

INDIAN COVERAGE IN CANADIAN
DAILY NEWSPAPERS 1977:
CONTENT ANALYSIS

E78.C2
S56
1978
c.1

INDIAN COVERAGE
IN
CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS
1977

A Content Analysis
by
Heather Sim

This research report has been prepared under Contract 770085 for the Research Branch, Policy, Research and Evaluation Group, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs.

This report represents the views of the author and not the views of the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs nor its officials.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	Highlights	1
2.	General Findings	5
3.	Other research possibilities	19
4.	Other material available	21
5.	Newspapers: Circulation and Ownership	23

With Special Thanks To

Kathy Moses
Research Branch, DINA

Vicky Rutledge
Federal Statistical Activities Secretariat
Statistics Canada

Claude Wénault
The Gazette

Peter Legg
National Indian Brotherhood

Gordon Smith
Policy Research Branch
Social Programmes Analysis Directorate
National Health and Welfare

Allyson Taché

Patricia McKenna

HIGHLIGHTS

This report contains the major findings of an exploratory study of newspaper coverage of the Indian situation in 1977. Here are a few of the highlights of this study.

If you're in the way, you're in the news

By far the largest block of coverage for 1977 went to land claims being made or contemplated by Indians in various parts of Canada. The story of the year was the pipeline and Indian efforts to block or slow it down. Most other land claims coverage was related to resource development and the impediments to it caused by questions of aboriginal or treaty rights.

The importance of a potential energy crisis is clear. If threats to survival generate news coverage we would expect this general principle to extend to other areas of coverage. However when we look to issues relating to the survival of Indian people exclusively, we find a different story. Mercury poisoning in the English-Wabigoon River region of northern Ontario generated very little coverage beyond the Globe and Mail. As for questions relating to the economic survival of Indian people, they just don't show up in the coverage. There wasn't a single article on poverty and only one on employment.

Other patterns in the coverage suggest a theme of non-Indian self-interest in the coverage of Indians. Police brutality, an issue in Indian communities received no coverage, but there were 10 articles out of a sample

of 500 devoted to Indians as law-breakers. A threat to the general community is implied here as it is in the 13 articles relating to hunting, trapping and fishing offenses committed by Indians. The attrition of wildlife, another issue of concern to Indians in various parts of the country, merited only 2 articles.

It seems where Indian issues involve non-Indian interests, news stories, columns and editorials are produced. As for issues generated within the Indian community, particularly socio-economic issues, there is only a secondary kind of coverage. Indeed some facts relating to the Indian situation seem to escape the observation of the press altogether.

Join the club

Another major fact of Indian coverage is that it is institutional coverage. Unaffiliated individuals, Indian or not, are rarely mentioned. There are a handful of organizations and institutions with an interest in the Indian situation which are covered again and again. And certain members of the club keep getting the good parts.

Let me tell you about Indians

The two major newsmakers of 1977 on the Indian scene were Warren Allmand, the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, and Judge Thomas Berger. That both were considered very sympathetic to Indians does not obscure the fact that neither is an Indian. As we shall see later this pattern of non-Indian interpretation of the Indian situation is a common one.

Indians are O.K. but I never met one

By far the best and most extensive coverage of the Indian situation is to be found in the Globe and Mail. It is probably safe to say that your average Globe and Mail reader does not spend much time on the reserve. Newspapers whose readership might be found in closer geographic or social proximity to Indians offer significantly less coverage on the Indian situation.

The other side of the coin

Basically what we are getting is a certain kind of political coverage probably geared mostly at the middle-class even liberal reader.* Indians are not particularly people, they are not even necessarily a social problem, they are a series of moral and political decisions of some national concern. With this definition of the Indian situation we find a whole new class of Indians being thrust into the public eye, Indians who in no way fit the stereotype of lazy, drunken or ignorant. Although we can find a few articles on alcoholism or Indian work habits, coverage is focussed on a dynamic situation with Indian protagonists possessing certain political and intellectual skills rising to meet the challenge of self-interest in the forum of land claim disputes.

They scalp whites, don't they

Although it can't be proven scientifically, one is left with the impression that a residue of fear remains when it comes to Indians. Indian leaders may be worthy

* The precise definition of readership is beyond the scope of this study.

of respect at a political level but there is a tendency for them to go a little too far. The number one Indian newsmaker for 1977 was Harold Cardinal and although he might be nobody's fool there is a preoccupation with his more militant actions: moving whites into the basement of Indian Affairs offices, or hiring AIM officials. In fact the American Indian Movement proves the exception to the rule when it comes to coverage of Indian organizations. The general pattern is for the more established organizations to be featured most often in the presentation of Indian issues. AIM gets more coverage than one would expect on the basis of its membership, but it is the kind of coverage that produces headlines like "AIM leader placed at scene of killings", or "AIM leader convicted of murder."

Even with pipeline coverage there lurks the spectre of Indian militancy. This is journalism, of course, and it makes a good 'hook' for a story. But it brings to mind the comment of one leading journalist who said, "Indians. They get coverage when they pose a threat."

GENERAL FINDINGS

The material used to draw conclusions for this study was gathered from 500 newspaper items making reference to Indians selected randomly over a 9-month period in 1977. We used a research technique known as content analysis which is basically the identification and quantification of units of meaning in a systematic way. A more formal description of the study method is contained in the Appendix of this volume. A complete set of tables is presented in Volume II.*

What is Indian coverage ?

One might think that 'Indian coverage' would be news about Indians. The first curious thing we notice when we start adding things up is that there are as many non-Indians as Indians appearing in these articles. The newspaper items in our sample all contained the word 'Indian' and were all focused in one way or another on the Indian situation. But when we isolated significant parties in a story and examined them more closely they were just as apt to be white as Indian. When we consider the organizations as well as the individuals featured in the coverage we find 52% to be non-Indian and only 47% to be Indian. Although a certain number of articles describe Indians talking about the Indian situation, the over-all pattern is one of Indians and non-Indians talking about the Indian situation and their interpretations of it. Our first major conclusion is that Indian coverage is basically coverage of Indian/non-Indian relations.

*Copies of the Appendix and Volume II are available on request.

Situations and Definitions

The Davy committee study of mass media in Canada published in 1971 found 87% of Canadian homes received a daily newspaper and 80% of the people surveyed claimed to read one every day. They also found that people use newspapers differently than the other media. They use them for facts and for interpretation of facts.

Want-ads and crossword puzzles notwithstanding, newspapers deal in events. In their selection of newsworthy events and the backup information they present in features and columns, they are defining situations for the public at large. The messages they present feed more directly into the realm of public opinion than they do into basic attitude formation.

Newspapers expand peoples' areas of attention beyond their everyday lives. In focusing their attention onto events people will never see, newspapers set 'agendas' for collective action and establish the boundries of political possibility.

Seen in this light, newspapers are not really the vehicle through which to study attitudes. If we wished to count up pejorative adjectives we would be better advised to look at T.V. westerns or read popular magazines. What newspapers are presenting is a certain view of the structure of the world that dovetails with common perceptions. It is the definition of this structure which is the most interesting aspect of newspaper coverage because it is closely related to action, particularly collective or political action. For example, when a newspaper presents a report on the advanced effects of mercury poisoning amongst Indians, it arouses a certain public reaction. If the paper

reports instead that there's a lot of alcoholism in the English-Wabigoon River region and the physical symptoms resemble those of mercury poisoning, the situation is much less clearly defined. The possible courses of action are much less clear cut. The implied attitude on alcoholism is much less important here than the effect the 'facts' have on the situation. If there is no coverage anywhere on mercury poisoning the situation remains essentially undefined publicly.

It is the definition of the Indian situation, then, that we are interested in as it is presented in our major daily newspapers. We want to know how it is defined and by whom.

Indians and Politics

When you sit down and ask yourself what sorts of things you might expect to find in a newspaper about Indians, you think first about the usual kinds of things you might expect to find about anybody. So-and-so got promoted, so-and-so died. Then there are the kinds of things you might expect to find about any group who live collectively in a defined geographic area: the state of the environment, their use of technology, their physical well-being. So you look through the assembled news items and find a little coverage on these sorts of things.

Then you remember that Indians are considered different from other people in this society, so you would expect to find something about this, something about their culture, their languages, their history. And there is. In fact about 15% of all articles are on cultural topics like pow wows, recent art exhibits, the re-enactment of the signing of Treaty Seven.

This reminds you Indians are seen as a minority group by the society and considered to be economically and socially disadvantaged. So you would expect to find articles on social problems, education, housing, poverty, prejudice, mental health, and employment. There are articles on many of these things but not all. About another 15% of the articles are written from a socio-economic point of view.

So far you've accounted for somewhat less than half the coverage and you're beginning to notice something else. Land claims. Land claims in the Northwest Territories, land claims in the Yukon, some minor claim in the Maritimes where a farmer is being put off his land, the continuing story of James Bay, something about the Peigan tribe, a dispute centring on possible flooding of Indian land in the Churchill River area, questions about aboriginal rights in northern Ontario. In fact one article in four is on land claims.

Then you remember that Indians have a special legal status in this country and you begin to notice articles on the Indian Act, on hunting, trapping, and fishing rights, on language rights. By the time you've read about a few band elections and a few hassles between the National Indian Brotherhood and Indian Affairs you begin to realize this legal fact and the politics surrounding it provide the subject matter for every other article you're reading. In all 55% of the articles in the sample could be called legal-political. Upon closer examination you find conflict or disagreement being described in the majority of articles; Indians and non-Indians disagreeing, usually over a legal matter.

9.

When you sit down and reconsider all the material you've covered you realize that for the press, Indians are primarily a political issue.

Actors

The Indian situation is being defined in legal-political terms, but how is this being presented? It is being presented through coverage of people and organizations with some stake in the situation. Who are the 'actors' or 'players' in the game? Who is defining the issues? The outcome of a situation is going to be quite different if it is defined by AIM, for example, than if it is defined by an official of the Department of Indian Affairs.

As we mentioned earlier, the significant parties in the coverage are just as likely to be white as Indian. In considering who are the other 'players' in the situation, we can eliminate women, individuals from other minority groups, and unaffiliated persons right off the bat. Eighty-six per cent of all significant persons in the coverage are male. Ninety-five per cent of all 'actors' in our study spoke English as their first official language. There was very little French-speaking involvement in the definition of the situation. Of all the Indians presented as significant in our coverage, only 11% were non-status or Métis.

Almost everyone who gets coverage in connection with the Indian situation comes from an organization. Organizations are frequently presented without any particular individual attached to them. In fact 90% of all actors are either organizations or individuals from organizations.

Which organizations are getting the coverage ?

Forty-three per cent of the coverage goes to the government. Federal and judicial branches of government account for most of this. About 20% of Indian actors are from the reserve system, another 15% from Indian organizations. Less than 8% of all significant parties covered come from provincial Indian associations or the National Indian Brotherhood.

When we look more closely at the dynamics of this situation we find different parties assigned to different roles. Consider the following news items:

BADGERVILLE - The federal Indian Affairs department is reviewing all government legislation and past court decisions affecting native hunting rights to decide whether the laws should be changed to meet the spirit of Indian treaties, Indian Affairs Minister Warren Allmand said Wednesday.

Pipeline inquiry commissioner Thomas Berger said Monday that new departures will be required to escape the mistakes government has made in the past with Indians in southern Canada. He said development of oil and gas in the Mackenzie Delta-Beaufort Sea areas is inevitable. But development must be orderly and can be planned only after a settlement of native claims.

Terms of reference for a proposed inquiry into resource development in Ontario are completed and will be given to Treaty 9 Indians soon for assessment, Frank Miller, Ontario minister of natural resources, said Wednesday.

In each of these items we have a government official initiating the action and defining an aspect of the Indian situation. In each case they refer to Indians. In the third example specific reference is made to Treaty 9 Indians. In each case the active role is going to a government official.

In a majority of cases in our sample (57%) this pattern is repeated; non-Indians are defining the situation, Indians are being defined or referred to in the situation.

In a minority of cases Indians are presented as defining the situation as we see in the following news items.

The federal government is releasing misleading figures on the severity of the mercury health problem in Canada, according to Noel Starblanket, president of the National Indian Brotherhood.

The Stoney Indian band has decided to ignore Harold Cardinal because of his hiring of three American Indian Movement (AIM) 'extremists', Stoney Chief John Snow said Thursday.

Sometimes there will be a 'target' for a statement made by a defining or initiating actor. In the following example we see it is the Liberal Party of Canada.

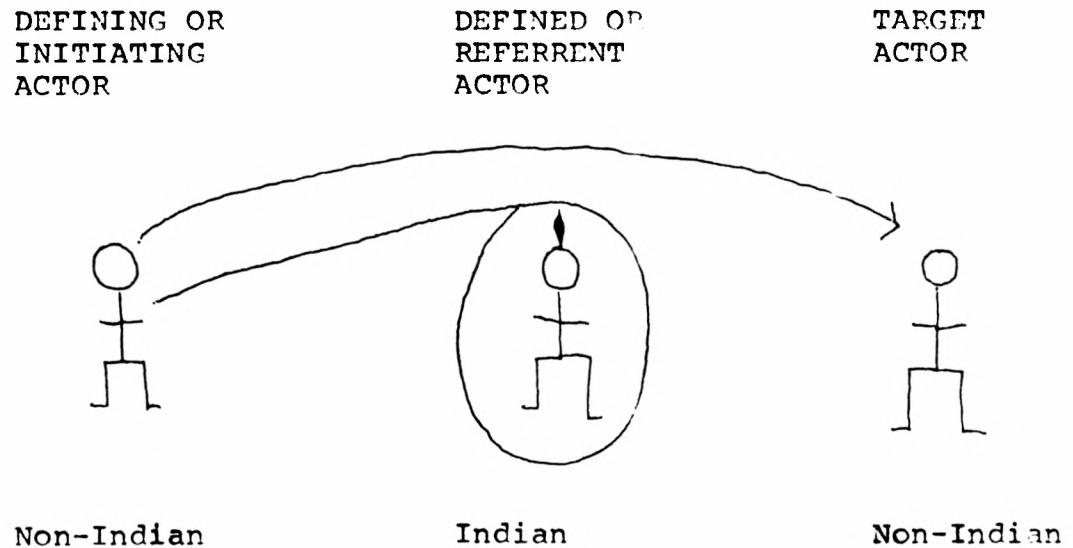
At the "Hyde Park Hour" grime session yesterday morning, Warren Allmand took the microphone and said how "amazed and discouraged" he was that there was no thought of, or participation by Indians and Inuit at the national unity conference. He castigated his fellow Liberals for having tunnel vision and going round with blinkers on and ignoring such important realities of Canada, to which he hoped Liberals will "wake up and pay a little more attention to."

In a few cases we find Indians addressed on a subject, making them the 'target' group.

He (Warren Allmand) told councillors of the Keesekoose Reserve that he believes hunting rights granted to Indians in treaties should be upheld.

When we look at the dynamics of the definition process we see the following general patterns: non-Indians defining the Indian situation with reference to Indians and

addressing their definition to non-Indians. Simplified it looks like this.



When we look at interpretive articles only, that is editorials, columns and commentary, we find 63% of the actors featured in this kind of coverage are non-Indian, only 37% are Indian.

The majority of these non-Indian defining actors are, of course, from a governmental context. And they are defining legal-political issues more often than they are defining anything else.

In their more passive role, what sort of articles are Indians being featured in? Interestingly enough, Indians are featured in articles on socio-economic topics almost twice as often as they are on articles about legal-political topics. These are Indians from the reserve or tribal system rather than the associations.

For example in an article on native problems a band councillor is quoted as saying,

The basic problem faced by native people leaving the reserve is 'future shock.' Their other problems, from alcoholism to unemployment stem from it.

Another article states

In a brief to the government last week, the Saskatchewan conference of the United Church urged the government to support native organizations working to solve problems, pledging to do so itself. They also urged the department of social services to make it easier for mothers to be recognized as heads of families for assistance purposes.

Newspapers are painting a picture of Indians as the object of concern on social and economic grounds. But they are also showing Indians to be concerned about these subjects.

This is not the whole story. Not all Indian actors are falling into the passive role. They too are presenting definitions, even if these are secondary to non-Indian governmental definitions. When they are portrayed as taking an initiating role, it is on legal-political topics particularly land settlement. But this time it is the associations who are featured more than twice as often as Indians from the reserve system. We could speculate that a certain number of the government statements on land claims are direct reactions to initiatives from Indian associations but there is nothing in the news coverage to actually indicate this.

There is a problematic cast to most of this coverage. It turns out that the word 'problem' turns up in about 60% of the articles. In some cases Indians are depicted as presenting problems, in other cases it is being suggested that Indians have problems. Regardless of differences about how the problem is seen, there is significant agreement that these problems relate back to the special legal definition of Indians in this society.

This is hardly surprising in light of the institutional nature of the coverage. With the odd exception, there is no real definition of the situation that would take it outside the realm of established channels. Everything gets referred back to duly constituted organizations and to questions of what is right and legal. It is defined as a manageable situation, it will be manageable.

The Structure of Communication

The issues are most often legal ones. In particular they get focused on the ramifications of aboriginal status on resource development in northern parts of the country. Where lesser interests are involved as is the case with hunting, trapping and fishing rights, or even mercury pollution, there is less coverage. The definitions are coming primarily from non-Indian government sources. The duly constituted Indian organizations are involved but in a lesser fashion.

There is consideration of cultural and socio-economic matters but on a much smaller scale. These things are presented as being more in the domain of Indians than whites.

It is hardly surprising this is the structure of coverage. After all who is holding all the cards in this situation. We know from John Porter's study of power that the media, with the exception of the French-language papers, are controlled by a small group of English-speaking, generally upper class individuals of British origin, basically the same sociological group that controls the other major institutions in the country. It is not unexpected that there should be a non-Indian slant to Indian coverage. There aren't any Indians involved in the production of the message.

How does the structure of coverage relate to the structure of communication? What is the structure of communication? Basically it is reporters, news agencies, newspapers, and chains of newspapers. Stories are being written, sent out, picked up, passed on, printed, reprinted. Are there any patterns here?

The material in the study points to the fact that stories are picked up primarily in two kinds of locations. The first set of locations for stories is the bureaucratic and political centres where Indians are a fact to be dealt with. Ottawa alone is the geographic focus of 14% of all Indian stories. Other Canadian cities with regional Indian Affairs offices account for 52% of all urban coverage of Indians. The rest of the coverage seems to focus on rural areas with a particular emphasis on the north. This suggests coverage is being generated from parts of the country where Indians control land or are laying claim to land, in other words to the specific areas where Indian/non-Indian interests overlap.

What seems to happen at this point is that the stories are picked up and bounced across the country. Where do most of them end up? Fifty-three per cent of the stories published on Indian topics are published in Ontario. This is not generally local coverage. In fact there is very little local coverage. Only 14% of all stories are datelined or set in the same place a newspaper is published, whereas almost half of the articles are out-of-province stories.

This would suggest that the Indian situation is a national issue. Indian issues are not being locally defined to any great extent. And these issues are being presented primarily to readers in the most urbanized, institutionally concentrated parts of the country.

It is the large, mainstream papers that end up printing the most material on Indians and they are most

concerned with the legal and political aspects of the Indian situation. Dailies with a circulation of over 100,000 publish twice as many stories per paper as the smaller papers. French-language papers publish very little about Indians. Tabloids and the more limited regional papers offer significantly less coverage than papers with a national reputation. In our sample of 500 articles, the Globe and Mail published 62, Montréal *Matin* 0, the Ottawa Citizen 42, the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix 21, the Halifax Chronicle-Herald 6 and so on.

The two largest, most national newspaper chains in this country are the Southam chain and the Free Press chain. Papers belonging to these two chains offer more coverage per paper than papers belonging to smaller, more regional chains or unaffiliated papers. It is the Canadian Press, the largest, most national news agency that provides most of the wire items published in this country.

It is the nationally significant papers, chains and wire service that are most involved in exploring the Indian situation. They are also most concerned with the legal and political issues that we discussed earlier. The smaller and more limited papers are less likely to present the Indian situation in these terms. They don't feature political items in the same way the big papers do. Unlike the larger papers they are almost as likely to come up with a story on a pow wow or do a feature on hospital care as they are to examine the Big Questions presented by a pipeline.

The Question of Bias

This study was not really designed to look at the question of bias but a few points come to mind. It is difficult to avoid wondering, for example, if some of the more refined legal-political issues being defined

are not as remote from your average reader as the question of energy development must be to many Indians concerned with their own day-to-day survival. How many readers will actually be interested in the terms of reference of the Hartt inquiry? Government and Indian leaders are defining legal and bureaucratic issues to a population that is not even clear on the meaning of aboriginal rights.* While these issues are getting coverage, others which might connect people more concretely to the reality of the Indian situation are being ignored.

Perhaps a little more effort could be made to correct some of the imbalance in the presentation of issues. One wonders why there is such disparity between coverage given representatives of the federal and provincial governments and the corresponding Indian organizations at each level. Some of it may be written off to cultural gaps between the press establishment and native public relations machinery, but part of it must be seen as bad journalism.

It is the almost complete lack of coverage on the part of some of the smaller and more regional papers, the French-language press and the tabloids that constitutes the most obvious inadequacy in the coverage of the Indian situation.

Apart from structural imbalances in the coverage, there is a certain neutrality to the presentation of issues. The tone is generally dispassionate. Editorials, although rare, are frequently so impartial it is impossible to discover

* A recent study of Canadian attitudes towards Indians by Gibbons and Ponting of the University of Calgary indicates a low level of knowledge on the part of most Canadians about such things as aboriginal rights, the difference between status and non-status Indians, the level of government with major responsibility for Indians.

an editorial position.

There are exceptions to this. The voice of reason occasionally slips into superlatives, particularly on cultural subjects, producing headlines like, "Tribute to Indian 'awesome show' of brilliant past." Or it cracks into an hysterical editorial like this one from the Toronto Sun.

Surely patience must be running out with Indians. Fair enough, perhaps, that they can get millions as compensation for the damage done to their environment by the James Bay project. Or that they can delay (if not prevent) a gas pipeline from the Arctic that the rest of the continent thinks it needs. Or even play vigilante and block public roads.

...Indians have finally discovered a useful weapon in the Anglo-Saxon's (they'd say "whiteman's") guilty conscience and latent suicide wish. Society can be blackmailed.

OTHER RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

This study raises as many questions as it answers. How does coverage in 1977 compare with coverage in 1957 or the late sixties ? It is quite possible that a larger proportion of articles dealt with socio-economic issues in 1957 and probable that Indian leaders were even less visible to the public. One suspects that however much coverage accompanied the controversy surrounding the White Paper in the late sixties, it did not equal that generated by the pipeline debate.

There is no real way of telling. Comprehensive news clippings for those periods are not available from the Press Monitoring Section of Indian Affairs. Micro-film holdings of the National and Parliamentary Libraries are uneven. They exist for certain periods but not for others; certain papers are not in the holdings.

A time lapse study would be possible in the future however. One might wish to investigate changes in the kind of coverage given the Indian situation over time. As land claims are settled, for example, will this kind of coverage be replaced by coverage of other legal-political issues ? Will there be a shift to socio-economic and cultural topics or will there be a void in Indian coverage ? Will Indian individuals and organizations get a larger role to play in the definition of Indian issues or will coverage continue to favour non-Indian initiatives and interpretations ?

Other studies could explore in more depth patterns suggested by this one.

- * Where information is available about the background of readers, one could examine the type of coverage in terms of social characteristics of readers such as social class, education, in income and occupation. As our study suggests, does legal-political coverage go mostly to the middle-class reader ?

- * One could examine the behaviour of newspapers in transmitting the messages they receive by wire. How do those they receive compare with those they reprint. Do mainstream newspapers pick up more items? Are they more likely to pick up items dealing with legal-political aspects of the Indian situation?
- * What are the actual mechanics of coverage? How many newspapers actually have an Indian beat? How is rural coverage generated? Is it provided by stringers or do Indian organizations initiate it in some cases?
- * One could take four newspapers, say the Globe and Mail, the Calgary Albertan, La Presse and the Halifax Chronicle-Herald, and examine everything they published on Indians over a one-year period with a view to discovering the overall picture a steady reader is being given.
- * It would be interesting to compare the Indian press with mainstream non-Indian newspapers. How does the structure of coverage differ? Who is getting coverage? What issues are being presented and how?
- * A study of the other media, particularly television, would yield other important data. The mechanics of analyzing the content of electronic media are a little more complicated than those involving the printed word, but techniques have been developed and used to good advantage in studies conducted by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission. Such a study could examine the same sorts of questions we did in this study as well as exploring aspects of the communication more directly related to attitude formation of a basic kind.

Other Material Available

The material presented here is a summary of a research project of an empirical nature. A more academic and detailed description of the study is available from:

Research Branch,
Policy, Research and
Evaluation Group,
Department of Indian
and Northern Affairs,
Les Terrasses de la Chaudière,
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H4

The table of contents of this report is as follows:

I The Research Process

- a) The Research Problem
- b) Theoretical Perspectives
- c) The Model
- d) Working Hypotheses
- e) The Sample
- f) Processing
- g) Analysis

II Lists

- a) Chain Membership
- b) Newspapers by Circulation
- c) Newspapers by Prestige Group
- d) Tables from Davey Report

III Bibliography

Appendix A

I List of Tables

II Definition of Terms

III Tables

- a) What?
 - Topic
 - Conflict/Co-operation
 - Problem
 - Programme
 - Other
- b) Who?
 - All Actors
 - Initiating Actor
 - Referrent Actor
 - Target Actor

- c) Where?
 - Locale
 - Dateline
 - Place of Reference
- d) Which?
 - Newspaper
 - News Agency
 - Chain
 - Place of Publication
 - Other
- e) Cross-tabulations

CANADIAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS: CIRCULATION AND OWNERSHIP

VANCOUVER	The Province	Southam	128,365
	The Sun	F.P. Publications Ltd.	236,433
VICTORIA	The Daily Colonist	F.P. Pubns. Ltd.	39,014
CALGARY	The Albertan	F.P. Pubns. Ltd.	38,928
	The Calgary Herald	Southam Co.	124,120
EDMONTON	The Edmonton Journal	Southam Co.	172,815
REGINA	Regina Leader-Post	Armada Co.	66,251
SASKATOON	Saskatoon Star-Phoenix	Armada Co.	50,218
WINNIPEG	Winnipeg Free Press	F.P. Pubns. Ltd.	140,057
	The Winnipeg Tribune	Southam Co.	95,306
HAMILTON	Spectator	Southam Co.	139,318
KINGSTON	Kingston Whig-Standard	Kingston Whig Standard Co. Ltd.	34,964
LONDON	Free Press	London Free Press Holdings Ltd.	80,907
OTTAWA	The Citizen	Southam Co.	111,000
	Le Droit	Les Missionnaires Oblats de M.I.	46,457
	Journal	F.P. Pubns.	75,568
SUDBURY	Star	Thompson Co.Ltd.	33,708
TORONTO	The Globe and Mail	F.P. Pubns Ltd.	262,310
	The Toronto Star	Starson Holdings Ltd.-principal stockholder	459,539
	The Toronto Sun	Toronto Sun Holdings	134,818
WINDSOR	The Windsor Star	Southam Co.	86,992
MONTREAL	The Gazette	Southam Co.	111,540
	The Montreal Star	F.P. Publications	166,076

MONTREAL	Le Devoir	No information	41,017
	Le Journal de Montréal	Québecor Inc.	171,269
	Montréal-Matin	Desmarais Group	140,916
	La Presse	Desmarais Group	180,972
QUEBEC	Le Journal de Québec	Québecor Inc.	53,666
	Le Soleil	Banlaga et Cie.	142,899
SHERBROOKE	La Tribune	Desmarais Group	38,237
TROIS RIVIERES	Le Nouvelliste	Desmarais Group	49,504
SAINT JOHN	The Telegraph Journal	New Brunswick Pubns. Co.- Irving	32,003
HALIFAX	Chronicle-Herald	No information	69,356
CHARLOTTETOWN	The Guardian	Thompson	15,637
ST. JOHN'S	The Telegram	Thompson	33,175

Sources: The Matthews List: Volume 21, #1, April 20, 1977.
Business Finance Division, Statistics Canada