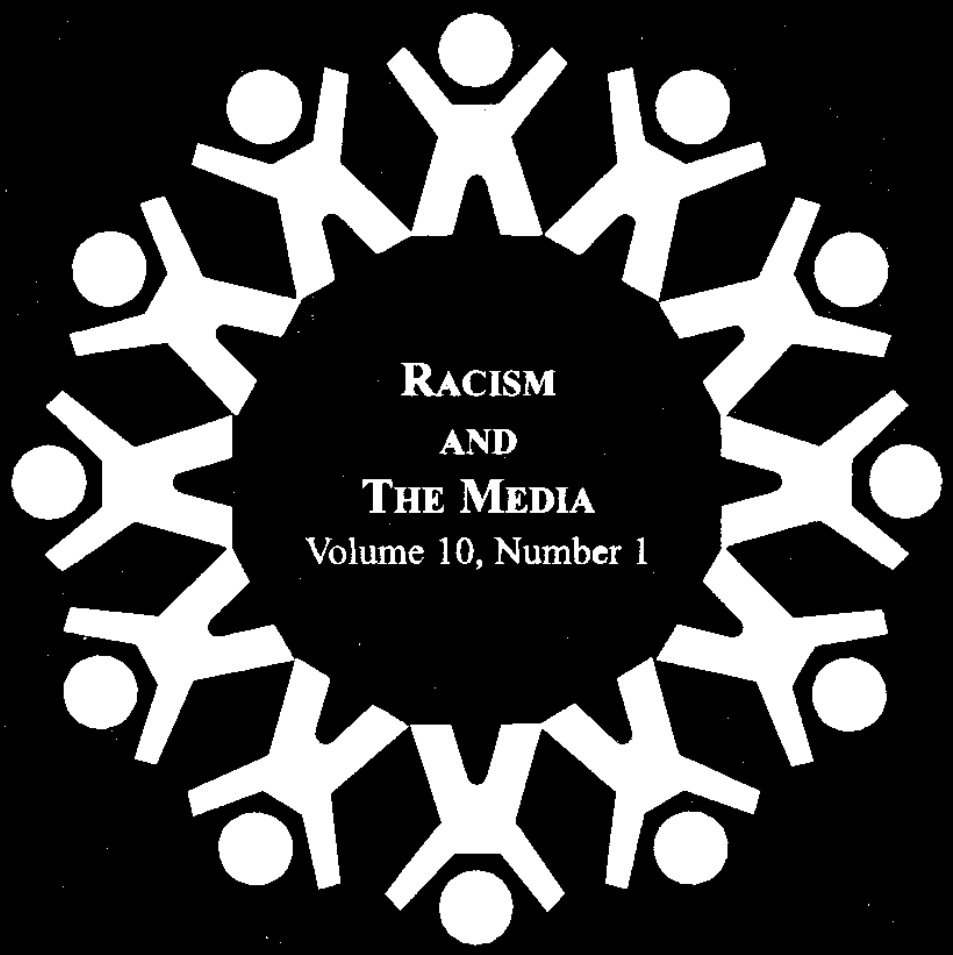
CURRENTS

Readings in Race Relations



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Urban Alliance on Race Relations is a non-profit organization formed in July 1975. UARR's primary goal is to promote a stable and healthy multicultural environment in the community. Volunteers are an integral part of the Alliance and are critical in promoting access and equity in our community.

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This issue of Currents: Readings In Race Relations
is dedicated to the Memory of Deo Kernahan,
a long time dedicated supporter, volunteer and member.
Deo served as President of Urban Alliance on Race Relations
1994 – 1997

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EDITORIAL

RACISM AND THE MEDIA

The proceedings of a national conference on the subject of minorities and the media sponsored by the Urban Alliance on Race Relations opens with the question: why another conference on the media and race relations? This conference was held in June 1987. Why another issue of Currents on the same topic fifteen years later?

The obvious answer is because the media continues to inadequately reflect, represent or report on our racial diversity in a balanced and responsive way. In addition, it is a recognition that the influence of the media continues to be huge. This role has certainly been highlighted since September 11. The lives of many women wearing the easily identifiable hijab, have been transformed by anxiety and fear since September 11. The terrorist attacks, and the media response to them, have given greater licence to intolerance and exposed the ugly reality of prejudice in Toronto.

There is a television and radio in almost every household. Almost every car has a built-in radio. A newspaper cost less than the price of a cup of coffee. The mass media continues to be our primary source of news and information.

The first concern is the media's capacity for fixing an image in the public mind. Its responsibility for avoiding stereotypes and demeaning depictions therefore becomes central to its role.

Secondly, in terms of coverage, the media supposedly represents our version of what we are. As Peter Desbarats says, the media both reflects what we think we are and influences what we should be.

> *"Mass media confer status on those individuals and groups they select for placement in the public eye, telling the viewer, or reader who and what is important to know about, think about, and have feelings about. Those who are made visible through the media become worthy of attention and concern; those whom the media ignore remain invisible."*

The subjective character of all media makes it impossible for journalists and other media workers to evade the responsibilities of leadership. The article by Karim Karim which was received by Currents well before the events of September 11, has particular relevance today. It draws attention to the fact that part of that leadership requires knowledge of society, including the use of proper language and terminology. As Haroon Siddiqui of the Toronto Star has argued, the media have changed such respectable terms such as Sikhs, Muslims, Armenians, Arabs and Blacks into derogatory ones:

> *"so much so that we have managed to put these people on the defensive about their own identity and their own religion. This is really the ultimate sin."*

The article by Carol Tator provides an important analysis of why the media, as a major transmitter of cultural standards, myths and values, continues to reflect and project a racist ideology. The article provides us with a much better paradigm for understanding the media's institutional intractability in dealing with racism.

In recognizing the fundamental impact that the media can have on the state of race relations, the article by Frances Henry on the racialization of crime by the media is a powerful indictment of media 'objectivity'.

In responding to Siddiquis' call to the minority communities for "a degree of unity, some coherence and some professional, adversarial, strong, confident lobby that will take on the politicians and that will take on the media to regain and keep all that is rightfully yours," the articles by Rick Sin of the Chinese Canadian National Council and by Pamela Davie of OCASI provide impressive case studies of the kinds of community initiatives that need to be pursued.

Tim Rees

ANTI-ISLAM IN THE MEDIA FEEDS 'IMAGE DISTORTION DISORDER'

The distorted perception that Islam condones and encourages violence is largely created by the media and it leads to societal anxiety among Canadians. This is called "image distortion disorder."

Image distortion disorder is particularly dangerous in Canada, with its substantial multi-ethnic, multi-faith, and multi-cultural populations.

The Canadian Islamic Congress recently released its fourth annual media-watch study of nine major Canadian newspapers, and for the second year in a row, The National Post was ranked as worst by far in its persistent use of anti-Islam terminology.

The study also shows a large increase in anti-Islam terminology following the tragic events of September 11. Compared to the pre-September 11 study period, the National Post showed an increased occurrence of 22.1 times, while the Globe and Mail and Toronto Star showed an increase of 18.7 and 10.1 times, respectively.

"By excessively and persistently using anti-Islam language, the National Post is stirring up hatred against an identifiable group of Canadians," said CIC national president, Prof. Mohamed Elmasry. "And by refusing to join a Press Council, it sends the message that it chooses not to be publicly accountable for its policies."

Elmasry added that even though Islam is the faith of more than 650,000 Canadians, "The Post continues to deny the existence of any problem with its reporting style, editorial language, or procedures—despite a two-year effort to communicate the concerns of this major Canadian community to its senior management."

CIC national vice-president, Mrs. Wahida Valiante, noted that other Canadian media experts, both academic journalists and working professionals in the field, agree with the CIC's recurring finding that anti-Islam in the media is a quality issue that urgently needs to be addressed. Most leading media organizations now do so, or are in the process of reviewing their policies. "It is high time now for The Post to act," she said.

The CIC's annual study offers a methodical and documented assessment of the use of anti-Islam terminology by the Canadian media, particularly print journalism, drawing public attention to the use and misuse of terms such as "Islamic-inspired terrorist attacks," "murderous Islamic militant," "Islamic terrorist," "Muslim militant," etc.

The CIC's study covers news and views published by nine of Canada's top-circulation newspapers: the Toronto Star, Globe and Mail, National Post, Toronto Sun, Ottawa Citizen, Montreal Gazette, Halifax Herald, La Presse, and Le Journal de Montreal.

2001 Newspaper Ranking (Without Circulation Factor) (Worst-to-bad) From September 2000 to August 2001

	Newspaper	Relative Points (max 100)
1	National Post	100
2	Montreal Gazette	69
3	Ottawa Citizen	62
4	Globe and Mail	58
5	Chronicle Herald	56
6	La Presse	50
7	Toronto Star	41

"The National Post has become a benchmark of what a newspaper should not be," said Elmasry. "It is the only newspaper in this country (aside from two minor community papers) that does not belong to a recognized Press Council. In persisting with their isolationist attitude, Post management have abdicated their professional and societal responsibilities. We feel that newspaper readers have the right to file complaints that will be judged by an impartial panel consisting of media professionals and members of the public-at-large. But The Post does not uphold such a principle, and this is simply wrong." The National Post scored 100 — the maximum possible in the survey's ranking regarding the use of anti-Islam language and terminology — and was the

only paper in Canada to do so. The Montreal Gazette came in a very distant second with 69 points, while the Toronto Star scored the lowest at 41.

Following September 11, the National Post maintained its overwhelming lead over mainstream media in its use of anti-Islam terminology; incidents of negative and pejorative terminology went up by more than 22 times over the pre-September 11 study period.

Anti Islam In the Media,
Three Newspapers are ranked
September 12, 2001–November 28, 2001

Newspaper	Relative Points (max 100)	Increase from Pre-September 11
1 National Post	100	22.1 times
2 Globe and Mail	76	18.7 times
3 Toronto Star	35	10.1 times

Note: The Average increase in the use of anti-Islam terminology is 17 times.

Image Distortion disorder

Among most Canadians who have not knowingly ever met a Muslim in person, there is high likelihood that their perception of Muslim Canadians will be distorted. Canadian media particularly the National Post in recent years—are creating a social crisis based on the religion of one identifiable group. This national crisis manifests itself in loss of identity and self-esteem, feelings of inferiority, and even suicidal tendencies, especially among teenagers.

And image distortion disorder inevitably leads to discrimination; hate mongering, acts of vandalism, and false accusation by authorities. Young Muslim Canadians of dark complexion, especially women wearing hijabs (traditional head coverings), or males with full beards, are particularly vulnerable to anxiety, fear and discrimination because of society's perception that their religion is violent, backward, restrictive, fundamentalist, and intolerant of opposing or alternative viewpoints.

Worse still is the portrayal of Muslim Canadians as potential terrorists, posing such a serious "danger" to the country, that CSIS, the RCMP and local police should target them, revoke their citizenship if they are citizens, or ship them back "home" if they are not.

But the reality is that Islam is not everything the media depicts. There appears to be no balance of coverage regarding news or views related to Islam and Muslims, and very little that shows Muslims in a positive light.

Anti-Islam in the media has a devastating effect on every Canadian who cares about the well being of this country and it insidiously undermines every effort to sustain our social and civil peace.

Treating the media's entrenched anti-Islam "disease" will not be easy, especially when publications like the National Post refuse to recognize that a problem even exists. And Muslim Canadians are not likely to own media outlets large or influential enough to counteract the toxic effect that media distortion and bias have had upon non-Muslims' understanding of their religion.

Those of us concerned about social harmony in this country must therefore react to all distortion and bias in the media by raising our voices in protest.

Image distortion disorder is real in the Canadian media. It creeps subtly into our consciousness. Only if all of us point out and acknowledge its existence, do we begin to effectively deal with it and isolate those who live in denial, insisting that it does not exist.

A more detailed review of the Anti-Islam in the Media Research report is available from the Canadian Islamic Congress. Tel : (519)746.1242 Fax (519)746.2929, E-mail cic@cicnow.com

ISLAM IN THE MEDIA: (MIS) USING THE MUSLIM LEXICON

KARIM H.KARIM

The mass media's coverage of Muslims is characterized from time to time as being "anti-Islam."[1] This would seem to imply the existence of a conspiracy against the religion. However, the operational modes of the journalism practiced in liberal democratic societies do not favor active conspiracies against particular groups. Reporting on violent events involving Muslims, for example, does not of itself comprise bias against Islam. Journalists do play an important role in reporting impropriety occurring in various sectors of society. Nevertheless, if there are consistent patterns of highlighting Muslims in violent situations, regular attachment of negative labels to them, and disregarding the similar misdemeanors of others, then there is a case of media bias to be made.

To their credit, Canadian journalists are increasingly seeking out minority points of view, including those of Muslims. However, the canadian Islamic Congress's study reporting on Islam found little local coverage of Muslims but substantial amounts in the foreign news pages.[2] The last few decades have seen a steady stream of events that have put Canadian Muslims in the untenable position of having to explain reports about terrorist incidents in which people claim to act in the name of Islam, the mistreatment of women and of minorities in muslim majority staes, death threats against Salam Rushdie, slavery in Sudan etc. Canadian Muslims generally tend to have progressive views and see terrorism and mainstream minorities as a perversion of Islamic values.

According to census data, the percentage of Muslims who have university degrees "is twice as high as that of other immigrants and close to three times as high as the total Canadian population."[3] Nevertheless, Canadian Muslim organizations have generally not developed media and public relations skills. With few exceptions, "they are simply absent from the news making process, unlike other communities," says Haroon Siddiqui, an editor of Muslim background at The Toronto Star.[4] However, this does not excuse journalists from attempting to understand better what is now the second-largest religion in the country after Christianity.

Understanding Islamic Terminology

It appears that Canadian journalists have a long way to go in understanding the basics of Islam, such as its terminology. For example, the religion reporter for The Globe and Mail,[5] who was writing about a letter from Toronto's Ja'ffari Islamic Centre to the federal government, failed to recognize the Muslim greeting "Salaam alaykum" (peace be upon you), which parallels the Jewish salutation "Shalom." The letter, which was about a Canadian visit of controversial author Salman Rushdie, ended with "Salamun Alaykum" and was not signed by the author. However, the newspaper's reporter misinterpreted the Muslim greeting to be the writer's name. He therefore went on to refer to him as "Mr. Alaykum" throughout the article. (One imagines that if a letter had ended with "Shalom" the religion reporter would have realized that this was most likely not the author's name.)

There are a number of other terms from the Muslim lexicon that are not understood, and sometimes distorted by the media. The Rushdie Affair introduced "fatwa" to non-Muslim audiences. Since the late Ayatollah Khomeini suggested the death penalty for what he perceived as Rushdie's deep injury to Muslim sensibilities in his book The Satanic Verses, the word is frequently

translated by Western journalists as "death edict" or "execution order." In fact, a fatwa is a legal opinion; of course, in the case of the Rushdie Affair the legal opinion of the then politically most powerful ayatollah in Iran.

"Ayatollah," which means sign or reflection of God, a rank held by several learned religious scholars in the Twelver branch of Shi'ism, came to connote an autocratic ruler in media discourses. The word "Allah," which can be translated as God (since Islam shares the monotheist Abrahamic tradition with Judaism and Christianity), seems sometimes to be used to set apart Muslim Canadians from their compatriots. An example is a report in The Calgary Herald during the Gulf War in 1991, which described Muslims in the city praying to Allah while other Calgarians turned to God.[6]

Visual Images

Textual and visual references to "Islam," "Islamic," "Arab," "Muslim," "Shia," and "Sunni" are frequently made in problematic manners. Pictures accompanying news stories about acts of terrorism carried out by certain Muslims often show people bowing in Islamic prayer. The operative logic here seems to be that since the terrorist group claims to act in the name of Islam, then the performance of Islamic rituals can be presented as illustrations of militant extremism. Continual depiction of Muslim devotions in such contexts tends to make them signifiers of terrorism for media audiences, even though a very small minority of Muslims may engage in such activity.

In fact, the Muslim becomes the epitome of the terrorist, even though terrorism is carried out by people of various backgrounds. The Globe and Mail quoted a former CIA employee saying,

> *The profile of today's international bomb-planting terrorist is that of an Arab male between the ages of 17 and 24, raised in the strict Muslim faith in a small rural town (somewhere like the remote Bekaa Valley of Lebanon), and harbouring a deep hatred of the United States and a fanatical willingness to martyr himself in the name of Allah.* [7]

It seems at times that the only kinds of Muslims that appear in media discourses are "extremist," "militant," or "fundamentalist." Footage of children in Koranic schools is occasionally used to illustrate television news stories about "Islamic fundamentalism." The term "fundamentalist" has roots in the Christian context and is incorrectly used in descriptions of Muslims;[8] the more accepted term for those who are intent on using Islam ideologically is Islamists.[9]

It is frequently assumed by journalists that an "Arab-looking" guerilla with a gun can be none other than a Muslim terrorist. That the person could possibly be of a Christian background often appears to be dismissed, even though Christian Arabs have engaged in a number of high-profile terrorist acts.[10] There appears to be a fixed idea in the minds of many journalists about the visual appearance of a Muslim terrorist. For example, an article titled "The Suicide Terrorists" in Maclean's magazine captioned a picture of a disheveled teenager wearing battle fatigues and holding an automatic rifle with: "Islamic amal gunman in Beirut: 'human Exocet missiles' can attack anywhere."[11] The image seemed to fit the dominant visual model of a "Muslim terrorist" so well that the editors appear to have overlooked the two crucifixes that were hanging from the young man's neck. Even though this gaffe could be excused as "an honest mistake" in the rush to meet deadlines, it was made possible by the cultural stereotypes about Muslims.

Religious and Cultural Identities

The erroneous impression that all Arabs are Muslims and that all Muslims are Arabs is especially problematic since there is a significant presence of Arab Christians in Canada. During the Gulf War, the media were intent on interviewing Canadians of Arab and particularly Iraqi origins at mosques and Muslim cultural centres. This left out the opinions of a large proportion of Iraqi Canadians who are Christian, as well as a smaller number who are of Jewish backgrounds. Whereas much was made of the (newly-acquired) Islamic credentials of Iraqi president Saddam Hussein, journalists seemed to disregard the fact that Tariq Aziz, the Vice-president, foreign minister and official Iraqi spokesman, was Christian. This may have seemed to be an inconvenient detail that perhaps compromised the neat, bipolar images of West versus East, Christian versus Islamic values, good versus evil - images that are vital when preparing for war.

Until the signing of the peace accords between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, there was a curious absence of reporting

in Christian Palestinians. Even though some 20 per cent of Palestinians are of Christian backgrounds, they had become invisible. The conflict was portrayed as one between Israeli Jews and Muslim Palestinians. One of the most glaring incidences of erasing native Christian presence occurred in the ritual reporting of the twice-yearly festivities surrounding Christmas in Bethlehem and Easter in Jerusalem. The media focus was primarily on pilgrims from North America and Europe; the participation of Palestinian Christians from these cities was rarely covered. Palestinians were usually characterized as being disruptive during these sacred events. For example, a headline in the December 24, 1988 issue of The Ottawa Citizen read: "Christmas is cancelled: Bethlehem shuts down as Palestinian uprising frightens away potential tourists." The only Christians who seemed to count in this Eurocentric narrative were the tourists—without their presence there could be no Christmas anywhere in Bethlehem.

Whereas "Islam" has come to connote instability, intolerance and repression in media discourses, it is viewed by hundreds of millions as a faith that teaches them to be kind and gentle to their fellow human beings. Unfortunately, copy editors do not seem to be concerned with the views of the vast majority of Muslims; too often they take the "Islamicness" of the actions of the violent minority at face value. Headlines regularly speak of "the wrath of Islam,"[12] "Islamic death threat,"[13] "Islamic powder keg,"[14] "Islamic suicide mission,"[15] "Islamic extremists could retaliate,"[16] and "Islamic extremist threatens reprisals."[17] The religion of a billion people around the world has come to be coloured by the actions of those carrying out violence in the name of the Islam, even though these actions are as Islamic as those of white supremacists are Christian. Yet journalists remain reluctant to call the latter Christian despite their use of Christian terminology and symbols.

The probable involvement of Sheikh Omar Abdel-Rahman in the bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York and deadly clash of the Branch Davidians with US federal agents in Waco, Texas were reported simultaneously in the March 15, 1993 issues of Maclean's, Time, and Newsweek. The articles in the Canadian and US magazines were punctuated with references such as "Muslim fundamentalist," "extremist Muslim terrorist groups," "Muslim militants," "Muslim cleric," "Islamic holy war," "Sunni worshippers," "Islamic fundamentalist movements," "Islamic link," "Muslim sect," "Sunni sect," "Islamic community," "the Islamic movement," "Islamic populism" etc. But the weeklies seemed loathe to use the adjective "Christian" to describe the Branch Davidian group, which they preferred to call a "cult." Similarly, reporting on the discovery by Italian police of a sect called the "Apostles of Christ" which was involved in kidnappings, shootings, and bank robberies [18] and on the mass hostage-taking by a Colombian group called "Christians for Peace and National Salvation" refrained from using the word Christian in its descriptions of these organizations.[19]

The territorial war between the former Soviet states of Azerbaijan and Armenia during the late 1980s and early 1990s was often framed as a conflict between Muslims and Christians. The Moscow-based Western correspondents who supplied the news on this conflict for Canadian dailies largely tended to view Muslim Azeris as oppressing the Christian Armenians in the Azerbaijani region of Nagorno-Karabakh. However, the references to religion almost completely disappeared when, in March 1992, the Armenians massacred some 1,000 Azeri inhabitants in the village of Khojaly.[20] The religious frame seems to become inoperative when Muslims are the victims rather than the villains of news dramas.

Those journalists who want to make a distinction between a "good Muslim" and a "bad Muslim" occasionally use the Sunni-Shia dichotomy. This frame was frequently used in the coverage of the eight-year war between Iraq and Iran in the 1980s. Iraq, with a majority of Sunnis, was viewed at that time as an ally of the West against "Shi'ite Iran." Strange as it may sound now, Saddam Hussein was often portrayed as bravely defending the Persian Gulf kingdoms and emirates from "Shi'ite fundamentalism." This passage from a Maclean's article seems ironic in the light of Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait:

> *Should Iraq lose the war, the neighbouring Kuwaitis are clearly concerned that they would be next in line. The Sunni-ruled state has contributed millions of petrodollars to Iraq's war effort, making it a logical target for Iranian subversion.*[21]

The Shia-Sunni conflict frame is a popular theme among journalists who specialize in drawing up grand scenarios about apocalyptic clashes in the Middle East. The Ottawa Citizen captioned the picture of a pilgrimage scene in Mecca accompanying a syndicated article

with the following:

> *Saudi Arabia is home to Mecca's Grand Mosque, right, one of Islam's holiest shrines For centuries Muslims have slaughtered one another in the name of Mohammed. Most Saudis are Sunni Muslims. The other main group is the Shi'ites.*[22]

These unrelated sentences seemed to make an essential link between one of the most significant rites of Islam and strife among its adherents. In this, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, viewed by Muslims as a symbol of unity among the members of the world-wide religious community, was presented in the newspaper as an icon for the "ancient Shi'ite-Sunni feud."

Whereas conflicts have occurred from time to time between Sunni and Shia Muslims, they have co-existed peacefully with each other during most of the 1400-year history of Islam. There has been a tendency among journalists to attribute all manifestations of Islamism to the Shi'ism. This perception remains entrenched even after the publicity that has attended the Islamist insurgencies in countries like Algeria and Egypt where the Islamists are Sunni. The diversity among both the Sunnis and the Shia, around the world and in Canada, is rarely explored by journalists.

One of the most misunderstood words from the Muslim vocabulary is "jihad." Its meanings, which range from an individual's personal spiritual struggle to the communal defence of the faith, have been debated among Muslim scholars for centuries. However, The Globe's stylebook reduces it to "A holy war waged by Muslims as a duty"[23]—this is the predominant use of the word in the mass media. In the first week of the UN Coalition's attack on Iraq in 1991, an editorial in The Ottawa Sun stated,

> *While we may be fighting a war in the Persian Gulf, Saddam Hussein and his followers are fighting a jihad. The difference is enormous. Jihad is an Arabic word meaning "holy war," and, indeed, it explains why Saddam's strategies may be unpredictable, even incomprehensible, and will be right until this conflict reaches its inevitable end: the defeat of Saddam Hussein.*[24]

The Sun's apparent insistence on the absolutely alien nature and incomprehensibility of jihad seems almost ideological in its attempt to make the case for the righteousness of our actions. It disregarded the simultaneous declaration of jihad by the Saudi Arabian government, which was part of the UN Coalition. Even more significant was the adoption by the leader of the Coalition, US president George Bush, of the "just war" concept. He declared at a prayer breakfast of the National Religious Broadcasters Convention that the concept could be traced to "such Christian theologians as Ambrose, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas."[25] Both sides, not just one, were drawing upon religion to justify their respective actions.

One of the more ironic uses of Muslim terminology by journalists was in the references to "mujahidin" in the 1980s. In Arabic, the term means those who are engaged in jihad. Despite the unfavourable connotations to jihad in the media, the word mujahidin was usually presented within positive frameworks. This term was generally reserved for Muslim guerrilla groups fighting the enemies of the West, particularly the Afghans who were battling the Soviets and an exiled Iranian organization opposing Tehran. Even though Islamist groups in Egypt and Lebanon called themselves mujahidin, they were rarely referred to as such in Canadian media, and were instead placed within the negative context of jihad.

Combating Negative Coverage

One could argue that the largely negative coverage of Muslims does not do any harm to society. But the evidence shows the development in Canada of unfavourable stereotypes about Muslims. Vancouver teacher Mordecai Briemberg carried out a word association exercise in a senior high school history class. Responses to "Muslim" were "Cult. Black. Ayatollah. Palestinian. Barbarians. Terrorists."[27] Two national surveys inquiring about respondents' comfort levels with various groups in the country placed Muslims at the bottom of the lists.

The failure of the media in understanding basic Muslim terminology compromises the professionalism to which Canadian journalists aspire. "Islam" is not just a foreign beat anymore. It is present here at home. The Muslim is now part of Canadian society. He or she is a classmate, co-worker, business partner, neighbour, and even spouse. It behoves journalists more than ever to under-

stand Muslims the way that they work to understand other Canadians. The apparent vagaries of Islam are no more difficult to comprehend than those of Christianity or the stock market. Images and stereotypes derived from medieval polemics[28] should not colour contemporary perceptions of various cultures.

We expect journalists to be conscientious and knowledgeable. Conscientious journalism comes from the acknowledgement by media professionals of the effects of their work on society. News workers cannot pretend that their claim to objectivity insulates them from criticism of bias. While it is humanly impossible to be completely objective, one can attempt to recognize the personal and cultural biases for or against the people one reports about. The media professional who seeks to be knowledgeable necessarily starts with the self. By inquiring into what the collective Self knows about the Other and also how this knowledge was acquired, one learns to free oneself from the constraints of hackneyed formulations and to produce more authentic reporting.

A significant part of the responsibility for the problems in the mass media's coverage of Muslims lies with Muslims themselves. Automatic defensiveness in the face of reports about the misdeeds of errant Muslims does not create credibility. Unsupported and indiscriminate accusations of media bias also fail to encourage receptivity among journalists. Charges of journalistic conspiracies sound unrealistic in a media environment which is not centrally controlled. A number of reporters are becoming increasingly thoughtful in their coverage of Muslims. But perhaps the most commendable approach was that of the late Catholic scholar Louis Massignon:

> *the religion [Islam] attracted yet resisted the Christian in him, although - and here is the man's extraordinary stroke of genius—he conceived his own philological work as a science of compassion, as providing a place for Islam and Christianity to approach and substitute for each other, yet always remaining apart, one always substituting for the other.*

Such a *modus operandi* provides the means for a balanced approach for those whose work involves observing and reporting about the cultures and religions of others.

Karim H. Karim is an assistant Professor at Carleton University's School of Journalism and Communication. His most recent book is on media constructions of the "Islamic peril."

Notes:

1. *For example, Canadian Islamic Congress, Anti-Islam in the Media (Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Islamic Congress), 1999.*

2. *Ibid, p. 42.*

3. *Husaini, Zohra, Muslims in the Canadian Mosaic (Edmonton: Muslim Research Foundation, 1990), p. 25.*

4. *Siddiqui, Haroon. "Perceptions and Misrepresentations of Islam and Muslims by the Media." Islam in America 3:3 (Fall 1996), 41-42.*

5. *Jack Kapica, Religion Reporter, "Rushdie visit insulting, Shia Muslims say," The Globe and Mail (Dec. 11, 1992), p. A9.*

6. *"City Muslims pray for Allah to hold back the fire in the Gulf," The Calgary Herald (Jan. 13, 1991), p. A6.*

7. *Michael Kesterton, "Terrorism." The Globe and Mail (Oct. 16, 1996), p. A22.*

8. *Fazlur Rahman, Islam and Modernity (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1982), p. 142.*

9. *Aziz Al-Azmeh, Islams and Modernities (London: Verso), pp. 60-88.*

10. *For example, one of the most violent organizations in the 1970s was the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine led by George Habash, a Christian.*

11. *"The Suicide Terrorists," Maclean's (Dec. 26, 1983), p. 21.*

12. *"Risking the wrath of Islam," The Globe and Mail (Mar. 14, 1995), p. A8.*

13. *"Western envoys get Islamic death threat," The Montreal Gazette (Mar. 24, 1994), p. D13.*

14. *"Islamic powder keg," The Montreal Gazette (Mar. 16, 1993), p. B3.*

15. *"Islamic suicide mission organizer threatens more violence: reports," The Montreal Gazette (Oct. 22, 1984), p. B1.*

16. *"Canada at 'risk' if Saudi deported: Islamic extremists could retaliate, security analyst says," The Ottawa Citizen (Mar. 29, 1997), p. A3.*

17. *"RUSSIA: Islamic extremist threatens reprisals," The Globe and Mail (Sept. 4, 1999), p. A14.*

18. *Reuter, "Italian religious sect linked to killing and kidnapping." The Ottawa Citizen (Oct. 16, 1991), p. A5.*

19. *Reuter, "Colombian protesters free 42 hostages." The Ottawa Citizen (June 10, 1988), p. A11.*

20. *Karim H. Karim, "Covering the South Caucasus and Bosnian Conflicts. "In Abbas Malek and Anandam Kavoori (eds.), The Global Dynamics of News (Ablex, forthcoming).*

21. *Bob Levin et al, "Spreading the faith," Maclean's (June 17, 1987), p. 16.*

22. *Jim Rogers, Worth Magazine, "Saudi Arabia." The Ottawa Citizen (Jan. 6, 1996), p. B4.*

23. *McFarlane, J.A. and Warren Clements, The Globe and Mail Stylebook: A Guide to Language and Usage. (Toronto: Penguin, 1994), p. 169. For a discussion of the use of the term by Benjamin Barber in his Jihad vs. McWorld, see Karim H. Karim, "Internecine Conflict and Planetary Homogenization: The Only Two Games in the Global Village?" Islam in America 3:3 (Fall 1996), 10-17.*

24. *"A Holy War?" The Ottawa Sun (Jan. 21, 1991), p. 10.*

25. *Kenneth L. Vaux, Ethics and the Gulf War: Religion, Rhetoric, and Righteousness (Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1992), p. 92.*

26. *Mordecai Briemberg, "Sand in the Snow: Canadian High-brow Orientalism," in Mordecai Briemberg (ed.), It Was, It Was Not: Essays and Art on the War Against Iraq (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1992), pp. 239-40.*

27. *Angus Reid Group, Multiculturalism and Canadians: Attitude Study 1991 (Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship), p. 51; Decima Inc., a report to Canadian Council of Christians and Jews: Canadians Attitudes Toward Race and Ethnic Relations in Canada (Toronto: Decima Inc.), pp. 39-40.*

28. *Karim H. Karim, "The Historical Resilience of Primary Stereotypes: Core Images of the Muslim Other," in Stephen Riggins (ed.), The Language and Politics of Exclusion: Others in Discourse (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1997), pp. 166-71.*

29. *Edward Said, Orientalism (New York: Pantheon, 1978), p. 285.*

MEDIA REINFORCING RACISM IN CANADIAN SOCIETY

CAROL TATOR

Racism continues to flourish in the Canadian print media. Despite the efforts of some newspapers such as The Toronto Star to be more inclusive in their coverage and hiring practices, racist discourse in the print media continues. Journalists, editors and publishers in Canada, as in the past, are very much influenced by racialized assumptions, beliefs and practices and continue to present and habitually construct people of colour as social problems and outsiders that undermine our Canadian way of life.

These are the major findings of a research study "The Many Faces of Racism in the Media" by Carol Tator and Frances Henry for the Canadian Race Relations Foundation. The study examined the linkages between language, discourse and racism in the Canadian print media.

This study also found a persistent contradiction between the belief that the media represents the cornerstone of a democratic liberal society and the key instrument by which its ideals are protected and the actual role of media as purveyors for reinforcing racism in Canadian society. The findings show how the Canadian print media do not objectively or neutrally report their facts or stories, but continue to repeatedly and regularly reconstruct reality based on professional and personal values and ideologies, organizational norms, and news schema formats.

This study shows how much of the Canadian print news is interpreted through a White Western, male and middle-class perspective. It provides a number of illustrations of how the Canadian print media continues to articulate and transmit powerful and negative narratives and ideas about people of colour. These negative images have a significant influence on the collective belief system of Canadian society.

These shibboleths fulfill a powerful function in both the media and in the Canadian society. Myths are used to explain, justify, rationalize and resolve insupportable contradictions and problems in society. One of these contradictions is the view that Canada is an essentially non-racist country. Aside from the isolated acts of bigots and neo-nazis, racism is not seen to be deeply embedded in the fabric of Canadian culture and its social institutions. Thus, when events occur that challenge this deeply held myth, individuals, institutions and the collective culture resist. The case studies continued in this research study to reveal the depth of backlash to policies that address inequity in Canadian society, even among journalists and editors who view themselves as "liberal, "open-minded," "objective," and "neutral". The case studies reveal a hard core of resentment held by the Canadian press to minorities engaging in what is the most legitimate of all democratic activities: protest and dissent to injustice and inequity. The struggle of people of colour and Aboriginal peoples to achieve their collective rights and freedom upsets the balance of relationships in our society at a deep psychological, social and economic level. It threatens the infrastructure and identity of those who have power and privilege as members of the dominant culture. The biases, erroneous assumptions and stereotypical thinking, reflected so frequently in the print media, appear to be invisible to journalists and editors. The following are some of the most common myths and discourses that were found to be employed by the print media that were identified in this study.

The Discourse of Denial

Within this discourse the principle assumption is that racism simply does not exist in a democratic society. There is refusal to accept the reality of racism, despite the evidence of racial prejudice and discrimination in the lives and on the life chances of people of colour. The assumption is that because Canada is a society that upholds the ideals of a liberal democracy, it cannot

possibly be racist. When racism is shown to exist, it tends to be identified as an isolated phenomenon relating to a limited number of social deviants, economic instability, or the consequence of "undemocratic" traditions that are disappearing from the Canadian scene. This discourse resists the notion that racism is systemic and inherently embedded in our cultural values and our democratic institutions.

The Discourse of Political Correctness

Political correctness is a phrase that in recent years has become a central part of the public discourse of the media as an expression of their resistance to forms of social change. Demands of marginalized minorities for inclusive language, pro-active policies (e.g. employment equity, or fairness in cultural representation) are discredited as an "overdose of political correctness." Those opposed to pro-active measures to ensure the inclusion of non-dominant voices, stories and perspectives dismiss these concerns as the wailing of radicals whose polemics (and actions) threaten the cornerstones of democratic liberalism. Political correctness is commonly employed to deride the aspirations of minorities.

The political correctness discourse is part of a larger and ongoing debate dealing with very different visions of society and diverse paradigms of social change. It is a rhetoric that has served to intensify and polarize positions with respect to issues of inclusion and representation, multiculturalism, employment equity, racism and sexism. The accusation of political correctness is designed to stifle dissent.

The Discourse of Colour Evasion or Colour Blindness

Colour blindness is a powerful and appealing liberal discourse in which White people insist that they do not notice the skin colour of a racial minority person. In the case studies, journalists repeatedly refer to the fact that racial minorities are obsessed with their racial identity. On the other hand, to the White journalist colour is a non-issue. The largely White Canadian media regularly engages in colour evasion; a refusal to recognize that the colour of one's skin deeply impacts upon their own personal and professional lives, and the everyday lives of people of colour. This is part of the psychological and cultural power of racial construction. Colour-blindness or colour evasion leads to powerful evasion (Frankenberg, 1993).

The Discourse Of Equal Opportunity

Although we see the discourse of equal opportunity most clearly expressed in the debate around employment equity, it is really part of the collective mindset of the Canadian media. This discourse suggests that all we need to do is treat everyone the same and fairness will be ensured. This notion is based on an historical premise, that is, we all begin from the same starting point; everyone competes on a level playing field. Society merely provides the conditions within which individuals differentially endowed can make their mark. All have an equal opportunity to succeed and the same rights. Thus, individual merit determines who will have access to jobs and promotions, to the arts, to educational advancement and so on.

This view ignores the social construction of race in which power and privilege belongs to those who are White (among other social markers of privilege including gender, class, sexual orientation, and able-bodiedness). Equal opportunity represents a passive approach and does not require the dismantling of White institutional power or the redistribution of White social capital. This paradigm demands no form of pro-active institutional or state intervention such as employment equity or anti-racism policies.

The Discourse of "Blame The Victim"

If equal opportunity and racial equality are assumed to exist, then the lack of success on the part of a minority population must be attributed to some other set of conditions. One explanation used by the media, and most dramatically reflected in the case study on the racialization of crime, is the notion that certain minority communities themselves are culturally deficient. In this form of dominant discourse it is assumed that certain communities (e.g., African Canadian) are more prone to deviant behaviour; these groups lack the motivation, education or skills to participate fully in the workplace, educational system, the arts and other arenas of Canadian society.

Alternatively, it is argued that the failure of certain groups to succeed and be integrated into the mainstream dominant culture, is largely due to recalcitrant members of these groups refusing to adapt their "traditional," "different" cultural values and norms to fit into Canadian society and are making unreasonable demands on the "host" society. The media lashed out against the protesters standing outside the doors of

theRoyal Ontario Museum, which exhibited Into the Heart of Africa and the Ford Centre for Performing Arts where Show Boat was performed. They were criticized for not understanding the historical importance and cultural merit of these cultural productions. Their demands for participation in cultural production for representation which did not demean their histories, and their sense of identity, was seen as "irresponsible," "undemocratic," "a threat to our core values." And, according to the media accounts, the real victims were the museum curator of the exhibition, the theatrical producer of the musical and all those Canadians who enjoyed these expressions of culture.

The Discourse of White Victimization

All through the media discourse analyzed, especially the media debate over employment equity, we see examples of the language of White victimization expressed in the coded language of "reverse racism" or "reverse discrimination," "the abandonment of the merit principle," "quotas," and "preferential treatment." In a semantic reversal, those associated with the dominant culture contend that they are now the victims of a new form of oppression and exclusion. Anti-racism and equity policies are seen as undemocratic and thus discredited by strong, emotive language. Positive and pro-active policies and programs are thus aligned with creeping totalitarianism incorporating the anti-democratic, authoritarian methods of the extreme right.

The Discourse of Binary Polarization.

The fragmentation into "we" and "they" groups is a discourse that is pervasive in the media. It is often framed in the context of an examination of the relative values and norms of the majority versus minority populations. The ubiquitous "we" represents the White dominant culture or the culture of the organization (newspaper, police, school, workplace); "they" refers to the communities who are the "Other," possessing "different" (undesirable) values, beliefs, and norms. "We" are law-abiding, hardworking, decent and homogenous. "We are the real Canadians"- "birthright Canadians" (Daybydeen, 1994). The "theys" are very different and therefore undeserving. Those marked as "Others" are viewed as outside the boundaries of Canadian national identity.

The discourse of "otherness" is supported by stereotypical images embedded in the fabric of the dominant culture (the arts, advertising, radio and television, schools curricula, etc.), and reinforced by the print media. Although these stereotypes have little basis in reality, they nevertheless have a significant social impact. These images created by editors and journalists have enormous strength, power and resilience. When minorities have no power to control, resist, produce or disseminate other real and more positive images in the public domain, these images and generalizations increase their vulnerability in terms of cultural, social, economic and political participation in the mainstream of Canadian society.

The Discourse of "Moral Panic"

The economic and political destabilization and social dislocations experienced by societies such as Canada, United States, United Kingdom and Germany have created a climate of uncertainty, fear, and threat. Some scholars have identified these phenomena as "moral panics" (Husband, 1994) in which those identified with the mainstream population or the dominant culture, experience a loss of control, authority and equilibrium. The country is described as in crisis, under siege. As is demonstrated most dramatically in the case study of "Just Desserts," the media create a sense of moral panic in which an isolated case of violence is represented as an indication of a profound societal crisis that imperils the nation. The city and country are under siege by "Blacks," "Jamaicans," "illegal immigrants," who are an imminent threat to White "civilized," law-abiding citizens. The racialization of crime by the press becomes a signal, a wake-up call to Canadians, and especially politicians, to re-evaluate their ideas about authority, control, policy and of course, race. In a less dramatic form, in the case studies of employment equity and cultural production the media creates this same sense of moral and social crisis. A policy designed to ensure fairness in the workplace is seen as a threat of monumental proportions, leading to White able-bodied males being locked out of the workforce. A conference in Vancouver for writers of colour and Aboriginal writers becomes an erosion of our "way of life," "our cultural values," "a threat to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms."

The Discourse of Multiculturalism, Tolerance, Accommodation, Harmony and Diversity

Underpinning much of the writing of Canadian media is an attachment to the concepts of tolerance, accommodation, sensitivity, harmony and diversity which we would argue lie at the core of multicultural ideology and

are firmly embedded in multicultural policy and discourse. The emphasis on tolerance and sensitivity suggests that while one must accept the idiosyncrasies of the "others," the underlying premise is that the dominant way is superior.

Within this minimal form of recognition of difference, the dominant culture and guardians of the social order, which includes the media, create a ceiling of tolerance that stipulates what differences are tolerable. This ceiling on tolerance is woven into media discourse and reflected in the perception that "we" cannot tolerate too much difference as it generates dissent, disruption and conflict. Many of the editorials, articles, and op. ed. pieces included in this analysis of the media, express the view that paying unnecessary attention to "differences" leads to division, disharmony and disorder in society. Where possible, the dominant culture will attempt to accommodate their idiosyncratic cultural differences. Declarations of the need for tolerance, diversity and harmony tend to conceal the messy business of structural and systemic inequality and unequal relations of power that continue to exist in a democratic liberal society.

The Discourse of Liberal Values: Individualism, Truth, Tradition, Universalism and Freedom of Expression

Democratic liberalism is a powerful philosophy and discourse that is distinguished by a set of beliefs including: the rights of the individual supersede collective or group rights; the power of (one) truth, tradition and history, an appeal to universalism, the sacredness of the principle of freedom of expression, and a commitment to human rights and equality, among many other ideals. The Canadian media prides itself on its deep attachment to "liberal" values, principles, and ideals. However, liberalism is full of paradoxes, contradictions and assumes different meanings depending on one's social location and angle of vision.

The findings of this study suggest that, from the perspective of the marginalized and excluded, traditional "liberal values" have been found wanting both in the media and in the broader society. In the interests of expanding democratic liberal principles and extending the promises of liberalism to those who have not enjoyed its benefits, minority communities are demanding an "affirmative" correction of historical injustices. However, those who invoke the validity of alternative voices, experiences, traditions, perspectives, histories, are seen by media "authorities" to be violating a sacred body of principles, values and beliefs. The evidence provided by this study, suggests that according to many journalists and editors, there is only one truth, one interpretation of social reality, one interpretation of understanding of a particular set of events.

The Discourse on National Identity

The debate over national identity is fundamental to Canadian media discourse. However, the discourse of Canada's national identity is marked by erasures, omissions and silences in the Canadian press. The review of the literature and the case studies contained in this study demonstrate how ethno-racial minorities are placed outside the national project of Canada, excluded from the "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) and culture of Canadian society. The studies of the Canadian national press show how the voices, views, beliefs, and experiences of African Canadians, Muslim Canadians, East Asian Canadians, South Asian Canadians, and many other ethno-racial communities are largely ignored, deflected or dismissed. The Canadian newspapers construct meanings that influence our sense of collective identity. Actions flow from these interpretations. In our national identity, the dominant culture is reluctant to include identities of "others" that it has constructed perpetrated and used to its advantage. To discard "otherness" would in a sense be to abandon the vehicles through which inequalities and imbalances are legitimated.

The Discourse of Objectivity, Detachment and Neutrality

There is a strong attachment to the notion that media professionals are guided primarily by the values of objectivity, professional detachment, and neutrality. Hackett (1998) argues, "the contours of journalism have been shaped by what we call a regime of objectivity, an ensemble of ideals, assumptions, practices and institutions-which have become a fixture of public philosophy and a supposed form of self-regulation". However, journalists and editors are often not "objective," "detached," or "neutral." They are highly selective in their writing. Often their own sense of social location, experiences, values and worldviews, as well as the interest and positionality of publishers and newspaper owners, act as an invisible filter to screen out alternative viewpoints and perspectives. In addition, the subjectivities and interests of other power elites such as politi-

cians, advertisers, the police, influence the construction and production of the news. In the case studies presented in this study, we see over and over again, the inextricable link between the media and the political, economic and cultural elites and their influence over the way in which issues and events are examined in the press. Elites help to define, explain and interpret the boundaries of everyday social realities. They help define that which becomes self-evident truths within media discourse.

Conclusions

Sometime ago, an anchor for CTV had just finished taping her newscast and was upset with the way she had delivered her introduction to the story. She thought her on-air mike was turned off, and, in a private conversation with herself, managed to offend women, lesbians, racial minorities and persons with different abilities. Although a second tape was done, the technician inadvertently put on the first tape to air. The station was deluged with calls from irate viewers and she apologized for her comments. However, the executives at the station believed that they had no other recourse but to fire her.

This one action won't solve the problem. Racism in the media is not really about the conscious or unconscious biases of one particular journalist or broadcaster. Rather, it is to be found in the structure and culture of the organization and in the content and delivery of the news. We would argue, based on a significant body of evidence, that every media organization in the country should undertake a comprehensive review of both the subtle and overt ways in which racism is buried in their everyday practices. They could begin by looking at their hiring practices. Does their organization reflect the multiracial, culturally pluralistic composition of Canadian society? If not, why not.

They could also start by looking at the unconscious ways language and images are used in their work. Racism exists in the everyday discourses that find their way into our print and television and radio media on a regular basis. The highly valued standards of objectivity and neutrality are often abandoned in favour of untested assumptions, unchallenged modes of thought and subjective interpretations of complex issues that influence the ways in which stories are chosen, written and edited. There is a heavy reliance on stereotypes that serve to reinforce negative images of minorities. There exists a lexicon of words that are commonly used by the media that function as coded language. Policies designed to achieve equality in the workplace become "preferential treatment", "reverse discrimination" and "quota laws". Immigrants who come to Canada on boats are referred to as "gate-crashers" and "queue-jumpers". Non-Anglo-Non-Europeans are labelled "ethnics". Journalists write about their travels to distant "exotic cultures" and have "interesting" encounters with "primitive" people. Protesters are marked as "troublemakers" and "radicals" who "have their own agenda". Efforts to dismantle barriers to equity become "an overdose of political correctness". Groups involved in advocacy are called "special interests groups," and "bleeding heart liberals". There is a whole vocabulary of crime related language-"cultural deviance," "Jamaican crime", "Black crime", and "Asian crime". Even geographic neighbourhoods get racialized-"Jane-Finch", "Regent Park" etc. The most subtle and pernicious discourses are those that divide the world into two unequal parts, that is, "we" and "they". "We" represent the white dominant culture or the culture of the organization (the newsroom, TV station, school, museum, law enforcement agency); and "they" represent the "Other", possessing "different (undesirable) sets of values, beliefs and norms. The "theys" are dangerous, a threat to our way of life; they make unreasonable demands.

Racist discourse in the media consists of this repertoire of words, images and texts. Threaded together, they produce an understanding of the world and the position and status of people of colour in that world. These words, images and texts are not just a symptom of the problem of racism. They essentially reinforce individual beliefs and behaviours and collective ideologies. They are also the basics for framing public policies and forming organizational planning processes, practices, and decision-making in every area of institutional life.

The media represents one of the most powerful institutions in a democratic society. The media is the key instrument by which our society's ideals are produced, protected and disseminated. It is time for both reflection and action on the part of the Canadian print and electronic media. It is time for media organizations to begin to take a hard look at their own professional and personal ideologies, corporate interests, organizational norms and values, and how these elements influence the way in which news and programming is constructed and communicated. A truly democratic liberal

society requires a more inclusive, impartial and responsible media.

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THE RACIALIZATION OF CRIME IN TORONTO'S PRINT MEDIA[1]

FRANCES HENRY

The notion that certain racial groups, particularly Blacks, are more disposed to commit crimes than are whites and other 'races'[2] has become part of the public discourse. This phenomenon known as the "racialization of crime" in which a particular racial group becomes strongly identified with criminal activity is the result of a number of interacting factors.[3] One of those identified in the social science literature has been the ways in which ethno-racial groups are written about in the press.

This article is based on a study which explores how the media images or 'constructs' certain groups of people notably Blacks and Vietnamese. It focuses on three major newspapers in the Toronto area, The Toronto Star, Toronto Sun and the Globe and Mail and asks the question as to whether they construct and portray the social world in ways that unjustly stereotype certain groups or individuals, "labeling them as outsiders, eliminating their credibility, and in the process exploiting and furthering their own privileged access to powerful state institutions".[4] Moreover, does the media racialize crime by over-reporting the alleged criminal propensities and behaviour of certain groups and not others? And, finally does the media in its overzealous concentration on violent crime, contribute to the formation of 'moral panics' in which people are made fearful by the belief that their society has become crime ridden? Does this in turn, motivate politicians and policy makers to formulate policies and legislation designed to cool down anxieties and satisfy the population's demand for restricting immigration for, gun control, and other measures.

It raises the question of whether Blacks and other minorities are treated neutrally and equally in the media or whether their image suffers from the stereotype that they are heavily involved in crime.

Methodology

A multifaceted methodology, involving both quantitative and qualitative techniques was employed in this study. Two databases were created. In the first instance, all articles in which Jamaica or Jamaicans and Vietnamese were featured were downloaded from the Canadian News Disks for the years, 1994-97 This yielded a total of 2,622 articles involving Jamaicans and 386 in which Vietnamese were the focus. The articles were then read and categorized. From this analysis, we were able to determine what kinds of articles about these two groups were most frequently reported. Moreover, the kinds of racial identifiers used in the article could also be described.

A second database was developed in which all articles on all crimes committed by everybody not only persons of colour, were downloaded from the Canadian News Disk. The time period covered was April-May, 1994; April-May, 1996 and Sept-Oct, 1997. These two month time periods and years were chosen at random. Crimes were categorized by type and included, sex crimes, murder, break and enter, fraud, etc. This data base consisted of a total of 2,840 articles of which 443 were in the Globe and Mail; 1506 in the Toronto Star and 876 in the Toronto Sun. The analysis of this database yielded the numbers of articles in which persons of colour were identified.

Finally, a series of particular case studies were analyzed using a technique known as discourse analysis.[5] The most dramatic of the cases involved the shooting at Just Desserts in 1994 which led to a massive amount of

media coverage. A case study involving another community of colour-people of Asian heritage-is also presented in an analysis of the restaurant shooting in Chinatown in Dec. of 1995. In order to provide a comparative framework, two case studies involving Whites who allegedly committed murders were also analyzed. These include the case of Dorothy Joudrie convicted and subsequently released of shooting her corporate executive husband and the case of serial murderer David Alexander Snow.

The Construction of 'Jamaican' and 'Vietnamese'
The object of this part of the research was to examine what kind of news readers receive about this group of people since, as research in this field demonstrates, the views and opinions of people are largely shaped by the media.

A total of 2,622 articles were downloaded. A sampling of articles was read and categories were created according to the most common themes in the articles. Most of them could be categorized into entertainment, sports, justice/crime, travel/food, deportation and immigration, discrimination and social problems.

Forty-five percent (45%) of the articles fall into the categories of sports and entertainment. What is problematic about this picture is that there is an over emphasis on sports and entertainment and an under emphasis on other aspects of Black, Jamaican or Canadian-Caribbean culture. It perpetuates the stereotype that Black people only excel at running and singing but are unable to perform competitively in other arenas of life. Rarely is there any reportage on Black professionals in other fields.

Thirty nine percent (39%) of all articles dealing with Jamaicans in the selected months of a four month time period (1994-97) in the Toronto Star and the Toronto Sun concern social issues such as crime/justice, immigration, deportation. Crime and justice related issues alone accounted for 16% of these articles. The remainder fall into food/travel, events in Jamaica (including a number of articles on crime, policing, and corruption in Jamaica) and other categories. Positive stories about Jamaicans accounted for only 2% of all the articles.

The image of Jamaicans constructed by the media therefore is of a people who come from a crime ridden poverty stricken and problematic country who are good at sports and entertainment but who consistently present Canadian society with a myriad of social problems. They are quite clearly constructed as problem people. Their marginalization and 'othering' and the construction of an 'us' and 'them' categorization is fairly consistent. They are different, crime prone and problem ridden and certainly not like us.

The analysis of the articles on the Vietnamese reveals that the largest category relates to crime and justice which together accounts for 37% of all the articles. Another 37% fall into the 'social problem' category which includes discrimination, immigration/deportation and articles about refugees.

It appears therefore that the Vietnamese, like the Jamaicans but to a lesser extent, are being constructed in the media as criminals.

In order to provide a measure of comparison with other ethnic groups and especially those who are white, articles about Italians and Russians were examined. Italians were chosen because of the size of this group in the population. Russians were selected because they are a very recent group to arrive in this country. The results reveal that for the years 1994-1997, the Toronto Sun and the Star carried a total of 11 articles on Russians and the Globe and Mail did not publish a single piece. Of these 11, seven dealt with the issue of deportation and the remainder on petty crimes. For Italians, a total of 6 articles were published all of which dealt with criminal activities. Although this sample is extremely small, it does suggest that the targeted groups for crime reportage during the nineties are clearly immigrants of colour.[7]

The Use of Racial Identifiers in Criminal Behaviour
One of the central issues in the study of the racialization of crime reportage is the strategy employed to identify a person of colour without using pejorative terminology. The most obvious method is to identify or describe the race or ethnicity of the alleged criminal. Accordingly, we undertook to examine Crime articles recovered in the years 1994 and 1997 for the Toronto Star, Toronto Sun and the Globe and Mail in order to find out if the racial or ethnic status of the alleged perpetrators and their victims were identified.

It was also found that the colour category 'black' was used without reference to a country of origin fairly frequently. The Star used this colour designation 38 times, the Sun 27 times and the Globe and Mail 17 times. For all newspapers, this was the most frequently cited descriptor. When places of origin such as Jamaican or Trinidadian are included in the category 'black', 46% of all articles in which a racial or ethnic designator or descriptor was used in the Globe and Mail involved Blacks and persons of Caribbean origin. For the Toronto Star, the figure is 38.5% For the Toronto Sun, this category amounts to 25.6% of all articles in which a designator was reported.

Thus, the Globe and Mail used racial identifiers or designators most frequently followed by the Toronto Star and the Sun. The most frequently used identifier - black and Caribbean - was used most often by the Globe, followed by the Star and the Sun. Although racial or ethnic identifiers were not used with great frequency by the newspapers, when they were used, Black people were most frequently singled out for racial identification.

Another quantitative key search of only the Toronto Star for the years 1994,1996 and 1997 using only colour terms, yielded the following results. The term 'black' as a descriptor was used 62 times, the term 'white' 40 times. (The term 'white' was most often used in brief reports indicating that the police are looking for a particular individual.) In addition, 'Jamaica' was used 40 times, Vietnamese 15, Asian but not Vietnamese 17, Chinese but not Vietnamese or Asian 8, Again, no matter what terms are used, Black people are more often identified by race than any other group and significantly more often than are whites. Asian people are also often identified by place of origin. Thus, there appears to be a need on the part of newspapers to identify Blacks by racial and/or ethnic origin. It should be emphasized however that most alleged criminals are not identified by race or ethnicity. Most stories about alleged 'white' criminals do not use that term to describe the individual; it is probably assumed that the individual is white.

These findings reinforce the view that newspapers often construct criminals as Black because the racial identifier is so often used in conjunction with a story about an alleged Black criminal. It is not surprising therefore that many members of the public perceive Black people as criminals. When it is recalled that 16% of all articles about Jamaicans deal with crime and justice issues and that more than one third deal with general social problems, the perception of Blacks and Jamaicans as criminals or problem people is reinforced.

The Use of Photographs as Racial Identifiers

In order to find out if more photographs are used when reporting crimes about Blacks and other people of colour, we examined a series of articles taken from our database of over 3000 crime articles. All told, 861 of these articles included a photo. Of these, almost one third of all published photographs published during our sample periods were of ethno-racial minorities.[8] The Toronto Sun published far more such photos than did any of the other two papers.

The Racialization of 'Home Invasion'

Increasingly, break and enters or robberies have become known as home invasions. As this term gains popularity in the media, it is also quite apparent that it has become racialized. Home invasion stories as reported in the Toronto Star and Toronto Sun between 1995 and 1998 were examined. Of the 181 articles, 55 or 30.3% were alleged perpetrators of colour. Nine were victims and there were also 10 articles about a Black police officer who had allegedly committed home invasions. Thus, 74 or 40.8% of the alleged perpetrators were not White. Often then, many perpetrators of home invasions reported in the press are racial minorities and the term has become almost synonymous with them. The term therefore has taken on an encoded meaning and a perceptive reader will receive the message that people of colour commit home invasions. The racialization of crime and criminals is thus reinforced in the public mind.

Case Study: TD Bank Shooting in Brampton

A robbery and a shooting took place in a TD bank in Brampton in Jan. 1999. In analyzing the media reports, we found that the media were quick to categorize, define and stereotype the alleged assailants. By the end of the second day of reporting, the assailants have been identified as "gang" members, called "bandits" and other strong labelling language has been used. The information cited comes from police sources whose accounts are unquestioningly accepted. By the end of the third day's reportage, the assailants are not only clearly identified as Black, West Indian Jamaican but also as poor and under-privileged. The police image of them cited approvingly relies on cultural racism. The culture from which they come, one of poverty and

fatherlessness is cited as the main reason for their behaviour. Their culture does not inculcate proper values hence they "don't have a lot to look forward to". Moreover, they are unable to "comprehend the seriousness" of their actions "not the way normal people do" because they're cultural background predisposes them to 'cash and power'. The picture painted here is one of savage, mindless young people, poorly brought up who commit crimes for money and power because they have not been taught better by their culture. Their lack of proper values is strongly emphasized in the image the police have of them and which is cited so strongly in this piece of journalism.

Another discourse was introduced into the coverage by at least two of the newspapers shortly after the story broke. The assailants had visited what was described as a shop dealing with the occult. The discourse that was created was the connection to Africa, the mentions of African cultist practices, the descriptions of what allegedly happens in this shop as magic, superstition, witchcraft and 'obeah' - the Caribbean name for black magic. By using these descriptors, which raise fearful images of a deep dark African past where people practice in "cultist" ways, a picture of these suspects as well as other clients of the occult shop, who are likely to be Caribbean and specifically Jamaican in origin , emerges. They are people who fall outside the traditions of Christianity and who practice African cultism. They hark back to a primitive form of superstition rather than traditional Christianity. They are apt to fall into trances during these ritualistic practices and lose their sense of self. They are not governed by rationality but by superstition and the belief in magical powers. The suspects, who 'sources' say purchase magical oil before their bank robberies are obviously people without rational thought but who are empowered by superstitious beliefs. The image is of primitive savage Africans, transplanted to Jamaica where these beliefs have been maintained. As the media outlines and prepares the reader for this discourse of primitivity, it will, in all probability be raised in prosecuting these suspects. The stage has been set for claiming that the two suspects are not normal because of their alleged beliefs. In the meantime, neither newspaper has done any real research on these issues but has again unquestioningly accepted the word of the police.

In addition the discourse of immigration and deportation is clearly signalled by at least two newspapers raising an issue which surfaced strongly in the aftermath of the Just Deserts and Baylis shootings.

The main discursive technique used in this and other incidents is the 'othering' of the group which clearly suggests to the reader that Black Jamaicans are not part of us.

Asian Restaurant Slaying

A man named Tommy Vo was gunned down in an Asian restaurant on Gerrard St. in Dec. 1995. There is a definite attempt in early reports to link the crime to a gang land type slaying. The assumption is clear: a killing by an Asian perpetrator of an Asian victim in a Chinese restaurant must be a gang incident. This is first noted in DiManno's column where she describes the gunfire that killed Vo as "The hit, if that's what it was, occurred outside". (ibid)

The Toronto Sun makes the same assumption and on the day after the shooting titles its news report: "Gang slaying fits pattern: Murder Weapon Left by Body".

This emphasis on gangland slayings in the Asian, particularly Vietnamese community, becomes the theme for columnist Bob Macdonald to write about "Immigrant gangs out of control: Bring back Capital Punishment, Work Camps". Thus begins the familiar discourse of immigration. Macdonald says that violence in the Chinese community surprises people because in earlier days a much smaller Chinatown did not produce violence since the Chinese were known as a hardworking and law-abiding group. The fault lies with the loose immigration system enacted by Trudeau liberals which have allowed people to come from crime prone areas of the world. Gangs from China, Vietnam, Jamaica, Somalia, Russia and others are identified.

Press reports of this slaying appear to be strongly motivated by stereotypic assumptions. Because it is an Asian crime, the immediate supposition is that it must be a gangland style killing. The idea that it could be a personally motivated crime does not appear in any of the early coverage. In this instance, as in the case of Just Deserts, the media follow the police lead in investigating not only the possibility but also the probability of gang relatedness. Thus, not only the investigation of the crime but also its reportage raises questions about the use of stereotypes in crime reporting about racial minority perpetrators. Neither Vo nor his associates are treat-

ed as individuals but as members of certain groups.

Somewhat later the police report that the crime was personally motivated and not gang related yet most media ignore this interpretation. What is also noteworthy in the information that the act was not gang related is the need to disassociate this crime from Asian gang rivalries. The assumption here is that gang rivalry and their often violent behavior is the norm for these communities. Again, this reinforces the stereotypic assumptions made by police and the media about alleged Asian criminal behaviours.

Comparative Case Studies: Joudrie and Snow

On April 7, 1992, a Toronto couple, Ian and Nancy Blackburn disappeared. Their bodies were found stuffed in the trunk of their car in Caledon, Ontario one week later. Charged with the crime was David Alexander Snow, a onetime antique dealer from Orangeville, Ontario who was later found guilty of first degree murder.

While both newspapers reported in detail the course of his trial,[9] there were also a number of long, detailed feature type articles on Snow and his background. For example in the Sun of July 19, 1997, Snow is headlined as a "Monster A 'Walking Time Bomb'..." The in-depth and very lengthy article discusses his family life citing his eldest brother who called him a walking time bomb all his life and who seemingly said that his mother moved her home in order to get away from him. In addition to such family details, his many crimes of kidnapping and killing are again described.

The Toronto Star of July 19, 1997 also carries a very detailed discussion of the Snow case. He is described as beginning "his descent into hell" and in another in-depth article on the same date, some of his crimes are reiterated as well as police speculation that he might also have been guilty of two other murders in the Caledon area. The media spared no adjectives in describing Snow. "A gruesome picture of a killer who crossed Canada robbing, gagging, assaulting and hog-tying his victims was painted in words for a jury at a trial yesterday" begins a Feb. 4, 1997 article in the Toronto Star. The press also highlighted somewhat sensationalist reporting of the sexual abuse of Snow's victims. One victim testifies that "I was like a toy" and "She remained calm as she described how she was kept naked and hog-tied throughout most of her captivity."

There is also an attempt to compare Snow to Bernardo when The Sun, (July 19, 1997) quotes the victims nephew as saying "Snow is similar to Bernardo in how he dominates, captures and abuses women."

The Joudrie Case

On Jan. 21, 1995, Dorothy Joudrie, an upper class white woman shot her estranged husband Earl Joudrie in the driveway of their home in Calgary, Alberta.

In almost all reports, right from the beginning of the coverage, Mrs. Joudrie is described graciously as "the silver haired socialite" and "the hostess with the mostest" drawing attention to her class status. Other mentions refer to her wealth and upper class life style and her "high powered friends". (Star, April 22, 1996) Her "posh" and "luxury" condominium where she is known for "throwing lavish parties at her $350,000 condominium". (ibid) Mr. Joudrie is often described as a "well known corporate fixture". (Star, Ap. 23, 1996). Reports also included several in depth accounts of the family and social background of both Joudries and descriptions of their early life together. (Star, May 10, 1996)

At the same time, however, reports were also explicit and graphic with respect to the violence, abuse and alcoholism suffered by Mrs. Joudrie.

Analysis

While it appears on the surface that both the Snow and Joudrie cases are treated in the same manner as Just Desserts, the Asian restaurant shooting or the Brampton bank robbery/shooting, closer examination reveals some extraordinary differences.

The Focus on Individual Deviance:

In the first instance what stands out in both the 'white' cases is that they are not linked to any other discourse. There are no generalizations about white crime on the increase, nor any moral panics about gun control despite the fact that Mrs. Joudrie smuggled in a gun from the United States and shot her husband six times with it.

In all the cases involving immigrants or persons of colour, however, the crime is immediately linked by the media, with the cooperation of the police, to some other issue. These crimes are part of something larger according to the manner in which they are hyped and reported as members of certain groups.

Somewhat later the police report that the crime was personally motivated and not gang related yet most media ignore this interpretation. What is also noteworthy in the information that the act was not gang related is the need to disassociate this crime from Asian gang rivalries. The assumption here is that gang rivalry and their often violent behavior is the norm for these communities. Again, this reinforces the stereotypic assumptions made by police and the media about alleged Asian criminal behaviours.

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In all the cases involving immigrants or persons of colour, however, the crime is immediately linked by the media, with the cooperation of the police, to some other issue. These crimes are part of something larger according to the manner in which they are hyped and reported upon. Usually, the linkage involves group membership. In Just Desserts and the Brampton shootings, being a member of the Jamaican group or community is highlighted. In the Asian case, the victim and potential

perpetrators are linked to gangs supposedly operating in the Asian community. Groups and communities are targeted, as are important social issues such as gun control and the influence of imported criminal activities.

By contrast, the Snow and Joudrie cases as well as the coverage of the more infamous Bernardo/Homolka case illustrate quite clearly that 'white' deviance is not problematized into a social issue. These criminals are treated as individuals, not as members of groups. White crimes remain at the level of individual acts committed by one person. There is no problem here except that an individual deviant must be convicted by due process of law and imprisoned. The solution therefore to criminal deviance is conviction and imprisonment. No panic need ensue and there is no need for any form of controlling policies or legislation.

The Reportage of Family, Class and Community Background

In reading reports of the Just Desserts alleged perpetrators, one learns almost nothing about them or their background. The only item of information provided is that two of the participants are not citizens of the country even though they have been resident in Canada for years. This information is provided as a backdrop to the discourse of deportation. Similarly, one learns little about who the alleged Brampton shooters are other than their immigration status and their links to African 'voodoo'. One learns virtually nothing about the background of Mr. Vo, the victim in the Asian restaurant slaying except that he was linked to gang activity. No information of any kind is provided about the person who shot him.

On the other hand, the background and experiences of Mrs. Joudrie and her husband are described in minute detail going back to the time they met in high school and became sweethearts. No details of their dating, subsequent marriage, family backgrounds are omitted from the media reports.

Media Access

One of the most outstanding differences in the media treatment of Mrs. Joudrie as compared to the other accused is that both she and her husband had constant access to the media. There are many in depth articles about her and Mr. Joudrie which describe their thoughts, feelings and future aspirations. These details come about as a result of interviews given by both Joudries to the press.

The result of this unequal access to the media is that more sympathy can be aroused for an accused who is constructed as more of a suffering person rather than merely a criminal of Jamaican or Vietnamese origin. The media access allows for the greater expression of individuality and reduces the possibility of group or community identification.

Just Desserts

News is not only transmitted through language. The layout, the use of graphics; the type and length of articles, the ordering of information within the article as well as the particular sources cited, all communicate significant information to the news reader. Analyzing news texts reveals specific linguistic practices or superstructures of news making. However, it is important to note the twin processes of selection and combination that precede writing are crucial to the process. Before a word hits the page, journalists and editors not only select what readers get to read, but by combining the information that they do include in a certain manner, they influence how it is to be interpreted. Therefore, what gets left out of the story, that is, information which is considered either irrelevant to the narrative or not important enough to print, may also provide interesting insights into how the story is being told or 'constructed' by a news outlet.

On the evening of April 5, 1994, three young Black men entered the Just Desserts Cafe in downtown Toronto demanding money and jewelry from the patrons. About twenty people were held at gunpoint and when several of them resisted, one of the assailants pulled out a sawed off shotgun and seemingly at random, shot one of the patrons. The young white woman, Georgina Leimonis was fatally wounded and died shortly afterwards in hospital. The robbers fled in a waiting car driven by a fourth man.

This case created almost unprecedented media coverage including articles, features, editorials and numerous photographs of the assailants. The main reasons for this amount of coverage and media commentary was that Just Deserts went far beyond a shooting of a helpless victim. It raised a 'moral panic' of enormous dimensions as it led to public discourses about a number of social issues. These include the need for gun control, problems around young offenders and most importantly, the case came to the heart of issues around immigra-

tion and the deportation of alleged criminals. In addition, the fact that the shooting occurred in a 'safe' area and in a cafe whose prices are fairly high and frequented therefore mainly by solid middle class citizens raised the issue of safety.

At the centre of the many areas and controversies this case created, are questions around race and racism since the victim was white and the alleged shooters were young Black men of Jamaican heritage.

The Major Discourses:
Our analysis uncovered three law-and-order discourses; gun control; young offender and immigration or deportation discourses in relation to the Just Desserts case. Respectively, they are addressed in 51, 18 and 34 of the 201 articles that are included in this study.

> *The public outcry... resulted in the forging of a link between crime and immigration in the public's minds.*

Once the Just Desserts case becomes associated with "American-style" lawlessness, the same kinds of media discourses associating 'young, Black males' with high rates of drug and weapons related offenses begin to emerge. After it was reported that one of the suspects in the case, O'Neil Grant, a Jamaican, had been granted a stay of deportation before he allegedly took part in the robbery, the solution to the 'problem of race and crime' became clear. The solution to this type of criminal behaviour is not boot camps, more prisons or stricter sentencing as it is in the U.S., nor is it gun control: the solution is - deportation.

Toronto lawyers, Julian Falconer and Carmen Ellis (1998) have traced a link between the public and media uproar over the Just Desserts case and the shooting of a police officer to changes to the Immigration Act.

The public outcry... resulted in the forging of a link between crime and immigration in the public's minds. In fact, the public was more concerned with the removal of immigrants convicted of crimes than they were over issues such as gun control and drug trafficking. Following these two incidents, a massive roundup of people illegally residing in Canada took place (Falconer & Ellis 1998:10).

In the wake of this public outcry, on 17 June 1994, two and a half months after the shooting, a bill, dubbed the "Just Desserts Bill" by one reporter, was introduced to Parliament. This legislation, s. 70(5) of the Immigration Act making it easier to deport landed immigrants with serious criminal records, came into force on July 10, 1995. It has had particularly pernicious effects on landed immigrants from Jamaica. During the first two years after the new legislation was passed (July 1995-December 1997) of the 355 people deported from the Ontario Region, 138 (39 percent) were deported to Jamaica. In 1998, a total of 325 persons were deported to Jamaica from Canada[10]. Moreover, Jamaica was the most frequent destination of those who were deported on the grounds that they were considered a "a danger to the public" at 100 returnees.

Table 1

Top Seven Destination s of Deportees from Ontario Region:
(July 1995- December 31, 1997)

Jamaica	*138*
England	*17*
Trinidad	*22*
Portugal	*17*
Guyana	*18*
El Salvado	*116*
United States	*12*
Total	*355*

Source: Falconer & Ellis 1998.

One hundred and forty seven articles were published in the first three weeks following the shooting of which 47 dealt specifically with gun control. In the weeks following the arrest of O'Neil Grant, the focus shifted to that of immigration and deportation

Out of a total of 54 articles with direct references to the Just Desserts case that were published during this period, 21, or 38 percent, dealt with immigration or deportation issues. There are, however, significant differences between the papers in the reporting of this issue. From 28 March to 30 May, both The Globe and Mail and The Toronto Sun devote almost half of coverage of the Just Desserts case to this issue alone while The Toronto Star dedicates only about one quarter of its discussion to the issue of deportation.

The analysis of how the media reported the Just Desserts case is extremely detailed and in the research report it is divided into four sections. Each of these sections represents a step in the racialization of the crime in the media. In the first section, Othering Crime, we show how a crime is linked to the social other, and how in the Just Desserts case, this 'other' is attributed with American origins. The second section, Racializing Crime, details how the dominant discourse surrounding the Just Desserts case focuses on the relationship between blackness and crime. In section three, Guns and the other, we demonstrate how the alternative law-and-order discourse in this case, gun control, becomes co-opted into the dominant discourse associating race with crime. In Criminalizing Immigration, the fourth and final section, we discuss how the journalistic practices of selection and combination produce a discourse that constructs Jamaican immigrants as inherently prone to criminality. The solution to criminal immigrants is, then, deportation.

Conclusions

The media, as other institutions in society, is not free of bias. The media through a variety of newsmaking and linguistic techniques reinforces the marginalization and 'otherness' of recently arrived immigrants to this country. One of the most important methods used is to create a connection between skin colour or 'blackness' and ethnicity - particularly Jamaican and Vietnamese ethnic origins - and criminal behaviour. The media therefore plays a role in the racialization of crime which, in turn, reinforces racist attitudes among the general population.

Frances Henry is Professor of Anthropology, York University.

Notes:

1. This article is based on a research project commissioned by the School of Journalism, Ryerson Polytechnic University.

2. Race as a method of classifying human beings is no longer scientifically valid and is used here only as an identifier.

3. Two studies have been conducted in the Toronto were over issues such as gun control and drug trafficking. Following these two incidents, a massive roundup of people illegally residing in Canada took place (Falconer & Ellis 1998:10).

4. Kidd-Howlett, D. and Osborne, R. Crime and the Media: The Postmodern Spectacle. London, Pluto Press. 1995 p. 2

5. This method of analysis is explained in Part 3.

6. Time periods varied for specific aspects of the study. The time periods used are noted in the sections that follow.

7. It could be argued that the reason for this is that Italians and Russians and presumably other ethnic groups either are charged by police less often or commit fewer crimes than do immigrants of colour. Since crime statistics are not kept by race, such conclusions cannot be drawn at this point. In any case, the main point argued in this report is that newspapers are reporting and over-reporting alleged criminal activity of immigrants of colour primarily Jamaicans and other blacks and Vietnamese.

8. The downloaded articles do not include photos. Because of time and financial constraints, a 10% sample, randomly selected, of this set was examined manually. It yielded 104 photos of which 70 (67.3% were of White perpetrators or victims. Thirty four or 32.7% were of racial minorities of which the majority - 15 - were of Black people.

9. His trial for the murder of the Toronto couple did not apparently begin until Feb. 1997. However, there were several reports of an earlier trial, seemingly in 1995, for kidnapping and robbery which he had committed in 1992. At the time of his trial in 1997 for the murder of the Blackburns, Snow was serving an indefinite sentence for the kidnapping and sex crimes that he committed in B.C.

10. A total of 2,161 Jamaicans were deported in the year 1998. Of these, more than half were deported by the United States, with "Canada and Britain accounting for most of the rest". In fact the Canadian numberof deportees for that year was 325 while 250 were deported from Britain. The problem of deportation is now so critical in Jamaica that a special conference was convened in the region to discuss the problem. Most recently, the Jamaican police have received special powers to monitor the activities of deportees who had served time in prisons while abroad. (Associated Press, Trinidad Guardian, March 11, 1999)

There are now 1,400 criminals in Canada who are "supposed to have been deported" according to an editorial in the Toronto Sun (Jan. 18, 1999) as well as another 6,000 illegals who have been ordered deported. No breakdown by ethnicity was reported.

TV FOR UK—MILLIONS MISSES THE MINORITIES.

Britain's best loved programmes, broadcast to millions, fall well short of representing the full range of people that live there, new research reveals.

The research[1] took the top ten programmes from each of the five main UK channels by audience size. A total of 204 programmes were captured in the sample. The main genres are:

- Quiz and game (17% of programmes)
- Documentaries (16% of programmes)
- Soap Operas (14% of programmes)
- Consumer programmes (9%)
- Police and Detective (6%)

The total combined audience for these 204 programmes was 1,564.54 million "viewers." The research examined numbers of non-white faces on screen and how they were portrayed over a four week period.

The research found that people of Asian, Chinese, and other minority backgrounds are pitifully sparse in British TV programmes and serials. Black people fared better and appeared on television more than their actual numbers in the population. Minorities were also eight times less likely to contribute to everyday subjects such as gardening, cookery, hobbies and other lifestyle interests. Apart form the occasional cookery contribution, minorities were almost invisible in this area.

Not counting programmes bought from the U.S. and removing coverage of foreign visitors to the U.K., the picture is even worse.

For example, in one whole week on BBC2, the only minority faces to be seen in the channel's top ten programmes were cartoon characters in the Simpsons. Yet, the audience figures for those programmes totalled over 33 million "viewing experiences" for BBC2 watchers.

Other factors to emerge from the research found that minority participants were far less likely to enjoy major roles, and their appearances were more likely to be through vox-pop sound bites or very brief interviews. More than a quarter (26%) of contributions made by minority participants were either coded as "personal experiences" or "subject too brief/no substance" compared with only 11 per cent of the white base sample.

One quarter (24%) of minority contributions were about musical performances or other entertainment compared with only (11%) of the White base sample. These figures might be taken to imply trivialisation of minority contributions.

Overall, most measures did not reveal the kind of overt examples of prejudice against ethnic minorities claimed by some. However, the pattern of findings is troublesome and draws attention to some more persistent if subtle forms of representation and portrayal.
One example, which is clearly not simply a UK problem, emerged in the analysis of the total sample. Coders were asked to categorise all Black participants in terms of skin tone and features. While 45% of all Black women were judged as having predominantly Western features, this was true of only 17% of Black males. Furthermore, while lighter skin tones were no different between males and females, 30% of Black males were judged as having "dark" (ebony) tone compared with only 11% of Black females.

This might suggest a bias in favour of White idealisation of minorities (at least for women) who appear to be only reluctantly admitted to our screens. These findings may indicate a more central problem in the growing concerns about the representation and portrayal of racial diversity.

As the population demographics shift , British television is clearly failing to keep up to speed. Rather than continuing to reflect the world of yesterday, it needs to be much more proactive if it is to better reflect the world in which we live today.

RACISM AND THE US MEDIA

JEFF COHEN

When newspaper executives make a commitment to change, they often show great prowes in meeting their goals: Consider the breathtaking speed with which they added colour graphics and lifestyle sections to the pages. When it comes to fulfilling their pledge to integrate people of colour onto their staff, however, most newspaper editors are moving slower than a Gutenberg press.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors' goal in 1978 was to achieve minority employment at daily newspapers "equivalent to the percentage of minority employment persons within the national population" by the year 2000. Racial minorities now constitute 11.6 percent of news staffs but 27.3 percent of the country's population. At the rate newspapers are going (ASNE last year extended its deadline by 25 years), they won't reach their goal until late in the century. Slightly more diversity can be found in TV news staffs, and far less in magazines. But few top news executives in any medium are people of colour. This lack of diversity has consequences in terms of content. To take a relatively trivial example, when the decision was made at Time magazine to darken a cover picture of O.J. Simpson, only the lone nonwhite person in the room objected.

A more important consequence is the narrow, distorting lens through which racial minorities are frequently portrayed in mainstream news. Studies commissioned by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists have found that only about 1 percent of the 12,000 stories aired yearly on the three network TV evening newscasts focus on Latinos or Latino issues-and roughly 80 percent of these stories "portray Latinos negatively," often on subjects like crime, drugs and "illegal" immigrants.

Kirk Johnson's classic study (Columbia Journalism Review, May/June 1987) of 30 days worth of coverage of Boston's two largely black neighbourhoods found that mainstream media focused overwhelmingly on lights-and-sirens stories involving some "pathology"- to borrow a term journalists love to apply to reports about black and Latino communities such as violent crime or drugs, and "85 percent reinforced negative stereotypes of blacks".

By contrast, Johnson also found that coverage of the same two neighbourhoods by four black -owned news outlets during the same period was more multifaceted, and thus ultimately more accurate. These outlets certainly covered crime, but they also covered local business, school successes and community cleanup campaigns-"57 percent of the stories suggested a community thirsty for educational advancement and entrepreneurial achievement, and eager to remedy poor living conditions made worse by bureaucratic neglect."

Each individual "pathology" story in mainstream news may not be false, but if that is basically the only kind of story presented, the total picture becomes a lie.

The flip side of the media's overrepresentation of minorities as criminals and druggies is their underrepresentation as experts and analysts. Studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s documented not only the incredible whiteness of being an expert in national media (92 percent of Nightline's U.S. guests were white; 90 percent of the PBS NewsHour's were white; 26 of 27 repeat commentators on National Public Radio during a four-month study were white) but a tendency to ghettoize minority experts into discussions of "black or "brown" issues...often those "pathologies" again.

For Americans still inhabiting largely segregated workplaces and neighbourhoods (some as segregated as prime-time TV sitcoms),the media are the main sources of information about people of other racial groups and

therefore deserve a share of the blame for the prevalence of racist attitudes.

Conventional media wisdom tends to see the U.S. as a place in which racial discrimination happened in the past, where charges of racism are mostly an excuse, and where societal depravity is largely the province of communities of colour.

Jeff Cohen is the founder of FAIR, a media watch website, www.fair.org

ANYTHING BUT RACISM:

MEDIA MAKE EXCUSES FOR "WHITEWASHED" TV LINE UP

JANINE JACKSON

Confronted by protests from the NAACP and others about discrimination in their primetime lineup last year, the four leading American TV networks (ABC, CBS, NBC and Fox) did what powerful institutions often do in such situations: They feigned affront, denied the facts, made excuses and attacked the messenger, then offered patchwork "solutions" and returned to business as usual.

A survey by the NAACP's Beverly Hills/Hollywood chapter found that of 839 writers currently working on primetime shows, just 55 are black, 11 Latino, three Asian-American and none Native American, meaning minorities make up just 7 percent of primetime network writers.

According to the Screen Actors Guild, the number of primetime parts for blacks and Latinos declined in 1998, with blacks filling around 12 percent of parts on primetime shows.

A 1998 Directors Guild of America report showed that minority (and women) directors (in TV and film) worked fewer days in 1997 than the year before, despite an increase in work for directors overall.

Such numbers are valuable indicators but they don't completely capture racism's complex nature. Discrimination, for example, also takes the form of segregation. The vast majority (83 percent) of the 55 African-American primetime writers worked on shows with primarily black casts. "White writers, however, routinely make the crossover to write on shows with predominantly minority casts." (Los Angeles Times, 10/27/1999).

There are countless anecdotal examples that suggest pervasive problems. Like Jay Dyer, the successful African-American writer whose agent was told flatly: "This isn't a black show. We don't need a black writer." Black, Latino, Asian-American and Native American actors cite the frustration of being considered only for "specifically ethnic" roles and the countless opportunities they miss because of someone's parochial idea of what a "neighbour" or a "bank teller" should look like (Hollywood Reporter, 9/14/1999). On the flip side, minority writers say they can only get started in the

business by avoiding issues relating to ethnicity.
The misunderstanding of the systemic, institutional nature of discrimination was also reflected in the scramble by some of the networks to "tack on" token minority characters to existing shows later in the season.

Not black and white, just green

Even as they more or less acknowledge a hiring system built overwhelmingly on personal networks, the relative absence of minorities in executive roles, and a stubbornly stereotypical approach to casting, the media industry argument in the wake of complaints had a tone best described as, "It's not racism:, it's..." That blank was filled various ways, but the hands-down most popular was "it's economics."

It's somewhat noteworthy to see media acknowledge the powerful role sponsors play in the content of programming, But this "economics, stupid" line, which pretends to be a dry-eyed, straight-up look at things, actually stops short of the whole story.

The fact is "economics" do not explain the disparate treatment of white and non-white audiences by sponsors, and consequently by programmers. Advertisers pay less for programs that garner non-white audiences, in a widely acknowledged policy called "discounting." Some flatly refuse to buy ads on stations or shows that reach primarily non-white audiences, the so-called "no urban/no Spanish dictate."

Such policies are not based on "market sense." When Emmis Broadcasting, operators of a New York radio station with a primarily black listenership, approached their local Volvo dealers group about buying ads, they supplied market research showing that "their black/urban listeners were just as able and likely to buy cars in Volvo's price range as the radio audiences Volvo dealers were currently paying to reach, suburban whites." (Forum Connection, Civil Rights Forum on Communications Policy, 9/30/99) The company couldn't deny the facts, but said no anyway. What it came down to, according to station manager Judith Ellis, "was the head of the dealership who said, 'I just don't want to. We just don't want it on that radio station.'"

Last year, an internal memo from media representation firm Katz Media Group came to light, in which the company advised its sales staff not to place ads on so-called "urban" stations, explaining that businesses want "prospects, not suspects." (Black Enterprise, 7/31/99)

A range of racist assumptions exists about non-white customers as reasons to pay less for ads in ethnic markets, or not to buy them at all. There's the buyer for Ivory soap who refused to purchase time on a Latino-formatted station because "Hispanics don't bathe as frequently as non-Hispanics." (FCC study, "When Being No. 1 Is Not Enough: The Impact of Advertising Practices on Minority-Formatted Broadcast Stations," 1/99) Companies have cited worries that "our pilferage will increase," if they advertise on minority stations, or said simply, "Your station will bring too many black people to my place of business." If that is not racism, what is?

This is an abbreviated version of an article published by "Extra!; January/February, 2000.

CHALLENGING RACISM IN THE MEDIA— CALL FOR COLLABORATIVE ACTION

RICK SIN

Television, newspapers, radio, internet and other mass media are the key vehicles for the transmission of informational and persuasive messages between the state and individuals, among pressure groups, political parties and among geographically separated populations. Ideally, reporters and commentators perform valuable surveillance and interpretive functions in society by publicizing and interpreting the social issues of the day.

The mass media could either be the perpetuator of oppression or an agent for effecting social change. It can promote biases against, and incite hostility towards, minority groups. Or alternatively, it could be an important resource by which social movements can survive, prosper and ultimately triumph. How to prevent irresponsible and biased portraits and how to engage the media and further encourage positive images of one's community becomes a day to day challenge to every human rights advocacy group.

The Chinese Canadian National Council (CCNC) is a community-based advocacy organisation rooted in media activism. In the fall of 1979, a nation-wide campaign was organized by Chinese Canadians from coast to coast protesting an inaccurate and racist segment of the CTV program –"W5"– entitled "Campus Giveaway". The program started with "Here is a scenario that would make a great many people in this country angry and resentful." It alleged that foreign students were taking the legitimate places from Canadians in universities. The statistics quoted were distorted and misleading. More disturbingly, the screen repeatedly showed Chinese faces and ignored the possibilities that those Chinese students might be landed immigrants or Canadian citizens whose families had been here for generations. This campaign led to not just a full public apology from the national TV network, but also gave birth to CCNC and its Toronto Chapter to continue the fight against racism and protecting human rights.

Historical Legacy

To understand why such a TV segment would make so many people in the Chinese Canadian communities in this country so angry and resentful, we have to look beyond this particular episode and critically review how we have been treated by the media even before mass media started dominating the public space in this continent.

In the nineteenth century when the Chinese first came to North America to work on the railroads, there was much resentment by white men that the Chinese were taking over their jobs. As a result, much popular literature at that time, like Harper's Weekly and Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, stereotypically depicted the Chinese as ugly and irrepressible heathens. In the first issue of "The Coming Man" in 1870 which came out to inform the public of the presence of the Chinese, it said the following:

> *The Chinese are tractable, industrious and thrifty; and, although they may never aspire to office, or influence "political rings," will, if not persecuted beyond human endurance, make intelligent, law-abiding citizens. Give them an opportunity "to work out their salvation." If this is granted, we are quite sure they will soon slough off all that is hurtful that comes to them from*

> *their old civilization and readily adapt themselves to the newer and higher life which finds its birth in this century of our era.*

As the conflict between labour and capital intensified, there was an increase in Yellow Peril rhetoric and propaganda against the Chinese. The Chinese became the subject of political cartoons as the demand arose for anti-Chinese lobbyists to justify the federal injunction of a Chinese Exclusion Act. There were racist caricatures that showed Chinese labour driving out white men from employment and luring innocent white women into prostitution and/or into the opium den. Another cartoon shows a stereotypical Chinese looking like the Statue of the Liberty standing in the harbour and holding an opium pipe with his head lit up with the following saying: "Labour, White, Ruin to Diseases, Immorality, Filth". Once again these caricatures depicted the Chinese as a subhuman and immoral person. These racist caricatures clearly helped to justify racism and further the cause of anti-Chinese sentiments.

Media Portrayal

Once television came into existence there were, not surprisingly, very few images of the Chinese. Instead, after a century and a half of systemic discrimination and laws that stopped and/or limited the Chinese from coming to North America, the mass media continued to portray racist characteristics upon the Chinese. The Chinese were depicted as foreigners, as "alien others". The men were either sinister villains, helpless heathens, comical servants, loyal sidekicks, or asexual detectives who spoke fortune cookie English and offered Confucian wisdom like the character Charlie Chan. The women on the other hand fared no better. They were portrayed as the exotic Chinese prostitute as in "The World of Suzie Wong" or as the ruthless dragon lady in "Daughter of the Dragon."

One popular television show in 1966 was "The Green Hornet" which showed Bruce Lee co-starring as the kung fu sidekick wearing a mask to disguise his "slanted" eyes. In 1972, Bruce Lee helped to develop the television show "Kung Fu" and hoped to star as the main character but the role was instead given to David Carradine who is white.

Needless to say since there were very few television shows or movies that depicted the Chinese, there were even fewer commercials that showed images of the Chinese. There was the "ancient Chinese secret, huh?" laundry detergent commercial in the late 70's which stereotyped the Chinese in the laundry business. Then there was the L'eggs pantyhose commercial which showed a Chinese woman who said her legs were soft as silk. Again this stereotypical role portrayed the Chinese woman as exotic and foreign just like silk from the Far East.

Hollywood Today

Today there are still very limited roles for the Chinese. People of colour are still underrepresented and largely invisible in the media. When people of colour do appear in media coverage, they are often misrepresented and stereotyped.

Is Hollywood ready for a Chinese leading actor or actress? We all know there are many bi-racial actors and actresses that are part Asian and have made it big in the big screen. There's hot stud Keanu Reaves recently in the movie "The Matrix" and now sexy Tia Carriare in the popular television show "Relic Hunter". But is Hollywood ready for a full - fledged Chinese actor who looks Chinese and not part Caucasian? Jackie Chan and Chow Yun Fat are among the few Hong Kong actors that have crossed the border to Hollywood. Despite their success, they are still limited in the roles that they could play. There are always the Chinatown gangster movies like Chow Yun Fat in "The Corrupter" or the asexual kung fu fighter starring Jet Li in "Romeo Must Die". Despite the obvious love interest in "Romeo Must Die", Jet Li never kisses the leading actress. In "Anna and the King" there is definitely a chemistry between Chow Yun Fat and Jodie Foster but once again the viewers never see them kiss. In Jackie Chan's first Hollywood blockbuster movie "Rumble in the Bronx", the female actors are Chinese. Once again this stereotypical role shows that Hollywood is still not ready to see Chinese male actors show any affectionate feelings with any non-Chinese counterparts.

On the other hand, it is very acceptable and prevalent for Asian women to fall in love with white men. Oliver Stone's movie "Heaven and Earth" (1993) shows Tommy Lee Jones as an ex-marine saving a Vietnamese village girl played by Joan Chen who survives getting beaten and raped by the Vietnamese. There is the movie "The Red Corner" starring Richard Gere as an American framed for murder in Communist China.

Instead he saves the beautiful Chinese woman from the corrupt and powerful Chinese government.

After almost 40 years since Nancy Kwan played the role as a Hong Kong prostitute in "The World of Suzie Wong", Asian women continue to be portrayed as docile and obedient but with an innate and wanton sexual persona. There is sexy Lucy Lu in the hit television show Alley McBeal where Lu's character kisses Alley McBeal. Again is this every white man's fantasy to not only see a beautiful Asian woman but that she can possibly be a lesbian? In "Romeo Must Die", the opening act shows two beautiful and sexy Asian women on the open dance floor fondling each other's breasts and frolicking each other's skimpy dress. But was this scene necessary? Was it to embrace homosexuality? Or was it to satisfy every man's fantasy of Asian women as sex objects? And not just one but two Asian women!

In a racialized society, racism is not merely white people against people of colour, but also among people of colour within and across communities.

In the movie "Double Happiness" directed by Mina Shum who happens to be Chinese Canadian, the main character, an aspiring Chinese Canadian actress, was being controlled by her stereotypical dictatorial parents. Instead of trying to work out the typical family problems of a mother-daughter and father-daughter relationship, Shum decides instead that escaping one's home and living with her Caucasian boyfriend was the only solution for the main character. Again is this the only possible outcome for Asian women today who are having problems at home? In the all Asian cast movie "Joy Luck Club" adapted from the book by Amy Tan, all the Chinese male actors have cold asexual personalities and one of the husbands was the stereotypical accountant who was very calculative and stingy towards his wife.

Lack of Media Awareness

As Henry and Tator pointed out "there appears to be a lack of awareness, understanding or concern on the part of those who work in the media that they may be contributing to racism. While the press feels free to critique other institutions, they are resistant to criticism of their own standards and practices." Too often, the media ignores community groups' complaints and deny the existence of racism.

On May 30,1998, for example, Bill Bird who is a sportscaster for Global news described Michael Chang's loss in the French Open by saying: "Michael Chang, ching, ching, he's outta there, ching chang." After numerous complaints, Global claimed that Bill Bird was merely imitating the sound of a cash register.

The episode of the "Royal Canadian Air Farce" which was broadcast on March 13th, 2000 included a segment entitled "E.S.L. News". The news anchors presented a story about a Chinese restaurant (with a supposedly humorous name) which was closed due to mice infestation. They explained that the mice problem was the result of the fact that the "cat had already been cooked" and thus could not catch any more mice. Responding to the complaint from CCNC National Office, the producers insisted that it was not a racist slur, and denied that it exposes a community to ridicule and hatred.

Collaborative Lobbying

Undoubtedly, racism in the media is not only an issue to the Chinese Canadian communities. Minority communities and people who genuinely cherish racial harmony are striving to nurture respect for diversity and eliminate racial discrimination and disadvantage. The question is what we can do together to effect positive changes.

In their report, Henry and Tator table a list of agenda items for us to consider:

- *To encourage a heightened sense of critical consciousness on those who work in the media;*
- *To support a stronger commitment by regulatory agencies to respond to racism*
- *To further research, particularly in the areas of electronic media and the issues of representation of people of colour in media industries*
- *To undertake a systematic review of the curriculum in journalism schools;*
- *To support mechanisms for monitoring the media; and*
- *To promote a greater degree of accountability on the part of media organizations.*

To accomplish all these effectively, however, we can and must build up a long term collaborative force across communities and be prepared to become a collective player between the government, media and other communities.To develop a stronger power base,

we have to go beyond the one-dimensional view of racism, i.e. one homogenous majority against a particular homogenous minority. Instead, the focus should be a more inclusive, responsible and less biased media. The new focus creates the possibilities of a wider coalition / media watch network which includes ethno-racial minorities, other equity seeking groups, as well as progressive media workers.

Besides providing support to individual communities protesting irresponsible and biased media incidents, the network could play a co-ordinating role in monitoring and challenging the government, schools of journalism and the media. Throughout the year, members of the coalition / network can conduct the following activities:

- *Organizing community media roundtables to share concerns and identify solutions;*
- *Meeting with the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission and the editors/producers to take a more aggressive role in complaints and to lobby for policy changes;*
- *Conducting diversity and anti-discrimination training for people working in the media;*
- *Constructing evaluation tools for annual reviews of diversity in the media industry, schools of communication and journalism; as well as developing report cards to index racism and bias during the year;*
- *Hosting cross boundary media awards to challenge negative and stereotypical portraits, and to celebrate positive and diverse representation.*

Having said that we also have to acknowledge the fact that the prevailing conservative political climate and continual funding cuts over the past decade pose a real threat to the existence of advocacy groups. However difficult it is, until we work together, our country may sink further and further into the swamp of conflict deepened by racism.

Rick Sin is the former Executive Director of the Chinese Canadian National Council Toronto Chapter. Prior to this, he worked as a community organizer in Montreal, New York City and Hong Kong.

DIVERSITY IN THE MEDIA: IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES WORKING FOR CHANGE

PAMELA DAVIE

> *"Four-fifths of the beggary and three-fifths of the crime spring from our foreign population; more than half the public charities, more than half the prisons and almshouses, more than half the police and the cost of administering criminal justice are for foreigners."*[1]

Written in 1856 by an American anti-immigrant activist, the particular immigrants in question were from Ireland and Germany. In his article "Five Myths About Immigration", Professor David Cole writes that "*...140 years later, 'they' have become 'us' and goes on to describe the new groups who comprise the 'they' of today.*"

In Canada we have a similar roster of 'theys', which reflects changing racial and ethnic origins over time. The impact of social attitudes towards particular groups of new or potential immigrants has been significant. In the late nineteenth century, after recruiting male labourers from China to complete the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian government imposed a Head Tax on Chinese immigrants of $50, which later rose to $500 by 1904. This served to curtail further Chinese immigration including the wives and families of those who had risked their lives in completing the nation's dream of a coast-to-coast railway. Those remaining in Canada were not allowed to vote, or to be employed in professions or the skilled trades.

During the years of the Nazi holocaust, anti-Semites in Canada stated that "one is too many" and European Jews were denied refuge in Canada. In the same period, Canadian citizens of Japanese ancestry were summarily deprived of their civil liberties, stripped of their personal wealth and herded into internment camps. Because of their ethnic origin, all Canadian-Japanese were considered to be a threat to national security. These are all examples of how prejudice and popular opinion combined to result in widespread inequity and discrimination against whole groups of people.[3]
Prejudice and discrimination are insidious, and in today's Information Age, with the demand on media to highlight the latest information, there is an increased risk of the recycling of the same ideas.

As the visible minority population continues to grow it becomes increasingly important that the media accurately reflect the changing population. However, in a 1993 survey conducted by the Canadian Daily Newspaper Association, publishers ranked "managing and covering diversity" 19th on a list of 21 secondary issues affecting the industry, behind "circulation cost control" and "competing with Canada Post."[4]

This attitude is clearly reflected in the Canadian print media. Immigrant communities in Ontario are becoming increasingly frustrated with the mainstream media's portrayal of their role in Canadian social, political and economic issues and events, both historic and current. A study of newspapers in five of Canada's largest urban centres illustrated the stereotypical coverage of communities across the nation. In an analysis of the Vancouver Sun, the Toronto Star, the Toronto Sun and the Montreal Gazette, only 14 percent of 895 local news stories mentioned minorities or were about issues that directly affected minorities. Minorities were portrayed more negatively (49 percent) than positively (42 percent) in those stories.[5]

In 1995, the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving

Immigrants (OCASI) and the Canadian Centre for Social Justice (CCSJ) decided to take action on behalf of immigrant communities in Ontario.

The partnership developed a project with the objective of achieving a balanced portrayal of racial minorities, immigrants and refugees in the mainstream media. As "media" encompasses many areas of the communications industry, the partnership chose to focus on print media. The target group was print media practitioners; immigrant communities; and the public at large-further defined as consumers of the mainstream print media. The goals were as follows: to encourage alternative approaches to the coverage of immigrant, refugee and racial minority issues: to encourage a critical awareness of systemically biased images and absence of immigrants, refugees and racial minorities in the average mainstream events; and to develop the capacity of immigrant serving agencies to effectively communicate with the media.

We established a broadly based advisory committee with representation drawn from the community, media, academia, policy makers and youth. This served to guide the program pieces and to ensure a balance in our messages.

The Nation of Immigrants Project

In the first year, OCASI and CCSJ developed and implemented several initiatives. In media relations, we provided alternative resource material for journalists through a series of Fact Sheets. These provided information about refugees in Canada; the benefits of immigration to Canada-the fact and fiction; and Ontario's community-based immigrant serving agencies.

A seasoned producer and trainer provided media relations training to increase the capacity of immigrant communities and agencies to communicate effectively with the media. Community representatives met with editorial boards to talk about concerns and ways to ensure balanced media coverage of all communities.

Other resources were developed as follows: a series of case studies of media coverage in the early 1990's of immigrants and visible minorities in Canada; an annotated media resource and reference list; a report of community focus groups about their concerns related to media. As well, media spokespersons-representatives of media, government, community, and academia-participated in a survey that focused on how they perceived immigrants and racial minorities to be portrayed in the mainstream media.

The response to the community focus groups and an opinion leaders survey indicated that there was a widespread sense of bias in news coverage. Participants expressed frustration about their lack of access to the mainstream media. In the media training sessions, community agencies said they had limited resources, and often felt unable to compete with economic and social forces in shaping public opinion. For agencies participating in the training, having the knowledge of some basic tools was empowering.

Journalists and editors who participated in the project admitted to gaps in their coverage and attributed this partially to not knowing where to access media spokespersons from certain communities.

The first phase enabled us to assess the situation and to begin a continuing discourse with the media. We now had in-house resources to distribute to media, community and public to better access information about refugee and immigrant issues.

The Second Phase

OCASI had taken leadership of the project and continued on its own into the second year. We decided to focus on expanding the size of our target audience for raising awareness of the issues. Our emphasis, therefore, would be on public education. As well we wanted to build on the project to include broadcast media. This led to the production of two public service announcements (PSA's) for broadcast on television and in cinemas. The target audience was determined to be Canadian youth.

The Concept Development Team, comprised of media representatives, community and youth from immigrant and/or racial minority communities, decided to develop two PSA's with decidedly different approaches, to convey the impact of racial and ethnic discrimination on racial minority and immigrant youth.

The first, "My Mother" outlined the struggle of a young black man in dealing with racial discrimination. The feel-good ending seemed to fit with Canada's official multicultural message. The second PSA "My Friend" examined how the experience of anti-immigrant sentiments is internalized by visible minority and immigrant

youth. It finished with a disclosure by a woman of her experience of racism in Canada.

The PSA's were aired by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), and CBC Newsworld, coast to coast, except in Quebec, for a period of six months. CTV aired them nationally for a period of four months. They were also aired on CFMT and Much Music, and were submitted for the Toronto Human Rights Film and Video Festival marking the 50th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Cineplex Theaters aired the 30 second spot "My Mother" on 3000 cinevision screens throughout Canada throughout the month of October.

The PSA's were a major achievement. They had been well received by the media and entertainment industry resulting in high levels of airtime. The CBC, Much Music and OCASI received a substantial amount of viewer feedback. There had also been several screenings at schools and agencies before public release. Positive feedback was directed at both PSA's and focused on the timelines of the message and the visual quality and appeal-comments from youth were almost entirely positive.

Negative commentary was solely related to the second PSA, "My Friend." Feedback from viewers indicated that they saw it as a criticism of Canada, labeling Canadians as racist. OCASI maintained the position that experiences with racism were a reality for many Canadian youth and the message of the PSA was to convey the results of such experiences.

The objective of raising the level of awareness and generating debate had been achieved.

During the same period we undertook several other initiatives: we produced a directory of community spokespersons on immigrant related issues; visited journalism programs to discuss diversity in the media; continued meetings with editors of national and regional newspapers; began to organize our newspaper case studies for publishing; and provided two-day, on camera media relations training for immigrant service providers.

We found our greatest challenge to be the high level of resources needed to develop in-house publications of media analysis. Though we had clear information about the numbers, types and impact of immigrants on our society, in order to identify fiction from fact, we had wanted to develop resources specifically related to media issues.

We had far greater success with our outreach activities, including the PSA's, media training, and meetings with media practitioners and students.

During the same period, other community and immigrant service organizations undertook their own media related initiatives. The Afghan Women's Counseling and Integration Community Support Organization conducted a study of the portrayal of Muslim women in the mainstream media. The Roma Community and Advocacy Centre undertook a media relations and public education program to improve the media coverage and public reception of the Czech Roma in Canada. With an emphasis on public and media outreach, the Roma Community and Advocacy Centre saw a dramatic turnaround-for the better-in the use of language and the angle of the stories covering Roma issues.

Individual immigrant service agencies have developed relationships with individual journalists both through this project and by their own initiatives and found that working with these individuals was the best way of ensuring access to the media.

The Toronto Star now regularly includes racial minorities and immigrants in their coverage of mainstream issues and reports on issues of interest to specific communities. One reporter said the impetus for change was the changing demographics of Greater Toronto and the economic interest in accessing this potential readership. The Toronto Star has been the most consistent of the mainstream newspapers to meet with communities and OCASI to ensure more balanced coverage. A key example of which is the 12 month, 1999 series "Beyond 2000. Home to the World." The series reflected the realities of immigrants in Toronto, looking at such areas as barriers to accessing trades and professions, ethno-specific health care needs, and other immigrant services and issues.

After two years of the project, community access to the media had increased. We had provided tools and developed a base of media spokespersons in the immigrant community. We now recognized the need to further unite as a sector and find ways of maintaining on-going

discussion within the immigrant sector about these issues.

Conclusion

Working for balanced reporting in the media is an ongoing process. Published by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, a recent survey of journalists regarding the existence and sources of external "new filters" was summarized as follows: "...those groups in society that can afford to invest substantially in media relations are able to command the media spotlights, get their voices heard, and have their interpretations of events popularized. One of the journalists we talked to put the matter succinctly: 'It's tough for people who are unorganized to get coverage.' And, if such people do get coverage, they often find that their story has already been filtered or framed by somebody else's spin-doctor. The result is a system of news production in Canada that even journalists themselves agree is peppered with blind spots."[6]

We will continue to develop and refine our work with the media, with an emphasis on inclusiveness of communities in our initiatives. Improved methods of communication between agencies, using new technologies, for example, are helping us towards this goal. Involving youth extensively in future activities-including training in production of PSA's-is another objective for the upcoming year. OCASI continues to be aware of our combined histories-the stories that were documented, those that were filtered by one culture's perspective, and those that were too quickly forgotten. It is with this in mind that we work to ensure that we have a voice in the documentation of our community and our nation.

Pamela Davie is with the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants (OCASI).

OCASI is a council of over 140 immigrant-serving organizations and for the past twenty years it has responded to the needs of immigrant and refugee communities in Ontario.

Notes:

1. *Cole, David, Phd., Five Myths About Immigration, The Nation, October 17, 1994.*
2. *ibid*
3. *Beyene, Dawit, Carrit Butcher, Betty Joe, and Ted Richmond, Immigrant Service Agencies: A Fundamental Component of Anti-Racist Social Services, OCASI, February, 1993.*
4. *Miller, John, and Kimberly Prince, The Imperfect Mirror: Analysis of Minority Pictures and News in Six Canadian Newspapers, School of Journalism, Ryerson Polytechnic University, 1994.*
5. *ibid*
6. *Hackett, Bob and Richard Gruneau, The Missing News, The CCPA Monitor, The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Dec. 1999-Jan 2000.*

TV STATIONS IN BRITAIN PLAN NEW RULE ON DIVERSITY

British TV stations plan to change the way new television programs are developed in the future, putting diversity right at the heart of the creative process. Some of the most watched programs on British TV screens in future will have a greater mix of racial minority characters as a result. The move will make all program makers reflect the increasingly multiracial, multicultural nature of modern Britain on television screens.

By the end of the year, a new industry- wide 'Commissioning Clause' will change the way new programmes are developed and produced in the UK. The biggest names in broadcasting have joined forces to drive the initiative forward. A new industry-wide body, the Cultural Diversity Network (CDN), has been set up to see through the changes.

As Clive Jones, Executive of Carlton Television, and the first Chairman of the CDN, states "This country is facing a demographic revolution which means this industry has to get its act together. Either we adapt or what we do will become increasingly irrelevant for a vital part of our audience. I'm a commercial broadcaster. I want bums on sofas watching programmes on Carlton and ITV. Show me the money is an ethic I understand, and one that motivates my programme makers and sales forces.

'But, the diverse population of Britain will only watch Carlton programmes if they are relevant to their lives and they can relate to the stories, actors and presenters we put on ITV screens.

'Whether you are a commercial broadcaster or publicly funded we are faced with a stark choice -either we adapt what we do, or we become increasingly irrelevant to modern Britain.

'The New Commissioning Clause will make diversity one of the standard criteria against which new programme proposals are judged. I fully expect it will change the face of television as we know it.'

The commissioning clause will allow broadcasters to measure progress against diversity goals. It will be a test of the companies' understanding and commitment to diversity, not just in terms of a statement but actual evidence in it's workforce.

Diversity will become one of the criteria against which a programme proposal will be evaluated for commission. This includes a diverse workforce in employment, casting and portrayal, content creation and development, programme production, distribution, promoting and financing.

The Cultural Diversity Network includes other industry bodies and regulators. Members of the CDN have pledged to work together to increase numbers of racial minorities working in the industry.

Notes:

1. *The Cultural Diversity Network was launched on 12 October, 2000. Its members comprises: Carlton Television, the ITV Network Centre, the BBC, Channel 4, BskyB, Channel 5, GMTV, United News and Media, the Granada Media Group, Pearson Television, the Independent Television Commission, the Royal Television Society, BAFTA, the Film Council and the Broadcasting Standards Commission. The initiative was supported by Chris Smith, Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport.*
2. *Ethnic minorities make up seven percent of the UK population. By 2001, 30% of Londoners will have ethnic minority backgrounds. In the Midlands it will be 12 percent. Eighty percent of those TV viewers are between 16 - 35 years old, with a disposable wealth that contributes 32 billion pounds to the UK economy.*

MEDIA AND THE U.N. WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOINT STATEMENT ON RACISM AND THE MEDIA

Media organisations, media enterprises and the media workers - particularly public service broadcasters - have a moral and social obligation to make a positive contribution to the fight against racism, discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance. There are many ways in which these bodies and individuals can make such a contribution, including by:

- designing and delivering media training programmes which promote a better understanding of issues relating to racism and discrimination, and which foster a sense of the moral and social obligations of the media to promote tolerance and knowledge of the practical means by which this may be done;

- ensuring that effective ethical and self- regulatory codes of conduct prohibit the use of racist terms and prejudicial or derogatory stereotypes, and unnecessary references to race, religion and related attributes;

- taking measures to ensure that their workforce is diverse and reasonably representative of society as a whole;

- taking care to report factually and in a sensitive manner on acts of racism or discrimination, while at the same time ensuring that they are brought to the attention of the public;

- ensuring that reporting in relation to specific communities promotes a better understanding of difference and at the same time reflects the perspectives of those communities and gives members of those communities a chance to be heard; and

- promoting a culture of tolerance and a better understanding of the evils of racism and discrimination

The mass media and those who control or serve them, as well as all organized groups within national communities, are urged - with due regard to the principle embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly the principle of freedom of expression - to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among individuals and groups and to contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination and racial prejudice, in particular by refraining from presenting a stereotyped, partial unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals and of various human groups. Communication between racial and ethnic groups must be a reciprocal process, enabling them to express themselves and to be fully heard without let or hindrance. The mass media should therefore be freely receptive to ideas of individuals and groups, which facilitate such communication.

A GOOD PRACTICE GUIDE FOR JOURNALISTS

Poor quality reporting which exploits or panders to stereotypes can cause much hurt to those about whom the stories are written. By repeating false and negative stereotypes the media can encourage the expressions of language and attitudes which are unacceptable. These guidelines are not intended to make the media shy away from covering issues and stories to do with people of colour. Quite the contrary. More coverage in the media is required but it needs to be honest and fair, open and inclusive.

Steer clear of exploiting prejudice:
The public wants an advocating media, but those advocacy efforts should be built on matters of genuine public concern, not simply prejudices against particular issues or groups such as immigrants.

Check the facts:
Got to the experts who can help to set the context. Make sure that wherever possible you check the details with a relevant source and don't just rely on expressions of local or popular prejudice.

Don't Let your news agenda only be driven by the way others are handling the issue:
Certain story lines easily dominate media discussion of certain issues or communities while issues of great importance to the communities involved are downplayed or ignored altogether.

Look behind the story line:
Don't assume there is only one point of view. Always seek the views of race and ethnic community organizations to see whether or not there is an alternative interpretation or a different and more significant story line to be presented.

Listen to the people you are writing about:
This is particularly important when it comes to the terms and language you use. Offensive stereotypes should only be used when they are accurate descriptions of particular individuals and should not be employed to negatively stereotype whole groups.

Don't label people if it is not relevant:
Reference to the fact than an individual as a member of a particular racial or ethnic group should only be made when it is relevant and appropriate.

These guidelines are adapted from the Commission for Racial Equality, UK.

BOOK REVIEW

STRATEGIES FOR ACHIEVING RESPONSIBLE COVERAGE OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

A Community Building Workbook:
The Asset-Based Community Development Institute for Policy Research
Evanston Illinois, 1999.

In three articles – two of which are Toronto-based– this volume explores different aspects of the relationship between local communities and the newspapers that print stories about them. Using case studies, these articles look at the generally negative reporting of low-income, 'high minority' communities and describe some of the strategies that have been successfully implemented to positively influence local neighbourhood coverage.

The article by Ruth Morris describes the experiences of Communities Against Neighbourhoodism (CAN), a coalition of neighbourhoods including Jane-Finch, Parkdale, Warden Woods, Regent Park and others in seeking fairer representation and combating the classist and racist portrayal of these communities by the media.

Beginning in 1993, Communities Against Neighbourhoodism entailed a process of network building, developing a Bill of Rights for media treatment of neighbourhoods, media training for residents, establishing local, national and international linkages, developing relationships with the Ryerson School of Journalism, producing videos, and sponsoring a major conference on Neighbourhoodism.

The article by Wrinroth, Jackson and Schloskey of the North York Health Promotion Research Unit is a content analysis of Toronto newspaper coverage of six neighbourhoods in Toronto between 1992 and 1995. The six neighbourhoods were Jane-Finch, Regent Park, Parkdale, Rosedale, Forest Hill, and Bridle Path.
Unsurprisingly, the study found that the coverage of the lower income and mostly non-white neighourhoods was largely negative and tended to focus on 'urban pathology'. Stories were more frequently framed in terms of a social problem, and the image of a 'bad neighbourhood' which is 'crime-ridden and drug-infested'.
Interestingly, the authors found that the more negative phrases were found in opinion pieces written by columnists more than by reporters in pure 'news' stories.

Neighbourhoodism: Good or Bad?
This volume shows how media reporting contributes to the development and reinforcement of stereotypes of neighbourhoods, and the people, buildings, and events within them. Residents of neighbourhoods that are stereotyped in other media may also develop perceptions of how their communities are portrayed by newspapers.

This small volume is an important contribution to understanding the relationship between neighbourhoodism and media portrayal. It offers a number of strategies by which community members, journalists, researchers and media consumers in general can improve the way communities are portrayed.

THE BLACK IMAGE AND THE WHITE MIND: MEDIA AND RACE IN AMERICA

The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America
By: Robert M. Entman and Andrew Rojecki

The University of Chicago Press, 2000Living in a largely segregated society, White Americans learn about African Americans less through personal relationships than through the images the media show them. The Black Image in the White Mind offers a comprehensive look at the intricate racial patterns in the mass media and how they shape the ambivalent attitudes of Whites towards Blacks. Using the media, and especially television, as barometers of race relations, Robert Entman and Andrew Rojecki uncover but then go beyond the treatment of African Americans on network and local news to reveal the meanings about race constructed by the entertainment industry - from prime-time dramas and sitcoms to commercials and Hollywood movies.

The cultural, economic and social gap between white and black lives in America is regarded by many sociologists and scholars as enormous—largely because most white people learn about African-American life through the media, particularly television. Accordingly, professors Entman (communications, North Carolina University) and Rojecki (journalism, Indiana University) set out to analyze perceptions of race by surveying a wide range of American TV shows in which race is represented, including news broadcasts, dramas and commercials, as well as Hollywood films.

They discovered that overwhelmingly negative portrayals permeate American television. In addition to traditional characterizations, there are also "new forms of racial differentiation" that are more subtle but still biased (e.g., blacks appear in more commercials, but only for less-expensive products). Using nuanced measurements and arguments, the authors attempt to "get beyond any simple scheme that categorizes Whites as either racist or not" by working from a model that reflects complicated and conflicted racial sentiments." Entman and Rojecki look at how television news focuses on black poverty and crime out of proportion to the material reality of black lives, how black "experts" are only interviewed for "black-themed" issues and how "black politics" are distorted in the news.

The authors conclude that, while there are more images of African-Americans on television now than there were years ago, these images often don't reflect a commitment to "racial comity" or community-building between the races.