

Perception of the relations between former colonial powers and developing countries

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People register and process stimuli every day, creating an image of space–time reality involving multifaceted relations between various states. The authors have created a database consisting of articles from the periodical *Le Monde diplomatique* from 1954 to 2009. This paper focuses on investigating how strong relations are between former colonial powers and developing countries. The authors present an index showing the frequency of coincidence of opinion-shaping content in articles about one of the selected world powers and a developing country; they next establish a quantitative reference to dependency and world-systems theories.

Keywords: decolonisation and colonisation; dependency and anti-imperialism; global South; globalisation

Introduction

Social research is a subject of interest to both the liberal arts and sciences, as it provides material for countless discussions and can be viewed from numerous interpretational angles. The wide matrix of social matters encompasses studies on the perception of relations between former colonial powers and developing countries. On a semantic level, observations of people lead to the creation of subjective images of reality. Countless authors have given much space to issues pertaining to behavioural and perception geography; representatives of various scientific fields, including geographers, have also written about the relations of former colonial powers *vis-à-vis* developing countries.¹ This article addresses the need to investigate the issue in a semantically broad context,² and is a positive answer to the invitation of the leader of the Annales School, Ferdinand Braudel, who noted:

I would like to address [...] not the specialists in our field, but more so the representatives of neighboring social sciences: sociologists [...] geographers, or even experts in social mathematics and statistics – ie neighbors whose experience and

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studies have been followed by us for many years. I would like social sciences [...] to attempt, by way of our research, to map out common lines that would point our collective studies into one direction, also towards topics that would allow us to achieve coincidence of our research efforts for the first time.³

The issues taken up in this article seem valuable in semantic terms and also generate a whole array of cognitive advantages but, when deciding on the subject matter of the article the authors were fully aware of the fact that a mutual discourse of natural sciences and liberal arts was not really possible.⁴ Describing the perception of relations between former colonial powers and developing countries is an element of the 'TimeSpace Realities' analysis which does not enjoy much popularity in the social sciences. Time and space aspects are closely connected to each other and they constitute *sui generis* a time-space reality that is the object of study in political geography, as well as in other branches of geography, such as the geography of crime.⁵

Heuristic assumptions have been made for this study, which means that its goal is to solve problems by way of research. In this particular case the research concerns a time-space reality. The authors decided to define the perception of relations between former colonial powers and developing countries in reference to two theories: dependency theory and the world-systems approach.

The former of the two was described by Immanuel Wallerstein (among others, on the basis of studies carried out by Raúl Prebisch) and directed its attention to the reasons for the continuously growing economic backwardness of developing countries.⁶ Dependency theory is a criticism of modernisation theory, which places emphasis on the linear development of both developed and developing countries. Dependency theory indicated a new form of dependence of contemporary developing countries on colonial powers. With time this theory lost relevance, as many authors pointed out its imperfections.⁷ However, the theses encompassed by the theory have been further developed in world-systems theory.⁸ The world-systems perspective is, above all, a qualitative perspective. Wallerstein's system does not cover the entire globe, so actually the world-system is not a global system (ie a system encompassing the whole Earth).

The popularity of the world-systems concept grew in line with the development of globalisation processes. Wallerstein thinks that globalisation processes have suddenly made all the contradictions of capitalist development more acute.⁹ The consequences of globalisation are a widening gap between the rich North and the poor South, economic polarisation within countries, a decomposition of the Western state of prosperity, and the brutalisation of life in society.¹⁰ At first, the economic aspects of the domination of developed countries constituted the core of world-systems theory but in time the spotlight was turned on the political and cultural aspect of these countries' hegemony.¹¹

Like dependency theory, world-systems theory has garnered many supporters, as well as critical comments. The earliest criticism formulated against this analysis was a paper written by Aronovitz from a culturalistic standpoint, which emphasised the significance of social norms in society.¹² In this perspective a person's surroundings determines his/her personality traits and way of thinking. A polemic attitude was presented by various authors.¹³ Researchers from developing countries criticised world-systems analysis for its strong 'europocentrism'.¹⁴

In his postcolonial studies classic *The Empire Writes Back* Bill Ashcroft notes that 'more than three-quarters of the people living in the world today have had their lives shaped by the experience of colonialism'.¹⁵ Postcolonial studies are an interdisciplinary, intervention-based social criticism (and criticism of the encountered state of knowledge) which arose in answer to, and in resistance to, various past and contemporary forms of colonisation, and which identifies and analyses the consequences of colonisation.¹⁶

An important goal of our study is to verify how the theories of dependency and world-systems manifest themselves in the notional sphere of people who convey ideas and shape the world-views of societies, but who also play decision-making roles in an international forum. The authors are not analysing 'the world' in general; rather they are investigating 'Le Diplo's view of the world'.

Therefore the authors have found a way to measure these relations as a whole, using the indicator *Ct*, which depicts the degree of coincidence in articles about a selected world power and a developing country. The advantage of using this research method is that it allows the possibility to carry out a spatial analysis based on data established in the course of the quantitative analysis.

A description of the database

Scientific magazines have often constituted a significant source of information in geographical research. The authors have examined both cartographic adaptations and topics of articles according to keywords and the nationality of the authors of a publication.¹⁷

The authors have focused on a research analysis of the space-time reality presented in the French edition of the opinion-forming periodical *Le Monde diplomatique*. The articles published in this monthly magazine are frequently quoted by scientific researchers.¹⁸ In order to carry out the study we established a database which used the electronic archive of the periodical, containing 14,712 articles released from 1954 to 2009. Using source material from this database, we were able to determine a number of articles containing information on a world power and on a developing country in a given period.

The choice of *Le Monde diplomatique* was influenced by the fact that this opinion-forming magazine features in-depth, well-documented texts relating to widely understood international issues. It features articles in many languages, dedicated to political, historical, social, economic, cultural and environmental matters. It should be noted, however, that *Le Monde diplomatique* has changed its terminology over the years.

Nonetheless, issues pertaining to international relations are emphasised the most, while the least prominence is given to matters of culture and environmental protection. The word 'politics' appeared in 86.6% of the texts published by *Le Monde diplomatique* between 1954 and 2009. 'History', in turn, was found in 39.5% of the examined articles, while 'society' featured in 52.5%, 'economy' in 45.3%, 'culture' in 26.2%, and 'environment' in only 11.5% of the cases.

Before starting our analysis, it should be emphasised that the profile of the magazine has been subject to changes, depending on the publishing strategy adopted and the current political and socio-economic situation in the world. This can be illustrated by the changing number of articles containing certain chosen key words in various decades (Figure 1).

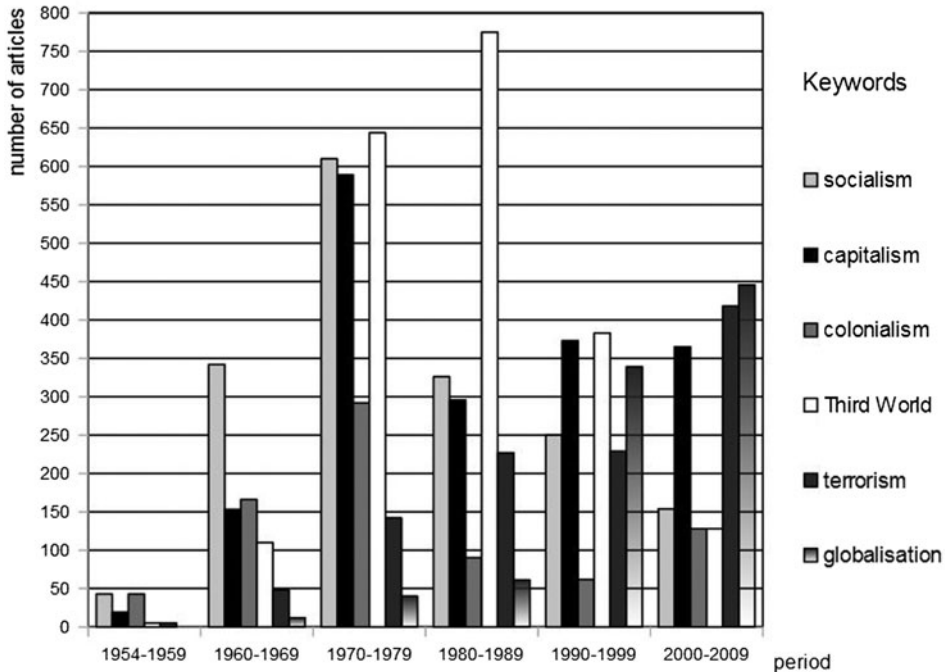


Figure 1. Topical changes in *Le Monde diplomatique*, 1954–2009.
Source: Based on *Le Monde diplomatique*, Archives 1954–2011.

Socialism and capitalism were popular topics in the 1970s. In later editions we noticed a slight increase in the number of articles, most probably on account of the *Le Monde diplomatique* editors adopting a more critical attitude towards capitalism.

Conversely, a clear departure from the term ‘Third World’ has been observed in texts published since the 1990s. The Third World, regarded as a separate region, has remained extremely heterogeneous since this term was first used. The concept of the ‘Third World’ has been heavily criticised, especially in those countries that are assigned to this group. Given that this expression is associated with poverty, hunger, underdevelopment, conflict and instability, the concept is often stigmatising and has negative connotations.¹⁹ One of the factors that determined a decrease in the frequency of the application of ‘Third World’ in the magazine was political correctness.

The term ‘colonialism’ was particularly often used in the 1960s and 1970s, ie during the time of decolonisation. In the first decade of the 2000s we noticed a boost in the application of this expression, predominantly in the context of neo-colonialism. Moreover, in the new post-cold war reality our attention was focused on topics that had previously rarely been tackled in world media (such as globalisation or terrorism).

The authors published in *Le Monde diplomatique* include renowned intellectuals, writers and experts in the fields of political science, sociology, economy, geography, cultural studies, and other social sciences. The representatives of these areas of expertise are doubtless also people who have shaped the

consciousness and views of society, and who might even have played decision-making roles on the international stage during the period examined. In the 56 years covered by this study articles featured by the monthly were penned by such personages as: Noam Chomsky (16 times), Julio Cortázar (twice), Carlos Fuentes (twice), Ryszard Kapuściński (three times), Naomi Klein (five times), Ignacio Ramonet (232 times), as well as many others.

Time span and territorial range of the research

The beginning of the research period was set at 1954, the year when *Le Monde diplomatique* was first published. Thus, choosing 2009 as the end of the research period resulted from the availability of generated data.

Determining the number of former colonial powers and of developing countries, whose mutual relations compose the main axis of the discussion, was of key importance for the study. The authors strove to select examples of areas where people lived in a concrete geographical environment, in a way that was the outcome of the interaction of cultural (civilisational) and natural (environmental) factors. Vidal de la Blache and his successors Ancel and Goblet thought that the state should be a political expression of cultural individuality.²⁰

The first group of countries analysed jointly were France, the UK, Spain, Portugal and the USA, states which used to be colonial powers, even though their significance on the international stage was differentiated. We also included Russia, which was part of the USSR, on purpose in the analysis, even though its colonised areas were incorporated by the USSR even before 1954, which is when the research period established for this article starts. The USA has been added to the group, since some authors describe it as a colonial power which strives to conquer the Pacific.²¹ Since the selection of colonial powers includes those 'active' in 1954, the presence of this state is fully justified in this analysis.

During the initial phase of the period covered by the study, France and the UK were still colonial powers owning numerous overseas territories and their colonies took up the biggest area. Spain was included in the research as it was the oldest colonial power, even though by 1954 it had completely lost its world-power status. Portugal was taken into account in the study, even though the number of its colonies was not big enough.

The second group taken into account was developing countries. The authors are well aware of the ambiguity of the term 'developing countries'; however, we deem it the most adequate for the purpose of this study. An analysis covering so many states demands a revision of existing theoretical assumptions and methodology tools and requires also that mistakes which might have cognitive and political implications be demonstrated.

We have attempted in this study to take into consideration all developing countries. We did not consider countries where counting articles from the electronic database of *Le Monde diplomatique* would have led to technical problems or could have resulted in miscalculation. This group included the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Africa and Guinea. In the case of the latter country, the outcome generated from the search of the database also included hits that pertained to countries in which Guinea was only part of the name (Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea). The second factor that precluded the

inclusion of the country in the research project was an article number that was smaller than the minimum value (fewer than 20 articles dedicated to the country in question during the researched period).

In contrast, the group of countries analysed includes territories which nowadays are not accepted as sovereign countries, but which appear in various studies on a frequent basis (eg Hong Kong, Macau, Palestine, Taiwan and Western Sahara). In the end we accepted 128 states and territories for analysis. It should be noted that, even before a given colonial territory obtained independence, articles would apply the official name of the sovereign country established later on. This means that the database searches yielded no zero values for the period during which one of the researched countries was not yet independent. Moreover, a change in a country's name (such as Upper Volta, now named Burkina Faso) did not result in methodological errors.

Research methods

The first stage of analysis under the nomothetic approach is to calculate index C_t , which is the ratio of the number of articles about a world power and a developing country to the number of articles with content pertaining to the developing country, $\times 100$ in a given period of time. The applied index is the stratum (frequency) weight – describing the occurrence of a given feature (in this case the coincidence of two types of countries in a text) in relation to the whole population.

$$C_t = \frac{x_{ijt}}{X_{it}} \times 100$$

where:

x_{ijt} – signifies the number of articles in total dealing with the world power – j and the developing country – i in time period t

X_{it} – stands for the number of articles dealing with a developing country – i in time period t , $X_{it} > 0$

In our opinion the coincidence of content about a world power and a developing country in articles indicates the occurrence of certain types of relations between the countries in question. These relations were directional, because they have been shown from the point of view of developing countries. In reality the C_t index illustrates how often a particular developing country was mentioned in an article in the context of a former coloniser state. However, the study did not focus on a detailed description of those relations. It has been stated that these ties between the countries in question were forged in the minds of the authors of the articles as a result of a complex thought process, so they have arisen at least on a psychological and social plain.

The authors drafted a chart listing 4608 records, ie values of the article occurrence rate for 128 developing countries, in relation to six former colonial powers, both in a period of 56 years, as well as in six subsequent periods (number of records – $128 \times 6 \times 6 = 4608$).

Next we grouped index values in reference to the former colonial affiliation of the developing countries. The classes thus obtained were not of equal size, as they included: 25 (countries affiliated previously to France), 45 (countries affiliated to Great Britain), 19 (to Spain), seven (to Portugal), and 32 (states which

were not colonies in the past, or had a colonial past irrelevant to this paper). If in separate periods different superpowers colonised the same developing country, then the last colonising power to have occupied it determined the colonial affiliation of this country.

In the next stage of the analysis we applied a descriptive statistics of the quantitative variable, ie the C_t index, using basic measures of central trend, variability, asymmetry or the concentration of feature distribution. This aimed to help verify the following research assumptions:

- affiliation to a developing countries' group further described by the common denominator of a colonial past would differentiate the value of index C_t for the time period studied;
- the average value of index C_t in a group of developing countries which in the past was affiliated to a particular colonial power would change over time, and a growth trend would be discerned.

In the next step the authors calculated selected statistical measures pertaining to the distribution of index C_t for the group of developing countries grouped in accordance to their former colonial affiliation (Table 1).

We decided to carry out calculations for the whole research period (1954–2009) for two reasons. First, expressing general conclusions is more legitimate for a longer reference period. Second, the 'upsetting' influence of extreme index C_t values on the values of basic statistical measures of distribution has thus been minimised. Only in one case did the index of occurrence of articles in the research period yield values of 0 or 100% – in the 56 years examined Papua New Guinea was never mentioned in any article alongside Spain or Portugal. We observed the same with regard to Turkmenistan and Portugal.

The statistical measures of index C_t for developing countries grouped according to their former colonial affiliation moved on a similar level in the case of France, Russia and the USA, but they were different for Great Britain, Spain and Portugal. In the case of France, Russia and the USA the measures of the central trend (arithmetic average and median) of the article occurrence index were several times higher than the values of measures recorded for Great Britain, Spain and Portugal.

The differences between the minimum and maximum of the C_t value in various groups, as well as the dispersion measures show that there is a similarity between France, Russia and the USA, as well as between Great Britain, Spain and Portugal (Table 1). In the first group of colonial powers the dispersion of index values in relation to the average value in groups of developing countries affiliated to a particular colonial power was bigger than the dispersion recorded for the second group of colonial powers, which indicates a standard deviation. The kurtosis and skewness were not differentiated between the two superpower groups. It was only in the case of Russia that the distribution of index values was left skewed (negative skewness value). In some cases high skewness rates (> 1.5) confirmed the need to apply a statistical description of the median index, which is more resistant to extreme values than the arithmetic average. The dispersion of the article occurrence index for particular developing countries groups

Table 1. Selected statistical measures for index C_t for groups of developing countries according to their former colonial affiliation, 1954–2009.

| Former colonial power | Developing countries group* | Measures of descriptive statistics | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------|--------------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| | | Arithmetic mean | Median | Standard deviation | Skewness | Kurtosis | Min Max |
| France | FRA | 65.39 | 66.47 | 10.67 | -0.30 | -0.33 | 45.93 85.71 |
| | ESP | 43.40 | 41.16 | 10.32 | 2.04 | 4.14 | 33.66 71.61 |
| | GBR | 49.46 | 49.70 | 8.70 | -0.24 | 2.60 | 20.93 74.42 |
| | PRT | 45.90 | 48.29 | 9.37 | 0.36 | -0.86 | 35.09 60.82 |
| | OTHERS | 48.05 | 47.17 | 10.89 | 1.69 | 5.22 | 33.33 88.89 |
| Spain | FRA | 10.08 | 8.66 | 4.40 | 1.43 | 1.70 | 4.91 22.61 |
| | ESP | 17.16 | 17.33 | 3.26 | 0.63 | 0.51 | 11.91 24.15 |
| | GBR | 10.34 | 8.86 | 6.24 | 1.86 | 3.85 | 1.41 31.43 |
| | PRT | 13.92 | 15.46 | 4.66 | -0.21 | -0.14 | 7.02 20.93 |
| | OTHERS | 9.84 | 9.39 | 4.35 | 0.41 | 0.73 | 0.00 21.43 |
| UK | FRA | 9.95 | 9.53 | 2.41 | 1.27 | 1.42 | 7.13 16.67 |
| | ESP | 10.09 | 8.84 | 4.19 | 1.74 | 5.76 | 5.51 23.81 |
| | GBR | 15.34 | 15.15 | 5.11 | 2.07 | 6.40 | 6.50 37.04 |
| | PRT | 12.60 | 12.39 | 4.33 | 0.19 | -0.84 | 6.47 18.60 |
| | OTHERS | 12.92 | 13.00 | 2.84 | -0.03 | -0.82 | 7.69 17.86 |
| USA | FRA | 56.02 | 49.70 | 13.45 | 0.82 | -0.89 | 40.38 82.98 |
| | ESP | 78.01 | 78.20 | 7.76 | -1.07 | 1.77 | 59.32 90.48 |
| | GBR | 68.71 | 69.07 | 11.61 | -0.07 | -0.41 | 41.86 92.58 |
| | PRT | 61.86 | 65.12 | 9.02 | -0.38 | -0.98 | 48.92 74.01 |
| | OTHERS | 70.18 | 71.23 | 9.65 | -0.23 | -0.66 | 50.68 86.36 |
| Russia (USSR) | FRA | 32.66 | 28.33 | 11.97 | 0.69 | -0.99 | 15.87 54.87 |
| | ESP | 32.69 | 32.61 | 6.37 | 0.92 | 1.70 | 22.93 49.83 |
| | GBR | 40.16 | 35.21 | 14.57 | 1.06 | 1.73 | 19.05 90.00 |
| | PRT | 32.42 | 29.28 | 7.47 | 1.14 | 0.80 | 24.46 46.14 |
| | OTHERS | 58.24 | 57.13 | 22.79 | 0.21 | -0.93 | 21.43 95.24 |
| Portugal | FRA | 7.89 | 8.01 | 2.15 | -0.53 | -0.93 | 4.10 10.61 |
| | ESP | 6.81 | 6.31 | 2.78 | 2.31 | 5.15 | 4.51 15.22 |
| | GBR | 7.62 | 6.03 | 4.66 | 1.08 | 0.38 | 2.33 19.84 |
| | PRT | 28.85 | 29.02 | 10.34 | -0.99 | 0.85 | 9.90 39.18 |
| | OTHERS | 6.19 | 5.28 | 4.08 | 0.85 | 0.71 | 0.00 17.49 |

Note: *According to former colonial affiliation: FRA – France, ESP – Spain, GBR – Great Britain, PRT – Portugal, OTHERS – not a colony, or used to be one but no longer affiliated to any of the four colonial powers.

Source: *Le Monde diplomatique, Archives 1954–2011*.

calculated for Russia and the USA was relatively concentrated (the results were relatively close to the average value). This was confirmed by kurtosis values close to zero.

The similarities and differences in statistical measures of the C_t index between superpowers resulted, among other things, from the frequency with which these powers were mentioned in the *Le Monde diplomatique*. France, Russia and the USA were much more frequently the subject of discussion in the periodical than Great Britain, Spain and Portugal (49.08%, 31.69%, 52.64%, 11.07%, 9.49%, and 4.47% of the total number of articles, respectively). The similarity in achieving higher, more diversified statistical values of the C_t index was bigger in the case of the two first colonial powers.

The 'over-representation' of articles about France is hardly surprising, as *Le Monde diplomatique* is published in France, which, in turn, could indicate that the authors of the relevant articles often wrote from the viewpoint of their own national interests. However, the strong presence of US- and Russia-related issues was tied to the fact that, over the whole research period, these countries were also the biggest players on the political stage. What is more, it often so happened that the USA was subject to multifaceted criticism, as a result of the ideology adopted by the magazine.

It is important to confirm that the affiliation to a group of developing countries which are further characterised by a colonial past really differentiated the C_t index in the research period. The value of the article occurrence index, as expressed by way of an arithmetic average or the statistical median, was considerably dissimilar and was higher in the case of developing countries that were once colonised by Portugal, Russia, Spain or the USA than in the case of countries with a different former colonial affiliation.

In the case of the USA, which never had many colonies, we observed a significantly higher arithmetic average and median of the C_t index for the group of countries that used to be Spanish colonies beforehand. Thus it has been confirmed that, after most colonies in Latin America shed Spanish colonial rule in the first half of the 19th century, the same colonies found themselves in very close relations with the USA.

The biggest differences in the average index values between groups of developing countries according to their colonial affiliation occurred in the instance when the index was examined with regard to affiliation to Russia (Table 1). In the case of Russia we observed a clearly higher arithmetic average and median of the index for the group of states that had not been colonies in the past or whose colonial affiliation was not taken into consideration in this study. This is, among other things, connected to the fact that this particular group included states that were established in 1991 as a result of the collapse of the USSR and which used to be socialist republics of the USSR.

It was further possible to verify the statement that the average C_t index value for a group of developing countries, formerly under the rule of a colonial power, changed during this time, displaying an the upward trend, by way of calculating the average pace of change (Table 2).

In order to easily interpret the average pace of change, figures were multiplied by 100. Over 56 years the C_t index changed from one period to another (it rose from 1% to 45% or decreased by between 2% and 22%), depending on which group of developing countries and colonial powers were considered. Only in six cases (out of 30) was the average value of the index negative.

The fastest, positive changes were recorded above all in relation to Great Britain. The average pace of change of the index studied for the group of countries formerly under British rule rose by 16% over 56 years (Table 2). The most negative average values of the index were recorded with regard to Portugal and its former colonies (-22%) and France and its one-time overseas territories (-2%). The pace of change was smaller in the case of countries formerly under Spanish rule in relation to the USA than in relation to Spain (3% and 11%, respectively).

Interestingly the arithmetic mean of the C_t index for various developing country groups was fairly diversified. The authors observed certain fluctuations

Table 2. Average pace of change of the C_t index for developing countries classified according to their former colonial affiliation, 1954–2009.

| Former colonial power | Developing countries group* | Mean | | | | | Average pace of change Six subsequent periods (1954–2009) | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---|---------|
| | | 1954–59 | 1960–69 | 1970–79 | 1980–89 | 1990–99 | | 2000–09 |
| France | FRA | 73.37 | 63.18 | 60.01 | 60.73 | 66.55 | 66.03 | -0.02 |
| | ESP | 43.06 | 36.61 | 43.95 | 41.92 | 47.43 | 45.64 | 0.01 |
| | GBR | 40.53 | 49.72 | 45.43 | 46.91 | 51.85 | 48.79 | 0.04 |
| | PRT | 34.62 | 40.70 | 43.57 | 44.87 | 59.62 | 48.59 | 0.07 |
| | OTHERS | 36.85 | 47.95 | 50.73 | 44.82 | 49.22 | 48.66 | 0.06 |
| Spain | FRA | 10.78 | 8.30 | 12.388 | 10.09 | 9.18 | 13.63 | 0.05 |
| | ESP | 11.52 | 14.90 | 19.95 | 16.69 | 18.85 | 19.04 | 0.11 |
| | GBR | 9.47 | 8.65 | 9.28 | 10.41 | 11.78 | 11.22 | 0.03 |
| | PRT | 23.00 | 6.89 | 14.13 | 12.46 | 15.17 | 9.64 | -0.16 |
| | OTHERS | 6.02 | 6.46 | 9.56 | 8.17 | 11.08 | 11.18 | 0.13 |
| UK | FRA | 5.86 | 6.66 | 5.11 | 9.06 | 12.71 | 19.06 | 0.27 |
| | ESP | 10.12 | 5.00 | 3.94 | 8.43 | 15.57 | 18.04 | 0.12 |
| | GBR | 12.28 | 15.36 | 7.99 | 14.86 | 19.34 | 25.40 | 0.16 |
| | PRT | 2.92 | 5.97 | 5.13 | 7.74 | 25.52 | 18.46 | 0.45 |
| | OTHERS | 6.71 | 6.13 | 4.66 | 11.02 | 15.37 | 21.22 | 0.26 |
| USA | FRA | 54.36 | 44.14 | 53.45 | 60.90 | 59.81 | 57.41 | 0.01 |
| | ESP | 69.45 | 78.80 | 80.02 | 77.35 | 75.70 | 80.42 | 0.03 |
| | GBR | 37.08 | 50.65 | 64.31 | 74.38 | 69.54 | 72.49 | 0.14 |
| | PRT | 41.61 | 33.88 | 56.86 | 64.60 | 62.90 | 64.43 | 0.09 |
| | OTHERS | 38.88 | 51.60 | 70.63 | 70.23 | 67.31 | 76.19 | 0.14 |
| Russia (USSR) | FRA | 18.61 | 30.32 | 30.81 | 39.09 | 31.98 | 29.40 | 0.10 |
| | ESP | 22.54 | 26.88 | 27.10 | 40.59 | 31.23 | 35.34 | 0.09 |
| | GBR | 28.25 | 32.27 | 35.32 | 46.34 | 36.73 | 41.83 | 0.08 |
| | PRT | 3.87 | 17.85 | 28.94 | 39.38 | 26.85 | 34.46 | 0.55 |
| | OTHERS | 47.41 | 67.12 | 51.31 | 57.18 | 57.25 | 56.05 | 0.03 |
| Portugal | FRA | 9.33 | 7.83 | 11.43 | 7.41 | 6.97 | 4.25 | -0.15 |
| | ESP | 2.81 | 5.99 | 12.67 | 5.58 | 7.63 | 1.90 | -0.08 |
| | GBR | 3.66 | 8.21 | 10.32 | 6.91 | 7.95 | 4.26 | 0.03 |
| | PRT | 55.62 | 26.93 | 41.38 | 20.14 | 18.90 | 15.86 | -0.22 |
| | OTHERS | 5.27 | 6.73 | 8.66 | 4.92 | 5.93 | 3.37 | -0.09 |

Note: *According to former colonial affiliation: FRA – France, ESP – Spain, GBR – Great Britain, PRT – Portugal, OTHERS – not a colony, or used to be one but no longer affiliated to any of the four colonial powers.

Source: *Le Monde diplomatique, Archives 1954–2011*.

in the course of this study, the reasons for which were complex and difficult to pinpoint.

The upward trend characterising mean index values might have been the result of a tightening of relations between the world powers and their former colonies, as a result of the establishment of specific mental constructs among the authors of the articles researched. We suppose this may be tied to a multitude of processes that increase the complexity of the world in times of globalisation. The regularities covered by dependency theory and the world-systems perspective, referring to a person's mental and perceptual sphere, may be emphasised, becoming more and more evident in the process.

Furthermore, the authors observed that *Le Monde diplomatique* articles about developing countries have become increasingly scarce over time. This fall is particularly distinct if compared to the number of articles about our six world powers featured in the monthly (Figure 2).

One might draw the conclusion that developing countries have become less and less of a topic in the periodical during the research period, but in addition to this they were more and more frequently mentioned in the context of their former colonial rulers. Figure 2 represents the number of articles about a given group of developing countries; this was determined by adding up all the pieces of writing about each developing country allocated to that particular group, on the basis of that country's former colonial affiliation. The number thus obtained was most likely inflated, but it still allowed us to outline general trends.

An explanation of the social dimension focuses on the description and interpretation of the unique historical and cultural reality of the period under review.

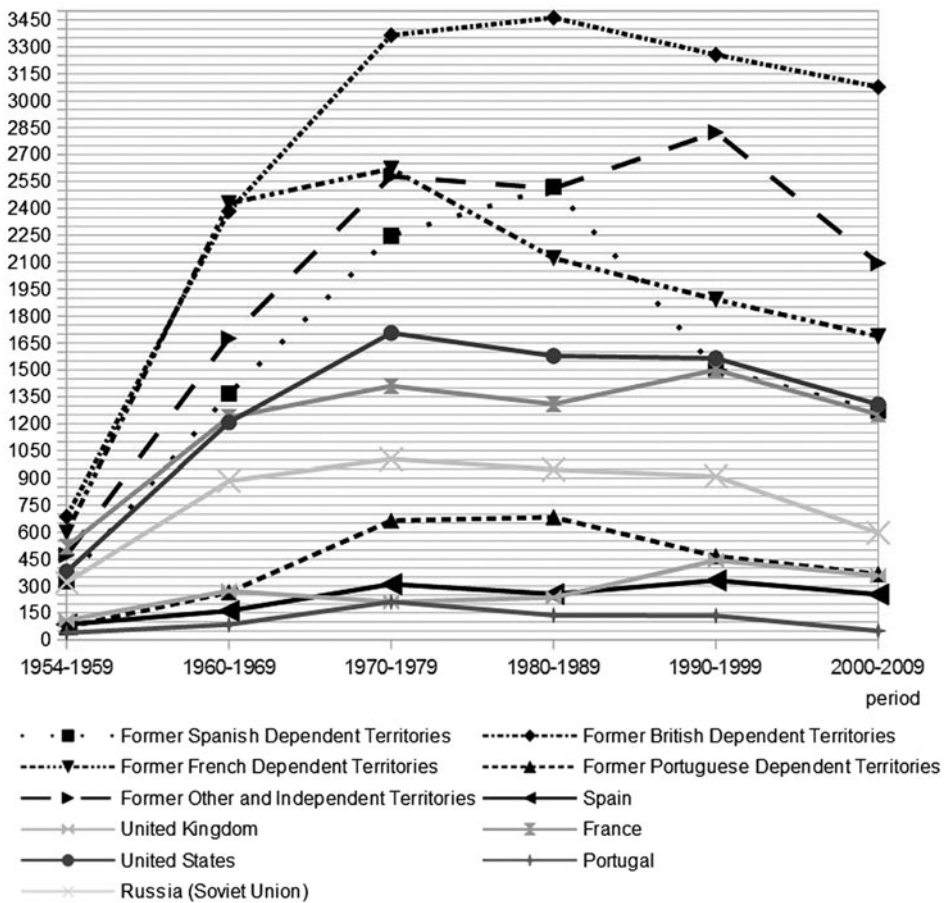


Figure 2. Articles in the *Le Monde diplomatique* about world powers and groups of developing countries, 1954–2009.

Source: Based on *Le Monde diplomatique*, Archives 1954–2011.

A polemical approach to dependency theory and the world-systems perspective will allow us to answer the question of whether we still encounter postcolonial dependency. Qualitative analysis of existing relations ought to be examined not only in terms of economics, but also in social and cultural terms.

The figures created with the ArcGIS Desktop 10.1 provide an important tool for the explanatory description of these relations. Figures 3, 4 and 5 show 35 developing countries among the whole research group (128 cases) which boast the highest C_t value with regard to a world power. In the case of idiographic analysis it is just as important to find spatial regularities as to answer the question why specific developing countries in the period researched period were characterised by extreme C_t index values.

In three cases (Spain, France and Russia) the group of countries with the highest C_t index value is characterised by intense spatial concentration (Figures 3, 4 and 5).

In the first case (Figure 3) most of these countries are located in the Americas (from Mexico in the north, to Argentina and Chile in the south), above all on the continent, with some enclaves in the Caribbean (Barbados, Saint Lucia). The second, smaller region of developing countries with high C_t index values, not as dense as the first one, is made up of Maghreb states (Morocco, Mauritania, Tunisia). Cooperation or strong historical, social and cultural ties can be detected above all between neighbouring countries, as shown by the example of illegal African immigrants crossing the Moroccan–Spanish border in Ceuta and Melilla.²²

In the second case (Figure 4), the countries in question are located in Africa, above all continental Africa, while a few are situated in the Indian Ocean (the Comoros, Madagascar, the Seychelles). States with high C_t index values include several West African countries. The aspect of colonial history

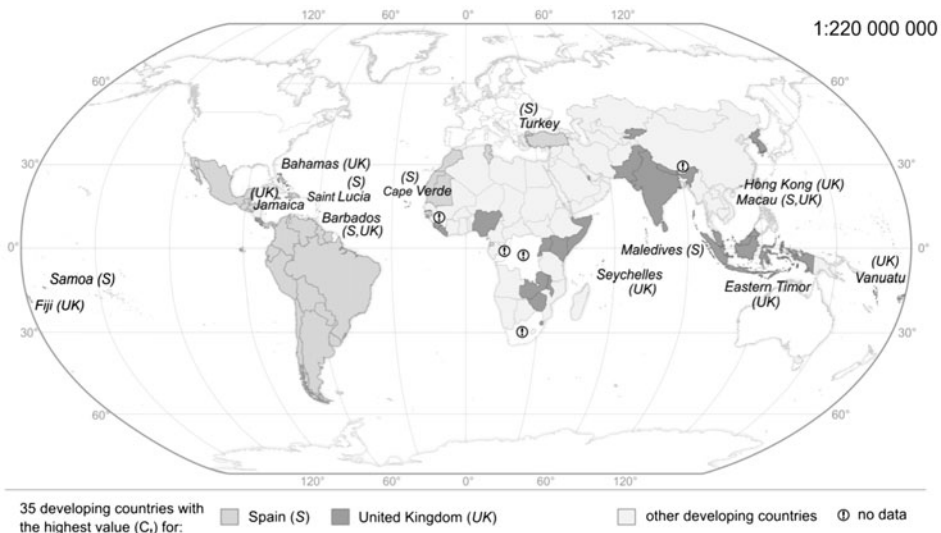


Figure 3. Developing countries with the highest value of C_t index for the UK and Spain, 1954–2009.

Source: Based on *Le Monde diplomatique*, Archives 1954–2011.

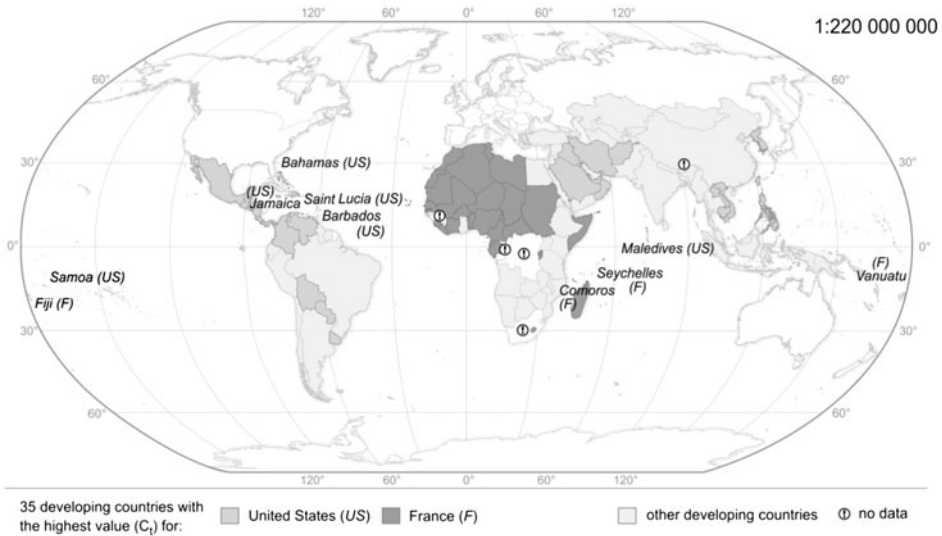


Figure 4. Developing countries with the highest value of C_t index for the USA and France, 1954–2009.

Source: Based on *Le Monde diplomatique, Archives 1954–2011*.

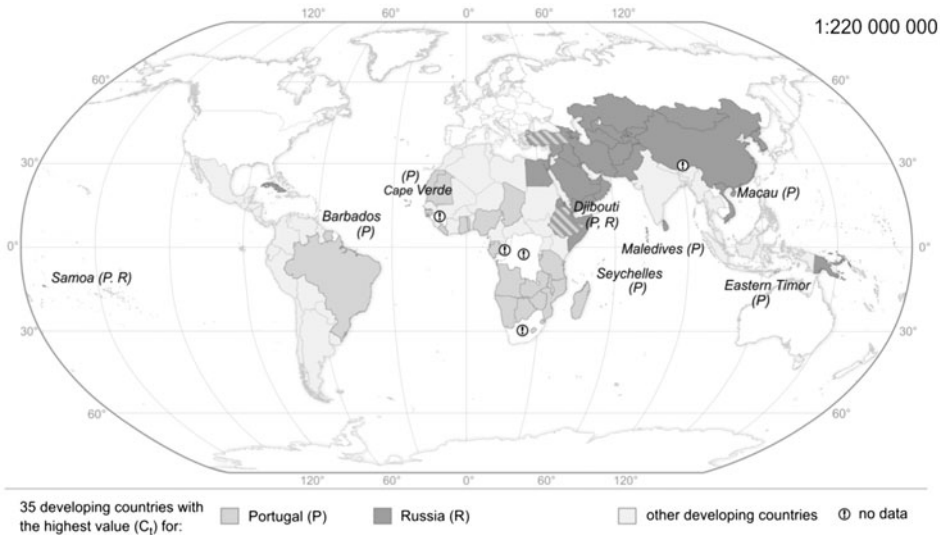


Figure 5. Developing countries with the highest value of C_t index for Portugal and Russia, 1954–2009.

Source: Based on *Le Monde diplomatique, Archives 1954–2011*.

is very prominent, even though the group of countries with strong ties to France also includes states that have never been a French colony, for instance Burundi, Lesotho, Nigeria and Rwanda.²³ Nigeria has been an important

trading partner of France for many years; this is why it is often mentioned in the same articles.

In the third case (Figure 5), the countries in question are located either in particular Asian states or in Northeast Africa. This group comprises states that, until 1989, constituted part of the USSR, as well as those countries which had strong economic ties with Russia in line with the principle of geographical proximity and those that were within the orbit of Russian geopolitical influence, both during and after the Cold War.

In the research period analysed the states with the highest C_i index value in relation to three world powers (Great Britain, the USA and Portugal) displayed a deep spatial dispersion (Figures 3, 4 and 5).

In the first case (Figure 3) the countries in question are located on a variety of continents, although most of them are in Asia. These are countries situated in various parts of the continent, for instance in East Asia (states of the Korean Peninsula), in Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei), in South Asia (India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka) and in the Persian Gulf region (Qatar).

In the second case (Figure 4), these are states located in several continents, but not in Africa. Countries in Latin America (Mexico, Central American states, Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, among others) and in various parts of Asia (the Persian Gulf region), Central Asia (Afghanistan), East Asia (Korean Peninsula, Taiwan), and Southeast Asia are noteworthy in this context.

In the third case (Figure 5) the group of countries with the highest C_i index value is characterised by spatial concentration, although such concentration is smaller than in the case of France, Spain and Russia (Figure 4). Admittedly the countries are dispersed across many continents, but a definite majority of them is located in Africa and in particular sub-Saharan Africa. The colonial past is clearly visible there, because all the former Portuguese colonies are contained in this group.

Conclusions

As a means of communication language acts as an interpretation of reality and thus it conditions both social behaviour and individual actions. The creative function of reality is irrefutable. The press allows us to register reactions to significant social, political or cultural issues. The perception of the world, as well as the culturally rooted social practice of experiencing reality or parts thereof are all encoded in the press. In our view the perception of political, economic, social and cultural relations between former colonial powers and developing countries is manifested in the notions of people who convey ideas and shape the world-view of societies.

The developing countries selected for this analysis form not only a large group (128), but also one that is highly diversified. This does not mean that it is impossible to point out common features that exist as a result of the political or socioeconomic heritage of former colonial leaders, and which are noticeable to varying degrees. These countries are defined by delayed economic development in comparison to the state of development of world powers, and by instability in their political systems, which translates into a lack of stabilisation of social systems.

We have used the indicator C_t , which depicts the degree of coincidence in articles of opinion-forming content about a selected world power and a developing country. Thanks to this procedure it has become possible to refer in quantitative terms to dependence theory and world-systems theory, while at the same time we have ventured beyond the economic aspect of the significance of those theories in explaining how the world operates.

The statistical analysis indicates, among other findings, that affiliation to a group of developing countries, further defined by colonial experience, diversified the strength of relations between those countries, as expressed by the index C_t in the research period. What is more, changes in the values of this indicator over time prove that the intensity of relations between the countries examined turned out to be different from one period to another. On the other hand, the growth trend observed in the case of average index values was the result of closer relations between world powers and their former colonies. Thus regularities which are conveyed by dependency theory and the world-systems approach, and which refer to people's mental sphere, are being highlighted and are becoming more discernible with time.

The interpretation of Figure 3, 4 and 5 indicates that spatial concentration with regard to the C_t index value was recorded for countries that used to be French and Spanish colonies, and in the case of Russia. The factor of having a colonial past has a distinct impact on relations, even though, among the countries characterised by strong relations with a developed country, there were also countries that lack a colonial history and yet are important economic and political partners, mostly on account of their geographical proximity.

The spatial distribution showcases 'Le Diplo's view of the world' – highlighting the dependence between former colonial powers (as understood according to world-systems theory, ie as a centre) and semi-peripheral and peripheral areas (developing countries displaying either strong or tenuous relations). Areas with which former colonial powers maintain various relations are socioeconomic entities, shaped by history, and characterised by strict internal structural ties. The basic assumptions of dependency theory and the world-systems approach are reflected in the notional construct of the authors of opinion-forming articles.

Le Monde diplomatique is a periodical which is firmly based on the political left. The great advantage of using this periodical is its unambiguous evaluation of reality, especially since it openly pursues political objectives. Nonetheless, what for some constitutes a virtue of the periodical makes it one of the least 'objective' magazines for others. This is also why it would be valuable to apply the same quantitative analysis method to another periodical which describes and evaluates the world differently, even though, in our opinion, finding a newspaper or magazine that can be regarded as 'neutral' seems highly unlikely.

The disadvantage of the C_t index presented in this study is that it can be applied only when the denominator is above zero, ie when there is at least one article about a developing country for the period in question. Furthermore, the infrequent occurrence of a given country in articles may yield an excessive amount of extreme-value results, which may lead to an over-interpretation of the data.

It might be worthwhile to widen the methodology in a subsequent analysis, so as to include methods that allow an evaluation of the reality described, for

instance by using box plots which allow us to illustrate the location, the shape of the empirical division, and the dispersion of a given feature in the research period. By highlighting cases that yield extreme box-plot values it is possible to determine countries feasible for a further case study.

This analysis allows us to combine a statistical examination with an advanced discourse analysis, using two opposing methodological groups – the nomothetic and the ideographic – applied by social science researchers. Using the latter of the two approaches is of particular importance, because the C_i index does not account for the character of relations featured in articles between former colonial powers and developing countries.

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Notes

1. Bunting and Guelke, “Behavioral and Perception Geography”; Tuan, “Images and Mental Maps”; Menzel, *Das Ende der Dritten Welt*; Lundestad, *East, West, North, South*; Lundestad, *The Rise and Decline of American Empire*; Cohen, “Geopolitics in the New World Era”; Cohen, *Geopolitics of the World System*; and Sidaway, “Postcolonial Geographies.”
2. Jones, “Phase Space”; and Steinberg, “Calculating Similitude and Difference.”
3. Braudel, *Historia i trwanie*, 86 (authors’ translation).
4. Hanson, “Isms and Schisms.” See also Crampton and Elden, “Space, Politics, Calculation”; and Wallerstein, “Open the Social Sciences.”
5. Flint, “A TimeSpace for Electoral Geography”; Flint “Political Geography”; and Ceccato and Uittenbogaard, “Space–Time Dynamics.”
6. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-system*.
7. Ahiakpor, “The Success and Failure of Dependency Theory.”
8. Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis*.
9. Wallerstein, *The Decline*.
10. Wallerstein and Hopkins, *The Age of Transition*. See also Hassler, “Raw Material Procurement.”
11. Taylor and Flint, *Political Geography*, 67–77; Agnew, “American Hegemony”; Anderson, “American Hegemony after 11 September”; Smith, *American Empire*; and Wallerstein, *The Decline*.
12. Aronovitz, “A Metatheoretical Critique.” See also Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis*.
13. Huber, “Energizing Historical Materialism”; Taylor, “World Cities”; Taylor, “New Political Geographies”; and Sidaway, “Sovereign Excesses?”
14. See Dussel, “Beyond Europocentrism.”
15. Ashcroft et al., *The Empire Writes Back*.
16. McMillin, *International Media Studies*.

17. Kessler and Slocum, "Analysis of Thematic Maps"; Kobayashi, "People, Place, and Region"; Kwan, "A Century"; and Short et al., "Cultural Globalization."
18. Barriot and Bismuth, "Ambiguous Concepts"; and Kefala, *L'évolution du Liban*.
19. See Solarz, "North-South"; and Solarz, "'Third World'."
20. Parker, "Ratzel."
21. Leroy-Beaulieu, "Les États-Unis"; and Dabène, *Atlas de l'Amérique latine*, 80.
22. Clochard, *Atlas des migrants*, 116–117.
23. See Manzo, "Africa in the Rise."

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