

**Politics of Canadian Television Coverage of Post-Communist Countries: A Comparative Perspective**

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## **Abstract**

This study analyzes the television coverage of post-communist countries in Canada. It is one of the first academic studies of this issue which has policy-relevance since media coverage affects foreign policy agendas and public attitudes towards other countries. The research question is whether there are significant differences in the extent and the content of coverage of post-communist countries on television news programs in Canada. The hypothesis is that post-Soviet countries, with the exception of Russia, receive a smaller amount of coverage than comparable post-communist countries in East Central Europe. Another question is whether political factors affect the coverage of these countries. The hypothesis is that Canadian allies are likely to receive more positive coverage than its adversaries and non-allies not only in the areas of relations between these countries and Canada, but also on non-political issues. The final question is whether there are significant differences in the content of the coverage of post-communist countries by American and Canadian television. The hypothesis states that Canadian television offers more balanced reporting concerning, respectively, Canadian allies and non-allies and post-Soviet and East Central European nations, and that political topics occupy a greater proportion of Canadian television reports concerning post-communist countries compared to American television reports. A keyword search of transcripts in the Lexis-Nexis database was employed to identify specific evening news programs that dealt with post-communist countries and were broadcast by leading private television networks in Canada (CTV) and the US (ABC, CBS, and NBC) from 1998-2009. This paper uses comparative and content analyses of these programs. The analysis shows importance of political factors in the representation of post-communist countries by Canadian television and differences and similarities in the television coverage of these countries in Canada and the United States.

## **Research Questions and Hypotheses**

This study analyzes the politics of television coverage of post-communist countries in Canada. It examines the extent and the content of reporting about major post-communist states, such as Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Romania, Georgia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. This paper also compares the coverage of these countries by Canadian and American television.

The research question is whether there are significant differences in the extent and the content of coverage of former communist states by television news programs in Canada. The related question is whether political factors, such as relations of these countries with Canada, affect the Canadian television coverage of these countries including people from these countries. The final question is whether there are significant differences in the content of the coverage of post-communist countries by Canadian and American television news programs.

The first hypothesis is that, with the exception of Russia, post-Soviet countries, such as Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova, receive much less television coverage than comparable East Central European countries, such as Poland, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. The second hypothesis tested in this study is that Canadian allies among post-communist countries are likely to receive more favorable coverage compared to Canada's adversaries and non-allies, not only in the areas of relations between these countries and Canada, but also on other issues, including non-political concerns. The third hypothesis predicts that post-Soviet countries receive more negative coverage compared to post-communist countries in East Central Europe. The fourth hypothesis postulates that the television coverage of post-communist countries in Canada is likely to be more balanced compared to the coverage of these countries in the United States. The fifth hypothesis states that political topics occupy a greater share of Canadian television reports than American television reports concerning post-communist countries.

## **Previous Studies**

These hypotheses are derived from previous studies of television coverage of international issues by Canadian and U.S. television and cultural and institutional differences between Canada and the U.S. (Lipset, 1990; Lipset, Meltz, Gomez and Katchanovski, 2004; Hackett, 1989; Halton, 2001; Katchanovski and Morley, 2009; Robinson, 1983; Soroka, Farnsworth, Young, and Lawlor, 2009; Surlin, Romanow, and Soderlund, 1988). For example, the combined coverage of "Eastern European" communist countries, in particular, Poland, by CBC and CTV in 1980 and 1985 was much more extensive than the coverage of the Soviet Union, even though the Soviet population was twice as big (Hackett, 1989).

Most previous studies found that post-Soviet countries received more negative coverage, compared to post-communist states in East Central Europe, in mass media in the US and other Western countries. The coverage of Russia was particularly negative. (See Katchanovski and Morley, 2009; Media Tenor, 2004; Nation Brand Perception Indexes, 2010; Russia, 2004). For example, a computer program-based text analysis of international media shows that Russia ranked 180, 187, and 184 among 200 countries, respectively, in 2008, 2009, and the beginning of 2010 in terms of international media perceptions (Nation Brand Perception Indexes, 2010).

The indexing theory of political communication postulates that that media coverage of foreign countries reflects the framing set by the political elite, in particular, the government's

foreign policy. (See Bennett 1990; Mermin 1999). Therefore, television coverage of Canadian allies among post-communist countries is expected to be more positive than the coverage of non-allies and adversaries. Canadian allies are defined in this study as members of NATO or countries which pursued pro-Western policy that included the intention to join NATO. Such post-communist countries as Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary joined NATO in the beginning of 1999, while Romania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia were granted a membership in this military and political alliance in 2004. With the exception of the Baltic States, post-Soviet countries did not become NATO members. However, the governments of Georgia after the “Rose Revolution” in the end of 2003 and Ukraine after the “Orange Revolution” in the end of 2004 adopted a pro-Western orientation in their foreign policy and declared NATO membership as a priority. Although they were not offered such a membership, Georgia and Ukraine, with Canadian government backing, were officially recognized in April 2008 as potential members of NATO.

Although Canada and the US are similar in many aspects, there are significant cultural differences between these two countries. These cultural differences are likely to affect the coverage of post-communist states. Canadian political culture is relatively less moralistic and free market and it reflects stronger European historical influence, compared to the American political culture (See Adams 2004; Alston, Morris, and Vedlitz 1996; Lipset, 1990; Lipset, Meltz, Gomez and Katchanovski, 2004). While US foreign policy towards other countries is often defined in the moralistic and religious terms of good vs. evil, Canadian foreign policy is relatively more pragmatic and balanced. For example, Canada did not join the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, which was described by US President Bush as a member of the “Axis of Evil.” Similarly, while Canadian Prime-Minister Pierre Trudeau in the 1970s advocated a less confrontational policy towards the Soviet Union, President Reagan treated this communist country as the “Evil Empire,” in the first half of the 1980s. Similar differences characterized Canadian and American policies towards Cuba. A comparative study reported that the television coverage of communist Cuba was less negative in Canada than in the United States (Soderlund, Wagenberg, and Surlin, 1998).

Because the indexing hypothesis stipulates that the framing designed by the political elite drives the coverage of foreign countries to a significant extent, this study is expected to find a relatively more balanced coverage of allies and non-allies in Canada than in the US. Similarly, the expected disparity in the coverage of post-Soviet and East Central European countries is likely to be less significant in Canada than in the US.

Similarly, because the American values are relatively more free market compared to Canada, the mass media coverage is likely to reflect such differences. Because of the market pressure to attract mass audience, US television coverage of post-communist countries is expected to focus, to a greater extent compared with Canada, on non-political stories with potential mass appeal, in particular, “soft news.” Conversely, political stories are likely to attract a relatively greater coverage in Canada. For instance, political stories, including international relations, domestic politics, and political violence accounted for 65% of all CBC and CTV news reports concerning communist countries in October 1985, but the time period examined was very short and the number of stories relatively small (Hackett, 1989).

This is one of the first academic studies that examines reporting on post-communist countries by Canadian TV networks from a comparative perspective. Previous studies mostly examined representation of communist countries, such as the Soviet Union and Cuba, on Canadian television (Hackett, 1989; Robinson, 1983; Soderlund, Wagenberg, and Surlin, 1998;

Surlin, Romanow, and Soderlund, 1988). However, some of these studies became partly outdated because of the collapse of communism and the emergence of new independent states in the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia. Most recent studies of the coverage of post-communist countries focused on mass media in other Western countries, in particular, the United States. (Golan and Wanta, 2003; Hickman and Trapp, 1998; Katchanovski and Morley, 2009; *Media Tenor*, 2007; Norris, 1995).

The analysis of the coverage of post-communist states by Canadian TV networks is important not only from a perspective of political communications, but also from a perspective of comparative politics and foreign policy. Previous studies show that television coverage affects public attitudes and foreign policy agendas towards other countries (Burton, Soderlund, and Keenleyside, 1995; Norris, 2000; Semetko, Brzinski, Weaver and Willnat, 1992; Wanta, Golan, and Lee, 2004). Major foreign policy issues for Canada during the time period examined in this study included NATO expansion in Central Eastern Europe and the Baltic States, NATO membership for Ukraine and Georgia, and relations with Russia.

This paper also provides comparative data concerning representation of immigrants from East Central European and post-Soviet countries and their descendants on Canadian television. The 2006 census shows that more than 10% of the Canadian population has ethnic origins in this part of the world, in particular, 3.9% of Canadians are of Ukrainian descent, 3.2% Polish, 1.6% Russian, and 1.0% Hungarian (Statistics Canada, 2009).

### **Methodology and Data**

This study uses quantitative and content analyses of transcripts of news programs from CTV, a leading private Canadian TV network, from 1998-2009. Such an extended time period is needed in order to have a large enough number of reports for quantitative analysis of the coverage of different post-communist countries. The following evening news programs are examined: CTV News, CTV National, and W-Five. A keyword search of transcripts in the Lexis-Nexis database is employed to identify specific broadcasts and news stories that focused on post-communist countries in the former Soviet Union and East Central Europe, and people from these countries. Similar information from ABC, CBS, and NBC evening news programs in 1998-2009 provides data for comparison of television coverage of post-communist countries in the United States and Canada. The following news programs are included: World News, Nightline, and 20/20 on ABC; CBS Evening News, CBS Sunday Night News, 48 Hours, 60 Minutes, and 60 Minutes II on CBS; and NBC Nightly News and Dateline on NBC.

A quantitative analysis involves a comparison of the number, the word count, and the main subject of all news stories dealing with specific countries and the proportion of news stories devoted to politics in these countries. A qualitative analysis undertakes an in-depth examination of the top political news stories concerning post-communist states in terms of their reliability and positive, neutral, or negative content. The study uses comparisons among different countries and among different political regimes in the same country, for example, Ukraine before and after “the Orange Revolution” and Romania and Bulgaria before and after their accession to NATO.

Stories and segments dealing with post-communist countries are coded depending on whether they present a positive, a neutral, or a negative image of a post-communist nation from the perspective of Canada. For instance, broadcasts, which depict a post-communist country as a Canadian ally, emphasize political, military or economic cooperation, are coded as positive. Stories that emphasize conflicts, tensions, disagreements, or adversarial relations of these

countries with Canada are coded as negative. Reports that present their relations with Canada in a neutral way or include both positive and negative content in similar proportions are defined as neutral.

Similar methodology was used to identify and code the news reports concerning the same post-communist countries during the same time period (1998-2009) from ABC, CBC, and NBC. To ensure inter-coder reliability, a large subsection of the data was also independently coded by a research assistant.<sup>1</sup> The reliability coefficient (Alpha) is .81.

## **Main Results**

The analysis of CTV news reports concerning post-communist countries from 1998-2009 show that East Central European nations and post-Soviet countries, excluding Russia, receive an approximately similar extent of coverage in Canada. Although the number of post-Soviet states included in the analysis (8) is higher compared to their East Central European counterparts (6), their combined populations are similar. The number of CTV reports involving Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Moldova is 189 compared to 211 stories or segments dealing with Poland, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia. The total length of Canadian television broadcasts concerning the post-Soviet and East Central European states is, respectively, 53 and 49 thousand words. The Canadian data does not support the first hypothesis concerning the disparities in the extent of coverage of these two groups of countries. In contrast, post-Soviet countries, excluding Russia, receive significantly lower amount of television coverage compared to East Central European post-communist countries in the US. (See Table 1).

[Table 1 about here]

While Russia received a disproportional extent of the television coverage in both Canada and the United States, the size of the disparity was much smaller in Canada. Ukraine, which is a bigger country than Poland, was a subject of significantly more CTV stories and the length of the reports compared to this largest East Central European post-communist nation. The pattern of the coverage of Ukraine and Poland was reverse in the United States. However, in contrast to three US networks, CTV did not devote any reports to Azerbaijan or Azeris in 1998-2009. (Table 1).

The data provide support for the hypothesis that post-communist countries that are Canadian allies generally receive more favorable overall coverage compared to adversaries and non-allies. For example, 76% of the CTV coverage, measured by the length of broadcast of various topics, of Poland and 41% of the Czech Republic was positive, compared to 0% of the coverage of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Moldova, and 4% of Russia. Conversely, 3% of the Canadian television coverage of Poland and 15% of the Czech Republic was negative, compared to 100% of the coverage of Belarus and Moldova, 76% Kazakhstan, and 52% of Russia. Other coverage was neutral. However, the number of CTV stories concerning Moldova, Belarus, and Kazakhstan was small. (See Table 2).

[Table 2 about here]

The Canadian TV reporting concerning Romania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia turned from mostly negative to relatively positive towards these nations after they joined NATO in the end of March 2004. For example, while 22% of all reports, measured by their length, concerning Romania and Romanians and 23% concerning Bulgaria and Bulgarians were favorable from 1998 to the end of March 2004, 57% and 44% of the coverage of the respective countries from

the end of March 2004 to the end of 2009 was positive. Similarly, Ukraine and Georgia got relatively more favorable representation on the Canadian TV after the “color revolutions” in both these post-Soviet countries. Although the positive coverage of Ukraine declined slightly from 26% to 21% before and after the “Orange Revolution” in the end of 2004, the proportion of negative coverage decreased by a greater margin (from 50% to 35%).<sup>2</sup> The positive reporting concerning Georgia increased from 42% before the “Rose Revolution” in the end of 2003 to 62% since, while negative coverage dropped from 51% to 1%. Most of the CTV broadcasts concerning Georgia since the “Rose Revolution” were devoted to the Russian-Georgian war over South Ossetia in 2008. Although several reports briefly acknowledged the fact that Georgia started this war by attacking capital city of South Ossetia, a de-facto independent region of Georgia, and killing Ossetian civilians and Russian peacekeepers, most broadcasts presented Georgia as a victim of the Russian invasion and focused on Georgian civilian casualties of the Russian retaliation.

Hungary and Armenia are exceptions to this pattern. Nine percent of the CTV coverage of Hungary, which was a member of NATO since the beginning of 1999, was positive, while 39% negative. In contrast, 67% of the coverage of Armenia, which was allied with Russia, was favorable and 29% was negative. (Table 2). However, the case of Armenia might be in line with the indexing hypothesis. One-third (30%) of the overall length of the TV reports in Canada dealt with the Armenian genocide, and they presented Armenia and Armenians mostly in a favorable light. These stories were broadcast after official recognitions and condemnations of the genocide of Armenians in Ottoman Turkey by the Canadian Senate in 2002 and the House of Commons in 2004.

The coverage of relations between Canada and post-communist states cannot account for the allies/non-allies effect since this topic represents a small fraction of reporting concerning all countries. Non-political topics dominate the Canadian television broadcasts concerning all post-communist countries, with the exceptions of Georgia and Armenia. (See Table 3, 4, 5, and 6).

[Table 3, 4, 5, 6 about here]

The analysis provides support for the hypothesis that post-Soviet countries receive more negative coverage on Canadian television compared to post-communist countries in East Central Europe. With exceptions of Armenia, Georgia, and Hungary, such post-Soviet nations as Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Moldova were covered much more negatively compared to Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, and Slovakia. (See Table 2). For example, leading topics of the reporting concerning Russia in Canada were either neutral or negative. Neutral coverage of Russia included the following: sport and sportsmen; terrorism and terrorists; space exploration and cosmonauts; and Canadian-Russian relations. The following leading topics presented a mostly negative image of Russia: crime and criminals, accidents and disasters; economy, business, and “new Russians;” Chechen wars; spies, spying, and secret services. Primarily positive reporting about Russia was confined to topics that received much less coverage, for instance, immigrants from Russia and their descendants, adopted children from Russia, and science and technology in Russia. (See Table 4). It is noteworthy that a Russian descent of Michael Ignatieff, the leader of the Liberal Party, the largest opposition party in Canada, got limited and mostly mixed coverage by CTV.

Such a disparity in coverage of post-Soviet and East Central European countries cannot be explained solely by the differences among these two groups of countries. CTV reporting provided a distorted coverage of many news topics. For example, the second war in Chechnya was often presented as a Russian invasion, which primarily targeted civilians and which was

likely to suffer a military defeat. In contrast, the role of a preceding invasion of the Dagestan region of Russia by fundamentalist Islamic militia from Chechnya in the start of the second Chechen war and the defeat of the most Chechen separatist and terrorist formations was downplayed by CTV news programs.

It is noteworthy, that traditional stereotypes concerning Russia and Russians, such as vodka and alcoholism, cold climate and Siberia, bears, Joseph Stalin or such American invention as “Russian roulette,” attracted relatively limited television coverage in both Canada and the US. In contrast, new stereotypes that, for instance, associate Russia with adopted children, oligarchs, and, in the American but not Canadian news programs, mail-order brides and sex slaves received more prominent coverage. (See Table 4).

Although it was smaller than in the US, a relatively large proportion of the Canadian television coverage of Russia misidentified the Soviet Union with Russia, for instance, in many stories dealing with the Soviet-Canadian ice hockey Summit Series in 1972. In addition, many organized criminals identified as Russian were either not ethnically Russian, Russian-born, or Russian citizens.<sup>3</sup> The negative health effect of the Chernobyl disaster in Ukraine was often inflated by Canadian television. The Ukraine-related reporting concerning World War II was mostly negative even though several millions of Ukrainians perished as a result of the Nazi genocidal policies.<sup>4</sup> The second biggest subject of the coverage of Kazakhstan after a threat of biological weapons of mass destruction and radioactive materials concerned a fictional Kazakh journalist (Borat), who presented a negative and stereotypical image of this post-Soviet country.

A comparison of Canadian and American television provides a partial support to the hypothesis that the coverage of post-communist countries in Canada is more balanced compared to US coverage. While CTV does not offer a more balanced reporting of allies and non-allies among the post-communist states compared to three main American networks, Canadian television is relatively more even-handed concerning post-Soviet and East Central European countries. The disparity between positive and negative reporting concerning allies and non-allies is not smaller in Canada compared to the United States. In contrast, post-Soviet states receive, on average, a relatively more favorable coverage in Canada (21% positive and 57% negative) than in the US (15% positive and 59% negative). East European countries get a relatively less favorable coverage on Canadian television networks (48% positive and 24% negative), compared to American networks (45% positive and 13% negative). (Table 2).

The final hypothesis, which states that political topics occupy a greater share of Canadian television coverage than American television coverage concerning post-communist countries, is not backed by the analysis. A quarter (25%) of the length of both Canadian and US television reports dealing with East Central European nations is devoted to political topics, such as foreign relations, military conflicts, terrorism, political leaders, elections, and political protests. For example, Canadian and American broadcasts concerning Poland were dominated by non-political issues, in particular, Polish-born Pope John Paul II and Polish Catholicism. (Table 6). News programs of ABC, CBS, and NBC related to post-Soviet countries are more concerned with political issues compared to CTV (47 and 35%, respectively). (See Table 3). Ukraine is one of the major exceptions which is largely due to the coverage of “the Orange Revolution.” Although the “Orange Revolution” was the number one topic of Ukraine-related reporting in both Canada and the US, it was more prominent north of the border. (Table 5).

## **Conclusion**



This study has analyzed unique data concerning coverage of post-communist countries by Canadian television. It has examined the role of political and other factors in representation of post-communist countries on Canadian television and offered a comparison with the U.S. television coverage. The analysis of CTV news programs from 1998 to 2009 provides an empirical support for a number of hypotheses identified on the basis of political communication and political culture theories and previous studies.

The paper shows that Canadian allies among post-communist states generally receive more positive coverage than adversaries and non-allies not only concerning their relations with Canada, but also on other political and non-political issues. When countries, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, became formal allies of Canada by joining NATO their coverage became much more favorable. The same applies to changes in the Canadian television reporting concerning Ukraine and Georgia after the “color revolutions” in these two post-Soviet states brought pro-Western governments that pursued NATO membership.

With some exceptions, post-Soviet countries, in particular, Russia and Kazakhstan, receive much more negative coverage compared to East Central European post-communist countries, such as Poland and the Czech Republic. This coverage of post-Soviet nations in many cases is distorted. However, the television reporting concerning post-Soviet and East Central countries is relatively more balanced compared with the coverage of these countries by three main American TV networks. In contrast, the Canadian television, compared to the US television, does not offer more balanced coverage of their allies and non-allies among post-communist states.

The analysis does not support the hypothesis that Canadian television, compared to American TV networks, devotes more time to political topics relating to post-communist countries. In contrast to the United States, post-Soviet countries, with the exception of Russia, receive a similar extent of television coverage. However, a disproportionate amount of the coverage of the leading private television network in Canada is devoted to Russia. In many instances, Russia and Russians are misidentified with the Soviet Union or post-Soviet countries.

This paper shows the significance of political factors in the representation of post-communist countries by Canadian television. It highlights both important differences and similarities of television reporting in Canada and the United States. The study has implications in terms of uncovering biases in the extent and the content of the television coverage of different post-communist countries and effects of these biases on the foreign policy agenda of Canada.

Table 1. Television coverage of post-communist countries in Canada and the US in 1998-2009

	Population in 2008, million*	Canada		US	
		Number of Stories/ Segments	Length (Thousand Words)	Number of Stories/ Segments	Length (Thousand Words)
Russia	142	1009	250.3	2869	1207.8
Ukraine	46.3	108	33.2	161	91
Georgia**	4.3	42	11.3	114	35.6
Armenia	3.1	16	2.7	41	29.9
Belarus	9.7	7	2.6	8	1
Kazakhstan	15.7	8	1.6	25	14.7
Kyrgyzstan	5.3	6	1.1	19	21.1
Moldova	3.6	2	0.9	6	4.8
Azerbaijan	8.7	0	0	17	7.5
<i>Post-Soviet, excluding Russia</i>	96.7	189	53	391	206
Poland**	38.1	61	17.8	209	101.4
Romania	21.5	56	15.8	81	73.7
Czech Republic	10.4	46	10.5	94	58.4
Bulgaria	7.6	21	2.4	44	14.6
Hungary	10	18	2.2	52	47
Slovakia	5.4	9	0.7	15	2.5
<i>East Central European</i>	93	211	49	495	298

Note: Stories or segments less than 50 words are excluded.

\*World Development Indicators database, World Bank, 19 April, 2010,

<http://www.worldbank.org>.

\*\* The number of stories might be underreported because of search parameters.

Table 2. Content of the television coverage of post-communist countries in Canada and the US in 1998-2009 (length), %

	Canada		US	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Russia	4	52	11	71
Ukraine	14	46	5	51
Georgia	81	7	66	15
Armenia	67	29	34	66
Belarus	0	100	0	86
Kazakhstan	0	76	0	76
Kyrgyzstan	0	48	0	15
Moldova	0	100	7	93
<i>Post-Soviet*</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>59</i>
Poland	76	3	66	17
Romania	67	25	2	28
Czech Republic	41	15	48	12
Bulgaria	44	25	73	15
Hungary	9	39	32	4
Slovakia	54	35	52	0
<i>East Central European*</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>13</i>

Note: \* Unweighted average.

Table 3. Political topics in the television coverage of post-communist countries in Canada and the US in 1998-2009 (length), %

	Canada	
	Canada	US
Russia	43	48
Ukraine	48	29
Georgia	80	94
Armenia	51	39
Belarus	35	34
Kazakhstan	0	38
Kyrgyzstan	20	85
Moldova	0	7
<i>Post-Soviet</i>	35	47
Poland*	16	22
Romania	22	6
Czech Republic	28	24
Bulgaria	38	27
Hungary	21	16
Slovakia	26	52
<i>East Central European</i>	25	25

Table 4. Television coverage of Russia in Canada and the US in 1998-2009, %

Subject	Canada			US		
	Stories/ Segments	Words	Content	Stories/ Segments	Words	Content
Sport/sportsmen	9.2	11.7	Neutral	2.3	2.2	Negative
Crime/criminals	6.9	7.7	Negative	3.9	8.7	Negative
Terrorism/terrorists	7.2	7.5	Neutral	6	5.6	Neutral
Space exploration/cosmonauts	8.5	7.5	Neutral	6.9	3.6	Neutral
Accidents/disasters	9.1	7.2	Negative	6.4	3.7	Negative
Economy/business/new Russians	4.4	6.2	Negative	4.5	3.3	Negative
Chechen wars/Chechnya	6.4	5.6	Negative	5.7	3.7	Negative
Canada-Russian relations	5.1	5.4	Neutral			
Spies/spying/secret services	4.0	4.1	Negative	6.3	9.2	Negative
US-Russian relations	4.2	3.4	Neutral	15.1	9.5	Negative
Soviet Union as Russia	3.6	3.2	Negative	5.2	6.4	Negative
Elections/protests/media freedom/democracy	2.7	3.1	Negative	2.5	1.9	Negative
Arts/artists/entertainment	1.9	3.0	Neutral	1.3	2.1	Positive
Russian-Georgian war	2.3	2.4	Negative	2.3	2	Negative
Vladimir Putin	2.2	2.0	Negative	2.1	2	Neutral
Immigrants/ their descendants	1.6	2.0	Positive	2.1	4.5	Positive
Boris Yeltsin	2.0	1.9	Negative	3.5	2.2	Negative
Medicine/health care	1.2	1.6	Negative	1	1.3	Negative
Kosovo war/Serbia	2.6	1.6	Negative	5.1	3.3	Negative
Military/weapons	1.4	1.3	Neutral	1.7	1.3	Negative
Abandoned children/orphans	0.6	1.2	Negative	0.4	0.5	Negative
Religion/priests	1.2	1.1	Neutral	0.3	0.6	Neutral
Iraq war	2.4	1.1	Neutral	4.6	1.8	Negative
Holocaust/World War Two	0.9	0.9	Neutral	0.1	0.3	Positive
Oligarchs	0.7	0.8	Negative	0.3	0.5	Negative
Relations with other countries and organizations	1.8	0.7	Negative			
Technology/science	0.5	0.6	Positive	0.4	0.8	Neutral
Adopted children	0.4	0.6	Positive	1	4.1	Negative
Nuclear/radioactive materials/WMD	0.6	0.5	Negative	2.1	3.2	Negative
Vodka/alcoholism	0.3	0.5	Negative	0.2	0.4	Positive
Climate/Siberia	0.5	0.4	Negative	0.3	0.2	Neutral
Stalin	0.3	0.4	Negative	0.1	0.02	Negative
Tsar	0.6	0.4	Neutral	0.2	0.2	Neutral
Bears	0.4	0.3	Positive	0.1	0.1	Neutral

Other politicians	0.8	0.3	Neutral	1.2	1.3	Neutral
Afghan war	0.3	0.3	Neutral	0.4	0.1	Neutral
Jewish immigrants/their descendants/anti-Semitism	0.2	0.3	Negative	0.8	3.9	Positive
Ukraine relations/Ukraine	0.4	0.1	Negative	0.8	0.7	Negative
Russian roulette	0.2	0.1	Negative	0.4	0.3	Negative
Mail order brides/sex slaves/prostitutes	0	0		1.0	3.8	Neutral
Other	0.7	1.1	Neutral	1.3	0.7	Negative
Total, percent	100	100	Negative	100	100	Negative
N	1009	250.3		2869	1208	

Table 5. Television coverage of Ukraine in Canada and the US in 1998-2009, %

Subject	Canada			US		
	Stories/ Segments	Words	Content	Stories/ Segments	Words	Content
“Orange Revolution”	29.6	31.9	Neutral	23.0	14.9	Neutral
Orphans	2.8	17.2	Negative			
Immigrants/their descendants	12.0	10.5	Positive	5.0	9.7	Neutral
Other accidents/disasters	11.1	6.0	Negative	11.2	3.2	Negative
Chernobyl (Chornobyl) disaster and its effects	7.4	6.0	Negative	11.2	9.9	Negative
Holocaust/World War Two	4.6	5.7	Negative	2.5	2.9	Negative
Crime/criminals	5.6	4.5	Negative	13.0	12.4	Negative
Yushchenko’s poisoning	4.6	3.6	Neutral	6.2	5.8	Neutral
Pope visit	3.7	3.6	Neutral	4.3	5.9	Neutral
Gas war/Relations with Russia	2.8	2.7	Negative			
Sport/sportsmen	5.6	2.4	Negative	1.9	3.7	Positive
Other politicians	1.9	1.6	Neutral			
Leonid Kuchma	1.9	1.2	Negative	1.2	2.8	Negative
Ukrainian-Canadian relations	0.9	1.1	Positive			
Jewish immigrants/their descendants/anti-Semitism				1.9	11.1	Negative
Sex slaves/sex slavery				0.6	6.5	Negative
Mail-order brides				3.1	3.4	Neutral
Weapons trade				2.5	2.4	Negative
Adopted children				2.5	1	Positive
Gas conflict with Russia				1.2	0.4	Positive
Yushchenko’s visits				1.2	0.1	Positive
Other	4.6	1.8	Positive	7.5	3.9	Neutral
Total, %	100	100	Neutral	100	100	Negative
N	108	33.2		161	90.9	

Table 6. Television coverage of Poland in Canada and the US in 1998-2009, %

Subject	Canada			US		
	Stories/ Segments	Words	Content	Stories/ Segments	Words	Content
Pope/Polish Catholicism	31.1	48.4	Positive	49.8	57.5	Positive
Immigrants/their descendants	19.7	25.8	Positive	2.9	1.7	Neutral
Holocaust/World War Two	14.8	7.8	Neutral	11	12.2	Neutral
Accidents/disasters	8.2	4.1	Neutral	2.9	1.2	Negative
Crime/criminals	4.9	3.3	Neutral	1.9	15.6	Negative
Communist Poland	3.3	2.4	Negative			
US Missile Defense	1.6	2.3	Neutral	5.3	2.1	Positive
Art/artists	1.6	2.2	Neutral			
Elections/politics/politicians	6.6	1.6	Neutral	4.8	1.4	Positive
EU and NATO accession	3.3	0.9	Positive	2.4	0.6	Positive
CIA secret prisons	1.6	0.6	Negative	3.3	1.4	Neutral
Polish-Canadian relations	1.6	0.5	Positive			
US-Polish relations				6.2	2.3	Positive
Iraq war				5.7	1.6	Positive
Jewish immigrants/their descendants/anti-Semitism				1.0	1.4	Neutral
Other	1.6	0.3	Positive	1.9	0.7	Neutral
Total, percent	100	100	Positive	100	100	Positive
N	61	17.8		209	101.4	



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## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> The data coded to check reliability included 15% of US reports concerning East Central European countries and 10% of broadcasts concerning post-Soviet countries, excluding Russia.

<sup>2</sup> The data in this case are based not on aggregated subject but on individual stories, since the number of CTV reports concerning most of these countries before they turned into Canadian allies is relatively small.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Alexander Litvinenko who was poisoned by a radioactive polonium in London was frequently misidentified as a former Russian spy even though he served in the anti-organized crime department of the Federal Security Service (FSB) in Russia and Soviet military counterintelligence. His poisoning was often presented as a politically motivated assassination conducted by Russia.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, CTV News on March 18, 2001 presented a Ukraine-born ethnic German as “a Ukrainian Canadian with a nazi past.”