Canadian Newspaper Treatment
Of A Developing Country:

The Case Of Jamaica

By Marlene Cuthbert
Institute of Mass Communication
University of the West Indies

(Dr. Cuthbert lectures at the University of the West Indies, Kingston, Jamaica but has been seconded during 1980-81 to be Communication Specialist with the "Caribbean Regional Communication Services Study" conducted by the university.)

Every reporter has a bias. We think it is immensely important that the reporters who give us our picture of the world should reflect the kind of bias that Canadians tend to share, rather than the bias that Americans or Frenchmen or Englishmen tend to share.

Report of Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Ottawa, 1970, pp. 233-4

A considerable body of research provides evidence that developed world press coverage of the developing world is inadequate. However, little detailed research on the nature of such coverage in the Canadian press has taken place. This article presents a case study of the coverage of one developing country, Jamaica, in three Canadian dailies for a period of one year.

Relevant Background Literature:

Some data relevant to the present study is found in the few studies that are available on foreign coverage by the Canadian press. In a study of 30 Canadian newspapers in 1969, Joe Scanlon found that 32.9 percent of the newshole was devoted to foreign news. A 1975 sample by Sparkes and Robinson of a composite week in ten Canadian newspapers found that the newshole for foreign news was 27.6 percent, although when they removed American news from that figure, only 14 percent of coverage was devoted to all the rest of the world. The primary gate through which foreign news enters Canada is the Canadian Press (CP). In 1974 CP maintained only nine permanent staff correspondents abroad--in New
York, Washington, London and Paris; of these one-third were in London.⁴ No permanent correspondents are kept in Central or South America, the Caribbean, or other third world areas. CP therefore obtains the bulk of its foreign news from AP, Reuter and AFP via its New York office where most material is taken unchanged from the wires of the foreign agencies. Thus CP is mainly a newsprocessing operation, and except for stories from its few correspondents, does not originate foreign news.⁵

In a limited 1976 sample, researcher Andrew Osler found that AP, with over 56 percent of the foreign news, dominated the content, followed by Reuter with 41 percent, and concluded that "global agenda decisions are made almost always for CP by the foreign agencies."⁶ Almost ten years earlier, Scanlon's research had led him to a similar conclusion.⁷ Scanlon also observed that Canadian overseas coverage was sporadic which he suggested might be a function of a focus on crises or special events.⁸

In a strongly worded article in 1975, journalist Ben Metcalfe accused Canadian papers of "subservience to foreign reporting and interpretation."⁹ Citing examples of the Korean and Vietnam wars, Metcalfe maintained that Canadian people were "utterly deprived of a true opportunity to make a well-informed judgement and respond accordingly."¹⁰ He perceived that Canadian coverage, broadly speaking, identified with the U.S. line and concluded that Canadian people consequently do not possess the information to permit them to agree or disagree with Canadian foreign policy. This perception is borne out by Scanlon's research data which found that the source of approximately 80 percent of foreign news in Canada's English language newspapers was American.¹¹

The nature of Canadian foreign coverage received some analysis from Osler who found in his three day sampler of Ontario newspaper, television and wire service news that news items containing violence were much more likely to pass through the various gates involved than other news items.¹² On the basis of his limited sample, Osler concluded tentatively that the Canadian perspective on the world may contain an undue emphasis on violence in the human experience.

It can be argued that, in relation to foreign coverage, the media have an additional responsibility to provide coverage that reflects reality. This is because, for information on local events, the public has access to non-media sources such
as personal knowledge and interpersonal communication, but for information on world events, the public depends largely on the mass media. Hence media coverage of events beyond the local scene needs to be accurate and adequate since the public may have no other basis on which to develop opinions on foreign policy. In addition, governments, although they have access to diplomatic and other channels, also depend on mass media for much of their information. Thus, as Bernard Cohen notes, press reports can influence foreign policy formation. Steinberg has commented, in fact, that U.S. government debates on foreign policy are sometimes based more on what has appeared in the press than on any other source. In Canada, however, political scientist Denis Stairs found that the use of the press as an instrument for foreign policy formation appears to be less common. On the basis of interviews with a small selection of foreign service officers, Stairs concluded that they do not rely significantly on the Canadian press for information although they do tend to use foreign sources such as the New York Times.

But how does one assess the adequacy of foreign news coverage? The Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media in Canada, stating that CP could and should do a better job, recommended that CP should report the world scene as Canadians speaking to Canadians. They were satisfied with the quantity of foreign coverage found by Scanlon (over 30%) and stated that their concern was not how to get more international news, but how to increase its "Canadian content." By Canadian content they meant news with a Canadian character, and observed that an American reporter writes for an American audience, in an American idiom, from a background of American experience and national interest. The Senate Committee suggested that to an importer of news, the nationality and allegiance of his supplier are crucial, and supported this contention with the observation that opened this paper: "Every reporter has a bias. We think it is immensely important that the reporters who give us our picture of the world should reflect the kind of bias that Canadians tend to share . . . ." The Committee called on CP to place its emphasis, not on more event-oriented coverage, but on thoughtful reviews and analysis of foreign news.

The Senate Committee also stated, "Change is the constant of our times, and the media, by definition, must deal with change--not only through reporting the isolated, dramatic event, but by probing the hidden shifts in attitudes and institutions by which most change is accomplished." Hence,
the Committee used the following question to assess the adequacy of Canadian media coverage: "how successful is that newspaper or broadcasting station in preparing its audience for social change?" 19

After examining the coverage of the island of Jamaica in three Canadian newspapers, this study uses that question in assessing the coverage, and, also in light of the Senate Committee's recommendations, comments on the breakdown in Canadian coverage between orientation towards events as opposed to analysis of foreign news.

Method:

The study analyzed all Jamaican coverage in three Canadian dailies for 1976 and January, 1977.20 Papers analyzed were the Montreal Star, Ottawa Citizen and Toronto Star. The papers constituted a purposive sample, chosen because they are a major source of news for areas of Canada which provide the majority of tourists and investors for Jamaica. The Jamaica Tourist Board divides Canada into tourist regions and the regions represented by these papers provided 87.5 percent of Canadian tourists to Jamaica in 1976.21

All coverage of Jamaica, excluding advertisements, was coded according to the following categories: placement in the paper, dateline, column inches, source, headline, headline subject, article subject, and article treatment (i.e., whether predominantly positive, neutral or negative as seen from the point of view of the Canadian reader who is a potential tourist or investor in Jamaica).22 Some traditional subject categories were used, as well as others which were particularly relevant to Jamaica such as Tourism, Cold War, Development and Destabilization. Tourism was coded separately because, in 1976 a connection between negative press coverage and a tourist decline in Jamaica was made repeatedly.23 Stories and headlines were classified as having Cold War content if they described Jamaica's politics in terms of its relationship to Cuba or communism. News came under the Development category if a story was linked with social, economic and political structures, so as to give some feeling of the process of events, and changing the level of analysis to include the meaning and significance of events.24 The subject of Destabilization was coded in light of the Jamaican government's belief in 1976 that interests both inside and outside the country were threatened by certain government
actions and were trying to "destabilize" the government in the hope that it would lose the election in December, 1976.\textsuperscript{25}

Findings:

A total of 83 stories were coded, 43 in the \textit{Toronto Star} and twenty each in the \textit{Ottawa Citizen} and \textit{Montreal Star}.\textsuperscript{26} The \textit{Toronto Star} had the largest number of column inches on Jamaica (Table 1), but though the other two papers carried equal numbers of stories, the \textit{Montreal Star} had more long stories and consequently considerably more column inches than the \textit{Citizen}. Overall, the three dailies carried about 51 percent short stories, 43 percent medium length stories and only six percent long stories.\textsuperscript{27} The \textit{Montreal Star} had the highest percentage of medium and long stories (60%), followed by the \textit{Toronto Star} with 51% and the \textit{Ottawa Citizen} with only 35%.

Reuter was the primary source of news on Jamaica for these newspapers, providing 36 percent of the overall coverage (Table 2). The second most commonly used source was Staff (about 28%), though it should be remembered that some stories attributed to staff may be slightly rewritten versions of wire service stories. In the \textit{Toronto Star}, in fact, the Staff source provided a larger percentage of articles than Reuter: nine major staff-written stories appeared in 1976, four of them written by staff writer E. Kaye Fulton who covered the election period from Jamaica. Two stories were by another staff writer, Arnie Hakala, who visited Jamaica in September, and the remaining staff stories had Toronto date-lines. All staff stories were lengthy, totalling 356 column inches or about 45 percent of the paper's total Jamaican coverage. Overall, AP was the source of 10.8 percent of stories in the three papers, while CP and New York Times Wire Service both provided 4.8 percent of stories used and only 3.6 percent of stories came from UPI.

In terms of article treatment, 73.5 percent of stories were predominantly negative (Table 3). The \textit{Toronto Star} led with 81.4 percent negative stories, followed by the \textit{Montreal Star} with 70 percent and the \textit{Citizen} with 60 percent. Overall, positive and neutral stories in the three dailies were equal in number (about 13%).

The distribution of subject categories further demonstrates the negative character of press coverage. Nearly 63
percent of Jamaican articles in the Toronto Star discussed Violence/Crime, while 40 percent of articles in the other papers did so (Table 4). Politics was the second most popular subject, being discussed in nearly 50 percent of Toronto Star stories and 30 percent of stories in the other papers. Headlines such as the following on Politics and Violence/Crime set the agenda for Canadian readers: in the Toronto Star, 'Jamaican capital under curfew as rival gangs go on rampage' (May 11) and 'Political violence kills 53 in Jamaica' (May 13); in the Montreal Star, 'Violence causes rush to leave Jamaica' (May 13) and 'Army massed as Jamaicans go to polls' (Dec. 15); in the Ottawa Citizen, 'Bloody campaign ends in Jamaica' (Dec. 14).

The subject of Tourism was present in about 17 percent of stories and negative headlines also set the agenda for some Tourism stories as, for example, in the Toronto Star--'Tourists Afraid: Jamaica flights halted by Wardair' (Nov. 15) and 'Tourists may boycott Jamaica--Lady Sarah' (Jan. 10/77). Cold War issues were raised in 15.7% of stories and negative headlines were typical: in the Toronto Star, 'Cuban connection brings bloodshed to Jamaica' (Sept. 25), one of the most irresponsible stories for the year; and in the Montreal Star, 'Cuban "helpers" divide Jamaica' (Aug. 4).

Economics/Investment were important foci of 30 percent of Citizen stories but of only 15 percent of Montreal Star stories and seven percent in the Toronto Star. Most headlines for these stories were purely descriptive. An average of 13 percent of articles had a Human Interest focus, the most negative being a Toronto Star story, 'Get out, white man' (Sept. 25). Speculation about Destabilization occurred in nearly 11 percent of stories with headlines such as 'Jamaica sabotage by U.S.?' (June 3) and 'CIA plots against Jamaica Cuba says' (Aug. 7) in the Toronto Star, and 'Jamaica fears foreign meddling: no proof U.S. responsible' (June 7), in the Montreal Star.

The subjects which received least coverage were Development (8.4%) and Culture/Education (0.9%), the latter being composed of two Toronto Star stories on a visit to Jamaica by Toronto educators. The Montreal Star had the most developmental analysis with stories such as 'Jamaica's sugar co-ops' and 'Tensions smoulder among poor, jobless of Jamaica' (Mar. 3), while a development-oriented Toronto Star editorial was entitled 'Canada can help Jamaicans progress' (Dec. 12).
Discussion:

In general, Canadian readers who relied entirely on the press for a view of Jamaica in 1976 were left with the dominant image of a politically divided, unstable, crime-ridden society. It is true that many negative events occurred in Jamaica in 1976--typical of an election year there--and it is also true that in western news values, negativity is a dominant value. However, when negative news is selected while more positive happenings that occur are ignored, the news no longer provides a true picture of reality.

This case study provides evidence to support Osler's findings that the Canadian press places an undue emphasis on CP Stresses Violence in the human experience. And the hard news stories of violence, crime and politics in Jamaica which were selected for publication were rarely relieved by soft news stories such as those on culture and education, human interest or development. Only two stories on culture or education appeared in spite of the fact that during the summer of 1976 Jamaica was host to the Caribbean Festival of the Arts (Carifesta) which brought the dance, drama, music and art of all four Caribbean language areas to Kingston for ten days. Many Canadian tourists, especially those of West Indian background, attended Carifesta, yet this major cultural event was ignored.

Stories with a Development focus, though few in number, were much longer than the average wire service story and made an attempt to provide some interpretation and background. The Montreal Star's larger percentage of developmental stories may be explained somewhat by its policy described in the words of Frank Walker, the editor-in-chief, to the Senate Committee on Mass Media:

We try as a conscious editorial policy to take . . . the shock value out of things that happen . . . we discuss a trend or predict an event or a change in attitude and by putting that into the paper early enough, stop this constant bump you get by being surprised almost every day.28

Interestingly, the source of two of the Development stories was the NYT Wire Service, while the Financial Times and Reuter were the source of one such story each. The Toronto Star's editorial with a development focus (Dec. 20) explored in a very positive manner the past and future relationship of Canada with Jamaica in light of the election results, and offered a constructive Canadian perspective:
The result of the Jamaican election obviously won't please Washington but it should be entirely satisfactory to Ottawa... Manley's credentials are suspect in Washington for two reasons, neither of them of any great concern to Canada. First, he favors developing relationships with Cuba, and Castro's Cuba still sends American blood pressure soaring. Second American business sees its $1 billion investment threatened by Manley's Socialist reforms...

What should concern Canadians now is co-operation with the newly re-elected government to help solve Jamaica's critical economic problems. There is a historical link between the two countries going back to early British colonial times. Politically today, Jamaica and other West Indian countries offer Canada a link with the developing Third World that is more immediate than any in Africa or Asia... The danger now is not that the Manley government is receptive to Cuban communism, but that outside indifference or, in the case of the U.S. hostility, will force Jamaica in the direction of totalitarian solutions for its problems.

The fact that Reuter was the major source of news on Jamaica, providing over one-third of the news in the three papers, is not surprising, since Reuter maintains a correspondent in the West Indies and receives the news file of the Caribbean News Agency, while AP and UPI have only stringers in that area. Although previous research found that AP was the largest source of foreign news for Canada, in the case of Jamaica AP provided only 10.8 percent of news. Canada's own news service, CP, was the source of less than five percent of stories on Jamaica, reflecting the finding of other researchers that CP is mainly a news-processing operation in relation to foreign news. The CP stories on Jamaica carried Kingston, Jamaica deadlines, indicating that CP may have sent a correspondent to the island or else solicited special coverage. In general, the observation of the Senate Committee on Mass Media that Canadian coverage tends to reflect foreign biases is borne out by this study since the largest single percentage of news on Jamaica originates with Reuter which writes mainly for an English audience, and whose Jamaican correspondent in 1976 was an English woman.

Stories from Staff sources in the Toronto Star provided both the best and the worst of the paper's coverage of...
Negative Imaging

Jamaica for the year. E. Kaye Fulton's four long stories gave considerable backgrounding and a well-balanced perspective, but the Hakala stories focused on human interest and a sensational, rather one-sided perspective, discussed below. Overall, the Staff stories resulted in quite thorough coverage of the December elections by the Toronto Star, but failed to trace trends throughout the year which built up to the election climax.

The overall negative image of Jamaica which resulted from the process of selecting and emphasizing negative news, was augmented by some inaccuracies and by slanting and distortion, most of which occurred in two Toronto Star stories. Three Toronto Star headlines or leads were particularly inaccurate. A story from AP 'U.S. consulate stoned by mob in Jamaica' (Jan. 8) led with the words that 'violence swept the Jamaican capital' (emphasis ended), when in fact violence was confined to a very small area. In contrast, a report on the same day's happenings in the Ottawa Citizen chose to feature an important agreement of the International Monetary Fund which was then meeting in Kingston. Another headline, 'Jamaica to seize three banks' (Jan. 21/77) was inaccurate in its use of the word "seize" as it connotes taking over without compensation which was not the case. An emotive and exaggerated headline stated, 'Jamaican capital under curfew as rival gangs go on rampage' (May 11); at no point was the entire capital under curfew as this suggests, and the gang fights were confined to part of the western section of the city. The Montreal Star, in contrast, covered the same incident with the more accurate headline 'Jamaica violence bring curfew.' No significant inaccuracies were found in the stories carried by the Citizen or Montreal Star.

The articles with the greatest amount of inaccuracies, slanting and distortion occurred in the staff-written Toronto Star stories by Hakala (Sept. 25). Hakala's first article, headlined 'Cuban connection brings bloodshed to Jamaica,' provides no evidence to support the headline. A prominent summary at the beginning of the story claimed simplistically that "The issue is whether Jamaica should align itself with Communist Cuba." Most persons familiar with the complexity of issues in Jamaica would agree that the vote for Manley a few months after this story was not only or primarily a vote in favour of alignment with Cuba. Hakala began early in the article with the cliché that "there is a restlessness among the native," and went on to say that Manley's party "has aligned itself with Communist Cuba although Manley says he believes
in democratic socialism" (emphasis added). The fact that alignment with Canada and the U.S. was equally a reality was omitted; the use of "communist" in relation to Cuba was not accompanied by the use of "capitalist" in relation to Canada in the rest of the article; and the use of "says" in relation to Manley's expressed belief in democratic socialism can be a reporter's device to remove himself from identification with a statement.

Other distortions in the article were pointed out by Jamaica's High Commissioner to Ottawa who, in a letter to the Toronto Star, described the story as "innuendo and untruth," noting, for example, that

The article said 'violence is increasing.' In fact there has been a more than 50 percent decline. It said that in a small district in Jamaica 144 shops are closed and 126 remain open; in fact few districts in Jamaica have appreciably more than 20 shops. This suggests a preconceived notion to portray Jamaica in an unfavorable light (Oct. 16).

The story ended with a vignette of opposition leader Seaga on the campaign trail making Cuba or freedom the alternatives, and a quotation from Seaga, "If we lose the election, there will not be enough boats and planes to take people from the island." Responding to this, Hakala concluded his article with the statement, "A lot of people believe him."

The title of Hakala's second story, 'Get out, white man,' is taken from the words directed at him when he drove through Trenchtown. Those who know Kingston would be aware that an obviously middle-class individual of any colour who was a "tourist" in a slum area could have received a negative reaction.

Some of the positive features of the coverage of Jamaica in these dailies are worthy of comment. Although the Ottawa Citizen carried the fewest column inches, it had quite balanced coverage and the most news on Economics/Investment. The Montreal Star was also quite balanced in its coverage and carried the most stories with an analytical, developmental focus. The Toronto Star covered the election well with its own staff. Overall, however, the three papers provided a very negative image of Jamaica. In fact, when compared with the negativity in U.S. coverage of Jamaica for the same period, the Canadian papers exceeded the U.S. slightly in negativity (73.5 as opposed to 70.4%).

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION 25
Is there any reason to expect Canada to provide more sympathetic coverage than the U.S.? Three reasons might be suggested. First, Canadians and Jamaicans share a British heritage and Commonwealth ties. Secondly, Canadian coverage of developing nations might be more sympathetic in light of Canada's "Third Option" policy of increasing self-reliance by diversifying relations and developing stronger ties with countries and regions of the world other than the U.S. This distinctive Canadian perspective has been evident in many situations, for example the decision not to sever diplomatic or trade relations with Cuba, the recognition of China in 1970, the decision to bar Taiwanese athletes at the Montreal Olympics and the imposition of legislation on the foreign investment in Canada. A third reason why we might expect more sympathetic coverage from Canada is that Canadians themselves know what it is like to receive shallow and inadequate coverage. David Thompson, in a comprehensive Carleton University thesis, found that few Canadian stories in the U.S. press were reported with any depth and most were not backgrounded, so that stories were allowed to stand on their own without sufficient explanation of their significance. As Thompson noted, if understanding between nations is to be achieved, adequate information is necessary, and information must be in context. Senator Keith Davey made the same point when he stated that "if day after day we are assaulted with news of violent events which we have not anticipated, or because of factors that have not been explained, we can hardly expect to avoid the feeling that events chase each other across our lives without rhyme or reason."

Conclusions:

The coverage of Jamaica in the three dailies analyzed bears out Scanlon's observation that foreign coverage tends to be sporadic and to focus on special events and crises. Thus, analysis of trends and developments over time are largely ignored. Applying the Senate Committee's question about how successful the papers were in preparing the Canadian audience for social change, we find that with a few exceptions--notably in the longer Montreal Star articles--the Canadian audience was not provided with adequate information or analysis to permit understanding of the changes in Jamaica. Reporting only what happens without providing any perspective on the events reported does not give an adequate basis for the public to form intelligent opinions. Isolated facts alone, though accurate in themselves, can add up to a false or misleading picture.
The press, of course, has limited space in which to cover the entire world and perhaps cannot devote more column inches to a small developing country such as Jamaica. However, the ties of history, economics and tourism would argue for better, if not more, Canadian coverage of Jamaica in the Canadian press. The quantity of coverage is not the issue as much as the quality of the coverage. The same amount of space could have kept Canadians better informed by providing both more balanced coverage and systematic analysis of developments as opposed to isolated events. To do this, however, would necessitate placing more Canadian correspondents abroad and would cost money; hence any improvement will depend in large part on whether Canadian media are willing to sacrifice some financial profit for the sake of more adequate foreign coverage.

Table 1

Number and Column Inches of Canadian Newspaper Stories on Jamaica, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Number of Stories</th>
<th>Column Inches</th>
<th>% of Total Stories For All Papers</th>
<th>% of Total Column Inches For All Papers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Star</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>53.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa Citizen</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal Star</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>27.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CANADIAN JOURNAL OF COMMUNICATION 27
Table 2
Sources of Jamaican Coverage in Canadian Newspapers, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wire Services</th>
<th>Toronto Star</th>
<th>Ottawa Citizen</th>
<th>Montreal Star</th>
<th>All Papers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPI</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuters</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYT Wire Service</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3
Treatment of Jamaican Stories in Canadian Newspapers, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Treatment</th>
<th>Toronto Star</th>
<th>Ottawa Citizen</th>
<th>Montreal Star</th>
<th>All Papers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>13.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.1*</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages may exceed 100 due to rounding error.
Table 4
Subject of Stories on Jamaica in Canadian Newspapers, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Story Subject</th>
<th>Toronto Star</th>
<th>Ottawa Citizen</th>
<th>Montreal Star</th>
<th>All Papers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>39.8% (33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence/Crime</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>51.8 (43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>16.9 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold War</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15.7 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human Interest</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>13.3 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>8.4 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destabilization</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.8 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics/Investment</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>14.5 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture/Education</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.4 (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentages may exceed 100 because many articles were coded for more than one subject.
Footnotes


5. Scanlon, op. cit., p. 25.


8. Ibid., pp. 1-2.


10. Ibid., p. 5.


18. p. 85.

19. p. 84.

20. This data was gathered as part of a larger study. See Marlene Cuthbert and Vernone Sparkes, "Coverage of Jamaica in the U.S. and Canadian Press in 1976: A Study of Press Bias and Effect," *Social and Economic Studies*, 27:2 (June 1978):204-20. January, 1977 was analyzed in order to include reaction to Jamaica's December election.

22. Intercoder reliability was .957 for the study as a whole.
23. See, for example, the Jamaica Tourist Board, ibid., p. 2. Max Ward, president of Wardair, was quoted in the Toronto Star (Nov. 24) as saying that publicity about Jamaica's political unrest and violence had frightened Canadian travellers into believing the situation was dangerous, even though "We wouldn't fly there if there was possibility of danger to our passengers." And Canada's High Commissioner to Kingston stated that "With respect to tourism, Jamaica's biggest problem is the foreign press. About that there can be no doubt whatever" (MacLean's, December 13/76).
25. For discussions of destabilization in relation to the Caribbean see the Miami Herald (June 22/76), Washington Post (Aug. 25/76), Montreal Star (June 19/76) and Toronto Star (June 3/76). The Miami Herald quotes Jamaica's Prime Minister Michael Manley who described destabilization as an upsurge of unexplained violence, organized letters to the press, internationally orchestrated articles for newspaper publication, economic squeezes, slowing down and entangling of aid wherever possible . . . .
26. Recognizing that the universe of stories for each paper was small, generalizations below are tentatively made.
27. Stories were categorized as long if they were over 50 inches, medium if they were 11-50 inches and short if they were 1-10 inches.
29. The author was living in Kingston at the time and heard about the 'gang warfare' from the media just as foreigners did.
30. Although time and financial constraints did not permit, it would have been interesting to analyze the wire service copy on Jamaica to determine whether the negative emphasis increased via the process of newspaper selection from the wire.
34. Ibid., p. 24.