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Inter-group Attitudes and
International Trade:
A Study of Vancouver's Attitude Towards the
Japanese

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for:
Master of Arts

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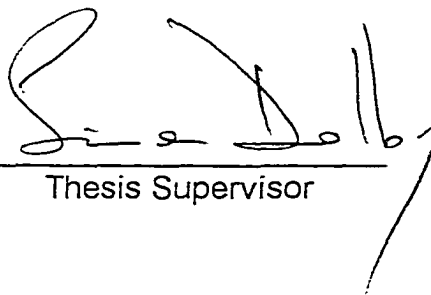
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**Inter-group Attitudes and International Trade: A Study of Vancouver's
Attitude Towards the Japanese**

Submitted by:
Margaret Regina Murphy B.Sc.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts



Thesis Supervisor



Chair, Department of Geography

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September 1998

Abstract

As part of the globalization process, international trade has become increasingly important as it flows across national borders and permeates even the most rural economies. Simultaneously, interaction between cultures and societies is greater than ever, as time/space compression expands our realms of experience.

It was hypothesized in this thesis that international trade would have a positive relationship with inter-group attitudes. Using Vancouver as a case study, it was shown that as the volume of trade between Canada and Japan increased, negative attitudes towards Japan and the Japanese, as expressed in the Vancouver Sun newspaper, decreased. Thus there is evidence that international trade may be one significant factor in the local variability of inter-group attitudes.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

Group attitudes and international trade are strong and compelling forces in international affairs. However the existence of a relationship between them is open for debate. Does an increase in international trade correspond with a decrease in negative attitudes?

This chapter begins by defining and discussing group attitudes, in particular their role in the formation of identity and the identity crisis. The concept of difference is then examined as it is utilized and perpetuated by attitude and identity. The focus is on race, a particular category of difference. The three main theories concerning the cause of, or reason for, racist attitudes are discussed and a potential relationship with trade and investment (hereafter referred to simply as trade) is noted. However, the existence of a relationship between trade and negative attitudes is open for debate. Does an increase in the volume of international trade correspond with a decrease in negative attitudes? This is the question that will be examined in this thesis. Work is then cited emphasizing the importance of studying such relationships between society and the economy. The chapter will conclude with a brief summary of the research strategy used here and the relevance of such work to geography.

Group Attitudes:

Attitudes are generally considered, "Mental states, organized through experience, that induce a predisposition to respond consistently to a given object" (Allport 1935 in Kiecolt 1988:383). Group attitudes are those attitudes shared with a multiple of people with similar values and beliefs (Ajzen 1988). Attitudes are considered to have three dimensions; 'Cognition', 'Affect' and 'Conation'. According to Kiecolt (1988) 'Cognitive' attitudes are those representing a belief about the attitude object, 'Affective' attitudes are those showing an evaluation of the attitude object, and 'Conative' attitudes demonstrate behavioral intentions towards the object. However Kiecolt (1988) believes it is difficult to work with this tri-polar definition. Tesser and Schaffer (1990:481) are in agreement as they state, ". . . it is clear that almost any attribute can be shown to have evaluative meaning." Most objects or attributes can be considered evaluative when a scale of favorability is given. Tesser and Schaffer (1990:481) suggest that the most popular alternative is, ". . . a unidimensional definition of attitude in which an evaluation is central." In fitting with this, authors such as Ajzen (1988:4) consider an attitude to be a, ". . . disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution or event."

According to Ajzen (1988) attitudes are latent, hypothetical characteristics of an individual or group that can be changed. Changes in attitude occur in response to changes in experience in the world around us. Ajzen (1988:7) suggests that attitudes change because, ". . . evaluations can change rapidly as events unfold and new information becomes available." Thus the contextual setting is important in the formation of attitude as it, ". . . links an individuals' [or groups'] attitude to variation in the properties of their environments" (Kiecolt 1988:323).

Attitude change is not necessarily easy. Eiser and van der Pligt (1988:1) remind us that, ". . . generally [we] do not treat our attitudes as just a matter of opinion." They go on to argue that people are generally unaware of the extent of the selective nature of attitudes and thus find it difficult to understand and accept different view points. The interesting paradox of attitudes is that despite being a personal, context specific construct, they are not generally seen as such. As Eiser and van der Pligt (1988:1) state, "We regard our attitude as 'the truth', at least until someone can introduce new facts or arguments to change our mind." Of course, some attitudes are held more strongly than others.

Attitudes and Identity:

According to Bloom (1990:53), identity is an inherent and unconscious behavioral imperative which is actively sought in order to, ". . . achieve

psychological security . . . it is an [essential element] of personality stability and emotional well being." Individuals and groups find, ". . . confidence and guidance from the fact that they each have a separate sense of being, of distinctiveness . . ." (Knight 1982:514). Identity is the source of meaning for individuals and groups, formed through the identification process of distinguishing 'the self' from 'the other'. According to Woodward (1997:14/45) identification is, ". . . the process of identifying with others, either through lack of awareness of difference or separation, or as a result of perceived similarities . . . where we seek some unified sense of ourselves through symbolic systems and identify with the ways in which we are seen by others." Bloom (1990) states that the formation of identity is an adaptive, dynamic process where individuals or groups may construct new, more appropriate identification or protect and enhance identities in response to changes in their environment. Thus, like attitude, identity is a context specific construct.

The concepts of identity and attitude are inextricably linked. The identity of an individual or group is given meaning or definition by experiences in society, by society's views or attitudes towards identities or identity attributes. Bloom (1990:4) states that identification represents, ". . . the deep psychological relationship between an individual and his/her social environment - the internalization of 'social attitudes'." It is the evaluative component of attitudes

that make them an integral part of the formation of identities. As a process of self construction, an individual or group chooses, or is encouraged to choose, which attributes to internalize. It is assumed (Woodward 1997) that an attribute with negative meaning to that group or individual will not be internalized, but instead polarized as belonging to the 'other'.

The concept of identity and thus attitude, is an important one in the study of society, for as Woodward (1997:1) establishes, ". . . identity matters, both in terms of social and political concerns within the contemporary world and within academic discourses where identity has been seen as conceptually important in offering explanations of social and cultural changes." Knight (1982:514) states that, "Rather than quickly bypassing such bonds of group as being of little importance we should focus further attention on the theme for by so doing, we come into touch with one of mankind's continuing problems, that of how best to give political representation to these identities." This is especially true today with the phenomenon of globalization and the 'crisis of identity'.

Marden (1997:38) states that, ". . . the processes of globalization, such as transnational economic activity . . . are producing a complex mix of responses centered around identity." A characteristic of modernity is cultural convergence, where the modern, western self is becoming global. However such cultural

homogeneity also brings resistance. Keyman (1997:17) speculates that, "The idea of globalization involves both a claim to universality and a resistance . . . to the dissolution of difference into [a single] identity."

In the twentieth century the dominant identity level has been that of the nation-state (Marden 1997, Keyman 1997). However with the development of a distinct universalistic or global identity, there has been some detachment from the national identity. Simultaneously, there has been a rejection of the global mass culture, causing either a strengthening of national ties or a search for new local identities. Hence the 'crisis of identity'.

This crisis is seen by Marden (1997) as due to the lack of a distinct, dominant identity level as individuals and groups come to terms with a new world of transnational economics and politics. There is also the impact of time/space compression, simultaneously expanding and shrinking our realms of 'experience'. Hall (1991:33) states that, "The return to the local is often a response to globalization," but no new identity level has yet become the dominant norm. Thus, despite the transnationalization of economies and cultures, and the emergence of a 'global' identity we are also seeing some resurgence in national prides and a variety of new social movements develop and grow.

It is suggested by authors such as Scholte (1996) that this leads to a general destabilization of identities, which Connolly (1991) argues will bring about an increase in fear of the 'other', of what is different. H suggests that old identities will be fortified, or new identities will be strengthened, by an increase in hatred of what is different.

Difference in Attitude and Identity:

Difference is formed when a distinction is made between two objects because they are not seen as the same. The definition of difference is very fluid for as Hall (1997:53) states, "The boundaries of difference are continually repositioned in relation to different points of reference." In other words, the formation of difference varies depending on scale, time, place, etc.

Difference establishes opposites. According to Woodward (1997) the opposition in difference is described in Saussurean linguistic theory as binary which implies a lack of preference, but Woodward (1997) and Hall (1997) point out that in society, one side of difference is often more heavily weighted or valued than the other. Woodward (1997:36) states that, ". . . power operates between the two terms involved in any binary opposition in such a way that there is a necessary imbalance of power between the two terms."

Difference is key in attitude formation because, by evaluating the attitudinal object difference is being recognized. According to Ajzen (1988:4), "Given the nature of the construct [of attitudes], responses must reflect positive or negative evaluations of the attitude object." Attitudes are favorable/unfavorable, pro/con, positive/negative, etc. towards the 'Attitude Object' (the object towards which an attitude is held), thereby establishing a distinct dichotomy and a definite preference. Identity in turn uses these distinctions in its formation.

Woodward (1997:2) states, "Identity is most clearly defined by difference, by what we are not." She goes on to say that identity involves, ". . . marking one identity position out as not another, or at least in relation to another in order to explain some of the processes which are involved in marking out identity positions. Sameness and difference are marked both symbolically through representational systems and socially through the inclusion or exclusion of certain groups of people" (Woodward 1997:4).

Difference can be seen as a positive, accepting or celebrating difference, or as a negative through the exclusion or marginalization of those considered 'outsiders'. The focus in this thesis is on the negative, on the attitudes that could lead to discrimination and prejudice. Prejudice is derogatory attitudes towards another or others based on unreliable, stereotyped images of them (Cashmore

& Troyna 1990). When these attitudes are used to make choices or decisions they are discriminating.

There are as many prejudicial categories as there are differences. Negative attitudes that could lead to discrimination and prejudice could involve nationalism, religion, ethnicity or race to name just a few. The racial category is particularly interesting as, according to Anthias (1995), it is historically at the heart of social order or disorder, thus making it a strong element in political and economic stability.

Racist Attitudes:

Racism is the discrimination against others based on their attitudes towards perceived biological traits and cultural uniqueness, as defined by Goldberg (1990) and McConnochie (1973). 'Race' and 'Racism' are generally recognized today by researchers such as Feuchtwang (1990), Carnoy (1994) and Hanson (1995), as a historically specific, culturally constructed category.

There are three main theories as to the cause of, or reason for racism. These are a lack of knowledge, poor economic conditions and a human need. Some researchers such as Bagley (1979), Hall (1991) and Hanson (1995) have taken the general viewpoint that stereotyping and other racist attitudes or actions come

primarily from a lack of knowledge about the other culture. They suggest that not knowing or understanding this culture bred fear that was quickly identified with base physical differences. Tinker (1979) suggests these researchers generally believed that racism could be reduced by an extensive education program, aimed primarily at the young. Such education could include specific cultural information about a group or broader 'awareness' campaigns about racism. But as Hanson (1995) points out, while the answer may be to decrease inter-cultural barriers, racism itself prevents a desire to understand. In other words, for an anti-racism education policy to work there must be a willingness to learn. Unfortunately those who most need such an education are usually too 'racist' to accept what is being taught.

Due to the apparent inability of education to satisfactorily reduce racism, other researchers such as Cox (1959), Mhone (1983) and Bonacich (1989) have taken a more economic approach and related racist attitudes to the level of economic prosperity. They focus on the social polarization that they see as inherent in the processes of capitalist development. Racism is generally considered by these authors to be due to the rationalization of economic exploitation. According to Bonacich (1989) racism is the result of the competitive individualism necessary for capitalism; that capitalism uses race as a mechanism for controlling the individual in order to maximize profits. Tinker (1979) suggests that the solution

often suggested here is to eliminate noticeable stratification in the economy through such systems as equity employment and affirmative action.

There are also some researchers who have speculated on the 'inateness' of racism in human culture. While many researchers agree that 'racism' is a culturally constructed category, some authors such as Lloyd (1994), Juteau-Lee (1995) and Malik (1996) suggest that even with sufficient knowledge and a strong economy the human need to classify or distinguish will prevent the elimination of racism. That due to its visual nature, race is an obvious, easy category in the construction of the 'other'. D'Souza (1995:517) states that some researchers believe, ". . . racism is an integral, permanent, and indestructible feature of the human condition."

The solution proposed by D'Souza (1995) is the institutionalizing of racism through 'prudent race management'. According to D'Souza (1995), politics and economics are more likely to change perceptions and classifications than science or technology. However Feuchtwang (1990) and others argue that such 'politics of race' furthers the issue of race in civil society and mass politics by forcing attention on race and thereby perpetuating racial classifications. In other words, by institutionalizing the concept of race, race remains at the

forefront of people's thoughts and hampers attempts to eliminate the use of race as a major classification feature.

International Trade and Racism:

The first two 'causes' of racism; lack of knowledge and poor economic conditions, appear to have strong links with international trade. For this paper, international trade is an aggregate set of flows of one or more commodities between one or more producing and/or consuming national economies (Lee 1986).

A high volume of trade provides multiple opportunities to learn about another culture, thereby increasing knowledge about other societies and cultures. McCarty and Lindberg (1966) emphasizes that trade is often paralleled and followed by the movement of ideas. They also point out that in order for trade to occur transportation and communication routes must be established. This allows for the movement of resources and information. Communication can then evolve further as competitors and business associates strive to learn more about each other, such as their business practices and way of life. Many people with business interests in Japan study the culture and language of Japan in order to improve their competitive edge. Thus an increase in the volume of trade would

eliminate or reduce the 'lack of knowledge' variable suggested by Bagley and Verma (1979), Hanson (1995) and others as a prime causal condition.

Trade is generally seen to benefit its participants and the economy as a whole, thereby increasing individual financial standing and potentially eliminating the 'poor economic situation' theory for racism. Fundamentally, trade would not occur if it did not have the ability to provide profit. "If relative commodity prices differ between [regions] in the absence of trade, both (all) [regions] can gain by exchanging commodities" (Caves, Frankel and Jones 1993:12). Such comparative advantage encourages specialization and large scale production that in turn reduces costs, and creates increased revenue.

While this may improve the economy as a whole, it may not reduce the social stratification authors such as Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) see as the main reason for the formation of racist attitudes. However, a substantial decrease in trade levels would cause a drop in real incomes that could exacerbate the problem. In hard economic times the barriers between economic groups may be fortified by racist attitudes. Thus a significant increase in trade and the associated economic prosperity may reduce the need for the protection of their group identity through racism.

Another issue concerning trade and negative inter-group attitudes is that the exchange of goods and services is not always balanced, so the benefits derived from trade may not always be shared equally. Such imbalance has been known to instigate much resentment and inter-cultural difficulties. The 1980s and '90s have seen evidence of this in the case of Japan and the USA. There has been extensive discourse by authors such as Drucker (1992) on the poor balance of trade between these two countries, and the simultaneous 'Japan bashing' within the US.

It would therefore appear that international trade may have a significant relationship with racism. As trade increases there should be more opportunities to increase knowledge about another culture and the resulting increase in the general standard of living may improve relations between economic groups. Thus an increase in trade could result in a decrease in racist attitudes. One can extrapolate then that there is a relationship between trade and inter-group attitudes. That is, as trade increases, negative inter-group attitudes decrease.

However, as previously mentioned, Hall (1991) and Connolly (1991) suggest that the processes of globalization, which include international trade, are causing a destabilization and fragmentation of identity, which in turn propagates an increase in negative inter-group attitudes. Certainly while the last 30 years has

seen much in the way of trade development and growth, there seems to be little change in racist attitudes. For example, Japan, which has had tremendous economic growth and became one of the world's top traders in the 1970s and 80s, still had a very delicate racial relationship with many of its top trading partners, including both the USA and Korea. This therefore leads to questions concerning the true existence and strength of any relationship between international trade and racist attitudes, and therefore between trade and inter-group attitudes.

This is not to say that international trade is the only variable that may effect racism and negative inter-group attitudes. There are numerous factors that could affect the public's attitude towards those of a different group, such as migration, tourism, anti-racism / multicultural efforts, and cultural/political events. Both migration and tourism provide direct, personal, exposure to different peoples which is bound to have a profound impact on an individual's opinion of those people. The more positive associations a person has with a particular group, the more likely it is that the person will have a positive attitude towards that group.

Anti-racism efforts range from broad, large scale concepts such as 'International Elimination of Racism' week, to smaller, more culturally specific efforts. The

Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, Canada-Japan Society of BC and the Japanese Canadian Citizen Association are just a few organizations that provide a variety of programs such as film/video presentations and libraries, lectures, children's events and community radio and television programs which focus on cultural and racial diversity in Canada. The Japanese Embassy is active in supporting student exchanges and teaching abroad. It also sponsors such events as the third Sumo Tournament held in North America, which was a major event in Vancouver in 1998.

Other cultural events may also contribute to the formation of attitudes. In 1995 there was a large Japanese arts festival in Toronto, entitled "Today's Japan" which showcased many modern Japanese art forms. A highlight of the festival was the opening of a Zen style Japanese garden at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa. Another example of a cultural event was the 1997 Canadian Tulip Festival in Ottawa, which named Japan as its theme country. This festival included a series of events highlighting Japanese culture. Such events may serve to broaden an individual's exposure to the culture and society of another race and thereby influence their opinion of that race.

Likewise, political events such as sister city exchanges, diplomatic visits and international relations, may influence an individual's opinion of a group. How

friendly one country is toward another, and which country supports which, may impact on the society's view of a particular group. For example, Canada's participation in the Gulf war may have inflamed anti-Arab sentiment throughout Canada. The visit of Prime Minister Hashimoto to Canada in November, 1997, may have affected some Canadian attitudes about the Japanese.

The argument in this thesis takes the position that while individuals, cultural exchanges or politics may be influential in the formation of inter-group attitudes, this does not preclude international trade as a significant variable in inter-group attitude formation. International trade is one of many variables that could affect attitudes and even within trade itself there are varying factors.

Changing trade patterns between Japan and BC may affect some attitudes. For example, the demand for coal by the Japanese has been an area of great concern to the coal industry in Canada as they are a major consumer, and changes in demand will affect the value of coal significantly (Gibb 1984, British Columbia, Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources 1986). This is of particular concern to mines such as Tumbler Ridge in northern BC, which was developed specifically for the Japanese steel industry and is therefore dependent on Japanese economic health. Another example of changing trade patterns is the relatively recent flooding of Japanese merchandise into the home

with such products as Sony 'Walkmans', Toshiba television sets and Honda cars, as Japanese goods gained an increasingly good reputation for quality. Such exposure may also affect attitudes about Japan and the Japanese. Thus there are many aspects within trade itself that could influence group attitudes, but the key question here concerns the larger scale relationship between trade and attitudes, economies and cultures.

Economies and Cultures:

Globalization has brought about significant changes to economies and societies. The industrial societies of today are focused on the concept of competitive advantage (Porter, 1983), as international trade now permeates even the most rural economies and is a dominant force in major urban centers.

Simultaneously, interaction between cultures and societies is greater than ever. This is due to a variety of factors including a growing population; increasing migration as people look for a better life; and improvements in transportation and communications that make such moves more viable, or in certain cases perhaps less necessary.

While trade has been increasing over the last few decades Leiman (1993:3) reminds us that, ". . . the last three decades have [also] been witness to unremitting conflicts between races." Anthias (1995) has stated that racism is at

the heart of social order or disorder, which makes it a strong element in political and economic stability. This is of particular concern with the continuing development of globalization, where local conflicts may now affect lives well beyond their immediate borders. For as Carnoy (1994:3) reminds us, ". . . as business becomes ever more global and competition increases, the negative effects of racial inequality are shackling our economic and social energy just when we need it most."

These changes have brought about a strong need to better understand the socio-economic relations within the world economy and the unique features that represent local variability and reaction to the globalization process. The interdependence of the global system will result in many social and economic changes, one of which may be an increase in negative inter-group attitudes.

Although often regarded as separate entities, the economy and society are inextricably related. Both are elements of a complex and interdependent set of factors created by individuals to meet their needs. As such it is not always appropriate to examine these elements in isolation. Incorporating culture into development planning can enrich the economy by ensuring that more variables are taken into consideration. "Not only must much more be known about economies and cultures, both as concepts and as realities, but also much more

discussion and debate needs to take place on whether economies or cultures should constitute the centerpiece of the worldsystem of the future" (Schafer, 1994:831).

Schafer (1994) goes on to argue that such interdependence demonstrates that it is far more logical to treat the economy as only part of the whole, rather than as a complete unit. Alverson (1986) is in agreement with this view as he suggests that when purely economic goals are pursued, cultural or political factors such as human rights, may become marginalized or trivialized.

Research must provide a more holistic perspective that brings attention to, ". . . the whole as well as the parts, contexts as well as contents, values and values systems, and especially strategic relationships between key variables, countries, blocs of countries and human beings and the natural environment" (Schafer, 1994:836). Culture and economics should not be considered alternative ways of thinking.

By focusing on culture as well as economics we can transform our conceptualization of the economy by giving it a proper contextualization. As Schafer (1994:839) says, it will ". . . help to shine the spotlight squarely on the codes, maps, values, value systems and worldviews which . . . would have the

greatest relevance and utmost urgency for humanity and human survival in the future." This study hopes to add to this growing volume of research.

Strategy:

As part of this holistic approach to the study of economics and cultures it is relevant to study the link between attitudes and trade. Theoretically, if international trade can impact racism through changes in communication , transportation and the economy as discussed earlier, then there is also a possibility that trade can have a positive relationship with inter-group attitudes. In contrast, the implication from authors such as Hall (1991) is that the identity fragmentation associated with globalization will bring about an increase in the need for the protection of identities. It is suggested that such identity protection is achieved through an increase in negative inter-group attitudes. Therefore there is a possibility that international trade may have a negative relationship with inter-group attitudes. Thus, this thesis will explore the existence and direction of a relationship between trade and attitudes.

This thesis is an attitudinal trend study. It examines the existence and significance of a relationship between attitudes and international trade over a 31 year period. The case study is Vancouver, the third largest city in Canada (Canada, Statistics Office 93-316 1992). Its location on the Pacific and its

function as a major transport center makes it the focal point for Canada-Japan trade. As such Canadian trade statistics are highly reflective of the trade going through Vancouver, and provide the consistency needed in time studies such as this.

The attitude data will be collected by conducting a content analysis of the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper from 1960 to 1990. The newspaper is considered to be representative of Vancouverites' attitudes due to its role in reinforcing public opinion while simultaneously influencing the public through indirect devices that indicate bias. This will be discussed further in chapter 2. All sampled articles mentioning Japan or the Japanese were coded based on their expressed attitude towards the Japanese (positive, negative or neutral). The results were then tested for correlation with the trade statistics from the same period. It was hypothesized that Vancouverites' attitudes towards the Japanese, as expressed in the *Vancouver Sun* newspaper, improved as the volume of trade between Vancouver and Japan increased.

Four limitations should be acknowledged at this point. First, the problem with time studies such as this is that they often require the elimination of many variables in order to make the data manageable. Also the data must be continuous and secondary which constrains the sources of information available.

However, time studies do have the advantage of providing useful trend analysis. Thus, surrogate variables are used to represent all those variables that can not be presently considered in the time study. In this case, the volume of trade between Japan and Canada is being used as a surrogate variable for the complete trade picture between Japan and Vancouver. The attitudes towards Japan and the Japanese expressed in the Vancouver Sun newspaper are used as a surrogate variable for Vancouverites' attitudes towards the Japanese. Together they provide a detailed inventory over time, which provides a reliable data source for this preliminary study.

Second, inter-group attitudes are examined at the general, popular level rather than at the individual, specific level. In other words, rather than looking at specific attitudes towards individual elements related to Japan and the Japanese, this thesis generalizes such attitudes into broad, popular categories.

Third, by focusing on the volume of trade as a measure of Vancouver's exposure to Japan, it is simplifying the relationship by concentrating on a specific economic relation rather than social, political or personal ones.

Finally, although Canadian trade statistics are used and Vancouver is a major Canadian city, this case study of Vancouver's changing attitudes towards the

Japanese should not be considered representative of Canadian attitudes. To reach such a level would require a national survey at regular intervals throughout the sample period. However, if the research hypothesis is correct, Vancouver, with its high exposure to the Canada-Japan trade flow, should provide a good indicator of the relationships between the growing trade links of the global economy and inter-group attitudes.

Despite these limitations, this thesis is highly relevant to geographical research. The study of distributions and the variations within and between them are fundamental to Geography. As Haggett (1988:175) states, "As Geographers we are concerned with the spatial variation that can occur between the character of the earth's surface at one location and another." This research stems from an interest in the pattern of social attitudes; in which elements work to create the differences in attitudes and therefore identity.

In this case, is trade a significant variable that should be taken into account when studying inter-group attitude formation and change? Should trade be considered a significant part of the situational context, vital to any discussion surrounding identity? These are all questions that if answered could help geographers more accurately examine the differences that exist and the changes that occur in attitudes and identity.

Organization of Thesis:

The general research hypothesis for this study is that there is a positive relationship between Canada - Japan trade and the Vancouverites' attitudes towards the Japanese. As trade increased over time the Vancouverites' attitudes towards Japan and the Japanese improved.

The actual structure of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 provides a literature review for all major fields discussed in this thesis, while chapter 3 provides the historical background to the sample period of the study. Chapter 4 describes the conceptual framework and methodology adopted to test this hypothesis. The results of this study are described in chapter 5 and analyzed in chapter 6. An overall summary and recommendations for further research are provided in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

No research was found that directly examined the specific relationship between attitudes and trade. However, a large body of work on attitudes and identity does exist. Furthermore, a great deal of research has been conducted in the study of racism and prejudice, particularly on racism in Canada. Work has also been done on the process of globalization and the role of the economy in today's society. Another important area of research for this study is that concerning the media and its role in society, as it will be an important data source this thesis. This chapter will discuss these areas of research and how they set the context for this thesis.

Attitudes:

It is generally agreed by authors such as Trenholm (1989), Ajzen (1998) and Eiser (1994) that attitude is a learned, latent, enduring predisposition to respond to stimuli in a given manner. There are, however, two main areas of disagreement. These are the roles of evaluation and belief in attitude definition.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the main classification system for attitudes is the tripartite division of Cognition (expression of belief), Affect (expression of evaluation) and Conation (expression of behavior). According to Ajzen (1988:4) this system, ". . . goes back at least to Plato." However authors such as Kiecolt

(1988) and Tesser and Shaffer (1990) have suggested that such distinction is difficult to work with and that researchers therefore rarely distinguish between the terms. It is noted by Tesser and Shaffer (1990) that this difficulty may be due to the fact that the 'Affect' classification is really too broad, for any attitude can be shown to be evaluative. Attitudes tend to view objects in terms of like/dislike, for/against, good/bad, etc., and thus require that a judgment or evaluation be made of that object. Therefore, authors such as Zanna and Rempel (1988) suggest that attitude should be defined as an evaluation based on beliefs, feelings and/or behavior. Whatever specific definition is used, there does appear to be general agreement about the importance of evaluation in the definition of attitude.

The other key issue in attitude definition is the role of beliefs. Authors such as Zanna and Rempel (1988) and Fishbein and Middlestadt (1997) consider beliefs to be a vital element in attitude formation. Fishbein and Middlestadt (1997) propose that all 'noncognitive' influences on attitude come through beliefs and their evaluative implications. However, many authors such as Schwartz (1997) and Priester and Fleming (1997) point out that there are many non-belief variables such as mood and emotion that can influence evaluative judgments without entering the belief structure. Priester and Fleming (1997) conclude that there is a strong case for the existence of both belief and non-belief based

attitude processes. As such, although belief is an important element in the study of attitudes so too are non-belief based processes.

Thus for this thesis, attitude will be considered a, " . . . disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution or event"(Ajzen 1988:4). The literature on attitude is broad and extensive but the focus here will be those areas specifically related to this thesis. These are attitude change and attitude's role in identity formation

There are two main traditions in attitude change research, summarized in the Cognitive Response Concept and the Consistency Models. The Cognitive Response Concept is concerned with what happens to an individual's thought processes when they are exposed to attitude related information (Tinker 1991). This concept was promoted by the Yale University research group in the 1950s and 1960s. Generally they examined attitudes as responses to events and information and how they are shaped by different variables. According to Eiser (1994;12), "The paradigm adopted in the Yale studies was to look at attitude change as a function of three sets of potentially interacting factors related to a communication context: attributes of the communicator, attributes of the message, and attributes of the audience."

Humphreys (1985:16) lists a few of the key Yale findings.

1. There will be more opinion change in the desired direction if the communicator has high credibility rather than low credibility. Although credibility is less of a factor later on than it is immediately after exposure.
2. A communicator's effectiveness is increased if he or she initially expresses some views that are also held by the audience or target group.
3. The more extreme the opinion change the communicator asks for, the more actual change he or she is likely to get.
4. Communicator characteristics irrelevant to the topic of the message can influence acceptance of its conclusions.
5. The level of intelligence of an audience determines the effectiveness of some kinds of appeals.
6. The individual's personality traits affect his or her susceptibility to persuasion; people are more easily influenced when their self-esteem is low.
7. Involvement with the consequences of one's response increases the probability of change and does so more when source-audience discrepancy is greater.
8. In time, the effects of a persuasive communication tend to wear off.
9. Repeating a communication tends to prolong its influence.

According to Eiser (1994), a common criticism of the Yale group is that they considered attitude related information or messages as discreet, with a definitive beginning and end rather than as a continuous or indirect process. Also, that despite the number of findings produced, no significant theories were put

forward. As Humphreys (1985:15) states, Yale scholars have, ". . . often been criticized for being inductive (i.e. bits of theory being built up from results of experiments rather than deductive - experiments derived from and designed to test a theory) or pretheoretical (i.e. experiments designed and results analyzed without the benefit of any underlying theory)."

The late 1960s and 1970s saw a change in emphasis in attitude change research. Numerous consistency models became popular including Heider's (1958) Balance theory and Festinger's (1957) Dissonance theory. The Balance theory proposes that people's attitudes tend towards consistency, (i.e. we tend to like people who agree with us), and when everything is balanced there is no stress to bring about change. When the configuration is unbalanced (i.e. a person we like does something we don't agree with), then attitudes are re-structured in order to re-establish balance.

The Dissonance theory proposes that dissonance is formed when one is persuaded to act in a manner that is contrary to a previously held attitude. For example, an individual who has plastic surgery despite a previously held attitude that unnecessary surgery was bad, will be in conflict. Festinger (1957) theorizes that an individual will work to reduce dissonance by changing either their attitude or behavior.

According to Tinker (1991:37), "Although there is variance across the different consistency theories, all are concerned with consistency within attitudes, and conversely, the effect of inconsistency as it leads to imbalance and instability within and between attitudes." Such models suggest that humans are not motivated by the desire to reap rewards and avoid punishment, but by the need to construct and maintain consistent belief, value and attitude systems. Eiser (1994:14) states that, "The basic idea of all these theories is that people have a disposition or motivation to see the world as consistent and hence predictable" and therefore will strive to maintain consistency in their attitudes.

However, such consistency is relative; it depends on what we choose to relate it to at a specific time and place. Zanna & Rempel (1988) and McConnell, Allen, Leibold and Sherman (1997) suggest that its possible to have different attitudes about the same object at the same time. This is due to the relative association of an attitude to different factors simultaneously. An attitude towards an object may be different at work than it is at home. Thus, they conclude that attitudes are continuously context dependent.

Another issue with consistency is that the degree of individual tolerance for inconsistency will vary. For example, Newcomb (1981) found that some individuals were inclined to have friends that agreed with them, while others

preferred friends who disagreed with them. Some theorists such as Nisbett and Ross (1980) even suggest that consistency is not valid, for individuals will express attitudes that reflect or justify their actions in order to gain favorability from others. This fits with the Impression Management theory that, according to Cialdini, Petty and Cacioppo (1981), involves the admissions of attitude change by an individual in order to impress the persuader or witness. The theory goes on to speculate that anticipatory attitude changes can be made based on the mere expectation of a persuasive attack.

Recently there appears to be a revival of interest in the Cognitive Response Concept with regards to attitude change. Recent research efforts include such topics as; the relationship between socialization and attitude change; the role of emotion in attitude change; the effect of relevance on attitude; and the influence of personal experience on attitudes.

The role of attitude change in the socialization process is a common theme. Phelan, Link, Stueve and Moore (1995) examined the socialization effect of education on attitudes by studying the link between education and attitudes towards the homeless. They concluded that education socializes students to the 'official culture'. Therefore, the higher the education level the more likely the person is to hold attitudes that follow the social norm. Kelloway and Newton

(1996) also examined the effect of socialization on attitudes. They found that students' attitudes towards unions were significantly in agreement with the parent's union attitudes, thus supporting their theory of a strong family socialization effect on attitude formation.

The role of emotions in attitude change is also being researched. Schwartz (1997) investigated the role of mood effects on attitude judgment. He concluded that moods and emotions can serve as a source of information in the changing of attitudes and are therefore an important factor to be considered. Ottati (1997) examined emotions as they influence attitudes towards a political candidate. He also concluded that emotions are inextricably linked to attitude change, citing a significant correlation between emotions and global attitude judgments. The better an individual feels the more likely they are to have a positive attitude towards global issues. This fits with this thesis because if an increase in trade improves economic well being, those involved are likely to have a positive attitude towards their trading partners.

Authors such as Bosveld and Koomen (1996) have considered the effects of providing reasons for one's attitudes. They showed that when asked to explain why they held a specific attitude towards a politician or political party, participants would become increasingly inconsistent in their attitudes. Yet they

noticed that less involved participants showed more stable reasoning effects, thus suggesting that the less concerned an individual is with a particular attitude or the less value the participant places on the 'Attitude Object", the more consistent or stable their attitudes will be and the less likely to be changed.

The role of experience in attitude change has been studied by many researchers. Wanke, Bless and Biller (1996) examined the impact of experienced thought process on attitude judgment. The results suggested that individuals use their subjective experience that accompanies thought generation for the construction of attitudes. Haddock, Zanna and Esses (1993) studied attitudes towards homosexuals. Their results showed that past experiences significantly added to the prediction of high relevancy attitudes.

These have been just a few of the issues presently under consideration in attitude change literature. This brief summary of the extensive literature on attitude change has described the two main traditions in attitude change research; Cognitive Response and Consistency Models, and some of their associated works. These reveal that in the study of attitude change, as in this thesis, it is pertinent to examine attributes of the message (Vancouver Sun reports) and how individuals are continually attempting to strike a balance between different information sources (trade levels with Japan and

Vancouverites attitudes towards Japan and the Japanese). The focus will now shift to how attitude is present in identity and the present 'identity crisis'.

Identity:

According to Castells (1997) identity construction is the process of giving priority to particular attributes. Woodward (1997) suggests that it is the internalizing of attributes that we admire or think most suit ourselves. In both definitions, an attribute must be evaluated or judged. Earlier, attitudes were defined as the predisposition to evaluate or judge an object, so attitudes play a significant roll in the identification process. As Bloom (1990:50) states, identification is the, ". . . mechanization of internalizing the attitude mores and behavior of significant others."

Not only do attitudes help define identity, but on a general level identity can help demarcate attitudes. As Bloom (1990:4) states, identification can be a useful tool which, ". . . clarifies the attitude and the motivation of both the individual and the mass citizenry." In other words, an identity label can help to distinguish a predisposition towards certain attitudes, for as Woodward (1997) and Bloom (1990) suggest, identification occurs to bond individuals with perceived similar attitudes.

Many authors suggest that socialization and situational context are important elements in identity formation. Castells (1997:7) states that the meaning of identity forming information is rearranged, ". . . according to the social determinations and cultural projects that are rooted in the social structure and in the time-space framework." The importance of socialization is supported by Takach's (1996) work on the Ukrainian identity. He found that the Soviet 'Ukraine' identity was formed by the centralized bureaucratic state through a conscious and deliberate socialization of a national identity. Here we can see the tie between attitudes and identity. As discussed earlier, attitude change is a key part of the socialization process as society works to develop individual attitudes that are customary and acceptable to the group's standards and identity.

The importance of context in identity change is supported by authors such as Goossens and Phinney (1996) who concluded that contextual factors were very important in the formation of adolescent identities. They recommended further study into the individual internal and external factors that may effect identity change. Again, there is a link between attitude and identity. The context of change for both attitude and identity is important, as both are influenced by such a wide range of variables, not all of which are known.

There is consensus that identities are changeable. Woodward (1997) suggests that identity formation is an continuous, progressive and adaptive process starting from infancy. Bloom (1990) argues that identification provides physiological security and it is this feeling of security which individuals will seek to protect. Changing factors or circumstances either stabilize or destabilize the identity. Bloom (1990) theorizes that when destabilization occurs the individual will either work to re-stabilize, re-fortify the identity and associated security, or seek out a new identity focus.

Many consider the world to be undergoing a mass destabilization of identity, due to the processes of globalization. Marden (1997) speaks of an emerging identity crisis, as he points to the apparent development of a 'global society', while simultaneously there is an increase in nationalist, cultural, ethnic and other social movements. Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) and Harvey (1990) speculate that the collapse of political barriers and the increase in the internationalization of social relations has brought about a crisis in identity and an increased need to protect the community. According to Agnew and Corbridge (1995), globalization has reduced society's expectations of the state and loosened their ties to the state, thus providing the context for fragmentation of societies and identities. Woodward (1997) states that globalization can lead to a detachment from local

or national identities, but alternatively there could be resistance to such a multicultural identity, thereby strengthening local or national identities.

Scholte (1996:38) argues that, ". . . in the 1960s the nationality principle did generally rank above, and override, alternative potential constructions of collective identity." However, she adds that the recent upsurge of identity politics has eroded the pre-eminence of the nation and that, ". . . the organization of group affiliations in the world system has become less clear and less fixed"(Scholte 1996:38). She calls for identity formation to embrace the multicultural community and work to eliminate differentiation issues in identity by accepting the complexity and fluidity of identities and recognizing and respecting the 'other'.

Hall (1991:19) suggests that globalization will lead to the erosion of the nation state (which he also considers the previously dominant identity form) and expresses the fear that ". . . such an erosion would bring about an increase in racism." In other words, with the mass re-formulation of identities there will be increased fear of, and protectionism sought from the threat of, the 'other' until a new dominant identity norm is established. Scholte (1996) also comments on the elements of fear and hate. She states that, "Many have sought to retrieve an

(artificial) security of mono-dimensional, fixed identities [but] more often than not these shelters have had foundation stones of hate"(Scholte 1996:68)

There are two views of difference in this context of identity change. Some authors such as Levi-Strauss (1965 in Woodward 1997) define difference as simple opposition, where no value or preference is needed or given. However, Connolly (1991:64) states that while, "Identity requires difference in order to be, it converts difference into 'otherness' in order to secure its own self-certainty." In other words, simple opposition is necessary for the basic definition of the 'self'. However to strengthen or protect that identity, value or preference is placed on the 'other', turning it into something evil or bad, what Connolly (1991), Calhoun (1995) and others refer to as 'otherness'. Difference is turned into something unacceptable, thereby protecting and strengthening the identity. Thus, the fears of authors such as Hall (1991) and Scholte (1996) that increased instability in identity will bring about an increase in hatred and discrimination.

Such hatred or prejudice can be based on any possible category of distinction. Categories such as nationalism, religion, ethnicity, sex, language and/or race, to name just a few. To look at all of these would be a thesis unto itself so the focus here is on the use of race as the distinguishing factor in the evaluation of 'otherness'.

Racism:

According to Goldberg (1990:295), "The history of racism is given definition by changes in the conception of 'race'." There have certainly been substantial change in the definition of race. Thus, it is important to examine the development of the term's usage.

Where exactly the term 'race' entered into the English language is uncertain. The Webster dictionary (Mish 1990) cites 1580 as the earliest recorded use. According to Stepan (1982) it was in common usage by the late 1700s. This was also the time of the 'Enlightenment' era when scientists began to focus on *classifying and ordering phenomena*. Stepan (1982) credits Linnaeus (circa 1745) as the first to propose that man should be divided into four sub-groups or races: Europeans, Africans, Asiatics and American Indian based on the skin colour and psychological characteristics of the groups. In 1781 Blumenbach used anatomy and physiognomy to classify humans into Caucasian, Negro, Mongolian, Malayan and Indian which remains the most commonly used classification today (Stepan,1982). However, other anthropologists and natural scientists would spend the next century debating the exact groupings and the best method for determining them.

No agreement was ever reached but in general the scientific use of the term 'race' referred to a group that shows some physical characteristic which distinguishes it from another group. However Montagu (1964) and Stepan (1982) state that most scientists have now rallied against a sub-classification of the human species. While some scientists argue that races never existed, others argue that individual races may have existed at one time but there has been so much inter-breeding during the last two centuries that no true 'race' remains. Despite these changes in scientific opinion however, public perceptions of race have remained strong. As it entered the common language the definition of the term 'race' changed so much from its original, scientific definition that pure scientific discovery cannot change it.

Today, race is most frequently considered a group differentiated from others by ethnic or cultural uniqueness and perceived biological traits (McConnochie, 1973). Physical difference is emphasized to distinguish one group from another. It is a method of expressing the 'other' to define ourselves. As Feuchtwang (1990) and Dominquez (1994) have explained, one way in which group identities are held together is by the attitude that their cultural or biological traits are unique and superior. Such ethnocentrism is cited by Juteau-Lee (1995) and Malik (1996) as a universal part of the socialization process and

therefore a social need rather than a biological process. Juteau-Lee (1995) goes on to state that it is in fact the need or desire to categorize others that creates the racist attitudes, which in turn produces the common notion of race.

It is important to stress the role of perception with regard to race, as there are many links between biological and cultural traits but these correlations do not imply a causal relationship. What is emphasized in those relationships depends on circumstances and personal interpretation.

Goldberg (1993) and McPhail (1994) argue that a 'principle of gradation' or hierarchy, is inherent in the classification process, so it is not surprising that 'race' was quickly associated with such attributes as intelligence, physical prowess and cultural traits. Perhaps the most famous use of such association was the Nazi belief in Aryan superiority and the corresponding excuse of racial inferiority in the persecution of the Jews.

Racial groups also became a sub-classification of 'ethnic group'. Ogden (1986:139) defines an ethnic group as, ". . . a distinct category of a larger population whose culture is different from its own . . . [which is] bound together by race, nationality, religion or culture." Thus race became one determinant of ethnicity. This relationship is often confusing. McConnochie (1973), provides

an example of the terms 'English race' and 'French race', where race is used incorrectly to identify the two peoples as belonging to separate cultures. Any physical difference was accidental and not the intended distinction.

Race is also often associated with class. They are intrinsically linked as both are devices in the production of social structure. As Carr (1997:454) states, they are, ". . . the fundamental hierarchies which create oppressive social relations, relations of inequality in which the subordination of one group constitutes and is the necessary condition for the privilege of another." According to Cox (1959), racism is perpetuated by the elite, in order to keep the classes fragmented and unable to unite against the elite. He and others such as Balibar and Wallerstein (1991), also argue that inequality, through such devices as racism, is essential to capitalism, for it provides the justification for the exploitation of workers. However Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) do not account for the European racism movements of the late nineteenth century.

Thus 'race' remains an ambiguous term today with associated measurement difficulties. With its long and varied history and highly sensitive nature, it is necessary to clearly establish a working definition for this thesis. Here, racism will be considered the discrimination against others based on their perceived biological traits and cultural uniqueness, as defined by Goldberg (1990) and

McConnochie (1973). Discrimination is an unfavorable opinion based on unjust grounds such as sex, religion or physical appearance, that often leads to negative, hurtful acts that may be overt and blatant or more subtle and discrete in nature.

Racism in Canada:

Despite what most Canadians would like to think, racism exists at every level of Canadian society. As Satzewich (1992:13) states, "While some Canadians may still hold to the myth that we live in a peaceful, tolerant and accepting society that is free of prejudice and discrimination, the reality is that we live in a country with long standing, persistent and extremely harmful cleavages." Many studies have been taken to demonstrate the existence of racism in Canada, ". . . consistently showing that a core of 12 to 16 percent of Canadians are extremely intolerant of those who are different from them" (Canada, Multiculturalism and Citizenship 1989:1).

Bibby (1995) conducted one such study. When asked, "Do you feel that any racial or cultural groups in your community are discriminated against?", 65% of the total national respondents answered yes (67% of the BC respondents answered yes). Henry (1978) also conducted similar research. His results showed that 85% of the surveyed Toronto residents were found to have

intermediate degrees of racial intolerance although few were considered to be openly racist (Henry 1978). This corresponds with Fleras and Elliott's (1992:60) statement that, ". . . racism among Canadians is unobtrusive, often implicit and embedded in everyday language, thought and behavior." Such racial intolerance is therefore easy to overlook or ignore so that in principle, Canadians may still subscribe to the principles of racial harmony. This apparent contradiction has led to much research into racism in Canada, particularly in the fields of education, multiculturalism, immigration, employment, the state and political representation. The major trends of each will be discussed, specifically as they pertain to the research question.

Much research has been done into the conception and practice of anti-racism education in schools. Bonnett and Carrington (1996:287) found that anti-racism construction is shaped by national and local discourses of racial, national and political identity. Other researchers such as Levine-Rasky and Solomon (1996), Hesch (1996) and Hladki (1995) have studied the problems of applying anti-racist education in the schools. They concluded that teachers and other key players who resist the introduction of anti-racist education, do so in the name of academic freedom and the preservation of an unnamed Canadian norm.

The debate surrounding multiculturalism is another area of extensive research. Canada established the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988, to, ". . . promote the full and equal participation of Canadians of all origins" (Canada, *Multiculturalism and Citizenship* 1989:2). Authors such as Mitchell (1993) see the promotion of multiculturalism as a vital tool in combating racism and localism. He cites increasing racial incidents as discouraging international business activity and blocking capital flow into Vancouver. "As racism and localism hinder the social networks necessary for the integration of global capitalism, business people and politicians [seek] to gain hegemonic control over concepts of race and nation in order to further expedite Vancouver's integration into the international networks of global capitalism." (Mitchell, 1993:263)

However, others such as Bissoondath (1994) and Bibby (1990) suggest that multiculturalism exacerbates the problem of 'excessive individualism and relativism', undermining the development of a clear Canadian identity and encouraging the fragmentation of society. In fact, some authors like Legare (1995) argue that the entire underlying concept is racist itself, and is merely a measure for easing minorities into the mainstream. That, multiculturalism, ". . . constructs simplistic, culturally defined ethnic categories . . allowing ethnic

differences to exist while simultaneously constructing non dominant groups as the 'other', [which] serves to 'ghettoize' racial minorities" (Legare 1995:347).

Immigration is also often regarded as a key variable in Canadian racism literature. Most research, by authors such as Taylor (1991), Clifford (1997) and Satzewich (1993) are primarily concerned with how racist attitudes have been used to justify immigration policies over the years and how immigration can 'legalize' racism. Other authors such as Thiesmeyer (1995) examined the treatment of the Japanese in Canada, through legislation such as Canadian immigration policies and the legal code. He found that there were numerous instances where legislation was discriminatory against the Japanese, such as the 1924 & 1928 immigration acts which halted most immigration from Japan by 1930.

Palmer (1996) conducted an interesting study, which showed that there was no correlation between greater opposition to immigration and higher levels of racism. He concluded that rational concerns, such as unemployment and economic fears, were more important in the formation of attitudes towards immigration than irrational, racist ideologies. Roy (1989), Norris (1971) and others who have written extensively on Japanese immigration to Canada, seem to agree. They suggest that anti-Japanese sentiment may be influenced more

by employment opportunities and the visible nature of the Japanese people, than by the actual proportion of Japanese in Canada. According to Norris (1971) the Canadian fear of the Japanese in the 1920s and 30s was based on economics. "The Japanese were hard-working and frugal in the North American ideal . . . and they were concentrated in certain occupations which became their 'ethnic specialties' The mass of the population had little to do with them and were indifferent to their existence, but they could be swayed to support anti-Japanese measures [through their] superstitious fears . . . [such as that of] a large scale plan of the Japanese imperialists to take over Canada by peaceful penetration" (Norris 1971:223).

Employment equity and affirmative action are another major trend in Canada's racism research. Affirmative action was initiated through the Employment Equity Act of 1986. However, according to Fleras and Elliott (1992:256), most Canadians, ". . . appear to disapprove of preferential hiring for improved representation." In accordance with this, many researchers such as Moodley (1984) see quotas and affirmative action as merely entrenching existing ethnic and racial cleavages. McKenna (1994) also examined the government's Employment Equity Act and found it ineffective, only serving to further the segregation of society.

Another common theme in the literature on racism in Canada is that of the role of the state. This focus on legislation, policies and laws in the fight against racism is common within most of the research areas previously mentioned, but there are some authors who concentrate primarily on the function of the Canadian government in racial discourse. Authors such as Naidoo and Edwards (1991) and Faustino-Santos (1988) have discussed the concept of 'institutionalized' racism, where racial attitudes are used to support activities promoting material interests and where racial assumptions are made that influence decision making. They conclude that in attempting to define Canadian culture or preserve Canadians' rights, the government's classification of groups promotes the continuation of racial distinction and the fragmentation of Canadian society.

Many authors have focused on Canada's human rights legislation. Kallen (1995 and with Lam 1993), has written extensively on the then current debate between human rights and freedom of speech, guaranteed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. She uses the infamous cases of Ernst Zundel and James Keegstra (two independent cases of anti-Semitism propaganda) to evaluate the effectiveness of Canada's human rights legislation and argues for the establishment of 'reasonable limits' to freedom of speech, giving priority to the human rights of dignity, tolerance, respect and harmony.

Fritters and Reeves (1989) examined the enforcement capability of Canada's human rights legislation. They concluded that issues of discrimination based on racial complaints were far less likely to be substantiated than complaints of a sexual or physical nature. Ungerleider (1992) took a slightly broader examination, suggesting that all policies and practices associated with citizenship, immigration, human rights, multiculturalism and bilingualism established a social justice infrastructure. He concluded that to improve racial relations, a greater congruity was needed among the policies.

The final major theme in Canadian racism studies is that of political representation. Bollini (1993) emphasizes the need for all minority groups to have access to political representation, enabling them to voice concerns and issues as equal members of Canadian society. Kobayashi (1994:76) agrees, stating, ". . . political ends will be achieved only when representation is organized so that those previously disempowered are given voice," but she also stresses that, ". . . it is their history as members of a marginalized group and their current roles within the group, not their colour, that needs to be invoked in addressing issues of legitimacy and representation."

Kobayashi (1994) continues to make an interesting point when describing her own involvement with Japanese Canadians and their efforts for political representation, primarily concerning compensation for the Japanese internment. She found that once having achieved their goal, ". . . we could no longer legitimately claim membership among racialized minorities; we had, in effect, joined the ranks of the oppressors"(Kobayashi 1994:75). Once they achieved full representation they became equally responsible for the actions of the state. They were no longer part of the 'oppressed' but rather part of the problem.

Most of this research on racism in Canada has focused on a variety of variables as well as political and educational solutions. The debates just mentioned show the doubt that exists on the effectiveness of these techniques and methods. Thus there is obviously a need to look for new, additional avenues by which to approach the problem of racism in Canada. New methods or strategies are needed to reduce or eliminate racism.

Such a new and complementary approach could be an economic one. The main economic methods that have been discussed to date are those concerning hiring practices. However there are other potential variables such as international trade. Such trade could act as a 'motivating' factor in the development of a greater understanding of racial differences and improving race relations in

Canada. If Mitchell (1993) is correct, this would in turn allow Canada to participate more fully and successfully in the new global capitalism.

Globalization and Trade:

For this paper international trade is an aggregate set of flows of one or more commodities between one or more producing and/or consuming national economies. (Lee, 1986) By assessing the total dollar value of such transactions between countries, 'factors' of trade such as trade volume, may be calculated and analyzed. International trade will be examined to determine if it is a significant variable in the formation of racist attitudes. As previously mentioned in chapter 1, it is by no means the only variable affecting racist attitudes, but it is one that has previously received little attention.

International trade is an integral part of most economies and therefore of the present phenomena of globalization. Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990:1) state that ". . . the economic forces of the world are surging across national borders," and go on to suggest that this 'globalization' brings greater trade and democracy for its participants. They are joined by authors such as Bergsten (1990) and O'Loughlin (1993) in drawing attention to the growing importance of economics on the world stage and in determining the global hierarchy.

O'Loughlin (1993) also notes the decreasing ability of individual nation states to control trade as the globalization process unfolds. O'Tuathail (1993) takes this further by suggesting that , in the context of the post cold war geopolitical relationship between the US and Japan, globalization or transnationalization sparks 'economic nationalism' and the rise of new tensions as the world hierarchy is re-molded. He provides the example of the US anti-Japanese rhetoric in the late 1980s and early 1990s, suggesting that such tension may arise from, ". . . the US aspiration to lead the new world order and their need for Japanese financial involvement to do this" (O'Tuathail, 1993:88).

Thus the international economy and trade are becoming increasingly important on a global and local scale. Yet it has received little attention in the research on racism and inter-group attitudes. This despite the fact that there is significant criticism and doubt about existing anti-racism strategies.

This thesis therefore conducted an exploratory study into the potential existence of such a relationship, specifically between international trade and negative attitudes that may lead to racism. To do this the media was used as a prime source of information regarding the types of attitudes the public holds towards

others. As such it is important to understand the debates surrounding the media today.

Media:

There are two main issues pertinent to this thesis: the ability of the media to influence individual and society's attitudes, and the element of bias in media reporting.

Today's mass media is a complex body of newspaper, radio, television and Internet mediums for communicating information to a vast number of people. It plays a vital role in our contemporary society, allowing us to be a witness to events that we did not experience first hand. As Hacket (1986:267) establishes, "Our understanding of social reality derives not just from personal involvement or from speaking to other people, but from images and reports transmitted by the mass communications media". It is because of this that many scholars have begun to analyze the degree and quality of societal influence by the mass media.

According to Herman and Chomsky (1988:1), the media's role in society is to, "... amuse, entertain and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs and codes of behavior that will integrate them into the institutional structures of

the larger society." Thus they credit the media with the ability to 'create' attitudes through various forms of propaganda. However, some authors such as Gans (1979) and Hall (1981) argue that the media merely 'reflects' the dominant society's attitude because of the demand from the customer and the situation of media staff within the dominant society. They and most other authors do not dispute the element of influence in the media, just the degree involved.

While authors such as Herman and Chomsky (1988) cite extreme influence, Gans (1979) and van Dijk (1991) give greater credence to the strength of the individual in decision making processes. Van Dijk (1991) suggests that while the media is effective in determining what we think about, what we think is determined by our process of interpretation. However, in Hartmann and Husband's (1974:208) study on British attitudes towards blacks in the UK, they determined that, "while individual attitude . . . does have some mediating influence upon the perception of race relation . . . such is the impact of the media definition that this selective individual influence operates within a limited range set by the . . . media definition."

The discussion surrounding the media's influence in society has led to a discourse of the quality of such influence, the degree of bias in media reporting. In the past, perhaps no one declared the 'objectivity' of the media more so than

the media itself. They strived for fair, independent, objective reporting of the truth. Herman and Chomsky (1988:xi) maintain that, "Leaders of the media claim that their news choices rest on unbiased professional and objective criteria." These are certainly noble goals, however as Said (1981) has pointed out, the writing and reading of the media brings many more factors into consideration, outside of the realm of objectivity.

This is not to say that the general mass media is guilty of blatantly attempting to sway public opinion. Hartmann and Husband (1974:147) stress that a, ". . . journalist's professional judgment is acquired incidentally ['picking up' criteria used by established journalists and management] rather than through direct instruction," and that such judgment is often required due to the, ". . . subjective nature of the 'art' of news production." The 'art' of production relates to the need for decisions within the media, such as what stories are covered and by whom, how much space is given each story and where in the paper or news broadcast, the story will be placed. Of course there are some publications that are produced with the goal of swaying public opinion.

According to Herman and Chomsky (1988:xii) ". . . most biased choices in the media arise from the preselection of right thinking people [those who's ideas and philosophies agree with that of management's], internalized preconceptions

[ideas and views that are so basic to a person that they are unaware of having them] and the adaptation of personnel to the constraints of ownership, organization, market and political power [the acceptance of criteria established by management, politics and customers]." Thus, by hiring people who agree with managerial and political 'ideas' or preconceptions and by operating within a commercial framework that requires attention be paid to the demands of 'customers' (both readers and advertisers), the media is restricting the flow of new or different attitude related information.

Such bias, although sometimes overt, is usually subtle. Showing itself in such ways as article placement (front page news or buried on the last page) tone, content, suppression (whether or not a topic is covered) and repetition (the number of times a topic will be discussed or the length of time a story will be covered.) It is difficult to say, of course, how these opinions and biases are interpreted, if they are received at all. However, the act of reading and interpretation alludes to some impact or influence, whether it be the intended one or not. Yet it is optimistic to think that everyone questions the media. Far too many people seem to place an undying faith in those gray pages and illuminated boxes. What is in print or on television must be real to many of them.

This thesis views the mass media as a tool, used by the elite as a socialization tool, to reinforce public opinion. In the process of reflecting the opinion of the dominant society, the media influences the public through indirect, subtle devices that indicate bias, such as the amount of coverage given to a particular issue. As such, the media, as represented by newspapers, are viewed as a guide to society's dominant thinking and views at a particular time and place. In this instance, newspapers will be used to provide a feel for the general attitudes Vancouver society holds or is encouraged to hold, towards the Japanese.

Other researchers have used the media in a similar manner. Naisbitt (1984) has used the media, especially newspapers, as a useful guide to illustrating changes in society's attitudes in his assessment of global trends. In his view, ". . . societies are like human beings. A person can keep only so many problems and concerns in his or her head or heart at any one time . . . this is reflected by the collective news that becomes a mechanical representation of society sorting out its priorities" (Naisbitt, 1984:xxv). Hartmann and Husband (1974) also used newspapers in their study of Britain's racial attitudes. They concluded that there was agreement between the attitudes reflected in their person to person interviews and the attitudes observed in a content analysis of the major British newspapers. They state, "The fit of these various findings taken together lead us to conclude that the mass media have played an important part in defining for

the white public, the nature and meaning of the black presence in Britain”
(Hartmann and Husband, 1974:208).

Conclusion:

This chapter has provided a brief review of the literature relevant to this thesis. Given the popularity of these research areas it is surprising that so little attention has been paid to the potential inter-relationship of global economics and attitudes. This thesis will attempt to fill this gap, by analyzing the relationship between international trade and attitudes in Vancouver, to determine if international trade is a significant variable in inter-group attitude change and whether or not it should be considered in any future anti-racist strategies, or attitude and identity change studies.

Chapter 3 - Historical Background

We want our population to remain a white people: we want no interference with the laboring classes by a deep yellow, brown or black exodus from any part of Asia: we want our agricultural, our mining, our fishing, our lumbering and all other industries to be in the hands of white people.

- Vancouver Sun, 1914(Roy, 1989:x)

To further situate this investigation in its appropriate context, this chapter will provide a brief history of the Japanese in Canada and Vancouver, and the evolving trade relations between Japan and Canada. The chapter begins in 1854, the year that Japan opened its borders to the outside world. It is segmented around the Pacific War, as it represented the most difficult moment to date in Japanese-Canadian relations. The chapter ends in 1990, the final year of the research period.

The Beginning (1854-1940):

For most of the 1800s, Japan was an isolated country that allowed few visitors and no migration (Holroyd and Coates 1996). But after being forced to open its borders by the Americans in 1854, Japan began to undergo a vast modernization. Daniels (1988:102) states, "[Japan] went from the late middle ages to the industrial era in decades rather than centuries . . . causing great social dislocations particularly in rural areas." Thus, desperate rural emigrants

began leaving in search of better economic conditions. Mostly young men, these 'dekasegi' left to make money with which they could care for their families still in Japan. Some of them came to Canada because this country was growing economically and it was relatively accessible due to its position on the Pacific.

Between 1885 and 1924, 2.5% of all emigrants from Japan migrated to Canada (Ito, 1978:20). Yet only half stayed, as is evident from the following statistics. Between 1891 and 1901, 8,998 people left Japan for Canada, but according to the 1901 Canada census, only 4,738 Japanese were living in Canada, mostly in BC (Roy, 1989:xii). Although under-reporting is likely, it would be surprising if that accounted for such a large discrepancy. The emphasis on BC is not unexpected as most of the Japanese immigrants were fishermen or farmers so they were attracted to the west coast and to the lower mainland's employment opportunities. Vancouver was a convenient focal or transit point for movement to the United States and other regions within Canada so it attracted most of the Japanese immigrants, even if just for a short while.

The early Japanese immigrants to Canada were employed primarily as fishermen and farmers and often accepted low pay, long work days and a low standard of living. According to Roy (1989) and Norris (1971) this caused many people in these industries to see the Japanese as a threat to the economic

interests of 'white' BC. These authors cite numerous instances where the Japanese were forced out of jobs and industries. Ward (1978) reports however, that most of Canada saw Japan as exotic and progressive, striving for western ideals, which thereby infers that Japan was an inferior and intimidated nation and not seen as a threat to Canadian ideals.

In 1889 a Japanese consulate opened in Vancouver. It was the first Japanese mission in all of Canada (Tanaka, 1990:92). Interestingly, the consulate was established long before the significant influx of Japanese began. Despite this, the consulate quickly obtained a reputation for interference in local government on behalf of the Japanese immigrants. "The Japanese government always had a strong interest in Japanese overseas, not for humanitarian reasons, but out of concern for their own prestige as a nation" (Daniels, 1988:103). They saw their desire to be a great power as depending on the ability to receive equal treatment for their subjects.

Tension began to escalate in the early 20th century. Roy (1989:x) states that, "Occidentals rarely differentiated between Asian groups, yet . . . by 1914 [BC] was much more fearful of the Japanese than the more numerous Chinese." Economic tensions in the fishing and mining industries seemed to be worsening, and the 1905 victory of the Japanese over Russia gave rise to new fears about

Japan's growing military strength (Norris,1971). Japan was now seen as an expansionist threat as well as an economic one. In 1907 Vancouver experienced its first anti-Asian riots which resulted in much damage to Japanese property (Roy,1989).

In response to these growing fears about the Japanese, Canada signed a 'Gentleman's Agreement' with Japan that same year, which limited and regulated immigration. According to Ward (1978) migration was now restricted to mostly women and children coming to join the male members of the family. The restrictions were tightened further in 1924 and 1928, virtually eliminating Japanese emigration to Canada by 1930. By 1931 there were 22,205 Japanese in Canada, with 8,328 of them in Vancouver (Norris,1971:222).

The arrival of women and children marked the end of 'sojourning' and the start of permanent settlement. "The presence of families, of numerous Canadian-born children and of a population that grew in spite of immigration limitations became an important characteristic distinguishing the Japanese from the Chinese in BC" (Roy,1989:xii). Unfortunately, this only seemed to exacerbate tensions as it led to more distinct settlement areas, Japanese language schools, Japanese shops, etc. The Japanese community also became heavily organized so that by 1934

there were 240 Japanese organizations in Canada, 84 of which were in Vancouver (Norris, 1971:223).

Meanwhile, the 1920s had seen a major crackdown on Japanese fishing licenses, in an attempt to move the Japanese out of the industry. This push, together with the growing family presence and a hard work ethic resulted in the development of economically prosperous, small businesses, which led the Japanese to shift from low-wage seasonal labor to reasonably paid semi-skilled labor. "Concern for Asian competition evolved from a few demagogues and workmen to a broadly held fear that became part of the provincial identity" (Roy, 1989:ix).

Some researchers such as Daniels (1988) and Roy (1989) have speculated about the American influence on Canadian attitudes at this time. "Although BC [residents] were proud of their British heritage, the US often provided the model for responses to Asian Immigration" (Roy, 1989:vx). In fact the American Asiatic Exclusion League, credited with much of the early US anti-Japanese legislation, even opened a branch in BC (Daniels, 1988:107). These same authors also pointed out, however, that America could simply be used as a scapegoat for our own embarrassing racism. Canadians are ultimately responsible for their own decisions and actions.

The Pacific War (1940-1944):

Despite the growing racial tensions in 1940, Canada traded \$26 million in exports and \$5 million in imports with Japan (Pringsheim, 1983:205). But the attack on Pearl Harbor brought the US, and with it Canada, into the deadliest war the Pacific had ever seen. In the eleven weeks immediately following Pearl Harbor the registration of all Japanese nationals in Canada was made compulsory, their 'security risk' items such as cameras and tape recorders were impounded, Japanese schools and papers were closed and some immigrants were held for security reasons (Kazuko,1991). Finally, on Feb. 5, 1942 the War Measures Act was used to decree the removal of all Japanese males between the ages of 18 and 45 from a 'protected area'. This area was a 100 mile wide strip that ran the length of the Canadian Pacific coast (Roy,1989). Less than three weeks later the decree was expanded to include all those of Japanese ancestry, including women and children, regardless of their place of birth.

Male Japanese nationals and all women and children of Japanese ancestry were sent to camps in the interior of BC and put to work on the roads. Male Canadian nationals were sent to similar camps in Ontario, where they were leased as laborers on major work projects such as road work. Any male of Japanese ancestry who was a farmer or fisherman was sent to Alberta or Manitoba as farm

labor. According to Norris (1971:226), those who moved to a province other than BC were better off as resentment levels were lower in these areas. Eventually the need for translators arose in the war effort and led to some recruitment of male, Canadian nationals from the camps. By the war's end, 150 translators of Japanese descent were serving in the Canadian armed forces (Norris, 1971:227).

As the Pacific War drew to a close Prime Minister MacKenzie-King stated that, ". . . it would be desirable if the Japanese were dispersed permanently" (Norris, 1971:227).

The Recovery (1944 to 1970):

In 1945, the "Final Solution" was adopted by the federal government to deport as many people of Japanese descent as possible. Although the act was repealed in 1947 after the Nazi atrocities came to light, 3,964 families had already been voluntarily returned to Japan (not all were Japanese nationals) (Norris, 1971).

The camps were finally closed in 1946, although the wartime restrictions remained until 1949 when those of Japanese ancestry were officially allowed back into the 'protected area'. The peace treaty was signed in 1951, which

made it possible to reopen the Japanese consulate in 1952. By 1958 there were 8300 Japanese in BC, 2500 of whom were in Vancouver (Norris, 1971:228).

Trade also picked up again after the war. In 1950 Canada's exports to Japan were \$20 million and imports were \$12 million, which increased rapidly to new trade highs. By 1960 Canada had roughly \$178 million in exports and \$110 million in imports, while in 1970 it had approximately \$810 million in exports and \$581 million in imports (Pringsheim, 1983:210). According to Nabuya (1991), this was due in part to the post war devastation in Europe that left Canada and the US scrambling for new markets. This, together with worsening relations with the USSR made both the US and Canada very eager for an economically stable Japan. To this end the Canada-Japan Trade Council was established in 1960 to promote trade and economic relations between the two countries.

The 1960s also saw the beginning of the 'twinning' of Canadian and Japanese cities. The first sister city relationship was established in 1962 between New Westminster and Mariquchi. By 1970 the number of sister cities had grown from 0 to 7 such affiliations, all but two were in BC (Embassy of Japan 1997).

The Pacific Century (1970 - 1990):

According to Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990:185) this period was commonly referred to as 'the Pacific Century', in part because Japan was seen as, ". . . undergoing the fastest period of economic expansion in history, growing five times [faster than Europe] during the industrial revolution." Trade between Canada and Japan continued to increase reaching over \$9 billion in imports and over \$8 billion in exports, although the balance of trade turned in Japan's favor in 1984 (Canada, Statistics Office 1991). According to Pringsheim (1983) the 1970s saw the Japanese political-economic status rise as Canada's declined. In 1972 Japan became Canada's second largest trading partner, usurping the UK and it has remained there, behind the USA, ever since (Nabuya 1991:131). By 1990 there was over \$8 billion in exports and over \$9 billion in imports, between Canada and Japan (Canada, Statistics Office 1991).

The increase in trade was followed shortly by a corresponding increase in investment and tourism. Edgington (1994:35) states that, ". . . in the 1980s Japanese investment in Canada jumped to new levels and became increasingly diversified . . . [although] most investment remained in value added pulp and paper and auto assembly." The Japanese also became Canada's third largest tourist group in the late 1980s, with 480,308 visitors in 1991 (45% of whom visited BC, the largest individual provincial total) (Thornell and Pringsheim,

1993:21). Between 1985 and 1991 there was a 175% increase in the number of Japanese tourists to Canada, most entering through Ontario or BC (Thornell and Pringsheim, 1993:28).

By 1991 there were 48,595 people claiming Japanese ethnic origin in Canada, 33% of which were in Vancouver (Canada, Statistics Office, 93-315:20). There was also a large increase in sister cities. By 1990 there were 46 twinings, half of which were in BC (Embassy of Japan 1997).

Yet despite the rising significance of Canada-Japan trade and other relations, "The Canadian public did not attach adequate importance to the Canada-Japan relationship; . . . few Canadians seem to be aware of the consequences of such a relationship to their personal lives" (Job and Langdon, 1993:266). This, at a time when many authors such as Rao (1992) were calling for renewed attention and emphasis on Japan, as the competition for its business grew rapidly, and as certain business-government sponsored agencies such as the Asia-Pacific Foundation were being created to improve the understanding between Canada and Japan.

Much was done to improve Japanese-Canada relations with the signing of the 1988 Japan-Canada Redress Agreement. The Canadian government officially

apologized for the Pacific War internment and agreed to pay \$21,000 to persons of Japanese ancestry who had been deprived of their basic rights and forcibly detained during and following the Pacific War. It also dedicated \$12 million for community undertakings and \$24 million for a foundation to foster racial harmony and understanding. The final dispersment is estimated at \$350 million, to approximately 16,000 people (Tanaka, 1990:82).

Conclusion:

This short survey of the Canadian-Japanese relationship reveals a constantly changing and tumultuous history. Unfortunately, it was not possible to study the trade-attitude relationship for all of Canada. Vancouver was chosen because it has had such a high level of exposure to the Pacific and Japan, and has acted as a 'gateway' for Canada-Japan trade. Yet it is because of this unusually high exposure to Japan that Vancouver cannot be considered representative of Canada as a whole.

Chapter 4 - Research Process

The research for this thesis was conducted in two phases. The first was a content analysis of a major newspaper to explore the attitudes of the target population towards the Japanese. The second part was the collection of relevant trade volume data. This chapter discusses how the data were gathered and analyzed.

Research Method:

To date, no in-depth research has been conducted on the attitude of Vancouverites towards the Japanese. Hence, this study is exploratory and uses a form of content analysis that allows the researcher the most flexibility to pursue the topic and go beyond surface expression to a deeper understanding of the communicator. The research method has been based on the work of Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband, who in 1974 published a book on the role of the British press, ". . . in defining the white public notion and meaning of the black presence in Britain" (Hartmann and Husband, 1974:208).

Content analysis is well suited for determining attitude because as Holsti (1969:2) states, ". . . developed specifically for investigating any problem in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference." It allows for the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods, ". . . thereby

combining what is usually considered antithetical modes of analysis" (Weber, 1990:10). Qualitatively it provides rich, holistic data that is, ". . . nested in a real context . . . [and has] strong potential for revealing complexity The influences of the local context are not stripped away; [hence] the possibility for understanding latent, underlying or non-obvious issues is strong" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:10). Quantitatively, it allows one to state conclusions with a degree of precision and improves the quality of such interpretations and inferences (Holsti, 1969). Content analysis also allows the researcher the freedom to observe communications from any time or place that has surviving artifacts of communication and gives the researcher the ability to examine such artifacts without fear of influencing the communications.

There are some areas of difficulty inherent in this process of content analysis. This technique is often very tedious, voluminous and intuitive, so the detection of error is difficult. Also, the proportions of qualitative and quantitative methods and how they should be used are particular to each researcher and project since no recognized standards exist. Most methodological experts such as Stoddard (1982), Weber (1990) and Miles and Huberman (1994) agree, however, that as long as the scientific principles are maintained, the research will be reliable.

Study Group:

In this study the target population was the populace of metropolitan Vancouver. This population was chosen because Vancouver, as the largest Canadian city on the west coast with a population of almost 2 million, acts as a gateway to the Pacific (British Columbia, Ministry of Finance 1995). Vancouver has the largest Pacific cargo port in North America (British Columbia, Ministry of Finance 1995) and has 13% of all air traffic from the Pacific Rim to major west coast North American airports (Vancouver International Airport 1997). Also, Vancouver is a major destination for Japanese emigration. Of the 48,595 people claiming Japanese ethnic origin in the 1991 Canadian census, 16,090 (33%) were in Greater Vancouver which was the largest single city concentration in Canada (Canada, Statistics Office, 93-315:20). Vancouver was also a major tourist destination for Japanese tourists. In 1991 there were 214,000 Japanese visitors to BC and Vancouver (Thornell and Pringsheim, 1993:28).

The Japan-Vancouver relationship was chosen for several reasons. First, is Japan's rapid rise to prominence on the world stage. As Bergsten (1990:96) states, the 1980s saw, ". . . the rise of a new tripolar hierarchy of nations (US-Europe-Japan)." Second is the relatively short history of Japan-Vancouver relations since Japan did not open its borders to trade and migration until 1884.

Third is the importance that Japan has in the Canadian economy. In 1990 Canada recorded \$9.523 billion in imports and \$8.230 billion in exports with Japan, making it Canada's second largest trading partner after the United States (Canada, Statistics Office 1994:443). This is especially important as Canada is dependent on exports for 23% of its GDP (British Columbia Statistics 1994:14).

Fourth, the Japan-Vancouver relationship was selected because of the high profile nature of the Japanese in Vancouver and the sometimes strained relationship that has existed between the two. The final reason Vancouver was chosen is that the researcher has lived in southern British Columbia for over 20 years and is very familiar with this area.

Attitude Data Gathering:

Within Vancouver there are presently two daily papers; the 'Vancouver Sun' founded in 1912, and the 'Province' founded in 1889. They both have high circulation figures and they are both owned by Southam Press (which also owns the Victoria daily newspaper and many other papers in British Columbia). The primary difference between the Sun and the Province is style. Since the mid 1980s the Province has styled itself as a tabloid paper, inundated with sensational stories and highlighted with 'Sun Girls'. The Vancouver Sun has

always been styled more after the basic 'broadsheet', stressing news and commentary reports. The Sun is published daily except for Sundays and holidays and has more than half a million readers on an average weekday (Southam Press, 1997). The average six day circulation is 202,429, compared to 162,603 for the Province (Southam Press, 1997).

Due to the logistical difficulties of time and quantity, only one paper could be surveyed. The Vancouver Sun was chosen to be the basis for the content analysis because of its higher circulation figures. The Vancouver Sun was studied between 1960 to 1990. This period was chosen because it incorporates the transition of Japan from a war damaged imperial economy to a major, global economic power. The end date of 1990 was used to keep the data as current as possible while staying within logistical limits. Within the period 1960-1990 there were about 5000 issues of the Vancouver Sun, so it was only possible to study a sample.

It was decided to systematically sample only every other year, starting in 1960, however this still left about 2500 issues so a further sampling step was required. This was done by taking the first issue published every month, within the sample period, starting in January 1960. The effect of this was to provide an issue for each month rotating through the days of the week. In total there were 43

Mondays, 38 Tuesdays, 24 Wednesdays, 34 Thursdays, 23 Fridays and 30 Saturdays (no issue on Sundays). This gave a total sample of 192 issues, 12 each year for 16 years within a 31 year period.

Each sample issue was scanned thoroughly (classifieds, cartoons and adverts were ignored). Any item where the heading or introduction suggested it might be about Japan or the Japanese was read and if it was about Japan or the Japanese then it was included in the analysis. In total there were 237 articles that met this criteria.

The article coding was designed to answer the question: What was the attitude of the material towards Japan and the Japanese? Each item was classified into one (and only one) of the following categories: Strongly negative, somewhat negative, neutral, somewhat positive and strongly positive. What the articles discuss may or may not be based on fact, but the concern here was with the impact of what is said on the reader's overall attitude towards of the Japanese.

A) Strongly Negative

Represented by the code -2, this classification was given when the author stated or implied a strong, distinct, negative or derogatory attitude of Japan and the

Japanese. Below are some statements from articles considered strongly negative.

“ Although he wished to study printing he was shunted into the electrical department he came to realize the facts of life in Japan but they were a great shock . . . he decided to escape Japan” (Vancouver Sun January 3,1966:5). This article was considered strongly negative because it portrayed Japan as a conformist society that denied its citizens the freedom of choice.

“This is in striking contrast to the position of Japanese investors in Canada who are free to invest in any form they wish” (Vancouver Sun November 1,1966:9). This article was considered strongly negative because it showed Japan as taking advantage of Canada, not reciprocating Canada’s generous regulations.

“Nobody knows of course exactly what these distinguished men do to earn the fat salaries they get from such firms in their declining years. . . . a Japanese-style old boy network” (Vancouver Sun September 1,1970:6). This article was considered strongly negative because it emphasized inequality in the Japanese work place.

“. . . hoping to convince the Japanese that they are committing a horrendous error in allowing the whale slaughter to continue” (Vancouver Sun March 1,1974:37). This article was considered strongly negative because Canada had been fighting extensively for the elimination of whaling at this time and thus, Japan’s continued participation in the whaling industry was seen as a negative.

“I have a real bad problem with gangs here - especially Orientals, Japanese and Koreans” (Vancouver Sun December 1,1986:A3). This article was considered strongly negative because it associated the Japanese with Asian gangs in general.

“. . . Japanese have never gotten over losing the conflict to white America. That memory, linked to the Caucasian assumption of superiority over Orientals, has lingered in our collective consciousness . . . [thus] the issue of [Japanese] racism has emerged” (Vancouver Sun February 1,1990:A11). This article was considered strongly negative because it portrayed the Japanese as a very racist society.

B) Somewhat Negative

Represented by the code -1, this classification was given when the author implied a vaguely negative/derogatory attitude of Japan and the Japanese, or

the author has stated or implied both positive and negative attitude but the negative appears to dominate. Below are some statements from articles considered somewhat negative.

“ . . . Vancouver will become the financial capital of the Pacific Rim in the next decade. Japan is out of the question [to become the financial capital]” (Vancouver Sun October 1, 1990:B6). This article provided no justification or reasoning for this statement thereby implying that Japan is not capable of being a financial capital.

“He said ‘conferences (cartels) evolved out of bitter experiences in the past for the purpose of establishing some kind of order in international liner service’ ” (Vancouver Sun October 1, 1986:C1). While this article reports in a generally neutral manner on a talk by a member of the Japanese Ship Owners Association, the authors choice to insert ‘cartels’ into the text implies that the Japanese group in question is a select elite group of powerful businessmen with a discrete, self profiting agenda.

“Japanese involvement in Canadian industry is far greater than most people realize . . . We’re not looking for a new bogeyman but we do have to learn how the Japanese operate and what their needs are otherwise we’ll be left out in the

cold . . . Canada is acquiring a new motherland in Japan" (Vancouver Sun June 1,1982:B9). This article encourages Canadians to study and recognize Japan as an important market but there is an underlying feeling of fear, especially with such terms as 'far greater than imagined', 'not a new bogeyman but', 'new motherland'.

"She left her native Tokyo because she considered it a concrete jungle a setting for heartache and disillusion" (Vancouver Sun May 1,1978:A7). The image of Japan lacking green space is not appealing but the author also portrays the woman in question as slightly insane so the impact of the statement is somewhat mitigated. "They found her living in a cave. . . hermit like existence" (Vancouver Sun May 1,1978:A7).

C) Neutral

Represented by the code 0, this classification was given when no opinion of Japan or the Japanese was given, or there was equal representation of positive and negative attitudes, no particular emphasis was discernible. Below are some statements from articles considered neutral.

"Japan has extended de facto recognition of Mongolia but does not intend to establish diplomatic relations immediately with that country" (Vancouver Sun

February 1, 1964:16). "A Japanese music association is to devote an entire concert to music composed for traditional Japanese instruments by a Vancouver composer" (Vancouver Sun April 1, 1972:31). "Talks on Japanese car exports to Canada which could determine whether Ontario gets the biggest Japanese auto plant yet proposed for this country are to resume in Victoria this week" (Vancouver Sun August 1, 1986:F5). None of these articles expressed a discernible opinion of the Japanese.

D) Somewhat Positive

Represented by the code 1, this classification was given when the author implied a vaguely positive or complimentary attitude of Japan or the Japanese, or the author stated or implied both positive and negative attitudes but the positive appeared to dominate. Below are some statements from articles considered somewhat positive.

"These selections reflect the great beauty of classical Japanese music with its combination of formal simplicity and strict observance of compositional canons" (Vancouver Sun March 1, 1966:10). This article was considered somewhat positive because it promoted the beauty of traditional Japanese culture, but expressed concern about Japan's efforts to mix with western cultures, stating that, ". . . New Japanese music; a twentieth century phenomenon blending

Eastern and Western musical traditions [is done] ill advisedly” (Vancouver Sun March 1, 1966:10).

“[Hiroshima] was the biggest crime in history [it] should serve to teach the entire world a lesson” (Vancouver Sun August 1, 1970:21). This article was considered somewhat positive because it describes the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima as a crisis and stirs feelings of guilt and sympathy for the Japanese. However the article does make some statements that imply that the Japanese do not deserve such sympathy. “If Japan had had the bomb in 1945 . . . [they] probably would have used it against the US . . . we want the world to remember the atomic bomb but we also want Japan to remember the Japanese” (Vancouver Sun August 1, 1970:21).

“While the US and Europe look to Japan for ways to increase worker productivity, Japan is setting up research institutes to figure out how to relax With more leisure time . . . Japan would get in synch with the rest of the world. Love of leisure reflects a commendable ‘internationalist’ frame of mind” (Vancouver Sun December 1, 1986:C8). This article was considered somewhat positive because it primarily praised Japan’s productivity but is critical of its lack of leisure time, stressing that the Japanese have much to learn from the western world.

E) Strongly Positive

Represented by the code 2, this classification was given when the author stated or implied a strong, distinct positive/complimentary attitude of Japan and the Japanese. Below are some statements from articles considered positive.

“Ten years ago few people were prepared to be optimistic about the prospects for Japanese agriculture . . . Five years later critics were slowly beginning to admit themselves confounded” (Vancouver Sun January 2, 1964:5). This article was considered positive because it praised the hardworking Japanese people who had beaten the odds.

“Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau will arrive [in Tokyo] for a six day visit at the invitation of the Japanese government . . . the Japanese government said it sincerely welcomes the Trudeau’s visit since it will further deepen the friendly relations between Japan and Canada” (Vancouver Sun October 1, 1976:6). This article was considered positive because it stressed the amiable association between Canada and Japan, demonstrating that Canadians are welcome visitors and business associates.

"Shoyama's recollections of the internment years [in Canada] are imbued with a quiet sense of determination that the old hurts must be assuaged in a honorable redress agreement. It is for him, one more battle in a life long war against injustice" (Vancouver Sun August 1, 1984:B6). This article was considered positive because of the guilt and sympathy emotions that were evoked.

These categories are all subjective as they require a decision to be made about the author's attitude in the article and in which category they belong. Frequency and/or key word analysis have often been used to reduce this subjectivity as they provide a basic count of the existence or nonexistence of a specific variable. But in this particular study such a strategy would not have answered the research question. For example, the number of times the word 'exotic' appears tells us nothing of the context or attitude behind it. Furthermore, 'exotic' can be used in both a positive and negative context and as soon as this is taken into account the researcher is again making subjective decisions.

As Holsti (1969:6) states, ". . . restricting content analysis to this single system of enumeration, presents a theoretical and a practical problem . . . [there is] ample evidence that measures other than frequency may in some instances prove more useful." In which case it is more valid to, ". . . give each [article] a single score which most closely characterizes its major theme . . . making a single qualitative

judgment about the entire document without tabulating the frequency with which any content attribute appears. But we may still report our findings quantitatively" (Holsti, 1969:7).

Reliability and Validity:

In order to check the reliability of this researcher's classification process a panel of independent judges was used. Seven people from different walks of life, were asked to serve as judges, classifying a sub-sample of 30 articles.

The judges were selected primarily by convenience (friends and acquaintances) although an effort was made to use people who had lived at least 10 years in Vancouver and represented a variety of different ages, education levels, races and sexes. Table 4.1 shows the profile for each judge. Each judge was approached and asked if they would be interested in reading 30 articles and classifying their opinion of the author's attitude towards the Japanese. The complete instructions issued to the Judges are in Appendix 1. The 30 articles given to the judges were from those sampled by the researcher from the Vancouver Sun, 1960-90. The articles were put into a well shuffled pile and the 30 articles were randomly chosen by Judge #1.

Table 4.1
Judging Panel's Biographical Information

Judge	Age	Sex	Race	Profession	Highest Education Level Completed	Years in Vancouver
1	30-40 yrs	M	Caucasian	Engineer	Bachelor of Engineering	10-20 yrs
2	50-60 yrs	F	Asian	Secretary	High School	50-60 yrs
3	20-30 yrs	F	Caucasian	Homemaker	Bachelor of Arts	20-30 yrs
4	30-40 yrs	M	Asian	Mechanic	High School	10-20 yrs
5	20-30 yrs	F	Asian	Pharmacist	Bachelor of Pharmacy	20-30 yrs
6	30-40 yrs	F	Caucasian	Retail Clerk	Bachelor of Arts	30-40 yrs
7	20-30 yrs	F	Caucasian	Ph.D. Student	Master of Arts	20-30 yrs

Table 4.2 shows the results of each judge's analysis. It can be seen that there is some variation in the classification of most of the articles. This confirms the subjective nature of content analysis interpretation and the need for such checks. Overall though there was some general agreement. Following are some highlights of a discussion amongst the judges about their results.

When asked why most judges ranked the July 2, 1960 page 1 article as strongly negative they replied that Amelia Earhart is generally considered a hero, and the article's statement that, "New evidence has been reported that Amelia Earhart . . . was executed by the Japanese" was inflammatory (Vancouver Sun July 2, 1960:1). Most Judges considered the July 2, 1960 page 5 article as somewhat negative. They said that the article implied that Japan was two faced, ". . . an energetic, modern country on the surface with all the forms of ancient shintoism preserved behind its palace walls" (Vancouver Sun July 2, 1960:5). According to one judge, it portrayed the Japanese as not really like us, although pretending to be and that something in that caused him to be suspicious and fearful.

Discussing the more positive articles the judges generally agreed that the June 2, 1980 page B7 article was somewhat positive. They considered the article to be primarily optimistic about future economic opportunities with Japan but critical of Japan's concerns and questions. One judge commented that the article portrayed the Japanese as having a lot of potential but that they were dragging their heels. This is a quote from the article in question. "I think it is a matter of national pride and the conservative attitude of the Japanese, slow to change, slow to accept new things . . . We have been urging the Japanese to change the standards and do something about the tariffs. Developments over the past year have made it more likely we are going to achieve this objective" (Vancouver Sun June 2, 1980:B7).

The December 1, 1980 page A6 article was unanimously ranked as strongly positive. This despite the fact that the article is somewhat backhandedly positive. The article discusses the importance of respect for and knowledge of other languages. Japan fares well in all the instances it is mentioned. Particularly in the following quote, "One story pinpoints the difference between the American attitude and that of other countries towards learning foreign language: When an American businessman ran into a prominent Japanese businessman and asked him what the most important language was for world

trade, the Japanese replied, 'my clients' " (Vancouver Sun December 1, 1980:A6).

Table 4.3 provides a comparison of the judges' classifications to that of the researcher by amalgamating the individual judge's classifications and comparing by frequency count. The figures show that the majority of the seven judges agreed with the researcher's specific article classification 60% of the time. However, this table also indicates that when the detailed sub-classifications were combined into simply negative, neutral and positive categories the judges agreed with the researcher 80% of the time.

This is not surprising for when questioned about their findings most judges commented that they had not had much difficulty determining the broader categories of negative, neutral or positive, but had spent most of their time trying to determine which sub-classification (strongly or somewhat) to give the article. As a result of this finding, the analysis in chapter 5 will only use the cumulative categories of negative, neutral and positive, thereby improving the reliability of the research.

Table 4.3
Comparison of Judges Rankings to Researcher

Vancouver Sun Article	Sum of Judges Classification					Average Judge Classification		Researcher's Ranking	
	Strongly Negative (-2)	Somewhat Negative (-1)	Neutral (0)	Somewhat Positive (1)	Strongly Positive (2)				
July 2/60 pg1	5		2			Strongly Negative		Strongly Negative	
July 2/60 pg4	1	1		1	4	Strongly Positive		Strongly Positive	
July 2/60 pg5	2	5				Somewhat Negative		Somewhat Negative	
Apr. 2/62 pg8	2	3	2			Somewhat Negative		Somewhat Negative	
Feb. 1/64 pg16	1		6			Neutral		Neutral	
Jan 3/66 pg9			6		1	Neutral		Somewhat Negative	
Sept. 1/66 pg35		4	2		1	Somewhat Negative		Somewhat Negative	
June 1/66 pg6			1	2	4	Strongly Positive		Somewhat Positive	
Aug. 1/70 pg21		2	1	2	2	No majority		Somewhat Positive	
July 2/70 pg35			5	1	1	Neutral		Neutral	
Jun. 1/72 pg4	2	2	1	1	1	Strongly and Somewhat Negative		Somewhat Negative	
mar 1/74 pg32	4	3				Strongly Negative		Strongly Negative	
Apr. 1/74 pg26	3			4		Somewhat Positive		Somewhat Positive	
Mar 1/76 pg3	3	3	1			Strongly and Somewhat Negative		Neutral	
June 1/76 pg37			7			Neutral		Neutral	
Feb. 2/76 pg22			2	2	3	Strongly Positive		Strongly Positive	
Jan 2/76 pg10		2	1	2	2	No majority		Somewhat Positive	
May 1/80 pgA16		1	4		2	Neutral		Neutral	
May 1/80 pg AD9		2	1	4		Somewhat Positive		Strongly Positive	
June 2/80 pg B7	1	1	1	4		Somewhat Positive		Somewhat Positive	
Oct1/80 pg A6					7	Strongly Positive		Strongly Positive	
Mar 1/84 pg A7		1	1	2	3	Strongly Positive		Strongly Positive	
July 2/86 pgF3	1	1	1	4		Somewhat Positive		Somewhat Positive	
Aug. 1/86 pg F5			6		2	Neutral		Neutral	
Dec. 1/86 pgA3	3	1	3			No majority		Strongly Negative	
Dec 1/86 pgC6	1	1	1	2	2	Strongly and Somewhat Positive		Somewhat Positive	
Aug. 2/82 pgA3			2	1	4	Strongly Positive		Strongly Positive	
Jan 2/90 pgA11			6		1	Neutral		Strongly Positive	
Feb. 1/90 pgA11	1	3		2	1	Somewhat Negative		Strongly Negative	
July 1/90 pgA3			2	2	3	Strongly Positive		Neutral	
						12 Discrepancies with Researcher on Five Point Scale (60% Agreement)			
						6 Discrepancies with Researcher on Three Point Scale (80% Agreement)			

Also, to ensure the validity of the analysis, the number of positive, neutral and negative articles will be examined as a percentage of the yearly total of sampled articles. Using the straight numbers would tell us nothing of the proportions involved and does not allow for comparison over time. That there were four positively classified articles in 1970 tells nothing about the comparative proportions of positive articles in that year, or how that compares with the 6 positively classified articles in 1980. However, to refer to those same statistics as 33% and 45% respectively gives a greater appreciation of the yearly and inter-yearly context. It also more accurately answers the research question which is concerned with the relative change in attitude between negative, neutral and positive over the 31 year period.

Supplementary Data:

As well as classifying each article by attitude, some other themes were recorded in order to provide a broader picture of the media and society. Authorship was classified because it provided insight into the source of the articles and their associated attitude toward the Japanese, as well as the potential for widespread distribution of those attitudes. The article topics were also classified. This allowed for an exploration into the kind of information and events with which the Japanese were associated and how Vancouverites' attitudes may vary within that framework.

Each article was classified by authorship into one of the following categories via its stated by-line:

A) Staff

The author was identified as working for the Vancouver Sun.

B) News Agency

The author was either identified as working for a particular news agency or the author was not named but the news agency was identified as the source of the article. For example, John Doe of the Associated Press, or simply Associated Press.

C) Other Paper

The author was either identified as working for another paper, or the author was not named but the other paper was identified as the source. For example, John Doe of the New York Times or simply the New York Times.

D) Reader

A customer authored the article, usually through a letter to the Editor.

E) Not Credited

No author was identified.

The article's main topic was classified into one of the following categories based on its main theme or subject matter:

A) General News

This included all articles where new information of recent events were given that are not predominately economic, cultural or political. For example, the May 1, 1960 page 3 article was classified as news as it announced the arrival of a Japanese ship in Vancouver's harbor. The February 1, 1960 page 3 article was also classified as news because it reported on a coal mine cave-in in Japan and the rescue attempts that were on-going.

B) Economic

This included all articles that contained information pertaining primarily to such items as management, investment, production, expenditure, profit and trade figures. For example, the April 2, 1962 page 8 article was classified as economic because it reported on Japan's budget for the coming fiscal year. The June 1, 1964 page 21 article was also classified as economic as it detailed a financing agreement between a Japanese and a Canadian company.

C) International Politics

This included all articles that concerned information on the governance or policy of another country or information on the relationship and interaction between two or more countries, as long as it is not predominately economic or cultural. For example, the January 2, 1970 page 25 article was classified as international politics because it discussed Japanese aid to underdeveloped countries. The February 2, 1976 page 10 article was also classified as international politics because it talked about the nautical limit and Japan's view of the international Law of the Sea conference.

D) Culture

This included all articles that concerned information relating to topics such as food, art and religion. For example, the January 2, 1982 page D11 article was classified as cultural because it discussed the Japanese reaction to Western television shows. The December 1, 1984 page D2 article was also classified as cultural because it described the wonders and workings of a Japanese fish market.

E) Commentary

This included all articles where the main purpose of the article was to express/make known the authors particular opinion. For example, the May

1,1962 page 4 article was classified as a commentary because it was a letter to the editor from a Vancouver Sun customer who was complaining about the sale of Japanese ducklings at Easter time. The May 2,1988 page B2 article was also classified as a commentary as it was written by the editor, criticizing the Canadian government's lack of action on the redress agreement with the Japanese-Canadians.

F) Sports

This included all articles that contained information on athletics, amusements and games. For example, the October 1,1964 page 43 article was classified as sports because it details the Canadian Olympic team to go to the '64 Olympics in Tokyo. The July 2,1986 page F1 article was also classified as sports as it discussed the resignation of a prominent Sumo wrestler.

G) National Politics

This includes all articles that contained information primarily on the governance and policy of a single government, or any of its lower levels such as provincial or municipal. For example, the December 2,1974 page 6 article was classified as national politics because it discussed the competitors in an upcoming Japanese election.

H) Science

This includes all articles that contained information primarily on scientific discoveries and trends relating to the Japanese. For example, the December 1, 1986 page B6 article was classified as science because it discussed a medical breakthrough in the sex selection of sperm cells.

Trade Data Gathering:

As well as gathering data on attitude, data on trade were also collected for the same alternate years, starting in 1960. The volume of trade was represented by the amalgamation of total import and export figures (in current Canadian dollars) between Canada and Japan for each sample year. The data were collected from the Canada Yearbook (previously titled Abstract and Record of Canada, and the Statistical Yearbook of Canada). The data was based on Canadian customs records.

Trade was also examined in terms of the balance of trade (exports minus imports). This was included because politicians and economists stress the ideal of balance and when negative trade balances emerge they can inspire unease and resentment (Drucker, 1992:80-83). As Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990) observed, this fixation with trade balances can become extreme. "We permit

commentators in the media and elsewhere to assess the health of the overall US economy by examining a single incomplete statistic (balance of trade). Worse, we base decisions about our personal finances on a conventional wisdom about a trade deficit that does not in reality even exist" (Naisbitt and Aburdene, 1990:20).

Hypotheses:

Data analysis was then conducted to examine if there was a relationship between Canada-Japan trade and the attitudes of Vancouverites towards the Japanese as expressed through the pages of the Vancouver Sun newspaper.

Hypothesis #1 - It was hypothesized that as the volume of trade increased, the positive attitudes of Vancouverites towards the Japanese would also increase. Conversely, it was expected that as the volume of trade increased the negative attitudes of Vancouverites would decrease. Thus, it is intended to see if the relationship between trade and racial attitudes is symmetrical.

Hypothesis #2 - It was also hypothesized that the stronger the balance of trade was in Canada's favor, the more positive Vancouverites' attitudes would be towards the Japanese. Conversely, the greater the balance of trade in Japan's favor, the more negative Vancouverites' attitudes would be.

Hypothesis #3 - Since the focus of the thesis is on the changing proportion of positive to negative attitudes, it was also decided to investigate whether changing trade volumes had a particular relationship to 'opinionated' attitudes - those articles only ranked positive or negative by the researcher, excluding neutral, for each hypothesis.

Hypothesis #4 - Likewise, it was hypothesized that a positive balance of trade would be associated with positive attitudes and negative balance with negative attitudes.

A summary of the four research hypotheses may be viewed graphically in Table 4.4.

To complement the statistical research questions two qualitative aspects were also examined. It was considered pertinent to examine both the source of information provided in the Vancouver Sun articles and their type of content. In this way the objective was to enrich the statistical information with commentary on the 'flavor' of the attitudes as expressed in the newspaper.

Table 4.4
Research Hypotheses

	Attitudes as % of Total Articles			Attitudes as % of Opinionated Total	
	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Negative
Total Trade Volume	+	+	-	+	-
Balance of Trade	+	+	-	+	-
An expected positive linear relationship = +					
An expected negative linear relationship = -					

Analytical Technique:

The main focus here is on whether or not a relationship exists between the two variables: trade and attitude. There are generally two methods of testing for such association: Pearson's Product Moment Correlation, a parametric test, and Spearman's Rank Correlation, a non-parametric test.

According to Walford (1995:290) Pearson's test is for interval and ratio data that, "... conforms to the bivariate normal distribution." However, he goes on to point out that, "Statisticians are unfortunately not in agreement as to whether the product moment correlation coefficient is sufficiently robust to withstand deviation from this assumption. The usual solution to the problem is to ensure that the sample size is reasonably large." Unfortunately, although the data involved in this research is ratio, the sample size involved (16 years) is small. There is also some concern about the normality of the data distribution due to the human element. The attitude data in this study is dependent on the researcher's perspective and although the judges were in 80 per cent agreement with the researcher's choices, one cannot consider the data objective or normally distributed.

Spearman's test does not have such an assumption. Walford (1995:291) states that, "This type of correlation is used quite frequently in geographical analysis,

where the data may not conform to the more stringent requirements of product moment correlation requiring a minimum of only five observations and a random sample." As Shaw and Wheeler (1994:186) also note, Spearman's Rank is the common statistical approach when, ". . . data is from suspect, untested sources . . . or where data accuracy is questionable. Rank correlation becomes particularly important within research carried out by geographers on cognitive perception and behavioral studies in general."

Thus the Spearman's Rank Correlation test was chosen to determine the existence and degree of association between trade and attitude. The significance of the Spearman's Correlation results were analyzed using the standard, one tailed t-Test because a specific direction had been postulated for the correlation. Since this was an exploratory study the significance level was set at a minimum of 0.05 resulting in a critical t value of 1.76.

Overall, this chosen analytical approach was conservative but one that was considered appropriate due to the exploratory nature of this study.

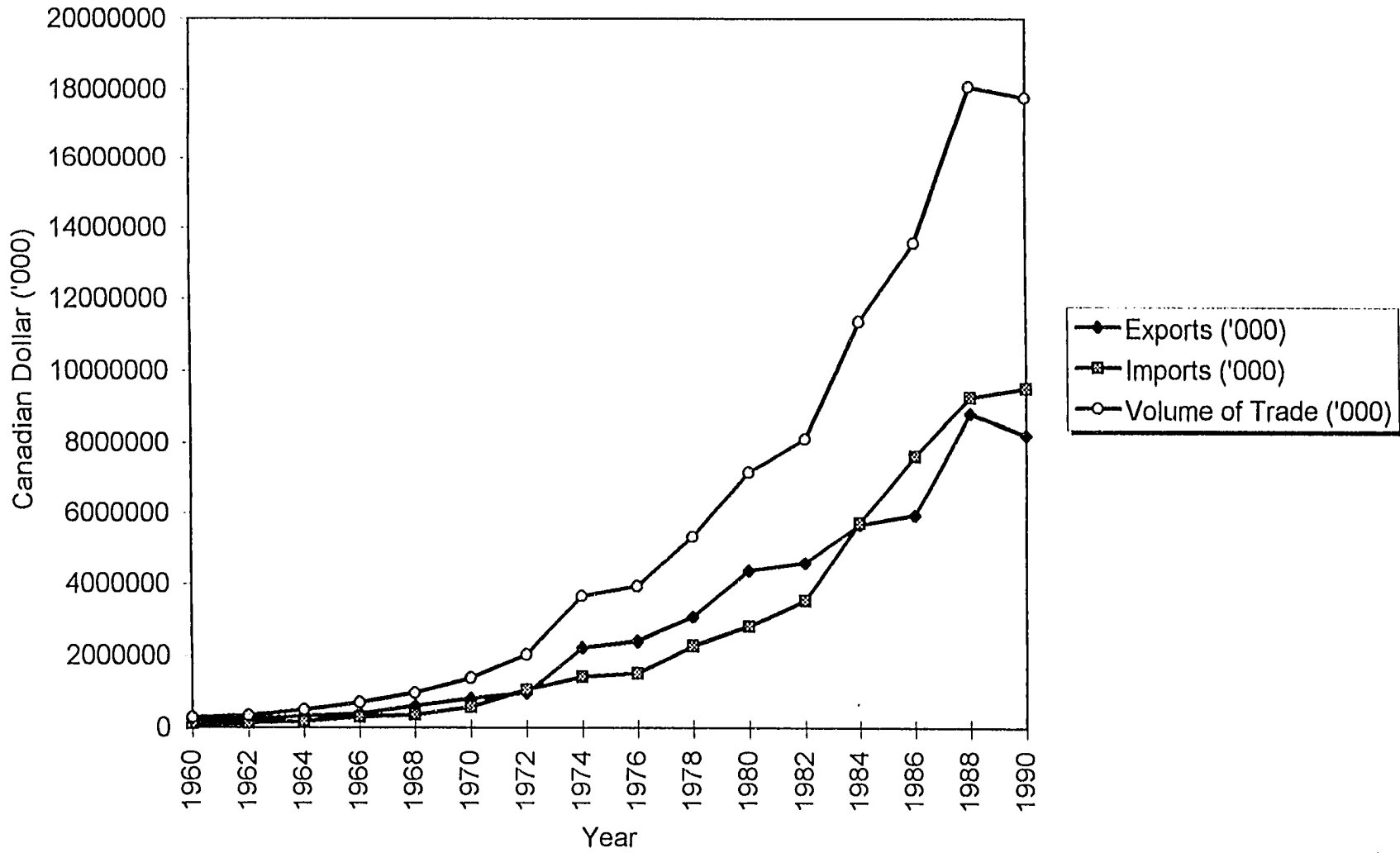
Chapter 5 - Research Results

This chapter presents the key items found within the research results. To recapitulate, the research period was the 31 years from 1960 to 1990. A sample was taken from every other year resulting in sample results for 16 years. The attitude for each year was sampled by analyzing the first published paper of each month. This means that 12 papers were sampled for each year and 192 papers were sampled for the research period. For a complete print out of the article data collected please see Appendix 2.

Trade:

Overall, the volume of trade increased within the study period, only decreasing in the last year sampled, 1990 (See Chart 5.1). The rate of growth was consistently low in the 1960s, but quickened noticeably in the 1970s and quite dramatically in the 1980s. Examined individually, it is noticeable that while imports increased throughout the study period, exports dropped significantly in the last sampled year. So the corresponding drop in the total volume of trade was due to a decrease in exports from Canada to Japan in 1990.

Chart 5.1
Distribution of Trade 1960-1990



The balance of trade (shown in Chart 5.2) was more varied over the study period. It was generally in Canada's favor (positive) until 1984 when Canada began to import more than export. 1972 did show a brief shift from a positive to a negative balance but this was dramatically corrected in the following sample year. For the complete trade data, please refer to Table 5.1.

Articles:

There were a total of 237 articles that mentioned Japan or the Japanese within the study sample, with an average of 15 articles per year or 1.23 per paper. The articles were well distributed over the years with a slight, irregular increase over the sample period, as can be seen in Chart 5.3. The smallest number of articles were in 1962 and 1968, each with 9 articles (4% of the total articles each). The largest number of articles was in 1990 with 23 articles (8% of the total articles), thus the number of annual articles appears to have doubled over the study period.

Of the 237 articles that were read a total of 69 were ranked as negative, 76 as neutral, and 92 as positive, as can be seen in Table 5.2. In total the negative articles made up 29% of the total articles while the positive articles made up 39%. The 1960s and early 1970s were mostly neutral years but from 1974 to 1988 the articles became mostly positive as can be seen in Chart 5.4.

Chart 5.2
Distribution of the Balance of Trade 1960-1990

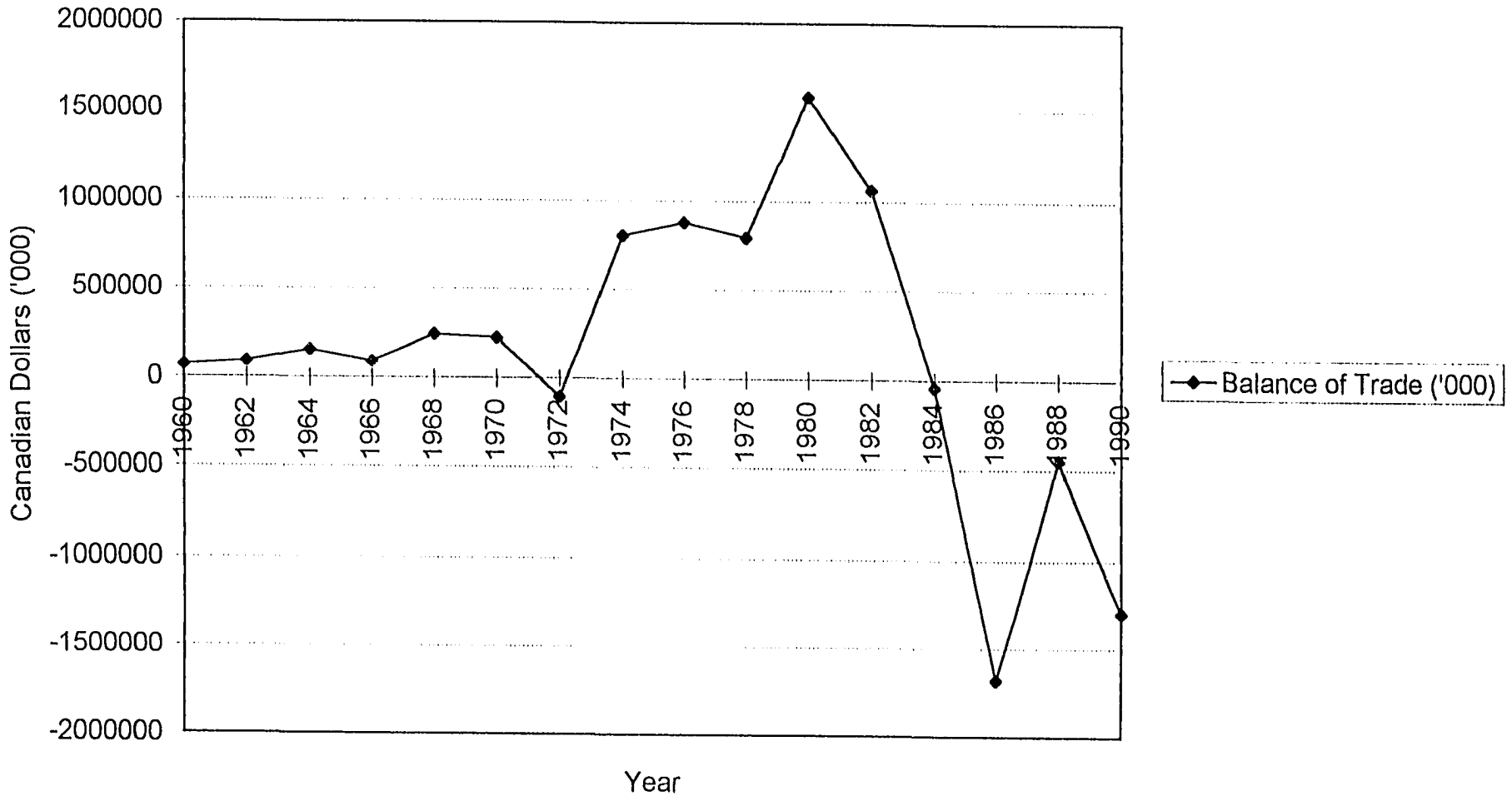


Table 5.1
 Value of Total Imports and Exports on a Customs Basis
 1960 - 1990 (in Canadian Dollars)

Year	Exports ('000)	Imports ('000)	Volume of Trade ('000)	Balance of Trade ('000)
1960	178859	110382	289241	68477
1962	214535	125359	339894	89176
1964	330234	174381	504615	155853
1966	393892	304768	698660	89124
1968	606787	360180	966967	246607
1970	810142	581715	1391857	228427
1972	964795	1071467	2036262	-106672
1974	2223934	1423187	3647121	800747
1976	2399694	1523886	3923580	875808
1978	3062186	2268461	5330647	793725
1980	4373507	2795844	7169351	1577663
1982	4589906	3526797	8116703	1063109
1984	5666488	5711514	11378002	-45026
1986	5940522	7626298	13566820	-1685776
1988	8813000	9267000	18080000	-454000
1990	8230000	9523000	17753000	-1293000

Chart 5.3
Total Article Distribution Over Sample Period 1960-1990

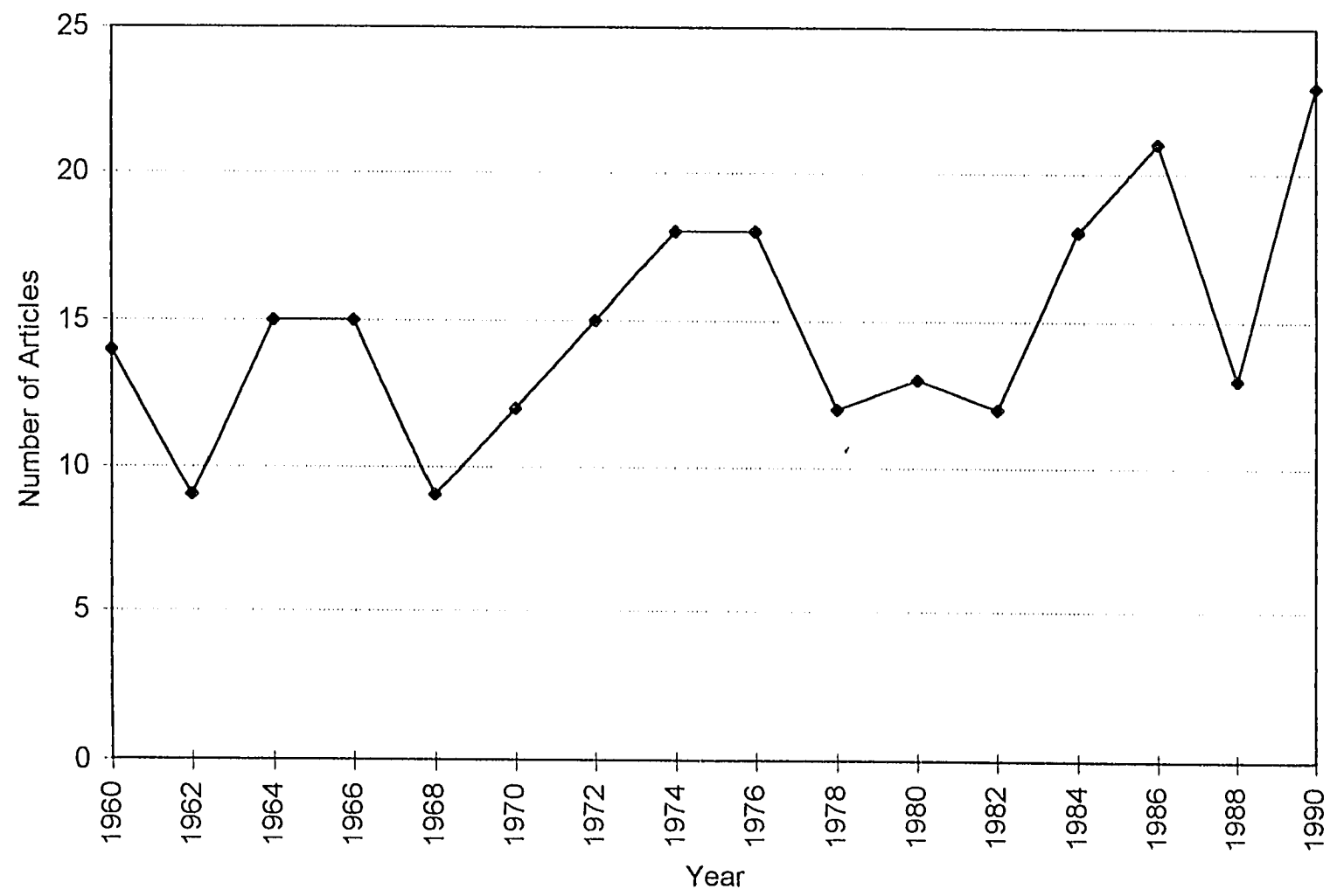
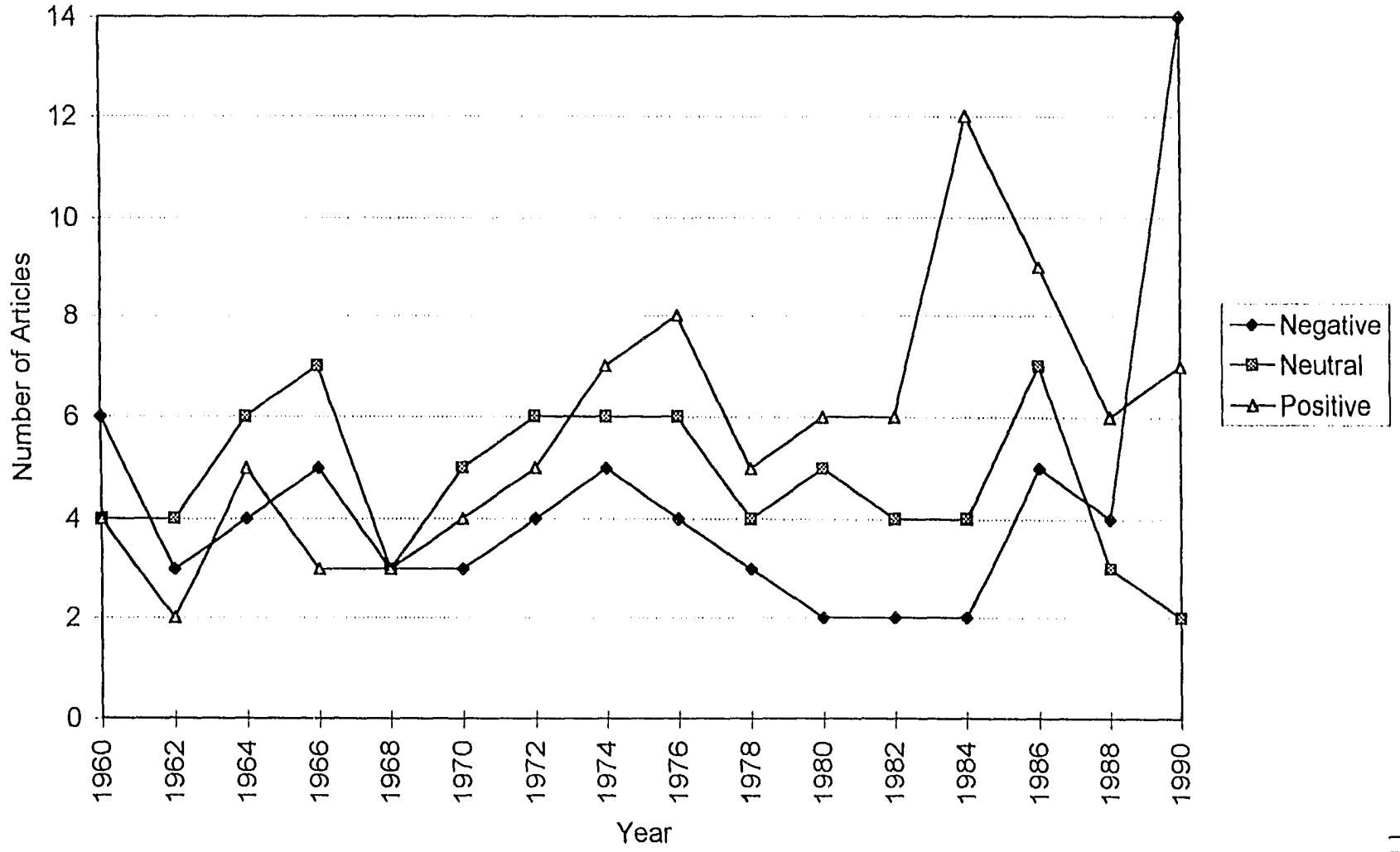


Table 5.2
Number of Articles By Classification and By Year

	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Total
1960	6	4	4	14
1962	3	4	2	9
1964	4	6	5	15
1966	5	7	3	15
1968	3	3	3	9
1970	3	5	4	12
1972	4	6	5	15
1974	5	6	7	18
1976	4	6	8	18
1978	3	4	5	12
1980	2	5	6	13
1982	2	4	6	12
1984	2	4	12	18
1986	5	7	9	21
1988	4	3	6	13
1990	14	2	7	23
Total	69	76	92	237

Chart 5.4
Classified Articles By Year



The only years that had mostly negative articles were the first and last year sampled, 1960 and 1990 respectively. If the neutral category is excluded from the analysis the dominant attitude for the 1960s was negative. 1968 was the only year where there were the same number of positive and negative articles and could in some way be considered as the sample watershed of opinion. The early 1970s saw a positive attitude shift in the articles on Japan which remained until 1990, when negative articles dominated.

Correlation:

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Spearman's Rank Correlation test was used to determine if there was a statistical relationship between the volume of trade and attitude as expressed in the sample articles. This association was examined at two levels. First, a general comparison of trade and attitude rankings was made to determine whether there was any correlation. The attitude rankings were examined in terms of positive, neutral and negative categories as a percentage of the whole. This was then repeated but with the neutral category excluded, which represented 32% of those in the sample.

In the first analysis it was expected that as the volume of trade between Canada and Japan increased there would be a positive relationship with positively classified articles and a negative relationship with negatively classified articles.

It was also expected that as the volume of trade increased the number of neutrally positioned articles would increase, representing a more balanced perspective, as people became more concerned with global perspectives and racism. As Table 5.3 demonstrates, there was a strongly significant positive relationship between the volume of trade and positive articles.

The flipside however shows that this relationship was not symmetrical. The expected negative relationship with negative articles is weak and not significant at the prescribed minimum confidence level of $p=0.05$. Meanwhile, neutral articles also had a strongly significant relationship with the volume of trade, however, unexpectedly it was a negative one. Thus, as the volume of trade increased the articles became less neutral and more opinionated.

In the second analysis it was expected that the more positive the balance of trade, the more positive articles there would be. Thus there would be a positive relationship between the balance of trade and the positive articles, and a negative relationship with the negative articles. As Table 5.4 demonstrates, the relationships are weak and although in the predicted directions, not statistically significant. There was also no significant relationship with the neutral articles, however unlike with the volume of trade it was a positive relationship, as predicted.

Table 5.3
Correlation Results for the Volume of Trade and Articles (Hypothesis #1)

	Independent Variable (X) Volume of Trade	Dependent Variable (Y) Positive Articles	D	D2		Independent Variable (X) Volume of Trade	Dependent Variable (Y) Neutral Articles	D	D2		Independent Variable (X) Volume of Trade	Dependent Variable (Y) Negative Articles	D	D2	
1960	1	3	-2	4		1960	4	-3	9		1960	15	-14	196	
1962	2	2	0	0		1962	15	-13	169		1962	2	13	-11	121
1964	3	6.5	-3.5	12.25		1964	3	12.5	-9.5	90.25	1964	3	8.5	-5.5	30.25
1966	4	1	3	9		1966	4	16	-12	144	1966	4	13	-9	81
1968	5	6.5	-1.5	2.25		1968	5	7.5	-2.5	6.25	1968	5	13	-8	64
1970	6	6.5	-0.5	0.25		1970	6	14	-8	64	1970	6	6.5	-0.5	0.25
1972	7	6.5	0.5	0.25		1972	7	12.5	-5.5	30.25	1972	7	8.5	-1.5	2.25
1974	8	9	-1	1		1974	8	7.5	0.5	0.25	1974	8	10	-2	4
1976	9	12	-3	9		1976	9	7.5	1.5	2.25	1976	9	4	5	25
1978	10	10	0	0		1978	10	7.5	2.5	6.25	1978	10	6.5	3.5	12.25
1980	11	13.5	-2.5	6.25		1980	11	11	0	0	1980	11	2	9	81
1982	12	15	-3	9		1982	12	7.5	4.5	20.25	1982	12	3	9	81
1984	13	16	-3	9		1984	13	2	11	121	1984	13	1	12	144
1986	14	11	3	9		1986	14	7.5	6.5	42.25	1986	14	5	9	81
1988	16	13.5	2.5	6.25		1988	16	3	13	169	1988	16	11	5	25
1990	15	4	11	121		1990	15	1	14	196	1990	15	16	-1	1
			0.00	198.50				0.00	1070.00				0.00	949.00	
Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	0.71	t test	3.75		Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	-0.57	t test	-2.62		Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	-0.40	t test	-1.61		
	Statistically, 99% significant					Statistically, 95% significant					Statistically, not significant				

Table 5.4
Correlation Results for the Balance of Trade and Articles (Hypothesis #2)

	Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)				Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)				Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)			
	Balance of Trade	Positive Articles	D	D2		Balance of Trade	Neutral Articles	D	D2		Balance of Trade	Negative Articles	D	D2	
1960	6	3	3	9		1960	6	4	2	4	1960	6	15	-9	81
1962	8	2	6	36		1962	8	15	-7	49	1962	8	13	-5	25
1964	9	6.5	2.5	6.25		1964	9	12.5	-3.5	12.25	1964	9	8.5	0.5	0.25
1966	7	1	6	36		1966	7	16	-9	81	1966	7	13	-6	36
1968	11	6.5	4.5	20.25		1968	11	7.5	3.5	12.25	1968	11	13	-2	4
1970	10	6.5	3.5	12.25		1970	10	14	-4	16	1970	10	6.5	3.5	12.25
1972	4	6.5	-2.5	6.25		1972	4	12.5	-8.5	72.25	1972	4	8.5	-4.5	20.25
1974	13	9	4	16		1974	13	7.5	5.5	30.25	1974	13	10	3	9
1976	14	12	2	4		1976	14	7.5	6.5	42.25	1976	14	4	10	100
1978	12	10	2	4		1978	12	7.5	4.5	20.25	1978	12	6.5	5.5	30.25
1980	16	13.5	2.5	6.25		1980	16	11	5	25	1980	16	2	14	196
1982	15	15	0	0		1982	15	7.5	7.5	56.25	1982	15	3	12	144
1984	5	16	-11	121		1984	5	2	3	9	1984	5	1	4	16
1986	1	11	-10	100		1986	1	7.5	-6.5	42.25	1986	1	5	-4	16
1988	3	13.5	-10.5	110.25		1988	3	3	0	0	1988	3	11	-8	64
1990	2	4	-2	4		1990	2	1	1	1	1990	2	16	-14	196
			0.00	491.50				0.00	473.00				0.00	950.00	
Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	0.28	t test	1.08		Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	0.30	t test	1.20		Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	-0.40	t test	-1.62		
Statistically, not significant					Statistically, not significant					Statistically, not significant					

The third hypothesis examined the articles based on their percentage of the total positive and negative articles for each year as shown in Table 5.5. This was done to focus on the positively and negatively classified articles, therefore this method did not include the 'neutral' rankings. There was the expected positive association between increased trade and the proportions of positive articles, but at a lower significance level (0.05 rather than 0.01). This time however, there was the expected significant negative relationship between the volume of trade and negative articles. Therefore, the 'opinionated' articles had a relationship with trade that was stronger and more symmetrical but less significant.

The fourth and final analysis examined the relationship between balance of trade and 'opinionated' articles. Table 5.6 shows that the relationships were still in the predicted direction and stronger, but still not significant at the pre-selected levels.

Associated Trends:

The basis of this study is the attitudes of societal members, as expressed in the press. Therefore it is important to examine trends in authorship. Most of the articles were written by either a press agency (43%) or a Vancouver Sun staff member (33%) as can be seen in Table 5.7.

Table 5.5
Correlation Results for the Volume of Trade and Opinionated Articles (Hypothesis #3)

	Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)				Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)			
	Volume of Trade	Positive Articles	D	D2		Volume of Trade	Negative Articles	D	D2	
1960	1	3.5	-2.5	6.25		1960	13.5	-12.5	156.25	
1962	2	3.5	-1.5	2.25		1962	13.5	-11.5	132.25	
1964	3	6.5	-3.5	12.25		1964	10.5	-7.5	56.25	
1966	4	2	2	4		1966	15	-11	121	
1968	5	5	0	0		1968	12	-7	49	
1970	6	8	-2	4		1970	9	-3	9	
1972	7	6.5	0.5	0.25		1972	10.5	-3.5	12.25	
1974	8	9	-1	1		1974	8	0	0	
1976	9	13	-4	16		1976	4	5	25	
1978	10	11	-1	1		1978	6	4	16	
1980	11	14.5	-3.5	12.25		1980	2.5	8.5	72.25	
1982	12	14.5	-2.5	6.25		1982	2.5	9.5	90.25	
1984	13	16	-3	9		1984	1	12	144	
1986	14	12	2	4		1986	5	9	81	
1988	16	10	6	36		1988	7	9	81	
1990	15	1	14	196		1990	16	-1	1	
			0.00	310.50				0.00	1046.50	
Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	0.54		t test	2.42		Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	-0.54	t test	-2.39	
Statistically, 95% significant						Statistically, 95% significant				

Table 5.6
Correlation Results for Balance of Trade and Opinionated Articles (Hypothesis #4)

	Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)					Independent Variable (X)	Dependent Variable (Y)		
	Balance of Trade	Positive Articles	D	D2			Balance of Trade	Negative Articles	D	D2
1960	6	3.5	2.5	6.25		1960	6	13.5	-7.5	56.25
1962	8	3.5	4.5	20.25		1962	8	13.5	-5.5	30.25
1964	9	6.5	2.5	6.25		1964	9	10.5	-1.5	2.25
1966	7	2	5	25		1966	7	15	-8	64
1968	11	5	6	36		1968	11	12	-1	1
1970	10	8	2	4		1970	10	9	1	1
1972	4	6.5	-2.5	6.25		1972	4	10.5	-6.5	42.25
1974	13	9	4	16		1974	13	8	5	25
1976	14	13	1	1		1976	14	4	10	100
1978	12	11	1	1		1978	12	6	6	36
1980	16	14.5	1.5	2.25		1980	16	2.5	13.5	182.25
1982	15	14.5	0.5	0.25		1982	15	2.5	12.5	156.25
1984	5	16	-11	121		1984	5	1	4	16
1986	1	12	-11	121		1986	1	5	-4	16
1988	3	10	-7	49		1988	3	7	-4	16
1990	2	1	1	1		1990	2	16	-14	196
			0.00	416.50					0.00	940.50
Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	0.39		t test	1.57		Spearman's Correlation Coefficient	-0.38		t test	-1.55
Statistically, not significant						Statistically, not significant				

Table 5.7
Yearly Breakdown of Articles by Author

	Press Agency	Staff Member	Other Paper	Reader	Not Available
1960	7	6	0	0	1
1962	5	0	0	1	3
1964	7	0	2	0	6
1966	11	2	1	0	1
1968	4	2	0	0	3
1970	7	2	0	0	3
1972	6	4	0	1	4
1974	10	7	0	0	1
1976	8	6	0	0	4
1978	7	5	0	0	0
1980	7	2	0	1	3
1982	4	5	0	0	3
1984	2	14	0	0	2
1986	4	14	3	0	0
1988	4	6	2	0	1
1990	8	4	3	0	8
Totals	101	79	11	3	43

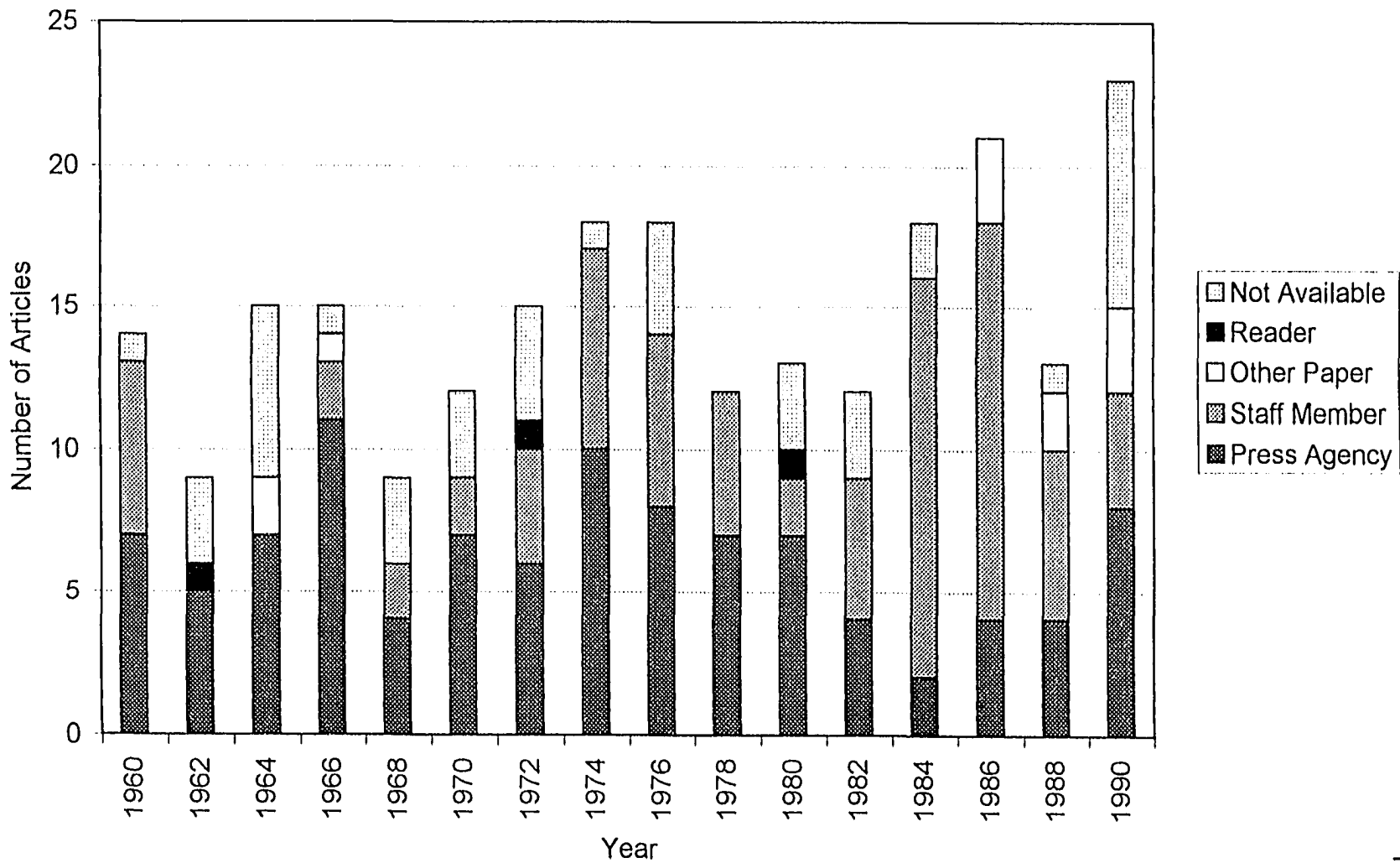
18% of the articles did not give an indication of authorship, whereas 5% originated with another paper and 1% were letters from readers. There was a definite trend over time, with press agencies being credited with the majority of articles until 1982 after which the Vancouver Sun became the largest author group. (See Chart 5.5) There was a change back to press agencies in 1990.

Overall, other papers were only credited since the late 1980s, with the exception of a brief appearance in 1964 and 1966. Readers were credited sporadically throughout the study period as was expected.

Most of the articles credited to a press agency were neutral (49%) while the Sun staff and other papers were predominantly positive at 52% and 64%, respectively. Readers were mostly negative at 67%. An interesting note is that the 'other papers' and 'readers' categories had no articles classified as neutral, so can be regarded as opinionated sources.

The analysis for this paper focused on Japanese related articles in the Vancouver Sun, but within these broad parameters it is instructive to examine the exact topics under consideration since this would present further evidence of the changing attitudes. The topics of the articles were mostly news events (33%) and economic matters (36%).

Chart 5.5
Article Author By Year



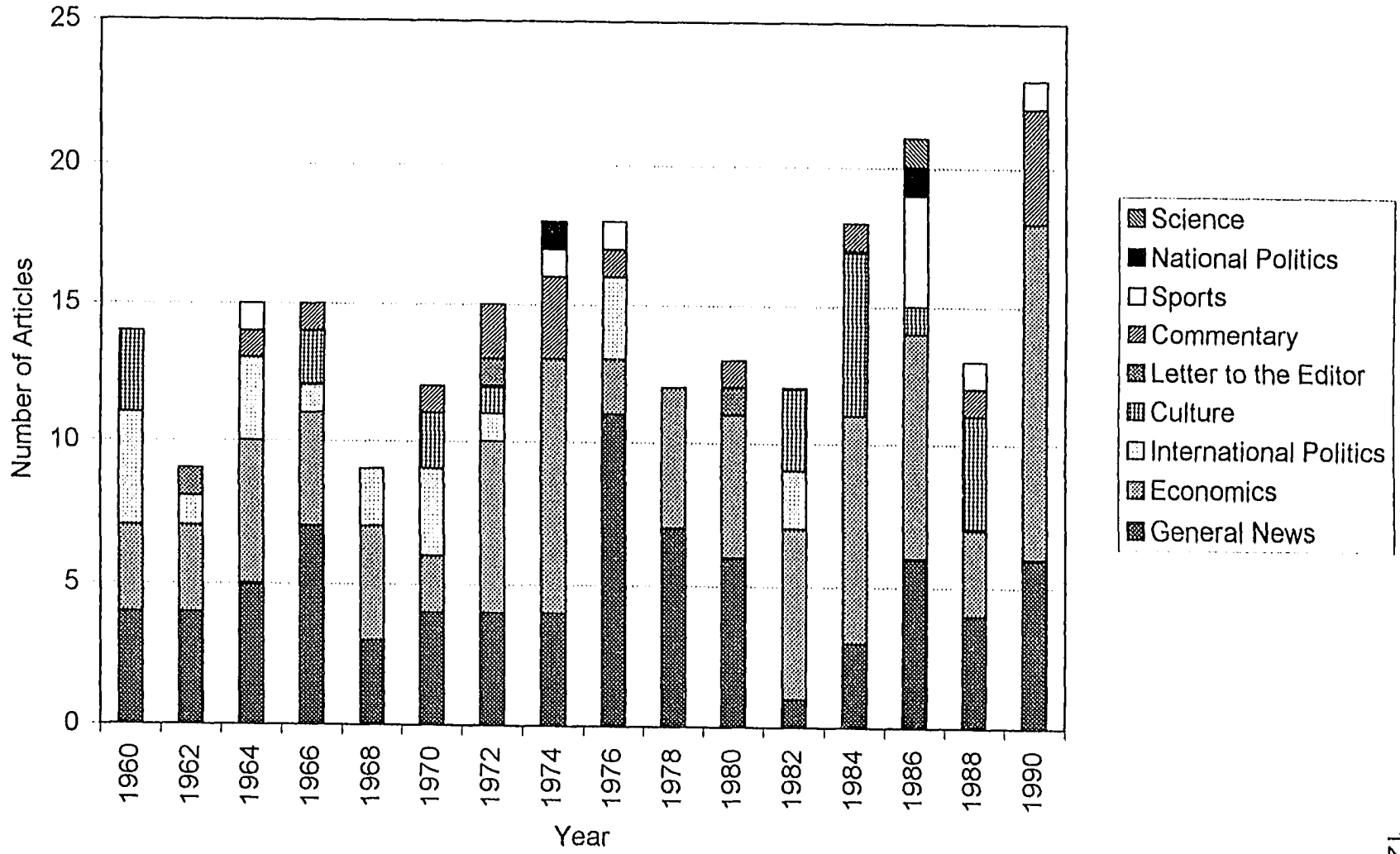
Culture, international politics, commentaries and sports followed sequentially with between 9% and 4% of the total articles each. The remaining topic classifications: letter to the editor, national politics and science were all under 2% of the total articles. Table 5.8 has the complete breakdown. There does not appear to be any particular pattern to the yearly breakdown of the article topics as can be seen in Chart 5.6. However 1986 is an interesting year. The only scientific article in the study sample was in 1986, while sports articles appear to be becoming more consistently represented. Also 1986 (along with 1972) incorporated the most topic categories in one year than any other year within the sample period.

Economic articles were mostly positive at 47% while news articles were mostly neutral at 48%. Cultural and scientific articles were mostly positive (55% and 100% respectively) while commentary articles and letters to the editor were mostly negative (50 and 67% respectively). As expected, there were no neutral letters to the editor. Articles on international politics were predominantly neutral, even so far as having an equal number of positive and negative articles as well. Sports and national politics were tied between neutral and positive and neutral and negative respectively.

Table 5.8
Article Topics

	General News	Economics	International Politics	Culture	Letter to the Editor	Commentary	Sports	National Politics	Science
1960	4	3	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
1962	4	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
1964	5	5	3	0	0	1	1	0	0
1966	7	4	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
1968	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	4	2	3	2	0	1	0	0	0
1972	4	6	1	1	1	2	0	0	0
1974	4	9	0	0	0	3	1	1	0
1976	11	2	3	0	0	1	1	0	0
1978	7	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1980	6	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
1982	1	6	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
1984	3	8	0	6	0	1	0	0	0
1986	6	8	0	1	0	0	4	1	1
1988	4	3	0	4	0	1	1	0	0
1990	6	12	0	0	0	4	1	0	0
Total	79	85	20	22	3	16	9	2	1

Chart 5.6
Article Subjects By Year



One final observation is that most articles appeared to be focused mostly on Japan and the Japanese at a global level. Of the 237 articles only 19 (8%) concerned the Japanese in Canada and local Japanese residents, while the remaining 92% focused on Japan as a country. This will be discussed further in chapter 6.

Conclusion:

The research results showed a statistically significant, positive association between the volume of trade and the proportion of positive articles as expected, when only the 'opinionated' articles were examined. There was also a corresponding statistically significant, negative relationship between the volume of trade and the proportion of negative articles. This symmetrical result did not hold if the neutral articles were included in the analysis, at which time only the positive association was significant.

There was no significant association between the balance of trade and the proportion of positive or negative articles, either as part of 'opinionated' articles or as part of the whole.

Throughout the study period (1960-1990) the volume of trade generally increased while the balance of trade was positive for most of the 60's and 70's

but became negative in the mid 80's and remained so for the rest of the study period. The sampled articles were generally neutral for the 60's and early 70's at which time there appears to be an attitude shift to predominantly positive. This continued until the last sample year, 1990, when the articles became predominantly negative.

The following chapter will interpret and discuss these results, as they pertain to the geographical understanding of trade, attitude and identity.

Chapter 6 - Result Analysis

This chapter will provide a specific analysis of the results, followed by a discussion on how these results fit with the theories of attitude and identity change. The chapter will conclude with a brief discussion on how this research can be linked with geographical inquiry.

Any discussion of these results should be prefaced by the recognition that this was an exploratory study attempting to accomplish what Schafer (1994) and others have advocated: looking for associations between economic and social forces. It was not intended to show any specific 'causal' relationship. Also, the correlation analysis examined the postulated relationship between trade and attitude at a purposefully generally level, due to questions relating to the quality of the attitude classifications.

Finally, any extrapolation away from the specific research question and case study is risky, for not enough research has been done in this area yet to determine with much certainty that such a relationship exists. For example, if the research was to be conducted on the Canada-US trade/attitude relationship it might find that trade is not a significant variable in attitude change. Possibly because of the high level of exposure Canada has to the US without trade, through the general media and especially television. The speculation to follow

about the possible existence of a relationship between trade and attitudes outside the case study, and of extending the relationship to include identity is just that, speculation. However, it is conjecture that has evolved naturally from the literature and this research. Such conjecture enforces the concept of this research as preliminary and exploratory in nature, and demonstrates the vast amount of research yet to be done.

Analysis:

First, the predicted direction of the relationship is generally proven. As trade volume increased, articles positive towards the Japanese increased: however this relationship was not symmetrical. There was not a mirror image decrease in negative articles as positive articles increased. This suggests that there may be a stronger resistance to the change of negative attitudes by trade and that negative attitudes might be more influenced by other variables.

Meanwhile, the failure to show a significant relationship between attitude articles and the balance of trade indicates that, in this case, attitudes are more related to trade volume than trade balance. This puts in doubt on the use of trade volume as a surrogate variable to represent the complete trade picture. Therefore, any further speculation will be based on the relationship between trade volume and inter-group attitudes rather than international trade and inter-group attitudes.

This lends support to the idea that within international trade itself there are numerous variables that could affect inter-group attitudes, of which trade volume would appear to be one.

Finally, the lack of a significant relationship casts doubt that the balance of trade causes resentment and increases animosity between groups. It adds support to the idea that negative inter-group attitudes are a result of other factors but that the perceived relationship with trade balance is perpetuated by the media. However, since the balance of trade swung decidedly in Japan's favor only toward the end of the survey period it could be that the full impact of this shift was not reflected in the collected sample.

The first two hypotheses used a three point scale, when positive and negative articles were expressed as a proportion of the complete coverage. This included neutral articles in which no distinct attitude was expressed or was discernible as dominant. The neutral position of the first hypothesis had a negative association with increased trade. This suggests that as trade volume increased there was a growing percentage of 'opinionated' articles about Japan rather than more impartial or balanced articles. In other words, there was a larger proportion of articles that expressed a distinct attitude as trade increased. As this thesis is concerned with change within inter-group attitudes, a third hypothesis was

tested to investigate whether changing trade volume had a significant relationship to 'opinionated' or distinct attitude articles, rather than to all articles on Japan.

Unlike the first hypothesis, a symmetrical association was found. That is, as the volume of trade increased, positive articles increased and negative articles decreased. Therefore trade was found to have a significant relationship with articles that expressed an attitude about Japan and the Japanese. This change in the significance of the negative article may be due, in part, to the elimination of the neutral article's overshadowing effect.

There are highlights in the data that also indicate a possible relationship between trade volume and inter-group attitudes. The early 1970's saw a distinct, positive shift in attitude while the rate of growth in trade volume increased rapidly. In 1990 there was a drop in trade volume and a corresponding negative shift in attitude. As 1990 was the final year in this research period, it is impossible to say here if this was the beginning of another long-term shift in attitude, or an aberration. However, there is no particular event or story theme in the sample articles for that year. This indicates that perhaps this attitude shift was not an anomaly explained by a particular event or circumstance, but rather the beginning of a significant attitude change. This view is supported by Taylor

(1996) and O'Loughlin (1993) who speculate that the late 1980s saw the beginning of a restructuring of the world system as American hegemony declined. They suggested that social changes increased rapidly at this time, as new political economies were formed.

The assessment of the newspaper articles also revealed some interesting features. First, the newspaper coverage of Japan and the Japanese doubled in the study period showing greater interest and concern as trade volume increased. Second, the authorship switched from predominately Press Agency coverage to local Vancouver Sun staff in the early 1980s, and then returned to Press Agency in 1990.

The Canadian Newspaper Association (1998) notes that the late 1970s saw a significant change in newspaper production and reporting, that of 'electronic journalism', where telecommunications, satellite transmissions, and the Internet became popular tools in the newspaper trade. Therefore, it is suggested that perhaps Vancouver Sun staff wrote a larger proportion of articles because they had better access to information and stories about Japan, through advances in communication. Donald MacLauchlan, Director of Communications at Pacific Press in 1998, suggested that the switch back to predominantly Press Agencies in 1990 was due, not to a lack of interest or financial pressures, but on the

pressures of increased interest. He stated that the staff write as many, if not more, articles on Japan and the Japanese than before. However, increased interest, together with the increase in availability of articles from other agencies, has meant that Press Agencies now account for a higher proportion of articles. This theory fits with the finding that 1990 had the highest number of articles in the study period.

A third interesting feature is that overall there appeared to be greater attention paid to Japan and the Japanese at a global rather than a local level. This focus on the global may be the result of the small size of Vancouver's Japanese population, which was only 0.8% as of the 1991 census (Canada, Statistics Office 93-315:20). While simultaneously, Japan as a nation is Canada's second largest trading partner and major source of tourism revenue (412,500 minimum one night stay Japanese visitors in 1992, spending approximately \$174 per day) (Canada, Tourism 1992:9). Thus, it is not to surprising that the Vancouver Sun would consider global issues concerning Japan more likely to interest the broad readership, than issues and stories involving the local Japanese.

Of course, as stated earlier, there are numerous variables other than within trade that could be influencing attitudes within the study period. This is evident in the sample year 1986 which had the second highest number of articles, mostly

positive and written by Vancouver Sun staff. Also, the largest number of topics covered in a single year within the research period was in 1986, including the only science article. This may be a double result, reflecting trade and Expo'86, a world fair that took place in Vancouver that same year. It focused a much wider lens of interest on many countries, including Japan.

However, there can be little doubt, given the changing authorship profile and article content, that much of the observed attitude changes were linked to a stronger local awareness of the growing business and economic links between the two countries. The sample evidence also reveals a stronger reliance on local interpretation of events and a dominance of business matters. These factors indicate that Vancouverites' attitudes were being shaped by global business concerns and that international trade is an important, but not the only, variable in the formation of inter-group attitudes.

Discussion:

This thesis showed that there was a significant correlation between trade and the attitudes expressed in the Vancouver Sun newspaper. As trade volume increased there was an increase in positive articles about Japan and the Japanese, and a corresponding decrease in negative articles.

As mentioned earlier, the media is viewed in this research, as a device, used by the elite, to reinforce and reflect public opinion. Simultaneously it influences the public through indirect devices that indicate bias. Therefore, the Vancouver Sun is seen here as a guide to Vancouver's attitudes at a particular time and place. Thus, a decrease in negative articles about Japan can be taken to represent a decrease in Vancouverites' negative attitudes towards Japan. Therefore, it can be speculated that as trade between Canada and Japan increased, Vancouver's general, popular attitude towards the Japanese improved.

The drop in negative attitudes could indicate that the differences between Vancouverites and the Japanese were seen in a less negative light by Vancouverites. Thus, it could be indicative of a reduction in prejudice and racism in Vancouver, towards Japan and the Japanese. This is supported by Bibby's (1995) research on Canadian inter-group relations. He found in a cross Canada survey in 1980 and 1995 that there was a 4% reduction in the number of people in BC who felt that racial or cultural groups in their community were discriminated against (Bibby 1995:53). Thus, this thesis supports the hypothesis that there may be a significant negative relationship between trade and the prejudicial and discriminatory attitudes associated with negative inter-group attitudes, including racism.

However, Bibby (1995:52) found an 8% increase in perceived discrimination for all of Canada, which isn't reflected in this research. This further emphasizes that the specifics of this case study cannot be considered representative of Canada as a whole. Yet this research does provide the foundation for general conjecture regarding the potential relationship between trade volume and inter-group attitudes and identity.

If extrapolated, this research suggests that there is a general, positive relationship between trade volume and inter-group attitudes. According to Ajzen (1988) and Tinker (1991), the disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution or event is dependent on our surroundings. Our evaluations of attitude objects can change as our experiences in the world around us change and as new information becomes available. As trade now permeates even the most rural economies, it plays an important role in daily life. As such, a change in trade volume has the potential to change our surroundings and the information from which evaluations are made. This is not to say that attitudes will change, but that a change in context increases the possibility of change. The research here supports the view that trade, or at least the volume of trade, may be one significant variable in the context of attitudinal change.

If this is true, then there is also the possibility that trade volume may be related to identity. A change in trade volume may be related to identity change due to its ability to change the environment or context in which identities are formed and maintained. Change in trade volume could affect the context of identity change two fold: through its association with changes in the economy, and through its hypothesized association with changes in attitude. However, the latter can only influence identity change if the attitude in question is relevant or important to the identity.

This hypothesized relationship between changes in trade and changes in identity is supported by Hall (1991) and Scholte (1996) who argue that the processes of globalization (of which international trade is one) are destabilizing identities, causing an increase in identity fragmentation and change. Hall (1991) and Bloom (1990) suggest that as identities destabilize there is a decrease in our sense of security and an increase in fear and the need to protect identities. It is hypothesized by authors such as Connolly (1991) that identity protection is achieved through an increase in negative inter-group attitudes. That more negative attitudes are formed towards 'others' to protect a group's identity and sense of belonging and security.

The drop in negative attitudes towards Japan and the Japanese found in this thesis suggests that there was not an increase in the need for the protection of Vancouverites' identities as trade volume increased. In fact, it could be suggested that difference was increasingly seen as a positive, rather than as a negative, as trade volume increased. Woodward (1997) suggests that identities are not only formed by defining what we are not, but also by what is similar. The lack of an apparent increase in the exclusion or 'othering' of the Japanese indicates that perhaps as trade volume increased there were more perceived similarities with Japan. If so, it would appear that Japanese related identity attributes were embraced rather than excluded and marginalized.

However, this is assuming that Japan and the Japanese were significant 'others' in the formation and maintenance of Vancouverites' identities. Further research is needed into Vancouverites' identities before any conclusions can be drawn with confidence. It would appear that while trade volume may be related to identity change, there is insufficient evidence to indicate if a changes in trade volume are related to the protection of identities.

Conclusion:

Attitude trend studies such as this are important to geographical studies. To deny geography's interest in attitudes, is to ignore three key factors: the role of place in the structuration of attitudes, the influence of attitudes on an individual's or group's place utility, and the impact of inter-group attitudes on the spatial configuration of social life (spatiality). Acknowledging place in the study of attitudes allows for a greater understanding of the context in which attitude change occurs and provides a regional perspective on inter-group relations. The impact of attitude and identity change on such feelings as belonging and security can affect an individual or group's satisfaction with, or preference for, a specific location, and as such affect the distribution of people, business and activity. This thesis adds to the growing research into the geography of attitude, through its examination of place specific inter-group attitudes and their relationship with international trade factors.

The next, and final, chapter will provide a brief overview of this thesis, and make recommendations for further research.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter will provide a brief summary of the preceding chapters. This thesis will then end with some final thoughts and recommendations.

Summary:

This has been an exploratory study examining the existence of a relationship between international trade and inter-group attitudes. It was hypothesized that an increase in international trade would have a significant negative correlation with negative inter-group attitudes.

This was examined because international trade is an integral part of the globalization process which permeates all societies. As O'Loughlin (1993) states, economics is becoming increasingly important in the determination of the global hierarchy, while simultaneously it is becoming increasingly difficult for individual nations to control. Also the processes of globalization, including transnational economic activity, bring with them a greater interaction between cultures and the formation of a 'global society'. However, such cultural convergence also brings resistance and a search for new identities, termed 'the crisis in identity'. Thus, as recommended by Schafer (1994), this thesis focused on the relationship between international trade and society, specifically inter-

group attitudes, in order to expand and broaden our understanding of economics and its part in the interdependent global system.

Many authors such as Scholte (1996) speculate that the previously dominant identity level, the nation-state, is being replaced, but that no new dominant identity has yet appeared. In the meantime we are seeing a fragmentation and destabilization of identities. It is suggested by authors such as Hall (1991) that this destabilization will promote fear of, and defense against, the 'other' until a new dominant identity norm is established. This preference or evaluation of the 'other' is represented by attitude, the ". . . disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution or event" (Ajzen 1988:4).

Therefore, the increased fear and hatred associated with the protection of identity, manifests itself in an increase in negative inter-group attitudes.

One common method of expressing negative inter-group attitudes is through racism, the discrimination against others based on our attitudes towards them defined by perceived biological traits and cultural uniqueness. Two main causes or stimuli of racist attitudes are seen as a lack of knowledge about the other and as lack of economic prosperity. International trade offers many opportunities for the establishment and use of communication links between societies, while simultaneously benefiting the economies involved, thereby increasing real

incomes and potentially reducing the need for tension between economic groups. Therefore there may be a relationship between international trade and racist attitudes. This hypothesis can then be extrapolated from to suggest that there may be a relationship between international trade and negative inter-group attitudes.

There appear to be multiple opportunities for international trade to have a significant relationship with inter-group attitudes. As part of the process of globalization it would appear to be worsening negative inter-group attitudes through the destabilization of identity. However, the general theories of international trade and the formation of racist attitudes suggest that there is a negative relationship between international trade and negative inter-group attitudes. Thus, there is a need to examine if such a relationship exists between inter-group attitudes and international trade, and whether it is positive or negative.

The Vancouver-Japan relationship between 1960-1990 was used as a case study. The hypothesis was that as international trade between Canada and Japan increased, Vancouverites' negative attitudes towards Japan and the Japanese would decrease.

Vancouver was chosen as the focus for the case study for numerous reasons, but primarily because it is the third largest city in Canada and acts as Canada's 'gateway' to the Pacific. The relationship between Vancouver and Japan was studied primarily because of Japan's important position in Canada's trading circle and because of the rapid rise and prominence of Japan in the world economy.

The Vancouver Sun was used to represent Vancouver's general attitudes towards Japan and the Japanese. This is because this thesis considered the media to reflect and reinforce public opinion, and in the process of doing so, influence the public through the subtle, indirect bias of ownership and management. Content analysis was used on a sample of articles to identify changing attitudes over the 31 year period. This data source involved subjective, general classification. However a comparison of the researcher's interpretations with those of an independent panel produced an 80% similarity, which was considered acceptable evidence of reliability.

Canadian trade statistics with Japan were used to represent Vancouver's exposure to trade with Japan, as most Canada-Japan trade goes through Vancouver. This data also provided a consistent data source as needed in time

studies such as this. Trade volume was used as a surrogate variable to represent the entire international trade picture. The balance of trade was also examined since according to Drucker (1992:80-83) a negative trade balance can inspire unease and resentment.

Four specific statistical hypothesis were examined in terms of international trade and inter-group attitude. Please refer to Table 7.1 for a complete summary of all correlation results. The first hypothesis was that trade volume would be positively related to positive and neutral articles, while negatively related to negative articles. The results indicated that the positive relationship with positive articles was statistically acceptable, while the negative relationship with negative articles was not. This indicates that perhaps negative articles were more influenced by variables other than trade. The relationship with neutral articles was statistically significant, however not in the predicted direction. Thus indicating that the articles expressed more distinct attitudes as trade increased.

The second hypothesis was that the balance of trade would also be positively related to positive and neutral articles while negatively related to negative articles. However, none of the results were statistically significant as can be seen in Table 7.1. The direction of the results also paralleled those of the first hypothesis, except for the neutral articles that were positive as predicted.

Table 7.1
Summary of Correlation Results

		Attitudes as a % of Total Articles			Attitudes as a % of Opinionated Articles	
		Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Negative
Volume of Trade	Spearman's Rank	0.71	-0.57	-0.4	0.54	-0.54
	T-Test	3.75	-2.62	-1.61	2.42	-2.39
Balance of Trade	Spearman's Rank	0.28	0.3	-0.4	0.39	-0.38
	T-Test	1.08	1.2	-0.62	1.57	-1.55

The third hypothesis was that with the removal of neutral articles there should be a clearer association between trade and positive and negative attitude articles. This proved to be the case for the negative relationship with the negative articles, which now became statistically significant. But the positive relationship with positive articles, while remaining significant, was so at a lower probability level.

The fourth hypothesis, which examined the relationship between the balance of trade and opinionated articles, did demonstrate a stronger relationship along the lines proposed but the results remained insignificant.

The newspaper coverage showed growth in local authorship (Vancouver Sun staff), which was predominantly positive, compared to the neutral stance of the earlier dominance by Press Agencies. Likewise, the content of the articles changed over time. Business and economic stories became more dominant over time, taking over the top spot from general news. Political and cultural stories were relatively minor, and in some yearly samples failed to appear.

If extrapolated beyond the case study, these results can suggest further implications. There is evidence in the results from the third hypothesis, that trade volume may have a significant relationship with inter-group attitudes,

including racism. That inter-group attitudes will improve as the trade volume between the groups, increases. However the poor results in hypothesis two and four, suggest that trade volume is not representative of the entire trade picture, since trade balance did not have the same results.

This research suggests that perhaps trade volume is one significant variable in the context of attitude change. If this is true, then it may also, indirectly, effect identity, for changing attitudes towards 'other' may change how we view ourselves. This fits with the ideas mentioned above about how the processes of globalization, including international trade, destabilize and change identities. However, there is insufficient information to speculate about a relationship between trade volume and the need to protect identity through 'othering'.

While this thesis does not prove or disprove the general relationship between trade, attitudes and identity, it does provide some interesting evidence and preliminary research for others to develop. Following are some recommendations for further research.

Recommendations:

This thesis had certain limitations that could be addressed in further research. For example, it might be beneficial to expand the attitude source material to

include other references such as person-to-person interviews. Understanding the trade-attitude relationship could be aided by examining a cross section of Canadian cities and rural areas. This would help indicate if changes in the amount of exposure to national trade would effect differences in the related inter-group attitudes. The trade data could also be expanded to include other trade factors such as the type of materials traded and their specific relationship with inter-group attitudes.

It would also be interesting to see similar research done on different trade relationships. Japan-US trade and the American attitude towards Japan and the Japanese, or Canada-US trade and the Canadian attitude towards the US and Americans might be valuable comparisons. Such work would help determine the if the case study present in this thesis was truly representative of the trade - attitude relationship or if the resulting conjecture was inappropriate.

Comparing the significance level of the trade - attitude relationship with the significance of other attitude variables is another worthwhile area of study. Variables such as immigration and tourism may be more significant in the formation of inter-group attitudes. It could prove useful to compile a general list of all key or significant variables in the context of attitude change.

A more detailed analysis of inter-group attitudes would also be interesting. This could involve examining if trade changes the attitude towards one attribute more than another. For example, since trade immediately relates to business and economics, it might have a stronger relationship with business attitudes as compared to sports attitudes.

Finally, additional research into identity is needed. More information about Vancouver's identity formation and the role that Japan and the Japanese are perceived to play in its maintenance could expand the implications of this thesis. More research about the relationship between identity and the processes of globalization. Within the broad term 'globalization' are numerous processes that may each effect identity differently.

The preceding paragraphs outline some possible areas for further research that may develop from this thesis. Hopefully they will also further the investigation into the associations between economic and societal forces.

Conclusion:

This has been an exploratory study of the relationship between international trade and inter-group attitudes, as part of the holistic approach advocated by

Schafer (1994). Through an attitude trend analysis, evidence was found to support the hypothesis that trade volume is positively related to inter-group attitudes. That is, as the volume of trade increased, inter-group attitudes improved. It would also appear that trade volume may be indirectly related to identity change, in so far as it changes the context in which identities are formed and maintained, through changes to the economy and inter-group attitudes.

More research is needed to verify the validity of these conclusions and to extend the implications of this research. Such analysis will further the identification of factors that represent local variability in inter-group attitudes and identity. It will also provide a better understanding of socio-economic relations overall.

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Appendix 1

Instructions to Judges

Hi,

Thanks so much for helping me out with this part of my research, I really appreciate it. Enclosed are a selection of articles from the Vancouver Sun that mention Japan and or the Japanese. Please read each article and note on the attached sheet which classification you consider the article to best deserve. The classifications are as follows:

Strongly Positive:

The author has stated or implied a strong, distinct, positive or complimentary image of Japan and the Japanese.

Somewhat Positive:

The author has implied a vaguely positive/complimentary image of Japan and the Japanese, or the author has stated or implied both positive and negative imagery but the positive appears to dominate.

Neutral:

No opinion of Japan or the Japanese is given, or there is equal representation of positive and negative imagery, no particular emphasis is discernible.

Somewhat Negative:

The author has implied a vaguely negative/derogatory image of Japan and the Japanese, or the author has stated or implied both positive and negative imagery but the negative appears to dominate.

Strongly Negative:

The author has stated or implied a strong, distinct, negative or derogatory image of Japan and the Japanese.

Article	Strongly Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Strongly Negative
July 2/60 pg1					
July 2/60 pg4					
July 2/60 pg5					
April 2/62 pg8					
Feb 1/64 pg16					
Jan 3/66 pg9					
June 1/66 pg6					
Sept 1/66 pg35					
Aug 1/70 pg21					
July 2/70 pg35					
June 1/72 pg4					
Mar 1/74 pg32					
April 1/74 pg26					
Jan 2/76 pg10					
Feb 2/76 pg22					
Mar 1/76 pg3					
June 7/76 pg37					
May 1/80 pgA16					
May 1/80 pgD9					
June 2/80 pgB7					

Dec 1/80 pgA6					
Mar 1/84 pgA7					
July 2/86 pgF1					
Aug 1/86 pgF8					
Dec 1/86 pgA3					
Dec 1/86 pgC6					
Aug 2/88 pgA3					
Jan 2/90 pgA11					
Feb 1/90 pgA11					
July 2/90 pgA3					

Appendix 2

Content Analysis Results

Complete Content
Analysis Data

Article	Ranking	Author	Subject
	-2 = Strongly Neg.	PA = Press Agency	NW = News
	-1 = Somewhat Neg.	VS = Van. Sun Staff	BE = Business/Econ.
	0 = Neutral	NA = Not Given	IP = International Politics
	1 = Somewhat Pos.	RE = Reader	CU = Culture
	2 = Strongly Pos.	OP = Other Paper	CO = Commentary
			SP = Sport
			NP = National Politics
			SC = Science
jan 2 60	-1	PA	VS
feb 1 60	1	PA	NW
mar 1 60	0	PA	NW
mar 1 60	1	VS	BE
mar 1 60	0	PA	IP
apr 1 60	-1	PA	IP
may 2 60	1	VS	BE
may 2 60	-1	VS	CU
jun 1 60	-1	PA	IP
jul 1 60	-2	PA	NW
jul 1 60	0	PA	IP
jul 1 60	2	VS	BE
jul 1 60	0	VS	CU
jul 1 60	-1	VS	CU
jan 2 62	-1	PA	IP
jan 2 62	0	PA	NW
apr 2 62	-1	PA	BE
apr 2 62	1	NA	BE
may 1 62	-1	RE	CO
may 1 62	0	NA	NW
jun 1 62	0	PA	NW
jul 3 62	0	PA	NW
sep 1 62	2	NA	BE
jan 2 64	2	OP	BE
feb 1 64	0	PA	NW
feb 1 64	0	PA	NW
apr 1 64	0	PA	NW
jun 1 64	0	PA	IP
jun 1 64	2	OP	CE
jun 1 64	1	NA	BE
jun 1 64	-1	NA	BE
jul 2 64	1	PA	IP
jul 2 64	0	NA	NW
aug 1 64	-2	PA	IP
oct 1 64	0	NA	SP
oct 1 64	-1	NA	BE

Complete Content
Analysis Data

Article	Ranking	Author	Subject
	-2 = Strongly Neg.	PA = Press Agency	NW = News
	-1 = Somewhat Neg.	VS = Van. Sun Staff	BE = Business/Econ.
	0 = Neutral	NA = Not Given	IP = International Politics
	1 = Somewhat Pos.	RE = Reader	CU = Culture
	2 = Strongly Pos.	OP = Other Paper	CO = Commentary
			SP = Sport
			NP = National Politics
			SC = Science
dec 1 64	1	NA	NW
dec 1 64	-1	PA	BE
jan 3 66	-2	OP	CE
jan 3 66	-1	PA	NW
mar 1 66	1	VS	CU
apr 1 66	0	PA	NW
may 2 66	0	PA	NW
jun 1 66	1	VS	CU
jul 2 66	0	PA	NW
aug 1 66	0	PA	NW
sep 1 66	-1	PA	BE
sep 1 66	0	NA	BE
oct 1 66	0	PA	IP
oct 1 66	1	PA	BE
nov 1 66	-2	PA	BE
dec 1 66	0	PA	NW
dec 1 66	-1	PA	NW
feb 1 68	-1	PA	IP
mar 1 68	0	NA	BE
mar 1 68	-2	NA	BE
apr 1 68	0	PA	NW
may 1 68	1	VS	BE
jul 2 68	-1	VS	IP
aug 1 68	1	NA	BE
oct 1 68	0	PA	NW
dec 2 68	1	PA	NW
jan 2 70	1	NA	IP
feb 2 70	1	PA	IP
jun 1 70	0	PA	NW
jul 2 70	0	PA	NW
aug 1 70	1	PA	CE
aug 1 70	1	VS	BE
sep 1 70	-2	VS	CU
sep 1 70	-1	NA	CU
oct 1 70	0	NA	BE
nov 2 70	-1	PA	NW

Article	Ranking	Author	Subject
	-2 = Strongly Neg.	PA = Press Agency	NW = News
	-1 = Somewhat Neg.	VS = Van. Sun Staff	BE = Business/Econ.
	0 = Neutral	NA = Not Given	IP = International Politics
	1 = Somewhat Pos.	RE = Reader	CU = Culture
	2 = Strongly Pos.	OP = Other Paper	CO = Commentary
			SP = Sport
			NP = National Politics
			SC = Science
nov 2 70	0	PA	IP
dec 1 70	0	PA	NW
mar 1 72	0	PA	IP
mar 1 72	1	NA	BE
mar 1 72	-1	PA	BE
apr 1 72	0	PA	NW
apr 1 72	1	VS	NW
apr 1 72	1	VS	BE
apr 1 72	1	NA	BE
apr 1 72	0	NA	CU
apr 1 72	0	NA	NW
jun 1 72	-1	VS	CE
jun 1 72	-1	PA	CE
jul 3 72	1	VS	NW
aug 1 72	-1	RE	CO
sep 1 72	0	PA	BE
dec 1 72	0	PA	BE
jan 2 74	1	PA	BE
jan 2 74	1	VS	CE
feb 1 74	0	PA	BE
feb 1 74	0	PA	NW
mar 1 74	-2	VS	CE
apr 1 74	1	NA	CE
apr 1 74	1	VS	BE
may 1 74	0	VS	BE
may 1 74	-1	VS	BE
jun 1 74	2	VS	BE
jun 1 74	0	PA	NW
jul 2 74	-1	VS	BE
aug 1 74	1	PA	BE
aug 1 74	0	PA	NW
sep 3 74	0	PA	NW
sep 3 74	1	PA	SP
oct 1 74	-1	PA	BE
dec 2 74	-1	PA	NP
jan 2 76	1	VS	CE

Article	Ranking	Author	Subject
	-2 = Strongly Neg.	PA = Press Agency	NW = News
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	0 = Neutral	NA = Not Given	IP = International Politics
	1 = Somewhat Pos.	RE = Reader	CU = Culture
	2 = Strongly Pos.	OP = Other Paper	CO = Commentary
			SP = Sport
			NP = National Politics
			SC = Science
jan 2 76	1	NA	BE
jan 2 76	1	PA	NW
feb 2 76	0	PA	IP
feb 2 76	1	NA	SP
feb 2 76	2	VS	NW
feb 2 76	-1	PA	NW
mar 1 76	0	PA	BE
apr 1 76	-2	NA	NW
apr 1 76	-1	VS	NW
jun 1 76	0	PA	NW
aug 3 76	1	VS	NW
aug 3 76	-1	VS	NW
oct 1 76	2	PA	IP
oct 1 76	0	PA	NW
oct 1 76	0	PA	NW
nov 1 76	0	NA	NW
nov 1 76	1	VS	IP
jan 3 78	1	VS	BE
feb 1 78	0	VS	NW
feb 1 78	-1	PA	NW
mar 1 78	1	PA	NW
apr 1 78	0	PA	NW
apr 1 78	2	VS	BE
may 1 78	0	PA	NW
may 1 78	-1	PA	NW
may 1 78	1	PA	NW
may 1 78	-2	VS	BE
sep 1 78	0	PA	BE
oct 2 78	1	VS	BE
jan 2 80	1	PA	BE
feb 1 80	2	NA	NW
mar 1 80	-1	PA	NW
apr 1 80	0	NA	CE
apr 1 80	1	PA	NW
apr 1 80	-2	PA	NW
may 1 80	0	VS	NW

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	2 = Strongly Pos.	OP = Other Paper	CO = Commentary
			SP = Sport
			NP = National Politics
			SC = Science
may 1 80	0	PA	NW
may 1 80	1	PA	BE
jun 2 80	1	VS	BE
oct 1 80	0	NA	BE
oct 1 80	2	RE	CO
dec 1 80	0	PA	BE
jan 2 82	1	PA	BE
jan 2 82	1	NA	CU
feb 1 82	0	PA	IP
mar 1 82	1	NA	CU
may 1 82	1	NA	BE
jun 1 82	-1	VS	BE
jun 1 82	0	PA	IP
jul 2 82	2	VS	BE
aug 3 82	0	PA	NW
oct 1 82	0	VS	BE
nov 1 82	-1	VS	CU
dec 1 82	1	VS	BE
feb 1 84	0	VS	BE
feb 1 84	0	VS	BE
mar 1 84	2	PA	NW
mar 1 84	2	VS	CU
mar 1 84	1	VS	CU
mar 1 84	0	VS	BE
mar 1 84	-1	NA	BE
aug 1 84	1	VS	NW
aug 1 84	2	VS	NW
sep 1 84	2	VS	BE
sep 1 84	2	VS	CU
oct 1 84	2	VS	CE
nov 1 84	1	VS	BE
nov 1 84	0	PA	BE
nov 1 84	1	NA	CU
dec 1 84	2	VS	BE
dec 1 84	-1	VS	CU
dec 1 84	2	VS	CU

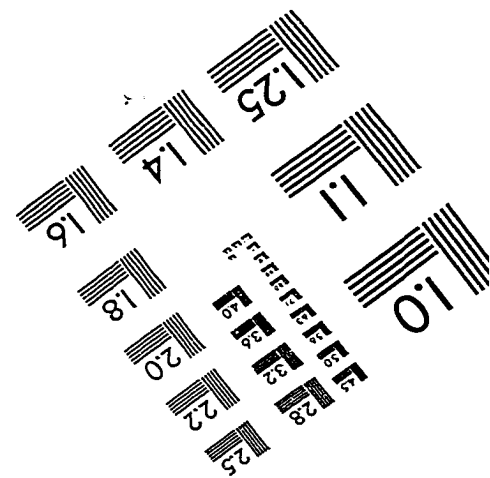
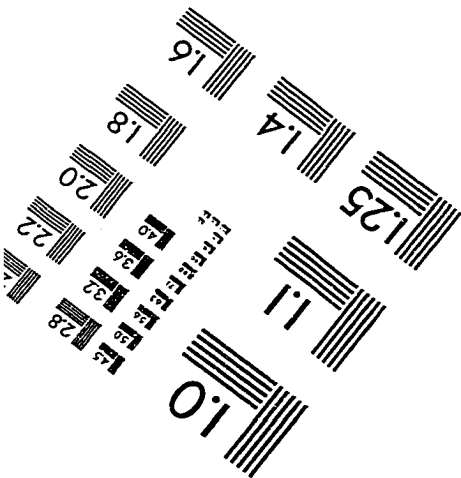
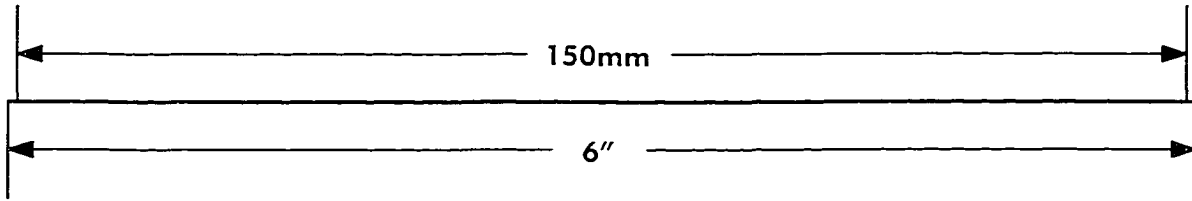
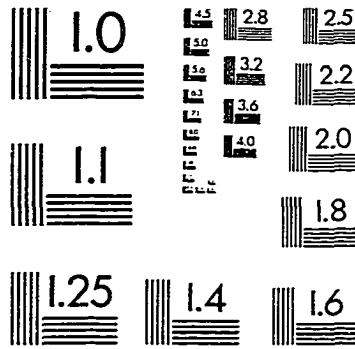
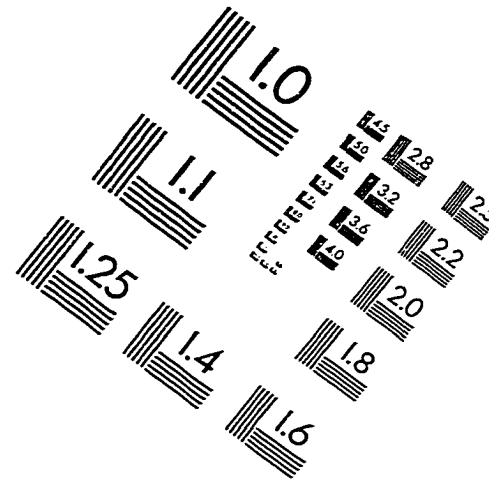
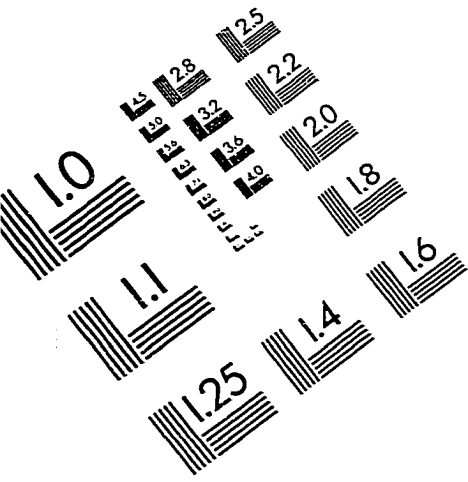
Complete Content
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	2 = Strongly Pos.	OP = Other Paper	CO = Commentary
			SP = Sport
			NP = National Politics
			SC = Science
feb 1 86	2	VS	BE
feb 1 86	-1	PA	NW
apr 1 86	0	VS	SP
may 1 86	2	VS	CU
may 1 86	0	PA	BE
jun 2 86	1	VS	BE
jun 2 86	1	VS	SP
jul 2 86	-1	VS	NW
jul 2 86	0	VS	NP
aug 1 86	1	PA	SP
aug 1 86	0	PA	BE
sep 2 86	0	VS	BE
oct 1 86	0	VS	SP
oct 1 86	-1	VS	BE
nov 1 86	0	VS	BE
nov 1 86	2	OP	BE
dec 1 86	1	OP	SC
dec 1 86	-2	VS	NW
dec 1 86	1	VS	NW
dec 1 86	-1	VS	NW
dec 1 86	1	OP	NW
may 2 88	2	NA	CE
may 2 88	0	VS	SP
jun 1 88	2	VS	CU
jun 1 88	1	OP	CU
jul 2 88	1	PA	NW
jul 2 88	-2	PA	BE
jul 2 88	0	PA	BE
aug 2 88	2	VS	NW
oct 1 88	0	PA	NW
oct 1 88	-1	OP	CU
oct 1 88	-1	VS	BE
oct 1 88	-1	VS	CU
nov 1 88	2	VS	NW
jan 2 90	2	VS	CE
jan 2 90	1	OP	BE

Complete Content
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	2 = Strongly Pos.	OP = Other Paper	CO = Commentary
			SP = Sport
			NP = National Politics
			SC = Science
jan 2 90	-1	PA	BE
feb 1 90	-2	NA	CE
feb 1 90	-2	NA	NW
feb 1 90	2	NA	BE
feb 1 90	1	NA	BE
feb 1 90	2	PA	BE
mar 1 90	-2	VS	NW
mar 1 90	-2	OP	CE
mar 1 90	-2	NA	BE
apr 2 90	1	NA	BE
may 1 90	-2	OP	BE
may 1 90	-2	PA	BE
ju 1 90	0	NA	NW
ju 1 90	-2	PA	NW
ju 1 90	-1	PA	SP
jul 2 90	0	NA	NW
jul 2 90	-2	VS	CE
aug 1 90	-1	PA	BE
aug 1 90	-1	PA	NW
oct 1 90	-1	VS	BE
nov 1 90	1	PA	BE

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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