Elections, Wars, and Protests? A Longitudinal Look at Foreign News on Canadian Television

Abby Goodrum & Elizabeth Godo
Ryerson University

ABSTRACT *This study reports on the Canadian data from a recent international content analysis of broadcast news in 18 countries. With a mind to Robert A. Hackett's longitudinal analysis of foreign news on CBC and CTV in 1989, the current study addresses questions of foreign news prominence, geographic distribution, topic coverage, and variation between networks, noting differences and similarities in the content of foreign news in light of shifting cultural, political, and economic environments; news production processes; and communication technologies. This analysis provides an update to Hackett's seminal work, painting a picture of the Canadian foreign news landscape two decades later.*

KEYWORDS *Broadcast journalism; Mass media; Content analysis; Foreign news*

RÉSUMÉ *Cette étude porte sur les données canadiennes provenant d'une analyse de contenu de nouvelles télévisées dans dix-huit pays. En s'inspirant de l'analyse longitudinale effectuée par Robert A. Hackett des informations étrangères de CBC et CTV en 1989, l'étude actuelle porte sur la place accordée de nos jours aux informations étrangères, leurs provenances géographiques, les sujets abordés et les variations entre les chaînes de diffusion, observant les différences et ressemblances du contenu des informations étrangères dans un contexte de changements culturels, politiques et économiques; elle porte aussi sur les processus de production de l'information et les technologies de la communication. Cette analyse offre une mise à jour de l'œuvre importante de Hackett, donnant deux décennies plus tard une nouvelle image des informations étrangères au Canada.*

MOTS CLÉS *Journalisme parlé; Médias de masse; Analyse de contenu; Informations étrangères*

Introduction

Our knowledge of the world beyond our own experiences is a result, in part, of what we see on the news. The perspectives found in the news media are what people use to interpret institutional problems, to shape society's collective consciousness, and to organize and define cultural content (Altheide & Snow, 1991; Champlin & Knoedler, 2002; Jordan & Page, 1992). This is especially relevant in an era marked by increased globalization and increased interdependence among nations, where providing citizens with pertinent information about countries and societies other than

Abby Goodrum is Associate Dean in the Faculty of Communication & Design and a Research Chair and Associate Professor in the School of Journalism at Ryerson University, 350 Victoria Street, Toronto, ON M5B 2K3. Email: agoodrum@wlu.ca . **Elizabeth Godo** is Lab Director of NewsLab in the Faculty of Communication & Design at Ryerson University. Email: elizabeth.godo@ryerson.ca .

Canadian Journal of Communication Vol 36 (2011) 455-475
©2011 Canadian Journal of Communication Corporation

their own is vital to democracy (Keane, 1991; Perry, 1990; Robinson, 2002). Particularly during times of crisis, foreign news reporting shows an increased potential to influence political decisions: the so-called CNN effect posits that U.S. engagement in Somalia in 1993 was precipitated by a dramatic media report (Robinson, 2002). Similarly, Hume (1997) theorized that the foreign news reports of Western correspondents in 1999 ultimately led to NATO intervention in Kosovo. Since the 1960s, the topic of international news has been closely related to the debate over the New World Information and Communication Order, and scholars have typically looked to global factors in explaining variability in the way specific nations or regions are covered. This global-level research generally assumes that international news coverage reflects the structure of power among nations (Boyd-Barrett, 1974; MacBride, 1980; Reyes Matta, 1984).

However, the crafting of news media messages, including those focused on international events, is also subject to local influences, including immigration, corporatization of news organizations, and the local community's power structures. These influences are likely to affect not only the type of foreign news that appears in the media, but also the quality and depth of this coverage. Today, with the increasing globalization of news organizations (Chalaby, 2005) in the context of greater political and economic interdependence among nations, one could assume that the role of foreign news is gaining in importance. Many studies conducted since the 1990s, however, have demonstrated a shrinking international news window.

Nonetheless, the Canadian public takes a keen interest in foreign news. According to a nationwide poll commissioned by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 2003, the majority of Canadians are "extremely interested" in international issues, and believe that news coverage can contribute to tolerance and diversity. A significant body of work exists on the effects of news media in its various roles on an international basis, but there is much to learn from a study of news content in the Canadian context, contributing to a broader theoretical understanding of the power and implications of both domestic and foreign news coverage in Canada. One such Canadian study was conducted by Robert A. Hackett (1989), analyzing a sample of CBC and CTV national newscasts collected in 1980 and 1985, providing a longitudinal look at the geographic distribution of topic coverage and differences between networks. The study concluded that there was little difference between the networks, as both CBC and CTV focused their foreign coverage on industrialized nations in the West and those world regions with violent conflicts involving Western interests. The study also noted that news items about the West used different structural formats than items about developing nations, and that coverage of non-Western countries focused on conflicts, violence, and disasters.

The aim of this study is not only to provide an update to Hackett's work, but also to enhance our understanding of the Canadian foreign news landscape through the systematic examination of four weeks of national broadcast news from CBC and CTV in 2008. In particular, the analysis addresses three main research areas that correspond to Hackett's study: (1) the nature and prominence of foreign news; (2) the geography of foreign news coverage; and (3) the topics addressed by foreign news. The Canadian data are part of a larger international comparative study of news coverage by broadcast television networks in 18 countries.

To understand the results obtained in this study, we must put them into a broader theoretical context. Hence, the next section presents conceptual considerations in the study of foreign news and results of previous empirical studies. The subsequent sections present the results of the current study alongside those of Hackett, followed by conclusions with directions for further research.

Definitions of foreign news

At first sight, a concept like foreign news seems rather straightforward. Its particular operationalization in a content analysis, however, proves otherwise. Hester (1978), for instance, defined foreign news as "news reported from outside the country of broadcast." In his case, a single measure, more specifically the dateline of the report, served as a strict differentiator. This definition seems to follow Almaney's (1970) concept of distinguishing between (1) national affairs (events occurring within U.S. boundaries); (2) international affairs (United States and another country involved); and (3) foreign affairs (United States is not playing a role). This concept was similar to that of the Weaver, Porter, and Evans (1984) study, in which foreign news was defined as "news reported from outside the United States" (p. 358).

Larson (1979), on the other hand, adopted a broad but practical definition of "international news": any news story that mentioned a country other than the United States, regardless of its thematic content or dateline, was considered an international story. Also stories mentioning international organizations were labelled as international news stories. Gonzenbach, Arant, and Stevenson (1992) tried to divide Larson's broad "international news" category; they distinguished between domestic news (involving only the United States), international news (involving the United States and a foreign country, regardless of geographic location), and foreign news (with no reference to the United States).

More recently, Tyndall (2009) appears to be using three different labels when considering foreign news. A first category is named "Bureau" and consists of time devoted to items filed by reporters with a foreign dateline. A second one is labelled "Foreign Policy." All time devoted to stories concerning the foreign policy of the United States, whether filed from the U.S. or from the country that is involved, is part of the "Foreign Policy" category. Finally, the third category, "International," includes all time devoted to overseas stories in which U.S. foreign policy is not involved.

For the purpose of this study, items were divided into four categories, using the location of a given event and domestic or foreign involvement as two main criteria. Consequently, we distinguished between the four following types of events: (1) domestic (an event takes place in the country of broadcast, with no foreign involvement); (2) domestic with foreign involvement (an event takes place in the country of broadcast but a specific reference is made to at least one other country); (3) foreign with domestic involvement (an event takes place in another country but a specific reference is made to the country of broadcast); and (4) foreign (an event takes place in another country without any reference to the country of broadcast).

Conceptual background and previous studies

Drawing on the large body of news framing research, this study is grounded in the per-

spective that a knowledge of foreign news coverage and the journalistic elements evident in that coverage is key to an understanding of the effects of news content on its viewers, both as Canadians and members of a global society.

News framing refers to the factors that influence the structural qualities of news. News frames may be the result of internal factors such as journalistic routines and organizational constraints that determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996) as well as external factors related to cultural, geographic, and economic contexts (Cooper, 2002; Gans, 1979; Snow & Benford, 1992; Tuchman, 1978).

A milestone in research about the content of foreign news reporting is doubtlessly the UNESCO-commissioned study *Foreign News in the Media.* For this, the content and sources of foreign news reports in a total of 29 countries were studied by means of qualitative and quantitative content analyses (Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, & Stevenson 1984; Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson, & Ugboajah, 1985). The studies were able to show that regionalism is a central selection criterion for foreign news reports, and that the general priorities of news reports are those related to Western Europe, North America, and the former USSR. News reports from developing countries, on the other hand, are event-oriented; moreover, the media in developing countries report little about developing countries in other regions. Overall, the study contradicted the assumption that a free flow of information contributes to more variety. These main conclusions were substantially verified in later studies, including Wu's meta-analysis of 55 studies investigating the determinants of international news flows (1998).

More recently Wu (2000) reviewed foreign news in 38 countries and suggested that the coverage is primarily determined by economics and the availability of news sources. However, in one of his previous studies, Wu (1997), and earlier Robinson and Sparkes (1976) determined that trade played a key role in shaping foreign news in some countries, but was not a significant determinant in the United States. Furthermore, Riffe (1996) and Vilanilam (1983) provided evidence that supported the sway of national interest generated by foreign press coverage of ideologically and politically congruent partners.

This sway is particularly noteworthy considering the existing body of work on public perceptions resulting from foreign news content. Perry (1990) studied a sample of adults from Alabama and found that representation of countries in the news generally leads to "greater knowledge and more favourable attitudes towards those countries" (p. 353). Wanta, Golan, and Lee (2004) come to a similar conclusion in their study on agenda setting, measuring public perception of foreign nations' importance to U.S. interests as a result of network newscast coverage. Likewise, Semetko, Brzinski, Weaver, and Willnat further affirm this connection in a 1992 study on the influence of foreign news on public opinion. The study draws on a content analysis of U.S. network news and wire service coverage of nine countries over a six-month period, as well as a nationally representative survey of 1,117 U.S. adults that measured opinions about these countries. Notably, Semetko et al. determined that TV is more important than newspapers for influencing public opinion about foreign countries, and "attention to foreign affairs news, rather than simple exposure to news, best predicts general liking

of a country" (1992, p. 18). Visibility is key, rather than the quality or type of coverage of each country, speaking to the validity of the current study's quantitative approach and the crucial importance of having a clear knowledge of what foreign TV news in Canada looks like.

International content analyses have also provided a basis for contrast and comparison between the topics covered in different countries. A comparative study of newspaper crime coverage in 14 countries—including Canada—from 1960 to 1989 found consistencies in several areas internationally, including the overrepresentation of violent crimes, an underplaying of police and court effectiveness, and a failure to provide education regarding the causes of crime (Marsh, 1991). Similarly, a five-country study of social conflict in television news also identified patterns among the countries involved, such as a general downplaying of domestic conflict and a focus on the conflicts of foreign nations (Cohen, Hanna, & Bantz, 1990).

Within the Canadian context, Hackett's 1989 study of foreign news on Canadian television systematically examined a sample of CBC and CTV national English-language newscasts from two months in 1980 and one month in 1985, for a total of 2,593 news items. The analysis was framed by a Third World critique of Western news agency; it concluded that the geographical distribution of foreign news in Canada was highly skewed toward the industrialized countries of the West and on regions of violent conflict where Western interests were present. Hackett noted both structural and topical differences in the way stories about the industrialized West and stories about the developing world were told, and he found that these patterns had actually become more pronounced in the years between the two studies.

The brief review above, although far from comprehensive, demonstrates the breadth of research possibilities a content analysis of news coverage provides. It also points to the critical influence media content has on public opinion. Much of the existing research, however, focuses on a particular news topic, failing to outline the broader impacts of national news broadcasts in Canadian society. The CBC poll mentioned at the outset indicates that "the need for and importance of international news is almost universal" (2003). This statement reaffirms the value of foreign news that reflects the diversity of Canadians and their interests. Yet, a truly international study, which positions Canadian news coverage alongside that of other nations in a global society is currently missing from the existing literature. Also lacking prior to the current analysis are longitudinal studies of Canadian broadcast news content that can support comparisons of the shifting coverage of geographic distribution, formats, and topics over time. The purpose of this research, then, is to fill this gap in our knowledge of current Canadian foreign coverage with a mind to Hackett's 1989 analysis. Put simply, what does broadcast news in Canada look like and how has it changed in the past 20 years?

Research questions

While the study captured data on over 80 variables for potential analysis, this article focuses primarily on variables for comparison to Hackett's (1989) study, and with the exception of the first question, which seeks to establish the broader landscape of Canadian foreign news, the research questions parallel Hackett's own areas of inquiry.

RQ1: How prominently is foreign news featured in Canada?

RQ2: Which countries and world regions receive the most coverage in Canada's foreign news?

RQ3: Which topics dominate? How does this differ by country?

RQ4: How does foreign coverage differ between public and commercial broadcast networks?

RQ5: How has foreign TV news coverage in Canada changed over the past 20 years?

Research design

The data summarized here represent the Canadian portion of the study *Reporting the World: Comparative Evidence on Foreign Television News Across the Globe*, spanning 18 countries: Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Finland, Germany, Hong Kong, Israel, Italy, Japan, Poland, Singapore, South Africa, Switzerland, Taiwan, and the United States. The research took place across each participating country in parallel (Cohen, 2009).

One public and one private broadcaster were chosen to represent mainstream Canadian news: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and Canadian Television (CTV), respectively. The sample consisted of the main evening newscasts of CBC's *The National* and the CTV *Evening News* during four one-week periods over three months. The dates included were January 20-26, 2008; February 10-16, 2008; March 2-8, 2008; and March 23-29, 2008. This selection allowed the newscasts to fall into four sequences, enabling the analysis of developing stories within a particular week as well as a broad array of topics over the three-month period.

The unit of analysis was the individual news item. Itemization was based on two criteria: content and/or format. In the case of content, a new item within a newscast was identified whenever there was a change in issue and/or topic and/or country or location. The most common of these instances can be illustrated by a "block" of foreign news events in sequence, in which each event is considered as a separate item, even if there is no separate formal introduction of each item by the anchor or reporter. When itemized by format, a new item was identified following a formal breaking point, regardless of the content. For example, an edited news report, often including a voice-over, would be considered a whole item together with the news anchor's introduction, regardless of the content prior to or following it.

A detailed content analysis was completed for each of the 749 identified news items. The codebook contains over 80 variables, including country of broadcast, network (CBC or CTV), the date, the item's placement in the newscasts' lineup, an item's mention in the newscast's headline, format (as defined by use of anchors and onscreen reporters, graphics, video, and archive material), sources for the item's visuals (CNN International, BBC World, Al Jazeera, et cetera), sensationalism, time perspective, geographic scope and impact, domestication, international involvement, conflict, and measures of violence. All identifiable persons (excluding news personnel such as anchors and reporters) who were given authority through the privilege to speak or to be quoted were also coded.

The topic for each item was coded, listing up to three topics per item from a list of 284 possible codes in 25 broad categories. The categories were as follows: Internal Politics; International Politics; Military and Defence; Internal Order; Economy; Labour and Industrial Relations; Business, Commerce, Industry; Transportation; Health, Welfare, Social Services; Population; Education; Communication; Housing; Environment; Energy; Science and Technology; Social Relations; Accidents and Disasters; Sports; Culture; Fashion; Ceremonies; Human Interest; Weather; and Religion.

Each item's level of foreign involvement was categorized as either domestic (the event takes place in the country of broadcast, with no involvement or mention of another nation); domestic with foreign involvement (including any specific reference to at least one other country); foreign with domestic involvement (the event takes place in another country but specific reference is made to the country of broadcast); and foreign (the event takes place in another country without any reference to the country of broadcast).

The presence of conflict in an item was coded into four categories: Social, Interpersonal, None, and Cannot Determine. While interpersonal conflicts involve individual people, social conflicts deal with two or more parties—social groups, political parties, countries, et cetera—who have incompatible goals or who use or advocate the use of different means to obtain their goals. For instance, a murder which results from infidelity is an interpersonal conflict. Similarly, an individual who robs a bank for personal financial gain is also categorized as an interpersonal conflict. However, if an individual or a group of individuals rob a bank, claiming it to be a symbol of Capitalist society, it is a social conflict. Elections, wars, strikes, et cetera are also examples of social conflict.

To summarize, the study's data were drawn from four weeks of broadcast news coverage on CBC and CTV, resulting in 56 newscasts, 749 news items, and 1,675 minutes of itemized news.

Table 1: Levels of broadcast foreign news in Canada

Nature of Event	Percent by News Items		Percent by Minutes of Coverage	
Domestic	33.0	56.3	31.7	62.0
Domestic with Foreign Involvement	23.3		30.3	
Foreign with Domestic Involvement	12.6	43.7	15.6	38.0
Foreign	31.1		22.4	

Results

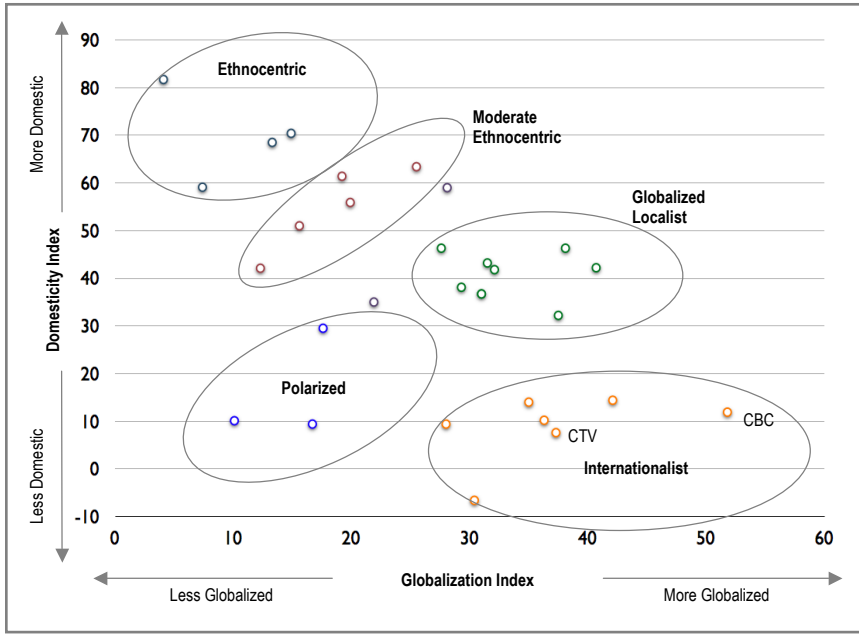
Prominence of foreign news

The prominence of foreign news overall was calculated based on the number and percentage of individual news items as well as minutes of coverage. The data (see Table 1)

suggest an almost even split between domestic, foreign, and "hybrid" news items—that is, domestic with foreign involvement or foreign with domestic involvement—with 33% domestic, 31% foreign, and approximately 36% hybrid. Combining the two domestic and two foreign categories results in a slight favouring of domestic news, at 56.3%. The difference is stronger, however, when measuring the coverage by minutes rather than items, resulting in 62% domestic news (d = .61).

While this may seem like a strong focus on domestic news, preliminary results comparing the percentage of foreign coverage by Canada to the other countries participating in the international study paints a picture of public and commercial Canadian foreign news coverage that is more similar to that of the public broadcast networks in Belgium, Switzerland, and Germany. In an analysis conducted by Porath, Mujica, and Wouters (2009), an *Index of Domesticity* was calculated as the percentage of time given to domestic news minus the percentage of time given to foreign news (Figure 1). The *Index of Globalization* was calculated as the percentage of time given to domestic news with foreign involvement plus the percentage of time for foreign news

Figure 1: International domesticity and globalization indexes by channel (Porath et al., 2009)



Ethnocentric: Taiwan Commercial; United States Commercial; China Commercial; Taiwan Public
Moderate Ethnocentric: United States Public; Italy Commercial; Italy Public; Brazil Commercial; South Africa Commercial
Polarized: South Africa Public; Singapore Commercial (English & Chinese)
Globalized Localist: Hong Kong Commercial; Poland Commercial; Belgium Commercial; Israel Commercial; Poland Public; Chile Commercial; Chile Public; Israel Public
Internationalist: Belgium Public; Switzerland Public (French & German); Germany Public; Canada Commercial (CTV); Canada Public (CBC).

with domestic involvement. Analyzing the data in this way provides a measure of permeability of news borders. We chose this form of analysis because of the increasing challenge of defining "foreign news" in the current state of globalization and interdependence and the difficulty of delineating the borders between the national and the international (Biltereyst, 2002). The classification of both CBC and CTV on Porath et al.'s index as "Internationalist" news networks suggests that the trend Hackett noticed of increased non-Canadian items between 1980 and 1985 continued over the decades that followed, resulting in a level of foreign news coverage that stands out among other nations as globalized and inclusive.

While this speaks to overall coverage, the placement of each item in the newscasts' lineup is also an indicator of prominence, and it is in this variable that domestic news stands out. Sixty-five percent of the "lead stories"—that is, those which begin each newscast—are domestic (d = .77), 36% of which have no foreign involvement at all. Additionally, 69.2% of all news items included in the newscast's headline—that is, the items mentioned briefly at the beginning of the newscast as an indicator of content to come—are domestic in nature. Despite the relatively even split between foreign and domestic coverage overall, Canadian national news gives prominence to items that take place in Canada, as evidenced by the newscasts' lead stories.

Geographic distribution of coverage

The second research question pertains to the countries and regions of the world that receive the most coverage. It should come as little surprise that the United States receives over half of all foreign mention, at 44.6% of all news items with any degree of foreign involvement (Table 2). This can be attributed to a number of factors. Canada shares a border with the United States, and several studies have cited the influence of proximity on foreign news coverage. Wu (2004) also suggests that it is not geography alone, but also economic ties with respect to trade that determine the extent of foreign news coverage on a particular nation. Canada and the U.S boast strong trade relationships; they also share a great deal of common cultural ground. Another explanation for the extensive U.S. coverage is the 2008 national primary elections, which took place at the time of the sample. Preliminary analysis of the international dataset suggests that the elections were among the most widely covered topics internationally.

Table 2: Ten most prominent countries in Canadian foreign news (*n*327)

Country	Percent by News Items
United States	44.6
United Kingdom	8.3
Israel	7.3
Afghanistan	5.2
Iraq	4.3
Palestine	3.7
France	3.1
China	2.4
Australia	2.1
Tibet	2.1

The United Kingdom is covered in 8.3% of items that reference a foreign nation, owing perhaps to Canada's historical and political ties, but also to a series of logistical difficulties encountered at Heathrow Airport's new terminal during the time of the sample. While Hackett reported the combined percentage of foreign news items

in the United States, United Kingdom, and France to be 47.7% in 1980 and 39.9% in 1985—a non-election year in the U.S.—these three nations account for 56% of all foreign news in the current sample. This suggests a similar favouring of nations that are culturally and politically similar to Canada, as was hypothesized and reported by Hackett in 1989.

Nations such as China and Tibet, Israel and Palestine, as well as Iraq, are given prominence due to conflicts either among themselves or with Canadian allies such as the United States. Indeed, especially in the cases of Israel and Iraq, the prominent coverage reflects Canada's close relationship with the United States and its interests, the details and broader implications of which are beyond the scope of this analysis. With respect to our own concerns, Afghanistan was covered in 5.2% of foreign items, where at the time of the sample and of writing, Canadian military personnel are engaged in extensive operations. In 2008, an inquiry commissioned by the federal government—the Manley Report—was released to recommend the future course of Canada's military in Afghanistan. National news coverage of this report reflects Canadians' concerns about an ongoing war, whether social, economic, in terms of national identity, et cetera, and serves to establish the terms of the public discourse (Altheide & Snow, 1991).

To aid in interpretation, Hackett examined the percentage of regional coverage against the population of each country or region of the world in order to uncover meaningful discrepancies in representation. Of course, he made clear, as does this study, that such a baseline is not intended to suggest that the population distribution should exactly match a region's coverage, as the operative criteria of news selection involves many additional factors. What he found, however, was that the United States and Western Europe were consistently overrepresented, and what he called the "Third World" was almost entirely ignored, a finding he attributed to ethnocentrism and the

Table 3: Foreign news in Canada as a ratio of global population by region

Country / Region[a]	Percent of News Items[b]	Percent of Global Population[c]	Ratio of Items to Population[d]
United States	44.65	4.67	9.56
Other West / South Central Asia[e]	32.42	11.28	2.87
Europe	20.49	11.26	1.82
Africa[f]	7.03	14.21	0.49
Latin American / Caribbeang	5.20	8.59	0.61
China	2.45	20.25	0.12
Oceania (Australia and Pacific)	2.45	0.005	490.00
Other East / South East Asia	2.14	11.77	0.18
India	1.53	17.45	0.09

Source: UN World Population Prospects: The 2008 Revision

Notes: a) Regions are defined according to the United Nations Population Database; b) Includes items where the location of the event is foreign, and so foreign countries simply mentioned are not captured here, $n = 327$; c) The world population, based on the UN Report, is 6,479,969,000, a sum which excludes Canada; d) The ratio of news item to global population was calculated by dividing the percentage of items by the percentage of population; e) Includes Afghanistan, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, Iraq; f) Includes Egypt; g) Includes Mexico.

location of network correspondents. Additionally, high coverage of the Middle East in 1980 and increasingly Africa in 1985 was accounted for by the newsworthiness of conflict, particularly where Western interests were concerned.

Geopolitical and cultural shifts over the past two decades require that the regional distinctions in the current study do not precisely match those used by Hackett. The focus on communism and "Third World" classifications, not to mention the USSR, are no longer effective categories to explain the current geographical distribution of news coverage. In their place, this study uses the world regions as defined by the United Nations in 2008 (Table 3). To the extent that they can be compared, Hackett's ratios and those calculated in 2008 show little difference, particularly where cultural proximity and conflict are concerned. The United States ranks high on all counts, with a ratio of 7.93 in 1980, 5.59 in 1985, and its highest in 2008, receiving nearly 10 times as much coverage as its share of global population. What Hackett referred to as "Asian Middle East" can effectively be compared to the current "Other West/South Central Asia," including Iran, Iraq, and Israel. In 1980, the ratio for this region was ranked first, at 9.39, and while it decreased significantly in 1985—a testament to a stalemate in the Iran/Iraq conflict—the region is ranked second in 2008, at 2.87%. Though the percentage of foreign news items has increased to 32.42%, so has the population, from 2.25% of the global population in the 1980s to 11.28% in 2008. Although coverage of the United States and the conflict-laden Middle East has increased since Hackett's study, the United Kingdom, alone ranked third in 1980, has seen its coverage decrease to a ratio of 1.82 for the entire continent of Europe. With the exception of Oceania—whose extremely high ratio is reflective of its tiny population—all other regions are underrepresented.

Table 4: Foreign news in Canada as a ratio of top ten ethnic origins of first generation[a] Canadians

Country / Region	Percent of News Items	Percent of Canadian Immigrants[b]	Ratio of Items to Immigrants[d]
Chinese	2.45	15.0	0.16
East Indian	1.53	10.0	0.15
English	8.26	8.95	0.92
Italian	1.53	5.98	0.26
German	2.14	5.76	0.37
Filipino	0.003	4.71	0.0006
Scottish	0.00	4.43	0.00
Irish	0.003	3.77	0.0007
Polish	0.00	3.49	0.00
Portuguese	0.00	3.19	0.00

Source: Canada's Ethnocultural Mosaic, 2006 Census

Notes: a) First generation individuals are defined as foreign-born; b) Total number of first generation Canadians: 6,124,560 as of 2006 census; c) The ratio of news item to first generation Canadians was calculated by dividing the percentage of items by the percentage immigrants.

While this paints a compelling picture of the geographical distribution of Canadian foreign news coverage, global population is not the only baseline by which to measure representation. Golan and Wanta (2003) proposed that cultural proximity can also be interpreted by examining the number of immigrants from a foreign nation, and economic proximity may be interpreted through the trade volume between countries (Wu, 2004). Based on this framework, this study extends Hackett's analysis to better understand the determinants of geographic distribution. Table 4 calculates foreign news coverage as a ratio of the top 10 ethnic origins of first-generation Canadians, defined by the 2006 Census as foreign-born. Chinese immigrant make up 15% of all first-generation Canadians, and yet coverage of China makes up only 2.45% of foreign news, resulting in a dismally underrepresented ratio of 0.16. Indeed, each of the ethnic groups accounted for—combining to make up over 65% of all first-generation Canadians—are underrepresented. Only English immigrants approach a 1:1 ratio, at 0.92%. Geographic distribution of news coverage is not a factor of Canadian immigrants' ethnic origins, despite Canada's identification as an ethnocultural mosaic.

Wu (2004) points to trade volume as a baseline for economic proximity and a potential factor in a nation's foreign news coverage. An analysis of the ratio of news items to the percent of global trade volume for Canada's top six trading partners yields interesting results (Table 5), as the United States finds itself underrepresented by this measure, at a ratio of 0.69. Overall, a combination of geographic, cultural, and economic proximity can be surmised to account for the extensive U.S. coverage in Canada. Alternatively, the United Kingdom receives nearly three times as much coverage as its share of Canadian trade volume, while Germany's coverage is the closest to equal rep-

Table 5: Foreign news in Canada as a ratio of trade by country

Country / Region	Percent of News Items	Percent of Global Trade Volume[a]	Ratio of Items to Trade[b]
United States	44.65	65.05	0.69
China	2.45	6.0	0.41
Japan	0.00	2.9	0.00
United Kingdom	8.26	2.8	2.95
Mexico	1.83	2.65	0.69
Germany	2.14	1.9	1.13

Source: Industry Canada, 2009

Notes: a) Calculated as an average of exports and imports; b) The ratio of news items to trade was calculated by dividing the percentage of items by the percentage of trade volume.

resentation of any measure in this study, at 1.13. Providing that Western interests and cultural proximity are accounted for, these results support Wu's notions of the effects of economic factors in foreign news coverage. However, trade volume as a baseline is not a predictor of Canadian news coverage when applied to nations that do not also share cultural proximity with Canada.

Overall, neither Hackett's global population ratio, Golan and Wanta's foreign immigrants, nor Wu's trade volume can be considered a predictor of foreign news coverage when taken in isolation. The favouring of culturally and politically similar regions and those conflict-laden areas where Western interests are at stake continue to dominate foreign news as they did in the 1980s. However, geographic distribution does not describe the Canadian news landscape in its entirety, as we will next consider the topics covered in each region.

News topics

Hackett's 1980 analysis divided the world's regions into two groups: the conflict-laden Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Asia/Pacific, and USSR/Eastern Europe, and the areas far less likely to contain conflict: Western Europe, the United States, and Canada. His 1985 analysis contains more detail, pointing to coverage of conventional politics, economic policy, and social issues as primarily Canadian domestic news, with political

Table 6: Topic categories of foreign news in Canada

Topic Category	Percent of Foreign News Items	Percent of Domestic News Items
Internal Order	28.7	24.9
Internal Politics	25.7	22.3
International Politics	25.4	10.0
Human Interest	13.8	15.9
Accidents / Disasters	11.6	11.6
Military / Defense	6.1	7.8
Sports	5.2	11.1
Business / Commerce	5.2	6.4
Science / Technology	4.6	3.6
Culture	4.0	4.7
Communication	4.0	1.4
Health / Social Services	3.7	9.7
Social Relations	3.1	4.3
Transportation	2.8	4.3
Labour / Industrial Relations	2.4	1.4
Economy	2.1	7.8
Religion	1.8	2.1
Weather	1.5	4.5
Environment	1.2	4.5
Ceremonies	1.2	1.7
Education	0.9	1.2
Housing	0.6	1.4
Energy	0.3	1.2
Population	0.3	0.5

violence dominating the "Third World" and international relations spread across each of his five world regions (Canada; Anglo-American; Other Western; Third World; and Communist). The current study looks at news topic coverage with even further granularity, assigning up to three topic codes to each news item from a list of 284 codes in 25 categories. These are first divided by domestic and foreign coverage (Table 6). The most common topic category, in both foreign and domestic news, is Internal Order, which includes topics related to crimes of all kinds, protests, and civil war. Of all foreign events, 28.7% were coded at least once from this category, along with 24.9% of all domestic events. Internal politics—including elections, legislative activities, et cetera—are also extremely frequent news topics, and combined with International Politics, make up a larger percentage than Internal Order, with 51.1% of foreign events and 32.3% of domestic. Human Interest stories and Accidents/Disasters are the next most common categories overall, followed by Sports and Health/Social Services in domestic news, and Military/Defence and Business/Commerce in foreign news.

With this in mind, we will look closer at the topic categories in the coverage of each region (Table 7). Africa contains the highest percentage of items pertaining to Internal Order, at nearly half of all coverage of the region. The prominence of political stories on Africa suggests that a parallel can be drawn to Hackett's analysis of "Third World" regions and the common coverage of political violence in 1985. Indeed, Latin America/Caribbean—also covered in Hackett's "Third World"—sees similar levels of these topic categories. Items that involve West/South Central Asia most commonly

Table 7: Five most common topic categories by world region[a]

Topic Category	United States	West/South Central Asia[b]	Europe	Africa	Latin America/ Caribbean	Oceania	East/South East Asia[c]
Internal Order	19.86[d]	27.93	28.36	43.48	41.18	12.50	73.33
Internal Politics	29.45	14.41	11.94	47.83	29.41	12.50	20.00
International Politics	8.22	56.76	23.88	43.48	47.06	0.00	53.33
Human Interest	18.49	3.60	28.36	0.00	17.65	50.00	0.00
Accidents / Disasters	13.70	6.31	13.43	0.00	0.00	12.50	26.67
(N)	146	111	67	23	17	8	15

Notes: a) Regions are defined in Table 3; b) Includes India; c) Includes China; d) Total percentages can exceed 100 as up to 3 topic codes were permitted for each item.

pertain to Internal Order and International Politics, confirming Hackett's focus on conflict in the region. Like Canadian domestic news, as per notions of Western cultural proximity, Europe, the United States, and Oceania feature high percentages of Human Interest stories. Nearly 30% of U.S. coverage, however, is on Internal Politics, owing in large part to the primary elections that were upcoming at the time.

These categories, while providing an interesting overview, reveal a more detailed picture of Canadian news when broken down into their 284 individual topic codes. For our purposes here, we will look at the 10 most common foreign news topics by the

Table 8: Ten most common foreign news topics by prominent countries

Topic	Percent of Foreign News Items	Percent of U.S.	Percent of U.K.[a]	Percent of Israel	Percent of Afghanistan[b]
Elections	13.5	22.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
International Tensions and Disagreements	4.3	4.0	0.0	50.0	6.0
Celebrities	4.0	9.2	7.4	0.0	0.0
Wars Between Countries	3.7	1.6	3.7	25.0	27.3
Statements / Activities of Individual Politicians	3.1	8.7	14.8	0.0	0.0
Violent Demonstrations[c]	2.4	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.0
Murder	2.4	4.9	3.7	8.3	6.0
Other Internal Order	2.4	4.3	3.7	4.2	0.0
Diplomatic Visits	2.1	0.5	11.1	12.5	0.0
Terrorism	2.1	1.6	0.0	20.8	3.0

Notes: a) 25.9% of U.K. coverage was on the topic of "Aviation"; b) 36.4% of Afghanistan coverage was on the topic of "Military Activities"; c) Violent Demonstrations make up 55.6% of China coverage and 57.1% of Tibet.

four most prominent countries in Canadian foreign news (Table 8). First, 13.5% of all foreign news events during the sample period pertain to Elections. As mentioned previously, one of the key reasons for this was the upcoming United States primaries. Of 178 total items dealing with topics of Internal Politics, 70, or 39.3%, deal with Elections, 41 of which are in the United States. International Tensions and Disagreements is the second most common foreign news topic, with 4.3% of all foreign events, followed by Celebrities at 4.0%. Not surprisingly, considering the positions of Afghanistan, Israel/Palestine, and Iraq on the list of most prominent countries, Wars Between Countries is the fourth foreign news topic, with 3.7% of the sample. Statements/Activities of Politicians completes the top five, with 3.1%.

Comparing this list of common topic coverage in foreign news with the most visible countries helps to paint a more precise picture of Canadian national news. The election coverage in the United States as described above is emphasized by the breakdown of U.S. events falling into each topic code. News regarding celebrities in the United States is common, particularly as Canada shares so much with America in terms of popular culture.

Other than Wars Between Countries, stories regarding Afghanistan do not account for many of the most common topic codes. However, 36.4% of Afghan events pertain to Military Activities, a result of both the ongoing Canadian military operations in the country and the release of the Manley Report, as mentioned previously.

The United Kingdom, though third most visible in Canadian foreign news, makes up a small number of items overall, 25.9% of which do not fall into the most common topic codes, but rather focus on Aviation. This is a result of a series of cancellations

and difficulties encountered at Heathrow Airport during the sample period. The coverage of events pertaining to Celebrities, Individual Politicians, and Diplomatic Visits makes up 33.3% of U.K. items, reflecting Canada's political and culture ties through its history and current connections to Britain.

The only topic code missing entirely from coverage of the three most common foreign countries—the United States, Afghanistan, and the United Kingdom—is the topic of Violent Demonstrations. Coverage of China and Tibet makes up the majority of these items, framing stories regarding the upcoming Beijing Summer Olympics as well as issues of Tibetan autonomy around the violent protests they caused. It is noteworthy that a separate topic code is available for peaceful demonstrations, and yet 55.6% and 57.1% of Chinese and Tibetan coverage, respectively, are framed as violent. While there can certainly be said to have been a great deal of controversy present in both events, a closer look at the role of "conflict" in foreign news coverage may help to elucidate some of the trends that treatment of China and Tibet touches upon.

According to Hackett, conflict is the primary driving force of a region's newsworthiness outside of cultural and political similarity to the country of broadcast. Of all items, domestic and foreign, 62.6% contain explicit conflict (Table 9). Events with a foreign location contain conflict in 63.6% of cases, nearly 70% of which are social in nature. Domestic events contain conflict in 61.8% of items, of which only 54.8% are social (d = .39). Although Hackett's 1980 content analysis did not code for specific topics, both the 1980 and the 1985 study examined topics in terms of conflict and concluded

Table 9: Levels of conflict in Canadian news

Conflict	Domestic		Foreign	
No	38.15		36.39	
Yes, Interpersonal	22.99	61.86	14.98	63.6
Yes, Social	33.89		44.34	
Yes, Can't Determine	4.98		4.28	
(*N*)	422		327	

that stories about Western Europe, Canada, and the United States were less likely to contain conflict (defined as any situation of ethical, legal, political, or military conflict, excluding market or athletic competitions) than news about the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, Asia/Pacific, and the USSR/Eastern Europe. This is in line with past research showing that foreign conflicts tend to be emphasized over domestic ones, downplaying the severity of social conflict at home (Cohen et al., 1990). A 2006 study also identified the use of excessive conflict so as to increase entertainment value, despite the tendency of such sensationalized coverage to "decrease public evaluations of political institutions, trust in leadership, and overall support for political parties and the system as a whole" (Forgette & Morris, 2006, p. 447). Overall, the coverage of contentious issues as violent—as with China and Tibet—and the prominence of Interna-

tional Tensions and Disagreements and Wars Between Countries as topics in foreign items support Hackett's notions of conflict in Canadian foreign news.

Differences between networks

Two national networks were examined in this study: the publicly funded CBC and the commercial network CTV. Hackett hypothesized that there would be few significant differences between the two in terms of foreign news coverage, and indeed, save for the CBC's larger percentage of Canadian stories and CTV's greater coverage of the United States, he found this to be for the most part accurate. In the current study, the use of hybrid foreign/domestic variables adds a bit more depth to the comparison. Though CTV features only slightly more foreign news than CBC overall (Table 10), the length of time spent on each item changes the nature of the newscast. CBC devotes 50% of its time to hybrid items, 34% of which are domestic. This suggests that half of CBC's *The National* is spent either considering the global implications of domestic news—i.e., framing Canadian events as involving foreign countries—or localizing foreign news through references to Canada or Canadians during items which take place elsewhere. CTV's *Evening News*, on the other hand, spends just over one-third of its time on hybrid stories (d = .31), instead opting for primarily domestic items—at 35%—and just over a quarter of its time on purely foreign ones. This latter category is of par-

Table 10: Levels of broadcast foreign news by station

Nature of Event	CBC		CTV	
	Percent by News Items	Percent by Minutes of Coverage	Percent by News Items	Percent by Minutes of Coverage
Domestic	34.0	30.1	31.8	27.4
Domestic with Foreign Involvement	25.1	34.3	21.3	15.2
Foreign with Domestic Involvement	11.6	15.8	13.7	22.4
Foreign	29.3	19.8	33.0	35.0

ticular interest, since 33% of CTV's items are foreign with *no* domestic involvement, yet these items take up only 27% of each newscast when measured by time spent, indicating the less in-depth nature of the coverage. While CBC's foreign items follow a similar pattern, so, too, do its domestic stories, creating space for its more globally contextualized hybrid coverage instead.

To further associate the depth of the coverage with prominence, approximately one-quarter of CBC's foreign news items are part of a "block," defined as a sequence

Table 11: Foreign news items as part of a block by station

Part of a Block	CBC (%)	CTV (%)
Yes	25.3	34.2
No	74.7	65.8

of brief foreign news events, between which there is no formal introduction or separation. CTV positions 34.2% of its foreign items as part of a block (Table 11), eliminating the journalistic depth possible in a stand-alone item, and speaking to the desire to fit as many stories as possible into a short period of time. Hackett, too, found little difference between CTV and CBC in terms of format, topic, and geographical coverage, but did find differences in item duration.

Conclusions

The results of this analysis paint a picture of a Canadian broadcast news environment that is actually very similar to that of Hackett's longitudinal analysis in 1989. Compared to other countries in the *Reporting the World* study (Cohen, 2009), Canada demonstrates relatively balanced coverage between domestic, foreign, and "hybrid" news. This is true for both the public and private networks. Domestic stories, however, are given more prominence than foreign or hybrid stories in the lineup.

The geographic distribution of Canadian foreign news demonstrates little change since Hackett's analysis, skewing the coverage toward Canadian allies and those with whom Canada shares cultural and political proximity. Conflict-laden regions are also considered highly newsworthy, particularly those involving Western interests, that is, Canadian, American, or European. Unfortunately, and beyond the scope of Hackett's study, foreign news at present does not reflect the diverse ethnocultural makeup of Canadian citizens, neglecting the most prominent immigrant groups. According to the current study, increased globalization and interdependence among nations, high immigration rates, and advancements in communications technology have not significantly diversified the geographic distribution of coverage since 1985.

This lack of change since 1989 is also the case with respect to news topics, which, as in Hackett's analysis, focus on human interest and domestic politics among culturally similar nations, and international conflicts, wars, and violence elsewhere. Hackett identified the negative implications of seeing the "Third World" as rife with conflict and directly opposed to the stable, civilized West, and two decades later, the potential damage of this worldview is exacerbated by the diversity of Canadian society and the struggle of Canadian immigrants to see themselves reflected in the national news of their new home country. In addition, the favouring of American items, particularly on topics of politics, celebrities, and human interest, augments the long-standing contention between U.S. and Canadian culture. Despite a century-long history of protectionist policies seeking to define and reinforce Canadian identity, American content has steadily increased alongside the commercialization of Canadian broadcasting (Babe, 1990; Raboy, 1990; Taras, 2001), reflected here in the higher percentage of U.S. news on CTV over CBC. Indeed, much of the political economic environment that produces Canadian news is founded on attempts to limit American cultural and economic influence—a challenge positioned in the 1930s as a choice between "the state" and "the United States" (Graham, quoted in Belanger, 2008, p. 118). Nonetheless, this study demonstrates that American news is far more common than that of any other nation, and past research has shown that representation of a country in news media is a predictor of favourable public opinion regarding that country. The nature of the coverage has been demonstrated to be irrelevant; it matters simply that the audience is exposed

to the country in question (Perry, 1990; Semetko et al., 1992). Such evidence paints a bleak picture for Canadian citizens, whether first-generation or otherwise, whose knowledge of the world and connection to their country of origin is based on what they see in the news.

Hackett speculated that his findings were a result of journalistic criteria, ideological and cultural conceptions, and the logistics of news production. These factors, along with the political landscape and flow of newsworthy events, have no doubt shifted over time, evidenced by the ineffective categorization of "Communist" nations and the changing demographic makeup of Canadian citizens. However, little has changed in the past 20 years with respect to the skewed nature of geographic distribution, the topics that dominate, and the similarities between CBC and CTV as far as foreign news coverage is concerned. Despite Canada's "internationalist" position on the global stage, this lack of progress should be of interest to journalists, academics, policymakers, and citizens alike.

References

Almaney, Adnan. (1970). International and foreign affairs on network television news. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 14*(4), 499-509.

Altheide, David L., & Snow, Robert P. (1991). *Media worlds in the postjournalism era.* New York, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.

Babe, Robert E. (1990). *Telecommunications in Canada.* Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Belanger, Pierre. (2006). Radio in Canada: An industry in transition. In P. Attallah & L. Regan Shade (Eds.), *Mediascapes: New patterns in Canadian communication* (pp. 117-134). Toronto, ON: Thomson-Nelson.

Biltereyst, Daniel. (2002, July). *Globalisation, Americanisation and politicisation of media research: Learning from a long tradition of research on the cross-cultural influences of US media.* Paper presented at the 23rd conference and general assembly of the International Association for Media and Communication Research, Barcelona, Spain.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver. (1974). The manufacture of news: Social problems, deviance, and the mass media. *Sociology, 8*(3), 532-533.

CBC Research Toronto. (2003). *CBC news study: Canada's information needs 2003-04.* Report commissioned of Kaleidovision and the Research Strategy Group, Inc. by the CBC.

Champlin, Dell, & Knoedler, Janet. (2002). Operating in the public interest of in pursuit of private profits? News in the age of media consolidation. *Journal of Economic Issues, 36*(2), 459-468.

Chalaby, J. K. (2005). Towards an understanding of media transnationalism. In J. K. Chalaby (Ed.), *Transnational television worldwide: Towards a new media order* (pp. 1-13). London: I. B. Taurus.

Cohen, Akiba. (2009, May 22nd). *Foreign television news around the world: Topics, conflict, sensationalism and domestication.* Panel presented at the annual conference of the International Communication Association, Chicago, IL.

Cohen, Akiba A., Adoni, Hanna, & Bantz, Charles. (1990). *Social conflict and television news.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Cooper, A. H. (2002). Media framing and social movement mobilization: German peace protest against INF missiles, the Gulf War and NATO peace enforcement in Bosnia. *Journal of Political Research, 41,* 37-80.

Forgette, Richard, & Morris, J. (2006). High conflict television news and public opinion. *Political Research Quarterly, 59*(3), 447-456.

Gans, Herbert. (1979). *Deciding what's news.* New York, NY: Pantheon.

Golan, Guy, & Wanta, Wayne. (2003). International elections on the U.S. network news: An examination of factors affecting newsworthiness. *Gazette, 65*(1), 25-40.

Gonzenbach, William J., Arant, David, & Stevenson, Robert L. (1992). The world of U.S. network television news: Eighteen years of international and foreign news coverage. *Gazette, 50,* 53-72.

Hackett, Robert A. (1989). Coups, earthquakes and hostages? Foreign news on Canadian television. *Canadian Journal of Political Science, 22*(4), 809-925.

Hester, A. L. (1978). Five years of foreign news on U.S. television evening newscasts. *Gazette, 24*(1), 86-95.

Hume, Mick. (1997). *Whose war is it anyway? The dangers of the journalism of attachment.* London: Informinc.

Industry Canada. (2009). International trade: Canadian economy. *Canadian Industry Statistics.* URL: http://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/cis-sic.nsf/eng/h_00029.html [August 15, 2010].

Jordan, Donald L., & Page, Benjamin I. (1992). Shaping foreign policy opinions: The role of TV news. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 36*(2), 227-241.

Keane, John. (1991). *The media and democracy.* Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Larson, James F. (1979) International affairs coverage on U.S. network television. *Journal of Communication, 29*(2), 136-147.

MacBride, Sean. (1980). *Many voices, one world: Towards a new and more efficient information and communication order.* London: Kogan Page.

Marsh, Harry L. (1991). A comparative analysis of crime coverage in newspapers in the United States and other countries from 1960-1989: A review of the literature. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 19*(1), 67-79.

Perry, D. K. (1990). News reading, knowledge about, and attitudes toward international countries. *Journalism Quarterly, 67*(2), 353-358.

Porath, W., Mujica, C., & Wouters, R. (2009, May 22). *Topics and issues in foreign television news.* Paper presented at the annual conference of the International Communication Association, Chicago, IL.

Raboy, Marc. (1990). *Missed opportunities: The story of Canada's broadcasting policy.* Montréal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Reyes Matta, F. (1984). A social view of information. In G. Gerbner & M. Siefert (Eds.), *World communications: A handbook* (pp. 63-68). New York, NY: Longman.

Riffe, Daniel. (1996). Linking international news to U.S. interests: A content analysis. *International Communication Bulletin, 31*(1-2), 14-18.

Robinson, P. (2002). *The CNN effect: The myth of news, international policy and intervention.* London: Routledge.

Robinson, Gertude Joch, & Sparkes, Vernone M. (1976). International news in the Canadian and American Press: A comparative news flow study. *Gazette, 22*(4), 203-218.

Semetko, Holli A., Brzinski, Joanne. B., Weaver, David., & Willnat, Lars. (1992). TV news and U.S. public opinion about international countries: The impact of exposure and attention. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research, 4*(1), 18-36.

Shoemaker, Pamela J., & Reese, Stephen D. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content* (2nd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.

Snow, David A., & Benford, Robert D. (1992). Master frames and cycles of protest. In A. D. Morris & C. M. Mueller (Eds.), *Frontiers in social movement theory.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle, Nordenstreng, Kaarle, & Stevenson, R. (1984). Foreign news in the media: International reporting in twenty-nine countries. *Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, 93.* Paris: UNESCO.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle, Nordenstreng, Kaarle, Stevenson, R., & Ugboajah, F. (1985). *Foreign news in the media: International reporting in 29 countries.* Paris: UNESCO.

Statistics Canada. (2009). Top 10 ethnic origins by generational status for people aged 15 years and over, Canada, 2006. *Canada's ethnocultural mosaic, 2006 Census.* URL: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/as-sa/97-562/table/t1-eng.cfm [August 15, 2010].

Taras, David. (2001). *Power and betrayal in the Canadian media.* Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.

Tuchman, Gaye. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality.* London: Free Press.

Tyndall, Andrew. (2009). Year in review 2008. *The Tyndall report.* URL: http://tyndallreport.com/yearinreview2008 [September3, 2010].

United Nations. (2009). World populations prospects: The 2008 revision world population database. *United Nations Population Division*. URL: http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/wpp2008/wpp2008_text_tables.pdf [August 15, 2010].

Vilanilam, J. V. (1983). Foreign policy as a dominant factor in foreign news selection and presentation. *Gazette, 32*, 73-85.

Wanta, Wayne, Golan, Guy, & Lee, Cheolhan. (2004). Agenda setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 81*(2), 364-377.

Weaver, James, Porter, Christopher, & Evans, Margaret. (1984). Patterns of foreign news coverage on U.S. network television. *Journalism Quarterly, 61*(2), 356-363.

Wu, Haoming Denis. (1997, August). *Systemic determinants of international news coverage in four developed nations: Germany, Japan, New Zealand, and the US*. Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication national convention, Chicago, IL.

Wu, Haoming Denis. (1998). Investigating the determinants of international news flow: A meta-analysis. *Gazette, 60*(6), 493-512.

Wu, Haoming Denis. (2000). Systemic determinants of international news coverage: A comparison of 38 countries. *Journal of Communication, 50*(2), 110-130.

Wu, Haoming Denis. (2004). The world's windows to the world: An overview of 44 nations' international news coverage. In C. Paterson & A. Sreberny (Eds.), *International news in the twenty-first century* (pp. 95-108). Eastleigh, UK: Luton University Press.