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ABSTRACT

While Caribbean countries complained during the 1970s about negative coverage at the hands of Western journalists, scholars have observed that local Caribbean media were not providing adequate news coverage from the region either. A study examined 245 news stories sent by English-speaking Caribbean journalists to CNN World Report over a five-year period (1987-92). First the term "development" was defined as to its scholarly application in this study. Then, each story was studied and classified as a story that (1) represented development in a Caribbean country ("development news"); (2) did not represent development ("non-development news"); or (3) provided a mixture of development and non-development ("mixed news"). Results showed that with the exception of Dominica and Belize, all the Caribbean countries contributed at least one news story during the period studied. Further, tables show a decline in the number of news stories sent over the period of the study. Finally, more than 60% of the reports from the English-speaking Caribbean were "development news" stories. A close look at "protagonist" reveals that, for the most part, it was national governments that implemented measures to bring about the development process as reported. Findings do not support the view that Caribbean countries do not report their own development news. Rather, they indicate that given the limited resources of these countries, they are quite assertive in reporting their own developments. (Contains 25 references; sample "development news" reports are appended.) (TB)

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THE CARIBBEAN STORY ON CNN WORLD REPORT: JUST WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT NEWS?

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ABSTRACT

One of the criticisms aimed at Caribbean media in the 1970s was that, even when given the opportunity, they did not report on the region's advances, or development. This criticism is significant in light of the Caribbean's support of the position taken by Caribbean and other Third World countries on the New World Information Order debate of the 1970s. This study content analyzed news stories submitted to CNN World Report by broadcast stations of the Caribbean to determine whether the criticism made of the Caribbean media in the 1970s still have validity. Further, the study suggests new ways to define "development news," and challenges previous definitions as being too narrow. The authors found that a large proportion of the Caribbean story, as told on World Report, comprised development news.

NOTE: Lisa A. Mc.Clean is a doctoral candidate in the School of Telecommunications. Robert K. Stewart is an associate professor in the E.W. Scripps School of Journalism.

Introduction

During the 1970s, the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean rallied with other Non-Aligned nations in a call for UNESCO to place the state of the world's communication high on its agenda (Brown 1990). Also supported was the linkage of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) with a New International Economic Order (NIEO) (Brown 1990). As early as the previous decade, Caribbean nations had begun expressing dissatisfaction with the flow of information into and out of the region, calling in 1967, for example, for the creation of a regional news agency at the Heads of Government meeting (Brown, 1990). By the 1970s, the news flow situation had not changed and governments, such as the Jamaican government, was complaining that negative press coverage in Western media produced a downturn in its tourism industry (Cuthbert 1978). The establishment in 1970 of the Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU) to stimulate regional news exchanges, the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication in 1974 (CARIMAC) - to improve the skills of regional journalists - along with the creation in 1976 of the Caribbean News Agency (CANA) (Brown, 1990), can be interpreted as a reflection of this region's general desire to remedy the problem.

But while Caribbean countries had complained about negative coverage at the hands of Western journalists, scholars have observed that local media were not providing adequate news

coverage from the region either. In light of the position taken by these countries on the NWICO debate and the critical observations made by scholars about the Caribbean media, this study examines how broadcast journalists from the English-speaking Caribbean have been covering the region more recently, specifically, in the forum provided by CNN World Report (CNNWR).

Background

The English-speaking Caribbean includes Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, the Windward islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia and Grenada, the Organization Of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) of Montserrat, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts and Nevis and Anguilla. Other states are Belize, Bermuda, the Bahamas and the Cayman Islands. With the exception of Bermuda, The Cayman Islands and Montserrat, which still are colonies of Britain, the other islands received their political independence from Britain between 1962 and 1983. Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago are usually considered the more developed countries of the region.

A number of studies have examined how the Western media have covered this region. Cuthbert (1975) examined how six dailies from the U.S. and three from Canada covered Jamaica in the mid-1970s. Her study found that at least sixty percent of the coverage was negative. Jamaican politics was covered through Cold War lenses, in that the reportage focused almost exclusively on Jamaica's relations with Cuba or with communism. Development news stories, such as the Caribbean Festival of Creative Arts

(CARIFESTA) - which received significant coverage in the Jamaica media - received scant coverage in the newspapers examined by Cuthbert.

In a 1990 study, Soderlund showed that in the six months prior to the crisis leading up to the U.S. invasion of Grenada, that Western press coverage of that island was negligible. However, that all changed with the U.S. invasion of that country. Cuthbert (1990) noted that during the Grenada crisis . . . the media focused on the Caribbean with an intensity that has probably been unequaled since the Cuban missile crisis. . . . By November 8, it was estimated that approximately 2,000 representatives of 400 different news organizations, covered the event.

The view that the Western media hardly covered development stories in the region was further supported by Picard (1990), who examined Western media coverage of a major development story in the region - The Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). The initiative was a U.S. economic assistance program aimed at helping Caribbean and Central American countries. Picard (1990) found that the CBI received limited press coverage in the main U.S. newspapers. Even when the initiative failed and the press covered its downfall, the issue amounted to "one fifth of the total coverage." In sum, studies seem to indicate that when the region was given significant coverage by the Western media it was because there was a sensational issue to report and that news about the region's development efforts have received little coverage.

While such studies plainly underscore deficiencies in North America's media coverage of development issues in the Caribbean, other research illustrated that during the period of the 1970s, Caribbean media did not do much better. Television - which was introduced to the region in the post-1960s period - was primarily a government owned and operated medium (a few stations are privately owned and operated). This was no guarantee, however, that development issues would receive much local media coverage. According to Lent (1990), there was enormous discrepancy in the 1970s between what Caribbean governments and media said they wanted to do and what they actually did. While Caribbean countries wanted to report development news on "topics of life and death consequences to as many people as possible in an understanding an interesting way without including foreign values and attitudes . . . this is seldom ever achieved," reported Lent.

Supporting this conclusion was Archer's (1976) four month content analysis of the presentation of food and nutrition in six main newspapers in Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Barbados. Archer found that the emphasis was on giving helpful cooking hints, new recipes and so on. The newspapers, which he examined rarely concentrated on the importance of nutritional requirements of the body or the nutritional value of food, which would have been considered as development news.

The countries of the English-speaking Caribbean can also be examined under the general rubric of the group of developing countries. A number of studies have examined how developing

countries have told their own story on the CNNWR. The most recent study done was done by Park et al. (1992). These authors found that developed countries broadcast development news "significantly more often than did the developing countries." The study also found that Latin America/Caribbean was the only region of the developing world that covered development news more often than non-development news on the CNNWR.

Dilawari et. al. (1989) also focused on development news reported on the CNN World Report. The findings of their study suggested that the number of development news stories submitted by developing countries - while significant - actually declined slightly between 1987 and 1989. Such findings tend to support the view expressed by Aggarwala (1978) that when given the opportunity to do so, developing countries rarely report their own development news.

Beginning in 1987, CNN has invited broadcasters from around the world to submit news stories of their choice for airing on its World Report Program. Because CNN does not impose any limitations on the type of story a broadcaster can submit (the only specification being that the report must be no longer than 2:30 minutes), it is an excellent primary source for researchers who want to study such topics as the content of Caribbean news stories intended for international distribution.

The term development news is one of the key concepts used by the researchers who have analyzed news reports on CNN World Report. The definition of the concept used in the primary studies

(Kongkeo 1988; Dilawari et al. 1989; Park 1992) were all similar. According to these researchers, "except for political, defense, military, crime, conflict and disaster stories, all other topics are considered as relating to development news, unless otherwise presented with political or conflict orientation."

The major limitation of this definition is that it some what arbitrarily decides what topics should be excluded from the category of development news. In dealing with a group so diverse as the developing countries, it may be more prudent to proceed with the advice of Vilanilam (1979), who noted that "development means different things to different people. Its meaning varies according to the changes occurring in the social, economic, political, cultural, ethical, scientific and technological values of a given society. . . ." Development in essence, must represent the entire gamut of change by which an entire social system turns to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory and towards a situation of life regarded as materially and spiritually better. What is better depends on the present conditions of life in the particular country."

This view of development takes into account the "development reality" of a particular country or region, a view that we attempted to integrate in this research. A crucial question, then, is: What does development mean to the Caribbean

region, and by extension, what is a development news story from a Caribbean perspective?

The Caribbean Reality

The English-speaking Caribbean is a diverse region made up of countries each at a different stage in the development process. However, there is sufficient commonality for some generalization to be made about how development is defined and what it means to the region.

In the latter half of the 1980s and moving towards the 1990's, the region faced a number of challenges. Caribbean economies in many respects still reflected a mono-cultural character, which revolved around the economic activity associated with the success of one main export. High unemployment was a major economic problem facing the region. Even the more developed countries of the region were experiencing balance-of-payment problems, and the International Monetary Fund had become actively involved in shaping the economies of these island-states.

Other economic concerns of the region during this period were attracting foreign investment and the elimination of absolute poverty (Barsotti 1990; Nascimiento 1990; Demas, et al. 1981). Even though some islands could boast relatively advanced infrastructural development, all of the islands needed additional improvement in their infrastructure. In addition, the islands had to invest limited resources in providing social services to the mass of the population, and deal with social problems such as the spread of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome and the drug

culture in the society.

Another reality of the region was that in the late 1980's and moving towards the 1990's, the Commonwealth Caribbean was probably the region of the developing world that was most penetrated by North American foreign television content (Brown, 1992). Brown (1992) noted that geographical, linguistic, technological and social factors were responsible for this phenomenon. This reality of imbalance between local/regional programming and North American programming, sparked a debate across the region about how to address this issue. There was an attempt to tackle the issue, for example, in December 1987, at a seminar sponsored by the IOJ and the Union of Guyanese Journalists. This problem was therefore another challenge facing Commonwealth Caribbean as they approached the 1990's (Bousquet, 1990).

For some Caribbean countries, the issue of foreign domination was even more direct: the islands of Montserrat, Bermuda and the Cayman Islands still sought to secure their independence from Britain.

Perhaps where the Caribbean reality differed from other developing countries was the fact that as they approached the 1990s their human resources were still their largest natural resource, and there was still a great deal to be done in terms of developing this potential to the fullest. That is, there was still a need and potential for the islands to develop skilled and innovative people, hence lessening an historic dependency on

foreign "experts."

It is with this reality in mind that Caribbean scholar William Demas (1990), writing of the type of development that the region should aim at, noted that "we [in the Commonwealth Caribbean] have to bring in many other factors besides economic growth. . . . [E]conomic growth is the necessary (but not sufficient) condition for achieving a broader kind of development."

According to Demas, economic development for the West Indies meant attaining more diversified economies - as opposed to dependence on a single export for economic growth. Development is also attained when the region's economic growth becomes internally propelled "by public and private decision makers inside the country or the region actively seizing opportunities for new investments and adapting quickly to the changing external economic circumstances." In addition, true development is a development that is "sustainable . . . supportive and not destructive of the environment."

Development, according to Demas, also must encompass measures to eliminate extreme poverty. For example, efforts should be made to make the poor productive participants in the local economy; "well targeted social welfare expenditure and programs" could help achieve such development. It must also embrace substantial reductions of the levels of unemployment in the region. Demas noted that for the Caribbean, any successful development equation must have a strong human dimension: That

is, it must make a clear difference in the lives of ordinary people. Development must produce improvements [in] planning and organization and cost effectiveness in expenditure in education and training (including the tertiary level, particularly in Science and Technology); in both curative and preventive health services; in the provision of clean water supplies, sanitation and decent shelter; and [accord] access by all groups in society to electricity and other such public services.

For Demas the rationale for this approach was simple: Development must have a strong human-comfort orientation because economic development ultimately depended on the quality of the human resources. The fact that development in the region must take on a strong human dimension has been recommended by other Caribbean scholars. Nascimiento (1990), speaking about the type of changes that are needed in the region, noted that these changes embraced "changes in human behavior, changes in attitudes to work, changes in attitudes to decision making, to collective endeavor and most importantly of all to self-reliance." Caribbean broadcasters have also argued that development for the region must also be culturally oriented for it to be sustaining. That is, it must embrace efforts to preserve national and regional cultural identity in light of the present threat of cultural submersion. From this one can deduce what might constitute development news from a Caribbean region.

Development News: A Caribbean Perspective

The previous discussion of how development is viewed and

defined in the English-speaking Caribbean provides the foundation for defining what "development news" should include. We argued that these should include reports that show:

- efforts being made to improve the human resource skills and innovativeness in the region;
- efforts to develop local programming, and by extension, to heighten the cultural awareness and knowledge of the people in the region;
- efforts to improve the economic conditions of the islands;
- efforts to achieve economic diversification;
- efforts to improve and extend the social services to the masses of the people;
- efforts to improve the employment situation and alleviate social and moral problems such as drug addiction.

The crucial aspect of these stories is that they should focus on measures aimed at bringing about positive changes in areas that, from a Caribbean perspective, are deemed unsatisfactory in their current state. Thus - in what may be seen as a revolutionary break from traditional views on development news - "development news" for peoples of the islands of Bermuda, Montserrat and The Cayman Islands would also include political news stories: That is, news reports about their efforts to attain political independence from Britain. The rationale for this approach to defining "development news" is to look for the areas people in a given area seek to improve, and call the steps taken toward attaining these goals "development." All stories

about such efforts qualify, by definition, for the designation "development news." Undoubtedly this definition encompasses much of the more traditional definitions of development news, which are based primarily on economic themes. But the definition used in this research also includes stories that once would have been placed in other categories. Many political stories - even stories with strong undercurrents of violence - could be development news in the right context. For example, the May, 1992 clashes between pro-democracy "rioters" and police in Thailand have "development" as a central theme as does the feature story about how rural women in the Philippines are engaged in home-based employment projects. Just because one is peaceful and one isn't does not necessarily distinguish the stories on the scale of "development."

Naturally, this approach may stretch definitional boundaries beyond what some scholars will accept. After all, they might argue, ought media coverage of extremists who use violence in an effort to obtain their narrow political goals be considered "development news"? In anticipation of this argument, we would counter that while there may even be some merit in making allowances for extreme situations, such stories probably can be excluded from "development news" given the lack of agreement between most "extremists" and the mainstream population. Still, we think that scholarship should allow that some "extremists" actually may be more mainstream than the dominant media will acknowledge. The challenge for researchers is to

determine, as accurately as possible, what are the wishes of the main constituents of society and the media. Efforts to make those wishes come true are, from the audience's point of view, steps in the right direction, and represent "development."

Method

In all, 245 news stories sent by the English speaking Caribbean to the CNNWR's Sunday edition were content analyzed over the period 1987-1992. Because CNN World Report began on 25th October 1987, the news stories were analyzed over the twelve month period from late-October to late-October. The newscast closest date to October 25th of each year was used as the beginning point of each calculation. The 245 stories were analyzed based on abstracts from "rundowns" provided by the CNN World Report staff. The abstracts give a summary of the content of each news story.

For the most part, abstracts were explicit about the content of news stories. In those instances where they were not explicit, a videotape of the report was viewed to aid in the coding. In only six instances was viewing videotape necessary. Data were analyzed using SPSS PC+.

For some background information, one of the researchers also interviewed Ms. Nicole Couture, the CNN World Report staff member responsible for all contacts with Caribbean contributors. The interview was conducted in 1991. The aim was to determine why some Caribbean broadcasters elected not to participate in the World Report program. In this respect the authors also reviewed

data from a survey of contributors carried out by Ohio University in 1989-1990 looking for these and other insights.

For each of the 245 stories examined, coders recorded the story number, air date, station (and country) submitting the report, and the topic. Unlike most content analyses (including the Park (1992) and the Dilawari et al. (1989) studies), the researchers expressly avoided using the traditional Deutchman categories. Instead, the abstracts from the World Report rundowns were used to create new categories, based on the manifest content of the actual reports.

This approach generated a wider array of story topics than is provided by the Deutchman schema, yet narrower too in the sense described in the following section.

Categories identified for analysis were **social services** (including news stories about housing, water, electricity and gas); **sports**; **education** (these included stories about primary, secondary, tertiary and pre-school education, as well as stories about technical and vocational schools); **health** (stories about health care, medical research, nutrition); **legal issues** (stories pertaining to legislation, police matters and the judiciary); **labor relations** (news stories dealing with strikes and other trade union issues); **transportation** (any news stories about air, sea and road transportation); **agriculture and fisheries** (reports that dealt with horticulture, fishing, animal husbandry); **tourism** (any story about the growth, role of tourism or about tourist attractions); **social and moral problems** (news

stories that dealt with issues such as population, drug trafficking, vandalism, crime, delinquency and so on); **culture** (cultural celebrations, independence celebrations, and stories dealing with cultural habits and norms of the society); **economic** issues (any news story about trade, investments, prices, exports and imports, trade commissions, economic aid, etc.); **natural disasters** (any report about hurricanes, volcanoes, and so on); **environment** (these were news stories dealing with efforts to reduce pollution and preserve the environment); **politics and diplomacy** (this included news stories on regional, domestic and international politics); **human interest** (interesting news stories about non-political persons in the country); and **religion** (any matters pertaining to religion or worship of a deity).

Development, Non-Development and Mixed News

As has been mentioned before, these categories were all sub-divided into development news, non-development news and mixed. A story was considered to be a development news story if it dealt with efforts being taken to deal with a problem in the present or in the future. Importantly, mere identification of a problem was not sufficient for the story to be classified as development news (see appendix).

Unlike previous studies, stories in each topic area were further analyzed and divided into sub-categories expressly labeled "development news," "non-development news" and "mixed." The subdivision of "mixed" was created because it became clear during pre-testing that some news stories covered more than one

theme. One of these themes might be development and the other might be non-development news. In such cases, instead of forcing a relatively balanced story into one of the other categories, the report was categorized as "mixed."

These stories were counted as both "development" and "non-development" news. All reports, then, could be placed in one of the three categories. While many studies examining development news code "actors," we determined that a more specific type of actor - a "protagonist"- plays a special role in development issues and merits special attention from researchers. The "protagonist," according to our coding scheme, was the person or institution implementing efforts to bring about development.

Coding was done by three students (including one of the authors). At first there was great disparity between the coding, which should not come as a great surprise given the amount of judgement involved in this process. These problems were discussed and minimized for the second round of coding. Each person separately coded a number of the same stories, resulting in an agreement rate of 98 percent.

Research Questions

In addition to wanting to answer such questions as: "what countries from the region participate most often in the World Report Program?," we were more interested in answering the following research questions: (1) what type of news stories were they contributing; (2) what percentage of these stories was development news; (3) what were the longitudinal trends during

the period we studied; and (4) what problems Caribbean contributors faced in submitting their reports to World Report.

Results

The authors found that, with the exception of Dominica and Belize, all of the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean have contributed at least one news story to World Report during the period under study. (See Table 1). Guyana TV in Guyana, the Caribbean Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Barbados and Bahamas TV in Bahamas have participated in the CNNWR programs each year.

Over the period surveyed, most of the stories came from Guyana TV, followed by St. Vincent and the Grenadines TV (SVG TV), Cayman Islands TV (CITV), CBC in Barbados, Bahamas TV, and Antigua Broadcasting Service (ABS) respectively. These findings somewhat surprised the authors, who had anticipated that most of the news stories would have originated from islands such as Barbados, Trinidad and Jamaica, since they have the oldest and more developed television broadcast stations.

Even though most of the news stories came from Guyana TV during the entire period studied, the station did not dominate the total number of submissions. In 1987-1988 and 1988-1989, news stories from St. Vincent and the Grenadines were the most frequently seen from the English-speaking Caribbean on World Report. In the period 1989-1990, the largest percentage was sent by Guyana TV and by CBC TV in Barbados, and in the period 1990-1991 half of the news stories were sent by the Cayman Islands; similarly between 1991-1992, most of the stories were

also sent by the Cayman Islands TV. (See Table 1)

Table 1 (Countries participating in CNNWR - 1987-1992)

country	station	87-88	88-89	89-90	90-91	91-92
Antigua	ABS	12	9	2	0	0
Barbados	CBC TV	3	10	6	3	11
Bahamas	ZNZ TV	10	6	4	2	3
Bermuda	ZMB TV	3	0	0	0	0
CaymanIslands	CITV	0	0	0	23	13
Grenada	Discovery TV	2	1	0	2	1
Guyana	Guyana TV	22	11	6	2	2
Jamaica	JBC TV	0	0	1	12	9
Montserrat	Antilees TV	1	0	0	0	0
St. Kitts	ZIZ TV	0	8	1	0	0
St. Lucia	Helen TV	5	1	0	0	0
St. Vincent	SVG TV	25	14	1	1	0
Trinidad	TTT	0	1	0	0	5

Decline In News Stories

Of the 245 stories coded for the five year period, the highest number send in any one year was during 1987-1988, followed by the period 1988-1989. The lowest number of stories

was submitted during the 1989-1990 period. Clearly, there was a decline in the number of news stories sent between 1987 and 1990, when contributions from the Caribbean region appeared to have bottomed out. The number increased in 1990-1991, but declined slightly in 1991-1992.

Table 2 (Total number of news stories submitted between 1987-1992)

Year	1987-1988	1988-1989	1989-1990	1990-1991	1991-1992
Total	83	71	21	45	44

Development News

The researchers' findings also revealed that in the five year period examined, more than 60 percent of the reports from the English-speaking Caribbean were "development news" stories. The amount of development news on the program varied somewhat from year to year. In the period 1987-1988, 65 percent of the total news stories was development news, dropping to 58 percent

the following year (1988-89) 54 percent in the years 1989-90. During the 1990-91 year, the figure increased to 61 percent, however, between 1991 and 1992, the figure declined to 38 percent (see Table 3).

Table 3

YEAR	DEV	NON-DEV	MIXED
1987-1988	65%	27%	8%
1988-1989	58%	42%	0%
1989-1990	50%	41%	9%
1990-1991	68%	28%	4%
1991-1992	39%	34%	27%

These findings revealed that at least for the period understudy Caribbean countries were not remiss in reporting their own development news. A close look at "protagonist" reveals that, for the most part, it was national governments that implemented measures to bring about the development process.

Topics

Most stories submitted came under the category of "politics and diplomacy." This was followed by stories on culture and economics. Almost all stories (96 percent) were about the

countries in which the broadcast station was located.

Reasons for limited participation

Based on responses to a survey (questionnaires were sent out to all of the Caribbean countries; six responded) as well as a telephone-interview with CNN World Report's Nicole Couture (1991), the researchers discovered that Dominica had never participated in the program, because negotiations between the TV station and CNN still were in progress. Barbados' commitment to producing its own newscasts and international affairs program was given as the reason it did not contribute more frequently to World Report.

Staffing problems prevented St. Kitts and Montserrat from participating more often. For Grenada it was equipment break downs that prevented it from being seen more frequently on World Report. The researchers also learned that shipping reports to CNN was a major problem facing broadcasters in Guyana.

Couture underscored the staffing and shipping problems facing World Report contributors from the Caribbean. She also noted that participation largely was dependent on the motivation of the broadcast stations' producers. For some, World Report was not a high priority. For example, Trinidad and Tobago television (TTT) had only submitted one report up to 1991 and Couture noted that this station had very little interest in sending reports to CNN. TTT had changed producers and the new producer had no interest in producing stories for World Report.

Another problem identified by Couture was that of

finances. It was expensive to ship tapes to Atlanta, and small developing countries like those in the Caribbean often did not have a budget for this venture. Couture also noted that more contact between Atlanta and broadcasters in the region might stimulate more participation by potential Caribbean contributors. She noted that when CNN made requests of the stations for stories, they complied. When CNN did not call, no reports were submitted. According to Couture, the reason CNN did not call for Caribbean stories - aside from the fact that this was not the original intent of the program - was that CNN had shifted resources away from the weekend version and toward the daily World Report program. This meant less contact between Atlanta and Caribbean contributors.

Discussion

The findings in this study certainly do not support the view that Caribbean countries do not report their own development news. Rather, they indicate that - given the human and financial resources and the time - Caribbean countries will actively report their own development events to the rest of the world. The fact that even broadcast organizations with small staffs, such as the least economically developed countries of the region, still participate in the World Report program emphasizes this point.

In a broader sense, this research suggests that development news is much more encompassing than once thought, and probably needs to be sub-categorized into topics such as "working inside the system" (voting, politics) and "working outside the

system'" (riots, even certain types of crime). We think this will make for a much richer analysis of news, given the ability of the framework to track the news media's tendency's toward coverage of certain "developments" and not others. Perhaps, for example, the system has become so corrupt that certain individuals in society have resorted to what appear to be extreme measures to reach generally agreed upon ends. The "extreme measures" employed are selected largely on the basis of the media's tendency to focus attention on violence. These must be seen, at least on one level, as political acts, perhaps even acts of "development." It becomes more of a judgement call on the part of researchers than the traditional schema used in determining what is and is not development news. Still, it is a judgement that we think becomes essential if the media's attention to development issues is to be fully understood and appreciated (or criticized).

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Appendix

A sample of reports fitting the definition of "development news" used by the authors (description of the story is from World Report rundowns).

Topic	Description of news story
Environment	Describes Gully week in Barbados. Authorities are trying to prevent garbage dumping and contamination of water in gullies.
Education	Reviews how to motivate pre-schoolers. Teachers and authorities are taking an interest in pre-school education. UNICEF is helping.
Health	Reviews a conference of Guyana and East Germans held on infectious diseases and tropical medicines in Guyana.
Human Interest	Describes how a Bahamas teenager who needed money, with the help of his mother, started making and selling greeting cards.

Natural Disaster Reviews a Hugo AID benefit concert for victims of Hurricane Hugo, hosted by the island's top entertainers.

Culture Reviews the building of a National Archives in Antigua.

Social Services Reviews Guyana's receipt of an electric generator from Japan. The Japanese Government sent the generator after signing a cooperative agreement in candlelight because of Guyana's low electricity output.

Politics Describes how the Cayman Island twenty-year constitution is under review for revision. The Governor speaks about the future of these islands.

Transport Describes how residents of one of the Grenadines islands are looking forward to sing the new airport built on the island. It means they no longer will have to take a boat to the other islands. France, England and Canada pitched in to help pay for the facility.

Legal Describes how the Bahamas government formed a police Cadet corps in order to steer its young people away from crime and violent behavior.

Social Problems Reviews a UN session held in the Bahamas to deal with drug-fighting measures. Agriculture & Fisheries. Reviews how the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) is working with the Guyana government to preserve the local crocodile population.

Economic Reviews Japanese commercial investment in St. Vincent.

Tourism Describes how Jamaica expects to earn \$700 million from Tourism. Reviews efforts being made by the Jamaican Tourist Board to attract tourists.

Religion Reviews a Cayman Island Ministers Association, which has formed to discuss the state of religious affairs in the islands.