the third source) and given also that the percentage composition of news from the Globe's staff is less than the composition from other foreign sources combined. It is also worth noting that since 2% of the 27% of news items attributed to "other" were filed by freelance writers, the Globe still places second if the "other" category is included, i.e. unidentified news stories accounted for 25% of total news stories. Associated Press, which ranked third overall in news stories placed fourth in the number of comments in spot stories; Multiple
### TABLE 12

**SPOT STORY COMMENTS**

**DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO SOURCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>N* Stories</th>
<th>No. of Comments</th>
<th>% of Comments</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
<td>44 (18.6)</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.</td>
<td>15 (6.3)</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuter</td>
<td>22 (9.3)</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times of London</td>
<td>8 (3.4)</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London Financial Times</td>
<td>5 (1.3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other British</td>
<td>4 (1.7)</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associated Press</td>
<td>26 (11.0)</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Times</td>
<td>28 (11.8)</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>65 (27.4)</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple</td>
<td>22 (9.3)</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>237 (100)</td>
<td>3366</td>
<td>100**</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- *N* represents total of all news stories.
- **Sum of % may be > 100 due to rounding.
- X = Mean or average number of comments per source.
- ( ) % of stories.
sources category ranked third in this category compared to its fourth position in total stories, and Reuter slipped from fourth position overall to fifth position in the same category of comments in spot stories.

The above results do not indicate the correct state of affairs as some qualification of the sources indicates. News items attributable to the Globe and Mail consist of items from correspondents, editorials, and the staff wire. News stories attributable to Wire are usually items from Associated Press (AP) or Reuters wires which are modified by the editor. These stories could be readily classified in an "other wire" category, instead of combining them with the Globe and Mail. However, since the stories indicated their source as "Staff Wire" they were included under the Globe's total. If excluded, news stories attributed to Globe staff (editorials and correspondents) account for only 17% of total news stories.

If stories from "other" sources and multiple sources are excluded, the Globe and Mail (excluding Staff Wire) leads with 27%, followed by the New York Times with 19%, Associated Press with 17%, Reuter with 15% and Canadian Press with 10%. This would indicate a slight lead by Canadian sources at 37%, followed by U.S. sources at 36% and British sources at 25%. Again, the identification of sources does not indicate the original source of a news story. Canadian Press has no
correspondents in Nigeria. CP subscribes to AP, AFP and other news agencies. Thus, excluding the 10% for CP would place Canadian sources in the second position, with 27%, which is still ahead of British sources by two percentage points difference.

In the process of coding, it was observed that most of the news items from British sources were filed in 1970, and dealt with the Biafran war. It is difficult to explain why this was the case. One can, of course, state the obvious by noting that over the period of the study, the Globe and Mail relied more on British news sources than on other news sources in its coverage of the Nigerian civil war, although overall, it relied more on U.S. news sources than British.

If spot news comments are broken down by country, 27% (including CP and Staff Wire) are attributable to Canada or 22%, excluding CP. 31% and 16% of spot news comments are attributable to U.S. and British sources respectively (Table 13). Thus the first, second and third positions taken by Canadian, British and American sources respectively in the overall news stories changed, resulting in an order showing U.S., Canadian and British sources taking first, second and third positions respectively in the spot news comments.

Table 13 also indicates that 27% (or 29% including Staff Wire) of background news comments were attributed to the
**TABLE 13**

**COMPOSITION (%) OF NEWS STORIES AND COMMENTS ACCORDING TO SOURCE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>News Stories</th>
<th>Background News Comments</th>
<th>Spot News Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Globe and Mail</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Multiple</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N*</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>1728</td>
<td>3366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** *N is the Total number, not percentage.*
Globe and Mail. This means that about 73% of background news comments originated from sources other than the Globe and Mail. Given that news items from CP and Globe Wire may not really be "Canadian", the results would indicate that 79% of spot news comments and 73% of background news comments originated from non-Canadian sources. Out of the 1728 background comments, 27% were attributable to the Globe and Mail, compared to the New York Times' 15% and London Financial Times' 12%. Reuter, which secured the fourth position in the news stories and fifth position in spot news comments had no background stories (and therefore no background comments). There were also no background news comments from multiple sources regardless of the fact that this category had the second highest mean of spot story comments. Thus, Reuter and Multiple sources, which shared the fourth position in the spot news comments contributions, maintained the last position together with CP in the background categories. Despite CP's shortcomings in the background categories, more background comments were attributable to Canadian sources at 29% (including Staff Wire) than British sources (22%) or U.S. sources (17%). If all sources are considered, the "other" category led by contributing 32% of the background comments. All of the background stories in the "other" category were stories filed by freelance writers. Thus, freelance writers led the other sources by contributing 32% of the background comments.
In essence, Hypothesis III has been supported because, on a one-to-one basis, the Globe and Mail published more news stories than the other identifiable sources. However, it is worth noting that although the Globe and Mail has a six percentage points lead over the New York Times (12%), some of the items by the Globe and Mail were editorial or commentary as opposed to purely informational news items. It is, therefore, not difficult to explain why the Globe led other sources given that out of the 18% composition of news from the Globe, 4% were editorials and 2% were commentaries from members of the editorial board. Thus, with only 12% of purely informational news originating from the Globe and Mail, the lead by the Globe is attributable to the advantage gained through editorials and "opinionated" commentary. Furthermore, since editorials reflect a more serious treatment of issues, this category of news item gives the Globe an advantage over other sources in terms of the quality of coverage. Table 13 indicates that 29% of background news comments were attributable to the Globe and Mail, compared to 22% from British sources. This indicates that one may get qualitatively better coverage with one's own staff than with foreign correspondents, whose news stories may undergo more levels of gatekeeping than stories by staff correspondents.

The results indicate that 75% of news stories, 73% of spot news comments, and 71% of background news comments originated from non-Canadian sources. In addition, the
results indicate that 82% of news stories, 78% of spot news comments and 71% of background news comments originated from sources other than the Globe and Mail. These findings support hypothesis III in that the other sources combined far outweighed the coverage originating from the Globe's own sources and from all Canadian sources combined.

6.4 Hypothesis IV

Hypothesis IV, dealing with the treatment of Canada's aid to Nigeria, or aid to Nigeria in general, stipulates that:

There will be more emphasis on aid as beneficial to the recipient country than on the notion of aid as self-serving to the donor or as beneficial to both the donor and recipient.

There were 33 news stories which touched on the subject of aid. There were 236 comments dealing with aid, which means that on average, there were 7 aid related comments in news stories that touched on aid. As Table 14 indicates, out of the 236 comments related to aid, 20% treated aid as self-serving for the donor while 80% treated it as a benevolent act which is beneficial to the recipient, or did not at the same time refer to its benefits to the donor. An interesting observation was that despite the disparity between the number of aid-as-benevolence comments and aid-as-self-serving comments, the mean number of comments per story for each category was almost equal: a mean 5.7 comments per story treating aid as benevolent compared to a mean 5.3
TABLE 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Aid as Benevolence</th>
<th>Aid as Self-serving</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comments</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: X mean or average comment/story

TABLE 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story Type</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spot</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N for aid stories = 33
Total N is for all stories.
comments per story treating aid as self-serving. Thus, on the average, there were about five comments per related story dealing either with the notion of aid as benevolence or aid as self-serving.

There are some explanations for the wide difference between the coverage of both categories of comments dealing with aid. The comments in aid stories were coded to account for neutral comments, by using favourable, neutral and unfavourable for each of the two categories of aid. This coding was found to be complex and cumbersome, due mainly to the fact that an unfavourable comment, for example, in a story treating aid as a benevolent endeavour may, at the same time, have been a favourable comment treating aid as self serving. It was found that neutral comments reinforced the thrust of the story; e.g. If the main thrust of the story indicated that Canada’s aid was a benevolent act, a neutral comment such as the value of the aid, reinforced the notion that that aid was given as a benevolent gesture. It was then decided that in coding articles related to aid, the main thrust of the story would be the decisive factor in placing it either in the aid-as-benevolence category or aid-as-self-serving category. This means that the results relating to both categories of aid coverage should be interpreted with the understanding that what might have been considered neutral news comments were included in one or the other category, depending on the preceding sentence or the thrust of the story. Another
explanation is that the treatment of aid as self-serving is more complex and demanding. It is easier to explain aid on the basis of its superficial purpose of helping the needy. It is more complex to explain the problems associated with what is considered a good deed, which usually means giving alternative and unfamiliar perspectives. News, as earlier noted, may be designed to suit the audience, resulting in the act of simplification. Consequently, simple and familiar perspectives may be emphasized at the expense of complex ones. Thus aid as benevolence, a simple approach to aid, may be overemphasized at the expense of aid as self-serving, an alternative perspective which requires in-depth analysis. Furthermore, the coverage of post-war relief is not expected to explore aid as self-serving, despite the argument by aid critics that even war relief materials may be self-serving. The tendency to view war relief as benevolence also contributed to the dominance of aid-as-benevolence comments over aid-as-self-serving comments.

This rationale is supported by the results shown in Table 15. The table indicates that 84% of aid comments were in spot news stories, indicating strictly factual coverage and an absence of in-depth analysis where other purposes and outcomes of aid beyond Nigeria’s development might have been considered. The pattern observed was for aid to be reported in terms of Canada’s aid disbursements, i.e. the figures in Canadian dollars, the terms of the disbursement such as the
number of years for repayment, or the rate of interest (if any) charged, and whether the aid disbursements were mismanaged or administered properly. For example, two news items (coded as aid-as-benevolence) dealt with Canada's aid program in Nigeria through CUSO.40 One emphasized the advantages of aid to Nigeria with the headline "Canadians help Nigerians farm better".41 Another dealt with the mismanagement of aid under the headline "Canada is Wasting its time, money in Nigeria, CUSO volunteer says".42 There were no other headlines dealing with aid that were the equivalent of a 1979 news story with the headline, "Canada seems likely to benefit from Nigerian Trade Initiatives".43 Other news stories (also coded as aid-as-benevolence) outlined the grants component of Canadian aid and the fact that some loans carried no interest, but there was no adequate analysis of the negative aspects of such seemingly generous aid (e.g. Canada's tying provisions). One explanation for this situation may be that most of the coverage given aid was in the period immediately after the war. The reporting of relief materials sent to Nigeria (or Biafra) accounted for a large proportion of news coverage on aid. This type of aid, given as a benevolent act is usually not considered to be self-serving despite the fact that it may be. However, other aspects of aid to Nigeria were not covered at all extensively, nor was consideration given to alternative perspectives with respect to the motives and results of such aid. The few "extensive" treatments that were of the counter-productive nature of aid
originated from news stories by a non-Canadian freelance reporter, whose critical analysis of the counter-productive nature of aid did not deal with Canada directly, but analysed the general pros and cons of aid. Another story which dealt with aid as being counter-productive to the aspirations of the recipient, or being seen as beneficial to the donor, was published in 1970 and dealt with Nigeria's refusal to accept aid from countries which had supported Biafra. The Nigerian government's position was that these countries were using aid to interfere with the internal problems of Nigeria by supporting rebellion; a situation viewed as counter-productive to Nigeria's effort to build a united nation.

The comments originating from the Globe and Mail's own staff on aid amounted to 18 from 7 stories which touched on aid. The comments from the Globe and Mail's own staff emphasized Canada's role in aid disbursement with only one comment (out of 18) touching on aid as counter-productive.

In short, hypothesis IV was supported not only considering the overall coverage, but also considering each source (with the exception of the freelance reporter referred to above).
CHAPTER 7

SUGGESTIONS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION
7.1 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES.

In choosing one newspaper, this study was designed to emphasize specificity with respect to the medium of communication and the countries involved. More studies dealing with specific newspapers and countries could be done. For example, a study dealing with both Nigeria and Canada could be initiated, with a focus on comparison between the coverage given issues of mutual interest to both countries, by using Canada's leading newspaper, the *Globe and Mail* and Nigeria's leading newspaper, the *Daily Times*. A comparative analysis of the coverage of Canada by Canadian and Nigerian newspapers could be done, or coverage of specific Nigerian issues by Canadian and Nigerian newspapers. The thrust would be on the coverage of events affecting both countries as interpreted by their respective media. Furthermore, in view of the recent trend in communication research towards news and ideology (cf. Knight, 1982; Glasgow University Media Group, 1977 and 1980; Baer and Winter, 1983; Hackett, 1983), a content analysis of the newspapers of both countries could be initiated to examine the similarities or differences in the ideological orientation of both countries vis-a-vis government/media relationships in both countries.

One of the shortcomings of this research is that it
was concerned with the period after the Nigerian civil war. Therefore, it did not offer a “before and after” comparison of the coverage. Consequently, it would be worthwhile to examine the coverage of Nigeria by the Globe and Mail before, during, and after the civil war. One may also want to compare how newspapers of both countries (or their leading newspapers) covered Nigeria before, during, and after the civil war.

7.2 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.

The results of this study raise some pertinent questions about the quality of coverage given Nigeria by the Globe and Mail. The main objective of the research was to provide some indication of the quality and extent of the Globe’s coverage of Nigeria. The overwhelming dominance of spot news over in-depth analysis supports Scanlon’s hypothesis that spot news dominates coverage of third world events. This study thus lends support to the contention that there are inequities in the coverage of Third World countries by the media of Western countries. However, it cannot be clearly established whether these inequities are deliberately perpetrated or not, although one is inclined to believe that they are not deliberately perpetrated. Considering that most of the news items were in the spot category, and that there were more unfavourable comments than favourable ones, there are grounds for asserting that there was a lack of in-depth
coverage and a preference for negative over positive news stories. On the other hand, since the results indicate that there were more favourable comments on the front page than unfavourable comments, one cannot argue that bad news was given more prominence over good news, nor can one contend that the dominance was intentionally created. Furthermore, the lack of a consistent yearly trend for a prevalence of unfavourable over favourable comments also supports the contention that the dominance of unfavourable comments was not an intentional manoeuvre. It may simply be attributable to the ethnocentrism and cultural bias of the news gatekeepers, the economic forces which influence news gathering, or even the historical moment, since news coverage is influenced by the nature of contemporary issues.

The media, albeit one among numerous factors which affect attitudes and influence foreign policy, are a powerful institution. The overwhelming dominance of spot news raises questions about the credibility of the media in performing the functions usually attributed to them. Newspapers have been assumed to be more credible than other mass media of communication, especially when in-depth analysis is sought (Kriegbaum, 1958; Sparkes and Winter, 1981). In this era of commentary and in-depth news analysis from radio and television (Radio's "As It Happens" or TV's 60 minutes, 20/20 and W5), the credibility of newspapers as the leader in in-depth analysis can be challenged. Since the results of
this study show the dominance of spot stories over background stories and of unfavourable comments over favourable comments, it seems the standards which qualify newspapers as a more credible source of information are not as high as one might have been led to expect.

The high compositon of on-the-spot coverage was observed for 1970 dealing with the Biafran crisis, pointing to the desire to present news while it is "hot". News is presented with a focus on "hot" events such as coups and earthquakes as opposed to "cool" processes such as economic, social and cultural development. One of the arguments advanced to refute the Third World's demand for development news is that development news will not attract readers because of its emphasis on continuous reporting of a process.

Development news is equated with continuous, boring accounts of government initiatives as opposed to the more exciting accounts of brutality. Thus, the formula for reporting the world is condensed to coups and earthquakes (to use the words of Rosenblum). With 81% of Nigerian news stories in the Globe and Mail belonging to the spot/hard news category, there is more than enough room for more in-depth analysis in the form of background feature stories and background development stories. Evidently, Cuthbert's (1980) conclusion that hard news stories of violence and crimes in Jamaica were not balanced with soft news stories on culture, education and development is also applicable to the coverage of Nigeria by
the *Globe and Mail*. It follows from the above that Schroeder's (1978) conclusion that Canadians are not well informed about the Third World or Canada's relations with the Third World is appropriate.

Of the factors which influence news flow examined earlier, that of economics probably best explains why the above is the case. To gain wide circulation and therefore realise some profit, news has to be designed to suit the audience. For news to be a saleable commodity, simplification and sensationalization, which are supposed to be what the public wants, greatly influence the decision on what is newsworthy as well as how newsworthy events are to be presented. The result is that no balance is created between what "the public wants" to know and what the public ought to know. Furthermore, the reliance on global news agencies arises from the fact that it is cheaper to subscribe to a news agency than to station a correspondent in an area.

In the comparison of the contribution of various news sources to the coverage of Nigeria, it was found that 83% of news stories originated from sources other than the *Globe and Mail*. The *Globe and Mail* thus contributed less than 20% of the total news stories that appeared in that paper, less than 25% of spot news comments and less than 30% of background news comments. Perhaps it is unfair to compare the *Globe* with all the other sources combined, or the performance of
Canadian sources with that of British or American sources. Considering the disparity in financial, personnel and management resources available to non-Globe or non-Canadian sources combined compared to the Globe's and Canadian sources, the argument may be advanced that it is inevitable that the Globe would have to rely heavily on non-Canadian sources. Such an argument does not, however, justify some of the shortcomings of Canadian sources. For example, CP, which contributed 4.8% of the comments in spot news stories, contributed no background news comments. However understandable the reporting problems of a Canadian newspaper, the point still remains that readers of the Globe and Mail do not see "the world" through Canadian eyes. Although there is certainly a Canadian perspective on news about Nigeria, a case can be made that the available Canadian perspective is not adequate.

While the results indicate that the Globe and Mail relies more on foreign agencies for international news than its own correspondents, the Globe and Mail's effort to rectify this anomaly should not be overlooked. Rather than rely solely on the news services, the Globe has realised the need for an African bureau by now placing a resident correspondent in Africa. Although the wisdom of stationing the correspondent in South Africa (instead of Central Africa) is questionable, at least the effort is indicative of the need to change the situation prevalent in the period covered by this study. In view of Scanlon's (1973) assertion that "Canada sees the
world through U.S. eyes", one has to agree with the Davey report (Davey, 1970) that more emphasis should be placed on reporting the world scene as Canadians speaking to Canadians. However, the focus should not be only on Canadians speaking to Canadians, but on speaking accurately and with a sense of justice and fairness, and on being sensitive to the cultural differences of the Third World.

Since this study was not directly concerned with all the allegations made in support of the existence of media imperialism, the results of this study cannot be used to determine whether the present structure of international information flow promotes cultural and media imperialism. Nevertheless, since the results indicate that the Globe made more unfavourable comments than favourable comments about Nigeria, one can argue that imbalances exist or that distortion exists in the coverage of Nigeria by the Globe and Mail, an observation which would support the contention that news media of the developed nations paint distorted images of the Third World. Such contentions are usually due to interpretations given by the individual reader and may not indicate the intentions of the editors and publishers. The possibility of dual (or even multiple) interpretations is exemplified by some news items in this study, most especially the remarks of the Globe and Mail's January 13, 1981 editorial, which focused on Prime Minister Trudeau's visit to Nigeria. The editorial, a sarcastic
commentary, suggested the possibility that Trudeau might entrench the durbar (a Nigerian traditional festival) in Canada's constitution as part of the Canadian tradition. Commenting humourously and satirically on the durbar being staged to welcome Trudeau, the editorial concluded that the climax of the durbar came when, with drums throbbing and brass horns blowing, the dancers shook their swords in the air. Then came the punch line; "Could local horsemen be trusted to stop here?".

If the term local horsemen is perceived as referring to Nigerians, then one can argue that the editorial in question perpetuates the image of Africans as savages who may not be trusted to restrain themselves. That the traditional festival has to be seen with the wild amusement typically associated with Tarzan would belie the significance and symbolism of the durbar. What would seem more interesting would be the fact that the dancers carried swords (spears?), which makes one wonder whether the reader would not have been better served with historical background information on why the durbar was staged instead of other traditional dances. A historical account would have demanded an in-depth analysis, and would, in turn have familiarized the reader with some of the customs of Africa.

On the other hand, if the term is perceived as referring to Canadians, the interpretation would be that, under
the same circumstance (with swords in their hands), some Canadians might not have been trusted to restrain themselves as did the Africans. Bearing in mind the hostility among some Canadians towards Prime Minister Trudeau, this interpretation would be, unequivocally, valid.

Given the two possible interpretations, it stands to reason that analysis and coding that are based on interpretations are precisely what they are; interpretations. Thus, the discussion on favourability/unfavourability, and on the coverage of aid should be viewed in the context of an analysis based on interpretations, although there was a high degree of consensus on the coding of these comments.

As noted, the problem in drawing a distinction between development news and background news makes it difficult to give a meaningful interpretation to the concept (development news). Reporting on the "development process" may be equivalent to spot coverage on a daily basis of the development of a hydro plant in Nigeria, or a feature story with in-depth analysis done once or twice a year on the hydro plant. It is understandable that the concept of development news is not seriously considered by Western media gatekeepers who feel that, due to the tendency for such news to demand continuous (interpreted lack-lustre) coverage, readers are not attracted to that type of coverage. While the lack of a clear definition of development news and the lack of public
interest in it may justify the lack of development news, they
do not justify the low quality of coverage or the meagre
composition of background (not necessarily development) news
coverage.

The results also have shown that there is some
parochialism in the treatment of controversial issues such as
aid. Although aid given in times of war is usually of a
benevolent nature, there is no denying that this type of aid
carries benefits (however minimal) for the donor. One benefit
of Canada's food aid relief is simply the fact that Canada
gains recognition internationally as a country contributing to
third world development.2 Besides the benevolent types of
aid, there are aid projects which are equally beneficial to
both donor and recipient or more beneficial to the donor.
Yet, aid was more frequently treated as a benevolent act which
helps the recipient, with little references to the benefits
for the donor. This is supported by the fact that the notion
of aid as self-serving for the donor appeared in 9 news
stories while that of aid as benevolence appeared in 33 news
stories.3

As noted in chapter 4.2.2, the idea of humanitarian
aid as beneficial to the donor is not usually given serious
consideration because it is generally believed that aid given
with good intentions is good irrespective of contrary opinion
or counter-productive results. With the exception of news
stories filed by freelance journalists, the comments dealing with the notion of aid as self-serving were in news stories which reported Nigeria's refusal to accept aid from some countries because the countries were using aid to interfere in the Nigerian/Biafran conflict. These stories did not explore the validity of Nigeria's action by showing whether or not interference with the recipient's internal affairs did actually occur or whether aid given as a humanitarian gesture carried hidden benefits for the donor. In other words, the coverage did not explore the complexities associated with aid, as seen by the supporters and critics of aid respectively.

The coverage given to aid by the *Globe and Mail* tends to give credence to Goulet's (1971) argument that there is an omission of alternative approaches by aid analysts in their assessment of developmental assistance. The aid coverage results also demonstrate the presence of ethnocentrism in the coverage of this subject. In view of the findings of this study, journalists and editors ought to acquaint themselves with and give prominence to alternative perspectives on development and perhaps other international issues of concern to the Third World. This does not suggest that they are not familiar with these alternative perspectives. Perhaps the problem lies in their decision not to give serious consideration to perspectives which are different from theirs or are considered too radical. In order to understand the aspirations of the so-called developing nations, Western
journalists should give due consideration to alternative solutions and be sensitive to the needs of developing countries as seen by developing countries. Perhaps with this in mind, journalists and editors may take different approaches to issues, and more in-depth analysis of Third World issues may then be found in Western newspapers.
CHAPTER 1

1. Merrill (1979: 29), for example, argues that the proposal for a two-way flow is meaningless because when one talks of a "flow", it is generally understood that things flow in one direction. A river flows in one direction, he argues, and as such "two-way flow" is a confusing terminology.

2. The Tarzan images of Africa (Greystoke legend) in the Western media, some would argue, indicate yet another derogatory impression about Africa. The tropical forests of Africa are not portrayed as tropical vegetation, but as jungles - a ruthless environment where people engage in a struggle for survival. Africans of traditional religious belief are not presented as a religious people, but as pagans, while African cultural and traditional festivals are viewed as barbaric rituals.

3. The classification of a society as primitive is a comparative statement; one society is "primitive" if compared to a "civilized" one. The conception of Africa as the Dark Continent implies the superiority of light over darkness. Such a conception is problematic because in the process of cultural assimilation, one does not change from a "bad" culture to a "good" one. Since old does not necessarily mean bad, nor new necessarily good, the acceptance of modern Western cultures, which are different from but not necessarily better than traditional ones, does not signify the superiority of Western culture over traditional African culture. The problems and the prospects associated with the introduction of foreign culture in developing areas have been explored by Patel (1973), Ferguson (1978), Herskovits and Bascom (1978), Gluckman (1959), and Wallace (1981). These scholars have reservations about Lerner (1958: 412), who believed that the traditional society in developing areas (specifically in the Middle East) was passing away and that the prospect of progress depended on "...the institutional capacity to provide [the] new style of life". Thus, writing in the context of the African situation, Wallace (1981: 258) warns that "...large scale schemes relying on a sophisticated technology and bureaucratic management have a notorious failure record in Africa", and Patel argues that "clock time" need not replace "natural time" in all social interactions nor, as much as [there] has been said about the future nuclearization of the family, does the extended family have to be wished away in future (Patel, 1973: 184).
The criteria for distinguishing between a "developed" country and a "developing" country may be reasonably advanced for economic development (per capita growth, GNP etc). However, social or political development presents a problem since economic development does not necessarily mean social development. With economic wealth concentrated in the hands of the minority elite of the urban cities, Nigeria may well be an example of a country experiencing economic growth without social development. The distinction between "developed" countries and "developing" countries is therefore vague if social and political consequences are considered in addition to economic indicators.

One may well question the relationship between "the distorted images of Africa" in the Western media and the "controlling" of Africa or "imposing a foreign culture on Africans". The cultural imperialism thesis explains this correlation. For example, the one-way flow of information hardware and software in the international system makes it imperative for African Scholars (and also Western Scholars) to read Conrad (1950), and see Africa metaphorically as the heart of darkness. The accusation by a July 1, 1901 editorial of a Nigerian newspaper, the Lagos Standard, exemplifies how distorted images of African culture were used to impose Western culture:

The native child is taught to look down
upon and despise the customs of his country,
all race pride is destroyed; the very books
from which he learns in school teach that
[his] race is an inferior and degraded one
in the family of nations (Omu, 1978; 115).

The importance of such an examination stems from the possibility of news originating from other sources being more distorted than that originating directly from the Globe and Mail or news originating from non-Canadian sources being more distorted than that from Canadian sources. For example, Britain was the former colonial power in Nigeria. The British view of Nigeria (given its historical relationship with Nigeria) may well be different from the Globe and Mail's (or other sources for that matter). Thus, the reliance on news from the former colonialis may increase the potential for distortion, not only because Britain is a former imperial power, but also because news coming from Britain undergoes more levels of gatekeeping than news coming directly from the Globe's correspondent(s).
CHAPTER 2

1. One may dispute the cause-effect order of the relationship between news gatekeepers and policy-makers i.e. whether news coverage influences the making of foreign policy or news coverage is affected by the substance of foreign policy. Whatever position one takes, one has to admit that both do enjoy an important interdependent relationship.

One may argue that since diplomats do not rely on their own country's news sources, the media of the target country, in this case Turkey, as interpreted by the diplomats, will indirectly influence the policy makers of the other country. However, the influence by the diplomats is but one among many factors which affect policy-makers, and therefore factors influencing the decisions of policy-makers should not preclude the role of internal pressure groups.

2. The research had some methodological shortcomings which Nichols acknowledges. For example, the subjects in the study were exposed to the newspapers every weekday for only two weeks. Besides the short duration of exposure, in the sample of 70 students (24 in the control group and 46 in the regular), 56.25% of the regular group indicated that on the average, they spent less than 15 minutes reading the experimental newspaper. Nichols also points out that more than one-fourth in both groups reported less reading of the experimental newspaper than of their regular newspaper.

3. The study focused on the presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises. The problem with their focus is that their study begs the question what is negative coverage, since they evaluated world crises to assess "negative" and "positive" news. This literature review is therefore concerned with their stipulation regarding culturally proximate states and culturally distant states, instead of their focus on negative/positive coverage.

4. If Galtung and Ruge's complementary hypothesis is applied to Canada-Nigeria relations, it can be argued that although the relationship is low on one factor - cultural proximity, the substantially strong trade and other bilateral relations would give the relation a high score, and, as a result, events in one country may be considered newsworthy by the media of the other.

5. The consequence of this cultural and ethnocentric
dominance may be an allegiance in developing countries to a particular type of political or economic ideology. For example, due to ethnocentrism or parochialism, Western countries believe in a technology-intensive economy as the only means of economic development, a dominating view readily accepted by developing nations. Thus, having accepted the technology "culture" as the best form of cultural development, Third World nations have assimilated the new culture of the rich industrialized nations without adequate concern for its effects on the indigenous culture. As a result, this "one way flow" of communication technology, which is a by-product of the capital-intensive economic ideology of the Western, industrialized states, has led to the spread of Western political and economic ideology.

While the gatekeeping process may be seen as adding to the distortion of events, there are at the same time advantages in the editing process of news items. Indeed, the editing process may result in news being given a "national" perspective by national agencies. For example, the Canadian perspective can be achieved through news originating from the globals being edited by news editors of Canadian Press (C.P.). Canadians may better relate to news with a Canadian perspective than with an American or British perspective. However, this is hardly adequate. In the process of editing, only so much can be done; no cosmetic changes can make a foreign perspective the same as a national perspective.

By relying on global news agencies for foreign news reports, newspapers may report a much more distorted image of reality than if they relied on their own correspondents. This does not mean that Canadian reporters, for example, are necessarily better than American or British reporters. It means that Canadian reporters are in a better position to report news from a Canadian perspective. This implies advocacy for a Canadian culturally biased news, which does not preclude distortion. The argument, therefore, is that while cultural bias, which may lead to distortion, exists (naturally) as a result of a journalist's background, the prospect for more distortion is increased when more journalists with different cultural backgrounds are involved as gatekeepers of news events.

Such a situation indicates the advantage produced by editing news coming from outside so that it reflects the national perspective of the recipient country. It is not unexpected that Western journalists report Third World events with Western political and cultural values; the Davey (1970) report advocated this, though in a
specifically Canadian context. This advantage, however, seems to contradict the arguments posited by Third World leaders when they argue that ethnocentric perception may be a negative news factor. It is paradoxical to denounce Western ethnocentrism and at the same time expect Western journalists to report African events with an African ethnocentric perception. Thus, the proponents of the new order are saying that while Western journalists may report Third world events with their own values, they should be sensitive to the differences between their values and those of the developing nations.

The prospect for more Canadian correspondents abroad seems to be gloomy since the situation has been worsened by the proportion of CP's budget cut - almost half (Kent, 1981: 123). However, there is a bright side to the situation since the Globe and Mail now has a correspondent in Africa.

An interesting dimension to Schroeder's research (and indeed our study) would have been a comparison with domestic news coverage. The findings would have been more meaningful had the statistics been demonstrably different from the preferences in domestic news. However, Schroeder was concerned with comparing the different topics of international news coverage rather than comparing international news preference with domestic news preference.

Rather than suggest that Canadian editors and Publishers change their perception of Africa, the suggestion should, perhaps, emphasize a modification of that perception or sensitivity to cultural differences.

Some may contend that ideologically Canada and the U.S. are the same. Smythe (1981), for example, argues that since Canada is a "periphery" of the core capitalist U.S., Canadian media elites are members of the international capitalist elites. Culturally, though, Arnold and Tigert (1974), and Tate and Trach (1980) have indicated that there are cultural differences between Canada and the United States of America.

the global flow of news.

CHAPTER 3

1 Baer and Winter (1982: 1) raised an important point (albeit briefly) by arguing that proportionate reciprocation does not necessarily result in lack of dependence. Their point is that if Canada, for example, exports 50% of Canadian-made programs to the U.S., and the U.S. exports 50% of its programs to Canada, there still exists a situation of Canadian dependence on U.S. programs, i.e. 50% of 25 million is less than 50% of 240 million. Thus any nation that is not self-sufficient but relies on a country with more advanced communication "vehicles" is bound to be dependent.

2 Technology determinism (or specifically the setting of the terms of technological determinism) dates back to Plato. The idea was later espoused by Innes.

3 Merrill (1979), who is considered a non-Marxist, would not refer to the infiltration as imperialistic but merely as a "penetration" of third world markets.

4 McBride was formally founder and chairman of Amnesty International, Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, President of the International Peace Bureau, and United Nations Commissioner for Namibia. He is also a holder of the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes.

CHAPTER 4

1 Due to the implementation of Canada's "policy in South Africa", Canadian Commercial attaches were withdrawn from South Africa following the government's 1977 decision to phase out its commercial support activities in that country. Despite this gesture and the rhetorics, Canada's trade with South Africa has actually increased over the years (cf. Keenleyside, 1983; Redekop, 1984-85).

2 This definition is problematic in its adumbration of the criteria for identifying what is and what is not an
imperialist act. According to this definition then, aid to Ethiopia, for example, would not be considered to be imperialistic until the donor suggested ways of improving ("civilizing") farming. A counter argument, however, can be offered; only if the result of the improved method of farming in Ethiopia is reliance on Western technology so that Ethiopia becomes "controlled" by the West is such aid imperialistic.

3 No matter how minimal the number of immigrants from Nigeria to Canada may be, the services of these Nigerians are needed more in Nigeria than in Canada. the overwhelming need for medical personnel in Third World countries, when compared to first world countries, indicates where the flow of this group of immigrants should be directed. Canada may be draining Nigeria's human "resources". However, one must remember that the party which decides to take up immigrant status, in this case the Nigerian, usually makes the first move. Is Canada then to be blamed solely for the brain drain?

4 The prices paid for raw materials by Canada, and indeed the industrialized nations, are anything but generous. Raw materials are assessed to yield meagre value in terms of price. Yet when they are processed and value is added, the price of the finished product is raised to accommodate not only the production cost, but also to ensure that profit is made.

5 Hayter (1974) argued that aid is used to preserve the capitalist system. While one may fault Hayter for pointing an accusing finger at the capitalists to the neglect of the opposite camp, her underlying emphasis on the possibility of aid being an aid to the preservation of the donor's ideology cannot be overlooked. If the objectives and goals of the donor are as Hayter describes them, then this may justify the assessment of aid as imperialistic.

6 This contention is refutable given that the principal way of advancing economic goals internationally is through various forms of trade and investment promotion, of which aid can be one. The cause-effect relationship between Canada's aid and trade (i.e. aid actuates trade) indicates that the objective of Canadian aid is as self-serving as other aspects of Canadian international relationships.

7 Tied aid refers to a situation whereby aid is given to a recipient with conditions (e.g. that equipment and goods be purchased from the donor) tied to the aid. 64.8% of all
Canadian official developmental assistance was tied in 1982 compared to the United States' 31.5%, Japan's 20.7%, Holland's 13.3%, and Sweden's 12.9%. Canada was the aid donor with the second highest tied component, next to Austria (see Globe and Mail, Dec 28, 1984).

For example, due to tying restrictions of Canadian aid to Tanzania in 1969, Tanzania had to retain a Canadian consultant, Angus Butler Engineering Company of Alberta, for a feasibility study and technical supervision, and eventually a purchase of bakery machinery at monopoly prices from Canadian Baker Perkins Ltd of Brampton, Ontario. The tender submitted by Canadian Baker Perkins Ltd exceeded the budgeted amount, and, consequently, not only did the bakery begin production at triple the original budget, but also five years late. An industrial feasibility study carried out by a UN-financed project found that Tanzania could have bought equivalent equipment for half the price from West Germany or Japan. (Carty and Smith, 1981: 72).

Keate's contention should be taken with a grain of salt. The Globe and Mail is relatively a good newspaper. However, it does not mirror the nation. Being an English Canadian newspaper, it certainly does not mirror the bi-cultural (not to mention the multi-cultural) composition of Canada.

CHAPTER 5

As a result of this problem of definition, much emphasis was not placed on development news in the analysis.

The author wishes to thank the Globe and Mail for access to its news index. The population of Nigerian news was compiled using the Globe and Mail's library. The need to use the Globe's library arose from the inadequacies of other sources, specifically the Canadian Newspaper Index. The Canadian Newspaper Index does not cover every article published in the Globe and Mail. A selection of articles is made based on the criteria of the editors of the CNI. As a result, spot or action news items are not indexed. Furthermore, the CNI started publication in 1977, hence it is not adequate for the period covered by this study. By personally compiling the dates from the Globe's file, the author had no need to use Info-globe in compiling an index of Nigerian news in the Globe and Mail.
The author wishes to thank Professor Hilary Horan, Miss Ginette Langlois and Mr. Donatus Nnorom for their help in coding the sampled news stories.

CHAPTER 6

1 The spending of this grant could not be accounted for by the National Black Coalition of Canada, the group responsible for sending a 45-member delegation to Lagos.

2 "Biafrans' Make their Way up the Pyramid Again", May 16th, 1974

3 "Nigeria Squeezing out the Aliens"

4 "Nigeria's Goal, School for All, Makes Problems"

5 "'Biafrans' Make their Way ..." op. cit.

6 "In Oil-Rich and Booming Nigeria, a Fabulous Paradox", March 17th, 1975

7 Our study focuses on the period immediately after the war (post crisis). It may, therefore, not be valid to say that our findings support Scanlon's study since we have not provided data on the crisis period. However, the stories in 1970 related to the civil war. Compared to 1972, for example, when there was no major crisis, 1970's coverage could be classified as (post mortem) coverage of the crisis.

8 "'Biafrans' Make their Way ..." op. cit.

9 ibid

10 ibid

11 ibid

12 ibid
13 August 1, 1975

14 ibid

15 August 2, 1975

16 August 12, 1975

17 August 28, 1975

18 January 24; 1970

19 February 14, 1977.

20 Since the study is concerned with a comparison between favourable and unfavourable comments, it was decided that a sub-categorization of neutral (i.e. relevant neutral, irrelevant neutral or neutral by virtue of favourable and unfavourable) would serve no useful purpose.

21 Since the study used the population instead of a sample, it is acceptable that the "percent of a percentage" be used in analysis.

22 The classification (as neutral) is defendable because when Canada is under pressure from front line African states to increase its economic pressure on South Africa, it is natural that Canadian media would be interested in the relationship of black African states themselves with South Africa. While this defence explains why black African states are given this type of coverage, it does not refute the fact that negative coverage is sometimes given; it only explains why it is the case.

23 "Nigeria Rejects U.K. Firms in Protest Over..." May 29, 1979

24 August 16, 1978

25 July 8, 1978
26 February 13, 1977

27 August 3, 1976

28 "Cutlass-Carrying Pirates......." January 12, 1977

29 "Canada is Wasting its Time......" March 31, 1977

30 April 3, 1978

31 "Trials of Trudeau: Now It's a No-Show from Nigeria's President", January 9, 1981

32 ibid

33 ibid

34 January 16, 1970

35 ibid

36 ibid

37 "Cutlass-Carrying Pirates......." op. cit.

38 "Canada is Wasting its Time......" op. cit.

39 "Nigeria: Back to the Voters"

40 CUSO is a non-government organisation (NGO) and its aid activity, mainly technical assistance, is different from direct government developmental assistance through loans. Yet this distinction was not highlighted in any of the news stories. The reader was thus left with the general impression that this is yet another effective arm of the government in the disbursement of Canadian aid to Nigeria.

41 April 1, 1977
42 March 31, 1978

43 October 22, 1979

44 "Lagos bars aid from all who helped Biafra", Jan. 15, 1970

45 In addition to the notion that aid was used to interfere in Nigeria's internal affairs, there was also the contention among Nigerian scholars that some Western countries supported Biafra or gave aid to Biafra out of self-interest vis-a-vis their stake in Biafra due to the oil reserves in that region.

Chapter 7

1 This contention is valid given the fact that due to the news preferences in North America, Public Relations firms are paid large sums of money to keep "development news" on projects before the public eye.

2 It would be beyond the parameters of this study to substantiate the benefits to Canada of Canada's war-time food aid to Nigeria. A more detailed study of the increase or decrease in the use of Canadian products in Nigeria before and after the war, would indicate the extent to which war aid to Nigeria benefits Canada. Trade figures may provide a useful reference. However, changes in commodity categorization may present difficulties in comparing the pre- and post-war use of Canadian goods in Nigeria. For example, prior to the civil war (1967 and 1968), milk powder and skim milk were placed as a category of Canadian exports to Nigeria. After the war, these have been combined under the category "Dairy products, eggs and honey". It is, therefore, difficult to establish whether the war relief comprising milk powder has helped enlarge the Nigerian market for Canadian products.

3 Given our method of coding, it is feasible that a story treating aid as a benevolent endeavour would carry comments that treated aid as self-serving. The number of both stories is, therefore, not mutually exclusive. Thus although 33 news stories touched on aid, 9 stories had comments relating to aid as self-serving compared to 33 news stories which treated aid as a benevolent endeavour.
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